During his [al-Qa'im's] lifetime, such a contempt for the Shari'ah and the basic teachings of prophecy became evident among his followers that there rose up against him a man called Abū Yazīd al-Muhtasib, whose real name was Makhlaḏ ibn Kaydād. He was a Berber of the Zanātā from the Banū Yifrān, an Iṣābi and a Nīkākī. He was known as Saḥīḥ al-Ḥimār. As his following and support grew in strength, he made war against him [al-Qa'im], besieging him in al-Mahdiyyah until al-Ḥasan [al-Qa'im] died during the siege.65

Then there ruled in his place his son Iṣnāfīl, who was surnamed Abū Ṭāhir [al-Manṣūr]. As he appeared to uphold the importance of the Shari'ah, at the same time that Abū Yazīd [Makhlaḏ ibn Kaydād] supported the sect of the Iṣābiyyah, the populace turned

brother safeguarded the line of succession to the imamate. The quotation is as follows: "Each one of his own sons whom he appointed to the imamate died, so that no one child was left to this man safeguarding the succession. Accordingly, al-Ḥasan ibn Nūh ibn Ḥowshīb, the propaganda agent (ṣirī) by whom Allah had opened up al-Yamānah, made a mantle upon which he wrote the name of the Imam al-Mahdi—and he sent it to this guardian of the succession whose sons had died. He [Muḥammad Abū al-Shaqqalī?] accordingly bestowed it upon the Imam al-Mahdi [his nephew]."

This ancient record indicates that the son of a younger brother served as the heir during his lifetime. This temporary ruler or Fatimid caliph called the imam, was Sa'id ibn al-Qa'im, the propagandist agent, who was Ali al-Mahdi, founder of the Fatimid dynasty in North Africa. When he died, the succession returned to the grandson of the elder brother, that is, to the grandson of Muḥammad Abū al-Ṣaqqalī. This grandson was the second Fatimid caliph, known as al-Qa'im. As al-Ḥasan ibn Nūh ibn Ḥowshīb is not mentioned in Al-Fihrist, his name is not in the Biographical Index. The Fatimids interpreted the Shari'ah law and the Qur'ān in an allegorical way so as to prove the divine right of their own rulers to be the true caliphs. For the heterodox law of the Fatimids, see their great legal code, Nūḥ māna, Dā'il 'ām al-ḥilām.66

66 The Tenk and 1944 MSS garble these names, but they are evidently meant to be the Zanātī Tribe and its important subtribe called the Banū Yifrān; see Khaldūn, Histoire des Berbères, III, 179, 197.

67 For Iṣābi, see Glossary, Iṣābiyyah. MS 1994 gives Bakkāwī, which is evidently an error meant to be Nīkākī, which was a branch which broke off from the Khawārij in North Africa; ibid., pp. 305 ff.

68 Al-Mahdiyyah was founded by Sa'id al-Mahdi as a palace city about one hundred miles south of modern Tunis; see Yaqūt, Geogr., IV, 694 l. 10; "al-Mahdiyya," Enc. Islam, III, 121.

From a Source Other than This Account

During the year eighty-seven [A.H. 287: A.D. 900], Sa'id ibn al-Ḥusayn, 'Ubayd Allāh [al-Mahdi] sent Abū Sa'id al-Sha'rawtī to Khorāsān, where he gave a false impression to the leaders by professing to be a Shi'i, leading people astray. When he died, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali al-Marwazi took his place and became well established in the region until he was imprisoned by Naṣr ibn Aḥmad. He died in confinement.

He was succeeded by al-Nasā'ī, who misled Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, enticing him to join the [Isnāfīl] movement, so that he agreed paying an indemnity for the death of al-Marwazi [equal to] one hundred and nineteen gold coins (s., dhūnār) and for each gold coin, a thousand gold coins. He supposed that he was making this payment for the lord of North Africa, al-Qa'im bi-al-A'mar.

When an illness overcame Naṣr, confusing him to his bed, he repented of having complied with al-Nasā'ī, making this publicly known. When he died, his son Nūḥ assembled the legal authorities, making al-Nasā'ī attend also, so that they could examine, lay bare, and expose him. What is more, Nūḥ brought light upon forty of

64 Ma'ādd Abū Tamīm is better known as al-Mu'īzī, the fourth Fatimid caliph, whose army invaded Egypt, occupying Miṣr (al-Fustūq) in A.D. 969. He ordered the city of al-Qahīrāt to be built and his son, usually called al-ʿĀzīz, consolidated the regime in Egypt.

65 The Flügel edition has thirty-seven, which is an error.

66 For light on this passage, see the Flügel edition, p. 188 n.

67 This was the second Fatimid caliph, who was ruling in North Africa.
the gold coins (ş., dinār). Accordingly, he executed al-Nasafi along with the chiefs of the movement and the leaders who were the head men attached to Naṣr, tearing them to pieces with every kind of violence.\(^{74}\)

Another Account

The first one of the sons of [Maymūn] al-Qaddāḥ to go to al-Rayy, Ḳūtharbayyān, and Ṭabaristān was a cotton carder. When he died his son succeeded him, and when his son also died, he was followed by a man known as Ghīyāḥ. When he passed away his son succeeded him and also a man known as al-Mahṭūrān.\(^{75}\) He in turn died and there took his place Abū Ḥāsim al-Warsānī, who was a dualist, then a Dāhil,\(^{76}\) later becoming a zindīq giving way to doubt.\(^{74}\)

As for al-Yaman, Fāris, and al-Aḥṣā', the propagandists reached those regions either with ‘Abīd, the successor and brother-in-law of Hamānī [ibn al-Aḥṣā'] Qarnāz, or there may have been agents preceding him: it is Allāh who knows.

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\(^{74}\) The point seems to be that if Nūḥ discovered forty of the gold coins in Khurāsān, they could not have been sent to encourage the revolution in North Africa, thus revealing the double dealing of al-Nasafi.

\(^{75}\) Naqīr ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Khurāsān, a.d. 914-43 was persuaded to support the Ismā‘īlī cause by a favorite called al-Nasafi. As the members of the Šī‘ā and the Ismā‘īlī dynasty desired to be as independent as possible from the government at Baghdād, Naqīr evidently wished to encourage the members of the Ismā‘īlī revolution not only in his own country but also in North Africa, for if the caliph at Baghdād was busy defending himself against the Fāṭimid rebels in the west, Khurāsān in the east could be free from interference.

When, however, the ruler’s son Nūḥ realized that al-Nasafi was a fraud, he persuaded his sick father to make a public confession of having been cheated and to abdicate. Nūḥ then became the ruler and cleaned the realm of the Ismā‘īlī heretics. See Nizām al-Mulk, Stanart Nasīr, pp. 268-81; Blochet, Mestanisme, p. 67; "Naqīr s. Aḥmad," Enc. Islam, III, 872; "S̄ī‘āhāt," IV, 122-23.

\(^{76}\) The name is omitted in the Tenk MS, but it is written without consonant signs in the Fīlīgzīl version and MS 1934, and it is evidently meant to be the Ismā‘īlī propagandist Ja‘far al-Mahṭūrān. Blochet, Mestanisme, is perhaps mistaken in confusing him with Abū Ḥāsim al-Warsānī.

\(^{74}\) See Glosnāy, Dāhilīyah.

\(^{74}\) MS 1934 and Fīlīgzīl have ṣaḥāb, freely translated "giving way." The Tenk MS has ṣaḥāb ("was ignorant.")

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Another Account

Before the period of the sons of [Maymūn] al-Qaddāḥ, there were persons close to the Magians and their [Ṣā‘ūnīan] regime, for the restoration of which they strove. Sometimes [they worked] openly and sometimes secretly with intrigue, causing things to happen which were illegal in Islam.

It has been said that Abī Mūsā, chief of the ‘Abbāsid movement, favored this cause and worked for it, but he was cut off before its attainment.\(^{78}\) Among those who were dedicated [to the cause], coming out openly and making themselves known, there was Bādhūk al-Khurtānī, an account of whom will be given in the Ninth Chapter.

One of the persons agreeing with ‘Abīd Allāh [ibn Maymūn] in connection with his movement was a man known as Mūsammād ibn al-Ḫusayn, nicknamed Dayyān, who was from the region of al-Karaj, being a secretary of Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abī Dulaḥ.\(^{76}\) This man was trained in philosophy and skilled in the science of the stars [astrology]. Belonging to the Shī‘īyyah, he was bitter against the Islamic government. He believed with certainty in the Universal Soul [al-Nafs], the Intelligence [al-‘Aqīd], Time [al-Zamān], Space [al-Mahān], and Matter [al-Hayyi].\(^{77}\) He also supposed that there was control and spiritual action in the stars.

In speaking about him, a reliable person told me that he believed he had discovered in the astral determinations that there would be a transition from the Islamic regime to the government of the Persians and to their religion, called the Majnīsah. [This would take place] at the time of the eighth conjunction, as a movement in the Muthallathah from the sign of Scorpio, indicating the Faith [of Islam], to the sign of Sagittarius, indicating the Persian religion. He also

\(^{74}\) See Marādū, VI, 186.

\(^{76}\) For al-Karaj, a city near al-Rushāq in Fīrās, see Y bringing, Geog., IV, 250 bottom, and Taḥrīr, Annals, Part III, p. 2116. This Abī Dulaḥ was the governor of Iḥāsān, a.d. 879, and must not be confused with al-Qātim ibn Ḳīqāl al-Jīn, also called Abī Dulaḥ. Fīlīgzīl mispells the name.

\(^{77}\) These were metaphysical terms used by the Ismā‘īlī as well as by the philosophers to express emanations from the deity; see Dodge, Muslim World, I, No. 3 (July 1960), 183-88; Baghdādī (Halkīn) pp. 113, 116 nn. 3, 6.
said that he [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] used to exclaim, "Would that I might be the cause of this!"78

As he [Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] had extensive property, exalted enthusiasm, and great craftiness, he facilitated matters for the [Ismāʿīlī] movement, giving Ibn al-Qaddāh [Abd Allāh ibn Maymūn] authority in connection with it and aiding him with funds. He met him at al-ʿAskar79 when he was setting out to seek the sultan’s court, before the time of ʿHamālah,80 the vizier of Ibn Abī Dulāf; when he [Abū Dulaf] rose to his rank81 of the governorship of al-Jaramayn,82 with attendance upon and admission to the service.83

When he died at the sultan’s court, the movement was under the direction of Ibn al-Qaddāh. This is what we know about this subject, but it is Allāh who can distinguish the truth regarding it from the falsehood.

The Names of the Authors of the Books of the Ismaʿiliya and the Titles of the Books

As 'Abdān, who has already been mentioned,84 was the most prolific of the community in producing books and compilations, everyone writing a book attributed it to him. 'Abdān had a catalogue of the books which he compiled, among which there were:

78 The Muḥallaṭah is the term used for the three stars called Aldebaran or Taurus, but here it more probably refers to signs of the zodiac. Here the trilogy is evidently Libra—Scorpio—Sagittarius. Probably several planets met in Scorpio, destined to meet later in Sagittarius. The translation is free. See "Astrology," Enc. Islam, I, 496; "Muḥallaṭah," Enc. Islam, III, 794 top.
79 This was evidently Ṭabari, a city of southeastern Persia; see Ṭabari, Aḥmad, Part III, pp. 71, 718, 794. MS 1934 has Ḥamālah, who was vizier to the family of Abū Dulaf. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn very likely left the service of Ibn Abī Dulaf in order to seek service with the caliph. Then Ibn Abī Dulaf was evidently honored as Governor of the Two Holy Cities and given a place at the royal court. Probably it was at this time that Ḥamālah became his vizier. Both MS 1934 and Flügel omit "Ibn" before Abī Dulaf, apparently an error.
80 Flügel gives Ḥunaynawī, who was the director of posts about A.D. 807; see Tabari, Aḥmad, Part III, pp. 71, 718, 794. MS 1934 has Ḥamālah, who was vizier to the family of Abū Dulaf. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn very likely left the service of Ibn Abī Dulaf in order to seek service with the caliph. Then Ibn Abī Dulaf was evidently honored as Governor of the Two Holy Cities and given a place at the royal court. Probably it was at this time that Ḥamālah became his vizier. Both MS 1934 and Flügel omit "Ibn" before Abī Dulaf, apparently an error.
81 Flügel gives Ḥunaynawī ("servant"); but the word is probably meant to be ḥāshīb ("rank, dignity").
82 Makhāt and al-Madinah.
83 The word translated "service" is al-maʿā, probably implying service in the entourage of the caliph, although it may have a religious significance. For references, see n. 16.
84 See n. 51, and also Khaddūm, L’histoire des Banū Banū, II, 556.
85 This probably refers to the time when Muʿāz al-Dawlah seized Baghdād, A.D. 945.
possible that the movement is continuing in the regions of al-Jabal and Khurāṣ.

In Egypt the situation is obscure, for from the head of the movement ruling the region nothing appears, which explains what is being said about him and his forerunners. The matter is different from what he claims. Al-sālim.58

Among the Compilers (Authors)
There was al-Naṣṣī, who has already been mentioned. Among his books there were:
Intensions (Titles, Indications, Manners) of Religion; Sources of the Law; The Chosen Movement.69

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī
His name was ———. Among his books there were:
The large book, Decoration, about four hundred leaves [in length];
The Compilation, about the law and other subjects.69

The Banū (Sons of) Ḥammād
They were from al-Mawṣil and were supporters of the Ismāʿīlī movement in al-Jazīrah and of those under its patronage, before the time when Abū Yaʿqūb, the successor of the Imam al-Muṣāfin, was at al-Rayy.70 They compiled books, which they attributed to 'Abdān and among which there were:
The Shining Truth; The Manifest Truth; In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.69

58 The Fāṭimid caliphs did not explain the authenticity of their descent from Muhammad and his daughter, Fāṭimah, so that there was uncertainty with regards to the matter. Al-sālim ("greeting") was a common form for ending a communication.

59 Flügel seems to err in this title. The translation is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS, which have Al-Deʾawah al-Mundhubah ("The Chosen Movement"), referring to the Ismāʿīlyah.

60 His famous book, Al-īlāh, is not mentioned here. See Ivanov, Studies in Early Persian Ismāʿiliism, pp. 90 ff.

61 When al-Nadīm was in al-Mawṣil, he evidently heard of the Banū Ḥammād, who are not mentioned elsewhere. The Imam al-Muṣāfin was almost certainly the Ismāʿīlī leader al-Naṣṣī, whose place was taken by Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, his pupil, when he was killed, A.J. 943. See Hamdānī, Sulṭānī, pp. 231, 252. Al-Jazīrah was probably northern Iraq.

62 MS 1934 omits "the Compassionate," but the Tonk MS and Flügel version include it.

63 This may have been about the seventh stage of initiation among the Ismāʿīlyah, which dealt with philosophical matters (see n. 86). If the Banū Ḥammād were leaders before A.J. 943, when al-Naṣṣī was killed, and Ibn Ḥamdān served as leader after they died, it is likely that the author of Al-Fihrist was a young man when he went to al-Mawṣil and met this Ismāʿīlī leader.

64 This is evidently meant to be Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, who died soon after A.J. 971.

65 MS 1914 gives the form dāḥ ("house"). The Tonk MS says "They beat him treacherously and killed him."

66 These were probably on the East Bank of the Tigris at Baghdad; see Le Strange, Baghdad, map opposite p. 231.

67 The Tonk MS has, instead of this last phrase, "because he was exiled on account of himself."
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Al-Hallaj: His Religious Beliefs and Accounts of Him, with the Names of His Books and the Books of His Followers

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr. There is a difference of opinion about his country and place of upbringing. It is said that he was from Khurṣūn, from Naysabur. Then it is said that he was from Marw (Marv), and it is also said that he was from al-Ta’labān.98 Some of his adherents said that he was from al-Rayy, while others said from al-Jiblā,99 but nothing is clear about him or his town (region).

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥusayn Ubayd Allāh ibn Almād ibn Abī Ṭābār:

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Hallāj was a crafty man and a conjurer who ventured into the Ṣūfī schools of thought, affecting their ways of speech. He laid claim to every science, but nevertheless [his claims] were futile. He even knew something about the science of alchemy (al-kimiyā‘). He was ignorant, bold, obsequious, but courageous in the presence of sultans, attempting great things and ardently desiring a change of governments (dynastic). Among his adherents he claimed divinity, speaking of divine union.100 He presented the tenets of the Shi‘a to the kings, but to the common people the doctrines of the Ṣūfīs. In enlarging upon this he claimed that the Divine Power had alighted within him, so that he was He, Almighty God, may He be glorified and sanctified. In connection with this he said “He is my nonexistence, exalted and great.”101

He used to travel among the towns. Then when he was arrested, he was turned over to Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ṭa‘sa [the vizier], who upon examining him found that he lacked knowledge about the Qur’an and its sciences,102 as well as about the law, the Hadith, and also the poetry and sciences of the Arabs. So ‘Alī ibn Ṭa‘sa said to him, “To learn about your purification and obligations will be more profitable for you than the [writing of] epistles in which you do not know what you are talking about. How

98 See Yaqūq, Gog., IV, 857, for Naysabur; IV, 507, for Marw; III, 491, for Ta’labān.
99 See Yaqūq, Gog., II, 892, for Rayy; II, 15, 23, for Jiblā.
100 Ḥallāj (“divine union”) is ecstatic union with God; see Ḥallāj, Enc. Islam, II, 111; Ḥallāj, Abkhir, I, 130, 191; Shi‘abī, p. 26.
101 A correction in MS 1914 suggests that this form means nonexistence; see Ḥallāj, Abkhir, sect. 50, third line of the poem. When the mystic loses his sense of personal existence in ecstatic union, his personality is merged with that of God.
102 These sciences are concerned with the grammar, language, form of reading, theology, and law of the Qur’an, as well as with the sayings of the Prophet.
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He was handed over to Nayr al-Hājjī, whom he misled. In his books there was written, "Verily, I am He who drowned the people of Noah (Noah) and destroyed 'Ad and Thamūd." When his cause spread and became public, trustworthy information about it was given to the sultan [al-Muqtadir], who declared that he should be beaten with a thousand strokes and his two hands cut off. After that he burned him in the fire, at the end of the year three hundred and nine [A.D. 922].

The Reason for His Arrest

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Simān:

The case of al-Ḥallāj became known and talk about it spread during the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 911/12]. The reason why he was arrested was because the postmaster at al-Sūs passed through a locality in al-Sūs called al-Rabī fi al-Qa‘ah, 134 where he saw a woman in one of the lanes exclaiming, "Leave me alone or I'lltell about you." So he said to the Arabs with him, "Seize her!" Then he said to her, "What is the matter with you?" She denied [having spoken], until he brought her to his house and threatened her. Then she said, "Next to my house there has come to live a man who is known as al-Ḥallāj and who has a group of people coming to him secretly every night and day, saying unlawful things."

He forthwith turned to a band of his associates, who were adherents of the sultan, ordering them to raid the place. They did so and found a man with a white head and beard, whom they seized upon with all that

131 Abū al-Qāsim Nayr was the chamberlain (al-hājjī) of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.
132 Here al-Ḥallāj identifies himself with Allah. For the Flood of the time of Noah and the destruction of the Pre-Islamic tribes, see Qur‘ān 7: 59-64.
133 There are different accounts of how al-Ḥallāj was punished, perhaps due to the fact that the word sab can mean either tied up for public ridicule or crucified. The preceding passage makes it clear that when he was first brought to Baghdad, al-Ḥallāj was tied up on both sides of the Tingir for the public to revile. Then he was placed in prison, where for a time he gained the good will of the chamberlain, members of the court, and the Caliph al-Muqtadir himself. Later the vizier used his influence to have him executed. He was beheaded and mutilated. It is likely that he was crucified before his body was burned. As the Muslims believed in bodily resurrection of the dead, this burning was a severe measure to take. Cf. Ḥallāj, Abbār, I, 322, 304-12; also illustrations: I, 182; II, 632, 779, 916.
134 Sūs was the ancient Susa; see Yaqūt, Geogr., III, 188; "al-Sūs," Enc. Islam., IV, 565. MS 1934 has "al-Rabī fi al-Qa‘ah," which means "the Suburb in the Separated Quarter." Compare this passage with Ḥallāj, Abbār, I, 228 ff.

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he had with him, for there were quantities of coins, musk, clothing, safflower, ambregris, and saffron. Then he said, "What do you want from me?" They replied, "You are al-Ḥallāj." He said, "No, I am not he and I do not even know him."

They took him to the home of 'Abī ibn al-Ḥusayn, the postmaster, and imprisoned him in a house, making sure of him and taking over his notes, books, and cloth, while the news spread about the town, so that the people gathered to look at him. 'Abī ibn al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Are you al-Ḥallāj?" He denied this. Then one of the men of al-Sūs said, "I know him by a scar made by a blow on his head." So they searched for this and found it.

Now the sultan had arrested one of the young men of al-Ḥallāj known as al-Dabbās, whom he kept in prison for a long time, treating him abominably. Then he released him and, after taking his guarantee and making him swear to look for al-Ḥallāj, he provided him with funds. While he [al-Dabbās] was going after him through the land, he happened to enter Sūs at this time and to learn the news. He hastened to notify the sultan about the affair, confirming it. So he [al-Ḥallāj] was brought [to Baghdad], and there befell him what happened.

The person who sought to have him executed, taking the initiative in the affair, was Hāmid ibn al-Abbās [the vizier]. The sultan was on the point of setting him free, as he [al-Ḥallāj] confused him, the servants, and the women of his court by praying, anulets, and charms. He used to eat little, pray much, and fast for extended periods, so that he misled and captivated them.

Nayr [al-Hājjī] al-Qushurī called him "the Righteous Shaykh," but he was mistaken so that Hāmid brought the case to a definite conclusion, accusing some about the matter. Then he [al-Ḥallāj] said, "I invoke curses upon you!" [whereupon] Hāmid exclaimed, "Now it is certain that you claim what you are suspected of!" So he was killed and burned.

135 Ḥallāj, Abbār, has "birds," but MS 1934 and the Tonk MS confirm "safflower" as correct. This is a yellowish-red dye made from the flower of Carthamus tinctorius. Evidently al-Ḥallāj used this and other things to work magic so as to impress the illiterate people.
136 For his miracles in the palace, see Ḥallāj, Abbār, I, 233 ff.
137 The Tonk MS adds three extra words here and also shows other variations, probably due to careless copying.
138 It is probable that al-Ḥallāj cured the vizier in a way which proved that he claimed divinity, thus giving final reason for execution. It is likely that this entire section is quoted from Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Simān.
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Names of the Books of al-Hallāj\(^{138}\)

‘Tā[ ][Si]n(S). Al-Azāl (Eternity) and the Greatest Jewel (Supreme Essence) and the Light-Giving Olive Tree;\(^{139}\) Letters of the Hadith, and the Eternal and Universal Names; The Shade Extended, the Water Poured Forth, and the Continuing Life; The Conception (Act of Becoming) of Light, Life, and Spirit; Al-Ṣayhir;\(^{140}\) Explanation of ‘Say, He Allāk is One’;\(^{141}\) The Continuing in Eternity and Eternally Continued; Recital of the Qur‘ān and the Furaṣā;\(^{142}\) The Disposition of Man and the Explanation (Khaq al-Insān wa-al-Bayān); The Cunning of Satan and the Command of the Sultan; Roots and Branches;\(^{143}\) Secret of the World and the One Seat (Raised from the Dead); Justice and Oneness;\(^{144}\) Politics, Caliphs, and Governors (Emirs); Knowledge of Survival (Eternity) and Annihilation;\(^{145}\) The Form of Things Which Overshadow; The Light of the Light;\(^{146}\) Revelations (Supernatural Communications); Spheres, the World, and the One Who Knows; Praise of the Prophet and the Most Excellent Example;\(^{147}\) The Unusual and the Clear [in Good Literary Style]; The [Primordial] Point;\(^{148}\) and the Beginning of Creation; The Resurrection and the Mystic Ecstasies

\(^{138}\) To understand these titles, consult Hallāj, Abhūr, II, 815-16; Hallāj, Tawāfīn, pp. 1-8, 85ff. Massignon has corrected the Hügel text by comparing it with a parallel list of titles. The translation follows the corrections. The Tosk and 1934 MSS give some of these works, but confuse them.

\(^{139}\) ‘Tā[ ][Si]n are the letters at the beginning of Sīrah 27, which according to a cryptic system stood for “Divine Apparition” (‘Tā’) and “Eternal Glory of Allāh” (Si). See Massignon, Origines du lexique, pp. 81, 82. Al-Hallāj used these two letters for his short writings; see Hallāj, Tawāfīn. For the light-giving olive tree, see Qur‘ān 24:35.

\(^{140}\) All editions of Al-Fihrist have al-ṣayhir, perhaps signifying Mt. Zion, but Hallāj, Tawāfīn, p. 142 n. 1, is probably correct in suggesting al-ṣayhir, which indicates being scaled in hell, cf. Qur‘ān 22:20(21).

\(^{141}\) See Qur‘ān 112:1.


\(^{143}\) This title probably refers to principles and applications of the law.

\(^{144}\) See Glossary, “Mu‘aṣṣaḥ,” for this phrase.

\(^{145}\) In Arabic this is “‘Ibn al-Baqī‘ wa-al-Fūs,” evidently referring to the mystic practice of annihilation of personality in ecstatic union with God, giving a consciousness of the eternal.

\(^{146}\) See Qur‘ān 24:35.

\(^{147}\) The Arabic words translated as “most excellent example” are al-mūṭhab al-dīrū, mentioned in the Qur‘ān 30:27 (66).

\(^{148}\) The Hügel text seems to be incorrect. The Tosk and 1934 MSS give al-mawṣūdah (“point”). Cf. Hallāj, Tawāfūn, p. 29, and Massignon, Origines du lexique, p. 39.

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(Resurrections); The Greatness and Majesty; Prayer and Divine Blessings (Prayer and Forms of Prayer); Treasures of Good Things, known as Separate Alif and Composite Alif.\(^{150}\)

The Ecstasies of Those with the Knowledge;\(^{151}\) The Nature of Aspects of the Qur‘ān and of Reazoning; Sincerity and Pure Intention (al-ikkhās);\(^{152}\) The Examples and the Abwā’; Certainty (Al-Tawāfīn); “The Star When It Sees”;\(^{153}\) “The Scattering Broadcast”;\(^{154}\) about ‘He who revealed to you the Qur‘ān will return you to the place of returning’;\(^{155}\) The Pearl, addressed to Nāṣr al-Qutbī; Government (Politics), addressed to al-Husayn ibn Hamdūn; ‘He is He’; How He Was and How He Will Be;\(^{156}\) The First Existence;\(^{157}\) Red Sulphur; Al-Su‘ur and His Answer; The Second Existence;\(^{158}\) No—How; Analogy and Truth;\(^{159}\) Analogy (Form) with Figure of Speech.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Bukayrat\(^{161}\)

He was one of the Shi‘ah. He was quoted by al-Husayn ibn [‘Alī ibn al-][Fāqīhāl. Among his books there was a book about the sources.

Al-Husayn ibn Mukhāraq

He was one of the leaders of the Shi‘ah. Among his books there were:

The Commentary; The Compilation of Science.

\(^{150}\) See Hallāj, Tawāfīn, p. 58, diagrams 4 and 5, and p. 100.

\(^{151}\) Hallāj, Abhūr, II, 819 bottom, gives Massignon al-‘Iffān. For ‘ānif, see Hallāj, Tawāfīn, p. 83; Massignon, Origines du lexique, p. 248 middle.

\(^{152}\) See Massignon, Origines du lexique, pp. 191-92.

\(^{153}\) See Qur‘ān 53:1.

\(^{154}\) See Qur‘ān 53:1.

\(^{155}\) See Qur‘ān 53:1.

\(^{156}\) See Qur‘ān 38:85.

\(^{157}\) See Hallāj, Tawāfīn, p. 129.

\(^{158}\) See Hallāj, Abhūr, II, 641 bottom. On the margin of MS 1934 there is the note, “In this book there is going forward and backward.”

\(^{159}\) See Hallāj, Abhūr, II, 651, and Qur‘ān 50:15 (14) for the first existence or creation. The next title probably refers to the Philosopher’s Stone.

\(^{160}\) See Qur‘ān 50:15 (14) for the second existence or creation.

\(^{161}\) See Hallāj, Abhūr, II, 568.

\(^{162}\) This name and the seven which follow it are Shi‘i scholars, who are mentioned by al-Tūsī but not by other well-known authorities.
Abū al-Qāsim 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Kūfī

He was one of the illustrious members of the Imāmiyah. Among his books there were:
The Wilāya; a book about the law, according to the system of al-Māzinī.142

Ibn Kūrah

Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn Kūrah was one of the people of Qumm.143 Among his books there was Compassion.

Qunārāh

His name was Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad. He came from the people of Qumm and among his books there was Knowledge.

Al-Hasanī

He was Abū 'Abd Allāh, among whose books there were:
Traditions about the Authors on the Ḥadīth; Traditions about Muṣṭawīyāh; The Virtues; Investigation (Uncovering).

Al-Balawī

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Balawī, from Ballī, a tribe of Egypt. He was a preacher, legal authority, and scholar, among whose books there were:
Abwāb; Knowledge; Religion and Its Ordinances.

Ibn 'Imān

He was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Abī Yaḥyā ibn 'Imān of Qumm, a master of the law,144 among whose books there was Rare Forms (Al-Nawādir), a large book145 [properly called Rare Forms of Learning (Nawādir al-Hikmah). This book, Rare Forms

142 This title is found in the Tawq MS and Tusi, p. 231, sect. 455, but not in MS 1934 or the Fugel edition.
143 For Qumm, see Yaqūt, Geog., IV, 175. MS 1934 omits the name here, but includes it in the paragraph following.
144 The words translated "master of the law" are in Arabic al-bāb al-fiqh. This might also mean "having intelligence," and a more technical significance might mean "possessing an understanding of God," presumably by means of mystic practices.
145 The rest of this paragraph is not in either MS 1934 or the Fugel text.

146 See Glorius for this sect.
147 The Ismā'īliyah used the term dā'i for a member of their religious and propaganda hierarchy, but here it signifies "the caller to righteousness." These Zaydi leaders did much to bring the semi-pagan people of Daylam and Tabaristan to accept Islam.

148 For the regions in this sentence and the one which follows, see "Tabaristan," Enc. Ibn, IV, 579; "Dailam," I, 896.
his brother al-Dī‘ī Ḱ-ilā Ḱ-aţq Muḥammad ibn Ḱ-zyād, who ruled al-Dāyām. Among the books of al-Ḥasan there were:
Compilation of the Law; The Explanation; The Proof, about the imamate.

Al-‘Alawī al-Rāṣīd
He was al-Qāsim ibn Ḱ-оbāh, the lord of Ḱ-а‘dāh and one of the Zaydiyāh, from whom was descended the Ḱ-Qisimiyāh branch of the Zaydiyāh. Among his books there were:
Drinks; The Imamate; Oaths and Vows; Self-Discipline (Ṣi’yāyat al-Nāfis); Refutation of the Ka‘fiyāh.

Al-Ḥādī
He was Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim ibn Ḱ-оbāh al-Ḥusānī, among whose books there were:
Prayer; Compilation of the Law.

Al-Murādī
Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Mānṣūr al-Murādī al-Zaydī was one of the Zaydiyāh among whose books there were:
The Large Commentary; The Small Commentary; Abīn ibn Ḱ-hā; Nature of the Justly Appointed Imams (Imams Who Deviated); about ordinances, such as ritual purification, prayer, and other things, according to the [way of] reading books about the law. Then he wrote also, Al-Khāmil [the army with its five parts]; his epistle to al-Ḥasan ibn Ḱ-zyād in Ḱ-tābāristān, in connection with the speech of some of those who were seeking.

Al-‘Ayyāshī
Abū al-Ḍa‘ī Muḥammad ibn Ma‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī was one of the people of Ṣa’arqand. It is also said that he was one of the Banū Ḱ-asr. Instead of al-Rāṣīd, Flügel gives Burs, which must be an error. For al-Rāṣīd, see “Rasā‘īd,” Enc. Islam, III, 322.

For Ḱ-а‘dāh, see Yāṣīt, Geog., III, 389. For the Ḱ-Qisimiyāh, see Ḱ-а‘ṣīm, Yaman, pp. 314–15.

The Tolk MS has certain variations, but they are probably due to careless copying. This epistle may, perhaps, have been about the dialects of some of the pagan tribes in northern Persia who were seeking acceptance into Ḱ-а‘dāh, so as to escape capture and slavery.
Ramos for Murder (Payments of Blood Money); Expiations for Murder; Wanton Amusements (Musical Instruments); Metaphors of Poetry; Horse Racing and Throwing [Javalins]; Division of the Booty and the Spoil; The Deceit, Undertaking Responsibility, and the Commission; Suresh (Management) and Giving Out for Planting; Wages (Rentah); The Period of Time; Asceticism; Pious Endowments; Al-Qiblah; The Poll Tax and the Land Tax; Obedience [to Allah]; Proof of Miracles; Menstruation; Al-Umrāh; Malkah and the Sacred Enclosure; Marriage of Slaves (Marrāli); What Is Disliked about (from) an Assembly among Them; Stories of Sin; Crime of Slaves and Crime against Them; Crime of the Foreigner; Ordinances; Conditions; Blood Money for an Embryo; Wealth; Encouragement for Marriage; Persons Equal and Socially Equivalent and Testimonies in [Connection with] Marriage; Ransom of Captives and Defrauding of Plunder; Rewarding of Combatants; Fighting the Idolaters; The Holy War; The Prophets and the Imams; Executors of a Will.

Treating with Tact (Dissimulation); Indications of the Imams; Fasting and Expiations; Combining Two Prayers; Places of Worship [Mosques]; Sins (Crimes); The Obligation for Obedience of the 'Ulamā'; Charity according to [Other than] What Is Prescribed; The

141 This title is given in Arabic by Fīlīgel and MS 1934 as Al-Dān wa-al-Hamālih wa-al-Hamālih. The second word might mean "tribute" instead of "undertaking responsibility." The Tork MS has Al-Dān wa-al-Hamālih wa-al-Qiblah ("The Debt, the Commission, and the Returning"). Instead of Pious Endowments (Al-'Abiha), the Tork MS has Species (Al-'Abiha). See n. 16.

142 The lesser pilgrimage to Makkah; see "Ummā," Enc. Islam, IV, 1016.

143 MS 1934 lacks consonant signs. Fīlīgel has Jāsūfī al-Khadr ("Estimates of Error") and the Tork MS gives Khāshfī al-Khadr ("Stories of Sin").

144 Fīlīgel has Al-Ghayb, which would imply abstinence from all but God; see Alī b. Uthmān, p. 248. MS 1934 has Al-Ghanūf ("Wealth").

145 Fīlīgel has Al-Ghanūf ("defrauding of plunder"); MS 1934 gives the same word without consonant marks, whereas the Tork MS has Al-Culh ("infects").

146 The reference is probably to the Shi'i imams; see Hīrī, Arābi, p. 444. The title which follows may also refer to descendants of the Prophet and his son-in-law "All as persons exercising the divine right to rule and inheriting the special knowledge bequeathed to them. It may, however, be a legal document, without reference to the Prophet's family.

147 The Sunni law prescribed eighty lashes and the Shi'i forty; see Gadeiro-Desoumieux, Muslim Institutions, p. 126.

148 See Qur'an 5:596 ff.

149 This title and the others which follow seem to deal with marriage and divorce, although the two which immediately follow may be devoted to more general topics.

150 Al-'Idāh, pl. al-'Idād, refers to the number of days of menstruation which must pass before a divorced or widow woman can remarry. The purpose of this procedure is to determine the true father of the woman's next child. See "'Idā," Enc. Islam, B, 445. The Tork and 1934 MSS give al-'Idād; the Fīlīgel text gives al-'Idād. Al-Nahār is the pronouncement of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back." Al-Nahār (Pdr) is wearing not colobitis with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious naence. Al-'Idād is a pronouncement of a curse of judgment, presumably for divorce. Al-rā'ah is the receiving back of a divorced wife. Another possibility is al-rā'ah, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

151 Body Tīmī, p. 118, and Fīlīgel have He Who Loathes Marriage. MS 1934 omits "marriage" (al-minnāhihih).

152 See Qur'an 5:7 (8); Bukhārt, Sahih, 1, 49.


154 See Qur'an 55:4 (5).

155 See Qur'an 5:41 (40).
Al-Marwah:
Revelation; Excellencies of the Qur'an; Ablution; The Fifth; Rare Forms (Unusual Anecdotes); Day and Night; Abridgment of "Day and Night."

Water for Ritual Ablution; Adultery and Chastity; Ritual Cleansing; Ablution with Earth (Sand); Ritual Purification of Clothing; Prayer of the Settlement (al-Ijādār); Prayer of the Journey; The Love of Guardians (Executors); Places of Worship (mosques); Abridgment of Ritual Purifications; Beginning of (Introduction to) the Ordinance of Prayer; Clothing for Prayer; Supererogatory Prayers of the Daytime; The Times of al-Zuhur and al-Aṣr; The Call to Prayer; Ordinances of Prayer; Neglect; Prayer of the Sick; Friday Prayer; Obligatory and Voluntary Prayer; Prayer for the Two Fasts; Prayer of Fear; Prayer of the Eclipse of the Sun; Prayer for Rain; Prayer on a Ship; Washing of the Dead; Lamentations (Mourning); Prayer for Funerals; The Beginning.

What He [al-ʿAyyāṭ] Compiled from the Traditions of the Common People

The Life of Abū Bakr; The Life of 'Umar; The Life of 'Uthmān; The Life of Ma'mūr; Measures of What Is Good; The Evident.

This may mean "madaniya," or refer to the hill at Makka called al-Marwah. See Hims, Ārabs, p. 153, al-Safi, Enc. Islam, IV, 51.

This refers to the fifth part of the spoil assigned to the Prophet; see Qur'an 8: 40.

This is ablution, especially after a bowel movement; al-tayammum is ablution with sand when water is not available. The body and clothing had to be purified if contaminated, as by blood, urine, or semen. See Istidžjī, Enc. Islam, II, 562; "Tayammum," IV, 708.

These were the noon and afternoon prayers.

The Tunk MS has what is evidently a mistake for this title and adds another title, The Night.

Id al-Fitr, at the end of Ramadān, and 'Id al-Adhā, when sheep are sacrificed on the pilgrimage.

Tūnī, p. 320, and Flügel add "and eclipse of the moon."

Tūnī, p. 320, and Flügel repeat the title "Sun (Al-Mu'lābā)," given in the fifth paragraph of this list, whereas MS 1934 and the Tunk MS give Lamentations (Al-Ma'āmīn).

Tūnī, p. 320, has Al-Isāli, MS 1934 and Flügel give Al-Isāli, while the Tunk MS has Al-Isāliyyah ("The Beginning").

Needless to say, these first four titles were the lives of the first three and the fifth caliphs.

SECTION FIVE

Haydar [ibn Muhammad ibn Nuʿaym] mentioned that his books numbered two hundred and eight, from which total twenty-seven books are left.

Ibn Bābawâyāh
His name was 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā al-Qummī and he was one of the jurists and trustworthy authorities of the Shi'ah. I have read what was written in the handwriting of his son, Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn[4] on the back of a section (of a manuscript): "For so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, I have sorted out the books of my father, 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn, and they number two hundred. My own books number eighteen."

Ibn al-Junayd
Abū 'Ali Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn al-Junayd lived near to our own time and was one of the leaders of the Imāniyah sect of the Shi'ah. Among his books there were:

The Light of Certain Belief and the Triumph of Those with the Knowledge; The Discrimination of One Who Knows and [in] the Sorting-Out of Counterfeit; Scriptures, which was a refutation of the apostates; Gardens of Holiness, about the precepts which he chose for himself; Awakening the Heedless with Divine Knowledge; Deriving the Desired from a Variety of Sermons; Flames Burning for Deceiving Devils, in which he refuted 'Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Baqīl al-Mutawasī.

Understanding the Sources of Court Decisions, following the course of the epistles of al-Tahārī; Eradication of Passion from the Hearts of

110 The Tunk MS contains an additional record, probably inserted by a copyist, as follows, "Then he composed after that something additional to the number mentioned, the total amounting to about three hundred books." (Tūnī, p. 354, sect. 661), assigns the large number of books to the son, Muhammad, and does not give a specific number for the books of the father.

111 This scholar must be distinguished from the great mystic al-Junayd, known as Abū al-Qāsim.

112 Compare these titles with Tūnī, pp. 658-659, sect. 922, to note the variations.

113 The Tunk MS has The Scriptures and the Lights (Al-Āṣīfū wa-ṣ-Muṭahār), in MS 1934 and the Flügel edition the word translated "apostate" is al-muṭāallāh, which may be a proper name.

114 Tūnī, p. 368, sect. 952, has "tongue" instead of "devil."

115 Tūnī, ibid., ends with "al-Tahārī," but Flügel and MS 1934 add "to his secretaries," while the Tunk MS adds "to himself."
the Brothers, about the meaning of the book "Wealth";184 The Holiness of al-Tür and the Fountain of Light, about the meaning of prayer for the Prophet;185 Refutation of Whoever Allows Abrogation of Whatever Has Completed His [Allah's] Law and Glorified His Benefice;186 about the beautiful literary style of the language of the Arabs and their allusions to their desires, dealing with the meaning of allusions regarding things for which the common people and others besides them do not know the reasons.187

He also wrote many other books, among which there were:

Rendering of Judicial Decisions by the Shi'ah—it is a large book, with about twenty chapters, arranged like the lengthy legal books; Al-Ahmadi, about Muhammadan law; The Way of Happiness for People of Good Fortune; a catalogue of his books, compiled by him section by section.188

Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Bābawāyhī189

Among his books there was Guiding to the Right Road. His books amounted to about three hundred. A catalogue of the names of his books is extant.

Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd ibn Abī Zayd

He was one of the people of Naysābūr, where he lived in al-Najārīn on Sikkat Ṭarkhān, in the house of Sākhtawāyh. He was one of the Shi'ah handing down quotations that were known

184 The word translated as "eradication" (al-nīn) is found in Flügel and on the margin of MS 1914. "Wealth" (al-ghanyah) is taken from MS 1914. Al-Tür (see n. 190) Flügel, and the Tonk MS give instead al-qayyah, which probably refers to absence of all but thoughts of Allah; see 'Ali b. 'Uthmān, p. 248.

185 Al-Tür is the Arabic name for Mount Sinai; see Qur'an 52:32; Yāsīn, Geog., III, 358; al-Tür, Enc. Islam, IV, 668. The Tonk MS omits this name.

186 Al-Tür (see n. 190) reads with the word "abrogating." Instead of "his benefits" the last words may be "its benefits." 187 MS 1934, unlike Flügel, makes it clear that this description is composed as one sentence.

188 This paragraph occurs only in the Tonk MS, although Tūsī, p. 269, mentions some of the same items. The title Al-Ahmadi may refer to the man by that name in the Biog. Index, or to something entirely different, as it is not clearly written in the Tonk MS.

189 Flügel and MS 1914 have only "Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali. Among his books there was Guiding." The extra material comes from the Tonk MS.

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for the veracity of his tongue. He was one of the companions of 'Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ali, [al-]Askari] with whom may Allāh be well pleased. Among his books there were:

Guidance; Refutation of the Rāshīd.200

Al-Jalidī

Abū Ahmad 'Abd al-`Azīz ibn Yahyā ibn Ahmad ibn Iṣā al-Jalidī was one of the great men of the Imamīyah sect of the Shi'ah and of those who quoted the old traditions and biographies. I have mentioned his books about biography in their place, in the chapter about historians and genealogists. Among his books about the law there were:

He Who Is Guided and He Who Is Seeking Guidance; Temporary Marriage and What Happens When Dissolving It.204

Abū al-Ḥasan

His name was Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Ahmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib and his birth was during the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.D. 841/95] at al-Ḥasaniyah.206 Publicly he endorsed the school of al-Shāfi'ī, but secretly he held the opinions of the Imamīyah [sect] of the Shi'ah. He was skilled in the law of both schools. I am mentioning his books based on the code of al-Shāfi`i in their proper place. Among his books based on the Shi'ah code there were:

Unveiling the Veil; Preparation; Al-`Idāh;200 Examining (Observing); Dissolution of the 'Abbāsidah;204 Place of Killing;202 The Beneficial in the Ḥadīth; The Way.

200 Al-Najārīn was probably the Carpenters' Bazaar, and the Darb Ṭarkhān an alley near it where they sold jāḥinā, a kind of vegetable. 'Ali ibn Muḥammad al-Askari was the 15th Shi'ah imam; see Ḥittī, Arab., p. 493. MS 1914 omits the book titles; the Tonk MS alone gives the second one.

201 The versions vary in giving the word translated as "dissolving," but the meaning seems to be clear.

202 Al-Ḥasaniyah may be the town listed by Yāsīn, Geog., II, 270. 203 See n. 172.

204 This may refer to the regime of the Banū al-`Abbāsid caliphs, or to their semi-nomad palace; see Yāsīn, Geog., III, 600.

205 Tūsī, p. 246, sect. 586, and the Tonk MS give al-mu'talāh ("place of killing"), which is probably more correct than al-mu'tall ("infirm"), given by Flügel.
Al-Ṣafwānī
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Āḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Qudā‘ah al-Ṣafwānī was an uneducated man whom I met during the year three hundred and forty-six [A.D. 957/58]. He was a tall, thin, and well-dressed man who pretended that he could not read or write, but a reliable authority told me that he only feigned this. He died in the year ——. Among his books there were:
Investigation and Proof; The Humankind of the World (Affability of the Scholar); Day and Night; The Precious Object of Him Who Seeks and the Thing Sought after by Him Who Desires; Temporary Marriage and Its Dissolving, with a Refutation of Anyone Who Forbids It; Friendship for the Family of the Apostle and Mention of the Hatreds of Their Enemies.²⁰⁸

Ibn al-Ja‘ābi al-Qādī
He was Abū Bakr 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īm ibn al-Būrā, known as al-Ja‘ābi, one of the most excellent of the Shi‘a. He went to Sayf al-Dawlah,²⁰⁹ becoming attached to him and serving him exclusively. He died during the year ——. Among his books there were Mention of the Men of Learning and Virtue, Who Cherished Love for the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, for Whom May There Be Peace, with an Explanation about This and Mention, Also, of Something from the Traditions about Him.²¹⁰

Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad ibn ʿIrāshīm ibn Āḥmad al-ʿAmmānī
He lived near to our own time. He took dictation from al-Jalīlī, and died after the year fifty [A.D. 961]. Among his books there was Proof of the Prophets, Guardians,²¹¹ and Saints.

²⁰⁸ Tūsī, p. 271, sect. 395, gives this title in a form different from that of the other versions. He has ahārub, meaning "states" or "conditions," among other things, instead of ḍa‘āb, here translated as "tactics."
²⁰⁹ The Tonk MS adds ibn Ḥamīdūn. The epithet for 'Allī is taken from MS 1334, which is probably correct. Flügel gives a different epithet and the Tonk MS has a variation at the end of the title; both variations are unimportant.
²¹⁰ This probably refers to the Shī‘a imams, who guarded the divine right to rule and the special knowledge for interpretation of the law inherited from 'Allī.

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Ibn al-Ma'ālīm Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān
He belongs to our own time. With him there culminates leadership among his associates of the Imāmīyah [sect] of the Shi‘a, in connection with law, theology, and ancient traditions. He was born during the year three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. Among his books there are something less than two hundred books, large and small, with a well-known and noted catalogue of their names, among which are:²¹²
The Required (Al-Muqaṭṭā‘), about the law; The Supports (Al-Ārā‘ūn), also about the law; The Complete (Al-Kāmil); Clarification (Al-‘Iḥsā‘); Uncovering (Al-‘Iḥā‘); Giving Satisfaction (Al-‘Iqā‘); The Unique Individual (Al-Farā‘); Refutation of Ibn ‘Abdād, concerning the imamate; Guidance (Al-Iṣrā‘); an epistle to his son, which was not completed; Refutation of ‘Aṭī ibn Ṭā‘ā, about the imamate; Refutation of Ibn Ḥuitayḥah, concerning narrative and what is made clear; Fountains and Good Works (Al-U‘yūn wa-al-Maḥāsin); Confounding Judicial Decisions (Taṣlīr al-‘Ajkā‘).

Sources of the Law (Uṣūl al-Fiqh): Refutation of al-Jāhib, regarding the excellence of the Mu’taṣīb; Refutation of [Ja’far] Ibn Ḥarīb, about the imamate; Refutation of Ibn al-Iṣrā‘īlī; The Improvement (Making Beneficial) of the Light (Taṣlīr al-Nūr); about the judicial decisions of the public (abl al-jumhūr); The Explanation, with a refutation of Qurṭūb concerning exegetes of the glorious Qur‘ān; Refutation of Abū ‘Allī al-Jabbā‘ī, concerning exegetes of the Qur‘ān; Sayings (Al-Qawā‘), Chief Questions and Noblest Arguments (Ru‘ās al-Ma‘ālīl wa-‘Arā‘ al-Dalā‘); Making Easy (Al-Tamhīd), about the exegetes of the glorious Qur‘ān; The Conquering (Al-Iṣrā‘ā‘); Examining (Al-Iṣrā‘ā‘).

A Varied Group of the Shi‘a Whose Schools of Thought Are Not Known
Abū Ta‘līb ‘Uhaīd Allāh ibn Āḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Anbā‘ī
He lived at Wāṣṭ and it is said that he was a Shi‘i of the Nīwāsīyāh [sect].²¹³ Būhāsh ibn al-Ḥasan, [surnamed] Abū al-Qāsim,²¹⁴

²¹² The list of books which follows is only given in the Tonk MS, which is so difficult to read that the titles may not be given with entire accuracy.
²¹³ Tūsī, p. 186, sect. 400, gives al-Nīwāsīyāh; Shahrastānī (Haṣābūnūk), Part I, p. 290, has al-Nīwāsīyāh; MS 1334 and Flügel give al-Bihāshīyāh; and the Tonk MS has al-Bāshāshīyāh.
told me that he wrote one hundred and forty books and epistles, among which there were:
The Explanation, concerning the true state of man; The Clear, about knowledge of religion; The Imamate.

Al-Ja'farī

He was related to the doctrines112 of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, with whom may Allāh be well pleased. His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad and with him there was associated the group known as the Ja'fariyah. Among his books there were:
The Imamate; Virtues.

112 “Doctrines” (maḏāhib) is taken from the Tonk and 1934 MSS. Flügel gives the singular form, maḏhab.

The Sixth Part

of the book Al-IPHrist, with accounts of the scholars among the ancients and moderns who composed books, with the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Nadim, known as Abī al-Faraq ibn Abī Yaḥyā ibn al-Warrāq.1

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-IPHrist, in eight sections, with accounts of the scholars and the books which they composed—accounts of the jurists.

The First Section

with accounts of the adherents of Mālik and the names of the books which they composed.

Account of Mālik

Mālik ibn Anas ibn Abī Ṭāhir was from Ḥimyar, but counted as one of the Banū Taym ibn Murrah, a branch of the Quraysh, who cared for him for three years. He was very light in color, to the extent of blondness, tall, large-headed, and bald. He wore fine 'Adan (Aden) clothes, shaved his moustache close, and did not dye his white hair.

1 Under this heading, on the left side of the page, there is written, “An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq.” For the significance of this inscription, see the account of the Byzantine MS in the Introduction. On the right side, lower down, it written “Chapter on the Jurists in the Book Al-IPHrist.”

2 For the great Ḥimyar Tribe of South Arabia, see “Ḥimyar,” Enc. Islām, II, 310. For the Banū Taym, see Quraysh, Muʿātif, p. 33 bottom.
He went to the mosque, attended prayers, visited the sick, and administered justice. Later, however, he stopped [attending] sessions at the mosque and prayed in his own home. He also gave up following funerals, for which he was blamed, but he said not everyone could give his excuse. 6

Accusation was maliciously brought against him to Ja'far ibn Sulaymān, the governor of al-Madinah, who was told, “He does not consider your appointment to be valid.” So he [the governor] summoned him, stripped him, and beat him with whips. 7 Then they stretched him until his shoulder was dislocated, seriously injuring him. But after that he continued to hold a high and exalted position, as though the blows were an adornment to him. He was one of the righteous servants of Allah, the legal authority of al-Hijāz, and during his time its intellectual leader. He died during the year one hundred and seventy-nine [A.D. 795/96], when he was eighty-five years old. He was buried in the Baqī. 8 Among his books there were:

The Level Path (Al-Muwaṣṣṭa'); his epistle to al-Raṣīd, which was quoted by Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was a descendant of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, with whom may Allah be well pleased.

The Adherents of Mālik Who Learned from Him and Quoted Him 9 Al-Qa' nabī

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslimah ibn Qa' nab al-Hārrīthī, and he was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He quoted Mālik in connection with his sources of the law and [the book] The Level Path (Al-Muwaṣṣīta'). 2 He died during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 816], and was a reliable and righteous man.

6 This probably meant that when he grew too old to follow funerals, he said that not everybody had the excuse that he had, referring to old age.

7 These may have been rawhide scourges or rods of bamboo or some similar material. See also “Mālik ibn Anas,” Enc. Islam, III, 206.

8 This was Baqī' al-Ghuzzq, the cemetery of al-Madinah. See Yaqūt, Geogr., I, 702.

9 In this title the word qabt is translated as "adherents," as some of the men mentioned were probably not pupils of Mālik, but persons who supported his legal system. Accounts of Mālik can be found in Khalqānī, II, 545; Nawawī, Tadhbīh al-‘Am̱s, p. 530; “Mālik in Anas,” Enc. Islam, III, 305–309; and also in books on Muslim law.

As the system of medieval education did not encourage new ideas, most of the scholars quoted the great masters, writing commentaries about their works, rather than initiating new opinions of their own.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Wahh  
- He quoted from the books and ordinances of Mālik, including his The Level Path (Al-Muwaṣṣīta'), and was upright and reliable.

Ma‘n ibn 'Īsā al-Quzzāz  
- He was one of the most respected of the adherents of Mālik, under whom he studied and whose books and compositions he quoted.

Dā‘ūd ibn Abī Dhanbar and His Son, Sa‘īd  
- They both quoted Mālik, Dā‘ūd being a reliable authority.

Abū Bakr [ibn 'Abd Allāh] and Ismā‘īl, the Sons of Abū Uways  
- ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn ‘Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Sālahah  
- He was called al-Ma‘ṣīhī. Suhayrah, the daughter of al-Husayn, for both of whom [father and daughter] may there be peace, nicknamed Abū Sālahah with this name, Rehāshāh, which is a dye used at al-Madinah. Being one of the most respected followers of Mālik, he wrote books about the law. Among them he compiled a large book, which included ——.

‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamām al-Mā‘ī  

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim  
- He was an Egyptian who quoted Mālik, learning from him.

Ashshāb ibn ‘Abd al-'Azīz  
- He was an Egyptian, who quoted Mālik.

Al-Layth ibn Sa‘īd  
- He was one of the followers of Mālik and a member of his school [of law], but he later had opinions of his own. He corresponded with Mālik, asking him questions. His books about [the method of] personal opinion were:

History: Questions, about the law.
Ibn al-Mu‘adhdhal

He was ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ghaylān al-Misri.4 He studied under ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Majashshīn, whereas Ismā‘il ibn Isḥaq al-Qābi learned from Ibn al-Mu‘adhdhal. Ibn al-Mu‘adhdhal also studied with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim and ‘Abd Allāh ibn Walīh. Ibn al-Mu‘adhdhal died ———. His books were: ———.

Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥamīdābīd, Abū Ismā‘īl

He died during the year two hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 888/89].

Account of Ismā‘il ibn Iṣḥāq al-Qābi and His Son

They both followed the code of Mālik. Ismā‘il ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Ismā‘il ibn Ḥamīdābīd ibn Zayd ibn Dīrham, surnamed ———, was the person who explained the legal system of Mālik, causing it to become widespread. He argued about it, writing books and calling people’s attention to it, making them enthusiastic about it.

He was virtuous, a legal authority endowed with superior qualities, and a judge. Ismā‘il ibn Iṣḥāq died during the year two hundred and eighty-two [A.D. 895/96], Wednesday night, the seventh before the end of Dhī al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month]. Among his books there were:

Judicial Decisions of the Qur’ān, a large book; Terrors of the Resurrection, about three hundred leaves; Al-Mabsūt (Spread Out, Cheerful); Proofs of the Qur’ān; Witnesses of (According to) “The Level Path” (Al-Muwata‘); Raids; Refutation of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḫāṣan, which he did not finish.5

Ḥamīdābīd ibn Iṣḥāq

He was the brother of Ismā‘il ibn Iṣḥāq, and an authority on the law. Among his books there were: ———.

4 This name is in the Tonk MS, but not in the other texts. The name which follows, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Majashshīn, is not listed in the Biog. Index, as it evidently is in an abbreviated form. It very likely is intended to be the great-grandson of a man named al-Majashshīn; see ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ibn ‘Abd Allāh in the Biog. Index. Or perhaps it is meant to be the grandson of al-Majashshīn. See Biog. Index, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, and also “Mālik ibn Awaž,” Enc. Islam, III, 208.
5 This must have been Muḥammad ibn al-Ḫāṣan al-Shaybānī, who lived two generations earlier than Ismā‘il and followed Abū Ḥanīfah rather than Mālik.
Al-Abhārī

He was Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Aḥd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Šālīḥ al-Abhārī. He was born at Abhar in the region of al-Jabal, during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92]. He died on Saturday, the fifth of Shawwāl [ninth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and seventy-five [A.D. 988/89]. Among his books there were:
Refutation of al-Muẓanī, concerning thirty questions about ——— of al-Madīnah; the delightful book about Sources of the Law; The Superiority of al-Madīnah over Makkah.

Ghulām al-Abhārī

He was Abū Ḥaḍār ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Aḥd Allāh al-Abhārī, Ghulām Abū Bakr. He died ———. Among his books there were:
Questions of Disagreement; Refutation of Ibn 'Uḥayyah, seventy questions which he did not complete, about the questions of al-Muẓanī.

Al-Qaṣṣawānī

He is 'Aḥd Allāh ibn Abī Zayd al-Qaṣṣawānī, who follows the code of Mālik and is one of the most excellent men of our time. Among his books there are:
The Derived Classification; a book which he has called The Abridgment, embracing nearly fifty thousand questions; Rare Forms in the Law.

Abī Ḥanīfah

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fīrārī, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed; accounts of Abī Ḥanīfah and his 'Irāqī adherents, adherents of [the method of] personal opinion.1

The name of Abī Ḥanīfah was al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit ibn Zūrī. He was a silk worker at al-Kūfah. Zūrī was one of the protégés of Taym Allāh ibn Tha'labah from Kūbāl. It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū Qaṣīf.2 He was one of the second generation who had met a number of the Companions.3 He was a pious and ascetic person, as was also his son Ḥammād [ibn al-Nu'mān]. Among his sons there was Ḥammād, surnamed Abū Ḥaḍār, who died at al-Kūfah. The sons of Ḥammād were Abū Ḥayyān, Ismā'īl, 'Uṭmān, and 'Umar.4 Ismā'īl ibn Ḥammād administered the judiciary of al-Baṣrah for al-Ma'mūn.

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1 In MS 1934, the name Abī Ḥanīfah is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. For the legal code of this authority, see "Abī Ḥanīfah," Enc. Islam, I, 40; Schacht, Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence, p. 204; Khadduri, Law in the Middle East, p. 38; Khalidin, Maqādīkhā (Rosenthal), III, 6; Wael', Al-Janāhib al-Muḏafah, and the jurist's own famous book, Al-Fīrārī al-Abhārī. For the followers of Abī Ḥanīfah, see Mahmūdī, Fadāṣif, p. 21.

2 For Taym Allāh, see Qaṣṣawānī, Ma'dīrī, p. 48, and "Taimālīhā," Enc. Islam, IV, 663. For Kūbāl, see Yāṣīt, Gorgg., IV, 220. The Banū Qaṣīf was probably a local tribe.

3 Al-Qaṣṣawānī were the "second generation," coming after al-S̄āḥibah, Muhammad's Companions, who followed him from Makkah to al-Madīnah.

4 Ismā'īl is the only one of Ḥammād's sons listed in the Biog. Index.
A poet, whom I believe was Musawir al-Warrāq, in praising Abū Ḫanīfah said:
If some day people measure us by rare legal interpretations,
We shall give them as a true standard the legacy of the system of
Abū Ḫanīfah.

If a jurist hears of it, he remembers it,
Setting it in ink in his own manuscript.

One of the authorities on the Ḥadīth, Ḥabīb Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, said:
There adorned the land and those in it the Imam of the Muslims, Abū Ḫanīfah,
With his Ḥadīth and his legal knowledge of the Ḥadīth, like the verses of
the Psalms in the Scripture.
Among the Easterners and Westerners and at al-Kūfah there is none
equal to him.
I saw that those finding fault with him were foolish, opposed to the
truth and weak in argument.  

Abū Ḫanīfah died during the year one hundred and fifty [A.D. 767] at the age of seventy. He was buried in the Cemetery of the
Khayzuran, on the East Bank in 'Askar al-Mahdi.  
Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Umārah prayed for him [at his funeral].

Ibn Abī Khaythamah quoted this [preceding paragraph] from Sulaymān ibn Abī Shaykh. Among his [Abū Ḫanīfah’s] books
there were:
The Greatest Book of the Law; his epistle to al-Baṣṭī; The Learner and
the Taught, which was quoted by Mūqaddim; Refutation of the Qadarīyah.

Learning was his ingathering, land and sea, east and west, far and
near. May Allāh be well pleased with him.

1 On the margins of MS 1934 there are a number of corrections, in addition to a
longer note which is not part of the original text.
4 This quarter of Baghdād called 'Askar al-Mahdī is better known as al-Raqīfah.
The cemetery was in East Baghād. See Le Strange, Baghād, pp. 42, 169, 191, and
Coke, Baghād, p. 41. Ibn Abī Khaythamah in the sentence which follows was probably Abūnā ibn Zuhayr.
5 The Tum MS, which omits several titles, adds “al-Jah,” (Postponing), which was
reduced by al-Bundahī."
Ibn Abī Laylā

He was Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā, the name of Abī Laylā being Bahīshr. He was a descendant of Umayyad ibn al-Julāḥ, but it is said that his lineage was unsound. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Shubramah said, in lampooning him:

How can they expect you to give a judicial decision
When you are not sure of judgment about yourself?
You suppose that you are descended from Ibn al-Julāḥ,
But far removed is your claim from your origin.

He administered justice for the Banū Umayyah and descendants of al-‘Abbās [Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids]. Even before the time of Abū Ḥanīfah he gave legal interpretations (jāmi‘a) according to [the method of] personal opinion. He died during the year one hundred and forty-eight [A.H. 765/66], while he was administering the judiciary for Abū Ja‘far [al-Mansūr]. Among his books there was Ordinances.

Account of Abū Yūsuf

His name was Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥabīb ibn Sa‘d ibn Ḥabīb, Sa‘d being a sayyid of the Banū Ḥabībi. Abū Yūsuf quoted al-A‘mash and Ḥishām ibn ‘Urwah. He was a memorizer of the Hadith, and later became attached to Abū Ḥanīfah, [the method of the] personal opinion winning him over. He administered the judiciary of Baghdād, continuing to do so until he died, during the year one hundred and eighty-two [A.H. 798/99], during the caliphate of al-Rāshid.

He had a son named Yūsuf ibn Abī Yūsuf who was a judge during his father’s lifetime. He died after him, during the year one hundred and ninety-two [A.H. 807/808].

14 MS 1934 and the Tonik MS have Ḥabulhr, whereas Fligel and Qutaybah, Mādārij, p. 248, give Yassar. Kshākhlan, II, 84, expresses doubt about the name, which is omitted in the Biqā‘ Index.

15 A sayyid is used either for a chief or for a descendant of the Prophet. The tribal name Ḥabib cannot be identified and may not be properly written.

16 In order to supplement the verses of the Qur‘ān for a knowledge of the law, theology, and ritual, it was necessary to use the Hadith, which contains the sayings and precedents of the Prophet. Thus a scholar could earn a living by memorizing the Hadith, in order to teach it and offer it for reference.
CHAPTER SIX

Muhammad ibn al-Hasan

He was named Abu `Abd Allâh and was a protégé of the Banû Shaybân. He was born at Wâsît and brought up at al-Kufah. He studied the Hadith, hearing [the lectures of] Mu`îr ibn Kâdisîn, Mâlik ibn Mas`ûd, `Umar ibn al-Dzâzîr, al-Juwâlî and al-Thawrî. He attended the sessions [classes] of Abu Hanîfah, learning from him and being won over by [the method of] personal opinion. Then he moved to Baghdaîd, where he lived, and [pupils] heard about the Hadîth from him and from him also learned about [the method of] personal opinion.

He moved to al-Raqâq, where al-Rashîd appointed him to administer the judiciary, [but soon] dismissed him. When, however, al-Rashîd went to Khûrâsân, he accompanied him. He died at al-Rayy during the year one hundred and eighty-nine [A.H. 804/805], which was the year in which al-Khâdîjî died. He was fifty-eight years old.

He lived at Bâb al-Shîmîn on Darb Abu Hanîfah, attending his classes and reading his books to him. Al-Râwandi, who wrote the book The Government, was his neighbor on the same street. He used to gather together the Râwandiyyah, sons of the government, for prayer, The Poor Tax; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Rare Forms of (Unusual Anecdotes about) Prayer; Marriage; Divorce; Emancipation and Mothers of Children; Surrender and Sales; the large book, Selling on Commission (Al-Mudâbûl); the small book, Selling on Commission; the large book, Wages (Rentals); the small book, Wages (Rentals); Money Changing; Mortgage; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shu`f’ah); Menstruation; the large book, Plantations; the small book, Plantations; Consultation, that is partnership; Trusteeship; Loaning (Borrowing).

Trusteeship; Transfer of a Debt; Security; Conditions; Claim and Proof; Stratagem; large book, The Licensed (Permitted); small book, The Licensed; Division [of property in a will]; Ransom (Blood Money); Violating Agreements of al-Mudâbûl and al-Mukâtîf; Relationship (Al-Wâlî); Nonakoholic Drink; Stealing and Highway Robbery; The Hunt and the Sacrificial Victims; Emancipation in Illness; Selling

and he [al-Râwandi] also planned that on the day when Muhammad had his class he should come to sit in the mosque and to read it [the book The Government] to them. Then if one of the pupils of Muhammad read from his books, they [the Râwandiyyah] shouted, silencing him. Muhammad, therefore, stopped meeting at that mosque and went to the Mu`âlîq Mosque, which is at Bâb Darb Asad, where it approaches the Sibî`î Rûmî. Rûmî was a transcriptor. It was there, therefore, that the books were read to him.

The books of Muhammad about the sources [of the law] were:

Prayer; The Poor Tax; Rites of the Pilgrimage; Rare Forms of (Unusual Anecdotes about) Prayer; Marriage; Divorce; Emancipation and Mothers of Children; Surrender and Sales; the large book, Selling on Commission (Al-Mudâbûl); the small book, Selling on Commission; the large book, Wages (Rentals); the small book, Wages (Rentals); Money Changing; Mortgage; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shu`f’ah); Menstruation; the large book, Plantations; the small book, Plantations; Consultation, that is partnership; Trusteeship; Loaning (Borrowing).

Trusteeship; Transfer of a Debt; Security; Conditions; Claim and Proof; Stratagem; large book, The Licensed (Permitted); small book, The Licensed; Division [of property in a will]; Ransom (Blood Money); Violating Agreements of al-Mudâbûl and al-Mukâtîf; Relationship (Al-Wâlî); Nonakoholic Drink; Stealing and Highway Robbery; The Hunt and the Sacrificial Victims; Emancipation in Illness; Selling

Bâb Darb Asad was very likely the gateway of a street in the bazaar, which was located at night to keep out thieves. Sibî`î Rûmî ("Alley of Rûmî") was perhaps the passage leading to where al-Rûmî lived. As there were no textbooks and writing material was scarce, a scholar like Muhammad ibn al-Hasan would often dictate to his pupils, largely from memory. They would make their own textbooks by taking dictation. Then they would read back to their master what they had written and, if it was correct, he would have a scribe rewrite the material in the form of a composed book. Rûmî was very likely employed to form a book from the notes of the pupils.

Compare with the list in Broekelmann, Geschichte, Supplement, I, 289.

Flügel and the Tock MS have al-kahîrî ("large") and al-sagîrî ("small"), whereas MS 1934 has al-kabîrî and al-sagîrî. The first forms would refer to the sizes of the books and the second to the sizes of the plantations.

Khitayat is "violating agreements." MS 1934 does not have concurrent signs. Flügel gives jumayyî ("iniquitous"). Al-mudabîrî is one who makes a declaration of freedom for a slave, effective at the time of the master’s death. Al-mudabîrî is a slave who ransoms himself.
CHAPTER SIX

on Credit and Debt; 28 Denial and Testimony; Pious Endowments and Alms; Oppression (Violation); Houses; The Gift and Alms; Oaths, Vows, and Expiations; Wills.

Calculation of Wills; The Sound; The Hermaphrodite and the Impotent (al-Mafqūd); 29 Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion; Aversion; 29 Approval; The Thing Penned Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); The Thing Found and Held in Trust; The Fugitive, 30 the small Computation; Sources of the Law; there was also a book by Muhammad known as The Pilgrimage, which included many chapters; 31 The large Computation; lectures of Muhammad on the law, which were Al-Kaysīnīyī; 31 Increases; Increases of Increases; Choice; Fortresses (Refuges); Peculiarities; 32 Restitution of the People of al-Madinah; Unusual Anecdotes about Muhammad, a quotation of Ibn Rurān.

Al-Lu‘lū‘i

He was al-Hasan ibn Ziyād al-Lu‘lū‘i, surnamed Abū ‘Alī, 33 one of the pupils of Abū Ḥanīfah, who studied under him and listened to him [lecture]. He was a superior man, learned in the doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah in connection with [the method of] personal opinion. Yahyā ibn ‘Adām said, "I have never seen a jurist greater than al-Hasan ibn Ziyād." He died during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20]. Al-Fahūrī 34 said that his books were:

His quoting of "The Unique" (Al-Mujarrad) of Abū Ḥanīfah; 35 The Training of a Judge; Peculiarities (Customs); Meaning of the Faith; Expenses; The Land Tax; The Ordinances; Wills.

28 The first word of the title may be al-‘āyūn or al-‘āyūn, meaning among other things "living on credit," "easy money," "debt," "high interest." The word translated "debt" is al-‘āyūn.
29 The Tokh and 1924 MSS give The Sound as a separate title. Fligel makes it part of the title which follows.
30 This is probably about forcing against the will in marriage.
31 This title probably refers to a slave.
32 MS 1934 omits "many chapters." The Tokh MS places this title and descriptive phrase close to the end of the list.
33 See Ḥājī Qāhilī, V, 268. These were lectures dictated by Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan to Sulaymān ibn Sī‘d al-Kaysīnī.
34 After this title the title of the large book Wages (Remuneration) is repeated.
35 MS 1934 leaves a blank for this surname.
36 Probably Abū’l-Muḥammad ibn Sālimān.
37 As a pupil, he probably took down this book from dictation and issued it as a completed book edited by himself.

SECTION TWO

Hilāl ibn Yahyā

He was surnamed Abū Bakr and known as Hilāl al-Ra‘y. He upheld the legal system of the people of al-‘Irāq, and lived at al-Baṣrah, where he died during the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859/60]. Among his books there were:

Pleading (Arraigning) at Court; 38 Explanation of the Conditions; Ordinances.

Iṣā ibn Abān

Abū Mūsā Iṣā ibn Abān ibn Ṣa’dāqah was a jurist, rapid in making decisions. It is said that he drew upon Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī only to a small extent. It is also said that he did not meet with Abū Yūnus and that the new ideas in connection with which he refrained from he took from a book of Suṣyān ibn Saḥbān. Iṣā was a virtuous shaykh. He administered justice for ten years, and died during al-Muḥarram [the first Muslim month] in the year two hundred and twenty [A.D. 835]. There were prayed for him at the funeral Qur’ān ibn Ja’far ibn Sulaymān.

I have read, written in the handwriting of al-Ḥījāzī:

Iṣā ibn Abān ibn Ṣa’dāqah ibn Abdī ibn Marwān ibn al-Muqālimān came from among the people of Basīt. 39 Ṣa’dāqah was responsible for the currency inspection and tax collection departments during the days of al-Maṣūr, and it was he who gave counsel to al-Manṣūr, blaming him for the leniency of his chamberlains and saying, "Employ men who are tough!" Then al-Manṣūr asked, "Who may they be?" He replied, "Buy a number from al-Yāmīmān, 40 where they bring up fieldmice." So he bought them, making them his chamberlains. Among them there was al-Rahī al-Ḥījābī.

The books of Iṣā ibn Abān were:

The Proofs; 41 Information about the One; The Compilation; Confirmation of Analogy; Legal Interpretation by Personal Opinion.

38 The texts give al-maḍā‘irah, but the word is almost certainly meant for al-maḍā‘irah, which means pleading or arraigning at court.
39 For this town in Persia, see Yāṣīr, Geog., III, 891.
40 The well-known region of eastern Arabia.
41 Fligel gives the singular form.
Suflīn ibn Saḥbān

He was one of the upholders of [the method of] personal opinion, a jurist, and a theologian of the Murjīʿah. Among his books there were: ——.

Qadīʾ ibn Jaʿfar

He was a jurist and one of the upholders of [the method of] personal opinion. He learned from Abū Ḥanīfah and was also a Muṣṭafī. I have never seen any books of his about the law, but [his books] on theology were: ——.

Ibn Samāʾah

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Samāʾah al-Tamīmī. He learned from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and was a jurist, with written books and [material about] sources of the law. He died during the year two hundred and thirty-three [A.D. 847/848], having administered the judiciary on the West Side of Baghdād. Among his books there were:

The Training of a Judge; Documents and Judicial Records.

He also quoted the books of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, which we have already mentioned.

Al-Ḥāṣib al-Ḥāṣibī

He was Abū Sulaymān al-Ḥāṣibī, who learned from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]. He was pious and devout, an authority on the law and the Ḥadīth. He lived on Darb Asad and studied the books of Muḥammad with him.

I read written in the handwritting of al-Ḥijāzī:

At the time of the rebellion against al-ʿAbīn, he [al-Ḥāṣibī] saw a man who passed by rapidly, while a man waving (showing) his sword was running after him, shouting "Seize him!" So they held the fugitive for the pursuer, who overtook him and killed him. Then Abū Sulaymān said to them, "Do you know the men?" They replied, "We don't know either of them." So he [al-Ḥūṣaini] said, "Do you seize a man in order to let him be killed?" Then he swore that he would not live with them and moved to Tāʾṣīḥ al-ʿAkkī, where Ibn al-Balkhī heard his books [read or dictated]. By the time that the rebellion became quiet, he was established in the quarter. But he went back to Darb Asad and bought a house saying, "Today I have become a Baghdādī, for a man who has not lived in a city and acquired a house is not one of its people." Then he said, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū Ṭālib, may Allāh be well pleased with him, was a native of al-Kūfah, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abū Ṭālib, because they acquired houses in those places."

Abū Sulaymān lived in this quarter until he died, during the year ——. There was nothing which he composed, but he transmitted the books of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan.

‘Alī al-Rāzī

He was surnamed ——. He upheld the legal system of the people of al-ʿIrāq, being one of their learned men. Among his books there were:

The large book, Questions; the small book, Questions; The Compilation.

Al-Khaṣṣāf

His name was ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṣaḥmūr al-Shaybānī al-Khaṣṣāf, surnamed Abī Bakr. He was a jurist and an expert for division and calculation [of inheritance], and acquainted with the legal systems of his associates. He held a high position under al-Muḥtadī, so that the people said that he would revive the regime of Ibn Abī Duwād. He was chief of the sect of the Juhuniyah and it was also al-Khaṣṣāf who wrote a book about the land tax for al-Muḥtadī.

46 The first arcade built in Baghdād, north of the Round City, see Le Strange, Baghdād, p. 130; Yaḥyā, Geog., III, 489. The name which follows, Ibn al-Balkhī, cannot be identified.

47 This phrase is used only in the ʿAlīṣī edition.

48 As a pupil he probably took down from dictation or transcribed the books of his teacher. The text does not indicate when the quotation from al-Ḥūṣaini ends.

49 He was the judge who persuaded the Caliph al-Maʿmūn to enforce acceptance of the dogma that the Qurʾān was created; see Hitī, ʿArbāʾ, p. 410.
When al-Muhtadi was assassinated, [the home of] al-Khaṣṣāf was pillaged and it is recorded that some of his books disappeared.\(^{48}\)

Among his books there was one which he wrote about rites of the pilgrimage which was not given out to the public. He died during the year ——. Among his books there were:

- Stratagems;\(^{49}\) Wills; large book, Conditions; small book, Conditions; Presenting a Wet Nurse (al-Rīḍā) or the Suckling (al-Raḥīḍā); Documents and Judicial Records; The Training of the Judge; The Land Tax; for al-Muhtadi; Expenditures; Acknowledgment of Inheritors by Mutual Agreement; Al-ʿĀṣir;\(^{50}\) Its Legal Determinations and Calculations; Expenditures for Close Relations; Judicial Decisions Related to Pious Endowments; Measurement of the Kaʿbah, the Mosque, and the Tomb.\(^{41}\)

Ibn al-Ṭalāʾi

He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ al-Ṭalāʾi, a man outstanding among his contemporary associates. He was a jurist, pious and loyal to his convictions, and it was he who analyzed the legal system of Abū ʿAbd Allāh, arguing on his behalf and showing his pretexts, while supporting him with the Ḥadīth and making him loved in men's hearts. He was, moreover, one of those who based [judicial decisions] on the Qurʾān, although he upheld the doctrine of the People of Justice and Oneness [the Muʿtazilah].

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Iḥṣāq [al-Nāḍim]: I have read written in the handwriting of al-Ḥijāz:\(^{24}\)

Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ said, "Iḥṣāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Murʿabī, a friend of mine, related to me [as follows]: 'The Commander of the Faithful summoned me and said to me, 'Choose for me among the jurists a man who has written about the Ḥadīth, using it for judicial decisions with personal opinion (al-ra'y). He must be tall of stature, of pleasant disposition, originating from Khurāṣān, and reared in our regime, so that he may serve as advocate for our rule, until I bestow on him a judgeship.'"

He [Iḥṣāq] continued, 'I said, 'I know of no one answering this description other than Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ, so shall I confer with him about the matter?' He [the Caliph] said, 'Do so and, if he consents, bring him to me.' [When Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ was brought to the audience, it was said to him] "It is yours, oh, Abū ʿAbd Allāh." Then I [Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ] replied, 'Oh, Emit, I have no need for this, for a judgeship is advantageous for three reasons only: for a person to gain wealth, or honor, or fame. As for me, my wealth is plentiful, for I am rich. Even if the Emit should offer me money to distribute,\(^{44}\) and even if I needed something from him, I would not accept it. As for fame, there has already come to me enough of it from the scholars and jurists!'\(^{45}\)

He died during the year two hundred and fifty-seven, or some say six [A.D. 809/7], on Tuesday the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [last Muslim month]. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Tāhir prayed for him [at the funeral] in the house of Tāhirah,\(^{46}\) the daughter of Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tāhir. He was buried in the house in which he had lived. Among his books there were:

- The large book, Confirmation of the Traces (al-ʿKhāṭāʾ, Rare Forms (Unusual Accents); Selling on Commission (Al-Muṣārāthah).

Qutaybah ibn Ziyād al-Qādī

He was one of the great authorities of his time for the legal systems of the people of al-Īraq, being skillful in connection with statements and conditions. It was he who wrote the authorization

\(^{48}\) Al-Muhtadi was assassinated A.D. 870, when Sīnārā was plundered by the Turkish guards.

\(^{49}\) Al-buṣāṣ ("stratagems") is probably correct. It refers to illegal methods or frauds.

\(^{50}\) This word probably refers to the juice pressed from grapes which was used for distilling and also for making a kind of molasses called dāhā.

\(^{41}\) The Kaʿbah was the shrine at Makka, while "the Mosque and the Tomb" evidently refer to the mosque where the Prophet was buried at al-Madinah.

\(^{42}\) The 1914 and Tawq MSS give a different name, which cannot be identified, so that Flügel may be correct in giving al-Ḥijāz.
for the pious foundation which Ḥusayn ibn al-Junayd established, giving him a share in the foundation. Among his books there were: The Conditions, which I saw in its completed form; Documents and Judicial Records, Compacts and Covenants, a large book.

Al-Ṭājīwī

He was Abū Jaʿfar Ḥusayn ibn Mūhammad ibn Salāmah ibn Saʿd-al-Malik al-Azdi al-Ṭājīwī, from one of the villages of Egypt called Ṭājū. He reached the age of eighty, but his beard was more black than white. He was a jurist employing the legal systems of the people of al-ʿIrāq. During his time he was unique for his learning and asceticism. It is said that he worked over a book for Abū al-Ṭājīwī about the marriage of the lawfully owned, in which he made lawful for him marriage of slaves, but Allāh knows the truth about it. He died during the year three hundred and twenty-two [a.d. 934]. Among his books there were: disagreements among the jurists—it was a large book, which he did not finish, but he did produce nearly eighty chapters arranged systematically, like books on relationship (al-walāʾ), so that it is not necessary for us to mention them. In addition to this there were among his books: the large book about Conditions; the small book about Conditions; The Small Abridgment; The Large Abridgment; Commentary on the "Large Compilation" of Mūhammad; Commentary on the "Small Compilation"; Documents and Judicial Records; Bills; Shares of Inheritance; Explanation of the Confusion in the Hadith of the Apostle of Allāh, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace, about one thousand leaves [in length]; Refutation of the Book "The Untrustworthy," against al-Kardhī; Judicial Decisions of the Qurʾān; Explanation of the Meaning of Traces (al-Āthār); The Dogmas; a small book, Adjustment between Our Young and Our More Experienced.

ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Qummī

He was one of the famous ʿIrāqī jurists and excellent scholars who were authors. He was summoned Abū al-Ḥasan. He dealt with the books of al-Shīʿī, refuting them. Among his books there were:

44 For this town and its true birthplace, see Vāqī, Geopol. Ill, 516.
45 The text MS adds "and as an authority for the law and the Hadith."
46 This was almost certainly Mūhammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī.
47 The translation follows the text and 1914 MSS, as Pâgès gives Refutation as one title the The Untrustworthy as a separate following title. For this book, see Chap. V, sect. 3, near n. 21.

Abū Hālid al-Qāḍī

He was ʿAbd al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, a man of great ability, who derived his learning from the shaykhs of al-Ṭāṣrah. He administered the judiciary at Damascus, al-Kūfah, and al-Karkh. Al-Ṭājīwī and al-Dabbās studied under him, and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kardhī became acquainted with him. Among his books there were:

Documents and Judicial Records; Shares of Inheritance; The Training of the Judge.

Ibn Mawṣīl

He was ——, a jurist employing the legal systems of the people of al-ʿIrāq. Among his books there were:

The large book, Conditions; Compacts and Judicial Records.

Abū Saʿd al-Ḥusayn ibn Zayd al-Shurūṭī

He was one of the people of al-ʿIrāq, among whose books there were: Compacts; the large book, Conditions; the small book, Conditions.

Yahyā ibn Bakīr

He was from al-ʿIrāq, and among his books there was Conditions.

Al-Bardhāʾī

His name was Abū Ahmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. He was an ʿIrāqī jurist with whom Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kardhī studied. He died during the uprising of the Qurʾānīs, while he was on the pilgrimage. Among his books there were: ——.

69 MS 1934 repeats the name ʿAlī al-Rāzī, but it is evidently an error.
70 Al-Ṭājīwī was probably Abū Hālid ibn Mūhammad ibn Salāmah. As al-Dabbās cannot be identified, the name is not in the Biot Index. The form in MS 1934 is badly written and may be meant for a different name.
71 For the Qurʾānīs, see the Glossary. Abū Ahmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bardhāʾī probably died about A.D. 910, when these rebels attacked Makkah.
Al-Karkhi

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Karkhī, the 'Iraqī jurist, was a man whose counsel was sought and from whom learning was acquired. The most prominent legal authorities of the period studied under him and he was unique in his time because he was not obliged to defend himself, and was not involved in disputes. His birth was during the year 911 [A.D. 951/52] during Shabaṭ [eighth Muslim month]. Among his books there were:

Abridgment in the Law; an investigation of drinks and making date wine legal.

Al-Rażī, Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Alī ————

He died on Sunday, the seventh of the first ten days of Dhu al-Hijjah [last Muslim month], during the year three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81]. Among his books there were:

Commentary on the “Abridgment” of al-Taḥāwī [Ahmad ibn Muhammad]; Judicial Decisions of the Qur'an; Commentary on the “Large Compilation” of Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan, the first manuscript; the delightful book, Rules of the Pilgrimage; Commentary on the “Large Compilation,” the second manuscript.

[Al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī] Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baqrī

Mention of him has already been made in the chapter about theologians. The [books which] he composed about the law were:

Commentary on the “Abridgment” of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī; Drinks and Making Legal Date Wine; Prohibition of Temporary Marriage; Legality of Prayer in the Persian Language.

Ibn al-Uṣbānī

He was an 'Iraqī, among whose books there was Conditions.

Al-Farḥī

He was an 'Iraqī, among whose books there was Conditions.

Al-Shāfi‘ī and His Adherents

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Section of the Sixth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, with an account of al-Shāfi‘ī and his adherents.¹

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn ʿIsā al-Nadīm: I read written in the handwriting of Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥāšibi in the book Penetrating (Inside) Information in History that he was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿIsā, a descendant of Shāfi‘ī ibn al-Ṣāhid ibn ‘Ubayd ibn ‘Abd Yazīd ibn Ḥāshim ibn al-Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Abd Manāf. I also read in his handwriting that he said:

There appeared a man of the Banū Abī Lahab,² of the region of North Africa, who came to Ḥārūn al-Rashīd accompanied by al-Shāfi‘ī. Then al-Rashīd said to the Lahabī, “Do you brand yourself with this name [that of Abī Lahab]?” He went on, “Which of the two was the more important and influential, my ancestor or yours? You do not know the story of your own ancestor and what his position was.” Then he made him hear about all sorts of disagreeable things with which he might have to deal and it was said that he ordered his imprisonment.³ He then turned

¹ In MS 1914, the phrase “Al-Shāfi‘ī and His Adherents” is placed on a page by itself preceding the title of the section. Al-Shāfi‘ī, translated “adherents,” almost certainly refers to pupils and also to later followers. The account of al-Shāfi‘ī should be compared with Khallākīn, II, 396; Ḥāšibi, Irshād, VII(6), 367; “al-Shāfi‘ī,” Enc. Islam, IV, 252.

² See Qotaybah, Ma‘ṣūf, p. 60.

³ The word for “with which he might have to deal” might be translated in other ways, but this seems to give the meaning. The point of this story is that Abī Lahab was the principal opponent of the Prophet, whereas both the Caliphs al-Rashīd and al-Shāfi‘ī were descended from Ḥāshim, the Prophet’s grandfather, by ancestors loyal to Islam.
to al-Shaфи‘i saying, "What has caused you to go along with him?" He [al-Shaфи‘i] replied, "I am a man who has had hard luck, and therefore I set forth to travel through the country seeking favor, so that is why I accompanied him." Then he [the Caliph] asked al-Raabı‘ ibn al-Raabı‘ [the chamberlain] to give him [al-Shaфи‘i] a present, which he did bestow on him. Then he [al-Shaфи‘i] lived in the City of Peace [Baghdadí].

Muhammad ibn Shuja‘ al-Thalqi said to us, "He used to pass us by, clad like a singer, riding a donkey, wearing a coarse mantle and with his hair curled." He went on to say:

He was attached to Muhammad ibn al-Hasan for a year, so as to write down his books. They related to us what al-Raabı‘ ibn Sulaymãn quoted from al-Shaфи‘i, who said, "I wrote down for Muhammad a camel’s load of books."4

Al-Shaфи‘i was firm in upholding the Shafi‘i tenets. One day after a man had asked him a question and he had replied, the man said, "You have misquoted ‘Ali ibn Abi Tálib, with whom may Allah be well pleased." Then he [al-Shaфи‘i] said to him, "Prove this about ‘Ali ibn Abi Tálib and I’ll put my check on the ground and confess I went astray, so as to change my version to what he really said." That same day when there was a gathering of some of the descendants of Abü Tálib, he [al-Shaфи‘i] said, "I am not going to speak in a meeting where a single one of them [a single descendant of Abü Tálib] is present, because they are the most accurate speakers, having priority and excellence."5

He [Muhammad ibn Shuja‘] went on to say, "He went to Egypt during the year two hundred [A.D. 813/16] and dwelt there. Al-Raabı‘ ibn Sulaymãn al-Mišrî learned from him. Al-Shaфи‘i used to recite poetry.6 Abü al-Fadl ibn al-Najwa said that Abü al-Hasan ibn al-Saḥbání al-Mišrî related, "I saw the tomb of Abü ‘Abd Allah

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4 Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybání was the well-known jurist. He was older than Al-Shaфи‘i and evidently employed him either to take dictation or else to edit students’ notes as an aid in compiling them into books.

5 Although Al-Shaфи‘i may have been sympathetic with the Shi‘ah, he had a legal code different from theirs and did not become involved in their politics.

6 The descendants of Abü Tálib were members of the Shi‘ah, who believed that the only persons with the right to be caliphs were the lineal descendants of Ali, the son of Abü Tálib. Al-Shaфи‘i felt that these descendants had more accurate traditions about their ancestors than anyone else.

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SECTION THREE

Al-Shaфи‘i in Egypt between Baytar Bîlah and al-Bîrkatayn. Over it there was a clearly visible board upon which there was written:

I have accomplished my time and some are pleased
Who are foolish with heedlessness and sleep,
As though my day [of death] was decreed for me,
But there was no [suitable] day for those rejoicing
in the affliction of others.7

He [al-Shaфи‘i] died during the year two hundred and four [A.D. 819/20] in Egypt. Among his books there were:

Al-Mabû‘i, about the law. Al-Raabı‘ ibn Sulaymãn and al-Za‘fârî quoted it from him. This book includes: Ritual Purification; Prayer; The Poor Tax; Fasts; The Pilgrimage; Religious Self-Restraint (Seclusion);

—, thus saith Muhammad ibn Ilyâs [al-Nadêm]: I read written in the handwriting of Ibn Abi Sayf8 that this was not his manuscript; The Epistle;9 Ritual Purification; The Imamate; Facing the Qiblah; Friday [Prayer]; Prayer of Fear; The Two Feasts [al-Adha and al-Fitr]; Prayer of the Eclipse of the Moon; Petition for Rain; Prayer of Voluntary Obedience; the small book, The Apostle; the large book, The Apostle; The Poor Tax; Fixing the Rate of the Poor Tax; Judicial Decisions of the Qur’an; Rules of the Pilgrimage; Sellers [Buyers]; Disagreements of Mu‘tak and al-Shaфи‘i; Intentional Wounds; the large book, Mortgages; the small book, Mortgages; Disagreements in the Hadith; Disagreements of the ‘Iraqîs [scholars of al-‘Iraq]; Oath with a

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7 It is not clear where the quotation from Muhammad ibn Shuja‘ ends. The tomb of al-Shaфи‘i is still one of the famous monuments of modern Cairo. It was on the edge of the cemetery of the ancient city. The two landmarks were evidently known as the Blacksmith’s Shop (Baytar) of Bîlah and the Two Tanks (al-Bîrkatayn). The translation of the poem is taken from MS 1914, which varies in several details from the original version.

8 The collection of the dictations and compositions of al-Shaфи‘i, which al-Raabı‘ ibn Sulaymãn compiled in book form, was entitled Al-Mabû‘i, which means “spread out,” giving the connotation of making clear in an ample way. Somewhat later in the material was revised as Kithâb al-Umm. For a modern edition, see Bibliography. For a summary of the contents in English, see Dodge, Muslim Education, p. 97. See also “al-Shaфи‘i,” Enc. Islam, IV, 253. Most of the titles which follow are chapters rather than separate books. In Kithâb al-Umm numerous subjects are discussed in more than one chapter, causing repetition.

9 Ibn Abi Sayf was probably the disciple of the jurist; see Biogr. Index, Ahmad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Sayf. Flögel, however, suggests Ibn Abi Yuṣuf.

10 For this important work, Al-Risâlah, see al-Shaфи‘i in the Bibliography.
Witness; Slaying the Idolaters; Fighting the Tyrants; Oppression; Captives and the Shackled; Marriage with Betrothal; Sexual Abstinence and Monstruation.

Washing the Dead; Funerals; Racing and Throwing the Javelin; Custodianship and Reaching Maturity; Ordinance and Hire of Animals; Suckling an Infant; Food and Drink; Al-Bahirah and Al-Sīthah; Plantations; Al-Umra and Al-Ruqbi; a bequest and a piece of property given for life, to be returned at time of death; Drinks; The Virtues of the Quraysh; Al-Shi'ār; Marital Aversion and Divorce; The Problem of the Hemaphroditic; Religious Self-Restraint (Seclusion) for Religious Exercises; Renting a Palm Grove for Part of the Product; The Hunt; The Feast; The Option to Purchase or Pre-empt Adjoining Property (Al-Shu'ah); Lending (Borrowing).

The Ordinance of Allāh; Wages (Rates of Hire), Persons Responsible for Payment, and the Man Who Hires Out a Beast of Burden; Reviving the Dead (Wasteland); Conditions; Al-Zīhār; Al-Ila; Disagreement Between Man and Wife; Sacrificial Victims; Disagreement about Inheritance; Emancipation of the Mothers of Children; The Thing Found and Held in Trust; The Thing Picked Up (Discovered by Accident, The Foundling); Reaching the Age of Discretion (Maturity); small abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; The Question of Semen; Licensing Divorce; Fasts; The Manager; Al-Makātib [slave who ransoms himself]; Al-Walā wā-al-Hif; Wages (Rentals).

The translation is based on the supposition that the Arabic original in al-tarīs bi-al-khūd, although tarīs can also mean "stopping" and the other word might be khudāh ("sermon").

The word translated "custodianship" usually refers to establishment of a pious endowment, but here it may have a different significance. In the title which follows, Hilāl gives al-sītāh ("slaves") instead of al-dawāmī ("animals"), which is in MS 1934 and is probably correct.

These are the tenth colt of a camel, allowed to wander freely, and the female camel freed because of bearing the colt or to fulfill some vow.

This is probably equally divided property, but may be a military symbol, the rites of the pilgrimage, or something else, as the word has many meanings.

This is the pronunciation of the divorce formula, "Thou art to me as my mother's back."

Al-Ilā (Ilā) is swearing not to cohabit with a wife for four months if she is free, or two months if she is a slave, as a religious penance. See Richardson, Dictionary, p. 224.

Al-waḍī can mean "friendship" or "authority" and al-hijf means "compact" or "good faith." Hilāl gives al-wuḍā, for which see Glossary, "relationship." Cf. Chap. VI, sect. 4, n. 16.

Consensus of Opinion; The Marriage Dowry; Witnesses; How the People of al-Iraq opposed 'Ali and Abd Allāh; Curves; the large abridgment of "The Pilgrimage"; Division of Booty; Drawing Lots (The Wager); The Poll Tax; Wills; Claim and Proof; Prohibition of Fermented Liquor; Al-Raj'ah; Training of the Judge; The Number of Women [probably about marriage]; Highway Robbery and Stealing; Oath and Vows; Hunting and Sacrificial Victims; Money Changing; Refutation of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]; Distress of Women [in Childbirth].

The Life of al-Shāfi'i. The Life of al-Awza'i. Judgment of the Sorcerer and Sorceress; Trust (Trusteeship) and Judicial Decisions; The Will of a Pregnant Woman; The Testimony of One Accusing of Adultery; Charity of the Living on Behalf of the Dead (Dying); The Man Who Places Goods with Another Man; The Loan; Inheritance; Judgment with Evidence; Repeal of Approval.

The Names of Those Who Quoted al-Shāfi'i and Learn from Him.

Al-Rabī' ibn Sulaīmān al-Muqādil

He was one of the Murād, a tribe. He was surnamed Abū Sulaīmān. He was in Egypt, where he called to prayer and derived a living from the Sultan for his prayer calling. His origin was in Egypt. He quoted the sources of the law of al-Shāfi'i, entitling what he quoted Al-Muqādil. He died in Egypt during the year two hundred and seventy [A.D. 883/84].

Al-Rabī' was quoted by: Ibn Salfī, who was Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sahl ibn Sahl; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Taḥā'ifī; Al-Jaṣām al-Nayšābūrī; 'Abd Allāh ibn Sufyān al-Mawṣili.

95 'Abd Allāh was probably the Prophet's comin, who was governor of al-Bayṣrah when Abū Bakr was the caliph; see Ibn 'Abīh Abū al-Ashūr, 'Abd Allāh. See Khalilūn, 1, 56, n. 1. "'Abd Allāh," Enc. Islam, 1, 19.

96 Al-Sa'ād is the receiving back of a divorced wife. Another possibility is al-Sa'ādah, a widow returning home after her husband's death.

97 The Tūk MS has a pious epithet after al-Shāfi'i's name. The names which follow were almost certainly those of men who attended the lectures of al-Shāfi'i or served as disciples, helping him to compile his books.

98 See Quraysh, Mālikī, pp. 32, 33.

99 Al-Shāfi'i designated the following as the authoritative sources (wālī) for legal decisions: (a) the Qur'ān; (b) the Hadith; (c) al-'ilm, or consensus of opinion; (d) al-qiyā, or analogy.
Al-Za'farānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣabbaḥ
He quoted Al-Mushīt from al-Shāfi‘ī in the form that al-Rabī‘ quoted it. As he made a few variations, the people did not like it or study it [with him]. As jurists work in accordance with what al-Rabī‘ transmitted, it is not necessary for us to name the books quoted by al-Za'farānī, which became scarce, most of them being effaced, disappearing and never again being copied. He died during the year two hundred and sixty [A.D. 873/74].

Abū Thawr
He was Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid ibn al-Yaman, the jurist, from the Banū Kalb.20 He studied with al-Shāfi‘ī and quoted him. As he disagreed with him about some points, he adopted a legal system of his own, which he kept distinct from the system of al-Shāfi‘ī, but he wrote a Mushīt which followed the arrangement of the book of al-Shāfi‘ī. Most of the people of Adharbayjan and Armenia conduct their legal affairs according to his legal system. He died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 854/55].

Naming of the Books of Abū Thawr
Ritual Purification; Prayer; Fasting; Rites of the Pilgrimage.

Those Who Learned from Abū Thawr
Ibn al-Junayd
His name was ———. He was one of the most illustrious of his pupils and among their leaders.

‘Ubayd ibn Khalaf al-Bazzāz
He was also one of the most eminent among his pupils.

Al-Iyālī
He followed the code of Abū Thawr. He was Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Iyālī. Among his books there was Refugees and Indemnities for Murder.


SECTION THREE

Mansūr ibn Ismā‘īl ——— al-Miṣrī
He died ———. Among his books there was Food for the Traveler in the Law.

Among Those Who Learned from al-Shāfi‘ī
Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam
He quoted al-Shāfi‘ī, in contrast to his two brothers, who followed Mālik. He died ———. Among his books there was The Ordinances, according to the legal system of al-Shāfi‘ī.

Ḥanūnādāb ibn Yahyā al-Miṣrī
He learned from al-Shāfi‘ī.

Yahyā ibn Naṣr al-Ḥawlānī
He was one of the people of Egypt who quoted al-Shāfi‘ī. [His book:] Al-Shāfi‘ī, refuting Ibn ‘Uṭayyāh.

Al-Buwaytī
His name was Yūsuf ibn Yahyā, surnamed Abū Yūsuf, and he quoted al-Shāfi‘ī. Al-Rabī‘ [ibn Sulaymān] said, “Al-Buwaytī wrote to me from prison, commending me to the members of my circle and saying, ‘Be patient with them, for I heard al-Shāfi‘ī say: ‘For their sake I humble my spirit that they may honor it, as a spirit which one does not humble is not honored.’”

Among the books of al-Buwaytī there were:
The Large Abridgment; The Small Abridgment; The Ordinances.

Al-Rabī‘ ibn Sulaymān and Abū Ismā‘īl al-Tirmidhī quoted al-Buwaytī.

Al-Muzani
He was Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muzani from the Muzaynāh,27 one of the tribes of al-Yaman. He learned from al-Shāfi‘ī.

20 The men included in this list followed the legal system of al-Shāfi‘ī. Some of them lived too late to be his pupils and the others were probably not regular students of his, although they may have attended some of his lectures. The order follows that of MS 1934.
21 MS 1934 omits “of Egypt.”
22 This was probably a class which met in a mosque or in the home of al-Rabī‘.
23 See Durayd, General, p. 111; Qutaybah, Ma‘ārif, p. 36.
and was an ascetic, as well as a jurist according to the legal system of al-Shahtṭī. Among the adherents of al-Shahtṭī there was no jurist more learned than al-Muzani and no man more virtuous than al-Buwaythī.

He died in Egypt on Wednesday and was buried on Thursday, at the end of the month of Rabī’ al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year two hundred and sixty-four [A.D. 877/78]. Al-Rahī Ḥabīb ibn Sulaymān, who was a prayer caller and a friend of al-Shahtṭī, prayed for him [at the funeral]. Among his books there were:

The Small Abridgment, which is in the hands of the people and upon which the followers of al-Shahtṭī depend—they read and expound upon it, there being diverse ways of quoting it, most of which have been transmitted by al-Naysibī al-ʿAṣamī, whose name was ———, and Ibn al-Kfīnī ʿAbd Allah ibn Ṣaḥīḥ, and the brother of Ḥarīrī al-Jawhari, whose name was Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā; The Large Abridgment, which has been abandoned; Compacts.

Al-Marwāzī
Abū ʿIṣḥāq Ibrahim ibn Ahmad al-Marwāzī was a friend (pupil) of al-Muzani. Among his books there were:

Exposition of the "Abridgment" of al-Muzani, the first and the second; Divisions, about knowing the sources [of the law]; Conditions and Compacts; Wills and Evaluation of Houses; The Particular and the Universal.

Al-Zubayrī
Among the adherents of al-Shahtṭī was al-Zubayrī, whose name was al-Zubayr ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān ibn Ṭūsī, who died in the year three hundred [A.D. 912/13]. Among his books there were:

An abridgment of the law known as The Sufficiency (Al-Kāfī); Compilation of the Law; Shares of Inheritance.

Another al-Marwāzī
His name was Ahmad ibn Naṣr. Among his books there were:

The large book, Disagreements among the Jurists; the small book, Disagreements among the Jurists.

SECTION THREE

Ibn Surayj
Abū al-ʿAbdās ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Surayj was one of the illustrious Shāfīʿī jurists and theologians. There were debates between him and Muḥammad ibn Dāʾūd in the presence of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAli ibn Ṭālī [the vizier]. He died during the year three hundred and five [A.D. 917/18]. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī]; Refutation of ʿIṣāʿ ibn ʿAbān; Similarity between al-Muzani and al-Shahtṭī; Answer of (for) al-Qāshānī; Abridgment of the Law.

Al-Sājjī
Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyāʾ ibn Yahyā ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sājjī derived his knowledge from al-Muzani and al-Rahī [ibn Sulaymān] and also from the Egyptians. Among his books there was Disagreement about the Law.

Al-Qāshānī
He was Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq, surnamed Abū Bakr, from Qīshān. After he followed the legal system of Dāʾūd [ibn Ṭālī], but later he changed to the legal system of al-Shahtṭī, becoming a leader and one of the chiefs in connection with it. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Dāʾūd in Connection with the Uselessness of Analogy; Confirming Analogy; large book, Judicial Interpretation; The Beginning of the Book on Judicial Interpretations; The Sources of Judicial Interpretation.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī
He was Abū Saʿīd, a chief among the Shāfīʿī jurists and an authority for the Ḥadīth. He was trustworthy and virtuous, a

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88 See Yiqṭī, Geog., IV, 15.
89 Analogy was one of the four sources of the law recognized by al-Shahtṭī, but Dāʾūd did not recognize it.
90 After this title there is li-al-Qāshānī, which may simply mean that al-Qāshānī wrote the book, or may mean "confirming of analogy for al-Qāshānī" who at the start followed Dāʾūd and repudiated analogy.
91 The Arabic word translated "beginning" is al-tadbir, which might mean the main part of the book.
CHAPTER SIX

Abū Ṭāyyib ibn Salamah

He was Muhammad ibn Ahmad, a scholar of the Khalaf, one of the followers of al-Shāfi‘ī. He was born during the year two hundred and eighty-one [A.H. 984/993] at al-Hasanah. He wrote books based on the Shī‘ī legal system and the following books based on the legal system of al-Shāfi‘ī:

- Faculties of Understanding
- Testing (Proving, Exercising): The Agreeable
- Refutation of al-Karkhi
- The Beneficial in the Ḥadīth

If Allah so wills, we shall mention his books based on the Shi‘ī code in the proper place.

Abū 'Amrān Mītāb ibn al-Ashyab

He was a jurist following the legal system of al-Shāfi‘ī. Among his books there were:

Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi‘ī. Among his books there was an abridgment of the Questions of Disagreement in Theology and Intellectual Examination.

Ibn al-Fārisī

His name was ——. Among his books there were:

Ibn al-Asyab Abū 'Amrān Mītāb ibn al-Asyab

He was a jurist following the legal system of al-Shāfi‘ī, and also a theologian. Among his books there were:

Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah

He was one of the followers of al-Shāfi‘ī. He died ——. Among his books there were:

Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Muṣṭafī

Among his books there were:

——

In the Arabic texts this name is given here and also after three other names have been cited. There may be a repetition due to careless copying, or the same name may designate two different persons. The Tonk MS notes, "Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Salamah, one of the followers of al-Shāfi‘ī, an ascetic and devotee, no book of whose is known."

The insertion of the name "ibn Ahmad" is probably an error, as he was known as Muhammad ibn Betham.

Abū al-Hasanah may be the town listed by Ya’qūb, Gog., II, 270.

The Tonk MS has al-ḥāḍir ("venerable and revered men"), whereas the other versions have al-bāṣīr ("faculties of understanding or mental insight").

Evidently this passage was written before the author listed the books about the Shī‘ī code in the preceding passage; see Chap. V, sect. 5, note n. 202.