THE JOURNAL OF
MIDDLE EAST MEDIEVALISTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Letter from the Editors

This new issue of *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* (*UW*) marks a turning point. *UW* began in 1989 as a newsletter, edited by Sam Gellens, a co-founder with Richard Bulliet of Middle East Medievalists. Fred Donner, as president of MEM (1992-1994), then expanded *UW* into a substantial bulletin, the first issue of which appeared in 1992 (4:1). He added new features: research articles and reviews of books in Arabic and other Middle Eastern languages, thus publications about which many of us would not have been aware. The bulletin has played an invaluable role in this sense, and in continuing to provide news of developments in the discipline.

Our appreciation of the work of Professor Donner – and the many contributors to the bulletin – runs deep. But the time came to consider anew the role, format and content of *UW*. Following much discussion among the editors, board members and our MEMbership, we have refashioned it into what you find here before you: an online, open access, peer-reviewed journal. Our aim is to make use of the best qualities of online publishing: the flexibility and timeliness that are a hallmark of publications of this kind. We also believe that we will provide colleagues worldwide – especially those without ready access to the best libraries – a means by which to keep abreast of trends in our respective fields.

We will continue where the bulletin left off: we will produce reviews of new publications, written in European and Middle Eastern languages alike; short "thought pieces" and other brief notices of ongoing and forthcoming work; obituaries; and as much news of the field as we can provide. We urge you, our readers and colleagues, to continue sending us material of this kind.

(Photo of Antoine Borrut by Juliette Fradin Photography)

But we will now rely on a peer review system in producing original, full-length articles. Our aim is attract the best work of colleagues from across the globe, drawing on new research initiatives across the many individual fields that make up Islamic and Middle Eastern studies writ large. It is in recognition of such work, and, it needs to be said, the realities of the tenure system, that we are carrying out these changes.

It is also in light of these changes that we are very pleased to announce the creation of a new *UW* editorial board. The new board consists of colleagues from a variety of institutions and scholarly backgrounds. Their participation, we believe, will ensure high-level contributions and access to a global scholarly network.

The content of our new issue represents scholarship of this kind. We are delighted to have the opportunity to publish Lawrence Conrad's article on Ibn Aʿtham al-Kufi's *K. al-Futuh*, a significant study known only to the lucky few that have had the opportunity to read it in unpublished form. We are grateful to Dr. Conrad for agreeing to allow us to bring it to print. We are no less pleased to have articles by Michael Cook and Christopher Melchert, neither of whom requires an introduction; their respective contributions here reflect the depth of scholarship for which each of

the two individuals is known. Alongside the three principal articles, and an important short notice by Bogdan Smarandache, are several book reviews, a set of six obituaries of colleagues recently deceased, and the respective texts of comments by Patricia Crone and Steven Humphreys (recipients of the MEM Lifetime Achievement Award).

As a measure of our commitment to remaking *UW*, we would point out that this first issue runs to a total of nearly 250 pages. Our conviction is that *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* provides the ideal venue in which to publish new and exciting scholarship on the history of the medieval Middle East. We invite you, our readers and colleagues, to participate by contributing your latest work.

And one last note: we will continue to rely on your financial support. That *UW* is now an open access journal should not be understood to mean that it is free: it is not. To cover costs of publication and the work of our part-time managing editor, among other expenses, we ask that you keep your membership in Middle East Medievalists up to date, and that you consider a gift to the MEM general fund. For information on membership and the fund, please proceed to MEM's website:

http://islamichistorycommons.org/mem/

Sincerely,

Antoine Borrut and Matthew S. Gordon

MEM Awards

Remarks by the Recipient of the 2014 MEM Lifetime Achievement Award
Written for the Annual Meeting of Middle East Medievalists
and Read *in Absentia* by Matthew S. Gordon
(November 22, 2014, Washington, D.C.)

Patricia Crone*
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When I discussed with Matthew what I should talk about, he said he'd like to hear some manner of reflection on my work, career, books, students, and the state of the field, or some combination of these things. Well, I doubt that I shall be able to talk about all these things, but let me start by telling you a story.

One summer towards the end of my time at school, one of my sisters and I went to the theatre festival at Avignon, and there for the first time in my life, I met a live Muslim, a Moroccan. I had decided to study the Muslim world without ever knowingly having set eyes on an Arab or Persian or heard Arabic or Persian spoken. There weren't any of them in Denmark back then: it was Gilgamesh who had seduced me. I discovered him in my teens and wanted to be an ancient Near Eastern archaeologist, but for a variety of reasons I became an Islamicist instead. Anyway, I met this Moroccan in Avignon, and he told me the story of the Battle of Siffin: the Syrians were losing and responded by hoisting Qurans on their lances, the battle stopped, and so Ali lost. It never occurred to me to believe it; I smiled politely and thought to myself, "when I get to university I'll hear a different story." I got to Copenhagen University, but no Islamic history was taught there, only Semitic philology, which I did not want to do, and history, meaning European history, which I did do and enjoyed, but which was not where I wanted to stay. Eventually I got myself to England, and there I was accepted by SOAS and heard Professor Lewis lecture on early Islamic history, including the Battle of Siffin. He told the story exactly as my Moroccan friend had told it. I could not believe it. It struck me as obvious that the narrative was fiction,

and besides, everyone knows that battle accounts are most unlikely to be reliable, least of all when they are told by the loser. I thought about it again many years later, in 2003, when one of Saddam Hussain's generals, Muhammad Saeed al-Sahhaf, also known as comical (not chemical) Ali, persistently asserted that the Iraqis had defeated the Americans and put them to flight, so that there weren't any American troops in Iraq any more. At the very least one would have expected Lewis to say something about the problematic nature of battle narratives, and was this really true? But no: it was a truth universally acknowledged that, during the Battle of Siffin, the Syrians hoisted Qurans on their lances and thereby stopped the battle, depriving the Iraqis of their victory.

I think this is the biggest academic shock I've ever suffered, but I didn't say anything. I never did, I was too shy. And then I encountered John Wansbrough. He read Arabic texts with us undergraduates, clearly thinking we were a hopeless lot, but he was the first person I met at SOAS who doubted the Siffin story. As it turned out, he doubted just about everything in the tradition. I was fascinated by him. I wanted to know how he thought we should go about writing about early Islamic history, so I continued reading texts with him as a graduate, but I never got an answer. Once, when we were reading Tabari's account of Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt in the mid-Umayyad period, Wansbrough asked: "what year are we in?" I thought he simply meant "what year has Tabari put this in?," but when I replied year 82," or whatever, he acidly retorted, "I see you have the confidence of your supervisor," meaning Bernard Lewis, my supervisor, whom he deeply disliked. I think his question was meant to be understood as, "Is all this really something that happened in year 82 (or whenever) or is it stereotyped battle scenes interspersed with poetry that could be put in any heroic account in need of amplification?" I don't know, for he did not explain. He never did. He was an *imam samit.*

From all this you can see two things. First, it was not exposure to Wansbrough that made me a sceptic or radical or whatever else they like to call me. I was a sceptic already in Avignon, years before I came to England, without being aware of it. In my own understanding I was just thinking commonsense. And secondly, Islamic history was not studied at an advanced level. I don't know how the Battle of Siffin is taught these days, but I cannot imagine it is done with the credulity of those days and, at least in England, Lewis must take part of the credit for this, for he was very keen for Islamicists to become historians.

After I'd finished my thesis, Michael Cook and I finished *Hagarism* (1977) which I assume you have heard about and don't propose to talk about; and next, in between some articles, I wrote *Slaves on Horses* (1980), which was the first third of my thesis, drastically rewritten. Then it was *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law* (1987), which was a drastically rewritten version of my thesis part two and which I loved researching because the literature on the Greek, Roman and provincial side was so superb. The legal learning possessed by these late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German and Italian scholars was incredible, and on top of that they were wonderfully intelligent and lucid. The First World War and now it is all gone. Apparently it isn't even done to admire them any more. A perfectly friendly

reviewer of my book on law cautioned his readers that I was an admirer of these scholars, as if it were self-evident that they were bad people. I don't see why.

In any case, *Meccan Trade* came out in the same year. It was delayed by a report so negative that I withdrew it and sent it to Princeton University Press. The author of the negative report said that I should have my head examined, that nothing I'd written would win general acceptance and that I'd never get a job in America. This last was particularly hilarious since it had never occurred to me to apply for one there. Serjeant was also outraged by *Meccan Trade*. He wrote a furious review in which he accused me of all sorts of misdeeds. But today the book is perceived as being about the location of Mecca, to which I devote a page. I've even heard somebody introduce me as a speaker and list *Meccan Trade* among my books with the comment that it is about the location of Mecca, to which I had to say sorry, no, actually *Meccan Trade* is about Meccan trade.

After *Meccan Trade*, or at the same time (both this and other books took a long time to reach print), I published *God's Caliph* with Martin Hinds. It was a short book, but Calder nonetheless thought it was long-winded: I admit I found that hard to take seriously. It was as usual: the reviewers found fault with this, that and the other, and you let it pass. The one thing I really disliked about *God's Caliph* was the massive number of misprints, which Martin Hinds was no better at spotting than I was.

It must have been after *God's Caliph* had gone to press that I wrote *Pre-Industrial Societies*, which I hugely enjoyed doing because I had to read about all kinds of places that I didn't know much about, and

also because I wrote without footnotes. It saves you masses of time. PIS, as I called it (pronouncing it Piss) was barely reviewed and took a while to gather attention, and it too was riddled with misprints, but the misprints should now have been eliminated and a fresh print-run with a new cover is on its way.

The next book I wrote was *The Book of Strangers: Medieval Arabic Graffiti on the Theme of Nostalgia* (1999), which was completely new to me when I started translating it. I inherited it from Martin Hinds and was captivated by it, but had trouble with the poetry in it. However, Shmuel Moreh came to Cambridge shortly after I'd started, and he was well versed in Arabic poetry, so I asked him if he'd help me, and he would. So we translated it together and I took responsibility for the rest.

That book almost generated another Siffin story. The author is traditionally identified as Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, but he himself says that he was in his youth in 356/967, which makes him considerably younger than Abu 'l-Faraj [who allegedly died in 356/967 – A. B.]. Yaqut, who said he did not know how to resolve the problem, noticed this already. There is only one way to resolve it: the author is not Abu 'l-Faraj. The book doesn't have much in common with Abu 'l-Faraj's works either. But a specialist in Abu 'l-Faraj insisted that it was him and came up with the explanation, also tried by older scholars, that Abu 'l-Faraj was senile when he wrote the book, so that he had forgotten when he was young. Honestly, the things that Islamicists will say!

The next book was also a joint project and also connected with Martin Hinds and the so-called "Hinds-Xerox" which Martin

had received from Amr Khalifa Ennami and which Michael Cook used for his section on the Murji'a in his *Early Muslim Dogma*. Martin Hinds was working on the last section of the manuscript when he died. I could have finished that last section, but it seemed a bad idea to translate yet another fragment. What should be done was a translation of the whole epistle. But I couldn't do that on my own – there were parts of the manuscript that I simply could not decipher. So I asked my former colleague in Oxford, Fritz Zimmermann, if he would participate, and thank God, he would. So we started by writing a translation each and then amalgamating them, with long pauses over passages that seemed impossible. Fritz had some great brain waves, and somehow we managed to get a complete typescript together. Then there was all the rest, where the fun for me lay in comparing Salim and the Ibadi epistles that I had been able to buy in Oman. *The Epistle of Salim b. Dhakwan* was published in Oxford in 2001. Very few people are interested in the Ibadis so it has not exactly been a bestseller, but I learned an extraordinary amount from writing it.

After that, I wrote *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, which the Americans called *God's Rule*, though it is disagreeably close to *God's Caliph* and not particularly apt in my view. That book started as exam questions in Cambridge. Carole Hillenbrand was our external examiner, and when she saw the questions, she asked me if I wanted to write a volume of political thought for her Edinburgh series. I liked the idea, envisaging the book as much smaller than it actually became. I also thought I could do it fast because I thought I knew the field inside out, but that was only true of some of the subjects I wrote about. I had to do

a lot of work on the Ismailis, for example because I did not know the sources well enough. I was also acutely aware of having inadequate knowledge of the last century before the Mongol invasions and don't think I managed to get that right. I suppose I was running out of patience. I wasn't under any pressure, for I had refused a contract. I usually did until I was close to the end.

My book on political thought was the first book of mine that was uniformly well received. All the others had a controversial element to them that the reviewers didn't like, if only for my refusal to accept that Abu'l-Faraj al-Isbahani had forgotten when he was young. Mercifully, there were also reviewers who found that a ridiculous argument. Not long afterwards they gave me the Levi della Vida medal and I also received several honorary doctorates. Altogether, it was clear that I was no longer an *enfant terrible*.

My latest, and probably also last, book is *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (2012), which had its roots in my teaching in Oxford and which was very exciting to write because it was about villagers, whom we rarely see in the sources, and because their form of Zoroastrianism was quite different from that of the Pahlavi books. That book was also well received, it was awarded no less than four book-prizes, for its contribution to Islamic studies, to Iranian studies, to Central Asian studies, to historical studies in general.

If I had not fallen ill, I would have started a book on the Dahris, Godless people on whom I have written some articles, and who are certainly worth a book. But I don't think I have enough time.

MEM Awards

"The Shape of a Career"
Remarks by the Recipient of the 2013 MEM Lifetime Achievement Award
Given at the Annual Meeting of Middle East Medievalists
(October 10, 2013, New Orleans)

R. Stephen Humphreys
University of California at Santa Barbara

I must begin by expressing my thanks to the officers and board of Middle East Medievalists for bestowing on me the honor of a Lifetime Achievement Award. It comes from a group of colleagues whose work I greatly admire, and who have been at the heart of the extraordinary progress in studies on the medieval Middle East over the past two decades. No less important, they have also ensured that this field has remained a visible and sometimes even influential presence in an area where contemporary issues threaten to dominate if not obliterate all other perspectives. I have found it deeply rewarding to be part of the common enterprise during such a dynamic and creative period.

A year shy of half a century as a student (always a student) and scholar of Middle East Studies, along with a university teaching career of forty-three years, might seem to demand a serious review and evaluation of one's contributions to the field, a retrospective of achievements and shortcomings that goes beyond a

rueful, "What happened? Where did it go? What did I actually do with all that time, now mysteriously vanished?" More dubiously, it might also encourage one to claim some deep wisdom, even the power of prophecy. In these remarks I hope to avoid both temptations, alluring as they are. What I will try to do is to identify what has motivated (and continues to motivate) my writing and teaching, what has led me to take the somewhat meandering path I have chosen to follow.

To some degree, to be frank, it was all an accident. My grandmother—an old-school evangelical Southern lady of the best kind—told me reams of Bible stories when I was a child and shared with me her good personal library on the ancient Near East, and so I fell into a fascination with the peoples and cultures of those lands— at first the ancient world of Sumerians, Egyptians, and Hittites, but soon enough the medieval and modern periods. I was an odd kid in many ways. Thus in the summer between my junior and senior

years in high school I read Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, all of it. Obviously I could not grasp Gibbon on any but the most superficial level, but from him I did get a vivid sense (without being able to articulate it) of the *longue durée* and the grand narrative. The ways of imagining the past, however inchoate, which were planted in my childhood and adolescence—images of a region which drew one back to the beginnings of agrarian and urban society, the sense of vast spans of time that stretched unbroken down to the present day, the notion that it was possible to encompass all this in a single story, however complicated—have guided my approach to history ever since.

My undergraduate studies as a history major at Amherst College added another dimension to this. In my time there, at least, history was taught chiefly through a close confrontation with contemporary sources. It was a hermeneutic rather than synthetic approach, and if this approach left major gaps in our overall knowledge, it did teach us to bring our own questions to the texts and not to be awed by claims of superior authority.

It was during my graduate studies at the University of Michigan that these various half-formed approaches and sensibilities began to take on a coherent shape. I was in the first place fortunate to study with a remarkable and extremely diverse group of fellow students, and through them I was exposed to a wide range of experiences of the Middle East and ways of thinking about it. Much the same was true of my teachers. In that milieu, a narrow vision was not really an option. Quite by happenstance, Andrew Ehrenkreutz became my dissertation adviser. Andrew was a highly innovative scholar in many

ways; sooner than most he saw how emerging technologies might advance our field. In this regard, however, I am afraid I disappointed him. He thought I might do a computerized study of Mamluk coinage or something of that kind, but I both valued my eyesight and knew my technological limitations. Instead I chose to undertake a political study of Saladin's successors in Syria—a superficially traditional topic, but one that opened up some exciting perspectives.

The Ayyubids were not a long-lived dynasty—some ninety years at most—but they proved to be a window not only on a mature (though still very dynamic) political and cultural tradition, but also on a critical moment in Eurasian history. The stage was filled with Mongols, Crusaders, the burgeoning commerce of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean basins. As all of us know, dissertations often lead you into long, narrow tunnels, and it can be very difficult to dig your way out of them. But I was lucky. Since almost every big thing in the thirteenth century intersected in Ayyubid Syria, a broad sense of time and space, integrated within an overarching narrative, was only enhanced. Clearly the Ayyubids, fascinating as they were (at least to me), were only one point on a big canvas. The question was, what to do next.

One choice, the obvious one, was to dig more deeply into this important and very rewarding period. I certainly did not abandon the world of the Ayyubids after publishing my first book, since I have continued throughout my career to write about Syria (and secondarily Egypt) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But I quickly made a conscious decision to focus my attention elsewhere, and that elsewhere has turned out to be all over the

map. At times I have felt a bit like a dabbler, all the more as the path—the many paths—I have taken have very often originated in proposals and suggestions from colleagues and friends. But if I am suggestible, I cannot be gulled into doing something that I do not want to do. And so a glance at my bibliography will reveal work of varied size and scope on the analytic theory of history, Arabic historical writing (both medieval and modern), the early caliphate, the Middle East in the twentieth century, and most recently Christian communities under Muslim rule between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

But in this dabbling there has been a kind of coherence, a purpose and goal. It has first of all been an effort to see whether I could bridge in my own mind the vast chasm that separates the community's first decades from the Muslim societies of my adult lifetime (roughly since 1967). Was it possible to grasp each of these eras, and much in between, in its own unique terms, and yet see them all as part of a continuous process of fourteen centuries? Second, I wanted to place the phenomena of Islamic and Middle Eastern societies within a broad matrix, to see them as an integral element in Eurasian history— hence my interest in Rome and Sassanian Iran in Late Antiquity, in the convulsions of the Crusades and the Mongol conquests, and in the profound cultural and social disruptions of modernity and post-modernity.

Obviously I am not the only scholar to attempt this. Most historians of the medieval Islamic world are engaged in such a quest on some level. On the level of the grand narrative, Marshall Hodgson's *Venture of Islam* (now almost half a century old, though I encountered it when it was brand new) set a very high bar in its critical self-awareness, moral commitment, and effort to define the broad themes and concepts that should guide our understanding of Islamic and Islamicate cultures. Likewise, a previous awardee of this honor, Ira Lapidus, has constructed a wonderfully comprehensive and balanced presentation of "Islamic history" in his *History of Muslim Societies*, soon to be released in its third iteration as he continues to rethink the issues posed by this immense subject. However, I have chosen to take a different path— not by trying to construct an overarching synthesis, but by probing discrete points in the story in some depth. The closest I have come to such a synthesis is *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, which is really an effort to define and evaluate a rather peculiar and idiosyncratic field of study. Moreover, it proceeds by probing a series of particular problems, not by trying to survey the field as a whole. There is a synthesis implicit in my work, I hope, but I have so far kept that synthesis in my head.

What now, then? I have envisioned two major projects, and we will have to see whether I am given time and energy to bring them to fruition. The first I have already alluded to: a study of the adaptation of Christian communities in Syria and the Jazira to Muslim rule in the first four centuries of Islam—in essence, from the initial Arab-Muslim conquests to the coming of the Turks. This topic is driven by many things: current events in the region, the impressive and often moving physical traces left by these communities in Late Antique and early Islamic times, and most of all by the need to recognize that Muslims were for several centuries a minority among the

peoples they ruled. We all need to remind ourselves that the Islamic empire was for a long time an empire of Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians, and only slowly became chiefly an empire of Muslims. The sources are both scattered and overwhelming; the scholarly literature is dense and sophisticated on some topics, a void on others. Progress is slow, so we shall see.

The second project—at the moment more a vision than a work in progress— rather belies my claim to have sidestepped any attempt at a grand synthesis. I have imagined a history of Eurasia (stretching from Ireland to Japan), and going from Alexander the Great to Chinggis Khan. I have traveled widely enough to see that such an enterprise is both possible and deeply meaningful, and I have given some thought to the conceptual and literary framework for it. It is a large enough project, I believe, to earn the approbation of my first mentor, Edward Gibbon. For it I have done a lot of reading and a little writing. I cannot say when it will move from sketchbook to work bench, but when it does I will let you know.

Muḥammad's Deputies in Medina

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Abstract

It would be a reasonable inference from our sources that each time Muḥammad was away from Medina he left behind a deputy. The object of this paper is to collect and interpret the information our sources provide about these deputies. After a brief introduction, the second and third sections assemble and contextualize the data. The fourth section then discusses questions of interpretation: how far we can rely on the information in our sources, what this information can tell us about the kind of people Muḥammad would appoint as deputies, and how the emerging pattern might be explained historically. The main finding is that the data, if at all reliable, indicate that deputies were frequently people with little ability to cope with emergencies, and that Muḥammad must have been giving priority to political considerations in choosing them. Readers interested only in the interpretative questions could skip the second and third sections.

1. Introduction

One respect in which leaders vary enormously is their readiness to delegate authority.[1] But no leader can avoid such delegation altogether, if only because humans lack the ability to be in two places at once; and how a leader reacts to this constraint can tell us much about the character of his leadership. Admittedly in the case of Muḥammad we have the word of ʿĀʾisha that when he was taken on his night journey, it was his spirit (*rūḥ*) that traveled while his body remained behind;[2] but this was a unique event in his life, and in

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1. I have spoken about the material discussed in this paper in several settings—at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (for the Research Group on Ancient Arabia at the Institute for Advanced Studies, 2010), at the University of Wisconsin (as part of the Merle Curti Lectures, 2014), at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton (at a colloquium in honor of Patricia Crone, 2015), at the University of Pennsylvania Middle East Center (2015), at the University of Maryland (for the First Millennium Seminar, 2015), and at the University of Chicago (for the Middle East History and Theory Conference, 2015). In each case I profited from the comments and questions of my audiences. I also received numerous useful remarks on an early written draft from three students in my graduate seminar in the spring of 2015: Usaama al-Azami, Michael Dann, and Jelena Radovanović. A subsequent draft was read by Ella Landau-Tasseron and Michael Lecker; they generously provided me with extensive comments, references, and corrections. Finally, I have benefited from the remarks of three anonymous reviewers.

2. SS 1-2:399.20 = SG 183. I use abbreviations for the sources I cite most often: SS is the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām in the edition of Saqqā and others, SG is the same work in the translation of Guillaume, and W is Wāqidī's *Maghāzī* in the edition of Jones (I do not provide page references to the translation of Faizer and others, since

any case such a separation would not have solved the delegation problem. One context in which Muḥammad was accordingly unable to avoid delegation was when he decided to mount an expedition—usually but not always for military purposes—outside his home base in Medina. On each such occasion he faced a stark choice. If he chose to stay at home he needed to appoint a commander to lead the expedition.[3] Alternatively, if he chose to lead the expedition himself, he had to appoint a deputy to take his place at home.[4] This was a choice that he faced on average around seven times a year during his decade in Medina, so that it was by no means a trivial aspect of his governance.[5]

It is the occasions on which Muḥammad chose to lead the expedition himself and appoint a deputy over Medina that are our primary concern in this article. It has two objectives. One is simply to bring together the relevant data from the sources, and the other is to ask what this information, if reliable, can tell us about Muḥammad's style of leadership. As to the question whether the information is in fact reliable, I will offer some comments but no definitive answer.

Before we go to the sources, it is worth asking what we might expect to find in them. If for a moment we put ourselves in Muḥammad's sandals, what would we be looking for in a deputy? One obvious qualification for the job would be trustworthiness: to hand over one's base to someone one cannot trust does not seem like a good idea. The other obvious qualification would be competence—in particular the ability to handle political and military trouble should it arise in Muḥammad's absence. During much of his time in Medina, he confronted enmity and opposition among various groups, be they pagans, Jews, or Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*). And even when he had overcome his enemies, he was still at the head of a fractious coalition. The tension between his Meccan and Medinese supporters—the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār—threatened discord on more than one occasion: it nearly exploded at Muraysīʿ during the raid on the Banū ʾl-Muṣṭaliq thanks to a minor incident at a watering hole, it reappeared in the aftermath of the Battle of Ḥunayn, and it threatened to disrupt the community on Muḥammad's death. So it stands to reason that Muḥammad would set considerable store by appointing deputies with the competence to nip trouble in the bud. Two things would tend to correlate with such competence. One would be experience: a rookie deputy would be more likely to make a mess of things than one who had held the post before. The other would be social and political clout: a deputy who could mobilize men and resources in an emergency would do a better job than one who could not. So in effect we have three criteria: trustworthiness, experience, and clout. We might therefore expect that having identified a limited number of men who met these requirements, Muḥammad would have made it his practice to appoint them again and

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it gives the pagination of Jones's edition).

3. There were thirty-seven such expeditions if we go by Ibn Hishām, fifty-two if we go by Wāqidī. There are accounts suggesting that initially Muḥammad did not appoint commanders, with unfortunate results (Landau-Tasseron, "Features of the pre-conquest Muslim army", 320).

4. Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī are in agreement on the twenty-seven such expeditions. These are very clearly expeditions mounted on specific occasions with specific objectives; they are not part of a pattern of itinerant rulership.

5. He faced it sixty-four times in all if we go by Ibn Hishām, seventy-nine if we go by Wāqidī.

again.

With these a priori expectations in mind, let us now proceed to the data. Readers interested only in the upshot of this study may, however, prefer to skip the following two sections and go directly to the discussion.

2. The data

2.1 Terminology

The language in which the sources inform us of Muḥammad's appointments of deputies is not uniform, and we have always to reckon with the possibility that the usage of our sources may be anachronistic. But the pattern is fairly consistent, with the terms employed consisting overwhelmingly of variations on two roots: *kh-l-f* and *ʿ-m-l*.

Let us begin with the root *kh-l-f*.[6] As will be seen, one of our two major sources for Muḥammad's deputies is Wāqidī (d. 207/823), who regularly uses the verb *istakhlafa* ("he appointed as deputy"), as for example when he tells us that at the time of a certain expedition Muḥammad "appointed ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān as deputy over Medina" (*istakhlafa al-nabī (ṣ) ʿalā ʾl-Madīna ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān*).[7] On three occasions he uses another form of the root, the verb *khallafa* (literally "he left behind", but also "he appointed as his *khalīfa*"),[8] as when he says of Abū Lubāba ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir that Muḥammad "appointed him deputy over Medina" (*khallafahu ʿalā ʾl-Madīna*).[9] He never uses the noun *khalīfa* in the sense of "deputy", but a somewhat later author, Balādhurī (d. 279/892f), frequently does so. He tells us, for example, that at the time of the expedition to Ḥudaybiya, "his deputy in Medina was Ibn Umm Maktūm" (*kāna khalīfatuhu biʾl-Madīna Ibn Umm Maktūm*).[10] Often he refers to the deputy as "the deputy of the Messenger of God" (*khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*),[11] and he occasionally employs the abstract noun *khilāfa*, "deputyship".[12] But he too uses the verb *istakhlafa*.[13] The use of the root in the context of delegation is Koranic:

6. I owe to David Graf the information that the noun ḪLF occurs in an as yet unpublished Thamūdic inscription from Ḥumayma.

7. W 196.4. In addition Wāqidī or his sources use the term in the following passages: W 7.20, 7.21, 180.16, 182.6, 183.18, 197.3, 199.3, 371.8, 384.4, 402.11, 496.17, 537.13, 537.20, 546.20, 573.8, 636.11, 995.14.

8. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 793c.

9. W 101.9. The sense here cannot be "he left him behind" since Abū Lubāba initially accompanied Muḥammad on the way to Badr; Muḥammad then had second thoughts and sent him back (see W 159.11). For the other passages in which Wāqidī uses *khallafa* see W 277.13 (*khallafahu biʾl-Madīna yuṣallī biʾl-nās*) and 684.4 (*khallafahu ʿalā ʾl-Madīna*). In the last case Wāqidī has already used the verb *istakhlafa* of the same person regarding the same expedition (W 636.11).

10. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 350.21; similarly 287.5, 287.11, 287.17, 287.22, 339.4, 340.17, 341.13, 349.3, 352.22, 368.18, 368.24. Typically the preposition is "over" rather than "in".

11. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 294.2, 309.23, 310.18, 310.24, 338.15, 340.7, 342.15, 345.18, 347.19, 352.11, 353.11, 364.13, 368.17. This, of course, is a standard title of the Caliphs; *khalīfa* means both "deputy" and "successor".

12. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 339.21 (where Ibn Umm Maktūm is described as *muqīm*[an] *ʿalā khilāfat Rasūl Allāh*), 352.22.

13. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 289.7, 311.19, 311.24, 348.13, 350.22.

in Q7:142 Moses, before going to speak with God, tells Aaron: "Be my deputy among my people (*ukhlufnī fī qawmī*)." Yet the first form of the verb is rarely used in our sources with regard of Muḥammad's deputies.[14]

Turning to the root *ʿ-m-l*, we find that one of our other major sources for the deputies, Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), always uses the verb *istaʿmala* ("he appointed as his agent") when speaking of the appointment of a deputy. Thus he tells us that at the time of his first expedition Muḥammad "appointed Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda as his agent over Medina" (*istaʿmala ʿalā ʾl-Madīna Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda*).[15] But Wāqidī too occasionally employs this verb.[16] Neither of them uses the noun *ʿāmil* ("agent"), though Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854f) in his account of Muḥammad's deputies does so once in a slightly ambiguous context.[17]

There is perhaps some reason to think that the use of the root *kh-l-f* in the context of Muḥammad's deputies is older than the use of *ʿ-m-l*. Whenever Wāqidī is unambiguously quoting earlier sources, the verb used is *istakhlafa* rather than *istaʿmala*—though this may not mean very much since *istakhlafa* is his own preferred usage, and he could simply be assimilating earlier sources to his own practice.[18] The same could be true of Ibn Hishām when he quotes the father of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad al-Darāwardī (the latter being a well-known Medinese traditionist who died in 187/802f) as using the verb *istaʿmala* in reference to the appointment of a deputy at the time of the expedition to Tabūk.[19] But in one place Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767f), who does not usually give us information about the appointment of deputies, quotes a tradition going back to ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687f) about the appointment of a deputy at the time of the Fatḥ (the conquest of Mecca); here the verb used—contrary to Ibn Hishām's normal usage—is *istakhlafa*.[20] My impression is

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14. I have noted a couple of exceptions. Maqrīzī in his account of the expedition against the Banū Liḥyān says of Muḥammad: *wa-kāna yakhlufuhu ʿalā ʾl-Madīna Ibn Umm Maktūm* (*Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:258.15). Ibn Isḥāq, in describing how Muḥammad appointed ʿAlī to take care of his family during the Tabūk expedition, has Muḥammad say *fa-ʾkhlufnī fī ahlī wa-ahlika* (SS 3-4:520.2 = SG 604), but this incident is implicitly linked to the Koranic verse.

15. SS 1-2:591.1 = SG 737 no. 337. For other examples see SS 1-2:598.10 = SG 738 no. 345, SS 1-2:601.6 = SG 738 no. 348. Ibn Hishām's usage is so consistent that there is little point in giving exhaustive references for it; in all he uses the verb regarding the appointment of deputies twenty-eight times.

16. W 159.11, 404.4, 441.1. In none of these cases is it likely that in deviating from his usual practice Wāqidī is respecting the exact wording of a source.

17. Following his account of the death of Muḥammad in 11/632, Khalīfa gives an account of those who held office under him (Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 61–4). Here the first section has the heading *tasmiyat ʿummālihi (ṣ)*, which we would normally render something like "naming of his governors" (61.8); the list begins with Muḥammad's deputies, then goes on to his governors. In his account of the appointment of the deputies (including one that Muḥammad appointed in Mecca when he left it after the Conquest) he uses only the verb *istakhlafa* (five times in eleven lines), whereas for the governors he uses *istaʿmala* (62.3) and *wallā* (62.6, 62.12). Without any ambiguity Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038) describes Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa as *ʿāmil al-Nabī (ṣ) ʿalā ʾl-Madīna ʿām Ḥunayn* (*Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 1451.12).

18. For cases in which Wāqidī is unambiguously citing information about the appointment of deputies from a specific source, see W 180.16, 183.18, 197.3, 402.11.

19. SS 3-4:519.10 = SG 783 no. 860. For ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad al-Darāwardī see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 18:187–95.

20. SS 3-4:399.19 = SG 545; the same verb appears in a parallel passage from the Rāzī recension of Ibn

that other sources that are plausibly old likewise use the verb *istakhlafa*.[21]

The only other roots I have noted in this context are *ʾ-m-r*, *w-l-y*, and *n-w-b*. Ibn Isḥāq employs the verb *ammara*, "to appoint as *amīr*", in relation to the arrangements made by Muḥammad while he was on the way to Badr,[22] and Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) likewise uses the term *amīr* when referring to the appointment of deputies.[23] Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965) in an entry on Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa says that the Prophet put him in charge of—*wallāhu*—Medina when he went out to Khaybar.[24] Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) uses the term *nuwwāb*, which does indeed mean "deputies"; but I have not seen it used elsewhere in the context of the deputies appointed by Muḥammad.[25]

The fact that different roots are used to refer to deputies raises the question whether there might be a distinction between more than one kind of deputy. As we will see, there is a small amount of evidence that would support such a distinction, but it is not linked to the use of the two main roots.

2.2 Three early sources for Muḥammad's deputies

Three early sources provide us with either a list of deputies or the information that enables us to generate one.

Wāqidī provides such a list in the introductory section of his *Maghāzī*.[26] He has just informed us that the number of expeditions in which Muḥammad himself participated was twenty-seven (as opposed to the fifty-two which he sent out but did not accompany).[27] He then tells us whom Muḥammad appointed as deputy (*istakhlafa*) on each occasion, naming the expedition and the deputy; in reproducing the information below, I number

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Isḥāq's work quoted in Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/1627.16 = *History*, 8:168. It should be understood that Ibn Isḥāq's account of the life of Muḥammad was current in numerous transmissions that differed from one another to a greater or lesser extent; the only transmission that survives in a form approaching completeness is that embedded in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām.

21. Thus Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) in his entry on Ibn Umm Maktūm uses the verb in his own voice (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:150.26), after which it appears ten times in the traditions he quotes (151.3 and the four traditions immediately following, 153.15 and the two traditions immediately following). These traditions go back to traditionists of the generation of the Successors.

22. SS 1-2:688.17 = SG 331 (*ammara Abā Lubāba ʿalā ʾl-Madīna*). This departure from normal usage might be significant, see below, text to note 334.

23. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 125.16, 127.2, 127.3. His usage could be affected by the fact that he includes these deputies in a wider category of appointees whom he terms *umarāʾ Rasūl Allāh* (125.15).

24. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 3:181.8. See also below, note 334 and text to note 342.

25. Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn ibn ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār*, 1:75.3, and cf. 77.18.

26. W 7.20. The *isnād* is *qālū*, "they said", referring back to the massive composite *isnād* with which the work opens.

27. The number twenty-seven is Wāqidī's (W 7.14). Fifty-two is my count based on his list (W 2–7) with a minor adjustment to eliminate a doublet: the expedition of ʿAbdallāh ibn Unays against Sufyān ibn Khālid al-Hudhalī makes two appearances in the list (W 3.9, 4.12), but only the second is matched by an account in the body of the text (W 531–3).

the expeditions and add the date of each as given by Wāqidī.[28] The text of the list as we have it omits one expedition, no. 6; this is doubtless a scribal error, and I supply the missing information from the body of Wāqidī's work.[29] The column on the far right gives a reference to the account of the expedition in the body of the work. Where this account provides information about the deputy, the reference takes the form of a page and line number; but where such information is not given, I give the page number or numbers for the entire account. As can be seen, Wāqidī omits to give the relevant information in a third of the cases.

1. Ṣafar 2	Waddān[30]	Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda	W 11–12
2. Rabīʿ I 2	Buwāṭ	Saʿd ibn Muʿādh	W 12
3. Rabīʿ I 2	Kurz ibn Jābir[31]	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	W 12
4. Jumādā II 2	Dhū ʾl-ʿUshayra	Abū Salama ibn ʿAbd al-Asad	W 12f
5. Ramaḍān 2	Badr al-qitāl	Abū Lubāba ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir[32]	W 101.8[33]
6. Shawwāl 2	Qaynuqāʿ	Abū Lubāba ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir	W 180.16
7. Dhū ʾl-Ḥijja 2	Sawīq	Abū Lubāba ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir	W 182.6
8. Muḥarram 3	Kudr[34]	Ibn Umm Maktūm al-Maʿīṣī	W 183.18
9. Rabīʿ I 3	Dhū Amarr[35]	ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān	W 196.4
10. Jumādā I 3	Buḥrān[36]	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 197.3
11. Shawwāl 3	Uḥud	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 199.3[37]
12. Shawwāl 3	Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 334–40
13. Rabīʿ I 4	Banū ʾl-Naḍīr	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 371.8
14. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 4	Badr al-Mawʿid	ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa	W 384.4
15. Muḥarram 5	Dhāt al-Riqāʿ	ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān	W 402.11
16. Rabīʿ I 5	Dūmat al-Jandal	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa	W 404.4
17. Shaʿbān 5	Muraysīʿ	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	W 404–26
18. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 5	Khandaq	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 441.1

28. I take the dates from Wāqidī's chronological summary (W 2–7), where necessary converting them to the form "month year". Like Jones, I base my tables on Wāqidī's dating "only because his chronological system is more complete" (Jones, "Chronology of the *maghāzī*", 245, and cf. 272, 276).

29. W 180.16. The omission is at W 8.1.

30. So in the list of deputies (W 7.20), but in the body of the work this expedition is referred to as Ghazwat al-Abwāʾ (W 11.17, and cf. 2.12).

31. In the body of the work this expedition is referred to as Ghazwat Badr al-Ūlā (W 12.9).

32. For the view that he was in fact present at the battle, see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 1:192.3. I will not be concerned with the deputy Muḥammad appointed over "Qubāʾ and the people of the ʿĀliya" at this time (W 101.9).

33. Also W 159.11, 180.16.

34. In the body of the work this expedition is referred to as Ghazwat Qarārat al-Kudr (W 182.10).

35. In the body of the work this expedition is referred to as Ghazwat Ghaṭafān bi-Dhī Amarr (W 193.13).

36. In the body of the work this expedition is referred to as Ghazwat Banī Sulaym bi-Buḥrān bi-nāḥiyat al-Furʿ (W 196.6, so vocalized).

37. Also W 277.13.

19. Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 5	Banū Qurayẓa	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 496.17
20. Rabīʿ I 6	Banū Liḥyān	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 537.13
21. Rabīʿ II 6	Ghāba	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 537.20[38]
22. Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 6	Ḥudaybiya	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 573.8
23. Jumādā I 7	Khaybar	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī (Abū Dharr)[39]	W 636.11
24. Dhū 'l-Qaʿda 7	ʿUmrat al-qaḍiyya[40]	Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī[41]	W 731–41
25. Ramaḍān 8	Fatḥ, etc.[42]	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 780–960
26. Rajab 9	Tabūk	Ibn Umm Maktūm Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa (Muḥammad ibn Maslama)[43]	W 995.14
27. Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 10	Ḥajjat Rasūl Allāh[44]	Ibn Umm Maktūm	W 1088–1115

Ibn Hishām does not provide a list of deputies, but the information he gives enables us to construct one. In the list that follows I take Wāqidī's listing of the expeditions and their dates as a template and substitute the names of the deputies as given by Ibn Hishām, together with references to the Arabic text of his *Sīra*. Because Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām do not always agree on the chronology of the expeditions, my listing entails some changes to the order in which Ibn Hishām—and presumably Ibn Isḥāq before him—present the expeditions, as can be seen from the page numbers. But there is no disagreement between

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38. Also W 546.20.

39. For Sibāʿ as deputy see also W 684.4. At 637.1 he adds that "it is said" that the deputy was Abū Dharr, *sc.* al-Ghifārī, but prefers the view that it was Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa. I indicate non-preferred alternatives in parentheses.

40. Usually known as the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ (see W 6 n. 1 and 731 n. 1); I use this latter form when speaking in my own voice.

41. Note however that Ibn Saʿd quotes from Wāqidī a report that implies that Abū Ruhm was with the expedition (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:180.2).

42. The Fatḥ is the Conquest of Mecca, which led on to the Battle of Ḥunayn and an attack on Ṭāʾif. I will not be concerned with the deputy Muḥammad appointed over Mecca at this time (W 889.12, 959.13).

43. In his list, Wāqidī gives the deputy as Ibn Umm Maktūm, adding "and it is said Muḥammad ibn Maslama al-Ashhalī" (W 8.11). In his account of the expedition in the body of the work, however, Wāqidī identifies the deputy as Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī, again adding that "it is said" that it was Muḥammad ibn Maslama, this being the only expedition (*sc.* led by the Prophet) in which he did not participate (W 995.14). But in a quotation from Wāqidī found in Ibn ʿAsākir's history of Damascus we read that the deputy was Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa, or it is said Muḥammad ibn Maslama, or it is said Ibn Umm Maktūm, with Muḥammad ibn Maslama preferred (*athbatuhum ʿindanā*, *Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Shīrī, 2:35.18); according to the *isnād*, Ibn ʿAsākir received his text of Wāqidī by much the same line of transmission as we do (compare 33.12 and W 1.2), so the discrepancy is unexpected. Altogether, the unusual proliferation of candidates for the position of deputy for this particular expedition may be related to the problem of absenteeism associated with it in the sources; for anyone who was not there, to have been appointed deputy in Medina could justify an absence that was otherwise potentially problematic.

44. So Wāqidī's list (W 8.12), but in the body of the work he refers to it as the Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ (W 1088.5). Note that I use the conventional vocalization *ḥijja* in the month-name "Dhū 'l-Ḥijja", but defer to the vocalization marked in the text of Wāqidī in writing "Ḥajjat Rasūl Allāh" and "Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ". For the two vocalizations see Lane, *Lexicon*, 514b.

Wāqidī and Ibn Isḥāq—and hence Ibn Hishām—as to either the number or the identity of the expeditions led by Muḥammad.[45]

1. Ṣafar 2	Waddān	Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda	SS 1-2:591.1
2. Rabīʿ I 2	Buwāṭ	Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn	SS 1-2:598.10
3. Rabīʿ I 2	Kurz ibn Jābir[46]	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	SS 1-2:601.6
4. Jumādā II 2	Dhū ʾl-ʿUshayra[47]	Abū Salama ibn ʿAbd al-Asad	SS 1-2:598.16
5a. Ramaḍān 2	Badr al-qitāl[48]	ʿAmr ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 1-2:612.14
5b. Ramaḍān 2	Badr al-qitāl	Abū Lubāba[49]	SS 1-2:612.15
6. Shawwāl 2	Qaynuqāʿ[50]	Bashīr ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir[51]	SS 3-4:49.2
7. Dhū ʾl-Ḥijja 2	Sawīq	Bashīr ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir[52]	SS 3-4:45.3
8. Muḥarram 3	Kudr[53]	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī Ibn Umm Maktūm[54]	SS 3-4:43.14
9. Rabīʿ I 3	Dhū Amarr	ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān	SS 3-4:46.8
10. Jumādā I 3	Buḥrān[55]	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:46.12
11. Shawwāl 3	Uḥud	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:64.1
12. Shawwāl 3	Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:102.1
13. Rabīʿ I 4	Banū ʾl-Naḍīr	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:190.22
14. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 4	Badr al-Mawʿid[56]	ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy[57]	SS 3-4:209.15

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45. For Ibn Isḥāq's statement that their number was twenty-seven, and his list of them, see SS 3-4:608.13 = SG 659f. Caetani in his chronological digest of early Islamic history gives a list of deputies for eighteen of Muḥammad's expeditions (*Annali*, 2:1:523f n. 2, with cross-references to his accounts of the individual expeditions); he follows Ibn Hishām closely,

46. Here Safawān or Badr al-Ūlā (SS 1-2:601.2, 601.9 = SG 286).

47. Here ʿUshayra (SS 1-2:598.14, 599.7, 599.14 = SG 285).

48. Here Badr al-kubrā (SS 1-2:606.6 = SG 289).

49. For Abū Lubāba, in addition to SS 1-2:612.15 = SG 292 and 738 no. 354, see SS 1-2:688.16 = SG 331. The first is from Ibn Hishām, the second from Ibn Isḥāq. It is presumably the second that has a parallel in the Rāzī transmission of his work noted by Mughulṭāy ibn Qilīj (*al-Zahr al-bāsim*, 907.6, where Salama is Salama ibn al-Faḍl al-Rāzī). Mughulṭāy also mentions that Mūsā ibn ʿUqba (d. 141/758f) said the same (907.12), and repeats it in his *Ishāra*, 200.6; this is confirmed by a report from Mūsā found in Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 403 no. 1203, where Mūsā transmits from Zuhrī. Incidentally, the report immediately following (no. 1204) may be an early attestation of knowledge of Ibn Hishām's work in the east. For the possibly distinct roles of Ibn Umm Maktūm and Abū Lubāba see the first subsection of section 4.3 below.

50. Here Banū Qaynuqāʿ (SS 3-4:47.1 = SG 363).

51. That is Abū Lubāba.

52. Adding *wa-huwa Abū Lubāba*.

53. Here Ghazwat Banī Sulaym biʾl-Kudr (SS 3-4:43.11 = SG 360).

54. The two are given as alternatives with no expression of preference, though the order would suggest that Sibāʿ is the preferred candidate.

55. Here Ghazwat al-Furuʿ min Buḥrān (SS 3-4:46.11 = SG 362; Furuʿ is so vocalized at 46.14).

56. Here Ghazwat Badr al-ākhira (SS 3-4:209.10 = SG 447).

57. Adding the name of Ubayy's mother Salūl and the *nisba* al-Anṣārī.

15. Muḥarram 5	Dhāt al-Riqāʿ	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān)[58]	SS 3-4:203.14
16. Rabīʿ I 5	Dūmat al-Jandal	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī	SS 3-4:213.16
17. Shaʿbān 5	Muraysīʿ[59]	Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī)[60]	SS 3-4:289.11
18. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 5	Khandaq	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:220.6
19. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 5	Banū Qurayẓa	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:234.5
20. Rabīʿ I 6	Banū Liḥyān	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:279.10
21. Rabīʿ II 6	Ghāba[61]	Ibn Umm Maktūm	SS 3-4:284.15
22. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 6	Ḥudaybiya	Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī	SS 3-4:308.8
23. Jumādā I 7	Khaybar	Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī	SS 3-4:328.8
24. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 7	ʿUmrat al-qaḍiyya[62]	ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duʾalī	SS 3-4:370.12
25. Ramaḍān 8	Fatḥ, etc.	Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī[63]	SS 3-4:399.21
26. Rajab 9	Tabūk	Muḥammad ibn Maslama al-Anṣārī (Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa)[64]	SS 3-4:519.9
27. Dhū ʾl-Ḥijja 10	Ḥajjat Rasūl Allāh[65]	Abū Dujāna al-Sāʿidī (Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī)[66]	SS 3-4:601.11

The third list is provided by Khalīfa in his *Taʾrīkh*.[67] It gives information for only

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58. ʿUthmān is mentioned with the formula "it is said".

59. Here Ghazwat Banī ʾl-Muṣṭaliq (SS 3-4:289.6 = SG 490).

60. Numayla is mentioned with the formula "it is said".

61. Here Ghazwat Dhī Qarad (SS 3-4:281.2 = SG 486; cf. SS 281.6, 281.12).

62. Here ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ (SS 3-4:370.4 = SG 530).

63. Giving his name as Kulthūm ibn Ḥuṣayn ibn ʿUtba ibn Khalaf. Unusually, the naming of the deputy comes not from Ibn Hishām but rather from a tradition going back to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-ʿAbbās and transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq; that this cannot be an unmarked interpolation of Ibn Hishām's is shown by the parallel in the Ḥarrānī transmission of Ibn Isḥāq's work (see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 2388 no. 5848; for the Ḥarrānī transmitters Muḥammad ibn Salama and Abū Jaʿfar al-Nufaylī see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 25:289–91 and 16:88–92 respectively). Oddly, Abū Nuʿaym elsewhere describes Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa as *ʿāmil al-Nabī ʿalā ʾl-Madīna ʿām Ḥunayn* (*Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 1451.12).

64. After mentioning Muḥammad ibn Maslama, Ibn Hishām goes on to quote the father of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad al-Darāwardī to the effect that the deputy was Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa (SS 3-4:519.10 = SG 783 no. 860). Ṭabarī, by contrast, attributes this information to Ibn Isḥāq (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/1696.4 = *History*, 9:51; for his line of transmission from Ibn Isḥāq see below, note 87). Ibn ʿAsākir, however, attributes the statement that Muḥammad appointed Muḥammad ibn Maslama to Ibn Isḥāq (*Taʾrīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. Shīrī, 2:31.1; his transmitter from Ibn Isḥāq is Yūnus, that is the Kūfan Yūnus ibn Bukayr (d. 199/814f), see 23.18).

65. Here Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ (SS 3-4:601.4 = SG 649).

66. Sibāʿ is mentioned with the formula "it is said".

67. Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 61.9. In his narrative coverage of the expeditions (13–58) he only mentions one deputy appointed over Medina, namely Muḥammad ibn Maslama at the time of the expedition to Kudr (16.8). He ascribes this information to Ibn Isḥāq, whose work he knows in two Baṣran transmissions (see 8.7); it does not appear in Ibn Hishām's recension (SS 3-4:43.12), nor in the Rāzī transmission quoted by Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, I/1363.11 = *History*, 7:88).

nineteen of the expeditions.[68] Again I take Wāqidī's listing of the expeditions and their dates as a template, and substitute the names of the deputies as given by Khalīfa.[69] Note that he states that Ibn Umm Maktūm was deputy for thirteen expeditions, but in the text as we have it he only names twelve of them.[70]

1. Ṣafar 2	Waddān	Ibn Umm Maktūm
2. Rabīʿ I 2	Buwāṭ	Ibn Umm Maktūm
3. Rabīʿ I 2	Kurz ibn Jābir	Ibn Umm Maktūm
4. Jumādā II 2	Dhū ʾl-ʿUshayra	Ibn Umm Maktūm
5a. Ramaḍān 2	Badr al-qitāl	Ibn Umm Maktūm
5b. Ramaḍān 2	Badr al-qitāl	Abū Lubāba
6. Shawwāl 2	Qaynuqāʿ	—
7. Dhū ʾl-Ḥijja 2	Sawīq	Ibn Umm Maktūm
8. Muḥarram 3	Kudr	Muḥammad ibn Maslama
9. Rabīʿ I 3	Dhū Amarr	Ibn Umm Maktūm
10. Jumādā I 3	Buḥrān	Ibn Umm Maktūm
11. Shawwāl 3	Uḥud	Ibn Umm Maktūm
12. Shawwāl 3	Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad	Ibn Umm Maktūm
13. Rabīʿ I 4	Banū ʾl-Naḍīr	—
14. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 4	Badr al-Mawʿid	—
15. Muḥarram 5	Dhāt al-Riqāʿ	Ibn Umm Maktūm
16. Rabīʿ I 5	Dūmat al-Jandal	—
17. Shaʿbān 5	Muraysīʿ	Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī
18. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 5	Khandaq	—
19. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 5	Banū Qurayẓa	—
20. Rabīʿ I 6	Banū Liḥyān	—
21. Rabīʿ II 6	Ghāba	—
22. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 6	Ḥudaybiya	ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ of the Banū al-Duʾil

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68. Compare the traditions according to which the number of Muḥammad's expeditions was nineteen (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, ed. Laḥḥām, 8:467 nos. 1–3, 5). In Khalīfa's narrative of events I count twenty-two expeditions.

69. I also take for granted the alternative names of expeditions already noted. Khalīfa refers to Kudr as Qarqarat al-Kudr in his list (*Taʾrīkh*, 61.15), though not in his actual account of the expedition (16.3); for this variant form of the name see W 182 n. 4.

70. Whether or not the discrepancy goes back to Khalīfa himself, it is old: the part of Khalīfa's list relating to Ibn Umm Maktūm is reproduced by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) in one of his biographical entries on him (*Istīʿāb*, 1198f no. 1946), and the same discrepancy appears. Here the passage is prefixed with the words "he came to Medina a little after Badr" and apparently ascribed to Wāqidī (1198.15). This ascription of the passage should be disregarded, among other things because the prefixed words and the list of expeditions are incompatible: if Ibn Umm Maktūm only came to Medina a little after Badr, then he could not have acted as deputy for the first four expeditions. Compare also the way the prefixed words are continued in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's other entry on Ibn Umm Maktūm (997.11), and the unattributed parallel in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4:1:150.25.

23. Jumādā I 7	Khaybar	Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī
24. Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda 7	ʿUmrat al-qaḍiyya	Abū Ruhm
25. Ramaḍān 8	Fatḥ, etc.	Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī Kulthūm ibn Ḥuṣayn
26. Rajab 9	Tabūk	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī
27. Dhū ʾl-Ḥijja 10	Ḥajjat Rasūl Allāh	Ibn Umm Maktūm

Khalīfa adds that Ghālib ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī served as deputy at the time of some unspecified expedition or expeditions of the Prophet (*fī baʿḍ ghazawātihi*); this can perhaps be identified as that against the Banū Liḥyān.[71] In any case I will include Ghālib in what follows.

As will become cumulatively evident, posterity paid a lot of attention to the data given by Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām. Khalīfa's contribution, by contrast, seems to have had little impact.[72]

2.3 Other relatively early sources for Muḥammad's deputies

There are, of course, many other sources that provide information on Muḥammad's deputies, but my impression is that, while they offer us occasional points of interest, they mostly tend to repeat the data of Wāqidī or Ibn Hishām without telling us anything new. I treat here sources of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, and relegate later sources to an appendix.

Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), in his account of the expeditions led by Muḥammad, in general names deputies identical to those given by Wāqidī[73]—no surprise given his close connection to him.[74] But he does contribute a finer point. The reader may (or may not) recollect that with regard to the expedition to Tabūk (no. 26), Wāqidī confuses us: he names the deputy as Ibn Umm Maktūm in one place, as Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa in another, and in both places adds that it is also said that it was Muḥammad ibn Maslama. Here Ibn Saʿd gives us his own opinion on the question, in apparent disagreement with Wāqidī: he tells us that the deputy was Muḥammad ibn Maslama, adding that in his opinion this view is more to be relied on than any alternative.[75] In his biographical entries he sometimes tells us that the person in

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71. Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 61.18. Ibn al-Kalbī states that Muḥammad appointed him deputy for the Liḥyān expedition (no. 20; *Jamharat al-nasab*, 142.2).

72. For a possible exception, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 4:330.23, where it is stated that Muḥammad ibn Maslama served as deputy for an expedition that some say was Qarqarat al-Kudr (no. 8); neither Wāqidī nor Ibn Hishām says this, but Khalīfa does.

73. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:1–136. Except for Tabūk the only departure is the Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ, for which he does not name a deputy (124–36). For the Fatḥ he agrees with Wāqidī in naming the deputy as Ibn Umm Maktūm (97.20), but later quotes a tradition that would place him with the expedition (102.4).

74. *EI²*, art. "Ibn Saʿd" (J. W. Fück).

75. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:119.17 (*wa-huwa athbat ʿindanā mimman qāla ʾstakhlafa ghayrahu*). In his biography of Muḥammad ibn Maslama he has him as deputy without any qualification (3:2:19.8, 19.17). Though not found in Wāqidī's work as we have it, it could be that this in fact goes back to him (see above, note 43).

question served as deputy, and the information he provides there regularly agrees with what he has told us in his account of the expeditions.[76]

Another author who has something to offer is Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) in his chapter on people on whom Muḥammad conferred authority (umarāʾ Rasūl Allāh).[77] Here, in a mixed bag made up mostly of what we might call provincial governors, he names those whom Muḥammad appointed over Medina for four (and only four) expeditions. The first is Ḥudaybiya (no. 22), for which Ibn Ḥabīb names Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī,[78] in disagreement with all three of our authors, but, as will shortly be seen, in agreement with Balādhurī's mention of an alternative. The second is Khaybar (no. 23), for which he names Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī,[79] in agreement with Wāqidī; he adds that it is also said that it was Abū Ruhm, in agreement with Khalīfa. The third is the Fatḥ (no. 25), for which he again names Abū Ruhm,[80] in agreement with Ibn Hishām and Khalīfa. The fourth is Tabūk (no. 26), for which he names ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib,[81] whom we here encounter as a deputy for the first time.

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76. The only further discrepancy concerns Ibn Umm Maktūm, who he tells us was deputy for Badr (Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, ed. Sachau, 4:1:151.14, a Kūfan tradition from a Raqqan source; contrast 2:1:6.23). This agrees with Ibn Hishām and Khalīfa.

77. Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbar, 125–8.

78. Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbar, 127.1.

79. Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbar, 127.2. That his name appears in the text as Subayʿ is likely to be a copyist's error.

80. Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbar, 127.4.

81. Ibn Ḥabīb, Muḥabbar, 125.16. That Muḥammad appointed ʿAlī as the deputy over Medina (istakhlafa ʿAliyyan ʿalā ʾl-Madīna) for Tabūk is already explicitly stated in what looks like a Baṣran tradition from Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ preserved by ʿAbd al-Razzāq (Muṣannaf, 11:226 no. 20,390; contrast 2:395 no. 3828, where the deputy is named as Ibn Umm Maktūm). This is to be compared with what Ibn Isḥāq tells us: ʿAlī was left behind to look after Muḥammad's family, for which he was mocked by the Hypocrites (SS 3-4:519.17 = SG 604). Other versions of the tradition have an air of equivocating between these two views. Thus the text given by Ibn Saʿd says only that Muḥammad left ʿAlī behind in Medina (khallafahu bi-ʾl-Madīna, Ṭabaqāt, ed. Sachau, 3:1:15.8), not that he made him deputy over it; likewise a version in Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ does not specify over what ʿAlī was appointed (Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, 5-6:309 no. 857 = maghāzī 80; the reference to women and children is compatible with either view). In this tradition ʿAlī is upset at being left behind, to which Muḥammad replies: "Are you not satisfied to have the same status (manzila) in relation to me as Aaron had in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?" The reference is to Q7:142, where Moses, before going to speak with God, tells Aaron: "Be my deputy among my people (ukhlufnī fī qawmī), and put things right (aṣliḥ), and do not follow the way of the workers of corruption." Though the verse does not use the noun khalīfa, the term is regularly employed by the exegetes to gloss ukhlufnī as kun khalīfatī, "Be my deputy" (Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, 6:49.3; Abū ʾl-Layth al-Samarqandī, Tafsīr, 1:567.15; Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, 2:500.21; Ṭabrisī, Majmaʿ al-bayān, 2:473.21; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Tafsīr, 14:227.10, all to Q7:142). The verb istakhlafa likewise appears in references to Aaron's role as deputy; thus Ṭabarī in his history says of Moses that he istakhlafa Hārūn ʿalā Banī Isrāʾīl ("made Aaron his deputy over the Children of Israel", Taʾrīkh, I/489.9 = History, 3:72; similarly Thaʿlabī, Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ, 184.5, and Qummī, Tafsīr, 1:241.19 to Q7:142; for the noun istikhlāf in this context see Ṭabrisī, Majmaʿ al-bayān, 2:473.29). Yet the role of ʿAlī as deputy for the Tabūk expedition is to my knowledge the only context in which the Mosaic model is invoked with regard to Muḥammad's deputies, and I have seen no echo of the Koranic use of the verb aṣlaḥa to describe the duties of a deputy. Altogether, the identification of ʿAlī as deputy for Tabūk could be tendentious (a view firmly adopted by Caetani, see Annali, 2:1:245, where he says of the story "la sua natura apocrifa è più che manifesta"), and we are clearly in the thick of early sectarian tensions. But I suspect that the sources I cite here are as yet innocent of the Imāmī argument that the fact that the Prophet appointed ʿAlī his deputy (istakhlafahu) over Medina implies that he was to be his successor

In sum:

22. Ḥudaybiya	Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī
23. Khaybar	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī
25. Fatḥ, etc.	Abū Ruhm
26. Tabūk	ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib

The case is similar with Balādhurī (d. 279/892f).[82] His data are identical with those provided by Wāqidī except for a cluster of five expeditions in years 6 to 9 (nos. 22-26 in the lists above).[83] They are as follows (with alternatives in parentheses):

22. Ḥudaybiya	Ibn Umm Maktūm
	(Abū Ruhm Kulthūm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ghifārī)
23. Khaybar	Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Kinānī
	(Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Kinānī)
24. ʿUmrat al-qaḍiyya	Abū Dharr Jundab ibn Junāda al-Ghifārī
	(ʿUwayf ibn Rabīʿa ibn al-Aḍbaṭ al-Kinānī)
25. Fatḥ, etc.	Ibn Umm Maktūm
	(Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī)
26. Tabūk	Ibn Umm Maktūm
	(Muḥammad ibn Maslama al-Anṣārī, Abū Ruhm, Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa)

As can be seen by comparing this list with Wāqidī's, in one case—the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ—Balādhurī does not mention the (preferred) deputy named by Wāqidī, but in the other four cases he does, putting him first. In each case, however, he cites at least one alternative. Two of the three alternatives he names for Tabūk are also mentioned by Wāqidī. At the same time, five of Balādhurī's alternatives for these expeditions are mentioned by Ibn Hishām. In two cases Balādhurī tells us something we have not heard before: in naming Abū Ruhm as an alternative for Tabūk, and in naming Abū Dharr as the (preferred) deputy for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍiyya. Like Ibn Hishām and Ibn Saʿd, Balādhurī takes the view that Muḥammad ibn Maslama is the deputy of choice for Tabūk.[84]

Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897f) does not generally bother to name deputies, but on two occasions he does so: the Fatḥ (no. 25) and Tabūk (no. 26). For the Fatḥ he gives the deputy as Abū Lubāba ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir—already familiar to us as a deputy, but only for early

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(*khalīfatuhu*) after his death (al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, *Minhāj al-karāma*, ed. Sālim, 169.1; for Shīʿite use of the appointment and the *ḥadīth al-manzila* in this connection, see Mufīd, *Irshād*, 1:154–8 = trans. Howard, 106–9; Miskinzoda, "Significance of the *ḥadīth* of the position of Aaron", especially 72, 76f).

82. For his coverage of Muḥammad's expeditions see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 287–371.

83. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 350.21, 352.11, 352.22, 353.11, 364.13, 368.17. One might have expected disagreement to be more frequent for the earlier years, and especially for the minor raids of those years. There must be some relationship between the treatments of this cluster by Ibn Ḥabīb and Balādhurī, but I don't know what it is.

84. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 368.19. For Ibn Saʿd, see above, note 75.

expeditions.[85] For Tabūk, like Ibn Ḥabīb, he identifies ʿAlī as the deputy.[86]

The major sources used by Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) for the expeditions led by Muḥammad are Wāqidī and Ibn Isḥāq.[87] He specifies the deputy for just over half the expeditions, and the names he provides regularly agree with those given by Wāqidī, whom he often identifies as his source. But on two occasions he states that he owes his information about the deputy to Ibn Isḥāq. One is the Fatḥ (no. 25), where he identifies the deputy as Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī, quoting on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq the same tradition that we find in Ibn Hishām's work.[88] The other is Tabūk (no. 26), for which Ṭabarī quotes Ibn Isḥāq naming the deputy as Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa;[89] this does not appear in Ibn Hishām's transmission, though he quotes a tradition from another source to the same effect.[90]

Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) in one of his works gives an account of Muḥammad's life that includes his expeditions.[91] Except in two instances he names the deputies, and except in four instances these names agree with those given by Wāqidī. The four instances where there is divergence are Dūmat al-Jandal (no. 16), for which Masʿūdī names Ibn Umm Maktūm;[92] Banū Qurayẓa (no. 19), for which he names Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī;[93] the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ (no. 24), for which he names Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa;[94] and Tabūk (no. 26), for which he names ʿAlī, adding that others say it was Abū Ruhm, Ibn Umm Maktūm, Muḥammad ibn Maslama, or Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa, and then commenting that the best view (al-ashhar) is that it was ʿAlī.[95] I have not seen parallels for the first three of these expeditions; for Tabūk, as we have seen, ʿAlī is named by Ibn Ḥabīb and Yaʿqūbī, and all the others are mentioned at least by Balādhurī.

Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965) has an extended biography of the Prophet at the beginning of one of his works.[96] In the course of this he gives the names of the deputies for about three-quarters of Muḥammad's expeditions, and these names agree with those found in Wāqidī in all but two cases. The first of these is unremarkable: for the Fatḥ (no. 25) he names Abū

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85. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 2:59.4.

86. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 2:70.5.

87. The lines of transmission by which he received their works are different from those by which we have them. Our transmitter of Wāqidī's *Maghāzī* is Muḥammad ibn Shujāʿ al-Thaljī (d. 266/880), whereas Ṭabarī's is Muḥammad ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845). The key figure in our transmission of Ibn Isḥāq's life of Muḥammad is the Egyptian Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), whereas the transmitters to Ṭabarī are the Rāzīs Salama ibn al-Faḍl (d. after 190/805) and Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd (d. 248/862f).

88. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/1627.14 = *History*, 8:168; SS 3-4:399.19 = SG 545.

89. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/1696.4 = *History*, 9:51.

90. SS 3-4:519.10 = SG 783 n. 860.

91. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 202–43.

92. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 215.6.

93. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 217.8.

94. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 228.6.

95. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 235.20, 236.4.

96. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 1:14–2:151.

Ruhm al-Ghifārī,[97] in agreement with Ibn Isḥāq, Khalīfa, and others. The second is new to us: for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ he names Nājiya ibn Jundab al-Aslamī, whom I have not seen mentioned as a deputy in any other source; this could well be an error.[98]

I will leave aside the data provided by these and later sources in my main analysis, though I will cite them occasionally in particular connections. It is worth noting that these seven relatively early sources provide us with only two names of deputies that are absent from the data provided by Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, and Khalīfa: ʿAlī and Nājiya ibn Jundab.

2.4 The extent of agreement between the three major sources

How far do our three major sources agree on the information they provide?
Let us begin with the two full lists, that provided by Wāqidī and that derived from Ibn

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97. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 2:42.7.

98. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 2: 26.4. Nājiya ibn Jundab is not well-known, but neither is he a complete nonentity (for his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1522f no. 2650; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:2:44.22, 45.6). His name and that of his father appear in a variety of forms (thus Wāqidī sometimes refers to him as Nājiya ibn al-Aʿjam, see for example W 587.11, and contrast the following line, while Ibn Saʿd treats the latter as a distinct person), but his tribal affiliation is clear: he belonged to Aslam (T201), yet another of the local tribes of the Ḥijāz (see *EI²*, art. "Khuzāʿa" (M. J. Kister), 78b for their early alliance with Muḥammad), and within it to the clan of Sahm. As a deputy he would thus be similar to our various Kinānīs. He himself is not found in T201, but he would belong there as a descendant of Dārim ibn ʿItr. He died in Medina in the reign of Muʿāwiya (ruled 41–60/661–80), and is known mainly for two things. The first is that Muḥammad would put him in charge of his sacrificial animals when taking or sending them to Mecca for the pilgrimage (for al-Ḥudaybiya see W 572.15, 575.3, and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:2:44.24; for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ see W 732.16, Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:87.19, 4:2:45.1, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 353.8; for the pilgrimage led by Abū Bakr see W 1077.5, and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:121.18; for the Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ see W 1090.18, 1091.1, and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:124.19, 4:2:45.3). The second is that at a thirsty moment on the expedition to Ḥudaybiya, Muḥammad sent a man down a well to poke around with an arrow and thereby release a supply of water; his fellow-tribesmen later claimed that Nājiya was the one in question, and convincingly backed this up with some snappy verses exchanged between him and a slave-girl while he was working at the bottom of the well (W 587.8; SS 3-4:310.10 = SG 501; and see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:2:45.9). He has no record of military deeds in our sources, but he boasts of being a warrior in these and other verses (for his verses spoken at Khaybar see W 701.5; SS 3-4:348.11 = SG 521); moreover he carried one of the two standards of Aslam at the Fatḥ (W 800.17, 819.11, and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:178.24, 4:2:45.13). Ibn Saʿd informs us that he had no descendants (4:2:45.16), but Wāqidī tells us that he owes his knowledge of the verses spoken at the well and at Khaybar to a descendant of Nājiya's called ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Wahb (W 588.3, 701.8). As pointed out to me by Michael Lecker, Wāqidī was himself a *mawlā* of Aslam, and specifically of Sahm (see *EI²*, art. "al-Wāqidī" (S. Leder), and W 5 of the editor's introduction); this connection may have eased his access to such information and boosted Nājiya's reputation. Returning to Nājiya's alleged role as deputy, it will be apparent that Ibn Ḥibbān's statement that Nājiya was deputy for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ conflicts with several sources that have him in charge of the sacrificial animals on that occasion. In fact the text of Ibn Ḥibbān reads at this point, speaking of Muḥammad: *thumma aḥrama wa-sāqa sabʿīn badana fī sabʿimiʾat rajul, wa-ʾstaʿmala ʿalā ʾl-Madīna Nājiya ibn Jundab al-Aslamī* (*Thiqāt*, 2:26.4). Given the immediately preceding reference to sacrificial animals, it is likely enough that at some point in the transmission of the text *ʿalā ʾl-budn* was corrupted to *ʿalā ʾl-Madīna* in this sentence, perhaps by a scribe who was expecting a statement about the appointment of a deputy (the use of *istaʿmala* with regard to oversight of sacrificial animals is in place, see, for example, W 572.16, 1077.7).

Hishām. Comparing the tables given above, we see that the two agree unambiguously on sixteen of the twenty-seven expeditions,[99] and disagree unambiguously on eight.[100] In between, they are in ambiguous agreement on the remaining three—that is to say, in each of these cases Ibn Hishām, and in one case also Wāqidī, give alternatives, and at least one of the alternatives is shared.[101] In tabular form:

WĀQIDĪ AND IBN HISHĀM:

unambiguous agreement: 16
ambiguous agreement: 3
unambiguous disagreement: 8

——————————————————

Total: 27

How does Khalīfa's list compare? Here the comparison is only for nineteen expeditions—call it twenty to include the case of the deputy whom Khalīfa adds to his list without specifying an expedition. Within these twenty, as regards Khalīfa and Wāqidī, we have unambiguous agreement in six cases,[102] ambiguous agreement in one,[103] and unambiguous disagreement in thirteen cases.[104] As regards Khalīfa and Ibn Hishām, we have unambiguous agreement in five cases,[105] ambiguous agreement in two,[106] and unambiguous disagreement in thirteen cases.[107] Among these there are two expeditions for which Khalīfa agrees ambiguously or unambiguously with Ibn Hishām against Wāqidī.[108] In tabular form:

KHALĪFA AND WĀQIDĪ:

unambiguous agreement: 6
ambiguous agreement: 1
unambiguous disagreement: 13

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Total: 20

———————————————

99. Nos. 1, 3–7 (but not 5a), 9–13, 16, 18–21.

100. Nos. 2, 14, 17, 22–25, 27. It is again surprising that disagreements are most frequent in the later rather than the early years.

101. Nos. 8, 15, 26. In the first and second cases it is the second name given by Ibn Hishām that is shared; in the third case it is his first name and Wāqidī's second.

102. Nos. 5/5b, 10–12, 24, 27.

103. No. 26. In this case Khalīfa shares the first name given by Wāqidī in his account of the expedition, though not in his introductory list.

104. Nos. 1–4, 7–9, 15, 17, 22–23, 25, plus the case of Ghālib. Khalīfa's naming of Ghālib constitutes an unambiguous disagreement irrespective of which expedition he might be assigned to, since Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī do not name him for any expedition.

105. Nos. 5a-b, 10–12, 25.

106. Nos. 17, 26. In each case the agreement is with Ibn Hishām's second name.

107. Nos. 1–4, 7–9, 15, 22–24, 27.

108. No. 17 is a case of ambiguous agreement, and no. 25 is a case of unambiguous agreement.

KHALĪFA AND IBN HISHĀM:

unambiguous agreement: 5
ambiguous agreement: 2
unambiguous disagreement: 13

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Total: 20

If we compare all three, we see that there are four cases of unambiguous agreement,[109] one of ambiguous agreement,[110] and sixteen of unambiguous disagreement.[111] That leaves six cases where Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām agree but Khalīfa is silent.[112] In tabular form:

ALL THREE SOURCES:

unambiguous agreement: 4
ambiguous agreement: 1
unambiguous disagreement: 16
agreement but Khalīfa is silent: 6

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Total: 27

There are a couple of curious points to note here about Ibn Umm Maktūm. First, Khalīfa's statement that he served as deputy for thirteen expeditions (though he only names twelve) is not isolated. There is also a Kūfan tradition from Shaʿbī (d. 104/722f) to the same effect.[113] Moreover, the number of expeditions for which Wāqidī assigns Ibn Umm Maktūm as deputy is thirteen, though one case is ambiguous.[114] So there is a notable

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109. Nos. 5b, 10–12.

110. No. 26.

111. In nos. 1–4, 7–9, 15, 17, 22–25, and 27, plus the case of Ghālib, Khalīfa is in disagreement with one or both of the other authors. In no. 14 Khalīfa is silent, but Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām disagree. I leave aside no. 5a, where Khalīfa agrees with Ibn Hishām but Wāqidī is silent.

112. Nos. 6, 13, 16, 18–21. This totals seven, but one of them is presumably the expedition to which Ghālib would be assigned.

113. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:151.3. The transmitter from Shaʿbī and to the Wāsiṭī Yazīd ibn Hārūn (d. 206/821) is the Kūfan Muḥammad ibn Sālim al-Hamdānī (for whom see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 25:238–42). The expeditions in question are not named. Note also the statement of al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī (d. c. 206/821) that Muḥammad appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm deputy over Medina for most of his expeditions (*fī akthar ghazawātihi*, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. al-ʿAẓm, 9:276.3); see also ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 2:395 no. 3829 (the Prophet would appoint Ibn Umm Maktūm deputy over Medina when he was traveling).

114. Nos. 8, 10–13, 18–22, 25–27; the ambiguous case is no. 26 (Tabūk). Ibn Saʿd in his biography of Ibn Umm Maktūm quotes a list transmitted by Wāqidī of the expeditions for which he served as deputy (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:153.25). Here twelve expeditions are listed (actually eleven, since Ghāba and Dhū Qarad are the same expedition), viz. nos. 8–13, 18–22; in comparison with the list given by Wāqidī in his *Maghāzī*, this omits nos. 25–27, but adds no. 9, for which he there names ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān as deputy. Ibn Hishām names Ibn Umm Maktūm as deputy in only ten cases, one of them ambiguous (nos. 5a, 8, 10–13, 18–21; the ambiguous case is no. 8).

agreement here between Khalīfa and Wāqidī. And yet when it comes to naming the expeditions in question, the agreement largely dissolves: they agree on only four cases,[115] and disagree on eight.[116] This might suggest that the number thirteen came first, and that the attempts to identify the thirteen expeditions came later. Second, there is a Baṣran tradition from Qatāda ibn Diʿāma (d. 117/735f) that says something very different: that the Prophet appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm as his deputy over Medina twice[117]—and no more. It is not isolated, for we have the same information from the Khurasanian exegete Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim (d. 105/723f).[118]

2.5 The pool of deputies

One thing—not the only thing—we can do with the lists of deputies discussed above is to merge their data to produce a pool of deputies, that is to say, a list of all the men who are said by any of our three main sources to have served in this role. In the list that follows, the numbers identify the expeditions for which each author names the man in question as deputy. Where an author provides an alternative name, the one he prefers is marked with a single question mark ("26?"), the other with two ("26??"). Here is the pool, a total of eighteen names, in alphabetical order:

ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy
    Wāqidī:
    Ibn Hishām: 14
    Khalīfa:
ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa
    Wāqidī: 14
    Ibn Hishām:
    Khalīfa:
Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī
    Wāqidī: 23??
    Ibn Hishām: 15?, 17?

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115. Nos. 10–12, 27.

116. Nos. 1–4, 5a, 7, 9, 15.

117. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:151.10. The transmitter from Qatāda and to the Baṣran ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 213/828f) is the Baṣran Hammām ibn Yaḥyā (d. 164/781). For Hammām, see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 30:302-10, and for ʿAmr ibn ʿĀṣim, see 22:87–90. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (*Istīʿāb*, 1199.6 no. 1946) quotes the tradition from Qatāda from the Baṣran Companion Anas ibn Mālik (d. 91/709f), noting that he cannot have heard what others had heard (*sc.* about the number of times Ibn Umm Maktūm served as deputy)—though God knows best. The tradition is also found in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 3:131 no. 2931 (*al-kharāj waʾl-imāra waʾl-fayʾ* 3), and in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 12:444 no. 36,322, where it forms part of an exegesis of Q80:1–2; the *isnād*s are solidly Baṣran (for Ṭabarī's see Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarīs", 301).

118. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:153.21, in an exegesis of Q80:1–2. The transmitter from Ḍaḥḥāk and to Yazīd ibn Hārūn is Juwaybir ibn Saʿīd al-Azdī, a Balkhī who was reckoned among the Kūfans (see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 5:167–71). This tradition also appears in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 12:444 no. 36,325, where the transmitter from Ḍaḥḥāk is ʿUbayd ibn Sulaymān al-Bāhilī, a Kūfan who settled in Marw (see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 19:212f) and in turn transmits to a Marwazī (see Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarīs", 304).

Khalīfa:
Abū Dujāna al-Sāʿidī
    Wāqidī:
    Ibn Hishām: 27?
    Khalīfa:
Abū Lubāba Bashīr ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir al-ʿAmrī
    Wāqidī: 5, 6, 7
    Ibn Hishām: 5b, 6, 7
    Khalīfa: 5b
Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī
    Wāqidī: 24
    Ibn Hishām: 25
    Khalīfa: 23, 24, 25
Abū Salama ibn ʿAbd al-Asad
    Wāqidī: 4
    Ibn Hishām: 4
    Khalīfa:
Ghālib ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī
    Wāqidī:
    Ibn Hishām:
    Khalīfa: unspecified
Ibn Umm Maktūm al-Maʿīṣī
    Wāqidī: 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26?, 27
    Ibn Hishām: 5a, 8??, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21
    Khalīfa: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 27
Muḥammad ibn Maslama al-Ashhalī
    Wāqidī: 26??
    Ibn Hishām: 26?
    Khalīfa: 8
Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī
    Wāqidī:
    Ibn Hishām: 17??, 22, 23
    Khalīfa: 17
Saʿd ibn Muʿādh
    Wāqidī: 2
    Ibn Hishām:
    Khalīfa:
Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda
    Wāqidī: 1
    Ibn Hishām: 1
    Khalīfa:
Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn
    Wāqidī:

    Ibn Hishām: 2
    Khalīfa:
Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī
    Wāqidī: 16, 23?, 26?
    Ibn Hishām: 8?, 16, 26??, 27??
    Khalīfa: 26
ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān
    Wāqidī: 9, 15
    Ibn Hishām: 9, 15??
    Khalīfa:
ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duʾalī
    Wāqidī:
    Ibn Hishām: 24
    Khalīfa: 22
Zayd ibn Ḥāritha
    Wāqidī: 3, 17
    Ibn Hishām: 3
    Khalīfa:

Of these eighteen names, two are peculiar to Wāqidī, three to Ibn Hishām, and one to Khalīfa. Five are shared by Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām but not Khalīfa, two by Ibn Hishām and Khalīfa but not Wāqidī, and none by Wāqidī and Khalīfa but not Ibn Hishām. Only five are shared by all three authors. Yet if we set aside Khalīfa's list as incomplete and compare only Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām, the number shared between them is ten out of seventeen. Of course, if we take into consideration the particular expeditions to which the names are assigned, the agreement diminishes substantially. This clearly raises questions about the reliability of the data, but for the moment let us take the pool as is.

3. Contextualizing the data

3.1 Tribal affiliation

There are a number of things we might like to know about the men named as deputies, but one of the most accessible is their tribal affiliation. This is something that clearly mattered intensely to the society in which they lived, and the information has been well preserved for posterity.

Here then are the eighteen members of the pool arranged according to their tribal affiliations. An annotation of the form "T11.23" indicates where the person appears in a standard set of genealogical tables.[119] As a reminder of how well or poorly attested these men are as deputies, I assign to each a grade: [I] means that only one of our authors mentions him, [II] that two of them do, and [III] that all three do so.[120]

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119. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, vol. 1. In "T11.23", 11 is the number of the table and 23 the line number within the table.

120. This grading takes no account of the number of times each author mentions the deputy in question,

A. Qurashīs

Four out of the eighteen are Qurashīs, that is to say members of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh to which Muḥammad himself belonged. For each of them I give a clan affiliation within Quraysh in parentheses:[121]

Abū Salama, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-Asad (Makhzūmī, T22.22)	[II]
Ibn Umm Maktūm, ʿAmr ibn Qays[122] (ʿĀmirī,[123] T28.23)	[III]
Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn (Jumaḥī, cf. T24.22)[124]	[I]
ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (Umawī, T11.23)	[II]

B. Anṣārīs

Seven of the eighteen are Anṣārīs, that is to say members of the Medinese tribes of Aws and Khazraj who provided Muḥammad's hosts in Medina. Again I indicate clan affiliation in parentheses. Three of them are Awsīs:

Abū Lubāba, Bashīr ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir (ʿAmrī,[125] T178.30)	[III]
Muḥammad ibn Maslama (Ḥārithī,[126] T180.29)	[III]
Saʿd ibn Muʿādh (Ashhalī, T179.30)	[I]

It is no accident that the clans to which Muḥammad ibn Maslama and Saʿd ibn Muʿādh belonged are part of a wider sub-group of Aws known as the Nabīt. Unlike most Awsī clans this sub-group lived in lower Medina (the Sāfila as opposed to the ʿĀliya) along with the Khazrajī clans, and were not doing well in the years before Muḥammad's arrival; like the Khazrajī clans, they were early converts to Islam.[127]

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or whether he is named only as an alternative.

121. Distinguishing between tribes, clans within them, and wider tribal groupings that include them is a convenient Western practice; it does not correspond to any consistent usage of the Arabic sources. For this see Landau-Tasseron, "Alliances among the Arabs", 142–4 (using the term "section" rather than "clan").

122. For the question of his and his father's names see below, text to notes 148f.

123. He also bears the nisba al-Maʿīṣī, Maʿīṣ being a sub-clan of ʿĀmir (see T27–28).

124. The table shows Sāʾib ibn Maẓʿūn and his brother ʿUthmān. So in principle Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn could be either a son of ʿUthmān not recorded here or a doublet of Sāʾib ibn Maẓʿūn. The first seems more plausible (cf. below, note 162). Either way, it is clear that we have the right lineage: Ibn Isḥāq names several more ancestors for Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn or his father (SS 1-2:258.5 = SG 116, SS 327.14 = SG 147, SS 367.9 = SG 168, SS 684.18 = SG 329), and they are identical with those of Sāʾib ibn Maẓʿūn and his brother ʿUthmān as shown in T24.

125. That is to say of ʿAmr ibn ʿAwf ibn Mālik ibn al-Aws (see T177.22).

126. Wāqidī gives him the *nisba* al-Ashhalī (W 8.11), referring to the closely related clan of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal (see T179) of which he is said to have been an ally (*ḥalīf*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1377.6 no. 2344).

127. I am indebted to Michael Lecker for pointing this out to me; see *EI³*, art. "al-Aws" (Y. Perlman), especially 12.

The other four are Khazrajīs:

ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy (of Sālim al-Ḥublā, T189.29)	[I]
ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa (Ḥārithī, T188.28)	[I]
Abū Dujāna, Simāk ibn Aws (Sāʿidī, T187.29)	[I]
Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda (Sāʿidī, T187.29)	[II]

C. Members of other tribes

Seven of the eighteen are members of tribes other than Quraysh, Aws, and Khazraj. With one exception they stem from Ḥijāzī desert tribes that in turn are considered to be parts of the wider tribal grouping of Kināna, to which Quraysh themselves belonged.[128] Three of them are Ghifārīs, the Banū Ghifār being a small tribe living between Mecca and Medina with a reputation as robbers:[129]

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Jundab ibn Junāda (T42.18)	[II]
Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī, Kulthūm ibn Ḥuṣayn (T42.19)	[III]
Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī[130]	[III]

Two of them belong to the clan of Kalb, part of the tribe of Layth ibn Bakr, which again is considered as part of Kināna (and to be distinguished from the large and well-known tribe of Kalb, that is to say, Kalb ibn Wabara):[131]

Ghālib ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī (T37.19)	[I]
Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī (T37.22)	[II]

One belongs to Duʾil ibn Bakr (this is the same Bakr as in the case of Layth ibn Bakr):[132]

ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duʾalī (T43.17)[133]	[II]

The last of the seven was born into the tribe of Kalb—Kalb ibn Wabara—which lived far to

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128. For the genealogical relationships of these tribes to each other, see T3, T36, and T42.

129. *EI²*, art. "Ghifār" (J. W. Fück); and see T42, showing them as part of Ḍamra. Caskel describes the tribe as poor (*Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 2:266a). Note, however, that Ibn Ḥazm refers to them as a large clan (*baṭn ḍakhm*, *Jamhara*, 186.1), and that Muḥammad's troops at the Fatḥ are described as including 300 or 400 Ghifārīs (SS 3-4:421.9 = SG 557; W 819.9; but the context is one in which exaggeration could easily be suspected). They had a quarter (*maḥalla*) in Medina known as Sāʾila (Ibn Shabba, *Taʾrīkh al-Madīna*, 1:261.7). For their reputation as robbers of the pilgrims (*surrāq al-ḥajīj*), see for example Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5-6:20 no. 48 (*manāqib* 7). This and other traditions in the chapter invoke the Prophet to defend Ghifār; thus in no. 49 he includes Ghifār among a set of tribes that are better in the eyes of God, or on the day of the resurrection, than the major tribes of Arabia. The context of these traditions makes it clear that the audience might find such a claim surprising.

130. He does not appear in T42, nor in Ibn Ḥazm's *Jamhara*.

131. See T36.

132. Again see T36. For the vocalization of the name of the tribal ancestor (Duʾil or Dīl), and of the *nisba* (Duʾalī), I follow Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 2:234a.

133. The table gives the *ism* of al-Aḍbaṭ as Rabīʿa.

the north in the Syrian desert:[134]

> Zayd ibn Ḥāritha (T291.33)   [II]

3.2 Biographical profiles

Tribal affiliation apart, what sort of people were these men, at least as they appear in our sources? What qualities did they possess that might have been advantageous—or disadvantageous—for their performance of the role of deputy? I will attempt to lay the foundations for an answer to these questions by assembling a biographical profile for each member of our pool of deputies. I will take them in the order I used for their tribal affiliations, so again we start with the Qurashīs.

Abū Salama, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbd al-Asad (Makhzūmī, T22.22) [II]

Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām agree in naming Abū Salama as deputy for one expedition (no. 4).[135] We have good reason to see him as someone Muḥammad could trust. He was an early convert—it is said the eleventh—with close links to Muḥammad: he had a Hāshimī mother, he was a milk-brother of Muḥammad, and on his deathbed he asked Muḥammad to marry his widow Umm Salama.[136] His career was cut off early—his death in 4/625 was a result of a wound sustained at the Battle of Uḥud in 3/625.[137] Nevertheless we are told that Muḥammad appointed him commander of 150 men whom he sent out on an expedition to Qaṭan in 4/625.[138] He belonged to the powerful Meccan clan of Makhzūm, so there was nothing wrong with his social standing; and the fact of his marriage to Umm Salama tends to confirm this—her father Abū Umayya ibn al-Mughīra, likewise a Makhzūmī, was famously generous among Quraysh,[139] so he must have been wealthy, and she herself was reputed to have been the first woman to make her *hijra* to Medina in a litter.[140] Nevertheless, Abū Salama did not belong to the leading branch of the clan, which was strongly opposed to Muḥammad, and he had few fellow-clansmen with him in Medina.[141] He had two sons,[142] but apparently no further descendants.[143]

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134. See T279, and, for their location, *EI²*, art. "Kalb b. Wabara", section on the pre-Islamic period (J. W. Fück).

135. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 939f no. 1589, 1682 no. 3013.

136. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 939.18, 939.17, 940.1, 940.7 respectively.

137. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1682.10 (but the year has to be 4, not 3 as stated).

138. W 3.17, 341.5, 341.9; SS 3-4:612.2 = SG 661f.

139. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1920.15 no. 4111 (*aḥad ajwād Quraysh al-mashhūrīn biʾl-karam*).

140. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1921.2 no. 4111, 1939.9 no. 4160 (*awwal ẓaʿīna dakhalat al-Madīna muhājiratan*).

141. *EI²*, art. "Makhzūm" (M. Hinds), especially 138a.

142. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:1:170.21.

143. T22 shows none, and Ibn Ḥazm mentions none (*Jamhara*, 169.7).

Ibn Umm Maktūm, ʿAmr ibn Qays (ʿĀmirī, T28.23) [III]

As we have seen, our three authors agree that Ibn Umm Maktūm served as deputy many times—far more than anyone else; though Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām are in frequent agreement regarding the expeditions for which he served, Khalīfa is not.[144] He was no doubt someone Muḥammad could trust. He was an early convert,[145] his mother was a maternal aunt of Khadīja, Muḥammad's first wife, and on one account he made his *hijra* to Medina ahead of Muḥammad, or perhaps it was a little after the Battle of Badr.[146] On the other hand, despite his Koranic fame—to which we will come shortly—much is obscure about him.[147] His name is disputed: was it ʿAbdallāh or ʿAmr?[148] So too is the name of his father—was it Qays, Zāʾida, or Shurayḥ?[149] Instead, he is known as the son of his mother Umm Maktūm,[150] an indignity in a patrilineal society.[151] He is said to have been present at the Battle of Qādisiyya (*c.* 15/636), holding the standard, or at least a banner[152]—a task for which he claimed to be uniquely well-qualified: as he used to say, "Give me the standard, I'm blind, I can't run away, put me between the two ranks (*aqīmūnī bayn al-ṣaffayn*)!"[153] Indeed his blindness colors much of what we are told of his life. He was dependent on his dog, as he explained to Muḥammad when the order went out to kill the dogs of Medina;[154] this would suggest that he was too poor to purchase a slave. But his main claim to fame among posterity was his identification as the "blind man" of the opening of Sūrat ʿAbasa: "He frowned and turned away that the blind man came to him" (*ʿabasa wa-tawallā an jāʾahu ʾl-aʿmā*, Q80:1–2). The story was that Muḥammad, at this time still in Mecca, was approached by Ibn Umm Maktūm and brushed him off because he was busy talking to a polytheist grandee; God responded by upbraiding His Prophet for this behavior, and Muḥammad then changed his tune. That the blind man was Ibn Umm Maktūm is affirmed, for example, by all the traditions quoted by Ṭabarī that name him.[155] Nor is this the only

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144. See above, text to note 115. For the biography of Ibn Umm Maktūm see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 997f no. 1669, 1198f no. 1946, from which the information that follows is taken unless otherwise stated.

145. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 997.9 (*kāna qadīm al-Islām bi-Makka*).

146. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 997.10, 1198.13, 1198.15.

147. His obscurity is stressed by Caetani (*Annali*, 2:1:524).

148. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1198.11.

149. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 997.7, 997.17.

150. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1198.8.

151. The well-known Baṣran traditionist Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Miqsam (d. 193/809), commonly known as Ibn ʿUlayya after his mother, disliked being so-called, and is said to have considered himself slandered thereby (Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal*, 2:372 no. 2653, and the editor's footnote thereto).

152. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1199.1, and cf. 998.4; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:155.26, 156.5; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 12:444 nos. 36,323f.

153. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:154.19.

154. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:153.5. The dog was given only a temporary reprieve.

155. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 12:443f nos. 36,318–26, with the exception of no. 36,323, which does not relate to the incident. Muḥammad's preferred interlocutor is described in no. 36,318 as one of the most powerful of the polytheists (*min ʿuẓamāʾ al-mushrikīn*), in no. 36,322 as a leading Qurashī (*rajul min ʿilyat Quraysh*), in no. 36,325 as a wealthy Qurashī polytheist (*kathīr al-māl, ghanī*), and in no. 36,326 as a noble (*hādhā ʾl-sharīf*). See

Koranic verse that bears the imprint of Ibn Umm Maktūm's disability. We are told that Q4:95 originally came down in the form: "Such believers as sit at home are not the equals of those who struggle in the path of God."[156] Thereupon Ibn Umm Maktūm complained about the unfairness of this for someone like himself, and in response the phrase "unless they have an injury" (*ghayru ulī ʾl-ḍarar*) was promptly sent down and inserted after "Such believers as sit at home".[157] He is nevertheless said to have been present at the Battle of Qādisiyya, as we have seen, and even to have been killed there.[158] Alternatively, he returned to Medina after the battle and died, nothing further being heard of him after the reign of the Caliph ʿUmar (ruled 13–23/634–44)[159]—which might suggest that his contemporaries were not paying attention to him in his last years. He does not appear to have had descendants.[160]

Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn (Jumaḥī, T24.22) [I]

Ibn Hishām has him as a deputy for one early expedition (no. 2). His biography is rather threadbare—Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr gives him only six lines.[161] He tells us that he was one of the early Muslims who took refuge in Ethiopia, along with his father and two uncles,[162] that he was present at Badr and other unspecified engagements, and that he was killed at the Battle of Yamāma (12/633) while still only in his thirties.[163] So he would have been in his twenties at the time when he served as deputy.[164] There seems to be a dearth of information about what he did between the Battles of Uḥud and Yamāma.[165] The

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also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:153.8, 153.15. As one of my audience in Philadelphia pointed out to me, Shīʿite scholars are unhappy with the notion that it was Muḥammad who frowned and turned away, and deny it outright; but they too identify the blind man as Ibn Umm Maktūm (Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:298.4; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān*, 10:268.7, 268.15; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 5:437.15). Their concern is, of course, the apparent imputation of sin to the Prophet.

156. See for example Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:155.6, 155.17.

157. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:154.13, and the six traditions that follow there; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 4:230–2 nos. 10,238–45, 10,247f, 10,250–5 (again there is no naming of a rival candidate for the role). Ṭabarī explains *ḍarar* as referring to loss of sight and other afflictions that stand in the way of participation in holy war (229.17).

158. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1199.2.

159. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1199.3; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:156.5.

160. T28 shows none, and Ibn Ḥazm mentions none (*Jamhara*, 171.13).

161. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 575 no. 896.

162. This makes him a son of ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn unrecorded at T24.23. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr also has a brief entry on Sāʾib ibn Maẓʿūn, who likewise took refuge in Ethiopia and was present at Badr; he remarks that he does not know when he died (*Istīʿāb*, 575 no. 899). Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī states that the entire family of Maẓʿūn were emigrants (*hājara āl Maẓʿūn kulluhum, rijāluhum wa-nisāʾuhum*, *Nasab Quraysh*, 394.7; I owe my references to this source to Ella Landau Tasseron).

163. This information about his death is also found in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 213.13.

164. Balādhurī tells us that he was born when his father was thirty, and that his father died aged thirty-seven (*Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 213.14); that would make him a child at the time he was deputy.

165. Ibn Hishām does not mention him after Badr, nor Wāqidī after Uḥud.

meagerness of the attestation of his life may in part result from a lack of descendants.[166]

We nevertheless hear more of his father ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn, though he died not long after Badr.[167] An early convert,[168] the message of his biography is how close he was to Muḥammad, a closeness that was fully displayed in the context of his death, after which Muḥammad would visit his tomb and refer to him as a "righteous predecessor" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*).[169] Whether he was a person of consequence is less clear, but Ibn Hishām tells us that he was in charge of the first ten Muslims to take refuge in Ethiopia.[170] Despite his early death, he would still have been alive at the time when his son Sāʾib served as deputy. He did not have descendants other than his two sons.[171]

ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (Umawī, T11.23) [II]

Both Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām name him as a deputy for a couple of expeditions (nos. 9 and 15). He was an early convert, and successively the husband of two of Muḥammad's daughters. He was also a member of the powerful sub-clan of Umayya within the clan of ʿAbd Shams, and a wealthy merchant, the first socially prestigious convert to the new religion. Moreover, unlike the other Qurashī deputies, he had with him in Medina a reasonable number of men associated with his clan.[172] But he was not prominent in the time of Muḥammad or his first two successors.[173] One modern scholar has referred to his "glaring lack of military prowess";[174] he never commanded an expedition. He was, of course, to become the third Caliph (ruled 23–35/644–56), but that could have been precisely because he was "the most unassuming and least important" of the major players at the time, who "wanted a log for their king";[175] in contemplating him as a possible

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166. See below, note 171.

167. He rates an entry in *EI²*, art. "ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn" (A. J. Wensinck); and see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1053-6 no. 1779.

168. It is said the fourteenth convert to Islam (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1053.8).

169. For Muḥammad's visits to his tomb, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1054.2, and for the phrase *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, see 1053.20. Muḥammad likewise speaks of him as *salafunā ʾl-ṣāliḥ* (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 212.14, 212.18, 213.2).

170. SS 1-2:323.6 = SG 146 and 721 n. 190.

171. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 394.9; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 161.16; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 575 no. 899; and cf. T24.

172. Ibn Isḥāq provides us with a list of Qurashīs deemed present on the Muslim side at the Battle of Badr, organizing it by clans. If we can take this as any indication of the relative demographic strength of the various Qurashī clans in Medina, then at sixteen those associated with ʿAbd Shams were the largest such group, though most of them were allies or freedmen rather than full members of the clan; the clans to which Abū Salama, Ibn Umm Maktūm, and Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān belonged had only five men each, though the proportion of full members was much higher (SS 1-2:677–85 = SG 327–30). The figures given by Wāqidī are close (W 153–7). These figures may, of course, be tendentious; for an anecdote illustrating the politics of the data regarding ʿAbd Shams, see Landau-Tasseron, "Status of allies", 22.

173. For all this see *EI²*, art. "ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān" (G. Levi della Vida and R. G. Khoury), especially 946.

174. Madelung, *Succession to Muḥammad*, 79.

175. Wellhausen, *Arab kingdom*, 40. This explanation is rejected by Madelung, but not because he takes

successor, his predecessor is said to have described him as a mild man (*rajul fīhi līn*).[176] He had numerous descendants.[177]

This completes our survey of the Qurashī deputies; we now move on to the Anṣārīs, starting with the Awsīs.

Abū Lubāba, Bashīr ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir (ʿAmrī, T178.30) [III]

All three of our authors agree that on the way to Badr Muḥammad sent him back to take charge of Medina, and Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām agree that he was also deputy for the next two expeditions. He was commonly known by his tecnonym (*kunya*) as "Abū Lubāba", and there was doubt about whether his name was Bashīr or Rifāʿa,[178] or whether these were in fact two brothers.[179] He must have been a person of some authority if at the second ʿAqaba meeting prior to the *hijra* he was in fact chosen to be one of the twelve leaders (*naqīb*s) who were "to take charge of their people's affairs" (*li-yakūnū ʿalā qawmihim bi-mā fīhim*); even if it was rather his brother who was appointed, that could still tell us something about his social standing.[180] When the Banū Qurayẓa, who were allies of Aws, were under siege and considering surrender to Muḥammad, they had him send Abū Lubāba to them so that they could consult him; this again suggests that he was a person of some significance. The consultation led to a dramatic incident: Abū Lubāba let it slip to the Banū Qurayẓa that they would be executed, whereupon he was so stricken by conscience for having betrayed God and His Prophet that he bound himself to a pillar in the Prophet's mosque, and went on hunger strike until such time as God forgave him.[181] He may also have been wealthy, since he helped the nefarious builders of the Masjid al-Ḍirār with timber (*khashab*) which he took back after the demolition (*hadm*) of the mosque;[182] that there was enough of it for him to build himself a house with it may be significant, given that timber was a scarce

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a different view of ʿUthmān's character; he remarks that prior to his election to the Caliphate he had not displayed any "qualities of public leadership" (*Succession to Muḥammad*, 80).

176. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/2779.6 = *History*, 14:146 ("a gentle person").

177. See T11, and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 83.6 (where the enumeration of ʿUthmān's descendants occupies the best part of four pages, and includes some in Spain, 85.20).

178. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 173 no. 195, and 1740.4 no. 3149.

179. They appear as such at T178; so also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 334.2, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 241.2.

180. See SS 1-2:443.4 = SG 204 for the role of the *naqīb*s, and 444.17 = 204 for the inclusion of Rifāʿa ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir (his *kunya* is not mentioned) among the three Awsī *naqīb*s. This is from Ibn Isḥāq; Ibn Hishām then tells us that the scholars do not in fact include him (445.2 = 727 n. 241). Balādhurī does not include either brother as a *naqīb* (see *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 252.8), though Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr clearly believes Abū Lubāba to have been one (*Istīʿāb*, 500.14 no. 778, 1740.8).

181. SS 3-4:236.10 = SG 462f; W 505.20. For his refusal to eat or drink, see W 507.17. Another view was that his offense was hanging back from the Tabūk expedition (on the disagreement see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1741.3).

182. W 1047.5. For a translation of the passage and a commentary see Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and pagans*, 117f. Abū Lubāba also appears in a poor light in a story about a legal dispute with an orphan (W 281.12, 505.3).

resource in the Arabian wilderness. This too can be reckoned a brush with notoriety. At the Fatḥ he carried the banner of his clan.[183] He died in the reign of ʿAlī (ruled 35–40/656–61);[184] we are told that he had descendants.[185]

Muḥammad ibn Maslama (Ḥārithī, T180.29) [III]

All three of our authors name him as a deputy, Khalīfa for one expedition (no. 8), Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām for another (no. 26—but alongside alternatives).[186] An early convert in Medina,[187] he was close enough to Muḥammad to be a member of the small group that killed Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf in 3/624, and in one account its leader.[188] In 3/625, at the time of the Battle of Uḥud, Muḥammad put him in charge of a guard (ḥaras) of fifty men patrolling around the camp (ʿaskar).[189] In 6/627 he commanded thirty men in an expedition against the Quraṭāʾ,[190] followed by one to Dhū ʾl-Qaṣṣa leading ten men;[191] in 7/629, at the time of the ʿUmrat al-Qaḍiyya, he was put in charge of a hundred horsemen.[192] The report mentioned by Wāqidī that he was deputy for Tabūk stresses that this was the only one of Muḥammad's campaigns that he missed.[193] Though not a major player in public affairs, he would seem to have prospered: he had ten sons and six daughters, borne to him by five wives and two concubines;[194] and whether or not he started rich, by the time of the Tabūk expedition in 9/630, he was sufficiently well-off to be among those who bankrolled

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183. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1740.14; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:29.20; and cf. W 800.8, 896.3.

184. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1740.16.

185. None appear in T178, but see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:29.23 (*lahu ʿaqib al-yawm*). Ibn Ḥazm notes a great-grandson of his who was killed at the Battle of Qudayd in 130/747 (*Jamhara*, 334.3; for this battle see Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 413.15). See also Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, 278.12, 331.7.

186. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1377 no. 2344. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr gives him a little less than a page.

187. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:19.3.

188. For divergent accounts of his role, see Lecker, "Wāqidī's account", 25f.

189. W 217.2; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 315.17. For other such commands see W 504.5, SS 3–4:238.13 = SG 463 (where he is in command of the ḥaras al-Nabī at the time of the attack on the Banū Qurayẓa) and W 602.7 (where he is one of three men who take turns commanding the guard on the Ḥudaybiya expedition).

190. W 4.13, 534.7; SS 3–4:612.4 = SG 662. For the Quraṭāʾ see T95 and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 2:472a.

191. W 4.17, 551.5, 551.17. Ibn Isḥāq assigns this raid to Abū ʿUbayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ (SS 3–4:609.12 = SG 660).

192. W 733.9.

193. W 995.15; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:19.6. An uncharitable suspicion might be that the claim that he was deputy is an attempt to gloss over his absence from this campaign—absenteeism being a prominent theme in accounts of the Tabūk expedition. Note that the same claim appears in a boastful account of his campaigning transmitted from Muḥammad ibn Maslama by his great-great-grandson Ibrāhīm ibn Jaʿfar (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:19.15; for his genealogy see Lecker, "Wāqidī's account", 17, and for Ibrāhīm's role in transmitting a similarly tendentious report about his ancestor, 26). This Ibrāhīm can no doubt take some credit for the fact that Muḥammad ibn Maslama appears many times more often in the index to Wāqidī's work than he does in that of Ibn Hishām's.

194. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:18.20. Ibn Ḥazm notes a descendant of his, a traditionist living near Toledo (*Jamhara*, 341.17; for the location see 99.14 and n. 3).

the campaign.[195] At his death in 46/666 or so, it was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, the governor of Medina, who prayed over him.[196] Was he already prominent before Muḥammad came to Medina, or did he owe his success to his close relationship with him? The report that after he came to Medina Muḥammad paired him with Abū ʿUbayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ in the "brothering" (*muʾākhāt*) at least suggests that he cannot have been a nobody.[197] Yet there is something about the services he renders Muḥammad that portrays him as an individual the Prophet could rely on to be useful, rather than as a player with a constituency of his own. Thus he served Muḥammad well in winding up the affairs of each of the three Jewish tribes.[198] This is particularly telling in the case of the Banū Qurayẓa: they were allies of the tribe of Aws,[199] and unlike Muḥammad ibn Maslama, the tribe at large interceded with Muḥammad on their behalf.[200] Likewise when ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb urged Muḥammad to order the killing of the leading Hypocrite—the Khazrajī ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy—ʿUmar told Muḥammad to have Muḥammad ibn Maslama do the deed.[201] It might be going too far to describe him as someone who would do a patron's dirty work, but there is at least a hint of this in the sources; thus he was still being useful to ʿUmar when the latter was Caliph, helping him out with "sensitive matters" (*umūr muʿḍila*) in the provinces.[202] His progeny have already been noted.[203]

Saʿd ibn Muʿādh (Ashhalī, T179.30)[I]

Only Wāqidī names him as a deputy, and only for one expedition (no. 2). Apart from ʿUthmān, he is easily the most prominent figure we have yet considered.[204] He was chief of his clan and, by the time of his death in 5/627, as we will soon see, of his tribe. He was an early convert in Medina,[205] and a strong supporter of Muḥammad till he died from a wound sustained at the Battle of the Khandaq; Muḥammad had him nursed in a tent set up in the mosque, and would visit him daily while he lay dying.[206] Four incidents show his political standing. The first was that when he converted, his entire clan converted with him, men and women.[207] The second took place on the way to Badr, when Muḥammad held

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195. W 991.10.

196. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1377.7; I adopt the death-date given by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:20.17).

197. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:19.5; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 224.2, 271.9.

198. See W 178.16 (Banū Qaynuqāʿ), 366.18, 374.8, 377.8 (Banū ʾl-Naḍīr), 509.16 (Banū Qurayẓa).

199. *EI³*, art. "al-Aws" (Y. Perlman), 12.

200. W 510.10 (where the narrator is Muḥammad ibn Maslama); SS 3-4:239.5 = SG 463.

201. W 418.18, 420.18. In Ibn Isḥāq's version ʿUmar names ʿAbbād ibn Bishr (SS 3-4:291.7 = SG 491), like Muḥammad ibn Maslama an Awsī (T179).

202. Madelung, *Succession to Muḥammad*, 112 n. 163.

203. Though they do not appear in T180.

204. He has an entry in *EI²*, art. "Saʿd b. Muʿādh" (W. M. Watt).

205. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 602.15 no. 958.

206. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 603.4.

207. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:2.14.

a consultation with his followers. The question was whether the Anṣār would fight for him, something they had no obligation to do since the fighting was not defensive; it was Saʿd ibn Muʿādh who responded on behalf of the Anṣār, assuring Muḥammad of their support.[208] The third incident took place in the context of the Battle of the Khandaq. Muhammad was considering buying off a part of the enemy coalition with a third of the date-harvest of Medina (*thulth thimār al-Madīna*), but before going ahead he needed to have the Anṣār on board—it was their harvest, not his. So he talked to the Awsī Saʿd ibn Muʿādh and the Khazrajī Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda; but Saʿd ibn Muʿādh—and presumably also Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda—were unwilling to entertain the idea.[209] The two Saʿds thus represented their respective tribes, and Saʿd ibn Muʿādh on this occasion spoke for both of them. The final incident took place a few months later, when Saʿd ibn Muʿādh was dying. In the face of the demand of the Awsīs that their Jewish allies the Banū Qurayẓa should be spared, Muḥammad reached an agreement with them that one of their number should give judgment. He then selected Saʿd ibn Muʿādh, who proceeded to put his loyalty to Muḥammad ahead of the loyalties of his tribe, pronouncing that the men of the Banū Qurayẓa should be killed and their women and children enslaved.[210] Despite the outcome, which was not what Saʿd's fellow-tribesmen would have liked to see, the appointment presupposed that he could validly speak for them. Indeed Muḥammad underlined Saʿd's standing with them by giving the instruction "Stand for your chief!" when Saʿd arrived to give judgment.[211] He had descendants.[212]

Continuing with the Anṣārīs, we come now to the Khazrajīs.

ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy (of Sālim al-Ḥublā, T189.29) [I]

Ibn Hishām names him as deputy for one expedition (no. 14).[213] The clan to which he belonged was a respected one among the Anṣār.[214] His father ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy was notoriously both a powerful tribal chief and the leading Hypocrite of Medina till his death in 9/631.[215] The son was as good a Muslim as the father was a bad one, and was killed at the Battle of Yamāma in 12/633.[216] The question for us is whether at the time of the expedition

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208. W 48.14; SS 1-2:615.8 = SG 294. In Wāqidī's narrative Saʿd says "I'll answer on behalf of the Anṣār".

209. SS 3-4:223.5 = SG 454. In Wāqidī's version the two Saʿds speak jointly (W 478.10), as they do on another occasion when they speak for the Anṣār with regard to the spoils of the Banū ʾl-Naḍīr (W 379.10).

210. W 510.14, 512.11; SS 3-4:239.8 = SG 463f.

211. W 511.16; SS 3-4:239.22 = SG 463. In Ibn Isḥāq's version the Muhājirūn took this to be addressed to the Anṣār, while the Anṣār took it to be addressed to everyone. For the problems this instruction posed for later Muslim scholars see Kister, "Massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa", 91f.

212. T179 shows none, but see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 339.5, 339.7, and Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, 212.1.

213. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 940–2 no. 1590; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:89–91. Neither tells us much about ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh himself.

214. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 940.13 (*li-Banī ʾl-Ḥublā sharaf fī ʾl-Anṣār*).

215. For ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy see *EI²*, art. "ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy" (W. M. Watt); Lecker, "King Ibn Ubayy and the *quṣṣāṣ*", especially 36–57. For the date of his death see W 1057.6.

216. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 942.2.

for which Ibn Hishām has him as deputy—in 4/626—he would have gained more from his father's high social and political standing than he lost through his tense relationship with him, and we have no way to answer it. One anecdote about him could nonetheless be read as evidence of a marked political astuteness, if we can set any store by it. This was at the time when ʿUmar was urging Muḥammad to have ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy killed. Apparently unaware that Muḥammad had rejected ʿUmar's imprudent proposal, the son went to Muḥammad and offered to do the deed himself, pointing out that if anyone else did it, he feared that as the most dutiful son in all of Khazraj he would lose control of himself and kill the killer, thereby slaying a believer for an unbeliever and going to hell.[217] Naturally God's Prophet would hardly order a man to kill his own father in cold blood, and the son had thus politely served notice on Muḥammad that if anyone else undertook the killing he would retaliate. He had descendants.[218]

ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa (Ḥārithī, T188.28) [I]

Wāqidī names him as deputy for one expedition (again no. 14).[219] An early convert to Islam in Medina, and a zealous enemy of the idols of his clan,[220] he was one of the twelve *naqīb*s.[221] He also had considerable poetic talent, and retained it after his conversion. When he used it in Mecca at the time of the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ to proclaim the triumph of Muḥammad over the polytheists, ʿUmar asked him how he could recite poetry in the sanctuary of God and in the presence of His prophet; but Muḥammad responded that Ibn Rawāḥa's verse caused more grief to the polytheists than a hail of arrows.[222] He was the commander of a minor expedition in 6/628,[223] and Muḥammad used him in other roles that make it clear he was someone he could trust, notably with regard to the administration of the produce of the oasis of Khaybar after its conquest.[224] A certain manly cunning is displayed in an anecdote about how he once tricked his wife.[225] But despite the fact that he was one of the *naqīb*s, we do not get a sense of someone with a constituency. It may not be altogether fanciful to remember him as Jābir ibn ʿAbdallāh did at the end of the expedition to Muraysīʿ, ill-advisedly setting out alone on the road to Medina in the middle of the

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217. W 420.18; SS 3-4:292.24 = SG 492.

218. T189 shows none, and Ibn Ḥazm mentions none (*Jamhara*, 355.1), but Ibn Saʿd lists five sons and states that he had progeny (*lahu ʿaqib*), see *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:90.22, 91.1.

219. For his biography see *EI²*, art. "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa" (A. Schaade); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 898–901 no. 1530 (mainly about his poetry).

220. For anecdotes about his role in the desecration and destruction of idols, see Lecker, "Idol worship", 338, 339f.

221. SS 2-3:443.12 = SG 204.

222. Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 10:228.15. In the parallel in W 735.15 Muḥammad's exchange with ʿUmar is laconic (see 736.6), while in SS 3-4:371.11 = SG 531 it is missing altogether.

223. W 5.10, 566.1; SS 3-4:618.8 = SG 665. According to Wāqidī thirty men went on this expedition (W 567.2).

224. See Lecker, "Idol worship", 339.

225. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 900.16.

night.[226] He was killed at the Battle of Muʾta in 8/629,[227] and is said to have had descendants in Spain.[228]

Abū Dujāna, Simāk ibn Aws (Sāʿidī, T187.29) [I]

Ibn Hishām names him as deputy for one expedition, the last (no. 27), though with an alternative.[229] Like ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa (and Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda) he was involved at an early stage in breaking up the idols of his clan.[230] It is disputed whether his father's name was Aws or Kharasha. In the "brothering" soon after Muḥammad came to Medina, he was paired with ʿUtba ibn Ghazwān—an early Meccan convert (he claimed to be the seventh), but not a Qurashī.[231] He showed great prowess as a fighter on the battlefield, and is described as "the bravest Anṣārī of his day";[232] as just one example, he played a prominent part in defending Muḥammad in the thick of the Battle of Uḥud.[233] He does not, however, appear as a leader, on the battlefield or elsewhere—though Muḥammad assigned him the standard of Khazraj in the Tabūk expedition.[234] The paucity of his record of leadership correlates with the fact that he was poor: he was one of two men who alone among the Anṣār were given a share of the spoils of the Banū ʾl-Naḍīr, the reason being that they were both needy (muḥtājayn).[235] He died at the Battle of Yamāma in 12/633—though another account has it that he survived to participate in the Battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657).[236] Ibn Saʿd notes a son and states that in his own day there were descendants of Abū Dujāna in Medina and Baghdad.[237]

Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda (Sāʿidī, T187.29) [II]

Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām agree in naming him as deputy for the first expedition led by

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226. W 439.14.

227. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, 898.5.

228. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamhara, 363.14; contrast Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, ed. Sachau, 3:2:79.18 (laysa lahu ʿaqib).

229. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, 651f no. 1060, 1644 no. 2938. As Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr remarks, he is known by his tecnonym (651.18).

230. Lecker, "Idol worship", 341; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, ed. Sachau, 3:2:143.4.

231. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, 1644.14. For ʿUtba's biography see 1026–9 no. 1764. He was an ally (ḥalīf) of the Qurashī clan of Nawfal (1026.13).

232. Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 456.8 (ashjaʿ Anṣārī fī dahrihi). Most of Balādhurī's references to him are in connection with men he killed on the battlefield (Ansāb, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 149.6, 298.2, 299.20, 300.15, 301.1, 301.4, 334.14, 335.10, 335.12); most of Wāqidī's references to him are likewise in connection with his valorous deeds.

233. W 240.20, 246.9; SS 3-4:82.11 = SG 381.

234. W 996.6.

235. W 379.13; SS 3-4:192.7 = SG 438; and see Lecker, Muslims, Jews and pagans, 123. According to Ibn Isḥāq the two pled poverty (dhakarā faqrⁿ).

236. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, 652.4.

237. Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, ed. Sachau, 3:2:101.15, 102.13. By contrast, T187 shows no descendants, and Ibn Ḥazm mentions none (Jamhara, 366.6).

Muḥammad (no. 1). The sources present him as the Khazrajī counterpart of the Awsī Saʿd ibn Muʿādh: the chief of his clan, and, in due course, of his tribe.[238] He converted earlier than his counterpart, played a part in breaking the idols of his clan,[239] and was one of the twelve *naqīb*s.[240] He also outlived him. We have already seen how he and Saʿd ibn Muʿādh appear together representing their respective tribes; in one of these contexts Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) remarks that "they were the chiefs of their two tribes (*sayyiday qawmihimā*), Saʿd ibn Muʿādh was the chief of Aws and Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda of Khazraj".[241] What made him very different from Saʿd ibn Muʿādh was his continuing identification with the interests of his tribal constituency; this was strong enough to damage his reputation with posterity.[242] At the Fatḥ his wish to deal harshly with Quraysh put him at odds with Muḥammad, who reacted by making him hand over the standard to one of his sons.[243] When the resentment of the Anṣār at the skewed distribution of the spoils of Hawāzin boiled over, and Muḥammad asked Saʿd where he stood on the matter, he replied, "I can only stand with my people" (*mā anā illā min qawmī*).[244] And in the succession crisis following Muḥammad's death, though ill at the time, he was a contender for power; typically, the support he had from within his own tribe was partial, while Aws rejected him.[245] "I will never give allegiance to a Qurashī!" (*lā ubāyiʿu Qurashiyy*[an] *abad*[an]), as he is later said to have told an emissary of ʿUmar's.[246] His authority as a tribal chief was reinforced by the fact that he was independently wealthy: his family had an ongoing tradition of inviting all comers to free meals, and would give ten sacrificial animals to the goddess Manāt, later to the Kaʿba.[247] He died in Syria within a few years of Muḥammad, in rather obscure circumstances sometimes said to involve the *jinn*.[248] He had descendants: two of his six sons had progeny in Spain.[249]

This completes the Anṣārī deputies, and we come now to members of tribes other than Quraysh, Aws, and Khazraj. We begin with the three Ghifārīs. The Banū Ghifār, as

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238. For his biography see *EI²*, art. "Saʿd b. ʿUbāda" (W. M. Watt); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 594–9 no. 944. Ibn Qudāma refers to him as "chief of all Khazraj" (*sayyid al-Khazraj kullihā*, *Istibṣār*, 93.5).

239. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:143.4.

240. SS 1-2:444.9 = SG 204.

241. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 596.18. Likewise Mubarrad (d. 286/900) describes them as *sayyidā ʾl-ḥayyayn al-Aws waʾl-Khazraj* (*Kāmil*, 1249.1).

242. In addition to those that follow, for another incident of this kind see W 431.7; SS 3-4:300.17 = SG 496 (in the context of the Ifk).

243. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 597.9, 598.15. For another version see SS 3-4:406.12 = SG 549.

244. SS 3-4:499.2 = 596. Or perhaps rather "I'm just one of my people"; Wāqidī has it as *mā anā illā ka-aḥadihim* (W 957.8).

245. Lecker, "King Ibn Ubayy and the *quṣṣāṣ*", 29 n. 2; *EI³*, art. "Bashīr b. Saʿd" (M. Lecker).

246. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 589.14.

247. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 595.6, 595.11, 595.17. They were *muṭʿimūn*.

248. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 599.5.

249. For his six sons (by two wives) see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:142.13. For the two with descendants in Spain, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 365.17; only these two appear in T187. See also Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, 97.7, 99.3, 99.6.

already noted, were a small tribe living between Mecca and Medina, and like Quraysh were considered a part of the wider grouping of Kināna.

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Jundab ibn Junāda (T42.18) [II]

Wāqidī names him as a deputy for one expedition (no. 23), Ibn Hishām for two (nos. 15 and 17), in each case with an alternative. Abū Dharr was well-known for his uncompromising piety.[250] After hearing about Muḥammad, he came to Mecca to check him out, and became a very early convert to Islam, it is said the fourth or fifth; he then returned to his tribe.[251] But before he did so a characteristic episode took place. Muḥammad advised him not to let the Meccans know that he had converted, whereupon Abū Dharr promptly betook himself to the sanctuary—the social centre of Meccan society—and declaimed the Muslim confession of faith at the top of his voice. For this he was duly beaten up and had to be rescued by Muḥammad's uncle ʿAbbās, who cleverly pointed out that the Ghifārīs bestrode the trade route between Mecca and Syria. The next day Abū Dharr repeated his performance, and had to be rescued again.[252] But despite his early conversion, he did not join Muḥammad in Medina until after the Battle of the Khandaq.[253] Even then his role in Muḥammad's expeditions does not seem to have been particularly prominent.[254] Later he went to Syria, where he got into trouble with the governor, Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, over a loaded exegetical question: when God promised punishment for "those who treasure up gold and silver, and do not expend them in the way of God" (Q9:34), was He talking about the People of the Book, as Muʿāwiya maintained, or about Muslims too, as Abū Dharr insisted?[255] Muʿāwiya complained to the Caliph ʿUthmān that Abū Dharr's presence in Syria was subversive,[256] and as a result of this commotion the Caliph exiled him to Rabadha, where he died in 32/653 or so.[257] Rabadha was located three days' journey from Medina, and is described by Abū Dharr's wife Umm Dharr—and by the Prophet—as a desert (*falāt min al-arḍ*).[258] In this appropriate setting, ʿAbdallāh

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250. For his biography see *EI²*, art. "Abū Dharr" (J. Robson); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 252–6 no. 339, 1652–6 no. 2944; Cameron, *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, which collects much material on him (for his role as deputy, see 28–31, 44, not without errors). There is a wide range of views about his name and that of his father (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 252.2, 1652.10).

251. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 252.11, 1653.1.

252. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1654.10.

253. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 252.13. This makes it unlikely that Muḥammad can have paired him with al-Mundhir ibn ʿAmr al-Sāʿidī—one of the twelve *naqīb*s—in the "brothering" that he instituted soon after arriving in Medina (see 1450.3 no. 2494 for this disputed question).

254. At one point he is listed among twenty horsemen (W 571.8), and twice he carries the standard of the Banū Ghifār (see 819.9 for the Fatḥ, and 896.10 for the Battle of Ḥunayn).

255. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:166.15 (the first half of the verse is about rabbis and monks, so that Muʿāwiya's interpretation, however politically tendentious, is entirely plausible). For this conflict between Abū Dharr and Muʿāwiya see Cameron, *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, 62–119.

256. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:166.26 (*inna Abā Dharr qad afsada ʾl-nās biʾl-Shām*).

257. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 253.1; Cameron, *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, 120–5.

258. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3:24b.16, art. "al-Rabadha"; for the phrase *falāt min al-arḍ*, see Ibn

ibn Masʿūd, who prayed over him (and himself died later in the same year), summed up the character of Abū Dharr with the words: "He lived alone, he died alone, and he'll be resurrected alone."[259] The ultimate loner, nothing we are told about him suggests an ability to work with others, or to handle trouble as opposed to making it through his inflexibility. Muḥammad is said to have refused a request from Abū Dharr to be given a position of authority (*imāra*), telling him he was "weak" (*ḍaʿīf*).[260] That he is mentioned among the Ahl al-Ṣuffa suggests that he may have been poor;[261] but he may not have remained so, since he is reported to have acquired a court (*dār*) containing several houses (*buyūt*).[262] He seems to have had no descendants.[263]

Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī, Kulthūm ibn Ḥuṣayn (T42.19) [III]

All three of our authors name him as a deputy for one or more of the later expeditions (nos. 23, 24, and 25), though there is not much agreement as to which expedition or expeditions it was.[264] One of these was a particularly long absence: during the Fatḥ (no. 25) and the campaigns that followed it, Muḥammad was away from Medina for some two-and-a-half months.[265] Abū Ruhm is known by his tecnonym, but his name is not in dispute, though there is disagreement about his father's name.[266] He lived in Medina—though he also had a place to stay (*manzil*) in or near the territory of his tribe[267]—and he converted after Muḥammad's arrival. He clearly had standing with his tribe. During the preparations for the Fatḥ, Muḥammad sent emissaries to mobilize the various tribes on whose support he was counting; one of his two emissaries to Ghifār was Abū Ruhm.[268] Muḥammad did the

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ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 253.17, 254.4. For a very different view of Rabadha in early Islamic times as "a thriving place, and not the contemporary equivalent of Siberia", see *EI²*, art. "al-Rabadha" (S. ʿA. ʿA. al-Rashid), citing archaeological evidence.

259. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 253.10. In other accounts the remark goes back to Muḥammad (W 1000.14, 1001.5; SS 3-4:524.6, 524.16 = SG 606).

260. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:170.14, and cf. 170.10.

261. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 1:2:14.9; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 272.10; *EI²*, art. "Ahl al-ṣuffa" (W. M. Watt).

262. Ibn Shabba, *Taʾrīkh al-Madīna*, 1:253.17.

263. T42 shows none, and Ibn Ḥazm states that he had none (*Jamhara*, 186.9). But see Cameron, *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, 33 for some descendants in modern Iran.

264. Note also the expeditions assigned to Abū Ruhm by Ibn Ḥabīb and Balādhurī (see above, text to notes 78–81, 83).

265. Muḥammad left Medina on 10 Ramaḍān (SS 3-4:399.22 = SG 545; W 801.7) and did not return until near the end of Dhū ʾl-Qaʿda, or even in the following month (SS 3-4:500.16 = SG 597, 782 n. 853; W 960.2, 973.11).

266. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1327 no. 2209 and 1659f no. 2960. The second of these two entries records the alternative names of his father.

267. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1327.8, 1660.4.

268. W 799.16. The text seems corrupt: *ilā Banī ʾl-Ḥuṣayn* is no doubt to be deleted, and the addition of Ḍamra to Ghifār does not make sense since Ḍamra is a larger tribal grouping that includes Ghifār (see T42 and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 465.20).

same thing for the Tabūk campaign, and again he sent Abū Ruhm to his tribe;[269] this was an unpopular expedition, and Muḥammad later questioned Abū Ruhm about Ghifārīs who had stayed behind.[270] But Abū Ruhm's usefulness was not confined to dealings with his own tribe. After the Battle of Ḥunayn, the defeated tribe of Hawāzin asked Muḥammad for the return of their captive women and children, and to be able to grant this petition he needed the agreement of his troops. Thus at one point he sent emissaries to three constituencies to secure their consent: the Anṣār, the Muhājirūn, and the Arab tribes (qabāʾil al-ʿArab). The emissary to the Arab tribes was Abū Ruhm.[271] Significantly, we hear of no such commissions being entrusted to Abū Dharr. But equally significantly, we would not expect an outsider like Abū Ruhm to have standing among the core tribes of Muḥammad's community, and there is nothing to suggest that he had it. Like Abū Dharr, Abū Ruhm is not said to have had descendants.[272] The date of his death is not recorded.

Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī [III]

All three authors name him as a deputy for one or more of five expeditions (nos. 8, 16, 23, 26, and 27), in a couple of cases with an alternative.[273] Though he is not known to the genealogists, we can take it that he was a Ghifārī because the sources regularly refer to him as one.[274] And these two things—his role as deputy and his tribal affiliation—are in fact almost all that our sources have to tell us about him.[275] Thus the references made to him by Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, Khalīfa, Balādhurī, and Ṭabarī relate exclusively to his role as deputy, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr in his entry on him can add to this only that he was one of the older Companions of Muḥammad (min kibār al-Ṣaḥāba).[276] We do not know the date of his death or whether he had descendants.

We now come to two deputies belonging to the clan of Kalb, which as already mentioned is part of the tribe of Layth ibn Bakr, which again is a part of Kināna.[277] The two look like they could be brothers, but are not.

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269. W 990.15.

270. W 1001.18; SS 3–4:529.1 = SG 609; and cf. SS 518.21 = SG 603.

271. W 952.9.

272. None appear in T42 or are mentioned in Ibn Ḥazm, Jamhara, 186.17.

273. Of these deputyships one—for the Khaybar expedition (no. 23)—is unusually widely attested because it is central to a well-known tradition about Abū Hurayra's arrival in Medina; I will return to it below, text to notes 320, 329.

274. See, for example, W 8.9; SS 3–4:43.14 = SG 751 n. 563. The nisba Balādhurī gives him is al-Kinānī (Ansāb, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 341.13, 352.11), Kināna being the wider grouping to which Ghifār belongs.

275. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, 682 no. 1129; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, ed. ʿUmar, 5:108.3 no. 753 (both entries of less than two lines). He is said to have acquired a building-plot (khiṭṭa) at the Muṣallā, which is not where the Ghifārīs at large settled in Medina (Ibn Shabba, Taʾrīkh al-Madīna, 1:261.5).

276. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, 682 no. 1129.

277. This clan is often referred to as "Kalb Layth" to distinguish it from the much larger tribe of Kalb (see, for example, SS 3–4:622.18 = SG 667).

Ghālib ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī (T37.19) [I]

Only Khalīfa mentions him as a deputy, and without specifying for which expedition or expeditions he was appointed; in other words, this is the vaguest reference to a deputy in our corpus of evidence.[278] What Ghālib was remembered for was his role as the commander of three expeditions sent out by Muḥammad: one against the Banū Murra in 7/628f, one to Mayfaʿa in 7/629, and one to Kadīd in 8/629.[279] He reappears as a military commander during the early conquests outside Arabia.[280] A vivid narrative of his expedition against the Banū Murra depicts a man with a talent for military leadership—someone with impressive presence who makes tactical decisions quickly and decisively.[281] Virtually the only other thing we are told about him is that Muḥammad sent him ahead to clear the path for him (*li-yusahhila lahu ʾl-ṭarīq*) at the time of the Fatḥ.[282] No descendants are recorded.[283]

Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī (T37.22) [II]

Wāqidī does not name him as a deputy, but Ibn Hishām does so for three expeditions (nos. 17, 22, and 23), and Khalīfa for one (no. 17). Numayla and Ghālib appear to be three generations apart, which is odd.[284] Numayla is a little-known figure.[285] More precisely, apart from his genealogy and his role as deputy, there are only two things we are told about him. One is that he was among a few dozen people to whom Muḥammad gave allowances (*ṭuʿam*) from the produce of a part of Khaybar after its conquest in 7/628.[286] The other is that at the Fatḥ he killed a drunken cousin of his father, Miqyas ibn Ṣubāba;[287] this Miqyas was one of the people Muḥammad had explicitly excepted from the general amnesty he

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278. But for a possible identification, see above, note 71. For Ghālib's biography, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1252 no. 2057. There is some disagreement about his father's name.

279. For the expedition against the Banū Murra, see W 723.18; SS 3–4:622.18 = SG 667; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 40.9. For the expedition to Mayfaʿa, see W 5.17, 726.9 (Ibn Hishām has no account of this expedition, see Jones, "Chronology of the *maghāzī*", 254 n. 20). For the expedition to Kadīd, see W 6.3, 750.14; SS 3–4:609.20 = SG 660. Some sources mention a much earlier raid led by Ghālib on Sulaym and Ghaṭafān in 2/624 (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/1364.1 = *History*, 7:89; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 117.3). Ibn Saʿd's entry on him speaks only of the raids he led (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. ʿUmar, 5:122.1 no. 780).

280. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/2188.6, 2196.7, 2233.13 = *History*, 11:201, 209, 12:27. In the first two of these references the troops he commands are described as belonging to Kināna; no such statements are made about the men he commands in the time of Muḥammad, and none of the individuals mentioned by name in the accounts of the relevant expeditions given by Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām are Kinānīs.

281. W 724.4; see also 727.1 on the Mayfaʿa expedition.

282. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1252.14; and see Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, 4:1:99.2 no. 437.

283. See T37; Ibn Ḥazm does not mention him in his *Jamhara*.

284. See T37, where their last common ancestor is seven generations before Numayla and four before Ghālib.

285. For his biography see the brief entries in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1533f no. 2664; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. ʿUmar, 5:126.11 no. 784. Balādhurī gives him the *nisba* al-Kinānī (*Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 352.12).

286. W 695.4 (I take the document to end at 695.6); SS 3–4:352.7 = SG 522.

287. His father's name appears variously as Ṣubāba, Ḍubāba, and Ḥubāba.

extended to the Meccans.[288] As a result Numayla was criticized locally for having disgraced his kinsfolk.[289] He would seem to have lived into the time of the first civil war;[290] we do not know of any descendants.[291]

We have one more deputy from the local tribes of the Ḥijāz, this time a member of Duʾil ibn Bakr, yet another part of Kināna.

ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duʾalī (T43.17) [II]

Ibn Hishām and Khalīfa agree that he was deputy for an expedition, but disagree as to which it was (no. 22 or no. 24). He is perhaps the least-known of all our deputies.[292] Neither Wāqidī nor Ṭabarī mentions him; nor do Ibn Hishām or Khalīfa, except to name him once as a deputy. Unlike our other deputies, he is said to have converted only in the year of the expedition to Ḥudaybiya, that is in 6/628; if so, it would seem unlikely that he would have served as deputy for that expedition (no. 22). According to a somewhat cryptic report, during the expedition to Ḥudaybiya the tribe of Khuzāʿa urged Muḥammad to attack the most powerful family of Tihāma (*aʿazz bayt bi-Tihāma*); he responded that the women of ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ should not be scared, for he was urging his people to adopt Islam (*kāna yaʾmuruhum biʾl-Islām*).[293] If this indicates the standing of the family of ʿUwayf in Tihāma, it is curiously inconsistent with his general obscurity. We do not know the date of his death or whether he had descendants.[294]

As already mentioned, the last of our deputies was born into the far-away tribe of Kalb ibn Wabara.

Zayd ibn Ḥāritha (T291.33) [II]

Zayd is named as a deputy by both Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām for one expedition (no. 3) and by Wāqidī alone for another (no. 17). In our pool of deputies he stands out as an

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288. W 408.10, 860.16, 875.5; SS 3-4:410.19 = SG 551. The story goes back to an incident of friendly fire during the expedition to Muraysīʿ (see W 407.20, 861.7; SS 3-4:290.11, 293.14 = SG 490, 492). For the general amnesty see W 825.7; SS 3-4:409.8 = SG 550.

289. See W 861.4; SS 3-4:410.20 = SG 551, where the verses are attributed to a sister of Miqyas.

290. He reports a letter sent by Umm Salama to the people of Iraq urging unity (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 2708 no. 6471).

291. None are shown in T37, and Ibn Ḥazm does not indicate any (*Jamhara*, 182.1).

292. For his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1247f no. 2051 (a five-line entry); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. ʿUmar, 5:133.1 no. 792. For his name there is a variant form ʿUwayth; his father's name may also be given as Rabīʿa, with al-Aḍbaṭ ("ambidextrous") as his nickname. Balādhurī, in a practice of his that is by now familiar, gives him the *nisba* al-Kinānī (*Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 353.12).

293. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. ʿUmar, 5:133.3; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. ʿAẓm, 10:36.10; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 1:15.14, 6:174.5, and the editor's footnotes to the second passage.

294. T43 shows none; he is not in Ibn Ḥazm's *Jamhara*.

exceptional case in more than one respect.[295] First, he was not by origin a local—he did not belong to any of the tribes of Kināna or to either tribe of the Anṣār. Second, he had been a slave: though born a free member of the northern tribe of Kalb, he had had the misfortune to be sold into slavery. His presence in Mecca arose from this enslavement; that he was later manumitted could not wipe out the social and political stigma that arose from it according to the norms of Arabian society. Third, he happened to be the slave, freedman, and for a while adopted son of Muḥammad himself.[296] He was thus closely bonded to Muḥammad,[297] but had no agnatic ties to the wider community of his followers. The resulting tensions were manifested both socially and politically. Socially, he got to marry four Qurashī women,[298] but anecdotal evidence suggests that two of them disliked the prospect so much that they gave way only in the face of overwhelming pressure from God and His prophet. One objected that she was Zayd's social superior (*anā khayr minhu ḥasab^an*), the other angrily complained—with her brother—that Muḥammad had married her to his slave (*zawwajanā ʿabdahu*).[299] Politically, Zayd commanded a quite unusually large number of expeditions. Ibn Isḥāq's data put the number at six, whereas no other person commanded more than two expeditions, and most commanded only one; Wāqidī's data put the number at eight, whereas no other person commanded more than three expeditions, and most again commanded only one.[300] He would no doubt have commanded yet more expeditions had he not been killed at the Battle of Muʾta in 8/629. But again, this prominence was not well received: according to remarks ascribed to Muḥammad close to the time of his own death, these appointments were resented.[301] Zayd had descendants.[302]

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295. For his biography see *EI²*, art. "Zayd ibn Ḥāritha" (M. Lecker); Powers, *Zayd.* He also stands out in being the only Companion named in the Koran (Q33:37), but this need not concern us.

296. Adoption would seem to have been an uncommon practice in pre-Islamic Arabia, and one that did not put the adopted son on the same footing as a real son (see Landau-Tasseron, "Adoption", 171f).

297. As a member of Muḥammad's household he was naturally an early convert, though just how early was disputed (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 546.1, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's own comment thereto).

298. For his marriages see *EI²*, art. "Zayd ibn Ḥāritha", 475b; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 469.4, 471.7.

299. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 10:301f no. 28,516 for Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, and no. 28,517 for Umm Kulthūm bint ʿUqba ibn Abī Muʿayṭ. These traditions appear overwhelmingly in *tafsīr* to Q33:36 (but for an exception, though very likely of exegetical origin, see W 1126.19). The second is quoted in Arazi, "Les enfants adultérins", 9, together with a parallel to the first in which the Zaynab indignantly asks Muḥammad "You marry your niece to your freedman (*mawlā*)?" See further Powers, *Zayd*, 32f and 129 n. 19. The other two Qurashī women whom Zayd married were Durra bint Abī Lahab and Hind bint al-ʿAwwām; I have not seen such anecdotes about them.

300. Powers gives the number of expeditions commanded by Zayd as nine (*Zayd*, 106; but cf. below, note 366). I will return to the role of Zayd as a commander below, text to notes 366f.

301. W 1119.3; SS 3-4:650.10 = SG 679; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:2:41.13 (and see 3:1:32.2); Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 1139 no. 2855 (from Mūsā ibn ʿUqba); Powers, *Zayd*, 76. The context is the grumbling against the last commander Muḥammad ever appointed, Usāma ibn Zayd; Muḥammad reminisces that there had likewise been discontent about his father's role as commander.

302. See T291; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 459.5; also *EI²*, art. "Zayd ibn Ḥāritha", 475b, and Powers, *Zayd*, 85f on his numerous grandchildren.

This completes our survey of the pool of deputies named in our three early sources. Above we noted in passing two additional persons named as deputies in relatively early sources: one was ʿAlī, named by Ibn Ḥabīb, Yaʿqūbī, and Masʿūdī for Tabūk (no. 26), and the other was Nājiya ibn Jundab al-Aslamī, named by Ibn Ḥibbān for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ (no. 24).[303] ʿAlī's deputyship, unlike Nājiya's, is mentioned by several later authors.[304] I have also noted three further names found only in later authors: Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) mentions Jiʿāl ibn Surāqa al-Ḍamrī as deputy for Muraysīʿ (no. 17) and Bashīr ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ (no. 24), while Diyārbakrī (writing c. 940/1534) names one Ibn Abī Mikraz as deputy for Uḥud (no. 11).[305] In the cases of Nājiya, Bashīr, and Ibn Abī Mikraz, there is at least some reason to suspect that these names represent errors of transmission rather than the survival of information deriving from early sources now lost to us. In any case, I do not include any of these five names in the pool.

We are now ready to proceed to a discussion of the data.

4. Discussion

4.1 What to believe

Our evidence regarding the deputies is of two kinds. First, there are the specific statements found in the sources about their appointment as deputies. Second, there is the wider range of biographical information we have assembled about them. Let us consider each in turn.

As we have seen, statements about the deputies Muḥammad appointed appear regularly in works of the late second and early third century, but not earlier. This, of course, is the best part of two centuries after the events that the sources describe. Frequently we are told nothing about how the information reached our sources; thus it is unusual for us to find it backed up with a chain of authorities (isnād), despite the fact that the use of such chains was already well-established in the scholarly culture of the day.[306] This suggests that it was

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303. For ʿAlī see above, text to notes 81, 86, 95; for Nājiya see above, note 98.

304. Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Ṭabrisī, Mughulṭāy, Ibn Khaldūn, Diyārbakrī, and Ḥalabī (see the appendix). Of these seven, only Ṭabrisī is Shīʿite.

305. See the appendix.

306. There are only four expeditions out of the twenty-seven for which we know or have reason to believe that Ibn Isḥāq named the deputy: Badr (see above, note 49), Kudr (see above, note 67), the Fatḥ (see above, note 63, and text to notes 20, 88), and Tabūk (see above, note 64 and text to note 89); only one of these, the third, comes with an isnād going back to a Companion of Muḥammad, namely ʿAbdallāh ibn al-ʿAbbās. Apart from Ibn Isḥāq, the first and last of these are also supported by other lines of transmission (for Badr see above, note 49, and for Tabūk see above, text to note 19, and note 64). In the case of Tabūk we also have the tradition about the appointment of ʿAlī going back to Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (see above, note 81). In addition, we are told by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr that Zuhrī named the deputy for the Khandaq (see below, the third paragraph of the appendix), and we have the widely-attested tradition from or about the Companion Abū Hurayra regarding the Khaybar expedition (see below, text to notes 320, 329). When we come to Wāqidī matters are less clear: it may not be obvious what is and is not covered by an isnād, and in any case his isnāds can be rather vague (qālū, "they said", preceding statements about the appointment of deputies at W 277.8, 546.20, 683.15, 995.5). That leaves six isnāds for information about deputies that are worth attention (W 100.17, 180.15, 183.18, 197.3, 402.11, 537.17; they relate to Badr, to Badr, Qaynuqāʿ, and Sawīq, to Kudr, to Buḥrān, to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ, and to

only rather late that the idea emerged that no account of an expedition led by Muḥammad was complete without the identification of his deputy in Medina; Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām clearly thought this way, but two generations before them Ibn Isḥāq only occasionally saw fit to mention a deputy.[307] To this we can add an argument from silence. Some now lost biographical works on the life of Muḥammad by contemporaries of Ibn Isḥāq survived for centuries. Thus the Spanish scholar Abū Bakr ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179) had access to those of Mūsā ibn ʿUqba (d. 141/758f) and Sulaymān ibn Ṭarkhān (d. 143/761), while Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) still had access to that of Mūsā ibn ʿUqba.[308] The medieval scholars quote these works quite frequently, yet I have only seen a single instance of a quotation from one of them making reference to a deputy.[309] So there is real doubt as to how information dating from the time of Muḥammad reached our sources—if it did. A crucial question here is how far we have mutually independent sources that could corroborate each other's testimony. We tend to be suspicious if the sources agree too much or too little with each other—too much because it would suggest interdependence, too little because not enough is corroborated. In the present case the complaint can hardly be that the sources agree too much. While they do agree on the basic principle that when going out on an expedition Muḥammad would appoint a deputy, once we ask who the deputy was for any particular expedition, our three main sources are much more likely to disagree than to agree—though things look better if we confine ourselves to Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām.[310] And as we have seen, the extent of the overlap between the sources increases considerably if, rather than concern ourselves with particular expeditions, we are content to assemble a pool of people who at one time or another are said to have served as deputies; can we then take that overlap as corroboration? We can, of course, argue that it is not clear what motive people would have had for inventing information about who acted as deputies. But there is a ready answer to this: given the emergence of the principle that every expedition had to have its deputy, there would have been an obvious motive for the

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Ghāba respectively). As usual, several of Wāqidī's informants are not covered by the biographical literature of the traditionists, but it is worth noting that all but the first and last of these six isnāds go back two links before Wāqidī, one of them to the Medinese ʿAbdallāh ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ḥazm (d. 135/752f) (W180.15; for this traditionist see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 14:349–52 no. 3190). The first and sixth *isnād*s go back three links. The first stems from the Medinese ʿAbdallāh ibn Muknif al-Ḥārithī, whose *floruit* must have been around the early second/eighth century (on him see 16:176 no. 3591). The sixth goes back to the Companion Salama ibn al-Akwaʿ (d. 74/693f) (for whom see 11:301f no. 2462). In sum, putting together the data set out in this note, we find that there are attributions going back behind the generation of Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām for eleven of the twenty-seven expeditions, although only four of these attributions are supported by *isnād*s claiming to go back to Companions of Muḥammad.

307. For the four expeditions for which we have evidence that Ibn Isḥāq named a deputy, see the preceding note.

308. See Abū Bakr ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa*, 230.11, 231.3, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras*, 74 no. 189. For the arrival of both works in Spain, see Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 72, 81.

309. For Mūsā ibn ʿUqba on Abū Lubāba as deputy for Badr, see above, note 49. It is significant that the focus of the report is on who was deemed present at Badr, *not* on who was deputy (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 403 no. 1203; the passage begins: *wa-shahida Badr^{an}* (read so) *min al-Anṣār min al-Aws...*).

310. See the tabulations in section 2.4 above.

scholars of the generation of Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām to plug any gaps. Yet why they should have plugged so many gaps with people of such little consequence is harder to explain in these terms. One strategy that considerations of this kind might suggest would be to see what sort of a picture emerges if we consider only our better-attested deputies—let us say those rated [III] in my listing above. That would limit us to a subpool of five: Ibn Umm Maktūm, Abū Lubāba, Muḥammad ibn Maslama, Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī, and Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī. But the main thing that emerges from all these thoughts is indeterminacy: we have no way to be sure whether, or to what extent, our lists of deputies do or do not have a real historical foundation.[311]

Similar doubts arise about the wider biographical material, though in a more diffuse way. What we can say on the basis of the sketches presented above is that the picture of any given deputy that emerges from our sources tends to possess a certain coherence. But how far that coherence is a historical or a literary phenomenon is a question we have again no sure way to answer. In addition, it is perhaps worth drawing attention here to two factors that could skew our sense of the prominence or otherwise of particular deputies in the lifetime of the Prophet. One is the date of a man's death: to die before the conquests was to miss out on a quite exceptional opportunity to amass wealth and power and thereby gain the attention of posterity.[312] The other is whether he has descendants:[313] an energetic descendant can be an effective lobbyist promoting the reputation of an ancestor. Whether these factors operated across the board is hard to tell, but as we have seen they both find a striking illustration in the case of Muḥammad ibn Maslama.[314]

We have, then, two options. We can give up on any attempt to use the material in our sources for the reconstruction of what actually happened, in which case this article ends here. Or we can ask what historical reconstruction is possible if we make the assumption that the sources do in fact convey to us a significant measure of truth. This assumption does not seem unreasonable, and the rest of the article will be based on it.[315]

4.2 What we see

Near the beginning of this article I referred to the expectation that Muḥammad would tend to appoint deputies who satisfied three criteria: they would be men he could trust, they would be men with previous experience of the job, and they would men with significant social and political clout. In contrast to tribal affiliation and previous experience

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311. For skeptical comments on the historicity of the information on deputies found in our sources, see Cameron, *Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, 30, 31.

312. The deputies known to have lived longest are, in ascending order of their death-dates, Abū Dharr, ʿUthmān, Abū Lubāba, and Muḥammad ibn Maslama.

313. The deputies known to have descendants are Abū Salama, ʿUthmān, all the Anṣārīs bar ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy, and Zayd ibn Ḥāritha. That none of the six Kinānīs are recorded to have had descendants could mean that they lived in less favored circumstances, or that our sources were less attentive to them.

314. For his progeny see above, note 193, and text to note 194.

315. To use the analogy of two of Patricia Crone's works, I take my cue from her *Slaves on horses* rather than her *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam.*

of the job, trust and clout are not things that can be established unambiguously with a quick reference to the sources; instead they require research that is more laborious and judgments that are more subjective. But the biographical profiles of the individual deputies that I provided above were intended in considerable measure to collect the relevant information insofar as it is available.

Trust need not detain us long. We cannot administer polygraph tests to Muḥammad's deputies, but if we go by such indications as early conversion, piety, zeal, personal closeness to Muḥammad, financial probity, or willingness to kill a kinsman because Muḥammad wanted him dead, then I would be inclined to divide the eighteen deputies into three categories. For twelve of them we have reason to believe that Muḥammad could trust them, and no reason to think otherwise. For two of them we have some reason to believe that he could trust them, but at the same time some ground for reservation—in the case of Abū Lubāba his lapse when he went to counsel the Banū Qurayẓa and his connection with the Masjid al-Ḍirār, and in the case of Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda his excessive loyalty to his clan or tribe. That leaves four—none of them members of the core tribes—of whom the sources have nothing relevant to say. My categorization of some individuals is inevitably rather subjective, and things could have changed over the course of Muḥammad's time in Medina, but the overall conclusion is hard to avoid. It is also unremarkable—we would not have expected Muḥammad to appoint deputies he was unable to trust.[316]

Previous experience in the job is easy to reckon. If we go by Wāqidī's data as tabulated above,[317] he names twelve men as having served as deputies, or having been alleged to have done so. Seven of them would have served once only, two of them twice, two of them thrice, and one of them thirteen times. If we go by Ibn Hishām's data as tabulated, he names fifteen men as having served or been alleged to serve. Nine of them would have served once only, two of them twice, two of them thrice, one of them possibly four times, and one of them ten times. In percentage terms, the proportion of deputies who serve only once is 58 percent for Wāqidī and 60 percent for Ibn Hishām. Thus in both cases the majority of those who served as deputy did so only once—which is not what we would have expected.

What then can we say about clout? Here it may be worth summarizing the data in a table. I use the following code:

YES = definitely has clout
yes = perhaps has clout
no = perhaps lacks clout
NO = definitely lacks clout

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316. Perhaps we could imagine Muḥammad on some occasion appointing ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy as his deputy in analogy with Lyndon Johnson's celebrated remark about J. Edgar Hoover that it was "better to have him inside the tent pissing out, than outside the tent pissing in." But our sources do not suggest that Muḥammad ever picked a deputy in this way, though his generous treatment of his former Meccan enemies in the aftermath of the Fatḥ perhaps meets the Johnson criterion (*EI²*, art. "al-Muʾallafa qulūbuhum" (Ed.)).

317. For Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām's data see above, Sections 2.2 and 2.5. The outlier is in each case Ibn Umm Maktūm.

In parentheses I give a brief justification; for details, see the biographical profile for the deputy in question. Again my individual ratings are somewhat subjective, but the overall shape of the results is fairly robust.

QURASHĪS:

Abū Salama	no (few fellow-clansmen in Medina)
Ibn Umm Maktūm	NO (blind, insignificant, known after his mother, etc.)
Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn	NO (little known, too young)
ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān	yes (unwarlike, but rich, future Caliph)

AWSĪS:

Abū Lubāba	YES (perhaps a *naqīb*, trusted by Qurayẓa, wealthy)
Muḥammad ibn Maslama	yes (competent commander, owed success to Prophet?)
Saʿd ibn Muʿādh	YES (strong clan and tribal chief)

KHAZRAJĪS:

ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy	yes (rather little-known, at odds with his father)
ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa	no (*naqīb*, but rather alone)
Abū Dujāna	NO (brave warrior but not a leader)
Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda	YES (powerful clan and tribal chief)

KINĀNĪS:

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī	NO (little clout in Medina, imprudent, inflexible, loner)
Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī	no (clout with his tribe but not much in Medina)
Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī	NO (little clout in Medina, virtually unknown)
Ghālib ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī	no (fine commander but little clout in Medina)
Numayla ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī	NO (no clout in Medina, virtually unknown)
ʿUwayf ibn al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duʾalī	NO (no clout in Medina, virtually unknown)

KALBĪ:

Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	NO (servile background, no constituency, resented)

TOTALS:

YES: 3
yes: 3
no: 4
NO: 8

Several points stand out here.

First, there is a set of three Anṣārī deputies who meet the clout criterion with flying colors, and are the only ones to do so. The two Saʿds are perfect, both of them clan chiefs who could readily mobilize their constituencies in the face of an emergency. At the same time Abū Lubāba clearly satisfies the criterion. Moreover, the fact that these three were

Anṣārīs made them particularly apt appointments. For one thing, being Medinese, they were better placed than the Muhājirūn to respond to local challenges; for another, when Muḥammad went out on campaign he was likely to take with him a higher proportion of the Muhājirūn than of the Anṣār. This is no doubt relevant to the fact that seven of the deputies are Anṣārīs but only four of them Qurashīs. But not quite half of the Anṣārī deputies fully meet the criterion. Muḥammad ibn Maslama, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ubayy, and ʿAbdallāh ibn Rawāḥa are less convincing, and Abū Dujāna—a fine warrior but not a leader—is not convincing at all.

Second, of the four Qurashīs, the only one close to meeting the criterion is ʿUthmān. Abū Salama lacked fellow-clansmen and Sāʾib ibn ʿUthmān ibn Maẓʿūn was a little-known figure and too young. But the most egregious case is of course Ibn Umm Maktūm. In political terms he was a nobody, albeit one remarkably well-known to posterity thanks to the attention paid to him on two occasions by God. He was called after his mother rather than his father, he was poor, he was easily brushed off, and above all he was blind. Why then would Muḥammad appoint a blind man to watch his back when he went out on campaign? And yet the consensus is that Ibn Umm Maktūm was deputy for something like a dozen campaigns, far more than anyone else; and even if he only served twice, as a deviant tradition has it, that would still stand in need of explanation.

Third, we have a set of six Kinānīs—three Ghifārīs, two Laythīs, and one Duʾalī. Simply by virtue of their tribal affiliations they would have lacked significant constituencies in Medina. Moveover several of them are little known figures—notably Sibāʿ, Numayla, and ʿUwayf—and that fact alone makes it unlikely that they were people of consequence at the time.

So we have a puzzle. Our sources are telling us that Muḥammad was more likely than not to appoint as his deputy someone who lacked both experience of the job and the political and social clout needed to respond to an emergency in his absence.[318] If that really is what Muḥammad did, why would he do it? The rest of this discussion will be about ways in which we might solve this puzzle.

4.3 How do we explain it?

What is the role of the deputy?

A first question here would be whether we—or rather I—might have misunderstood the role of the deputy in the opening section of this paper. What do the sources actually tell us

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318. This feature of the deputies was already noted by Caetani, who with some exaggeration stated that Muḥammad always appointed "persone di nessuna importanza ed influenza sociale" (*Annali*, 2:1:522; he later speaks more accurately of the obscurity of the names of the greater part ("della maggior parte") of these persons, 524). For Caetani at this point in his work their obscurity was not a puzzle: these men were merely leaders of the communal prayer (522, 524). Yet earlier in the work he had clearly tended to think of them as exercising an administrative role: the terms he uses most often for the deputies he names in his accounts of the individual expeditions are "luogotenente" and "rappresentante", and in the context of the Tabūk expedition he speaks of "il governo", as well as leading the prayer, being left to the deputy (see, for example, 1:461, 533, 585, 707, and, for Tabūk, 2:1:245f). In these pages he only occasionally mentions the task of leading the prayer in addition to this role (2:1:118, 245f) or on its own (1:481, 568, 691).

that a deputy does? Here information is scarce because their attention is nearly always on Muḥammad and his expedition; they rarely tell us anything about what is happening back home in Medina while he is absent. But we may hope to glean things here and there.

We can at least start on solid ground. The role of the deputy that we hear most of is taking the place of Muḥammad in leading the communal prayer in the Prophet's mosque in Medina.[319] Thus when Abū Hurayra came to Medina with a group of fellow-tribesmen, Muḥammad was away on the expedition to Khaybar; they accordingly prayed the morning prayer behind Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa, who was deputy on this occasion.[320] Likewise at one point in his account of the Battle of Uḥud, Wāqidī remarks of Ibn Umm Maktūm that Muḥammad had left him behind in Medina to conduct the prayer (*khallafahu biʾl-Madīna yuṣallī biʾl-nās*).[321] Ibn Saʿd tells us that Muḥammad appointed him to act as deputy over Medina, conducting the prayer, for most of his expeditions, and quotes a series of traditions to back this up.[322] The close link between serving as deputy and conducting the prayer is apparent in Shaʿbī's response to the question whether a blind man may lead the prayer (*a-yaʾummu ʾl-aʿmā ʾl-qawm?*); he replies only that the Prophet appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm as deputy (*istakhlafa*).[323] Another tradition tells us that while serving as deputy for one expedition (no. 8), Ibn Umm Maktūm would conduct the Friday prayer (*kāna yujammiʿu bihim*), and would deliver the sermon (*yakhṭubu*).[324] This is just the kind of thing Ibn Umm Maktūm

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319. The view that this was the *only* role of the deputy was, as we have seen, adopted by Caetani, for whom at this point "Maometto non ebbe mai luogotenenti o ministri", *Annali*, 2:1:524 (contrast his use of the term "luogotenente" with reference to a deputy eleven times earlier in the work). His position is adopted by Cameron (*Abû Dharr al-Ghifârî*, 28–31).

320. W 636.15; similarly Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:2:54.18. This tradition is widely known; see, for example, Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:345.29; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-awsaṭ*, 1:91 no. 53; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-ṣaghīr*, 1:18.2; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 1451f no. 3679; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 4:198.7; and for further references, see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Arnaʾūṭ, 14:226f no. 8552, n. 2. The common link for most of these traditions is a little-known Medinese Ghifārī, Khuthaym ibn ʿIrāk ibn Mālik (for whom see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 8:228–30 no. 1679); he transmits the tradition from his father ʿIrāk ibn Mālik, a better-known Medinese pietist who died sometime in the years 101–5/720–4, and again was of course a Ghifārī (for him see Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 19:545–9 no. 3893). In some versions Abū Hurayra himself tells the story, in others it is told about him. One version inserts "a group of Ghifārīs" (*nafar min Banī Ghifār*) between Abū Hurayra and ʿIrāk (see Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 4:198.7, and cf. Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-awsaṭ*, 1:91.11, and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:2:54.18). In other words, the message of this *isnād* is that the tradition is a reminiscence about Sibāʿ treasured by his Ghifārī fellow-tribesmen, and that for them the role of Abū Hurayra is incidental.

321. W 277.13; similarly Ibn Hishām (SS 3-4:64.1 = SG 752 no. 583).

322. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:150.26. In the traditions phrases like *yuṣallī biʾl-nās* alternate with *yaʾummu ʾl-nās* (151.4, 151.7, 151.9, 151.15).

323. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:153.22. Conversely, one of the arguments in favour of the legitimacy of Abū Bakr's Caliphate was that he led the prayer during Muḥammad's final illness.

324. W 183.18; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:153.25. He would stand beside the *minbar*, not on it.

was good at: he also taught people the Koran,[325] and was one of Muḥammad's muezzins.[326]

But what if there was trouble? To my knowledge there is only one clear occasion when we get to see a deputy under severe stress. This, unsurprisingly, came at the time of the defeat of Muḥammad at Uḥud, when the remnants of his forces fled back to Medina with the false rumour that Muḥammad himself had been killed. Ibn Umm Maktūm, who was the deputy, expressed his vexation to those who had fled (*jaʿala yuʾaffifu bihim*), then walked out on the road to Uḥud till he encountered the returning forces and learnt from them that Muḥammad was alive.[327] Here we get a strong sense of his personal concern, but not that he was asserting command and control in what could have been a disastrous situation. At the time of the expedition against the Banū Liḥyān (no. 20) we are told that the Anṣār were concerned that an enemy might attack Medina in their absence (*inna ʾl-Madīna khāliya minnā wa-qad baʿudnā ʿanhā, wa-lā naʾmanu ʿaduwwan yukhālifunā ilayhā*); in response Muḥammad assured them that angels were guarding every gap in its perimeter, but made no mention of any role of the deputy (who was Ibn Umm Maktūm).[328] What we do encounter on one occasion is a deputy who takes care of a tribal delegation that had come to Medina at the time when Muḥammad was away leading the expedition to Khaybar: after the morning prayer Abū Hurayra and his fellow-tribesmen approached the deputy, Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa, and he supplied them with some provisions (*fa-zawwadanā shayʾan*) for their journey to see Muḥammad at Khaybar—or in a variant text, "he equipped us" (*jahhazanā*).[329] This indicates that Sibāʿ was in charge, and suggests that Muḥammad had placed some public resources at his disposal. But there is no trace in our sources of the pairing of leading the prayer with military command so characteristic of later provincial government.

So did Muḥammad just not concern himself with the possibility that things might go wrong in Medina? Did he really leave things to the angels? Or did he make other arrangements, perhaps ones that our sources do not usually report? There are some faint indications that he might have done something of this kind, at least on occasion. One such occasion is the Battle of Badr. Wāqidī tells us in four places that Muḥammad

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325. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:151.25. We are told that when he arrived in Medina he settled in the Dār al-Qurrāʾ, identified with the Dār Makhrama ibn Nawfal (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:150.25). Presumably we should think of the Dār al-Qurrāʾ as located in the court *later* acquired by Makhrama ibn Nawfal (d. 54/673f); he converted only at the time of the Fatḥ (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1380.14 no. 2349), and so could not have been in possession of his court in Medina at the time of Ibn Umm Maktūm's arrival. Samhūdī, by contrast, identifies the Dār al-Qurrāʾ as belonging to ʿAbdallāh ibn Masʿūd (see Lecker, "*Wa-bi-Rādhān mā bi-Rādhān*", 59, and Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:267.14, 295.8, 3:58.1).

326. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:152.3, and several further traditions on this page. There is no suggestion in the sources that his religious competence gave him a wider authority.

327. W 277.12. Compare also the case of Badr (below, text to note 335).

328. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmiʿ*, 201.7; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Durar*, 197.12. Neither Wāqidī nor Ibn Hishām has this anecdote.

329. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:2:54.18 (in the biography of Abū Hurayra). The parallel passage in Wāqidī's work omits the reference to provisions (W 637.1), but it is found in, for example, Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:346.1, and Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 4:199.1. For the variant with *jahhazanā* see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, 1452.4; the term *jahāz* could refer to military equipment (cf. below, text to note 358).

appointed Abū Lubāba as deputy over Medina at this time;[330] there is nothing unusual here except that in one place he adds that Muḥammad sent him back from Rawḥāʾ (four days journey from Medina on the way to Badr), appointing him (*istaʿmalahu*) deputy over Medina.[331] Presumably he had had second thoughts about the home front. We likewise find in Ibn Hishām's work a passage in which, according to Ibn Isḥāq, it is alleged that Abū Lubāba went out with Muḥammad, who then sent him back, appointing (*ammara*) him over Medina.[332] All this would imply that Muḥammad had not appointed a deputy as he was leaving Medina—unless indeed he successively appointed *two* deputies. That he did just that is stated by Ibn Hishām, who tells us that he first appointed (*istaʿmala*) Ibn Umm Maktūm to conduct the prayer (*ʿalā ʾl-ṣalāt bi-l-nās*), and then sent back Abū Lubāba from Rawḥāʾ, appointing him over Medina (*istaʿmalahu ʿalā ʾl-Madīna*).[333] Are we then to think of Abū Lubāba as *replacing* Ibn Umm Maktūm in the role of deputy, or as playing a distinct role *alongside* him? The only thing that is suggestive in these passages is the terminology. The term *istaʿmala*, which Wāqidī does not normally use, might perhaps suggest something closer to the appointment of a governor, just as the exceptional use of the term *ammara* by Ibn Isḥāq might point to something like the appointment of a commander (*amīr*).[334] Do these word choices then hint at a differentiation of Abū Lubāba's role from Ibn Umm Maktūm's? On the other hand, at the point at which we see him in action, Abū Lubāba does not behave as if he had authority of such a kind. When the false rumour spread that Muḥammad had been defeated at Badr, one of the Hypocrites exulted in telling Abū Lubāba about this Muslim defeat; Abū Lubāba told him firmly that God would show his words to be false (*yukadhdhibu ʾllāh qawlaka*),[335] but we do not exactly see him taking charge of a volatile situation. Moreover, it seems that while he was at Rawḥāʾ on the way to Badr, Muḥammad had heard of some untoward development among one of the Awsī clans, the Banū ʿAmr ibn Awf; but instead of leaving it to Abū Lubāba to take care of the matter as deputy, he sent back someone else to deal with it.[336]

The next occasion on which we hear anything of this kind is Ḥudaybiya. Here all three of our main authors name a single deputy, though in each case a different one. Balādhurī, however, starts by naming Ibn Umm Maktūm, adds that it is said that it was Abū Ruhm,

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330. W 8.1, 101.9 (*khallafahu*), 159.11 (*istaʿmalahu*), 180.16 (*istakhlafahu*).

331. W 159.12; similarly Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:29.13 (*istaʿmalahu*). For the distance from Medina to Rawḥāʾ, see 2:1:7.24.

332. SS 1-2:688.16 = SG 331.

333. SS 1-2:612.13 = SG 738 no. 354; similarly Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 61.11. Maqrīzī tells us that Muḥammad appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm *ʿalā ʾl-Madīna wa-ʿalā ʾl-ṣalāt* (*Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:83.2), implying that when he subsequently appointed Abū Lubāba (112.9), the latter can only have been a replacement.

334. Compare the statement of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās that Muḥammad sent Abū Lubāba back to Medina as governor (*wāliyan*, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 1:297.2).

335. W 115.12.

336. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:6.25. Here Ibn Saʿd says that Muḥammad sent back Ḥārith ibn Ḥāṭib al-ʿAmrī to the Banū ʿAmr ibn Awf "because of something he heard about them" (*li-shayʾ balaghahu ʿanhum*). Both Abū Lubāba and Ḥārith belonged to the clan in question. For a discussion of this and related reports, see Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and pagans*, 138–40.

and ends by mentioning a third view: "Some say that he appointed *both* of them deputies (*istakhlafahumā jamīʿan*), and that Ibn Umm Maktūm was in charge of prayer (*ʿalā ʾl-ṣalāt*)."[337] That would imply that Abū Ruhm's job description was something else.

We come now to the Fatḥ and the ensuing events. Again, the point of interest is something Balādhurī tells us. He has already dealt with the Fatḥ itself, stating that the deputy was Ibn Umm Maktūm, *or* it is said Abū Ruhm.[338] He then goes on to the Battle of Ḥunayn, and tells us that Muḥammad now confirmed Ibn Umm Maktūm *and* Abū Ruhm over Medina.[339] Then he turns to the expedition to Ṭāʾif, and informs us that the deputy was Ibn Umm Maktūm *or* Abū Ruhm.[340] The "and" in the second of the three passages, taken on its own, would support the idea of a dual appointment; but of course we cannot put any weight on the text at this point—from "or" to "and" (*aw* to *wa-*) is an easy corruption.

There is perhaps one more thing that should be added here. At the time of the expedition to Ghāba, Wāqidī quotes his sources as saying (*qālū*) that Muḥammad made Ibn Umm Maktūm deputy over Medina, and in the same breath adds that Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda stayed behind (*aqāma*) to guard Medina with three hundred men of his people for five nights, until Muḥammad returned.[341] But the language used here is not that employed to refer to the appointment of deputies.

In contrast to all this tantalizing ambiguity, there is one scholar who seeks to reconcile the sources by pursuing the idea of dual deputyships in a forthright manner. This is the Cairene author of the biography of Muḥammad commonly known as *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1635). Speaking of the Battle of Badr, he tells us that Muḥammad designated Abū Lubāba as governor of Medina (*wāliyan ʿalā ʾl-Madīna*), and that he appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm over prayer in Medina (*ʿalā ʾl-ṣalāt biʾl-nās fī ʾl-Madīna*).[342] Speaking of the expedition to Kudr (no. 8), he notes that Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa and Ibn Umm Maktūm are mentioned as alternative deputies on this occasion.[343] He then goes on to argue that there need be no contradiction here, since the pair could have served concurrently in different capacities. Thus he reads a tradition in the collection of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) to mean that the appointment of Ibn Umm Maktūm was *only* over prayer in Medina, to the exclusion of the administration of justice (*al-qaḍāyā waʾl-aḥkām*), since a blind man cannot function as judge; so Muḥammad could have delegated

337. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 350.21.

338. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 364.13.

339. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 365.4.

340. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 366.23.

341. W 546.20. In the parallel passage in Ibn Saʿd we find *khallafa* in place of *aqāma*, with Muḥammad as the subject of the verb (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 2:1:58.10). We hear of such forces of guards in other contexts in the life of Muḥammad (see, for example, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥamīd Allāh, 314.10); what is exceptional is the pairing of the commander of the guards with the deputy that we find in this instance.

342. Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, 2:381.3, 381.6.

343. Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, 2:470.18.

judicial authority to Sibāʿ.[344] Finally, speaking of the expedition to Ḥudaybiya, he echoes the third view noted by Balādhurī, that Muḥammad appointed both Ibn Umm Maktūm and Abū Ruhm, with Ibn Umm Maktūm over prayer; he then goes on to specify, as Balādhurī did not, that Abū Ruhm's role on this view would be as guardian of the security of Medina (ḥāfiẓan lil-Madīna).[345] He does not say that this is how it was, but he clearly likes the idea. I present these remarks of Ḥalabī's because they are conceptually interesting, not because they are historically compelling. The only piece of evidence he cites is, as we have seen, a tradition from the collection of Abū Dāwūd. It is the sole tradition in the chapter on the blind man as a prayer-leader (bāb imāmat al-aʿmā).[346] This Baṣran tradition states that Muḥammad made Ibn Umm Maktūm his deputy (istakhlafa), leading the prayer despite being blind (yaʾummu ʾl-nās wa-huwa aʿmā). It is hard to read this tradition as saying anything one way or another about what further roles Ibn Umm Maktūm might or might not have assumed when serving as deputy.

In short, evidence for dual deputyships exists, but it is rather shadowy. If we took it seriously, it might help to explain why the sources so often disagree about who was deputy—they could be picking different members of the pair. But it would be putting a lot of strain on the evidence we have to imagine that Muḥammad made such an arrangement each time he left on an expedition. The fact is that we are usually very much in the dark about any arrangements Muḥammad may have made for Medina in his absence other than the appointment of a single deputy.

Are deputies the B team?

A very different point about deputies is that whoever Muḥammad appointed would not be with him on the expedition. In other words, leaving someone behind as deputy comes with an opportunity cost, and the greater the deputy's political and military skills, the greater the opportunity cost. As Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) explains, when rulers go out on campaign they take with them those from whose presence they stand to benefit most—those whose counsel, good judgment, eloquence, and martial force they depend on; in the absence of serious problems (siyāsa kathīra) in the capital, the person who stays behind does not need all this.[347] From such a point of view it could be argued that there was a reason to appoint inferior men as deputies. Nothing was lost by not having Ibn Umm Maktūm on the battlefield, despite his brave assertion that blindness was a virtue in a standard-bearer; and this fact might help to explain why we find him serving as deputy

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344. He later refers back to this solution, see Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, 2:480.15. So far as I know he is the only author to consider judicial authority in connection with the role of the deputy.

345. Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn*, 2:689.7.

346. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 1:162 no. 595 (ṣalāt 64).

347. Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj al-sunna*, 4:88.13. Note, however, that in this passage he has in mind the Tabūk expedition, which he sees as exceptional in the absence of any threat to Medina at the time (89.3). Contrast the insistence of a well-known Imāmī scholar, the Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), in his discussion of the same expedition that Muḥammad knew that only ʿAlī was competent to take his place in deterring the enemy, safeguarding Medina, and protecting its inhabitants (irhāb al-ʿaduww wa-ḥirāsat dār al-hijra wa-ḥiyāṭat man fīhā, *Irshād*, 155.12 = trans. Howard, 107).

for nearly half of Muḥammad's expeditions. The same was no doubt true of the unwarlike ʿUthmān. But a number of considerations should discourage us from pushing this line of thought very far.

First, some of those chosen by Muḥammad to be deputies were very effective on the battlefield, for example Abū Dujāna as a common soldier and Ghālib ibn ʿAbdallāh as a commander. And yet neither of them had the clout to be an effective deputy—Abū Dujāna because he was not a leader, and Ghālib because he had no constituency worth speaking of in Medina.

Second, we could expect that the strength of this motive would vary with certain features of the expeditions or their contexts. For example, one might speculate that Muḥammad needed more formidable deputies when he was first establishing his power in Medina than he did towards the end of his time there. And one might argue that it was indeed so from the fact that the two Saʿds are mentioned as serving only for the first and second expeditions. But other plausible hypotheses of this kind fare less well. One would be that Muḥammad's need for deputies with clout would correlate with the distance the expedition was taking him from Medina. But here no clear pattern emerges: if we take the seven expeditions that went more than a hundred miles or so from Medina,[348] we find that the great majority of the deputies named by our three authors are low in clout. Yet another expected correlation might be with the size of the expeditions—the larger the expedition, the fewer reliable supporters of Muḥammad would remain in Medina, and the more he would need a deputy with clout. But the fact that the two alternative deputies for the Fatḥ—an occasion for which Muḥammad assembled the largest force he had yet brought together—were Ibn Umm Maktūm and Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī is not encouraging: the first lacked clout altogether, and the second lacked it in Medina.

Finally, if military optimization was a serious concern for Muḥammad, we would expect this to be manifested in his choice of commanders for the expeditions he sent out when he himself stayed at home; and as we will see below, it was not.[349]

So what was Muḥammad thinking?

From the discussion so far it is hard to avoid the conclusion that for the most part Muḥammad preferred not to appoint deputies with the experience and clout needed to take care of Medina in his absence. This is the obvious way to understand many of his choices, notably his repeated use of Ibn Umm Maktūm and of members of minor tribes from outside Mecca and Medina. The apparent job-description of the deputies would seem to reinforce this: the strong emphasis on leading the communal prayer, and the fact that even when a different role is indicated we are almost never told just what it is. So also would the finding that according to our sources over half the deputies serve only once, and that apart from Ibn Umm Maktūm none serve more than four times at the most.[350]

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348. Nos. 16, 17, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27. Another way to approach this point would be to look for a correlation between the clout of deputies and the duration of Muḥammad's absences.

349. See the following subsection.

350. See above, text to note 317.

A deputy with some clout who served repeatedly would be in a position to build up a set of understandings and arrangements that he could activate each time he served. But no deputy other than Ibn Umm Maktūm was given the opportunity to do this, and nothing we know about Ibn Umm Maktūm suggests that he had the capacity to use the position in such a way. Why then did Muḥammad usually prefer not to appoint deputies with clout?[351]

There are two possible motives here. One concerns the community at large, and the other Muḥammad in particular.

With regard to the community at large, Muḥammad's concern could have been to maintain the balance between the various elements of his community—or more precisely, to avoid the kind of imbalance that could alienate some part of it.[352] By definition a deputy with clout has a constituency, and the more his appointment pleases his constituency, the more it is likely to create resentment in other constituencies. Up to this point we have thought of a deputy with clout as someone who can *rein in* trouble if it occurs on his watch; but perhaps we should rather think of him as someone liable to *provoke* trouble. By contrast, a blind pietist or a member of an insignificant tribe could be relied on not to make waves in this way. The same consideration—the desire not to alienate—would apply to Muḥammad's treatment of the most powerful individuals in the community. A couple of years after his death, when the dying Abū Bakr (ruled 11–13/632–4) appointed ʿUmar as his successor, Abū Bakr is said to have made the acid comment: "I have entrusted your affairs to him who I feel is the best of you. Each of you has a swollen nose because of that, for each wants the succession to be his instead."[353] A swollen nose is a symptom of rage.[354] We can readily imagine that temperaments were not much different a few years earlier, and that appointing deputies who lacked clout was a good way to avoid swollen noses. All this may reflect the rather flat social structure of Arabian tribal society, and its consequent allergy to strong leadership.[355]

With regard to Muḥammad himself, his concern could have been to secure his own position by avoiding arrangements that would enable any of his followers to accumulate too much power. The pattern of his appointments of deputies is certainly compatible with a concern to avoid the emergence of overmighty subjects (to employ a term that goes back to the English civil wars of the fifteenth century). Again, we may detect a similar concern at work in the years following Muḥammad's death.[356] At the same time anecdotal evidence

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351. Of course we would also like to be able to explain why he did sometimes appoint deputies with clout.

352. In response to a questioner in Maryland, I went back to the data to see if I could discern a pattern of alternation between different constituencies in successive appointments of deputies and commanders. But such a pattern is not in evidence.

353. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I/2139.10 = *History*, 11:148 (*fa-kullukum warima anfuhu min dhālika, yurīdu an yakūna ʾl-amr lahu dūnahu*); for a variant text, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 30:420.21.

354. For this idiom see Lane, *Lexicon*, 3052a.

355. In contrast, for example, to steppe nomads, where a clear distinction between nobles and commoners was to be found (Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 19f, 22f).

356. Speaking of the "peer-group" of senior Companions in this period, Ella Landau-Tasseron remarks that as a rule these people did not leave the Ḥijāz, and gives as one possible explanation for this the Caliph's anxiety that if such grandees were to settle in the provinces, they might amass enough power to contest his

about other aspects of the life of Muḥammad would fit this. Consider, for example, the way he handles Abū Bakr—one of his closest associates, the father of his favourite wife, and his eventual successor—on the eve of the Fatḥ. For good reason Muḥammad made it a practice to keep the destination of his expeditions secret so that the enemy should not have advance warning.[357] Yet one might have assumed that in planning the Fatḥ, Muḥammad would have taken someone like Abū Bakr into his confidence. But what we are told is that Abū Bakr learnt of the impending expedition only by chance: he happened one day to visit his daughter ʿĀʾisha, and found her preparing Muḥammad's military equipment (*jahāz*). Even she did not know the destination of the expedition.[358] The story is telling, though it could of course represent a later concern to minimize the role of Abū Bakr in the affairs of the community.

It is not easy to find evidence that would enable us to choose unambiguously between these two explanations, and perhaps both were in play. Indications from other aspects of Muḥammad's life could be expected to help here, and the most obvious comparison would be with the commanders of expeditions whom Muḥammad appointed when he himself stayed at home in Medina. In fact our information about commanders is likely to be more reliable than what we are told about deputies, and this for two reasons.[359] The first is that it is attested earlier; thus Ibn Hishām's data for commanders, as not for deputies, regularly go back to Ibn Isḥāq. The second is that there is considerably more agreement between Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī about commanders than there is about deputies; while Ibn Hishām has only thirty-seven expeditions that went out under commanders to Wāqidī's fifty-two, in all the thirty-four cases where Ibn Hishām includes an expedition in his main narrative sequence, he names the same commander as Wāqidī.[360] So the data on the commanders are well worth attention. Again, one might have expected Muḥammad to cultivate a small number of tried and tested commanders whom he used repeatedly, or even a single commander-in-chief—much as Joshua serves as Moses' commander-in-chief in the Pentateuch. But that is far from what we find. This is not the place to consider the subject in detail, but several points are worth making by way of comparing deputies and commanders.

The first is that in general we see a similar tendency to avoid the repeated use of the same commander. If we go by Wāqidī's data, we have a total of fifty-two expeditions; twenty-five of them are led by twenty-five commanders who serve only once, ten by five

authority ("From tribal society to centralized polity", 193f).

357. W 990.8; SS 3-4:516.7 = SG 602.

358. SS 3-4:397.15 = SG 544; but see also W 796.9 (and note that here *jahhaza* refers to the preparation of provisions).

359. As pointed out to me by an anonymous reader, in the case of Muḥammad's commanders—as opposed to his deputies—we also get a sliver of apparently independent information in a non-Muslim source, though it does not help us with our present concerns. The context seems to be the expedition that was defeated by Byzantine forces at the Battle of Muʾta (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 1:335.12 = trans. Mango and Scott, 466; Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle*, 91, and see 92 n. 177).

360. For the present purpose there would be no point in extending the comparison to Khalīfa, since for commanders his standard source is Ibn Isḥāq.

commanders who serve twice, and nine by three commanders who serve three times.[361] If we go by the information provided in Ibn Hishām's work, we have a total of thirty-seven expeditions that Muḥammad did not himself command; nineteen of these were led by nineteen commanders who served only once, twelve by six commanders who served only twice.[362] Here, for comparison, is the proportion of all deputies and all commanders who serve once only; I express the ratios as percentages, for what they are worth:

DEPUTIES

| Wāqidī | 58% |
| Ibn Hishām | 60% |

COMMANDERS

| Wāqidī | 74% |
| Ibn Hishām | 73% |

In other words, Muḥammad would appear to have been even less concerned to maximize previous experience in the job for his commanders than he was for his deputies.[363]

Another way to make the same basic point is to pick out from Muḥammad's commanders those men who a decade or so later would be the leading generals of the Arab conquests: Abū ʿUbayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ, a prominent figure in the conquest of Syria; ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt; Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, who played a key role in the conquest of Iraq; and Khālid ibn al-Walīd, a major figure on both the Syrian and Iraqi fronts. If these men had an unusual talent for military leadership at the time of the conquests, they very likely possessed it already in the days of Muḥammad. So how often did he appoint them as commanders?

Abū ʿUbayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ	*twice*
ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ	*once*
Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ	*once*
Khālid ibn al-Walīd	*twice or thrice*

This result is particularly striking in the case of Abū ʿUbayda and Saʿd, both of whom had converted long before Muḥammad began mounting expeditions. ʿAmr and Khālid, by contrast, converted only in 8/629;[364] but at this point there were still expeditions to come—

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361. I extracted Wāqidī's data from his introductory list (W 2–7). For the moment I leave aside a single outlier, Zayd ibn Ḥāritha.

362. I collected Ibn Isḥāq's data scattered through Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*, where they regularly go back to Ibn Isḥāq. Again I leave aside the single outlier, Zayd ibn Ḥāritha.

363. We could rework the figures to show the proportion of *occasions* on which Muḥammad delegated to a deputy or commander who had *not served before*. For deputies the ratio is twelve out of twenty-seven, or 44%, for Wāqidī, and fifteen out of twenty-seven, or 56%, for Ibn Hishām. For commanders, the ratio is thirty-four out of fifty-two, or 65%, for Wāqidī, and twenty-six out of thirty-seven, or 70%, for Ibn Hishām.

364. For their conversions see W 743.16, 748.17; SS 3-4:277.22 = SG 485; for the date, see W 745.16.

seventeen according to Wāqidī, anything between three and ten according to Ibn Hishām (the ambiguity arises from the fact that he leaves several expeditions undated).

Seen in purely military terms, none of this makes much sense. Even a naturally talented commander needs time to build up experience and bond with his men. The implication is that the motivation for the dispersal of military leadership was not military but political. As with the deputies, Muḥammad clearly liked to spread delegated authority thinly.[365]

The second point concerns the remaining expeditions—eight in Wāqidī's count and six in Ibn Hishām's. These are the expeditions led by Zayd ibn Ḥāritha,[366] which make him the counterpart of Ibn Umm Maktūm among the deputies. Once again, seen from a purely military point of view, this could not have been an optimal arrangement: Zayd's servile origins were no doubt a significant element in the resentment his leadership is said to have inspired—a resentment echoed in accounts of the reactions of some the women Muḥammad pressed to marry Zayd. But in political terms the advantage of the arrangement was obvious: Zayd was a dependant of Muḥammad without strong links to the wider community. Muḥammad's choice of Zayd as a frequent commander is certainly compatible with a desire to avoid the trouble that could be stirred up by appointing commanders with constituencies, but it is even more in tune with the wish to avoid the emergence of overmighty subjects. It can hardly be accidental that the only commander whom Muḥammad appointed repeatedly—in contrast to his regular pattern of dispersing delegated authority—should have been his own freedman, and that he was not deflected from this by the resentment it created among his followers.[367] In this respect it would not be out of place to see Zayd as the first *mamlūk* commander in Islamic history.

The third point, or rather set of points, concerns the distribution of appointees between our three main tribal categories: Qurashīs, Anṣārīs, and members of other tribes. (We are concerned here with the number of individuals who served or may have served as deputies, not with the number of expeditions.) Here are the figures:

	Qurashīs	Anṣārīs	Others	(Locals)	Total
DEPUTIES:					
Wāqidī	3	5	4	(3)	12
Ibn Hishām	4	5	6	(5)	15

365. A more thorough study of Muḥammad's commanders than is attempted here would need to consider whether other factors might have contributed to the dispersal, such as the need for commanders to be familiar with the territory to which they were being sent, or to have connections with the relevant tribes (I owe both these suggestions to Ella Landau-Tasseron).

366. We are also told on the authority of Wāqidī that Zayd commanded seven expeditions (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:1:31.5; the number "nine" given at 31.9 is very likely a corruption of "seven"). A list of his expeditions given by Ibn Saʿd (31.13), again on the authority of Wāqidī, agrees with what we find in Wāqidī's listing except in omitting the expedition to Wādī ʾl-Qurā in 6/627 (for which see W 5.6; there seems to be no account of this expedition in the body of the work).

367. An alternative explanation that has been suggested to me for Muḥammad's choice of Zayd—and others lacking in clout—is that he intended to make a moral or meritocractic point against the prevailing tribal order of society. Such a motive is not to be ruled out, but given the pronounced pragmatic streak with which Muḥammad is portrayed in the sources, I doubt whether it is sufficient to explain the pattern.

	Qurashīs	Anṣārīs	Others	(Locals)	Total
COMMANDERS					
Wāqidī	12	9	13	(4)	34
Ibn Hishām	11	5	10	(5)	26

So what do we notice? First, among the deputies Anṣārīs outnumber Qurashīs, whereas among commanders Qurashīs outnumber Anṣārīs. This is just what we would expect given the differing roles of the two groups in Muḥammad's polity. The Qurashīs were both closer to him and initially less well-placed to make a living in Medina than the Anṣārīs, making them more likely to participate in expeditions; and the Anṣārīs were naturally better informed about the politics of their own oasis. Second, the proportion of members of other tribes is about the same for both deputies and commanders, namely a third or a little over; here is the proportion, again expressed as a percentage, for what it is worth:

DEPUTIES
Wāqidī   33%
Ibn Hishām   40%

COMMANDERS
Wāqidī   38%
Ibn Hishām   38%

In other words, Muḥammad here shows the same tendency to disperse authority that we saw when we looked just now at the figures for expeditions, and the same lack of concern for the social and political clout of those to whom he delegates. Third, whereas the category of "others" is dominated by members of the local tribes in the case of the deputies, this is not the case for the commanders, who are recruited from a considerably wider range of tribal groups,[368] thereby contributing further to the pattern of dispersal.

The bottom line of this comparison of deputies and commanders is that if Muḥammad appoints commanders in a militarily suboptimal fashion for political reasons, then we should not be surprised to find him doing something similar in appointing deputies. In other words, it would seem that we have uncovered a feature that may well characterize his delegation of authority in general.[369] How are we to explain this pattern? In some measure it might reflect Muḥammad's own personality. To some extent it could reflect

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368. In the case of the deputies, the local tribes are Ghifār for Wāqidī, and the same plus Layth and Duʾil for Ibn Hishām. In the case of the commanders they are Murra ibn ʿAbdmanāt, Layth, Sulaym, and Ghifār for Wāqidī, and the same plus Aslam for Ibn Hishām. Leaving aside the special case of Zayd ibn Ḥāritha and his son Usāma, the non-local tribes are as follows. In the case of the deputies, there are none. In the case of commanders they are Asad (thrice), Quḍāʿa, Kilāb, Ghanī, and Fazāra for Wāqidī, and Asad (twice) and Fazāra for Ibn Hishām.

369. In this connection it would be worth looking at his appointments of agents—governors or tax-collectors—to deal with outlying tribes, but I have not attempted to do this.

cross-pressures that any leader needing to delegate is subject to.[370] But the main reason is likely to have been the character of Arabian society, located as it was in a desert environment where the scarcity of material resources meant that power was typically more personal than institutional.

We have been concerned in this paper with a relatively obscure aspect of the way Muḥammad ran his state, but it does have a couple of implications for what came after. First, though we are unlikely ever to be in a position to reconstruct Muḥammad's expectations of the future in the last years of his life, the fact is that someone so reluctant to delegate to a single person on a regular basis was unlikely to groom a successor.[371] Contrast the Biblical image of Moses: he has a track-record of delegation, and in response to divine instructions he enhances the authority of Joshua in anticipation of his own death. From this point of view the surprise is not that Muḥammad's death precipitated a succession crisis, but that the crisis was so quickly resolved. Second, no law-giver operating in the Arabian environment with Muḥammad's political style was likely to leave a well-developed array of institutions occupying the space between himself and those he ruled.[372] In this respect we might contrast him with an earlier lawgiver, Solon. A different man in a different environment, in the early sixth century BC he devised a dense array of political institutions for the citizens of the Greek city state of Athens, and then voluntarily departed from the city for ten years.[373] Not so Muḥammad, and here we plausibly have one root of the relative scarcity of formal institutional structures in the early Islamic polity.

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370. The cross-pressures discussed in this paper are not the only ones that can arise. Jennifer Davis writes of Charlemagne's delegation of judicial authority to multiple provincial officials: "This may not have been the most efficient approach to governance, but it left ample room for creativity, adaptation, personal dynamics and flexibility" (Davis, "Pattern for power", 246). A somewhat similar point is made by Beatrice Manz about Timur's style of government (Manz, "Administration and the delegation of authority", 206f). Both scholars are making the point that it may be advantageous for a ruler *not* to maximize efficiency.

371. As pointed out to me by an anonymous reader, if Muḥammad did in fact believe the end of the world to be at hand, that could be another reason for his omitting to groom a successor. For a recent discussion of the imminence of "the Hour" in parts of the Koran, see Shoemaker, *Death of a prophet*, 160–3; for early traditions exhibiting the same tendency, see 172–8.

372. Pre-Islamic Arabia was not devoid of institutions as such. A notable example is the Ḥums, a Meccan institution that has been described as "a community made up of various tribal groups, united by religious beliefs and customs that marked it off from others"; but it lacked a formal central authority, coercive power, or a fiscal role (Landau-Tasseron, "From tribal society to centralized polity", 182). By contrast, a striking account of a king ruling over his clan in Medina three generations before the arrival of Muḥammad presupposes that he had neither bodyguards nor a retinue (Lecker, "King Ubayy and the *quṣṣāṣ*", 33–5).

373. See Aristotle, "Athenian constitution", chapter 11, in Warrington (trans.), *Aristotle's Politics*, 253.

Appendix

In this appendix I survey the data regarding deputies found in twenty-three later sources. My coverage of such sources is by no means comprehensive, but those I have consulted are likely to be fairly representative of what is available. They date from the fifth/eleventh century to the eleventh/seventeenth. Note that when I remark in this appendix that an author follows Wāqidī or Ibn Hishām, or use wordings similar to this, I am not implying that he takes his data directly from either source, or that he acknowledges such dependence. My impression, for what it is worth, is that few if any of these authors had direct access to the text of Wāqidī's *Maghāzī*.

Māwardī (d. 450/1058) in his compendium of Shāfiʿite law includes accounts of Muḥammad's expeditions (*Ḥāwī*, 14:23–91) in the course of which he generally names the deputy. Leaving aside three cases where he does not do so, we find that he departs from Wāqidī's data as found in our text of the *Maghāzī* only with regard to two expeditions. One is the Fatḥ, for which he names Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī (64.6); the other is Tabūk, for which he names Muḥammad ibn Maslama (82.25). The first agrees with Ibn Hishām and Khalīfa, the second with Ibn Saʿd. Typically, neither of these departures from Wāqidī's data involves the naming of a person we have not already encountered as a deputy for one expedition or another.

Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) in their closely related works on the biography of Muḥammad name the deputies for all but six of the expeditions they cover—the same six in each case (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmiʿ*, 100–262; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Durar*, 103–284). The names they give are those of Ibn Hishām with a single exception: they include ʿAlī as an alternative for the Tabūk expedition (*Jawāmiʿ*, 251.6; *Durar*, 254.9, where Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr goes on to remark that this is the most reliable view). There are also some minor points of interest. Thus with regard to the appointment of Ibn Umm Maktūm as deputy for the Battle of Uḥud, they echo Ibn Hishām (SS 3-4:64.1 = SG 752 no. 583) in specifying that this was to conduct the prayer of those Muslims who remained in Medina (*lil-ṣalāt bi-man baqiya bi'l-Madīna min al-Muslimīn*, *Jawāmiʿ*, 157.8; similarly *Durar*, 154.11). With regard to the Battle of the Khandaq, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr ascribes the information that Ibn Umm Maktūm was the deputy to Ibn Shihāb (*Durar*, 181.7), that is to say to Zuhrī (d. 124/742). For the relationship between the two works see Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie*, 169–73.

The elder Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126) gives an account of Muḥammad's expeditions (*al-Bayān wa'l-taḥṣīl*, 17:424–79) in which he names the deputy only once, for the Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ, as Abū Dujāna or, it is said, Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa (478.20); this agrees with Ibn Hishām against Wāqidī and Khalīfa. There is a parallel passage in his later work *al-Muqaddimāt wa'l-mumahhidāt*, 3:387.13.

Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1154) includes a substantial biography of Muḥammad in his *Iʿlām al-warā*, but in his treatment of his expeditions (163–263) he rarely identifies the deputy. Predictably—since he is a Shīʿite, in fact the only one considered in this appendix—he names ʿAlī as deputy over Medina for the Tabūk campaign (243.18, citing the *manzila* tradition, 244.7). More unusual is his deputy for the Fatḥ, Abū Lubāba (218.20); we have

encountered this only in Yaʿqūbī (see above, text to note 85).

Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) in his chronicle gives accounts of the various expeditions in which he regularly identifies the deputy (*Muntaẓam*, 2:202–449). The names he gives agree with Wāqidī's with one exception: for the Battle of Badr he mentions not just Abū Lubāba (208.23), as Wāqidī does, but also Ibn Umm Maktūm (208.19). In thus naming both he is in line with Ibn Hishām and Khalīfa.

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) gives accounts of Muḥammad's expeditions in his chronicle (*Kāmil*, 2:7–167), naming the deputy for a bit over half of them. Except in one instance his data agree with those of Wāqidī; the exception is the Fatḥ, where he is in agreement with Ibn Hishām against Wāqidī (117.25).

Kalāʿī (d. 634/1237) in his account of Muḥammad's expeditions in the second volume of his *Iktifāʾ* does not to my knowledge mention any deputies.

Muḥyī ʾl-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) in his *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār* gives a list of deputies in which he reproduces the data of Ibn Hishām (1:75–7). He wrongly includes the expedition to Rajīʿ (in the year 4/625) as one led by Muḥammad (76.5), but the only point of real interest is a terminological one already noted (see above, text to note 25).

Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī (d. 705/1306) gives brief accounts of the expeditions in his short biography of Muḥammad (*al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 185–255).[374] His data are those of Wāqidī; that he opts for Muḥammad ibn Maslama as the best-founded claimant to the deputyship for Tabūk (250.2) leads us to suspect that his access to Wāqidī was through Ibn Saʿd, and the wording he uses confirms this (*wa-huwa athbat mimman qāla ʾstakhlafa ghayrahu*, see above, note 75).

Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) gives an account of the expeditions in his encyclopaedic compendium (*Nihāyat al-arab*, 17:4–378). He brings together data deriving from both Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām. His access to Wāqidī is through Ibn Saʿd, as is indicated both by his references to him and by his naming the deputy for Tabūk as Muḥammad ibn Maslama without qualification (354.9). The only discrepancy is that on the authority of Ibn Saʿd he names Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī as deputy for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ (376.6); Ibn Saʿd in fact names Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī (*Ṭabaqāt*, 2:1:87.18), though as we have seen Abū Dharr is named by Balādhurī. Nuwayrī sometimes attributes Ibn Hishām's data to Ibn Isḥāq.

Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334) in his biography of Muḥammad gives accounts of his expeditions (*ʿUyūn al-athar*, 1:270–2:354). He regularly names the deputy, usually citing Ibn Hishām, but occasionally citing or following Ibn Saʿd.

Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) in the first volume of his *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* gives accounts of the expeditions (47–711), naming the deputy for about half of them. In these cases he follows Wāqidī or Ibn Hishām.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) in his *Zād al-maʿād* gives accounts of the expeditions (3:164–548) in the course of which he generally names the deputy, usually in agreement with Ibn Hishām but sometimes with Wāqidī.

Mughulṭāy ibn Qilīj (d. 762/1361) has two relevant works. In one, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, he

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374. The title is the editor's; Dimyāṭī himself gives his work no formal title, but describes it as a brief book about the life of the Prophet (*kitāb mukhtaṣar fī sīrat al-nabī*, see *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 25.3).

mentions deputies sporadically in his accounts of the expeditions (880–1407), drawing on the data of Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām; there are only a couple of points of interest here, already noted in connection with the deputyship of Abū Lubāba for the Badr campaign (see above, note 49). In the other work, the *Ishāra*, he names deputies for most expeditions (190–346), basing himself on the data of Wāqidī supplemented with information deriving from Ibn Hishām; the one exception is that he mentions ʿAlī in connection with the Tabūk expedition (337.2).

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) in his chronicle gives an expansive account of the expeditions (*Bidāya*, 3:190–5:163). He regularly names the deputy, following Ibn Hishām and attributing the information to him. He rarely cites Wāqidī for a deputy (as at 3:194.8, 195.17); he is in agreement with him in mentioning Sibāʿ ibn ʿUrfuṭa as deputy for the Khaybar campaign, but derives the information from the tradition of Abū Hurayra (4:147.17).

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) covers the expeditions in his *ʿIbar* (2:744–841). He usually names the deputy, following Ibn Hishām faithfully despite a couple of corruptions and the addition of ʿAlī as an alternative for Tabūk (820.5).

Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) in his work on the biography of the Prophet gives a list of deputies (*Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 9:227.3) that mostly follows Wāqidī, but diverges in some places. With regard to two expeditions there seems to be confusion between Abū Salama and Abū Lubāba (227.6). For the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ he names Abū Dharr, like Balādhurī (227.22; cf. above, text to note 83); his alternatives for expeditions, when not simply those of Wāqidī, are shared with Balādhurī (as in the cases of Ḥudaybiya and Tabūk, where he mentions Abū Ruhm, 227.14, 227.16). He also assigns a deputy in connection with activity following the conquest of Khaybar that is not usually recognized as a separate expedition (227.21). The list is clearly incomplete: five expeditions are not covered, including Badr (with regard to the deputyship over Medina) and the Fatḥ; two of these missing expeditions no doubt belong in the lacuna that clearly follows the mention of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (227.19). Earlier in the work Maqrīzī identifies the deputy in his accounts of most of the individual expeditions (1:73–2:120); the names he gives are predominantly Wāqidī's, with occasional divergences that align him with Ibn Hishām and, in one instance, Balādhurī (1:331.11). A couple of minor points of interest have already been noted (see above, notes 14, 333).

Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) in his history of Medina provides a list of deputies (*al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, 1:64.18–65.16). For the most part he clearly draws on Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām, but at two points he diverges. First, he says that Ibn Isḥāq names the deputy for Muraysīʿ as "Jiʿāl al-Ḍumayrī" (64.22); this must be Jiʿāl (or Juʿāl or Juʿayl) ibn Surāqa al-Ḍamrī, who is not otherwise known as a deputy (for his biography see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 245f no. 329, 274 no. 360; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:180f; he was poor and very ugly). The claim that he was deputy for the Musaysīʿ expedition is incompatible with the statement of Ibn Saʿd that Jiʿāl was present on this raid (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:181.14 on the authority of Wāqidī). He is not known to the genealogists, and his tribal affiliation is somewhat uncertain: the *nisba* "Ḍamrī" implies of course that be belonged to Ḍamra, which was part of Kināna (see T36 and T42); we also find him with the *nisba* "Ghifārī" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 245.9 no. 329), implying that be belonged to Ghifār, itself part of Ḍamra. But then again he is described as a Thaʿlabī (presumably referring to one or other of the tribal

groups that might be spoken of as Banū Thaʿlaba), and is also said to have been reckoned (ʿadīd) with the Banū Sawād, who belonged to the Khazrajī clan of the Banū Salima (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 4:1:180.24; see T190)—implying that he was something less than a full member of the group. Sakhāwī's source for Jiʿāl's deputyship is most likely Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Iṣāba*, 1:482.1; Ibn Ḥajar there gives the same information on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq about Jiʿāl's role as deputy for the Muraysīʿ expedition (with the correct spelling of the *nisba*), followed by the remark that it is contradicted by a report of Mūsā ibn ʿUqba's placing Jiʿāl with the expedition (just as we have seen Ibn Saʿd says). Ibn Ḥajar in turn is likely to have taken the report from Ibn al-Athīr's dictionary of Companions (*Usd al-ghāba*, 1:284.9). Here, however, there is no mention of Ibn Isḥāq, who in any case says no such thing in his work as we know it; instead Ibn al-Athīr gives his source as "Abū Mūsā to Ibn Manda" without reproducing Abū Mūsā's *isnād*.[375] If we were to take Jiʿāl's alleged deputyship seriously, he would fit easily into the set of deputies belonging to the local tribes. Second, Sakhāwī notes that it is said that the deputy for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ was Bashīr ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī (*al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, 1:65.14); this Bashīr was a Ḥārithī, more broadly a Khazrajī (T188; for his biography, see *EI³*, art. "Bashīr b. Saʿd" (M. Lecker); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 172f no. 193; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:83f). By contrast, Wāqidī shows Bashīr as with the expedition: Muḥammad put him in charge (*istaʿmala*) of the weapons (*silāḥ*) (W 733.10; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, 3:2:84.5). One accordingly wonders whether the use of the verb *istaʿmala* here could have led to confusion (compare the case of Nājiya, above, note 98). He died in battle in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr (ruled 11–13/632–4) (84.7), and had descendants (83.17).

Diyārbakrī (writing *c.* 940/1534) in his biography of Muḥammad covers the expeditions (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, 1:363–2:153) and regularly names the deputy, mixing data from Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī. Like many authors, he adds ʿAlī as a possible deputy for Tabūk, citing Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404) and Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (2:125.14). More noteworthy is that he names an alternative to Ibn Umm Maktūm for the Battle of Uḥud who is not to my knowledge found in other sources: an unidentifiable Ibn Abī Mikraz (1:422.6). Given the consensus that the deputy for Uḥud was Ibn Umm Maktūm—no other source names an alternative—it is perhaps not to be ruled out that "Ibn Abī Mikraz" is a corrupt doublet of "Ibn Umm Maktūm".

ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1044/1635) in his biography of Muḥammad (commonly known as *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*) devotes considerable attention to his expeditions (*Insān al-ʿuyūn*, 2:347–3:133) and to the Ḥajjat al-wadāʿ (3:307–40). He regularly names the deputy, bringing together the data of Ibn Hisham and Wāqidī, and adding a couple of variants that we have encountered in Balādhurī (Abū Ruhm for Ḥudaybiya, 2:689.6, and Abū Dharr for the ʿUmrat al-qaḍāʾ, 780.5). For Tabūk he mentions ʿAlī (3:102.5). As we have seen, the most

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375. The reference is to the additions of Abū Mūsā Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Abī ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī (d. 581/1185) to the *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Manda (d. 395/1005). For Ibn Manda's work see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 1:215 no. 1; for the biography of Abū Mūsā see Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 21:152–9 no. 78 (and for his *Dhayl Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* see 154.8). That Abū Mūsā's work expanded the *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* of Ibn Manda, and not that of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, is apparent from Ibn al-Athīr's introduction to his *Usd al-ghāba* (1:4.3); he cites Abū Mūsā's work with great frequency in the body of the *Usd al-ghāba*.

interesting thing he offers us is an explicit conception of dual deputyships (see above, text to notes 342-6).

I have also scanned the entries on each of the members of my pool of deputies in the standard dictionaries of Companions, and noted any significant points. As the reader will have seen, I cite the *Istīʿāb* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) as my biographical source of first resort. I have skimmed the relevant entries in the *Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba* of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038), the *Usd al-ghāba* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), and the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), but I rarely have occasion to cite them.

Going back to the twenty-three works covered above, the overall results of this survey could be summed up as follows. Overwhelmingly their data derive directly or indirectly from Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, or both. When they do diverge, they often do so in ways already attested in other early sources, notably Balādhurī. Yet every now and again the later sources give us information (or misinformation) not found in the early sources available to us, raising at least the possibility that they may be preserving old information otherwise lost to us (rather than corrupting information we already have). The most striking example of this is Sakhāwī, an author of the ninth/fifteenth century who names two deputies that are entirely new to us. Occasionally later authors are interesting because they are innovative; Ḥalabī is the leading instance of this.

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Māwardī's Legal Thinking

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Abstract

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī was a Muslim polymath, born in Basra, 364/974, died in Baghdad, 30 Rabīʿ I 450/27 May 1058. He is most famous today for al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah, *a review of the law as it affects or requires the action of the caliph. His extensive handbook of Shāfiʿī law,* al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr *(of which* al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah *is effectively an abstract), was much quoted in succeeding centuries. He also wrote a major Qurʾan commentary and various shorter works, some in the Perso-Hellenistic wisdom tradition. Most of this study is devoted to three sample passages from the* Ḥāwī *in translation with commentary: on the ritual law, particularly the salutation at the close of the ritual prayer; on the law of* waqf *(pious foundations), particularly whether a* waqf *property is subject to division among heirs; and, finally, on penal law, particularly whether the stoning and flogging penalties for adultery are to be combined. They are sometimes opportunistic, seizing on any argument at hand, whether or not it is foreseen in the literature of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). They are sometimes indeterminate, leaving questions of what to do unanswered. They sometimes refute obsolete positions, sometimes seem to expect to convert no one. They suggest that Māwardī's purpose in writing was not mainly practical, to persuade people to execute the rules of the Shāfiʿī school. Equally important, they suggest, were Māwardī's religious vision of a faithful community (distinguished more by its theory and ritual practice than, say, particular patterns of property transfer) and the ludic pleasure of argument within the learned élite for whom he was writing.*

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī was a Muslim polymath, born in Basra, 364/974, and died in Baghdad, 30 Rabīʿ I 450/27 May 1058.[1] His extensive handbook of Shāfiʿi law, *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, was much quoted in

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1. For pre-modern biographies, *v.* al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, 52 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1407-21/1987-2000), 30 (441-460 H.): 253-6 with further references. Among modern biographies in Arabic, I have been able to consult Muḥammad Sulaymān Dāwūd and Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, *al-Imām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī* (Alexandria: Muʾassasat Shabāb al-Jāmiʿah, 1978), which collects many useful facts but is not always reliable in detail. For example, it confuses Māwardī's title *aqḍā al-quḍāh* with the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (17). For surveys of Māwardī's oeuvre, *v.* also Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, introduction to Māwardī, *K. Durar al-sulūk fī siyāsat al-mulūk* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1417/1997), and Khālik ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAkk, introduction to Māwardī, *Aʿlām al-nubūwah* (Beirut: Dār al-Nafāʾis, 1414/1994). In European languages, *v.* above all Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943-89), 1:483 (386); Supplementband, 3 vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937-41), 1:668; George Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siécle (Ve siécle de l'Hégire)* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1963), 221-3; and Henri Laoust, "La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Māwardī," *Revue des études islamiques* 36 (1968): 11-92.

succeeding centuries, and most of this article is devoted to three sample passages from it in translation with commentary. I have elsewhere reviewed his training in Shāfiʿi law and his position within the school.[2] In modern times, Māwardī has become most famous for *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah*.[3] The ʿAbbāsid caliphs of his own time were politically weak, although slowly regaining power as part of the Sunni Revival.[4] Almost their only means of influencing politics were (1) refusing to confirm appointments made and titles claimed by the warlords and (2) threatening to call in other warlords from further afield, such as the Ghaznavids. Accordingly, Māwardī stresses that all authority flows by delegation from the caliph. He appoints military commanders to maintain order, qadis to maintain justice.

There is a close verbal parallel to Māwardī's *Aḥkām* under the same title by the Ḥanbali qadi Abū Yaʿlá ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. Baghdad, 458/1065)—so close that either one must be a rewriting of the other or each must be a rewriting of some unknown original.[5] Most scholars who have discussed the two have refused to offer any opinion as to which was the original, which a rewriting: Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, the first editor of Abū Yaʿlá's version; Henri Laoust, chronicler of Māwardī's political career; Donald Little, who made the first systematic comparison; and Nimrod Hurvitz, notable especially for correctly observing that these are principally works of Islamic law, not political theory.[6] On the other hand, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Abū Fāris published a book-length study of Abū Yaʿlá's version

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2. Christopher Melchert, "Māwardī, Abū Yaʿlā, and the Sunni revival," *Prosperity and stagnation: some cultural and social aspects of the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, ed. Krzystof Kościelniak, Orientalia Christiana Cracoviensia, Monographiae 1 (Cracow: UNUM, 2010), 37-61, esp. 41-3.

3. Available in numerous editions—my references in what follows are to Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah*, ed. ʿIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zughlī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1416/1996). I have examined two English translations, both of which seem adequate: *The laws of Islamic governance*, trans. Asadullah Yate (London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1996), and *The ordinances of government*, trans. Wafaa H. Wahba (Reading, UK: Garnet, 1996). The classic exposé is H. A. R. Gibb, "Al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate," *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Princeton: Univ. Press, 1962), 151-65 (originally in *Islamic culture* [Hyderabad] 11 [1937]: 291-302). *V.* also Mohammed Arkoun, "L'éthique musulmane d'après Māwardī," *Revue des études islamiques* 31 (1963): 1-31; Donald Little, "A new look at al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya," *Muslim world* 64 (1974): 1-18; Hanna Mikhail, *Politics and revelation: Māwardī and after* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1995); Eltigani Abdulqadir Hamid, "Al-Mawardi's theory of state: some ignored dimensions," *American journal of Islamic social sciences* 18/4 (2001): 1-18; Eric J. Hanne, "Abbasid politics and the classical theory of the caliphate," *Writers and rulers*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow, Literaturen im Kontext: Arabisch-Persisch-Türkisch 16 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 49-71; and Nimrod Hurvitz, *Competing texts: the relationship between al-Mawardi's and Abu Yaʿla's al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya*, Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School, Occasional publications 8 (October 2007) (Cambridge, Mass.: Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School, 2007). For surveys of Māwardī's oeuvre, see Dāwūd and Aḥmad, *al-Imām* (cited above, n. 1), also these: Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, introduction to Māwardī, *K. Durar al-sulūk fī siyāsat al-mulūk* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1417/1997); Khālik ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAkk, introduction to Māwardī, *Aʿlām al-nubūwah* (Beirut: Dār al-Nafāʾis, 1414/1994).

4. *V.* Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, chaps. 2, 4; idem, "The Sunnī Revival," *Islamic civilization 950-1150*, ed. D. S. Richards, Papers on Islamic History 3 (Oxford: Cassirer, 1973), 155-68; Glassen, *Der mittlere Weg*, chap. 2.

5. Abū Yaʿlā ibn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo: Maktabat Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.; 2nd edn., 1966; 2nd edn. repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1403/1983).

6. Fiqī, introduction to Abū Yaʿlá, *Aḥkām*, 18; Laoust, "Pensée," 15; Little, "New Look"; Hurvitz, *Competing texts*.

that includes an extended argument for the priority of Māwardī's version.[7] I myself, to the contrary, have argued that Abū Yaʿlá's Ḥanbali version is the earlier, so that Māwardī's version describing Ḥanafi, Māliki, and Shāfiʿi positions must have been written as a supplement to it.[8] I will not rehearse the argument here. Besides their reviewing the rules of different schools, the outstanding difference between the two seems to be what Donald Little stressed, namely that Māwardī seems less reluctant than Abū Yaʿlá to countenance the removal of a wicked caliph.[9] With some other details, the difference suggests that Māwardī stood a little further back from the caliph.

Before the 19th century, Māwardī was equally famous for *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, of which only recently has a full text been published.[10] Formally a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī (d. Old Cairo, 264/877?), it rehearses and defends the rules of Shāfiʿi law at great length. It once refers to the hypothetical case of someone who has resolved to fast the year 440 (1048-9), suggesting that Māwardī was composing it around then; that is, after his retirement from politics in 437/1045-6.[11] In al-Nawawī's highly detailed survey of Shāfiʿī law, *al-Majmūʿ*, Māwardī is the fourth most often cited authority, behind Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. Bushtaniqān, 478/1085) but ahead of al-Ghazālī (d. Tus, 505/1111).[12] There seems to have been also a smaller version, *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr*, for it was the subject of a commentary by Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar (d. Cairo, 758/1357).[13]

Also now in print is Māwardī's commentary on the Qur'an, *al-Nukat wa-al-ʿuyūn*.[14] It treats the entire Qur'an in order, quoting a few verses at a time, then short glosses mainly from exegetes of the eighth century c.e., occasionally also textual variants and examples of usage from poetry. In line with the Sunni tradition of Qur'an commentary, it normally presents a range of possible interpretations without asserting that any one is the best.[15] It also was influential in the later tradition; for example, the famous commentator al-Qurṭubī

7. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Abū Fāris, *al-Qāḍī Abū Yaʿlá al-Farrāʾ wa-kitābuhu* al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1403/1983), 516-47.

8. Melchert, "Māwardī," 53-9.

9. Little, "New Look," 13-14.

10. Al-Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Maṭrajī, et al., 24 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1414/1994); also ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ and ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd, 20 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1414/1994). Henceforth, references to the latter edition will be in *italics*. Neither edition is particularly good.

11. Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 20:36 *15:491*.

12. Al-Nawawī, *al-Majmūʿ*, 18 vols., ed. Zakarīyāʾ ʿAlī Yūsuf (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿĀṣimah or Maṭbaʿat al-Imām, 1966-9). Vols. 1-9 are by al-Nawawī, the rest by various continuators. On the most-cited names in the Shāfiʿī tradition, *v.* Christopher Melchert, "Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāǧ and the advantages of teaching at a *madrasa*," *Annales Islamologiques*, no 45 (2011), 141-66, at 155-6.

13. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 9:19. Kamāl al-Dīn also apparently abridged *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr* and combined it with his abridgement of another Shāfiʿī handbook.

14. Al-Māwardī, *K. al-Nukat wa-al-ʿuyūn*, ed. al-Sayyid ibn ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, 6 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah and Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfīyah, n.d.). I have not seen the earlier edition of Khiḍr Muḥammad Khiḍr, 4 vols (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1982).

15. On the tradition, *v.* Norman Calder, "*Tafsīr* from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr," *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, ed. G. R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef, Routledge/SOAS Series on contemporary politics and culture in the Middle East (London: Routledge, 1993), 101-40.

(d. 671/1273?) cites Māwardī more often than any other earlier commentator except al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923).[16] Concerning the Qurʾan, Māwardī also wrote an *Amthāl al-Qurʾān*, of which a manuscript is extant in Turkey, and a lost *Mukhtaṣar ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* mentioned in the introduction to the *Amthāl*.[17] *Al-Nukat* is where pre-modern Muslim critics complained of Māwardī's advocating Muʿtazili theological views, such as rejection of predestination.[18] However, pre-modern critics exculpated Māwardī of advocating Muʿtazilī views systematically. I know of no Muʿtazili biographical dictionary that lays claim to Māwardī, although the chief of the Baghdadi Shāfiʿi school in his time, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058), may appear in one.[19]

Finally, there are also in print several shorter works on law, religion, politics, and *adab*. To begin with law, *al-Iqnāʿ* was written for the caliph al-Qādir (r. 381-422/991-1031), who requested exposés of the ordinances of each of the four Sunni schools of law. The famous *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Qudūrī (d. Baghdad, 428/1037) is its Ḥanafī counterpart, while ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaʿlabī (d. Cairo, 422/1031) prepared an epitome of Māliki law, probably *al-Talqīn*.[20] *Aʿlām al-nubūwah* deals with the signs of prophecy.[21] In part, this entails *kalām* questions such as the differences between prophetic miracles and magic and how to tell false prophets from true. Among the signs that Islam is the best religion is its moderation between the severity of the Christians and the laxity of the Jews; between Christian rejection of the world and Jewish embrace of it—not an original idea with Māwardī but apparently typical of his inclination toward the middle.[22]

Qawānīn al-wizārah is another work on government.[23] Māwardī describes it at the beginning as a response to someone's request, addressing an unnamed vizier in the

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16. According to al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifnāwī & Maḥmūd Ḥāmid ʿUthmān, 22 vols (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1414/1994), indexes by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq & Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Qādir, al-Ṭabarī is cited 179 times, al-Māwardī 154, Abū Naṣr al-Qushayrī (d. 514/1120) 148, al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) 80.

17. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, introduction to al-Māwardī, *K. Durar al-sulūk fī siyāsat al-mulūk* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1417/1997), 37.

18. E.g., Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ al-shāfiʿīyah*, ed. al-Nawawī, al-Mizzī, and Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAlī Najīb, 2 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīyah, 1413/1992), 2:638-40, 642, followed by Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:270.

19. On Māwardī's Muʿtazilism, *v.* further Melchert, "Māwardī," 46-7, but the question deserves a fuller study. On Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, *v.* Bayhaqī (al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī or Jishumī), *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil*, in Fuʾād Sayyid, ed., *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-muʿtazilah* (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah lil-Nashr, 1393/1974), 385.

20. Al-Māwardī, *al-Iqnāʿ fī al-fiqh al-shāfiʿī*, ed. Khiḍr Muḥammad Khiḍr (Kuwait: Maktabat Dār al-ʿUrūbah, 1402/1982). For the story of the commissioning, *v.* Yāqūt, ed. Margoliouth, 5:408 = ed. ʿAbbās, 5:1956. Yāqūt states that he does not know who wrote an epitome of Ḥanbali law on this occasion, but my guess is that it was Abū Yaʿlá, probably *al-Mujarrad*.

21. Al-Māwardī, *Aʿlām al-nubūwah*, several editions, of which the one with the most helpful notes is that of Khālik ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAkk (Beirut: Dār al-Nafāʾis, 1414/1994).

22. Māwardī, *Aʿlām*, ed. ʿAkk, 331-2.

23. Māwardī, *Adab al-wazīr*, al-Rasāʾil al-nādirah 5 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1348/1929); *al-Wizārah (adab al-wazīr)*, ed. Muḥammad Sulaymān Dāwud and Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad (Alexandria: Dār al-Jāmiʿāt al-Miṣrīyah, 1396/1976); *Qawānīn al-wizārah wa-siyāsat al-mulk*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1979).

second person.[24] The vizier in question is told of claims on him from both *sulṭān* and *malik*, likewise of claims he has on them, presumably indicating the caliph and the leading Buwayhid warlord, respectively.[25] It does not always agree exactly with *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah*. For example, a controversial point in the *Aḥkām* is Māwardī's assertion that *wazīr al-tanfīdh*, the government minister who carries out orders without ever originating any himself, may be a *dhimmī* (tribute-paying non-Muslim). *Al-Wizārah* mentions *wazīr al-tanfīdh* but says nothing of his religion.[26] One might infer from such differences the evolution of Māwardī's thinking, on the assumption that *al-Wizārah* is an early work and *al-Aḥkām* a late; however, it would be difficult to distinguish between differences occasioned by the evolution of his thought and others occasioned by genre and limits on length, and I attempt no systematic comparison here.

Māwardī is also associated with several other texts in the tradition of 'mirrors for princes': (1) *al-Tuḥfah al-mulūkīyah fī al-ādāb al-siyāsīyah*[27]; (2) *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*[28]; (3) *Tashīl al-naẓar wa-taʿjīl al-ẓafar*[29]; and (4) *Durar al-sulūk fī siyāsat al-mulūk*.[30] The first two are not mentioned by pre-modern biographers, and their attribution to Māwardī has now been discredited.[31] The third is attributed to Māwardī by Yāqūt under a slightly different title (*Taʿjīl al-naṣr wa-tashīl al-ẓafar*). It draws heavily on the Persian and Hellenistic traditions as well as on the Arabo-Islamic.[32] The fourth seems to be one of his earliest works, from about 393/1002-3.[33] Dedicated to the Buwayhid prince Bahāʾ al-Dawlah, it too draws for its quotations on both the Persian and Islamic imperial traditions (Anūshirvān and Ardashīr on the Persian side, various Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their governors on the Islamic), besides various unnamed *ḥukamāʾ*, some evidently in the Hellenistic tradition.[34] An unpublished manuscript in the Escorial titled *al-Faḍāʾil*

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24. Māwardī, *Wizārah*, 47.

25. Māwardī, *Wizārah*, 101-5 (*sulṭān*), 139-42 (*malik*).

26. Māwardī, *Wizārah*, 126-7; idem, *Aḥkām*, 46-7. For indignation on the part of later Shāfiʿi jurisprudents, *v.* Dāwūd and ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *Imām*, 109-11. Abū Yaʿlá attributes the opinion that *wazīr al-tanfīdh* may be a *dhimmī* to the Ḥanbali al-Khiraqī (d. Damascus, 334/945-6), *Aḥkām*, 32.

27. For the edition of Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *v.* n. 17.

28. I have consulted *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Jāsim al-Ḥabashī (Baghdad: Dār al-Shuʾūn al-Thaqāfīyah al-ʿĀmmah, n.d.). I have heard of but not seen editions by Khiḍr Muḥammad Khiḍr (Kuwait, 1983) and Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad (Alexandria, 1988).

29. Al-Māwardī, *Tashīl al-naẓar wa-taʿjīl al-ẓafar*, ed. Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sarḥān, sup. Ḥasan al-Sāʿātī (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍah al-ʿArabīyah, 1401/1981; ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid, Silsilat nuṣūṣ al-fikr al-siyāsī al-ʿarabī al-Islāmī 1 (Beirut: Dār al-ʿUlūm al-ʿArabīyah & al-Markaz al-Islāmī lil-Buḥūth, 1987).

30. For Aḥmad's edition, *v.* n. 1.

31. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim, introduction to Māwardī (attrib.), *Tuḥfah*, 38; idem, introduction to his edition of the *Naṣīḥah*; *v.* most recently Louise Marlow, "Difference and encyclopaedism in tenth-century Eastern Iran," *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam*, no 40 (2013), 195-244, esp. 197-9 on the authorship of *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*.

32. *V.* n. 34 for one Hellenistic example.

33. On the date, *v.* Aḥmad, introduction, 36-40.

34. E.g., *Durar*, 112, attributed by Māwardī to *manthūr al-ḥikam*, elsewhere to Hermes Trismegistus.

and attributed to Māwardī is suspected of being a section of either *Durar al-sulūk* or *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*.[35] Likewise uncertain is the attribution to Māwardī of two books concerning the *ḥisbah* (enforcement of public morals), of which manuscripts are found in Cairo and Jerusalem.[36] Kātib Çelebī attributes to him a *musnad* collecting hadith related by Abū Ḥanīfah, incorporated into a synthesis of fifteen such *masānīd* by Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī (d. 665/1266-7?).[37] However, I suspect this is a mistake, for al-Khwārizmī himself apparently identifies the *musnad* in question as the work of someone else entirely.[38]

As for *adab*, *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* comprises three sections: *adab al-dīn*, on Islamic law, *adab al-dunyā*, on the wisdom tradition, and *adab al-nafs* on the cultivation of personal virtues such as not to be loquacious or envious. The introduction is notable for its argument that reason and revelation (*ʿaql* and *sharʿ*) are complementary.[39] The section on Islamic law supplies rational justifications for the rules; for example, it is the earliest work known to me that presents the Ramaḍān fast as training in sympathy and forbearance toward the poor, who are hungry most of the time.[40] The same attention to balancing reason and revelation that shows up in *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn* is also evident in *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*.[41]

Al-Amthāl wa-al-ḥikam, a smaller work, comprises ten sections.[42] Each starts with advice from the Prophet. Then come proverbs and poetry. Most of the proverbs are the sayings of "wise men (*ḥukamāʾ*)," here meaning eighth-century renunciants (*zuhhād*, *nussāk*). However, some are from the Persian tradition, like much of the middle section of *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*, among other works. A substantial work on Arabic grammar is apparently lost.[43] I am inclined to suppose that Māwardī put away the Persian and Hellenistic traditions as the Sunni revival progressed and he transferred his principal loyalties from the Buwayhids to the caliph. In this way, the development of his oeuvre

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35. Aḥmad, introduction to *Durar al-sulūk*, 30.

36. Dāwūd and ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *Imām*, 114.

37. Kātib Çelebī, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Rifat Bilge, 2 vols (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941, 1943), 2:1681.

38. Al-Khwārizmī, *Jāmiʿ masānīd al-imām al-aʿẓam*, 2 vols (Hyderabad: Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmīyah, 1332), 1:5. The fifteenth work on this list is attributed to an Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-ʿAwwām al-Sughdī, so far untraced by me.

39. Al-Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*, ed. Muḥammad Karīm Rājiḥ (Beirut: Dār Iqraʾ, 1401/1981), 7. I have heard of but not seen a translation into English: *The discipline of religious and worldly matters*, trans. Thoreya Mahdi Allam, rev. Magdi Wahba and Abderrafi Benhallam ([Morocco]: ISESCO, 1995).

40. Māwardī, *Adab al-dunyā*, 102.

41. For a longer discussion of *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*, v. Jean-Claude Vadet, *Les idées morales dans l'Islam*, Islamiques (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 48-54. Vadet likewise stresses reason and revelation, finding in Māwardī a subtle synthesis of the Islamic and Persian traditions. *V.* also Arkoun, "L'éthique musulmane," finally stressing Māwardī's synthesis of worldly wisdom and religious.

42. I have examined two editions, both by Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad: Doha: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1403/1983 and Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1420/1999. The former is expressly based on only two MSS. The latter describes three additional MSS but offers no further corrections based on them.

43. Listed by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, 5:408 = ed. ʿAbbās, 5:1956.

illustrates the waning of what has been called the Renaissance of Islam and the waxing of the new, thoroughgoing re-emphasis on Arabic and Islam associated especially with the Saljuqs to come.[44]

Legal Thought

The section on qadis in *al-Ḥāwī* includes one of the earliest extant expositions of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Islamic jurisprudence strictly speaking.[45] (It apparently appears in this unusual place because, as a Shāfiʿi, Māwardī thought the qadi ought to be familiar with *uṣūl al-fiqh* as well as *furūʿ*, the practical rules.[46] However, Devin Stewart has made out that some of the earliest expositions of *uṣūl al-fiqh* were in books about judgeship, so the *Ḥāwī* may represent the end of the primitive tradition on this point.[47]) Hitherto, students of Islamic legal thought have more often approached it through *uṣūl al-fiqh* than collections of rules, and it is certainly to be hoped that one of them soon brings Māwardī's exposition into the discussion.[48] What follows are translations with comments of three passages from the *Ḥāwī* concerning practical rules. Like other extensive presentations of the law (*mabsūṭāt*, sometimes *muṭawwalāt*), the *Ḥāwī* offers detailed justifications of the rules of one school (for Māwardī of course the Shāfiʿi), implying a great deal of legal theory.

Example 1: whether the salutation is necessary at the end of the prayer

Here is Māwardī's discussion of the conclusion of the ritual prayer. All schools agree that the prayer ends when one kneels and recites the *tashahhud*, then salutes to left and right (*taslīm*). They disagree over which steps are required, which merely recommended (Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 2:187-9 *2:143-4*).[49]

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44. For the Sunni revival, *v.* Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, chaps. 2, 4; idem, "The Sunnī revival," *Islamic civilization 950-1150*, ed. D. S. Richards, Papers on Islamic history 3 (Oxford: Cassirer, 1973), 155-68; Glassen, *Der mittlere Weg*, chap. 2.

45. Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī* 20:106-216 *16:55-152*.

46. *V.* Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 20:105-6, 224-6 *16:54-5*, *159-61*.

47. Devin J. Stewart, "Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī's *al-Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-fiqh* and the genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in ninth century Baghdad," *ʿAbbasid studies*, ed. James E. Montgomery, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 135 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 321-49, citing Abū ʿUbayd, *Adab al-qāḍī*, and al-Jāḥiẓ, *K. Uṣūl al-futyā wa-al-aḥkām*, at 344.

48. Two important translations with studies of *uṣūl al-fiqh* in the eleventh century are al-Baṣrī, *L'accord unanime de la communauté comme fondement des statuts légaux de l'Islam*, trans. Marie Bernand, Études musulmanes 11 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1970), and Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, trans. Eric Chaumont, Studies in comparative legal history (Berkeley: Robbins Collection, 1999). Neither makes comparisons with Māwardī. I think of no comparable discussions on the side of *furūʿ*.

49. *V.* also Yasin Dutton, "'An innovation from the time of the Banī Hāshim': some reflections on the *taslīm* at the end of the prayer," *Journal of Islamic studies* 16 (2005): 147-76, and Christopher Melchert, "The concluding salutation in Islamic ritual prayer," *Le muséon* 114 (2001): 389-406.

Al-Muzanī said that al-Shāfiʿī (God have mercy on him) said, "Then he salutes to his right, *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*, then to his left, *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*, until his cheeks are seen."[50]

Al-Māwardī said this: as for going out of the ritual prayer, it is obligatory: it does not end save by this. However, they have disagreed concerning exactly how. Al-Shāfiʿī taught that it was specified as the salutation. Going out of [the prayer] is not sound save by it. This is the majority view. Abū Ḥanīfah said that going out of the prayer is not specified as the salutation. One may go out of it by farting or speaking. As evidence, he cites the hadith report of Ibn Masʿūd, that the Prophet . . . , when he taught him the *tashahhud*, [said,] "When you finish this, your prayer is complete. If you wish, leave; if you wish, remain seated." He also cites what ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ related, that the Messenger of God . . . said, "When a man raises his head from the last prostration and sits, then farts before saluting, his prayer is over." This is an express declaration (*naṣṣ*). They also say that the salutation is for whoever is present. This implies that it is not obligatory in the ritual prayer, like the second salutation.[51] They additionally say that it [viz., the salutation] is talk that contradicts the prayer, so it must not be specified as obligatory in the prayer, like addressing humans. This is on account of what Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥanafīyah related of his father, that the Messenger of God . . . said, "The key to the ritual prayer is ritual purity, its sacralization is saying *Allāhu akbar*, and its desacralization is the salutation."

Misʿar ibn Kidām related of Ibn al-Qibṭīyah of Jābir ibn Samurah that he said, "We were with the Messenger of God. When he saluted, one of us said, by his hand, to his right and his left, *al-salāmu ʿalaykum*, *al-salāmu ʿalaykum*, and pointed by his hand to his right and to his left. The Prophet . . . said, 'What is this? Do you see with your hands, as if they were restless horses' tails? It suffices for one of you that he put his hand on his thigh, then salute to his right and to his left, *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*, *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*.'"[52] Thus he made the sufficient minimum to be achieved by the salutation, which implies that the sufficient minimum is not achieved by anything else.

Also, it is one of the two ends of the ritual prayer, which implies that a condition of it is something said, like the first end. Moreover, going out of the ritual prayer is an essential part of the prayer, so it should be specifically required, like the inclination and prostration. It is the completion of the worship, and cannot be achieved by what is contradictory of it, similarly to sexual intercourse in the pilgrimage. The ritual prayer is a form of worship

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50. Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, margin of Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, 7 vols. in 4 (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Kubrā al-Amīrīyah, 1321-5; repr. Cairo: Kitāb al-Shaʿb, 1388/1968), 1:77.

51. The Shāfiʿī school held that only the first salutation was obligatory, the second being highly recommended; e.g., Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 2:300 *2:233*; Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, *bāb furūḍ al-ṣalāh wa-sunanihā* = (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1370/1951), 25; idem, *al-Muhadhdhab*, *ṣifat al-ṣalāh*, *al-farḍ* = 2 vols. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.; 3rd printing, 1396/1976), 1:116-17.

52. Likewise quoted by Shāfiʿī, *Umm* 1:106, ll. 10-5 = ed. Rifʿat Fawzī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, 11 vols (al-Manṣūrah: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 1422/2001; 2nd printing 1425/2004), 1:278. References to the latter edition henceforth in *italic*. The expression *adhnāb khayl shums* and this very hadith report are explained in *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. *sh m s*. Thanks to Professor Geert Jan van Gelder for directing me to it.

that is nullified by farting in the middle of it, so it must be nullified by farting at the end of it, like the ritual ablution. It is not sound that one should go out of the ritual prayer by what contradicts it, like the ending of the period of wiping. The ritual prayer is a form of worship, so it is not sound that it be completed by what is not a part of worship, as the other forms of worship [cannot be so completed].

As for the answer to the hadith report of Ibn Masʿūd, it has two aspects. One of them is that his saying . . . "Your prayer is complete" meant "coming near to completing it." His saying, "If you wish, arise; if you wish, remain seated," is the talk of Ibn Masʿūd [not the Prophet]. The second is that the apparent meaning of this hadith report is to be abandoned, for going out of the prayer remains an obligation [for the one praying]. Our disagreement concerns only the means of going out of it. As for the hadith report of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, it is unsound. If it were sound, it could be interpreted as concerning what is after the first salutation but before the second. As for their analogy by the second salutation, the second salutation is not obligatory, whereas the first salutation is. As for their analogy by addressing humans, that it contradicts the prayer, it is an unsafe interpretation (*waṣf ghayr musallam*). Besides, the meaning of addressing humans is that if he omits it and what is equivalent to it, his ritual prayer is not spoilt (*lam tafsud*). But if he omits the salutation and its equivalent, in their opinion, then his ritual prayer is nullified (*baṭalat*).

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *   *</p>

Typical here is the order in which Māwardī treats the problem: a brief statement of the Shāfiʿi rule; alternative rules from other schools (here just the Ḥanafī); how the other schools argue; how the Shāfiʿi school argues; finally, what is wrong with the other schools's arguments. Systematic debate with other schools in this fashion is distinctive of writing in the Shāfiʿi tradition, imitated by writers of the Māliki and Ḥanbali.[53] Ḥanafi and Shiʿi writing stands somewhat apart.[54] Earlier examples of it than the *Ḥāwī* cannot be found, but this is unsurprising inasmuch as nothing survives of the works of Ibn Surayj, Ibn Abī Hurayrah, Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī, and Māwardī's other Baghdadi predecessors except in quotation. It must have developed out of the training by debate (*munāẓarah*) and the recording of debating points in the graduate student's *taʿlīqah* that were the hallmarks of

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53. A good example of an early Māliki work in this style is al-Bājī, *al-Muntaqā*, ed. Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Shaqrūn, 7 vols. in 4 (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿādah, 1331-32). Bājī (d. Almeria, 474/1081?) studied in Baghdad under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī, among others. An outstanding Ḥanbali example is Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 15 vols. (Cairo: Hajr, 1406-11/1986-90). Ibn Qudāmah (d. Damascus, 620/1223) likewise studied in Iraq, and although he is not reported to have formally trained under Shāfiʿi teachers, his works include massive borrowing from earlier Shāfiʿi literature, especially from Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī and Ghazālī.

54. At the level of rules, Patricia Crone has identified the Māliki, Shāfiʿi, and Ḥanbali schools as constituting a Medinese bloc, Ḥanafi and Shīʿi a Kufan: *Roman, provincial, and Islamic law* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 23. I expect research to show increasingly that these blocs were originally Basran and Kufan, respectively. At the level of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the distinctiveness of the Shāfiʿi and Ḥanafi traditions has been noted fairly often although so far little developed systematically; e.g., Éric Chaumont, Introduction, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* by Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī, 12-15.

the classical school of law.[55]

As elsewhere, close investigation shows that Māwardī's account of his opponents' position is simplistic. In this passage, he once alludes and once expressly refers to the obligatory character of the first salutation, arguing that the Ḥanafi position would make it merely recommended. Actually, it seems, the Ḥanafīyah were divided, only some of them considering that the salutation at the end was merely recommended (*sunnah*) but not absolutely required (*farḍ*).[56] Whether Māwardī simplified from ignorance of Ḥanafi discussions or for polemical convenience is impossible for us to say.

Also typical is the *ad hoc* character of some of Māwardī's arguments. For example, this appeal to aesthetics, that a series of ritual acts should be symmetrical, as by one's beginning the prayer by speech (*Allāhu akbar*) and therefore also ending it by speech (*al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu 'llāh*), surely has no basis in *uṣūl al-fiqh*. This is one of many passages that once provoked my question to John Makdisi, dean of a law school as well as student of Islamic law: why does Māwardī continually go beyond the hadith-based arguments one expects of a Shāfiʿi to further arguments it seems he could not have believed in? Makdisi assured me this was the way lawyers always argue: they offer one reason after another to accept their case, not particularly caring if half of them seem feeble, just so one of them persuades the reader.

Māwardī's dismissal of the hadith report of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ seems strikingly casual. He first attacks it as unsound without further explanation. It comes up in standard collections, including those of Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī.[57] But Tirmidhī doubted it, asserting that it was *muḍṭarib*, meaning supported by contradictory *asānīd*, and that one of its transmitters, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād ibn ʿĀṣim, had been aspersed by earlier critics. Perhaps his critique was sufficiently well known for Māwardī to feel no need of repeating it.

At the end, Māwardī proposes to deal with the hadith report of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ by harmonization (literally *istiʿmāl*, meaning practical application) rather than rejection. This does not necessarily indicate bad faith. The Qur'an enjoyed *tawātur*, meaning that it was transmitted to later generations by so many different paths as to preclude any suppression or distortion; hence it afforded certain knowledge. Hadith, by

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55. *V*. George Makdisi, *The rise of colleges: institutions of learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1981), 116-22.

56. E.g., ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, *Tuḥfat al-fuqahāʾ, al-ṣalāh, iftitāḥ al-ṣalāh* = 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, n.d.), 1:138-9. Similarly, al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ fī tartīb al-sharāʾiʿ*, 7 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Sharikat al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿIlmīyah, 1327-8; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1406/1986), 1:194, noting three characterizations within the school: *farḍ*, *wājib*, and *sunnah*. The first two indicate requirements but of different degrees of certainty, the last the highest degree of being recommended, for which *v*. A. Kevin Reinhart, "'Like the difference between Heaven and Earth:' Ḥanafi and Shāfiʿi discussions of *wājib* and *farḍ*," *Studies in Islamic legal theory*, ed. Bernard G. Weiss, Studies in Islamic law and society 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 205-34.

57. Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan, k. al-ṣalāh* 73, *al-imām yuḥdithu baʿda mā yarfaʿu raʾsahu min ākhir al-rakʿah*, no 617; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ, ṣalāh* 184, *mā jāʾa fī al-rajul yuḥdithu fī al-tashahhud*, no 408.

contrast, was widely recognized by Sunni writers as affording only probable knowledge.[58] Hadith reports were authenticated or not by comparison of *asānīd*, the paths of their transmission. As we see from continual disagreement among *rijāl* critics, however, pre-modern Muslim critics worked as intuitively as modern students of hadith.[59] Māwardī could see as well as we how evaluations of particular hadith reports were necessarily tentative, hence his proposing to harmonize a contrary hadith report even after aspersing its authenticity.

Example 2: heirs and waqf property

Here is Māwardī on a question of *waqf*, the setting aside of a part of one's property and the assignment of its yield in perpetuity to whomever one wishes. Normally, the property can never again be bought or sold or divided normally among heirs (Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 9:390-1 7:527).[60]

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If someone establishes a *waqf* for the benefit of his son, then his son's heirs, then [if they should die out] the poor and destitute, then the son dies, with the establisher of the *waqf* one of his heirs, does he receive his normal share of the heritage or not? There are two views. One of them is that he does receive [his normal share]. This is the position of Ibn Surayj and al-Zubayrī.[61] The second view is that he does not receive it, nor any of the [son's] other heirs. This is because the heirs take only their heritage from him [the deceased son] and not anyone else's heritage. It is rendered to the poor.

Next, one investigates the heirs of his son he [the establisher of the *waqf*] made beneficiaries. There are just three possibilities. One of them is that he made them beneficiaries in proportion to their normal inheritance shares, in which case it is [divided] among them so. The second is that he made them beneficiaries equally, in which case it is [divided among them] so, the male, female, wife, and child all inheriting equal shares. The third is that he made an absolute pronouncement [that the son's normal heirs would

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58. See Bernard Weiss, *The spirit of Islamic law*, The spirit of the laws (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1998), chap. 5, esp. 89-90; Wael B. Hallaq, "The authenticity of prophetic *ḥadīth*: a pseudo-problem," *Studia Islamica*, no 89 (1999), 73-90.

59. *V.* above all Eerik Nael Dickinson, *The development of early Sunnite* ḥadīth *criticism*, Islamic history and civilization, studies and texts, 38 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), chap. 6, for a description of hadith criticism in the ninth and tenth centuries C.E., and Herbert Berg, *The development of exegesis in early Islam*, Curzon studies in the Qurʾan (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), chap. 2, for a review of the modern controversy, stressing how much the findings of different scholars have depended on their initial assumptions. Cf. Harald Motzki, *The origins of Islamic jurisprudence*, trans. Marion H. Katz, Islamic history and civilization, studies and texts 41 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), chap. 1, another good review of the modern controversy with acute comments on method. I disagree with Motzki that his own method is less speculative than the methods of earlier scholars.

60. For the law of *waqf* and references to earlier studies, *v. EI*[2], s.v. "waḳf," § 1, by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, and Peter C. Hennigan, *The birth of a legal institution: the formation of the waqf in third-century A.H. Ḥanafī legal discourse*, Studies in Islamic law and society 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

61. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (d. 318/930-1), a Basran Shāfiʿi of unknown formation, for whom *v.* Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 3:295-9.

benefit from the *waqf* on his decease, without further detail]. In this case, it is [divided among them] equally, for the presumption (*al-aṣl*) is equality when it comes to gifts and no preference has been specified for some over others.

Thus, if he has established a *waqf* for the benefit of Zayd's heirs, with Zayd alive, none of them has any claim on it, for claims are inherited. The members of his family are called 'heirs' only figuratively, not actually. If that were so, then the *waqf* would have been established concerning something perishable, as discussed above. With Zayd dead, it remains a sound *waqf* for the benefit of Zayd's heirs. Then it falls under one of the three possibilities as to equality or preferring some over others.

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As Māwardī has explained earlier, only something that will not be used up can be subject to *waqf* (according to the Shāfiʿi school); hence, for example, real estate may be made into *waqf* but a chest of money may not. If a *waqf* property were divided up amongst heirs, it would cease to exist, at least as a unit. Only its yield (such as the fruit of an orchard, the rental of a building) may be divided up and distributed. Notably, in default of an express stipulation to the contrary, Māwardī calls for the yield of a *waqf* property to be divided equally among the named beneficiaries, not by the Qur'anic rules of dividing estates, whereby a widow receives a quarter if her husband had no children, otherwise an eighth, a widower half if his wife had no children, otherwise a quarter, a daughter half the share of a son, and so forth.

The law of property transfers (sales, pledges, fraud, &c.), not obviously religious concerns to the Christian (as ritual and adultery seem obviously religious concerns), is an important section of the law, occupying about a quarter of the *Ḥāwī*. Māwardī's reasoning in the section on *waqf*, likewise property transfers generally, is in some respects typical of his reasoning throughout the *Ḥāwī*; for example, this exhaustive listing of the possibilities. In other respects, however, it contrasts sharply with other sections of the *Ḥāwī*, exemplified by the foregoing discussion of the ritual prayer (likewise by the discussion of the penalty for adultery to come).

First, although Māwardī continues to acknowledge contrary positions, he seldom here identifies them expressly with other schools. Hence, as we move from ritual law to property transfers, we suddenly have many fewer refutations of Ḥanafi doctrine, among others. Secondly, Māwardī here quotes much less hadith, and most of that little without *asānīd*. Hadith usually appears in connection with controversy, and *isnād* criticism is one way of refuting an opponent's case. Where there is less controversy with other schools, there is also, then, less hadith. It may also be that, on the whole, the law of ritual was fixed substantially earlier than the law of property transfers. Consequently, as the generation of hadith slowed in the ninth century, the still-developing law of property had to forgo rich documentation by hadith.[62]

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62. Peter Hennigan argues especially from the diversity of terminology that the law of *waqf* was still highly fluid in the later eighth century and did not crystallize until the ninth: *Birth*, esp. chap. 3.

Thirdly, Māwardī is often inconclusive. In this passage concerning *waqf*, we have to guess that he prefers the position of Ibn Surayj and Zubayrī. In some nearby passages, he seems even less conclusive; for example, over who can be said to own a *waqf* property and whether, if someone establishes a *waqf* for the benefit of himself, then the poor and destitute, the poor and destitute begin to benefit immediately (since a valid *waqf* cannot be established in one's own favor) or only on his death.[63] Two centuries before Māwardī, traditionalist jurisprudents such as ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. Yemen, 211/827), Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah (d. Kufa, 235/849), and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. Baghdad, 241/855) might exhibit inconclusiveness by their habit of letting hadith speak for itself, presenting contradictory hadith reports in succession and leaving it to their reader or questioner to chose for himself which to follow. Two centuries after Māwardī, a jurisprudent such as al-Nawawī might exhibit inconclusiveness by his habit of laying out contradictory positions from within the Shāfiʿī school without identifying any one as correct. But neither of these habits seems to fit Māwardī's loss of interest in pointing out the most likely rule when it comes to property transfers as opposed to ritual (although Māwardī anticipates Nawawī's reluctance to overrule disagreement within the school more than he retains ʿAbd al-Razzāq's and the others' simple veneration of hadith).

Why should the law of property transfers seem systematically different from the law of ritual and family relations? It used to be a commonplace that Islamic law regulated ritual and family life (especially marriage and divorce) closely, commerce in rough outline, international relations and the suppression of crime hardly at all.[64] This is presumably an inference partly from just the relative abstractness of the law of property transfers as one sees in the *Ḥāwī*. Yet the law of *waqf* should, by this reasoning, stand out from the rest of the law of property transfers just because *waqf* properties were commonly regulated by qadis, not private persons or secretaries (*kuttāb*). That is, unlike sales or criminal justice, they were directly regulated by trained jurisprudents. Hence, if closeness of supervision were the issue, the law of *waqf* would be quite as detailed as that of the ritual prayer.

Some modern scholars have distinguished between strictly legal concerns in Islamic law and non-legal, moral concerns.[65] Following them, one might suppose that Māwardī argues differently about prayer because there his concerns are religious, whereas here he is free to discourse about *waqf* as a real jurisprudent. But surely the law of property transfers is where one most needs a law that is clear and predictable; where one urgently needs to know, for example, on the death of the original beneficiary of a *waqf*, whether the next beneficiaries will be his natural heirs or the poor and destitute.

I propose that Māwardī's discussion of *waqf* seems cursory and abstract by compar-

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63. Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 9:372-4, 388-9 *7:515-16, 526*.

64. "Its hold was strongest on the law of family (marriage, divorce, maintenance, &c.), of inheritance, and of pious foundations (*wakf*); it was weakest, and in some respects even non-existent, on penal law, taxation, constitutional law, and the law of war; and the law of contracts and obligations stands in the middle": Joseph Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 76.

65. The most sophisticated attempt to distinguish between legal and non-legal concerns in Islamic law has been Baber Johansen, *Contingency in a sacred law*, Studies in Islamic law and society 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). Cf. review by Wilferd Madelung, *Islamic law and society* 7 (2000): 104-9.

ison with his discussion of the ritual prayer (and of ritual and family relations in general) mainly because the *Ḥāwī* is dominated by a religious vision; because the *Ḥāwī* is first a work of devotion, only secondarily of directions for its readers how to order their lives. *Waqf* was a widespread, everyday economic institution, so every man of substance, such as Māwardī undoubtedly was, must have had extensive personal acquaintance with *waqf* property. Moreover, as it was among the qadi's chief duties to oversee *waqf* properties, so Māwardī should have had more extensive personal experience even than most jurisprudents. Perhaps when he sat in his mosque teaching students orally, he indeed brought up cases from his personal experience and explained how a working qadi dealt with worldly disputes. But he wrote the *Ḥāwī* to elaborate God's law. Bringing in hard cases from his personal experience as a qadi, involving imperfect information, gain for some and loss for others, and probably extrajudicial pressures, would just have sullied what Māwardī preferred to contemplate as transcendently pristine.

Example 3: the penalty for adultery

Here is Māwardī in *al-Ḥāwī* on the problem of whether to flog as well as stone the *muḥṣan* adulterer; i.e. a sane, free Muslim who has consummated a marriage with another free person (Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 17:15-8 *13:191-3*).[66]

* * * *

Granted what we have described of the penalty for adultery, that it is stoning the non-virgin (*thayyib*) and flogging the virgin (*bikr*), the adulterer's state must fall into one of two categories: either he is a virgin or a non-virgin, as we shall describe the states of the virgin and non-virgin. If he is a non-virgin, the non-virgin being called a *muḥṣan*, his penalty is stoning without flogging.

The Khawārij teach that he is to be given a hundred lashes without stoning, treating virgin and non-virgin alike. They argue by the apparent meaning of the Qur'an, for stoning is among *akhbār al-āḥād* ['reports of individuals', hence uncorroborated], and they are not an argument for them when it comes to ordinances. Dāwūd ibn ʿAlī, among the Ẓāhirīyah, says that he is to be flogged a hundred lashes and stoned, combining the two punishments.[67] They argue by the statement of the Prophet, "Take it from me. God has made a way for them: for the virgin with the virgin, a hundred lashes and banishment for a year; for the non-virgin with the non-virgin, a hundred lashes and stoning." [They argue] also by what Qatādah related of al-Shaʿbī: that Shurāḥah al-Hamdānīyah came to ʿAlī and

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66. Also *Kitāb al-ḥudūd min* al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr, ed. Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Ṣanduqjī, 2 vols. (n.p.: n.p., 1415/1995), 1:128-37. Because it raises problems of conflict between Qur'an and *sunnah*, the penalty for adultery has attracted an unusual number of studies. *V.* esp. John Burton, *The sources of Islamic law: Islamic theories of abrogation* (Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1990), chap. 7, and *EI²*, s.v. "zinā," by R. Peters, with further references.

67. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. Baghdad, 270/884), on whom *v.* Dhahabī, *Siyar* 13:97-108, with further references. On the basis of his teaching developed the Ẓāhiri school of law, for which *v.* provisionally Melchert, *Formation*, 178-90.

said, "I have committed adultery." He said to her, "Perhaps you are jealous. Perhaps you dreamt it." She said, "No." So he flogged her on Thursday and stoned her on Friday, saying, "I flogged her according to the Book of God and stoned her according to the *sunnah* of the Messenger of God . . . ." [They say also] that the penalty for adultery must combine two punishments, the way flogging and exile are combined for the virgin.

Al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, and the overwhelming majority of jurisprudents teach that stoning is necessary without flogging. The evidence for the necessity of stoning, contrary to what the Khawārij teach, is what we have cited earlier by way of reports of the Messenger of God . . . , both word and deed, and of the Companions, both transmission [from the Prophet] and deed; also people's widespread agreement and the crystallizing of consensus concerning it, such that this ordinance has become *mutawātir* [so widespread as to leave no doubt of its being true], even though the instances of being stoned are known by *akhbār al-āḥād*, which forbids the rise of disagreement afterwards.

The evidence that there is no more flogging in association with stoning the non-virgin is what Shāfiʿī related of Mālik of Nāfiʿ of Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God . . . stoned two Jews who had committed adultery.[68] Had he flogged them, that would have been transmitted just as it was that they were stoned. ʿIkrimah related of Ibn ʿAbbās that the Messenger of God . . . said to Māʿiz ibn Mālik when he came to him and confessed to adultery, "Perhaps you kissed or had a peek or looked?" He said, "No." He asked, "Did you do such-and-such?" without indirection.[69] He said, "Yes." At that, he ordered him stoned. Abū al-Muhallab related of ʿImrān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn that a woman of Juhaynah came to the Prophet . . . and confessed to adultery. She said, "I am pregnant." So the Prophet . . . summoned her guardian and said, "Treat her well, and when she is delivered, bring her to me." So he did this, and when she was delivered, he brought her. Then the Prophet . . . said, "Go and nurse him." She did that, then came. So the Prophet . . . gave orders concerning her. Her clothing was wrapped tightly about her, then he ordered her to be stoned and [afterwards] prayed over her. ʿUmar said to him, "O Messenger of God, you stone her then pray over her?" He said, "She repented such that if it were divided among seventy persons of Medina, it would suffice for them. Have you found anything better than what she did for herself?" He said in what we have described already of the hadith report of Abū Hurayrah, "Go, Unays, to this one's wife: if she confesses, stone her."[70] These reports indicate that he restricted himself to stoning without flogging and that what the hadith report of ʿUbādah ibn al-Ṣāmit entails, by way of his saying "for the non-virgin with the non-virgin, a hundred lashes and stoning," is abrogated. It came before what we have related, for it was the original exposition of stoning. Also, what requires execution does not require flogging, as with apostasy.

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68. Cited by Shāfiʿī, *Umm* 6:143, ll. 7-8 *7:390*, but without comment on flogging.

69. *A-niktahā* (as blunt as "Did you fuck her?") in Bukhārī, *ḥudūd* 28, no 6824. It was probably not Māwardī himself but some later copyist who refused to quote exactly.

70. This is the hadith report quoted by Shāfiʿī himself as showing that flogging had been abrogated as concerned non-virgins whereas stoning stood: *al-Risālah*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī wa-Awlādih, 1358/1940; repr. Beirut: n.p., n.d.), ¶ 382; *Umm* 6:119, 7:251marg. *7:336*, *10:205-6*.

As for the hadith report of ʿAlī concerning the flogging and stoning of Shurāḥah, there are three answers to it. One is that there is a gap in its chain of transmitters, since the one who relates it of him is al-Shaʿbī, who never met him. The second is that he flogged her thinking her a virgin, then learnt that she was not a virgin and so stoned her. Consider that he flogged her on Thursday and stoned her on Friday: otherwise, he would have combined them on a single day. The third is that she committed adultery as a virgin, so he flogged her, then she committed adultery as a non-virgin, so he stoned her. It is conceivable that he stoned her on a Friday not immediately following the Thursday as well as that it did follow immediately.

As for analogy, even if it is not an indication of preponderance for the Ẓāhiri school, its significance for stoning is that it is general, subsuming in itself what is lesser, whereas flogging is particular and may be paired with banishment, which is not subsumed in it.[71]

<p style="text-align:center">*　　　*　　　*　　　*</p>

Here we are back to the familiar order: a brief statement of the Shāfiʿi rule; alternative rules from other schools; how the other schools argue; how the Shāfiʿi school argues; finally, what is wrong with how the other schools argue. Note also how, typically, Māwardī treats in order Qurʾan, *sunnah*, consensus, and analogy. The identification of precisely these four sources is a major characteristic of the Shāfiʿi school (even if the list does not go quite back to Shāfiʿī himself).[72] Also familiar and typical is the way he successively deals with a contrary hadith report first by *isnād* criticism, then by harmonization with other hadith reports supporting the Shāfiʿi position.

Some of his terminological ambiguity is also, alas, typical. In this example, Māwardī continually contrasts *bikr* and *thayyib*. Students reading such texts under me have continually objected that someone who has committed adultery is by definition no longer a virgin, while Māwardī himself brings up the more precise term *muḥṣan* but then goes back to using *thayyib* throughout. One can say only that many jurisprudents before Māwardī used the same shifting terminology and that it does not actually confuse the discussion.

There is something artificial about refuting Khāriji and Ẓāhiri positions. Did Māwardī expect any of his readers to take them seriously? It is not known that there were ever important Khārijī jurisprudents in Baghdad.[73] The Ẓāhiri school had died out in Baghdad by

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71. 'Analogy' here is the conventional translation of *qiyās*, but *qiyās* was actually somewhat wider than 'analogy', sometimes practically embracing 'reason' (*ijtihād*, in Shāfiʿī's formulation). *V.* Wael B. Hallaq, "Non-analogical arguments in Sunnī juridical *qiyās*," *Arabica* 36 (1989): 286-306. For the equation of *ijtihād* with *qiyās*, *v*. Shāfiʿī, *Risālah*, §§ 1323-5. Māwardī argues against Ibn Abī Hurayrah that Shāfiʿī did not mean to identify them completely: *Ḥāwī*, 20:178 *16:118*. "An indication of preponderance" translates *murajjiḥ*. Given two conceivable rules, the capable Muslim jurisprudent will normally identify one as weighing more; that is, more probably representing God's intention than the other. Thanks to Dr. Joseph Lowry for help at translating this paragraph.

72. Joseph E. Lowry, "Does Shāfiʿī have a theory of 'four sources' of law?" *Studies*, ed. Weiss, 23-50.

73. Fuat Sezgin mentions Basran, Khurasani, and Algerian Khāriji jurisprudents but no Baghdadis: *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 11 vols. to date (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967-2000), 1:586. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions five Khāriji jurisprudents, one of whom he saw himself in 340/951-2, possibly in Baghdad, but he

the time Māwardī wrote the *Ḥāwī*.[74] He might better have argued against the Ḥanābilah of his own time, many of whom (including Abū Yaʿlá ibn al-Farrāʾ) did call for both flogging and stoning.[75] I see two reasons why Māwardī should have ignored actual disagreement in favour of refuting what was merely hypothetical. First, it was not his purpose, here or elsewhere, to sketch the history of the law. He shows no strong interest even in the history of Shāfiʿī doctrine; for example, although the *Ḥāwī* is formally a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Muzanī, it normally omits to quote Muzanī's own comments, including alternative versions of what Shāfiʿī said.[76] Rather, Māwardī is maintaining a long tradition of refuting certain arguments. (Ibn Surayj regularly debated with Abū Bakr al-Ẓāhirī: perhaps Māwardī is simply rehearsing some of what they said about the penalty for adultery.[77])

Secondly, coming from a learned culture of continual debate, Māwardī did not rehearse juridical controversy in the *Ḥāwī* in order to cause Shāfiʿī rules to be enforced rather than others. (It seems likely that eleventh-century Baghdadis had their own informal means of dealing with adultery not resembling the doctrine of any school. The police were unwilling to suppress prostitution without special compensation, presumably to replace a share they were used to taking directly from the prostitutes or their owners.[78]) Rather, his point was to show off his own prowess in debate. (Compare how many scholars in our day, too, routinely set up straw men and knock them down.) Lack of interest in historical stages and arguing to show off, not to change the world, are two features that make it difficult to infer social history from handbooks of Islamic law, even those as detailed as the *Ḥāwī*. Argument for the sake of demonstrating one's prowess in debate is also a reason why present-day Salafīyah are impatient with Islamic scholasticism and like to go back directly to Qurʾan and hadith to construct an enforceable code—not what Māwardī presents in the *Ḥāwī*.

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professed to be a Muʿtazili: *Fihrist*, *fann* 7, *maqālah* 6. On Khāriji jurisprudence, *v.* provisionally Michael Cook, "ʿAnan and Islam: the origins of Karaite scripturalism," *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam*, no. 9 (1987), 161-82, and G. R. Hawting, "The significance of the slogan *lā ḥukmᵃ illā lillāh* and the references to the *ḥudūd* in the traditions about the fitna and the murder of ʿUthmān," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41 (1978): 453-63.

74. The last Ẓāhiri jurisprudent of Baghdad mentioned by Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī (d. Baghdad, 476/1083) is Ibn al-Akhḍar (d. 429/1038): *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Rāʾid al-ʿArabī, 1970), 178-9. Shīrāzī states expressly that the Ẓāhiri school has died out in Baghdad, although adherents remain in Shiraz.

75. Al-Mardāwī, *al-Inṣāf fī maʿrifat al-rājiḥ min al-khilāf ʿalá madhhab al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, 12 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadīyah, 1955-58, repr. Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1419/1998), 10:129. In two short works of his that are extant, Ibn al-Farrāʾ merely observes that there is disagreement over whether to flog and stone or stone alone: *Aḥkām*, 264, and *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Nāṣir ibn Saʿūd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Salāmah (Riyadh: Dār Aṭlas, 1421/2000), 307.

76. On the ambiguous relation of the *Mukhtaṣar* of Muzanī to the doctrine of Shāfiʿī himself, *v.* provisionally Norman Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1993), chap. 5, and Christopher Melchert, "The meaning of *qāla ʾl-Shāfiʿī* in ninth-century sources," *ʿAbbasid studies*, ed. James Montgomery (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 277-301.

77. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, *fann* 3, *maqālah* 6; Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 100.

78. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 152.

Conclusion

Māwardī's style of argumentation continually suggests less than absolute certainty. For example, there is the way he continually attacks hadith supporting another school's rule as unsound, then reinterprets it in support of the Shāfiʿi rule, implicitly acknowledging that their hadith may be sound after all (and implicitly asking that the hadith he cites be treated with equal charity). It thus marks the transition from a tradition of legal writing that aims to establish the correctness of its school's doctrine to one that aims to establish only its plausibility; to recognition that there will always be multiple schools. Implicitly, the different schools of the eleventh century had become somewhat like modern Protestant denominations. Presbyterians, for example, may like to think that theirs is the best church but will never declare that other Protestant churches are inadequate or seriously try to persuade Methodists (for example) to renounce their doctrines in favour of Presbyterian. In the same fashion, Māwardī may have thought that the Shāfiʿi school was the best, but by no means did he think adherence to the Ḥanafi school (among others) indicated unbelief, or even that there was any serious hope of refuting Ḥanafi doctrine and converting everyone to Shāfiʿism.

In some measure, the Shāfiʿi school stood from the start for agreeing to disagree in this fashion, at least among Sunni jurisprudents on questions of law. The legitimacy of *ikhtilāf*, disagreement among qualified jurisprudents, is one main point of the *Risālah*.[79] The new agreement to disagree marked the transformation of *ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jamāʿah* from one party among others (as represented above all by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal [d. 241/855]) to the default category for all Muslims except Shiʿi and Khāriji sectarians.[80] Similarly in his Qur'an commentary, continually pointing out multiple legitimate interpretations, and in his political and ethical writing, synthesizing Islamic and Persian traditions, Māwardī seems a strong example of the catholic tendency of classical Sunni Islam. To some extent, the new agreement to disagree marked the influence of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the literature of jurisprudence strictly speaking, on *furūʿ*, the discipline of making out actual rules, from about 1000 C.E.[81]

Finally, the style of *al-Ḥāwī* marks the transformation of Islamic jurisprudence into a form of aristocratic play.[82] "Aristocratic" is to be insisted on because, with the advent

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79. Norman Calder, "Ikhtilâf and Ijmâʿ in Shâfiʿi's Risâla," *Studia Islamica*, no 58 (1983), 39-47.

80. *V.* John B. Henderson, *The construction of orthodoxy and heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and early Christian patterns* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1998), esp. 41 (comparison with church history, where likewise later orthodoxy was earlier one minority position among many), 53 (chronology of Sunnism). Henderson draws heavily on W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought* (Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1973).

81. Yaʿakov Meron, *L'obligation alimentaire entre époux en droit musulman hanéfite*, Bibliothèque de droi privé 114 (Paris: R. Pichon and R. Durand-Auzias, 1971), 323-9. Cf. Chaumont's remark that *uṣūl al-fiqh* substituted argument for proof: introduction to *al-Lumaʿ*, 7.

82. For traditional Islamic legal writing as play, *v.* esp. Norman Calder, "The law," *History of Islamic philosophy*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman, Routledge History of World Philosophies 1, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1996), 979-98. Opportunism and capriciousness are observed in High Medieval Ḥanafi writing by Behnam Sadeghi, *The logic of law making in Islam: women and prayer in the legal tradition*, Cambridge studies in Islamic civilization (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2013) but with stress on parallels to

of the Saljuqs, Islamic politics was permanently militarized (at least to the end of the Middle Ages). The triumphant *iqṭāʿ* system made large landowners finally disappear and the civilian élite came to comprise scholars such as Māwardī almost alone. Their claim to aristocratic privilege was their mastery of an intricate technical discipline, expounding Islamic law, that was emphatically international and non-local. "Play" is what aristocracies normally take up to distinguish themselves from the vulgar who have to work. In Europe, aristocrats hunted and fought. In the Middle East, that was the preserve of Turcophone soldiers, so the ulema elaborated an impractical law.

Māwardī's style of argument is notably uneven, continually piling up flimsy evidences and reasonings on top of apparently sound ones. Vestiges of Māwardī's involvement in *adab* (*belles lettres*) are evident in, among other things, the collections of "fun facts" that introduce major sections; for example, his exposition of the non-technical meaning of *ṣiyām* as "ceasing," including lines of poetry about horses that have ceased to move, to introduce the book of fasting in *al-Ḥāwī*.[83] In purely legal discussions, Māwardī confirmed and exploited his membership in the élite by showing off his supple powers of argument in support of the traditional rules. A principal reason for spending time with Māwardī is simply the ludic pleasure of scholarship in general.

European legal history.

83. Māwardī, *Ḥāwī* 3:239 *3:394*.

Ibn Aʿtham and His History *

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Editor's Introduction

The editors of *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* are delighted to publish this long-awaited piece by Lawrence I. Conrad on Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī and his *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. The article was written on the basis of two papers presented in 1992 (see initial note) and subsequently prepared for publication. It has circulated among colleagues, but, for various reasons, never appeared in print. Professor Conrad, with characteristic generosity, has given us permission to publish the text. It stands as a monumental piece of scholarship and the most comprehensive study on the subject to date.

By way of introduction, a few historiographical comments are in order. Limited attention has been devoted to Ibn Aʿtham since the early 1990s. Conrad himself wrote a brief entry for *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* [London and New York: Routledge, 1998, 314], summarizing his findings and arguing that Ibn Aʿtham flourished in the early third/ninth century. There he rejects Ibn Aʿtham's conventional death date of 314/926-7 as "an old Orientalist error."

Conrad went on to advocate for the earlier date in subsequent publications (e.g., "Heraclius in Early Islamic Kerygma," in G.J. Reinink and B.H. Stolte (eds.), *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation* [Leuven: Peeters, 2002], 132). This view was adopted by several scholars and corroborated on the basis of the content of the work. (See in particular A. Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: l'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72-193/692-809)* [Leiden: Brill, 2011], index; E. Daniel, "Ketāb al-Fotūḥ," *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, 2012 [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ketab-al-fotuh]; J. Scheiner, "Writing the History of the *Futūḥ*: The *Futūḥ*-Works by al-Azdī, Ibn Aʿtham, and al-Wāqidī," in P.M. Cobb (ed.), *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner* [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 151-176).

Conrad's early dating of Ibn Aʿtham has been challenged recently by Ilkka Lindstedt ("Al-Madāʾinī's Kitāb al-Dawla and the Death of Ibrāhīm al-Imām," in I. Lindstedt et al. (eds.), *Case Studies in Transmission* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014], esp. 118-123; and "Sources for the Biography of the Historian Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī," in Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Petteri Koskikallio, and Ilkka Lindstedt (eds.), *Proceedings of Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants 27, Helsinki, June 2nd-6th, 2014* [Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming]). On the basis of new biographical evidence, Lindstedt argues that Ibn Aʿtham actually flourished in the late third/ninth-early fourth/tenth century.

Mónika Schönléber, a doctoral candidate at Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Budapest), is preparing a critical edition of the first portion of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, and her work will help clarify the complex history of the text (see, for now, her "Notes on the Textual Tradition of Ibn Aʿtham's *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*," in Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Petteri Koskikallio, and Ilkka Lindstedt (eds.), *Proceedings of Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants 27, Helsinki, June 2nd-6th, 2014* [Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming]).

Regardless of whether one accepts it as an early third/ninth-century text or a product of the late third/ninth-early fourth/tenth century, the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* stands as an invaluable source. It is hoped that the publication of Conrad's meticulous and elegant study will foster more research on what remains a much-neglected text. We publish the text below in its original form. — Antoine Borrut

It is probably a general rule of thumb that the larger and earlier an Islamic historical text is, the more likely it is to attract the attention of modern scholars. If this is so, then the rule's most glaring exception is the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* of Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī. Though a work of considerable bulk, running to over 2700 pages in the Hyderabad edition,[1] a text which covers many aspects of the first 250 years of Islamic history, and one which has been known since the mid-nineteenth century, at least in its Persian translation, the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* has never enjoyed the attention one might have expected it to receive.

One reason for this is surely that Ibn Aʿtham has had, since the days of Brockelmann, a bad reputation as a purveyor of—to use his phrasing—"a fanciful history" written from a Shīʿī viewpoint.[2] This tends to invite the conclusion that a careful reading of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* would be a waste of time; but to this one might easily reply that regardless of whether a work strikes modern observers as good or bad history, it may reveal much about its cultural tradition and thus—for that reason alone—prove to be eminently worthy of investigation. In passing it must be said that irrespective of the extent to which it can or cannot be made to give up "historical facts", this fascinating text has much to tell us about how history was perceived and transmitted in early Islamic times. In my remarks here, however, I will address only a limited number of points central to further work on the text. On some questions, including that of who Ibn Aʿtham himself was, the complexities of the extant material allow details to emerge only in rather piecemeal fashion, and an attempt will be made at the end of this study to summarize conclusions that have been drawn at various earlier points.

It must be conceded from the outset that the basis for historiographical study of this history is not ideal. As with the *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* of al-Ṭabarī (wr. 303/915), the textual tradition of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* of Ibn Aʿtham consists of a number of incomplete Arabic MSS and a later Persian translation which sometimes manifests important discrepancies from the wording of the Arabic. Coverage of the text, as presented in the Hyderabad edition, can be summarized as follows:[3]

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1. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān *et al.* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿuthmānīya, 1388-95/1968-75) in eight volumes. The recent three-volume edition by Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1412/1992) appeared too late to be taken into consideration here, but does not, in any case, replace the Hyderabad edition. Zakkār's work does not use the Gotha MS, and so is missing the first 485 pages of the Hyderabad text; it also takes no account of the Persian translation, and thus fails to notice many lacunae. The *apparatus criticus* cites Qurʾānic quotations, draws attention to significant passages in a few parallel works, and provides some useful explanations of terms, but is very weak where consideration of variant readings is concerned.

2. GAL, SI, 220; EI1, II, 364b.

3. In addition to these MSS, Ambrosiana H-129, copied in 627/1230 and not used by the Hyderabad editors, covers the text from the conquest of al-Rayy and al-Dastabā (II, 62:12) to the murder of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (IV, 147ult). See Eugenio Griffini, "Nuovi testi arabo—siculi", in *Centenaria della nascita di Michele*

MS	siglum	Text covered
Gotha 1592	*al-aṣl*	I, 1:1-II, 146ult.
Ahmet III 2956	*al-aṣl*	II, 147:1-VIII, 354:7 (end)
Chester Beatty 3272	*d*	II, 147:1-VI, 100:3
Mingana 572	*br*	III, 108ult-VI, 97:11
Persian translation	*al-tarjama*	I, 1:1-V, 251:3[4]

It can immediately be seen that the first part of the book, extending to almost 500 pages, is fully attested only by the Gotha MS; at the end, only the Ahmet III codex extends past the first third of volume VI. When one adds to this the fact that the Chester Beatty MS is clearly a descendent of the Ahmet III exemplar, it becomes clear that through the majority of the book, the manuscript tradition provides rather thin testimony for the fixing of the text.

This problem is rendered more serious by other difficulties. Loss of single or multiple folios, and even of entire signatures, has resulted in a number of major gaps in the Arabic text,[5] and other shorter lacunae are numerous. Quite often one encounters passages where an erasure, probably to delete an incorrectly copied word or phrase, has been left unfilled. Passages in verse have perhaps suffered worst: poems surviving in the Persian translation are in the Arabic often dropped entirely, or represented only by the *maṭlaʿ* or some other illustrative verse. Though some clarification of this problem can be proposed, it is still not entirely clear how the Persian text can be used to check the Arabic, since there seem to exist multiple versions of this Persian rendering.

Some of these and other difficulties will return to our attention below. At this point it will suffice to observe that while the Hyderabad edition usually draws the reader's attention to such problems, it seldom resolves them in a way conducive to a critical historiographical assessment of the Arabic text.

Amari (Palermo: Virzì, 1910), I, 402-15. The Bankipore MS Khuda Bakhsh 1042, copied in 1278/1861, contains an ʿAlid version of Saqīfat Banī Sāʿida and the election of Abū Bakr, an account of the *ridda* wars, and a few pages on the conquest of Iraq; the MS has recently been described by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh as "the unique manuscript" of the *Kitāb al-ridda* of al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), in the recension of Ibn Aʿtham, and published as such in his *Kitāb al-ridda wa-nubdha min futūḥ al-ʿIraq* (Paris: Editions Tougui, 1409/1989). But a decade earlier two other scholars had already independently noticed that this was nothing more than an extract from Ibn Aʿtham's own history (= Hyderabad ed. I, 2:5-96:6, ending in the midst of a long lacuna in the Gotha MS); see Fred M. Donner, "The Bakr b. Wāʾil Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," *Studia Islamica* 51 (1980), 16 n. 2; and Miklos Muranyi's publication of the section on the election of Abū Bakr in his "Ein neuer Bericht über die Wahl des ersten Kalifen Abū Bakr," *Arabica* 25 (1978), 233-60. Ḥamīd Allāh's publication is nevertheless useful, for reasons which will emerge below, and here it will be referred to as "Ibn Aʿtham, Bankipore Text".

4. The recension of the Persian translation available to me (see n. 42 below) begins somewhat differently than the Arabic, but this discrepancy is not noticed in the Hyderabad edition, which usually does comment on such anomalies, but uses a different edition of the Persian text.

5. The most serious of these are at I, 5:4-5, 91:2-100:1, 318:7-324:1, 334:2-349:1; II, 95:2-107:1, 193:3-208:1; IV, 206:6-209:1. The first of these lacunae, and part of the second, have been filled by Ibn Aʿtham, *Bankipore Text*, 22:10-42:2 (cf. Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 239-47), 128:9-137ult.

Date of Composition

A fundamental point of departure is that of when the author lived and when he wrote his history. The difficulty here is that as a historical personality Ibn Aʿtham was almost entirely unknown to later writers. Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), the only medieval biographer who has original information on him, will return to our attention below. Here we may simply note that he knows nothing about Ibn Aʿtham's life or date of death, and can offer little information beyond what might be gained by perusing his works (e.g. knowledge of Ibn Aʿtham's Shīʿī sympathies) or by consulting a *rijāl al-sanad* compendium (i.e. his reputation among *ḥadīth* transmitters as *ḍaʿīf*).[6] Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) refers to him by name and quotes from the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, but seems to know nothing about him personally.[7] Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) and Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449) both have entries for Ibn Aʿtham, but all of their information comes from Yāqūt.[8] The copyist of the Ahmet III MS, writing in 873/1468-69, refers to our author as Ibn Aʿtham "al-Kindī", thus suggesting his membership of the southern tribe of Kinda, but this is almost certainly a misreading of "al-Kūfī".[9] Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) mentions Ibn Aʿtham twice in his *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, but he has no personal details about him and simply describes him as the author of a *futūḥ* book translated by al-Mustawfī, to whom we shall return below.[10]

Here we have to do with conclusions reached only on the basis of access to a subject's book, in this case the Persian translation of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. Al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1697) also made use of the work in his vast compendium of Shīʿī traditions, but seems not to have known anything about its author.[11]

This dearth of information has not deterred modern scholarship from offering a range of possibilities for the period to which Ibn Aʿtham belongs. An early attempt to establish the identity of Ibn Aʿtham was made by William Nassau Lees, one of the first Western editors of *futūḥ* texts. In the introduction to his *editio princeps* of the pseudo-Wāqidī *Futūḥ al-Shām*, Lees proposed that Ibn Aʿtham was to be identified as Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn ʿĀṣim al-Balkhī a *muḥaddith* who died in 227/841-42.[12] But for several reasons this argument, such as it is, must be rejected. First, it is at least curious, if Aḥmad ibn ʿĀṣim is our author, that none of the many accounts of him mentions that this man was the author

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6. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1923-31), I, 379:1-8, no. 104.

7. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kashf al-maḥajja li-thamarat al-muhja* (Najaf, 1370/1950), 57, cited in Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 358-59, with the observation that this passage is not to be found in the Arabic text we have today.

8. Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, VI, ed. Sven Dedering (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), 256:7-11 no. 2740; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-niẓāmīya, AH 1329-31), I, 138:16-18 no. 433.

9. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VI, 100 n. 4; VIII, 354 n. 7.

10. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisi Rifat Bilge (Istanbul: Maarıf Matbaası, 1941-47), II, 1237:15, 1239:27-29.

11. Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-wafāʾ, 1403/1983), 1, 25:9.

12. *The Conquest of Syria Commonly Ascribed to Aboo ʿAbd Allah Mohammad b. ʿOmar al-Wáqidí*, ed. W. Nassau Lees (Calcutta: F. Carbery, 1854-60), I, vii.

of a book—of any description. Such information is routinely given in the various types of biographical compendia. Second, while the name Aḥmad was not yet common in the second and third centuries AH, the *kunya* Abū Muḥammad certainly was, and the fact that two Aḥmads shared the same *kunya* in no way suggests, much less proves (as Lees seemed to believe), that they were one and the same person.

Indeed, the case for the opposite conclusion is compelling. Aḥmad ibn ʿĀṣim al-Balkhī is the subject of numerous notices in *rijāl al-sanad* compendia and is named as one of the authorities cited by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870),[13] but nowhere is there any hint of a father or grandfather named Aʿtham, i.e. some ancestor who would account for why the Aḥmad ibn ʿĀṣim of the *rijāl* compendia would be called Aḥmad ibn Aʿtham in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. Similarly, no one with any information on Ibn Aʿtham mentions an ancestor named ʿĀṣim. As the two names are not orthographically similar, this discrepancy clearly establishes that no case can be made for the argument that the two names refer, as Lees thought, to the same historical figure.

In fact, such an identification is precluded by the fact that Aḥmad ibn ʿĀṣim, as an informant of al-Bukhārī, must have been a Sunnī *muḥaddith*. As we shall see below, however, the author of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* was a strident Shīʿī; when he cites *ḥadīth*, he almost exclusively quotes ʿAlid legitimist, Shīʿī, and virulently anti-Umayyad traditions from the Prophet and the Imams. While one must guard against the temptation to project back into early Islamic times Sunnī/Shīʿī differences which only emerged later,[14] most of Ibn Aʿtham's traditions clearly comprise material which no authority of al-Bukhārī would have taken seriously, much less transmitted.

In his work on Arabic historians, Wüstenfeld gives the date of Ibn Aʿtham's death as AH 1003 (= AD 1594-95),[15] which is the date cited in Flügel's edition of Ḥājjī Khalīfa.[16] But in the more recent and far superior Istanbul edition of the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, based on the author's autograph, the space for the date is left blank; the date in Flügel's edition may well have been erroneously carried up from the next entry below it, where the text in question is also by an author said to have died in AH 1003. Further, such a date is impossible since, as we shall see momentarily, Ibn Aʿtham's *Futūḥ* had already been translated into Persian four centuries earlier.

13. See, for example, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿuthmānīya, AH 1360-64), 1.2,6:3-4 no. 1500; Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938), *Al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿuthmānīya, 1371-73/1952-53), I.1, 66: 10-11 no. 118; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), *Kitāb al-thiqāt* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿuthmānīya, 1393-1403/1973-83), VIII, 12: 3-4; al Mizzī (d. 742/1341), *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-risāla, 1985/1306-proceeding), I, 363: 2-0 no. 55; al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), *Mizān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo: Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1382/1963), I, 106: 2-4; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-niẓāmīya, AH 1325-27), I, 46: 4-11 no. 76.

14. On this problem, see Andrew Rippin, *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices,* I: *The Formative Period* (London: Routledge, 1990), 103-16.

15. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen: Dieterische Verlags-buchhandlung, 1882), 253 no. 541.

16. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, ed. Gustav Flügel (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1835-58), IV, 380: 5-6 no. 8907.

This date is in any case not the one usually cited. Most modern scholarship gives the year of Ibn Aʿtham's death as *ca.* 314/926-27: this is the date one finds not only on the title page of the Hyderabad edition itself, but also in studies pertaining to Ibn Aʿtham by, for example, Rieu,[17] Brockelmann,[18] Griffini,[19] Storey,"[20] Massé,[21] al-Amīn,[22] al-Ṭihrānī,[23] Cahen,[24] Togan,[25] Fuat Sezgin,[26] Zirikli,[27] Muranyi,[28] and Ursula Sezgin.[29] The apparent security of this death date is reflected in the comments of Brockelmann, who asserts that it is the only information we know about Ibn Aʿtham,[30] and Massé, who refers to Ibn Aʿtham as a contemporary of al-Ṭabarī and observes that "il est généralement admis que l'historien arabe Ibn Aʿtham composa ses ouvrages sous le règne du calife Moqtadir et qu'il mourut en 314/926".[31]

Here too, however, the ascription is entirely baseless. All scholarship after the publication of Brockelmann's monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* quite naturally takes the date from him, but Brockelmann himself, as well as Rieu and Storey, have it not from any medieval authority, but from a curious bibliography of medieval Islamic texts compiled in St. Petersburg in 1845 by C.M. Frähn.[32] As is well-known, Russia in this period was beginning to harbor imperial designs on territories in Central Asia, and

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17. Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1879-83), I, 151a.

18. *GAL*, SI, 220; *EI*[1], II, 364b.

19. Griffini, "Nuovi testi arabo-siculi," 407; idem, "Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften," *ZDMG* 69 (1915), 77.

20. See C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: a Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927-proceeding), I.1, 207 no. 261.

21. Henri Massé, "La chronique d'Ibn Aʿtham et la conquête de l'Ifriqiya,", in William Marçais, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Gaudefroy-Demombynes par ses amis et anciens élèves* (Cairo: Institut francais d'archéologie orientale, 1935-45), 85.

22. Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa* (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat Ibn Zaydūn, 1353-65/1935-46), VII, 428-29.

23. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Al-Dharīʿa ila taṣānīf al-shīʿa* (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat al-Ghazzī, 1355-98/1936-78), III, 220.

24. Claude Cahen, "Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Egypte et la Mésopotamie de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *REI* 10 (1936), 335.

25. Zeki Velidi Togan, art. "Ibn Aʾsemülkûfî" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, ed. A. Adivar *et al.* (Istanbul: Maarif matbaasi, 1940-86), V, 702a.

26. *GAS* I, 329.

27. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-ʿilm li-al-malāyīn, 1969), I, 96b.

28. Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 234.

29. Ursula Sezgin, "Abū Mikhnaf, Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṭ-Ṯaqafī und Muḥammad b. Aʿtam al-Kūfī über ġārāt," *ZDMG* 131 (1981), Wissenschaftliche Nachrichten, *1.

30. *EI*[1], II, 364b.

31. Massé, "La chronique d'Ibn Aʿtham," 85.

32. C.-M Frähn, *Indications bibliographiques relatives pour la plupart à la littérature historico—géographique des arabes, des persans et des turcs* (St. Petersburg: Académie impériale des sciences, 1845), 16 no. 53.

in expectation of the usual fruits of conquest, Frähn compiled for the Russian Academy of Sciences what amounted to a wish-list of desirable historical and geographical texts. The work is addressed to "nos employés et voyageurs en Asie" on the assumption that important manuscript treasures could be gained for the Academy by watchful officials and travelers.[33] Frähn's inventory was essentially derived from the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*,[34] and most of the books he lists are lost. As would be expected for a work of this period, Frähn's list is full of mistakes and erroneous conjectures. Where Ibn Aʿtham is concerned, the death date of 314/926-27 is proposed as a guess—with a question mark after it—and no corroborating evidence is cited. In fact, it seems that no such evidence exists. Here the point of importance is that all modern scholarship citing this date has it ultimately—and only—from Frähn: it has no foundation in the primary source material relevant to the subject of our inquiry.

A third date was first noticed independently by C.A. Storey[35] and ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ,[36] was subsequently rejected by Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī,[37] and has more recently been upheld by M.A. Shaban in his *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article on Ibn Aʿtham[38] and in further detail in his introduction to his book on the ʿAbbāsid revolution.[39] The source for this date is the introduction to the Persian translation of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, extant in numerous manuscripts[40] and printed in India several times in the nineteenth century. The translator was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mustawfī al-Harawī, and in his eloquent but verbose introduction he provides some details important to the background for his work. These may be summarized as follows: Having spent his career serving great men, he says, he had hoped to retire to a life of pious seclusion; but as he had no secure source of income, this proved impossible. Then a powerful but unnamed political figure (referred to. as *ṣāḥib al-sayf wa-al-qalam*, in Arabic, plus many other honorific titles) took him in, and al-Mustawfī enjoyed some years of esteem and wealth. In AH 596 (= AD 1199-1200) this patron summoned him to Ṭāybād,[41] where al-Mustawfī was honored with further generous patronage and was welcomed into the circle of seven most learned (but again unnamed) scholars. One day, when his patron was present, a member of the assembled company recited some anecdotes from the *Kitāb-i futūḥ* of *khavāja* Ibn Aʿtham, who had written this book in AH 204 (= AD 819-20); the patron was so impressed that he asked al-Mustawfī to

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33. *Ibid.*, xxvii.

34. *Ibid.*, xxxvii—xxxix.

35. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 1.2, 1260, in the corrections to his main text.

36. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, "Taʾrīkh Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī," *Majallat al-majmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-ʿarabī* 6 (1926), 142-43.

37. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, III, 221. His argument is the fairly obvious one that a historian who wrote a history in AH 204 could not still have been active more than 100 years later, in the reign of al-Muqtadir. See below.

38. M.A. Shaban, art. "Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī" in *EI*², III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 723a.

39. *Ibid.*, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), xviii.

40. See Storey, *Persian Literature*, I.1, 208-209.

41. I.e. Ṭāyābādh in the region of Herat. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1374-76/1955-57), II, 9b.

translate the entire work into Persian. Though elderly, pressed with family responsibilities, and troubled with the cares of difficult times, the latter took into consideration the spectacular merits of the book and thus agreed to undertake the translation.[42] Other information indicates that he died before he could finish the task, and that the work was completed by a colleague, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Kātib al-Mābarnābādī.[43]

Among the currently extant Persian manuscripts, the date of AH 204 seems to appear in very few codices,[44] which may raise the question of whether or not this information is to be trusted. But in al-Mustawfī's day no useful purpose would have been served by forging it: in AH 596 there would have been nothing remarkable about knowing (or claiming) that Ibn Aʿtham had written his *Kitāb al-futūḥ* in AH 204, and someone inventing a date would not have done so without some further purpose in mind—for example, to establish some specific connection with one of the Shīʿī Imāms. But in al-Mustawfī's introduction the date is simply stated in passing, without being pursued to some further point. It is also worth asking how this information came to be known to him and no one else. One can never be absolutely certain on such matters, of course, but the most likely explanation is that this detail was mentioned in the colophon of the Arabic MS from which al-Mustawfī worked. In any case, there is no immediate reason for doubting that this information comes from al-Mustawfī, or for suspecting *a priori* that such a date for the composition of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* is spurious.

Support for this date may be found in Yaqūt's *tarjama* of Ibn Aʿtham, in which a certain Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Sallāmī al-Bayhaqī quotes two lines of verse which he says were recited to him by "Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī".[45] Unfortunately, there appear to be several al-Sallāmīs with very similar names, who were variously quoted by al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), al-Gardizī (wr. ca. 442/1050), Ibn Mākūlā (d. 473/1081), Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), al-Juwaynī (wr. 658/1260), Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), and al-Yāfiʿī (d. 738/1367). One of these al-Sallāmīs was the well-known historian of Khurāsān;[46] little personal information is available concerning him, but on the basis of details provided by al-Thaʿālibī his date of death must be placed after 365/975.[47]

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42. Al-Mustawfī, *Tarjama-i Kitāb al-futūḥ* (Bombay: Chāpkhānē Muḥammad-i, AH 1305), 1:4-2:15.

43. See Massé, "La chronique d'Ibn Aʿtham," 85; Togan, "Ibn Aʿsemülkûfî," 702b.

44. It is worth noting that while a number of Persian manuscripts were catalogued prior to the appearance of Storey's *Persian Literature*, no date but that suggested by Frähn was given for the composition of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, until Storey (I.2, 1260) noted the date of AH 204 in a catalogue of Mashhad Persian MSS which had just come to his attention. Several Bombay lithographs, however, include this date in their texts of the introduction, and do not seem to be copying one from the other, which suggests that several MSS available in Bombay also bore the date of AH 204 for the composition of the text.

45. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, I, 379:5-8. These verses celebrate the value of a forgiving friend.

46. See W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 3rd ed. (London: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1968), 10-11; Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 321 n. 7.

47. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ḥusayn al-tijārīya, 1366/1947), IV, 95:8-16. It does not seem to have been noticed that at the end of this notice, al-Thaʿālibī refers to two verses by al-Sallāmī and then says: "I did not hear the two verses from him, but rather only found them in a copy of his [book]". The implication of this statement is clearly that al-Thaʿālibī anticipated that his audience would suppose that he had heard the verses from the author himself; this in turn suggests that he

This does not seem to connect with anything else which is known about Ibn Aʿtham or his history. Another al-Sallāmī (or al-Salāmī), however, was an obscure *faqīh* in Baghdad whose career may be assigned to the first half of the third/ninth century.[48] A scholar of this period could easily have heard, in his student days, poetry from an author who finished a history in AH 204; and on the assumption that this history was not necessarily written in the last years of its author's life, it is possible that the two men were colleagues in Baghdad.

In terms of genre formation, the compilation of such as text as the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, reflects one of the well-known features of early Arabic historiography: topical monographs of the second century AH providing the building blocks for, and ultimately giving way to, the comprehensive histories of the third. Ibn Aʿtham's book was a Shīʿī manifestation of the sort of work one often encounters in this period, and it comes as no surprise to find such a text appearing at the beginning of the third century AH. Once largely limited to Medina and al-Kūfa, the Shīʿa had by this time established a significant presence for themselves in Baghdad,[49] where such developments as the Shuʿūbīya controversy, the rise of the Muʿtazila, the *miḥna*, and the foundation of the Bayt al-Ḥikma would in the very near future demonstrate the depth, range, and intensity of the cultural foment that prevailed in the capital in this formative era.[50] Ibn Aʿtham's history represented his effort to set before Muslims at large his own growing community's views on the live historical issues under discussion in his day, and to do so with an extended account of the Islamic past.

A composition date of 204/819-20 also finds at least some direct support in the Arabic text. At the beginning of one of his sections, Ibn Aʿtham says: "Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad used to say to my father…"[51] As this Jaʿfar figures in *isnāds* in the text, and in them occupies key positions where the Imāms would be quoted in Shīʿī *ḥadīth*,[52] he can be none other than the sixth Imam, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765); it is perfectly plausible that the son of one of his students or tradents should have written a historical work 54 years after the Imām's

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could have done so—i.e. that al-Sallāmī was his older contemporary. As al-Thaʿālibī was born in 350/961 (*GAL*, I, 284), it is unlikely that he would have been hearing poetry from al-Sallāmī before about 365/975. This year can thus be taken as approximating the earliest possible death date for this al-Sallāmī.

48. Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d. 347/958) reports details about a certain Maḥmūd al-Miṣrī who was a student of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834), saw al-Shāfiʿī (d. 804/820) as a boy, and heard a story about al-Shāfiʿī *majlis* from one of his students (Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, IV, 379:14-380:4). This Maḥmūd was thus probably born *ca.* 195/810, and engaged in studies through *ca.* 225/840. He refers to hearing al-Sallāmī speak about al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) at second remove, so a floruit of *ca.* 220-40/835-55 may be set for al-Sallāmī himself. This would also fit a report (*ibid.*, I, 392:14-393:1) of al-Sallāmī reciting poetry to the poet Jaḥẓa (224-326/839-938), on the one hand, and having information about the *wazīr* Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid (d. 211/827) at second remove (*ibid.*, I, 118:14-119:4), on the other.

49. See Etan Kohlberg, "Imam and Community in the Pre-*Ghayba* Period," in Said Amir Arjomand, ed., *Authority and Political Culture in Shiʿism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 37.

50. For further discussion of the response of literature to controversies prevailing in society at large, see Lawrence I. Conrad, "Arab-Islamic Medicine," in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds., *Companion Encyclopaedia in the History of Medicine* (London: Routledge, 1993), 686-93; and more generally, M. Rekaya, art. "al-Maʾmūn" in *EI²*, VI (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 331-39.

51. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 92ult.

52. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 390:3.

death. This line of investigation leads into the difficult issue of Ibn Aʿtham's informants, however, and this problem requires some prior consideration of the structure of the work as a whole.

The Structure of the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*

A read through Ibn Aʿtham's history will leave no doubt that he was a fervent supporter of the Shīʿa, not only in their legitimist claims to the caliphate, but also in their early doctrines concerning the religious knowledge of the Imāms, and in their highly emotional focus on the sufferings and travails of the ʿAlid line under the Umayyads. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is upheld as the Prophet's paternal cousin, the first male convert to Islam, a brave warrior, and an upright man; along more religious lines, he is described as free from error, passion, or fault, and as Muḥammad's *waṣī* and the heir to his knowledge.[53] He was the candidate most deserving of the caliphate after Muḥammad's death, and was deprived of his right on entirely specious grounds.[54] Of al-Ḥusayn, it is stated that he was "the most excellent of the progeny of the prophets" and the bearer of Muḥammad's staff (*qaḍīb*), and that the rendering of support to him was as much a personal religious duty as were prayer and almsgiving.[55] Foreknowledge of his death is bestowed upon Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and ʿAlī through vivid dreams, visions, and visitations by angels, and is linked with the events of the Apocalypse.[56] Supernatural phenomena and eschatological predictions are routinely evoked. Even the stars in the heavens and the plants on the earth weep at Karbalāʾ, for example, and a Jewish soothsayer pours abuse on the Umayyads when al-Ḥusayn is killed: had Moses left one of his descendants among the present-day Jews, he says, they would have worshipped him rather than God, but the Prophet had no sooner departed from the Arabs than they pounced upon his son (sic.) and killed him; he warns that the Torah decrees that anyone who kills the progeny of a prophet will forever after meet with defeat and upon his death will be roasted in the flames of hell.[57]

It is important to bear in mind that the Shīʿī emphasis of the text is not a matter of overtones or coloring, but rather of intense emotional involvement on the part of the author, and no small degree of polemic. Ibn Aʿtham himself was concerned about how his work would be received, and expressed anxiety to his patron (on whom more will be said below) over the possibility that his work would be mistaken for a *rāfiḍī* tract, and so bring them both into difficulty.[58]

In light of his Shīʿī emphasis, it is quite striking to see how frequently this perspective is directly contradicted elsewhere in the text. In the first volume, on the *ridda* wars and the

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53. *Ibid.*, 11, 466:11-18; III, 57:3, 74:1-12, 264:3-5. Many other examples of this kind could of course be adduced.

54. Ibn Aʿtham, *Bankipore Text*, 28:21-30:4 (= Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 246- 47, lines 166-203 of the Arabic text).

55. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, V, 13:2, 16:17, 39:10-13.

56. *Ibid.*, II, 4650.4-466:10; IV, 210:15-224:10.

57. *Ibid.*, IV, 222:10-223:5; V, 246:7-247:6.

58. Ibn Aʿtham, *Bankipore Text*, 30:5-8.

early conquests, Abū Bakr is on almost 80 occasions referred to as *al-ṣiddīq* or *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*. In one report, a tribesman of Tamīm argues that the Prophet gave no one knowledge for the sake of which others might follow him, and recites a verse pointing out that while Muḥammad deserved obedience, he appointed no successor to whom this obedience should then be transferred. These ideal openings for advancing Shīʿī or ʿAlid counterclaims are all missed, however, and the report ends with the thoroughly Sunnī argument that rejection of Abū Bakr's caliphate is tantamount to *kufr*.[59] Elsewhere, a conversation between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar concedes that ʿAlī is "a fair man acceptable to most of the people in view of his virtue, courage, close relationship to the Prophet, learning, sagacity, and the gentleness he shows in endeavors he undertakes"; but at the same time, it concludes that his gentleness makes him unsuited to military leadership.[60] Obedience to ʿUmar is obligatory, even if one doubts his judgment, because he is *amīr al-muʾminīn*, and ʿAlī himself exalts ʿUmar's merits, heaps praises upon him, calls him *al-fārūq*, and takes charge of his burial arrangements.[61] In a poem in which a Meccan comments on the failure of Ibn al-Zubayr to practice what he preaches, the poet upholds the conduct of ʿUmar as *al-fārūq* and aligns himself with the *sunna* of Abū Bakr, whom he calls *ṣiddīq al-nabī*.[62]

The phenomenon of a history which speaks with numerous voices is absolutely typical of early Arabic historiography, as Noth has conclusively shown, and betrays the origins of such texts. These were not original essays composed by single authors, whose own personal conceptions of the past would then be reflected in them, but rather were compilations based ultimately on large numbers of short reports set into circulation, transmitted, and recast by many people over long periods of time. It is this essentially compilatory character which accounts for the contradictions and discrepancies, even on fundamental issues, which one repeatedly encounters in these works.[63]

The *Kitāb al-futūḥ* is in many ways typical of these patterns of compilation, but whereas authors often wove their source materials together in such a way that signs of the process of compilation were rendered fairly subtle, Ibn Aʿtham made no effort to produce a history which would read as a unitary whole. The arrangement of material (especially in the first two thirds of the book) is, largely the product of selecting monographs on various subjects and linking them end-to-end. Breaks marking the transition from one source to another are not smoothed out or disguised, but overtly signaled. In a few cases this is done with collective *isnāds* (to which we shall return below), but most frequently it take the form of headings, some of which announce recourse to a new source with the word *ibtidāʾ* followed by the new subject.

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59. *Ibid.*, 1,60:8-61:17.

60. *Ibid.*, I, 72:1-11.

61. *Ibid.*, I, 218:3-6; II, 92ult-93:11.

62. *Ibid.*, V, 288:10.

63. See Albrecht Noth, "Der Charakter der ersten grössen Sammlungen von Nachrichten zur frühen Kalifenzeit," *Der Islam* 47 (1971), 168-99; *idem, Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen and Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung*, I. *Themen und Formen* (Bonn: Orientalische Seminar der Universität Bonn, 1973), 10-28; Stefan Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī (st. 207/822). Herkunft, Überlieferung, Gestalt früher Texte der Aḫbar Literatur* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1991).

The main sources for the text appear to consist of a limited number of monographs of the type usually ascribed to the *akhbārīs* of the second century AH.[64] Ibn Aʿtham's account of the election of Abū Bakr, for example, seems to be based on one earlier ʿAlid *Kitāb al-saqīfa*, which he refers to as *riwāyat al-ʿulamāʾ*,[65] and terminates with remarks suggesting that he has reached a point where his source also ends.[66] His narrative on the *ridda* also appears to be a summary from a single source;[67] it ends with a doxology which can only have come from a written monograph source, and which typifies Ibn Aʿtham's disinterest in smoothing out the rough edges as he shifted to a new subject to be covered from a new source: *inqaḍat akhbār al-ridda ʿan ākhirihī bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-mannihi wa-ḥusn taysīrihi wa-bi-ʿawnihi wa-ṣallā Allāh ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ʿalā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama taslīman kathīran*.[68] His treatment of the early conquests, which immediately follows, seems to have involved the interweaving of two texts: a *Futūḥ al-Shām* textually related to the *Futūḥ al-Shām* of al-Azdī (fl. ca. 180/796),[69] and a *Futūḥ al-ʿIrāq*.[70] Other *futūḥ* works are also in evidence for later periods, for example, concerning the conquest of Khurāsān, Armenia,[71] the Mediterranean islands,[72] and probably also Egypt.[73]

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64. On the themes of interest to these *akhbārīs*, see Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 29-58. The term *akhbārī* is a convenient substitute for the perhaps inappropriate term "historian", but it must be borne in mind that the authorities in question are not known to have called themselves *akhbārīyūn*, and that this term is first attested in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm (wr. *ca.* 377/987). See Stefan Leder, "The Literary Use of the *Khabar*: a Basic Form of Historical Writing," in Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East,* I: *Problems in. the Literary Source Material* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 314 n. 165.

65. See Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, I, 2:3-5:4, with the lacuna filled by the *Bankipore Text*, 20:16-30:8 (= Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 239-47). The title for this narrative is typical: *Dhikr ibtidāʾ saqīfat Banī Sāʿida wa-ma kana min al-muhājirīn wa-al-anṣār* (the *Bankipore Text*, 21:1, simply has *Akhbār saqīfa Banī Sāʿida*).

66. See below, p. XX (near note 134).

67. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 5:5-89:17 is defective; for the complete text, see the *Bankipore Text*, 30:9-125ult.

68. *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, I, 89:16-17; = *Bankipore Text*, 125:7-8.

69. See al-Azdī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, ed. William Nassau Lees (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1854). On this work, see my "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām: Some Historiographical Observations," in Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, ed., *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām during the Early Islamic Period up to 40 AH/640 AD* (Amman: University of Jordan, 1987), I, 28-62.

70. On the early *futūḥ* monographs, see Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 32-34.

71. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 108:1-116:12.

72. *Ibid.*, II, 117:14-146:11, with some interpolations. On this material, see Griffini, "Nuovi testi arabo-siculi," 402-15, especially on Sicily; Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād: a Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East," in Cameron and Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, I, 317-401. Note the curious way in which Ibn Aʿtham attempts to make the transition to this work from the preceding account of campaigns in Armenia by inserting a brief description of an Ethiopian maritime raid on baʿḍ sawāḥil al-muslimīn and resulting Muslim deliberations on how to respond (II, 116:13-117:13), as if the maritime campaigns in the Mediterranean could somehow be seen as the repercussions of this raid.

73. There seems to be a major lacuna where an account of Egypt would have stood. Volume I, most of which is attested only by the Gotha MS, suddenly breaks off as ʿUmar is about to write to ʿIyāḍ ibn Ghanm

In later volumes, accounts of the murder of ʿUthmān, the battle of Ṣiffīn, and the uprising of al-Ḥusayn are all prefaced with *isnād*s indicating that for these important events Ibn Aʿtham collected a number of works and drew on all of them to produce a single narrative covering the issues and details he wished to include: "I have combined what have heard of their accounts, despite their differences in wording, and have compiled [this material] uniformly into a single narrative".[74] There are many other areas, however, where important events appear to have been treated on the basis of either one or a very few monograph sources: the murder of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,[75] the *ghārāt*,[76] and the advent of the ʿAbbāsids,[77] for example. But even in such cases as these, the task of harmonizing information from sources was not one to which Ibn Aʿtham paid much attention. For his account of the rebellion of Zayd ibn ʿAlī (d. 122/740), for example, he seems to have had two sources. Setting out on the basis of one of them, he begins with a heading: *dhikr wilāyat Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar al-Thaqafī al-ʿIrāq wa-ibtidāʾ amr Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn wa-maqtalihi*.[78] But within three pages he finds that he needs to use material from the other source; he thus begins again from a somewhat different approach, complete with a new heading on exactly the same subject: *ibtidāʾ khabar Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn raḍiya, Allāh ʿanhum*.[79]

To this string of only superficially integrated sources Ibn Aʿtham has added numerous "interpolations". This term is used advisedly, since there is again nothing subtle about these additions, which often represent significant digressions. A heading or an *isnād* announces the beginning of the interpolation, and the end is frequently signaled with a phrase advising the reader that Ibn Aʿtham will now return to his main source or subject: *thumma rajaʿna ilā ḥadīth..., thumma rajaʿna ilā al-ḥadīth al-awwal, thumma rajaʿna ilā al-khabar*, and so forth.[80] On one occasion, it could hardly be made clearer that an account is being interpolated into the main narrative from some other source: *wa-hādhā dākhil fī*

(p. 334:1), and resumes with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ about to march against the Berbers (p. 349:1). The Persian text provided by the Hyderabad editors includes some details relevant to Egypt (pp. 346:16-349:11), but it is unlikely that this is all Ibn Aʿtham could say or wished to say about this important subject.

74. *Ibid.*, II, 149:2-3, 345:7-9. Cf. IV, 210:13-14.

75. *Ibid.*, II, 83:4-95:1, ending in a major lacuna.

76. Ibid., IV, 36:10-37:2. The section is entitled *Ibtidāʾ dhikr al-ghārāt baʿda Siffīn*, and opens with an *isnād* identifying this material as taken from the work of Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774) on the subject. Cf. Ursula Sezgin, Abū Miḥnaf. *Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umaiyadischen Zeit* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 56-58; *idem*, "Abū Miḥnaf... über ġārāt," 445-46.

77. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VIII, 153pu-211pu. This section begins with the heading: *wa-hādhā ibtidāʾ khabar Abī Muslim min awwalihi*; no source other than the *akhbārī* al-Madāʾinī is mentioned, but he is named twelve times (pp. 159:9-10, 160:9-10, 190:4, 17, 192:4, 14, 195:7, 196:7, 202:3, 205:6, 206:12, 207pu), and Ibn Aʿtham's source here was probably a history by this writer.

78. *Ibid.*, VIII, 108:3-4.

79. *Ibid.*, VIII, 110:15.

80. *Ibid.*, I, 114:6, 271:9; 11, 12:16, 18:9, 81:2, 467:1, 470:10, 472pu, 487:11, 493:11; III, 85:6, 93pu, 105:8, 135:11, 145:12, 169:12, 207:12, 317:4; IV, 224:11; V, 269:9; VI, 158:5; VII, 51:4, 107:11, 231:1, for some of the more obvious examples.

ḥadīth al-azāriqa.[81]

That sources and new information should be so roughly integrated suggests no particular skill as an *akhbārī*. And if we examine the interpolations to see what it was that Ibn Aʿtham sought to add to his sources, this conclusion is quickly confirmed. In many cases, his major interpolations are the stuff of popular folklore and pious legend. In his account of the conquest of Syria, for example, he intervenes with a long aside on al-Hilqām ibn al-Ḥārith, a warrior in Yemen in Jāhilīya times who bests the most outstanding Arab champions and proves to be a better fighter than a thousand men; eventually he converts to Islam and fights on the Muslim side in Syria.[82] There are extraordinary stories of leading Muslim warriors debating with Byzantine generals, and even Heraclius himself; one has Muslims going to Antioch, where they confront Heraclius and Jabala ibn al-Ayham, find that their conquests are predicted in the New Testament, and discover that the Emperor has in his possession a casket (*tābūt*) containing pictures of the prophets, including Muḥammad.[83] There are also late Umayyad accounts encouraging the *jihād* against Byzantium—for example, relating at length how "the ten penitent youths of Medina" gave up the joys of their *jawārī* to march off to fight the Rūm when they heard that the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) was organizing an expedition.[84] Iraq receives less attention of this kind, but also attracts some remarkable tales. In one, Yazdagird goes out to hunt and pursues an onager into the desert; when the onager has led him beyond earshot of his retinue, it turns to him and, "with God's permission", warns him to believe in his Lord and to refrain from *kufr*, otherwise he will lose his kingdom. The terrified ruler flees back to his palace and reports what has happened to his *mōbadhs* and his *asāwira*, who straightaway conclude that the doom foretold by the onager could only befall him at the hands of the Arabs currently active in his domains.[85]

Historical accounts are sometimes interrupted with *faḍāʾil* material on, for example, the congregational mosque of al-Kūfa, the province of Khurāsān, and even ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.[86] The supernatural element is often prominent: encounters with *hawātif* are described,[87] and where Shīʿī foci of piety and devotion are concerned there are frequent evocations of angelic visitations.[88] The Shīʿī tenor, of course, also arises in other ways in Ibn Aʿtham's interpolations. Traditions of the Prophet have it that Muḥammad forbade that any candidate of the Sufyānid line should assume the caliphate, cautioned the believers to separate Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ anytime they are seen together ("they will not be sitting together pondering anything good"), and commanded that if they see Muʿāwiya

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81. *Ibid.*, VII, 52:5-7.

82. Ibid., I, 104:12-114:6. On the "thousandman", the *hazārmard* of Persian tradition, see Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 152.

83. Ibn Aʿtham, Kitāb al-futūḥ, I, 126:1-132:5.

84. See *ibid.*, VII, 171:1-184:1, referred to in the heading as a *khabar ḥasan*.

85. *Ibid.*, I, 161:13-162:6.

86. *Ibid.*, 1, 286:17-288:11; II, 78:1-81:1, 92:16-94:8.

87. E.g. *ibid.*, I, 249ult-253:5, two especially interesting cases.

88. E.g. *ibid.*, IV, 210ult-224:10, a series of stories on such matters.

"on my *minbar*", they should slit him open from belly to spine.[89] Pious narratives describe al-Ḥusayn's distress as he bends over his mortally wounded father, weeping and calling down curses on Ibn Muljam, while ʿAlī himself tries to calm his son and assures him that "what is ordained will come".[90] Muʿāwiya is the subject of numerous moralizing or entertaining anecdotes promoting ʿAlid or Shīʿī positions;[91] and Zaynab, "so eloquent that it was as if she were speaking through the mouth of her father," upbraids the Kūfans after Karbalāʾ.[92]

All this was, of course, the stock and trade of the early Muslim *qāṣṣ*, and there can be little doubt that Ibn Aʿtham was just such a pious storyteller, in this case from a Shīʿī perspective. As such, his interest was not so much in the final shape of his history, or the extent to which it did or did not hold together as a whole, as it was in the various discrete contents of the work and the themes they could be used to illustrate. Sources were selected for their "*qiṣaṣ*-appeal" and didactic merit, and to the resulting mélange were added other reports and tales which he happened to know. In fact, it is likely that the transitional phrases and headings which strike the modern reader as crude and indicative of poor integration in many cases reflect a subtler purpose: as these transition points were so obvious, the reader could not fail to distinguish stories introduced by Ibn Aʿtham, and thus to be credited to his talents as a *qāṣṣ*, from those which were already present in his main monograph sources. Further, stories from such a loosely assembled text could easily be extracted and related separately. To judge from his book, Ibn Aʿtham must have done this many times himself with his own sources and materials, and it is from the recitation of precisely such excerpts that his Kitāb al-futūḥ came to the attention of the later unknown figure who commissioned al-Mustawfī's translation.[93]

Once Ibn Aʿtham is recognized as a *qāṣṣ*, and of the Shīʿa into the bargain, the question of why he is such an obscure figure immediately becomes clearer. He was not a scholar of Sunnī or Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, and did not pursue a line of studies which would have attracted students to himself. And in his own day his work was probably not esteemed as much more than what it really was, a loose compendium of material which, while including historical works among its sources, was assembled with popular preaching and storytelling in mind. With no great work to preserve the memory of his name, or students to cite him in their *silsilas*, he quickly faded to anonymity and did not attract the attention of later compilers of biographical literature. Even among Sunnī *muḥaddithūn*, who predictably dismissed him as *ḍaʿīf*, he gained so little notice that he appears in none of the extant *rijal al-sanad* or

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89. *Ibid.*, II, 390:3-8; V, 24:12-13.

90. *Ibid.*, II 466:11-18. The medieval reader would of course have realized instantly the powerful import of this statement—it applied not only to ʿAlī, but to al-Ḥusayn as well.

91. *Ibid.*, III, 89:3-93:9, 101:4-105:7, 134:1-135:10, 142:9-145:11, 204:11-207:10. The same basic narrative form prevails in these tales: "after that", as Muʿāwiya and his courtiers sit in his *majlis*, someone asks leave to enter and is admitted; a repartee follows, usually with liberal citation of poetry.

92. *Ibid.*, V, 222:4-226:2.

93. See al-Mustawfī, *Tarjama-i Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 2:3.

ḍuʿafāʾ works.[94]

The transparent way in which Ibn Aʿtham uses sources to compile his history invites the conclusion that it would be an easy matter to recover these sources from the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. But recent research has shown that the works of the *akhbārīs* betray a significant creative dimension; compilers not only collected and assembled material, but also reshaped and revised it to suit their own needs and interests.[95] As a result, blocks of text attributed to a certain author do not necessarily represent the text exactly as that author left it, and any effort to recover a lost source thus becomes a most painstaking and difficult task.

A *qāṣṣ* like Ibn Aʿtham would have been no less likely to have engaged in such revision, and there are in fact obvious signs of this in his history. A useful illustration is his account of the "thousandman" al-Hilqām ibn al-Ḥārith.[96] The story begins by describing how the Arabs in days of yore used to raid and kill one another, their greatest warriors being ʿĀmir ibn Ṭufayl al-ʿĀmirī, ʿAntara ibn Shaddād al-ʿAbsī, and al-ʿAbbās ibn Mirdās al-Sulamī. On one occasion, these three, accompanied by a thousand of the finest warriors of Qays, set out on an expedition in which they wreaked great slaughter, defeated every foe they encountered, and won much booty. They then decided to return home, and when they arrived, they each in turn recited verse in which they boasted of their exploits to the people. In the original story, the poetry would of course have been cited at length, but here not a line of it appears; Ibn Aʿtham simply states the order in which the three warriors spoke, betraying with repeated recourse to an introductory *qāla* the fact that he has dropped all of the verses.[97] Another *qāla* then introduces the statement that "they continued on with the booty and goods until they came to a wadi near the land of Yemen...", which marks another gap, since we have just been told that the intent of the warriors had been to return home.[98] When they confront al-Hilqām, the combatants are all said to have recited *rajaz* verses (*wa-huwa yartajizu*) as they came forth to fight, but whereas the original story would surely have cited these verses, Ibn Aʿtham again drops them entirely.[99]

Close analysis of his history would provide a sharper picture of how Ibn Aʿtham handled his material, but for present purposes it is already clear that he did not simply copy out what was available to him. Like other authors of his day, he considered it entirely legitimate to engage in revision. For modern historians, this means that the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* must be regarded not only in terms of numerous major sections comprised of older sources and interrupted by various interpolations and asides, but also with a view to the possibility of changes and revisions by Ibn Aʿtham to both types of material. And as will be seen below, it is further possible that revision was undertaken again, once the first two thirds of

94. Our only indication that he was noticed at all appears in a negative comment on his reliability in Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, 1, 379:2: *wa-huwa ʿinda aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth ḍaʿīf*. Yāqūt's source for this observation is unknown.

95. See Leder, *Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī*, 8-14; Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād," 391-95.

96. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, I, 104:12-114:6.

97. *Ibid.*, I, 105:6-9.

98. *Ibid.*, I, 105:10-11.

99. *Ibid.*, I,108pu-109pu.

the text had already been finished.

Continuations of the Text in the Third/Ninth Century

The abrupt transitions, digressions, and discontinuities in the text, together with the formulae used to mark them, highlight some very important aspects of the structure of the work as a whole. But at the same time, they have served to obscure the most important transition of all. In his account of the caliphate of al-Rashīd (r. 170-93/786-809), Ibn Aʿtham provides only three paragraphs on this ruler before the appearance of the terminating sentence: *tamma Kitāb al-futūḥ*.[100] That is, the text as composed by Ibn Aʿtham ends at this point, and the rest of the work as we have it today comprises a continuation, or *dhayl*.

Confirmation of this comes from the account of Ibn Aʿtham by Yāqūt, who describes as follows the material available to him:

> He wrote... a *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, a well-known work in which he discusses [events] to the days of al-Rashīd, and a *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* [extending] to the end of the days of al-Muqtadir and beginning with the days of al-Maʾmūn, such that it is practically a continuation (*dhayl*) of the former. I have seen both books.[101]

This suggestion of two histories, one continuing the other, points to a common phenomenon in Arabic literature,[102] but it is very unlikely that Ibn Aʿtham intended that the main text should terminate the way it does. He provides a domestic anecdote, refers to the size and complexity of the ʿAbbāsid court and bureaucracy under al-Rashīd, and describes the immense wealth gained by this caliph, and with that the text just stops. There are no concluding eulogies or praises of God and the Prophet, as one often finds at the end of an Islamic text, and there is no apparent reason for why the book should terminate at this point. One may thus conclude that Ibn Aʿtham was suddenly unable to proceed any further, and although we cannot "know" what it was that cut short his work, his death would of course be one plausible explanation.

If the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* ended at this point, then the material following must belong to some other work, and there immediately arises the question of whether this last section is the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* seen by Yāqūt. In all likelihood it is. This new section devotes 99 pages to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, beginning in the reign of al-Rashīd, in much the same way that the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* had covered, at much greater length, the history of earlier times. Its function is precisely that of a *dhayl*, as Yāqūt observed, although it is uncertain whether the title he gives it was the original one (assuming that there was an original one). Yāqūt's reference to seeing "both books" (*al-kitābayn*) could be taken as meaning texts in two separate MSS, but it is at least as likely, and perhaps more so, that what he had was very similar to what survives today: a history with its *dhayl* continuing on in the same MS, but with a title provided to announce the beginning of the new work.

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100. *Ibid.*, VIII, 244ult.

101. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, I, 379:2-5.

102. See Caesar E. Farah, *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967).

One point on which Yāqūt errs, however, is his assumption that the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* (as the *dhayl* will henceforth be called here) was the work of Ibn Aʿtham. It is immediately clear how he arrived at this conclusion: the *dhayl* opens with an *isnād* which begins *ḥaddathanī Abū Muḥammad*, and Abū Muḥammad was the *kunya* of Ibn Aʿtham. Further, the continuator followed the example set by Ibn Aʿtham in offering only loosely integrated materials, making extensive use of headings or *isnāds* to mark separate narratives, and continuing the popular tenor of the original in his *dhayl*. It was thus an easy matter to conclude that both parts of the text had been composed by Ibn Aʿtham.

There are, however, a number of clear indications that the *dhayl* cannot be the work of Ibn Aʿtham. This is, of course, already the working hypothesis with which we must begin: if Ibn Aʿtham was unable to complete the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, then the material following on where it breaks off is not likely to be his.

The reference to "Abū Muḥammad" in the *isnād* opening the *dhayl* of course proves nothing, since this *kunya* was a very common one. Direct indication of a change in authorship arises in the fact that as one moves to the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, the interest in Shīʿī issues disappears. Ibn Aʿtham had pursued such matters not just to the time of Karbalāʾ, but beyond this, if with much decreased intensity, to later affairs of special concern to the Shīʿa. The pro-ʿAlid poet al-Kumayt (d. 126/743), for example, receives considerable attention,[103] as do the risings of Zayd ibn ʿAlī (d. 122/740) and his son Yaḥyā (d. 125/743).[104] This stands in sharp contrast to the situation in the *dhayl*, which has not a word to say about any of the persecutions suffered by the ʿAlids and their supporters under the early ʿAbbāsids, nor of the *bayʿa* sworn to ʿAlī al-Riḍā in 201/816, or of his death under obscure circumstances in 203/818. It is true that no historian would have failed to recognize such subjects as sensitive areas of discussion, but while this would explain a lack of any effort to lay blame at the door of the ruling house, it does not account for the way in which the *dhayl* entirely ignores the ʿAlids and the Shīʿa.[105]

Also revealing is the fact that while the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* occasionally betrays its use of a source or sources written according to some basic annalistic principle,[106] it more usually relies, as we have already seen, upon the sort of *akhbārī*-style topical monographs that were in circulation in the late second century AH. The *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, on the other hand, is based on materials which reflect a much more developed stage in the evolution of Arabic historical writing, organized according to reigns of caliphs or annalistic chronology. The author of the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* routinely cites the dates of important events to the day, uses such introductory formulae of the annalistic tradition as *fa-lamma dakhalat sana...*,[107] ends the section on each caliph with *sīrat al-khulafāʾ* material setting forth the ruler's physical

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103. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VIII, 82:6-97:13.

104. *Ibid.*, VIII, 108:3-129ult.

105. On these matters, more will be said below.

106. See, e.g., *ibid.*, VIII, 82:4, stating "and in that year Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī was imprisoned", although the year in question has not been mentioned earlier.

107. On the annalistic organization of historical texts according to the *hijra* reckoning as a secondary development, see Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 40-44.

appearance, moral demeanor, and culture,[108] and sometimes shows concern for identifying the leader of the annual pilgrimage.[109]

After the passage announcing the end of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, the text continues with twenty pages on the reign of al-Rashīd, almost half of them dealing with the caliph's relations with al-Shāfiʿī.[110] This material on al-Shāfiʿī is introduced by *isnād*s citing as their immediate informant "Abū Muḥammad", which at first glance, as we have seen, may seem to refer to Ibn Aʿtham; in fact, al-Majlisī took this to indicate that Ibn Aʿtham was himself a Shāfiʿī.[111] But this is certainly not the case, nor is it possible that these reports could even have been known to our author, or to anyone else of his time. Al-Shāfiʿī is described as *al-imām*, the *sunna* of the Prophet is treated as an already established keystone in some "Shāfiʿī" system, and the master's death is described as an occasion for much grief among a large throng of followers. While it may be conceded that al-Shāfiʿī enjoyed prestige and influence in his own lifetime, and that the collection and dissemination of his teachings began very soon after his death,[112] the material here clearly presupposes the existence of a Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in a form sufficiently coherent to make the master the subject of considerable veneration. Now, as we shall see below, Ibn Aʿtham was probably working on the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* after AH 204, which is both the date given by al-Mustawfī for the completion of the Arabic text and the year of al-Shāfiʿī's death. But as his father had been a student of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, it is unlikely that Ibn Aʿtham lived long enough past AH 204 for accounts referring to al-Shāfiʿī in this way to have been in circulation in his day.[113] If there be any doubts about this, they are dispelled by the fact that one of the two *akhbār* on al-Shāfiʿī is cited on the authority of al-Mubarrad,[114] who died in 285/898, almost eighty years after the benchmark date of AH 204 for Ibn Aʿtham's work on the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. The *isnād* citing him begins with the name of "Abū Muḥammad", who has the account of al-Mubarrad through "one of the men of learning", which indicates that the *kunya* "Abū Muḥammad" here, and probably also in the isnād at the beginning of the *dhayl*, refers to someone who lived at least a decade or so after al-Mubarrad.

The text which Yāqūt knew as the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* is thus a *dhayl* composed no earlier

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108. Noth (*ibid.*, 37-38) regards the theme of *sirāt al-khulafāʾ* as primary, in that it does not in any manifest way derive from some other theme, but while this may be the case, the presumptions (e.g. the caliph as the center of political authority) and articulation (e.g. knowledge of minute personal details) of the theme suggest a perhaps relatively late development.

109. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VIII, 253:1-2, 272ult-273:1, 275:7-276:9, 298:4, 300:5, 307pu-308:2, 317:12, 321:1, 322:11-12, 323:9, 13, 325:4-5, 330:15-16, 18, 339ult-343:11, 346:13, 352:13-14, 354:14-15.

110. *Ibid.*, VIII, 245:1-263:10.

111. Al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, VII, 429. I have not seen the passage in the *Biḥār al-anwār* to which al-Amin refers.

112. Al-Rabīʿ ibn Sulaymān al-Murādī (d. 270/883-84) was already transmitting the *Kitāb al-umm* in Egypt in 207/822-23, only three years after the master's death. See al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-umm* (Cairo: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-amīrīya al-kubrā, AH 1321), II, 93:19.

113. On the rise of the Shāfiʿī *madhdhab*, see Heinz Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1974), 15-31.

114. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VIII, 252:8-9.

than the very end of the third/ninth century, which is far too late to have be written by Ibn Aʿtham. Further, it is not the work of a single continuator. Having just related some developments pertaining to al-Rashīd's joint nomination of his sons Muḥammad (the future caliph al-Amīn) and ʿAbd Allāh (al-Maʾmūn) to the caliphate, the text again confronts us with an abrupt and unexpected turn of direction:

> These are some fine narratives concerning al-Rashīd which I wrote down on the authority of a certain litterateur and added them in your [copy of the] book (*wa-alḥaqtuhā bi-kitābika*) so that you might peruse them, for they really are choice tales.[115]

This is followed by four akhbār, all anecdotes focusing on the impressive education and overall worthiness of al-Rashīd's sons (especially Muḥammad),[116] and concluding with the heading: *thumma rajaʿna ilā al-khabar al-awwal min amr al-Rashīd wa-ibnayhi Muḥammad wa-ʿAbd Allāh*,[117] indicating a return to his point of departure in the basic text of the *dhayl*.

Upon initial reflection the reference to "your book" may seem to be addressed to the unknown author of the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, i.e. by a student or younger protégé. But a closer look will reveal that this is unlikely. The language, suggesting that the writer has taken the liberty of adding material from someone else so that the person addressed might thereby learn something, would be outrageous presumption if addressed by a student to his teacher. On the other hand, it is absolutely typical of how writers of the third century AH and later would posture before a patron. The phrase *bi-kitābika*, literally "in your book", would thus mean "in your [copy of the] book", an entirely acceptable sense for such a phrase.

The material introduced by this heading thus marks the beginning of an interpolation by some scribe copying the text for a patron or client. This interpolation clearly extends only to the end of the fourth anecdote, as the scribe is at pains to advise the reader—to whit, his patron—that he is now returning the text to its original subject, the prelude to the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. In introducing this section, he follows Ibn Aʿtham's own method in the main body of the book, and in closing it he uses the same

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115. *Ibid.*, VIII, 263:11-43.

116. The anecdotes consist of the following tales: 1) ʿAlī ibn Ḥamza al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/865) reports on how, in 183/799, he was asked by al-Rashīd to examine his sons to see how well they had been educated. The examination is followed by praises for the caliph and his son, and interspersed with verses of poetry and comments on grammar. 2) Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. *ca.* 180/796) tells how he was charged by al-Rashīd to tutor Muḥammad. As the caliph's demands were quite stern, the instruction was very demanding. Muḥammad complained to Khāliṣa, his mother's slave attendant; she asked Khalaf to relent, but he refused. 3) This links with the second anecdote, and here Khāliṣa tells Khalaf how Zubayda, Muḥammad's mother, had an ominous dream about him. Despite the reassurances of astrologers and dream interpreters, she continues to be anxious about the dream's meaning and its import for her son. 4) The section closes with an anecdote related by the future *ḥājib* of al-Amīn, al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabīʿ, on the prince and his educational training. The tale stresses that as Muḥammad shares the Prophet's name and his epithet al-Amīn (Quraysh, he says, called the Prophet by this name before the *mabʿath*), he may be the *amīr* whom the *ʿulamāʾ* say will come to spread justice, revive the *sunna*, and stamp out oppression.

117. *Ibid.*, VIII, 272:15-16.

technique (a heading) and wording (*thumma rajaʿna ilā...*). That is, having recognized how Ibn Aʿtham had worked interpolations into the framework of his sources in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, the scribe proceeded to add material to the *dhayl* in the very same way.

It is also possible that this same scribe (or some other one, for that matter) made similar additions elsewhere in the text, but in such a way that the interpolation does not draw immediate notice. Such activity, of course, would not necessarily be limited to the *dhayl*. In the main body of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* (i.e. before the beginning of the *dhayl*), one of al-Mansūr's daughters tells a tale of how her grandmother, pregnant with the future caliph, dreamed that a lion came forth from her and received the homage of all the other predatory beasts.[118] As it happens, the immediate informant for this story is al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Muqriʾ al-Baghdādī, who died in Baghdād in 301/914.[119] Assuming that this figure was an informant of the scribe, this latter person's interpolations into the book could be dated roughly to the first half of the fourth century AH. The problem with this proposition, however, is that the Arabic text is clearly defective right where the interpolation from al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥubāb begins, and this anomalous passage may well have been just a marginal note in the MS which was copied into the main body of the text by mistake.[120] If this was an interpolation by the scribe, it seems to have been a exceptional case; there are no other similarly obvious instances of such additions within the main body of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*.

Once the *dhayl* returns to its original author, it continues for 82 pages and covers the death of al-Rashīd, the caliphates of al-Amīn (r. 193-98/809-13) and al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-33), and the first half of the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-27/833-42).[121] This material includes narratives for numerous events of this period, but again in a highly incidental fashion. For the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim it provides only brief references to the foundation of Sāmarrāʾ in 220/835 and two versions of the defeat and execution of Bābak in 222/837. At this point the text suddenly states:

> The length of his caliphate was the same as that of Shīrawayh, son of Kisrā, murderer of his father. He lived to the age of 24, and his death took place in Sāmarrāʾ in Al-Qaṣr al-Muhadhdhab (sic.).[122]

This of course can have nothing to do with al-Muʿtaṣim, who died after a reign of eight and a half years at the age of 46 or 47.[123] The comparison is rather the well-known one between the six-month reign of the Sasanian ruler Shīrawayh and the six-month reign

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118. *Ibid*., VIII, 211ult-212:4.

119. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1349/1931), VIII, 301:4-302:2, no. 3813.

120. There are, in fact, a number of marginal notes in MSS of this work, some of them quite long and providing supplementary material relevant to the topics under discussion in the main text.

121. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VIII, 263:11-353ult.

122. *Ibid*., VIII, 353:1-3.

123. See al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje *et al*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879-1901), III, 1323pu-1324:4.

of al-Muntaṣir 247-48/861-62), who did in fact die at the Al-Qaṣr al-Muḥdath palace in Sāmarrāʾ at the age of 24 or 25.[124] Ibn Aʿtham's identification of the caliph's deathplace as Al-Qaṣr al-Muhadhdhab may easily be dismissed as a manifest error by the scribe or modern editor.[125]

For present purposes the import of all this is that the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* fails to say a word about the caliphates of al-Wāthiq (r. 227-32/842-47) and al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-47/847-61), and this seems to mark a further break and a new stage in the elaboration of the text. That a different hand is at work where the narrative resumes is also indicated by the fact that while the earlier material consisted of detailed narrative, this new stage comprises only a brief summary of caliphal chronology, providing nothing but accession and death dates and ending with the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn in 252/866. As nothing is said about the end of the three-year reign of his successor al-Muʿtazz (r. 252-55/866-69), it would at first seem that this final stage was the work of someone writing in the brief reign of this caliph.

But this is of course impossible. If the author of the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* was writing late enough to cite an *isnād* in which al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) figures at third remove, which would mean that al-Mubarrad was probably long since deceased by that author's time, then in the party responsible for extending the *dhayl* even further we cannot be dealing with someone who could have been active in the 250s/860s.

Here we may return to Yāqūt's comment that the manuscript he saw extended to the reign of al-Muqtadir (r. 95-320/908-32). This suggests that the text as we have it is defective at the end. The extent of the lost material is difficult to judge, and would depend on how long into the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim the detailed content of Ibn Aʿtham's continuator, the author of the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, extended. An attractive hypothesis would be that as so often happened with medieval MSS, only the last folio was damaged, with loss of text to both recto and verso, most likely to the lower half of the page. If this was the case, then only some lines of text would have been affected. Circumstantial support for this explanation may be seen in the fact that the text at this point offers only a few key dates, and so would not have required more than a few lines to reach the reign of al-Muqtadir. For present purposes the important point is that what stands at the end of the extant text is not really its proper end, but rather a fragment probably representing the only legible part of a damaged terminus. Had this damage not occurred, our text would probably accord with Yāqūt's description of a text extending to the time of al-Muqtadir. The gap may have existed only in the textual transmission underlying the Ahmet III MS, but as there is no other manuscript material for this part of the text, it is impossible to pursue this matter further.

Development within Ibn Aʿtham's Text

We may now turn our attention to a major problem within the original *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. As we have seen, the text for which Ibn Aʿtham himself was responsible extends only to

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124. *Ibid.*, III, 1498:8-13.

125. On Al-Qaṣr al-Muḥdath, see Ernst Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (Hamburg: Verlag Von Eckardt und Messtorff, 1948), 216, 227.

the opening passages concerning the caliphate of al-Rashīd. But this does not tally with the Persian translation, which ends with the immediate aftermath of Karbalāʾ. The discrepancy cannot be attributed to al-Mustawfī's use of an incomplete Arabic MS, since he knows that the Arabic text was written in ᴀʜ 204. As this sort of information would almost certainly have been provided in a terminal colophon, his Arabic MS must have been complete up to and including this colophon. Nor can an explanation be sought in an incomplete Persian translation, since, as we have seen above, al-Mustawfī's rendering was finished after his death by al-Mābarnābādī. One must conclude, then, that an Arabic MS of the *Kitāb al futūḥ*, complete to a terminal colophon dated ᴀʜ 204, was translated in its entirely into Persian; and this, in turn, suggests that at first Ibn Aʿtham brought his text down only as far as Karbalāʾ.

Turning to the Arabic text as we have it today, the factors at work here may be explained in terms of the author's motives and aims in compiling his book. It is amply clear that while Ibn Aʿtham may have brought no particular skill as a compiler to his task, he did have some overarching agenda in mind. This is hinted at in several passages in the book itself. In volume VIII, at the end of his account of a Khārijite rebellion against the Umayyad caliph Marwān ibn Muḥammad, Ibn Aʿtham observes that the demise of the Umayyad regime was close at hand and then suddenly states:

> This then—may God honor you—is the last of the *futūḥ*, and after this we begin with *akhbār* on Naṣr ibn Sayyār, al-Kirmānī, and Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī al-Khurāsānī.[126]

This is followed by a major heading: *Ibtidāʾ khabar Khurāsān maʿa Naṣr ibn Sayyār wa-Judayʿ ibn ʿAlī al-Kirmānī wa-Abī Muslim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim*, which introduces the continuation of the text from the point where Ibn Aʿtham had just broken off. From this it would seem that he considered it difficult to carry the theme of *futūḥ* past the campaigns and expeditions of the later Umayyads, and hence felt a bit self-conscious at continuing his *Kitāb al-futūḥ* into an era in which the specific theme of *futūḥ* could no longer be the primary concern. This solicitude for the integrity of some notion of *futūḥ* emerges again in his account of the reign of al-Mahdī (r. 158-69/775-85), where the text advises the reader that "concerning al-Mahdī there are narratives (*akhbār*) and fireside tales (*asmār*) which are not relevant to the subject of *futūḥ*".[127] That is, Ibn Aʿtham considers that he is still writing on the subject of *futūḥ* and the irrelevance of the accounts in question to this topic is the reason why Ibn Aʿtham is not going to cite them here.

Exactly what this notion of *futūḥ* was is difficult to judge, but may be viewed in relation to the fact that by the dawn of the third century ᴀʜ, Muslim audiences were accustomed to the presentation of *futūḥ* within the framework of Islamic salvation history: military conflict was a means through which the will and plan of God were realized on earth, with the outcome establishing the divinely ordained order, and, at the same time, rewarding the righteous and God-fearing and punishing their enemies and opponents.[128] The archetypical

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126. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VIII, 145:17-18.

127. *Ibid.*, VIII, 239:8-9.

128. For the general background to such writing, see John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian. Milieu: Content*

paradigm for this was the conquest of Syria, which not only established true religion in a new land, but also, on the one hand, rewarded the Muslims for responding to God's summons to believe in Him and abandon their old pagan ways, and on the other, punished the Rūm for their tyranny, injustice, and above all, disbelief.[129] To an audience already familiar with such paradigms, Ibn Aʿtham offered a popular history which situated the Shīʿī case against a backdrop of military conflict: just as God's will had been worked out in the conquests which achieved the expansion of Islam, so also it would be in the strife which marked the course of the Umayyad caliphate, continued to plague the ʿAbbāsids, and repeatedly had dire consequences for the Shīʿa and the ʿAlid line.

Pursuing such a comprehensive view of history in terms of *futūḥ*, would only be meaningful, of course, if it could be brought to a satisfactory conclusion: that is, where in Ibn Aʿtham's scheme of things was the al-Yarmūk required to mark the fruition of divine design? This was surely not to be seen in the debacle at Karbalāʾ, where the Persian translation ends, much less in the reign of al-Rashīd, where the author's original Arabic terminates.

If we attach primary significance to the year AH 204 itself, rather than to the point reached in the text by that time, a very attractive hypothesis immediately arises for our consideration. Only six weeks into this year (Ṣafar 204/August 819), the triumphant entry of al-Maʾmūn into Baghdad marked the end of a decade of terrible civil war which had brought much destruction and suffering to the capital itself. The question of the greater meaning and import of a communal history marked by continual military strife was thus one that must have been on the minds of many as the war entered its final stages and then gave way to recovery and the re-establishment of order. But at a key point in the conflict, an event of particular importance to the Shīʿa also occurred. In 201/816-17, al-Maʾmūn had the eighth Imam, ʿAlī ibn Mūsā, taken to his residence at Marw, and there proclaimed him his successor to the caliphate with the title of al-Riḍā. The Imam was married to one of al-Maʾmūm's daughters, and the black banners of the ʿAbbāsid house were replaced by the green ones of the line of the Prophet. To the expanding Shīʿī community back in Baghdad, this move must have come as a complete surprise: al-Maʾmūn's ʿAlid proclivities were not unknown, but ʿAlī ibn Mūsā was far older than the caliph, and hitherto he had been living a secluded life of quiet devotion to scholarship in Medina.[130] The impact of the announcement would in any case have been enormous; after more than 150 years of rule by usurpers, the rightful reunion of political and religious authority in the person of the

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and Composition of Islamic Salvation History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), esp. 1-49; and more generally, Bernd Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 160-68.

129. See Conrad, "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests," 39-40, esp. n. 46; *idem*, "Conquest of Arwād," 369-70.

130. See Francesco Gabrieli, *Al-Maʾmūn e gli ʿAlidi* (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1929), 29-47; Dominique Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife ʿabbâside al-Maʾmûn," *Revue des études islamiques* 30 (1962), 27-48; Tilman Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam. Geschichte der politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen der Muslime* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1981), I, 170-84; Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: a Political History* (London: Groom Helm, 1981), 157-61.

Imam could at last be realistically anticipated.

To a *qāṣṣ* and aspiring author like Ibn Aʿtham, the prospect of the accession of the Imam to the caliphate would have been especially significant. The violent repression which had periodically been brought to bear against advocates of Shīʿī claims under earlier ʿAbbāsid caliphs[131] would not have encouraged the production of a Shīʿī view of Islamic history, however crudely pieced together it may have been. This is not to suggest that pro-Shīʿī literature had not been produced in earlier years—it certainly had, and much of it was in fact used by Ibn Aʿtham. But the invective in such literature had been reserved for the Umayyads, who had been overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids and could easily be vilified without consideration for the consequences. A comprehensive history, however, would carry the narrative into the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and Ibn Aʿtham's own contemporary period, where the prevailing mood of the times would not have encouraged the composition of a history focusing on the ʿAlids and the Shīʿa, which by al-Maʾmūn's reign had already suffered major repression. The proclamation of ʿAlī al-Riḍā as *walī al-ʿahd*, however, not only signaled that the way was clear for a general exposition of the history which had brought the *umma* to the brink of this great event, but also provided a culminating point with which a narrative could most appropriately end: the theme of *futūḥ*, articulated from the *ridda* wars through the early Islamic conquests, the travails of the ʿAlid family, and the further expansion of Islam under the Umayyads, and ending with the great civil war between al-Maʾmūn and al-Amīn, would climax in the dramatic fulfillment of divine plan with the promise of a caliphate which would bring Shīʿī aspirations to fruition.[132]

To whom would such a history have been directed? Any number of possibilities could be advanced, but an especially revealing passage at the end of Ibn Aʿtham's discussion of the election of Abū Bakr at the Saqīfa Banī Sāʿida narrows the options down significantly. Here our author concludes the section as follows:

> This, may God honor you, is what happened at the Saqīfat Banī Sāʿida. This is the recension of the religious scholars, and here I have not wished to write down anything of the additions [introduced by] the Rāfiḍa; for were this book to fall into the hands of someone other than yourself, it could have certain implications even for you, may God preserve you.[133]

The first thing this passage establishes is that the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* was a commissioned work: Ibn Aʿtham did not proceed at his own initiative, but was working for a patron.

But who was the patron? Ḥamīd Allāh, who thought the *Bankipore Text* was the *Kitāb al-ridda of al-Wāqidī*, suggested that this passage might have been addressed to the caliph al-Maʾmūn.[134] This could as easily be proposed with respect to Ibn Aʿtham, but cannot

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131. For a summary, see Bernard Lewis, art. "ʿAlids" in *EI²*, I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), I, 402b.

132. It goes without saying, of course, that many would have observed that ʿAlī al-Riḍā, being older than al-Maʾmūn in the first place, might never accede to the throne, and that even if he did, no commitments had been made to the legitimacy of continuing ʿAlid claims after his death.

133. Ibn Aʿtham, *Bankipore Text*, 31:5-8; = Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 247:204206.

134. Ibn Aʿtham, *Bankipore Text*, 30 n. 2.

be the case where a work finished in AH 204 is concerned, since Ibn Aʿtham must have begun work on the text much earlier, i.e. when al-Maʾmūn was far away to the east and preoccupied with much more important matters.

On the other hand, the passage could have been addressed to a high-ranking official among the caliph's supporters in Baghdad. Such an official, whose identity seems beyond reach, would have merited the honorifics which Ibn Aʿtham addresses to him, and at the same time would have shared the author's concern lest they both come to be associated with a text taken for a *rāfiḍī* tract. In a circumstantial fashion, the possibility of such patronage is supported by the fact that Ibn Aʿtham did, as we shall see, have close contacts with numerous personalities who had been members of the imperial entourage under earlier ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

These concerns soon became moot, however, for Ibn Aʿtham's enterprise to fashion a popular history promoting a Shīʿī vision of the Islamic past would have suffered a devastating blow in Shaʿbān 203/September—October 818, when ʿAlī al-Riḍā suddenly died under suspicious circumstances in Ṭūs. The arrival of the news in Baghdad some weeks later would have rendered any history conceived along these lines pointless, and it would thus come as no surprise to find the author of such a work abandoning his task, at least for the time being. If one searches for a telltale caesura in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, it clearly appears after Karbalāʾ. The text up to this point reflects all the zeal and fervor which one would expect from a *qāṣṣ* writing in the aftermath of ʿAlī al-Riḍā's appointment as *walī al-ʿahd*, and the fact that this ends with Karbalāʾ, and that the Persian translation also ends there, simply indicates the point at which the dramatic setback represented by the death of ʿAlī al-Riḍā compelled Ibn Aʿtham to suspend work on his book. That is, the text available to aI-Mustawfii 400 years later was a full copy of the book as Ibn Aʿtham left it in AH 204—a first recension, as it were.

If this hypothesis is valid, then the remainder of the text, up to the reign of al-Rashīd, must represent later work by Ibn Aʿtham, and in it we should expect to see signs of the difficulties encountered in continuing a work when its original plan and aim had been irretrievably compromised. This is plainly in evidence in the remainder of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* after Karbalāʾ. The former zeal is gone, and while developments relevant to the Shīʿa continue to be discussed, they suggest no particular interpretation; the Imāms themselves seem deliberately to be avoided, the oppressive measures taken against the Shīʿa by al-Manṣūr (r. 136-58/754-75) and al-Hādī (r. 169-70/785-S6) go unnoticed, and ʿAlid rebellions against the ʿAbbāsids are passed over in silence. One might readily see why Ibn Aʿtham, writing at the seat of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, might hesitate to treat such events with the zeal with which he had taken up earlier developments, but it is nevertheless noteworthy that his attitude toward the history of his own community becomes so ambivalent that al-Majlisī, using the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* 900 years later, took him for a Sunnī and included him among the *mukhālifūn*, whom he says he will cite in order to refute them.[135] And as the passages cited above clearly show, even the theme of *futūḥ* itself seems to have become difficult for Ibn Aʿtham to sustain.

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135. Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, I, 24:13, 25:9.

It is also noteworthy that in several significant ways Karbalāʾ marks a shift in Ibn Aʿtham's technique as a historical writer. As observed above, the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* is a compilation largely achieved by copying earlier monographs on major subjects one after the other, literally end to end. While this tendency may be seen both before and after Karbalāʾ, it is most pronounced in the first part of the book, where almost all of the text has obviously come directly from topical monographs: works on the Saqīfa Banī Sāʿida, the *futūḥ* in various regions, the murder of ʿUthmān, Ṣiffīn, Nahrawān, the abdication of al-Ḥasan, and the events leading up to Karbalāʾ. Aside from Ibn Aʿtham's own interpolations, "filler" on matters of lesser concern, taken from other written sources, is very limited—hardly more than ten percent of the text. After Karbalāʾ the material becomes far more varied, and specialized monographs, while still prominent, are nowhere near as dominant in their role as sources. In part this reflects the fact that in terms of the developing historical consciousness of the Shīʿa, such events as Ṣiffīn and Karbalāʾ were far more important than anything which was to follow. But the shift after Karbalāʾ is not just away from extended quotation from long monographs on issues relevant to the Shīʿa, but away from extended quotation from long monographs in general, and so suggests the changed working method of a writer returning to a task he had set aside for some time.

Related to this is Ibn Aʿtham's use of the *isnād*. This question will be pursued below, but here it is worth observing that Karbalāʾ marks a dramatic shift in our author's method of citing authorities. Prior to this benchmark in the text, he cites long collective *isnād*s for the most important extended narratives taken from his monograph sources, but hardly ever gives *isnād*s for brief individual *akhbār*. After Karbalāʾ this pattern is reversed: the collective *isnād* is never used, while the number of *isnād*s for individual reports, though still modest in absolute terms, rises dramatically in comparison to the number given earlier.

This interpretation of the extant textual evidence and its historical context has a number of important implications. First, and most obviously, the composition date of AH 204 refers only to the Arabic text down to the account of Karbalāʾ and its immediate aftermath; the rest was composed at some later time. Unfortunately, the dearth of personal information about Ibn Aʿtham allows us minimal grounds for estimating how much later this continued work could have occurred. As has been observed several times already, our author's father was a student of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who died in 148/765. If one takes into consideration Bulliet's argument that medieval Islamic education largely involved the teaching of the very young by the very old,[136] then it must be conceded that Ibn Aʿtham may still have been active in the 220s and 230s AH and that work on his history could have continued as late as this.

Second, if Ibn Aʿtham abandoned work on his history in AH 204, once he had reached Karbalāʾ, and then resumed work later, the question arises of whether his extension of

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136. Richard W. Bulliet, "The Age Structure of Medieval Islamic Education," Studia Islamica 57 (1983), 105-17.

the text was accompanied by revision of the part already completed. This is what one would expect in any case, and later revision of the Arabic text up to volume V, 251 of the Hyderabad edition would explain why, for example, the Persian translation by al-Mustawfī contains so much material, especially Arabic verse, which is lacking in the Arabic text. In such a situation the Persian translation becomes extremely important, as the sole surviving comprehensive witness to the first recension of the Arabic text as it stood in AH 204. A critical edition of this Persian text is thus to be encouraged as a contribution of considerable potential value; until one is available, the question of possible revision of the first Arabic recension cannot be addressed in any serious way.

Use of the Isnād

The *Kitāb al-futūḥ* poses serious problems where proper names are concerned. Throughout the book, both in the text and in the *isnād*s, names are often badly garbled or completely different from what one finds in parallel passages in other works, and the Hyderabad edition often compounds the confusion by adding its own mistakes or engaging in hypercorrection, on the assumption that the forms of names in other printed texts must be the "correct" ones: e.g. Bishr ibn Ḥarīm in the MSS is "corrected" to Khuzayma al-Asadī in the edition, al-Raqqa becomes al-Ruṣāfa, Mūsā al-Hāshimī is replaced by ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā ibn Māhān, and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Ghassānī appears as al-Sarī ibn Manṣūr al-Shaybānī.[137] The *isnād*s in the text are often confused, and while some of the errors can be corrected fairly easily, others pose very difficult problems indeed. And rather than assist with such difficulties, the Persian translation often compounds them; where the Arabic has Asīd ibn ʿAlqama, for example, the Persian has Rashīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī.[138]

Some of the confusion may be put down to the process of textual transmission, or perhaps to Ibn Aʿtham's revision of his first recension; but from what we have already seen above, it would be a mistake to presume that Ibn Aʿtham took the *isnād* any more seriously than he did other aspects of the formal *akhbārī*'s craft. As a *qāṣṣ*, he legitimated his work in the eyes of his audience not by proofs of ability as a textual critic, but through the power of his stories to moralize, entertain, or teach didactic points.

The question of Ibn Aʿtham's use of the *isnād* thus becomes very complicated when studied in detail, especially where investigation of his sources is concerned. This topic is being pursued elsewhere,[139] however, and here discussion will be limited to those areas which can inform us on matters already raised above.

Ibn Aʿtham does not deploy the *isnād* in any consistent fashion in his text, and it is certainly not the case that he "belongs to the classical school of Islamic history writing, basing himself on *akhbār* introduced by their isnads".[140] Indeed, *isnād*s are rarely given

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137. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, V, 222:5; VIII, 217:3, 259:11-12, 312:3.

138. *Ibid.*, I, 249ult.

139. See n. 64 above.

140. See Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (London: Longman, 1986), 362-63.

through the first five volumes of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* to Karbalāʾ, and collecting them does not in itself offer a conspectus of Ibn Aʿthām's sources. His usage of the *isnād* may best be assessed in terms of the two types he offers in the two recensions of his text, as identified above, and as these attestations of authority serve very different purposes, they may be discussed separately.

Collective *Isnāds*

There are four collective *isnād*s supporting long sections of text on major topics which would have been covered in early *akhbārī* monographs, and these name authorities for extended blocks of text on the election of Abu Bakr,[141] the caliphate of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān,[142] the battle of Ṣiffīn,[143] and the events leading up to the death of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ.[144] A fifth *isnād* cites a single chain of informants for the *ghārāt*.[145]

It will immediately be seen that these *isnād*s all support material of special importance to the Shīʿa, and that all fall within the first recension of the text. This would indicate that here, at least, Ibn Aʿtham felt the need for some formal verification of his authorities. Unfortunately, these *isnād*s are in varying states of disarray. At the cost of considerable time and effort, one can often put such matters right, but here the problem is compounded by the fact that Ibn Aʿtham's chains of authorities include so many obscure or unknown persons for whom external evidence allows us to propose no *floruit*.

At this point, all that can be said is that even when Ibn Aʿtham does cite authorities, he is highly erratic and shows no concern for the formal criteria of *isnād* criticism which were well-established by the third century AH. Nuʿaym ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, presumably the brother of the better-known Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 212/827),[146] is twice cited by Ibn Aʿtham as a direct oral informant (*ḥaddathanī*...),[147] but, in the other two collective *isnād*s, another informant stands between him and our author.[148] Hishām ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) is cited once directly,[149] but twice through Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq ibn Yūsuf al-Fazārī.[150] Materials from al-Madāʾinī (d. 228/843) are handled in a particularly inconsistent fashion.

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141. See *Bankipore Text*, 19:3-11; cf. also Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 236.

142. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 147:3-149:3. The Ahmet III and Chester Beatty MSS open with this *isnād*, and Shaban (*ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, xviii) thus took it as identifying the sources for the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* as a whole.

143. *Ibid.*, II, 344:10-345:9.

144. *Ibid.*, IV, 209:4-210:14.

145. *Ibid.*, IV, 36ult-37:2, following immediately on after the heading: *ibtidāʾ dhikr al-ghārāt baʿda Ṣiffīn*.

146. Muranyi ("Ein neuer Bericht," 237) considers that where Nuʿaym's name is given, it is actually Naṣr who is meant. This is unlikely. The form Nuʿaym consistently appears as such in the text (see the next two notes), with no discrepancies among the MSS, and in one case the two brothers and Naṣr's son al-Ḥasan all appear in the same collective *isnād* (Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 344:2, 345:4).

147. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 147ult, 344:12.

148. Ibn Aʿtham, *Bankipore Text*, 19:5-6 (= Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht," 236); *idem*, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, IV, 209:7-8.

149. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, II, 344ult-345:1.

150. *Ibid.*, II, 147ult-148:1, 342:4-5.

In a collective *isnād* for the caliphate of ʿUthmān, he is named as a direct oral informant and referred to as Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī,[151] while in a second-recension *isnād* for the uprising of Muṣʿab ibn al-Zubayr in al-Baṣra during the Second Civil War, Ibn Aʿtham cites al-Madāʾinī's material through ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Balawī.[152] Elsewhere, however, our author is satisfied to quote, as we have already seen, from one of al-Madāʾinī's books.[153] Examples of such patterns could be pursued further, but it is already clear that while Ibn Aʿtham makes use of collective *isnād*s, even these betray his disinterest in the critical considerations which *isnād*s were used to address in the first place. To have unnecessary links in his *isnād*s, or to quote from a book or second-hand informant when the author was personally known and accessible to him, did not seem to trouble him. He was willing to cite anyone who was available and who had interesting material to offer; indeed, a list of his immediate informants makes sense only if one recognizes it not as a group of teachers or authorities of the generation prior to his, but rather as a general collection of informants active at the time the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* was written.

It is true, of course, that matters of *isnād* criticism were far more important in the field of *ḥadīth*, where the transmission of the words, deeds, and sanctions of the Prophet were at stake, than they were in *akhbār*. But this is not the point at issue here. The features discussed above demonstrate that Ibn Aʿtham did not handle *isnād*s with critical considerations in mind, and consequently, that one cannot assess them in terms of the formal critical principles which we know prevailed in his day. When we add to this problem his frequent citation (as in *isnād*s for individual reports) of unknown informants, his references to names which could refer to numerous persons,[154] and the highly defective editorial state of many of the chains, it becomes amply clear that at present it is difficult to do much with these *isnād*s. Two rather limited conclusions, however, can be drawn from them at this time.

First, the death dates of the identifiable informants with whom he had direct personal contact range from 201/816 for ʿAlī ibn ʿĀṣim ibn Suhayb[155] to 228/843 for al-Madāʾinī. A first recension completed in 204/819-20 could easily have made use of information from

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151. *Ibid.*, II, 147:3-4. The Ahmet III and Chester Beatty MSS read Abū al-Ḥusayn for Abū al-Ḥasan, but the Chester Beatty text is based on that of the Ahmet III MS, and as Shaban (*ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, xviii) argues, this reading may be dismissed as a scribal error. Al-Madāʾinī's correct *kunya* is given elsewhere in the text (VI, 253ult-254:1), where he is again called "al-Qurashī", as he is also, for example, in Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/844), *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. Eduard Sachau *et al.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1904-40), 1.2, 30ult. As al-Madāʾinī was in fact a *mawlā* of Quraysh (also as observed by Shaban), it is not unusual that some tradents should have referred to him by the *laqab* al-Qurashī rather than al-Madāʾinī.

152. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, VI, 253ult-254:1.

153. See n. 76 above.

154. Cf. Leder, *Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī*, 41-42; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 146-59.

155. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XI, 446:6-458:5, no. 6348; also *GAS*, I, 97. This tradent was born in 105/723, and so was a very old man when he died; his transmission of material to Ibn Aʿtham could have occurred almost anytime within the latter's career.

all these authorities, but of particular interest is the fact that Ibn Aʿtham appears to have relied upon both older contemporaries who had already died by the time he began the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, and younger colleagues who were to remain active for many more years.

Second, he quotes from numerous Sunni authorities, although the collective *isnād*s are all used to support long texts promoting the Shīʿī view of important historical events. Indeed, the part of the long collective *isnād* for Karbalāʾ which cites the Shīʿī Imams[156] does so with no special honorifics, and appears only after four other more mainstream chains of authorities have been given, and with others yet to come. This appears to comprise an attempt to present distinctly Shīʿī material as representative of some broader perspective on the early decades of Islamic history, and addresses the question of why Ibn Aʿtham provides these collective *isnād*s in the first place. For him, these were devices through which he could propose that the emerging Shīʿī view of key events was an entirely legitimate Islamic view with which various non-Shīʿī authorities—scholars whom he knew personally—agreed on numerous points. An investigation of the extent to which he actually used material from the various authorities he names could prove most revealing. In his account of Karbalāʾ, for example, the complex collective *isnād* introducing the section cites some of the most famous *akhbārī*s of his day, including authors known to have written on Karbalāʾ; and as their narratives on this subject were used by such later historians as al-Ṭabarī, it is possible to check the extent to which Ibn Aʿtham really made use of their works. What follows this *isnād*, however, is an account quite unlike what one finds in al-Ṭabarī, but textually very similar to (and perhaps the source of?) the later *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* of al-Khwārizmī (d. 568/1172).[157]

Isnāds for Individual *Akhbār*

Where individual *akhbār* are concerned, the frequency with which Ibn Aʿtham uses the *isnād* is most interesting. There are only nineteen *isnād*s for individual reports in the part of the text covered by the first recension, and in some places one can read for hundreds of pages without encountering an *isnād*. In part this can be explained by the fact that he was using the sources already named in a collective *isnād* to construct an extended account of a single major event, and so considered it unnecessary to name the same authorities again for individual reports within that extended account. But in numerous places this explanation cannot be invoked, and here the interpolations are illustrative. Of the many opportunities where Ibn Aʿtham at least could have used an *isnād* to claim specific and unequivocal credit himself for a particular story or piece of information, i.e. by stating *qāla* Abū Muḥammad, he takes advantage of only one.[158] Considering that this pattern prevails through more than 1600 pages of Arabic text, it may be taken as, first, indicating that Ibn Aʿtham did not see the *isnād* as a means to legitimate individual reports or add prestige or authority to their contents, and second, further confirming that not all that many

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156. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, IV, 209ult-210:1.

157. Muwaffaq ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī al-Khwārizmī, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn*, ed. Muḥammad al-Samāwī (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat al-zahrāʾ, 1367/1947). See *GAL*, SI, 549, and the relevant Nachtrag (SI, 967).

158. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, III, 304ult.

individual reports were being incorporated into this part of the book in the first place.

In the post-Karbalā' part of the text, however, individual *isnād*s suddenly become more frequent. There are sixteen in volumes VI and VII (i.e. none in the concluding parts of volume V): one is a multiple-link *silsila* from al-Balawī through al-Madā'inī and two prior authorities to al-Shaʿbī (d. 103/721),[159] one cites al-Madā'inī on his own,[160] two refer to the general category of *ahl al-ʿilm*,[161] and the others name al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī (d. 207/822) or earlier tradents who normally figure in al-Haytham's *isnād*s in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*.[162] In volume VIII this number rises to 26 (up to the point where Ibn Aʿtham's own text ends); and with the exception of thirteen references to al-Madā'inī,[163] these *isnād*s never refer to the same informant more than once. While this is a marked increase over the rate of citation evident in the first part of the book, 42 *isnād*s through over 700 pages of text still reflects an attitude in which the device counts for very little.

To this one could object, of course, that some of the early *akhbārī*s who compiled very worthy historical works also showed little or no concern for the *isnād*. Ibn Aʿtham's indifference in this matter could thus be regarded as following a pattern quite common among these early *akhbārī*s, and manifest in such works as the *Ayyām al-ʿarab* of Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/825)[164] and the *Futūḥ Khurāsān* of al-Madā'inī.[165] But such a comparison is misleading, and to see why we need only consider the materials which Ibn Aʿtham uses an *isnād* to support.

The kinds of reports for which *isnād*s are given at first seem quite diverse. In some cases, the structure of the narrative requires one: in first-person accounts, for example, or in accounts in which an informant states something like "I asked NN about…", to name an informant is to identify a character in the story, and an *isnād* is accordingly provided for that purpose.[166] In a few cases, an *isnād* is used to alert the reader to the fact that the information comes from the Shīʿī Imāms,[167] or to name an authority for a precise piece of information, e.g. the exact date for the murder of ʿUthmān and his age at the time,[168] or the

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159. *Ibid.*, VI, 253ult-254:1.

160. *Ibid.*, VII, 278:11.

161. *Ibid.*, VI, 161:2, 279:11.

162. *Ibid.*, VII, 52:8, 107:11-13, 109:3, 9, 11, 110:5, 111:3, 124:2, 131:13, 138:13, 145:10-11, 171:2, 7.

163. *Ibid.*, VIII, 159:9-10, 160:9-10, 190:4, 17, 192:4, 14, 195:7-8, 196:7, 202:3, 205:6, 206:12, 207pu, 218:10.

164. The extensive fragments quoted from this book by later authors have been collected and studied in an excellent two-volume work by ʿĀdil Jāsim al-Bayātī, *Kitāb ayyām al-ʿarāb qabla al-Islām* (Beirut: ʿĀlam al-kutub and Maktabat al-nahḍa al-ʿarabīya, 1407/1987).

165. See Gernot Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madā'inīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen," *Oriens* 23-24 (1974), 103-33; Lawrence I. Conrad, "Notes on al-Ṭabarī's History of the Caliphate of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, 3 (1993), 1-2.

166. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, I, 249ult-250:1, 252:4, 286ult; II, 342:4-6, 390:3, 466:11; IV, 210ult-211:3, 212:6, 217:11 (returning to the narrative begun at 212:6), 222:10; V, 222:5; VI, 253ult-254:1; VIII, 94:5, 95:10, 96:7-8.

167. *Ibid.*, II, 92ult, 390:3.

168. *Ibid.*, II, 241:5.

number of those killed at al-Jamal.[169] In some places, informants are named for a cluster of reports on a particular subject: for instance, heavenly predictions of Karbalāʾ,[170] the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath,[171] the travails of al-Kumayt,[172] and the affairs of al-Saffāḥ.[173]

The impression of diversity continues if one considers the personalities cited and the way Ibn Aʿtham quotes them. Of the 68 authorities named in individual *isnād*s in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 56 (i.e. over 80 percent) are cited only once through the entire length of the book. Beyond this, what Ibn Aʿtham most frequently offers is not a proper "chain" of authorities, but rather a single name (*qāla fulān*) which serves to introduce a report. But there appears to be no coherent pattern for the selection of individuals to be named in such *isnād*s. On occasion, the authority is someone from whom Ibn Aʿtham may in fact have heard the report, but most often the person named proves to have lived long before Ibn Aʿtham's lifetime, or at least too early to have passed information on to him personally. Also, it is difficult to explain the *isnād*s in terms of the importance of supported material: not even citations of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* are consistently introduced by *isnād*s.

The key to understanding the deployment of these *isnād*s lies in recognizing them as, for the most part, devices used by Ibn Aʿtham to mark interpolations, as observed above. In some cases this is obvious. The removal of the fourteen pages of reports introduced by *isnād*s at the beginning of the account of Karbalāʾ, for example, simply brings the reader to the real beginning of the account in Ibn Aʿtham's main source; and lest there be any doubt, Ibn Aʿtham announces the fact: *thumma rajaʿna ilā al-khabar al-awwal*.[174] Here the character of his heading as a mere cliché is readily apparent: he obviously cannot be "returning" to his "first account" when that "first account" has not even begun yet; the heading simply marks the end of a series of interpolated anecdotes.

In many cases the persons cited are utterly obscure individuals, known to us only because their names also appear in some other work. Here again it would seem that Ibn Aʿtham was simply using *isnād*s as markers, and not to appeal to his audience's sense of authority or to serve some critical scholarly purposes. It is certainly clear that he had no intention of authoring a book in which systematic consideration of the authority for specific accounts would be a task taken seriously, and this fact sets him far apart from the more serious historical *akhbārī*s, irrespective of whether or not they too used the *isnād*.

But why, we might ask, should there be a sudden increase in the use of the *isnād* in volumes VI-VIII? At least a partial answer suggests itself once it is understood that this is all material added in the course of the second recension of the text. Collective *isnād*s

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169. *Ibid.*, II, 342:4-6.

170. *Ibid.*, IV, 210ult-211:3, 212:6, 213:7, 215:6, 217:11, 222pu.

171. *Ibid.*, VII, 124:2, 131:13, 138:13, 145:10-11. These reports all come from al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī, and as this author is not known to have written any separate work on Ibn al-Ashʿath, these citations probably indicate access to one of al-Haytham's more comprehensive histories.

172. *Ibid.*, VIII, 94:5, 95:10, 96:8-9.

173. *Ibid.*, VIII, 190:4, 17, 192:4, 14, 195:7-8, 196:7, 202:3, 205:6, 206:12, 207pu, all from al-Madāʾinī. As indicated above (see n. 75), Ibn Aʿtham seems to have used a monograph by al-Madāʾinī which dealt with the reign of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph in detail.

174. *Ibid.*, IV, 210ult-224:11.

are entirely absent here, and large monographs are used for fewer extended narratives. Larger numbers of individual accounts from a variety of sources were thus being used, and as collective *isnād*s were no longer being used to specify sources, occasions where doing so for individual reports were very much more numerous. But as the text had now lost its vital sense of purpose, Ibn Aʿtham shifted to a sporadic pattern of naming authorities, only doing so in such cases where it was a matter of some interest to him. His motives in this regard appear to relate to the fact that as the text approaches his own lifetime, the number of *isnād*s dramatically increases: Ibn Aʿtham had more comments of his own to inject, and thus more interest in citing authorities. Here the situation becomes clear if one looks at the persons from whom he takes information at this point. A number of these personalities were *mawālī* or companions of the caliphs al-Mahdī and al-Manṣūr,[175] which suggests that Ibn Aʿtham himself moved in Baghdadi circles which had been close to the center of power in the second half of the second century AH. His répertoire of imperial anecdotes about the early ʿAbbāsids may thus reflect material actually in circulation in court circles in the late second century, and his connections with figures who had known al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī further strengthens the case for accepting al-Mustawfī's date of AH 204 for the completion of the first recension of the text: any number of persons who had been court figures during the reigns of these two caliphs would, in their old age, have been accessible to an author active at the turn of the century or shortly thereafter, and who subsequently returned to his work some years later. It is also worth noting that the *dhayl* continues this citation of court figures,[176] which suggests that this part of the text was also written by an author in Baghdad with close ties to the ʿAbbāsid court before its transfer to Sāmarrāʾ in 220/835.

Another interesting question is why Ibn Aʿtham marks some interpolations with *isnād*s, and others only with descriptive headings. While it is impossible to speak with certainty on such a subjective matter, the distinction here may to some extent be one between written and oral sources. The difference between the two is not so simple as has often been thought, and so must be regarded with caution.[177] Still, it can be said that reports in the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* which are supported by individual *isnād*s tend to be short *akhbār*, and can often be linked with known literary works. The accounts introduced with descriptive headings, on the other hand, are more often long popular tales full of imaginary and supernatural elements and usually very moralizing, and absolutely typical of old *qiṣaṣ* lore which one would expect to have circulated orally.

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175. *Ibid.*, VIII, 212:5 (mawlā of al-Manṣūr), 238ult (*ṣāḥib* of al-Mansur), 239pu, 240:8 (companion of al-Mahdī), 242:4-5 (two *mawālī* of al-Mahdī).

176. *Ibid.*, VIII, 263:14-15 (the tutor of al-Rashīd's sons), 266ult (the tutor of Muḥammad al-Amīn), 270:6 (the future *ḥājib* of al-Amīn), 275:10:41 (a *mutawallī amr al-sūq* under al-Rashīd), 277:6-7 (a chess partner of al-Rashīd), 295:1-2 (a sub-attendant of al-Amīn, *waṣīf khādim al-Amīn*).

177. A seminal series of studies on this question has recently been published by Gregor Schoeler. See his "Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam," *Der Islam* 62 (1985), 201-230; "Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder müindlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam," *Der Islam* 66 (1989), 38-67; "Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīṯ," *Der Islam* 66 (1989), 213-251; "Schreiben und Veröffentlichen. Zu Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhundert," *Der Islam* 69 (1992), 1-43.

Ibn Aʿtham and His History

Some important features of Ibn Aʿtham's life and work have been discussed in the pages above, and before addressing a concluding question it may be well to summarize what has emerged so far.

Ibn Aʿtham was the son of one of the students or tradents of the sixth Imam, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, and grew up in the mid-second century AH. He composed some poetry, as did many in his day, but his special interest lay in popular preaching and storytelling; many of the accounts he related in his capacity as a *qāṣṣ* were of general interest to Muslims, but his perspective on key issues was specifically Shīʿī. He had connections with a number of tradents and compilers who already were or would later become well-known for their literary accomplishments in historical studies, and with court figures who had stories to tell about the reigns of past ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Early in the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, and with the support of an unknown but highly placed patron, he assembled a history by cobbling together a number of existing monographs by other authors, revising as he saw fit and adding numerous interpolations which he had both from other written sources and from oral informants.

One can with no particular difficulty harmonize al-Mustawfī's use of a *Kitāb al-futūḥ* extending to Karbalāʾ and written in 204/819-20, an extant text continuing to the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn in 252/866, and Yāqūt's reference to two histories ending, respectively, with the reigns of al-Rashīd and al-Muqtadir. First, al-Mustawfī's statement that his translation was based on an Arabic text composed in AH 204 refers to a first recension of the book, one which had proceeded as far as Karbalāʾ when work was abruptly suspended. A hypothesis which fits the available evidence, and perhaps best clarifies a number of other questions, is that Ibn Aʿtham, working during the new stage of disorder which followed the overthrow and execution of al-Amīn, had set out to compile a history which would see in the suddenly presented prospects of an ʿAlid caliphate the fulfillment of divine promise and the climax of *futūḥ* itself. But with the death of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in 203/818, the raison d'être of such a book vanished, and Ibn Aʿtham's work on it thus temporarily ceased shortly thereafter, in 204/819. It was a copy of this first recension that eventually made its way to Tāyābādh in the east, where a session featuring readings from it led an unknown political figure to commission al-Mustawfī to begin a Persian translation in 596/1199-1200. This work was still incomplete at the time of al-Mustawfī's death, and was finished by a colleague.

At some unknown point, Ibn Aʿtham resumed work on his history, but without the zealous sense of purpose that had inspired him earlier. This second recension was brought down to the caliphate of al-Rashīd, where it stops in a decidedly unsatisfactory fashion. Whether this was due to the death of the author, or the simple abandonment of an enterprise which no longer inspired him, is impossible to say. It is also unclear to what extent Ibn Aʿtham took this as an opportunity to revise what he had already completed in AH 204, although at least some such revision seems very likely. There is nothing in the second recension to indicate when work on it ceased, but allowing for the possibility that

Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq was very old when he taught Ibn Aʿtham's father, who may then have been young, and positing the same in the father's transmission to Ibn Aʿtham himself, it is conceivable that our author was still alive in the 220s or even 230s ᴀʜ.

Shortly after the end of the third/ninth century, this second recension of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* came to the attention of a later Sunnī writer, who continued the text at least as far as the defeat of Bābak in 222/837 and some uncertain distance further into the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim. This was the work which Yāqūt called the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* and also attributed to Ibn Aʿtham. If the proposal made above for damage limited to a final folio is correct, this continuation could not have extended more than a page beyond its present terminus. If the proposal is wrong—that is, if there were numerous folios missing at the end of the *dhayl*— then the continuator could have written a great deal covering events up through the brief reign of al-Muntaṣir in 247-48/861-62.

This continuation was then itself continued by a brief chronology from the death of al-Muntaṣir to the reign of al-Muqtadir. The same damage which affected the end of the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* also affected the end of the final chronology, hence our suspicion that these damaged sections were on the recto and verso of the same folio, and thus that the lost text is in both cases less than a page. In the case of the terminal chronology, the lost material probably consisted only of a few dates from the abdication of al-Mustaʿīn to the reign of al-Muqtadir. At some point a scribe also copied a series of anecdotes into a patron's copy; this same scribe may also have made additions to the main body of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, although evidence for this is very limited and can easily be accounted for otherwise.

This would explain Yāqūt's reference to a text coming down to the reign of al-Muqtadir and to two books which were so similar that one seemed to be the extension of the other. What we now have represents a text damaged at the very end, but otherwise identical to what Yāqūt saw, and an extended version of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* as Ibn Aʿtham had originally left it. This original text may itself be viewed as representing two stages of work by the author. The first recension extended to Karbalāʾ and is now accessible through the Persian translation by al-Mustawfī; the second recension, which involved the revision of the first and its extension to the reign of al-Rashīd, is what we have today in at least most of the extant Arabic MSS and the Hyderabad edition.

In closing this study, it may be asked how the conclusions reached above affect the usefulness of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* to modern scholarship. Viewed from a historiographical perspective, Ibn Aʿtham's place in the generation of the *akhbārī*s of the late second and early third centuries ᴀʜ establishes his *Kitāb al-futūḥ* as a source of valuable insights on Arabic historical writing in this period. There are many lines of investigation which might profitably be pursued in future research, and, by way of illustration, attention may here be drawn to a particularly important one—the role of *qiṣaṣ* and other popular lore. It has long been known that some of this material is of very early origin, but it has often been assumed, and argued, that from the beginning it comprised a literary category separate from history and looked down upon by the "serious historians" of the second half of the second century ᴀʜ.[178] But these authors are in turn known to us almost exclusively through

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178. See, e.g., Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 186-93; A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical*

the even more "serious" historians of the third century, and it begs important questions to observe the relatively minor role of *qiṣaṣ* quoted from the early authorities in such later works, and from this to conclude that historical writing *per se* was always as critical as these works seem to indicate.

The *Kitāb al-futūḥ* demonstrates how easily a gag could enter the field in early ʿAbbāsid times, and with clear expectations of public acceptance: Ibn Aʿtham would have not compiled his history the way he did if the public conception in his day of what history was all about would have resulted in the rejection and repudiation of his work. The ultimate obscurity of his book thus has less to do with his shortcomings as viewed in his own times, than with the major changes in attitudes toward historical writing which occurred in the course of the third century, as well as other factors which have little to with whether or not he wrote "good history". By comparing Ibn Aʿtham to other early sources, which bear some of the same popular tales, it can easily be seen that this material was not distinct and separate from historical writing in the second century, but rather, closely intertwined and bound up with it.[179] While Ibn Aʿtham's work may embody a more popular folkloric element than that which is discernible among other *akhbārī*s whose historical works survive only in later quotations, he was an *akhbārī* all the same,[180] and his history offers a unique opportunity for exploration of the ways in which folkloric elements contributed to early Arabic historiography, and then were gradually marginalized.[181] At a broader level, this is precisely the sort of process one must expect. An emerging political, social, and religious community does not possess a sophisticated sense of history and historical writing from the beginning, any more than it possesses a fully developed theology from the beginning. Both evolve gradually, as more mature thinking replaces older formulations which, however satisfactory they may have been in the past, eventually come to be regarded as primitive and inappropriate.

It has recently been argued that while it is certainly possible to define and study the genre of writing subsumed under the rubric of *qiṣaṣ*, which refers in particular to legends and myths of ancient prophets, it is problematic to extend this category to include other accounts which also bear this kind of "popular" imprint, and then to suppose that such an exercise in terminology tells us anything about the origins of the reports or addresses the question of their factual truth. Accounts regarded as *qiṣaṣ* may contain authentic historical information, while ostensibly sensible *akhbār* may contain sheer inventions.[182] The *Kitāb al-futūḥ* provides innumerable illustrations of the importance of this observation, and

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Writing among the Arabs, ed. and trans. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 122-35.

179. See, for example, some of the tales in al-Azdī's *Futūḥ al-Shām*. As many of these also appear in Ibn Aʿtham's text, which is related to that of al-Azdī, but not taken from it, one must conclude that these tales were already present in the source common to both authors, and so must already have found a place in the *futūḥ* tradition by the mid-second century AH.

180. Yāqūt, who saw his work, concedes him not only this title, but also that of *muʾarrikh*; see *Irshād al-arīb*, 1, 379:1-2.

181. For the context of such a process, see Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād," 386-99.

182. Leder, "Literary Use of the *Khabar*," 311-12.

while it is true that Ibn Aʿtham had embellished his history with great amounts of baseless popular lore, this does not disqualify him as a historical source.

In the first instance, his reports, even where manifestly untrue, are often important in ways untouched by their basis in fact (or lack thereof). Massé, for example, devoted a study to Ibn Aʿtham's account of the conquest of Ifrīqiya, and arrived at the conclusion that here our author is probably not to be believed.[183] But for historiographical purposes the same text reveals much about how topoi and narrative schema were deployed in historical writing, and for the cultural historian it highlights the lively interest in *futūḥ* which clearly prevailed in Ibn Aʿtham's day. That this interest encompassed a broad range of material, and not just what modern scholars would regard as sober factual narrative, is surely a matter of crucial concern to any effort to establish the historical course of the Islamic conquests in North Africa.

Of special interest in this regard are Ibn Aʿtham's tales about dialogues, debates, and disputes between Byzantine dignitaries and early Muslims. Some of these tales are likely to be inventions of the early ʿAbbāsid period itself, when large-scale summer raids into Byzantine territory were undertaken on a regular basis, but others appear to be much older. The account (referred to above) of an encounter with Heraclius himself in Antioch has as its climax the discovery that the Emperor's casket, full of pictures of the prophets, includes a picture of Muḥammad.[184] Such a report, innocent of even the slightest iconoclastic sensitivities, would seem to substantiate King's argument that traditional scholarly views on the iconoclastic tendencies of the early Muslims have been exaggerated.[185]

It also needs to be said that for establishing historical fact the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* is still a source of some importance. Two examples may serve to illustrate this point.

In Ibn Aʿtham's account of the early Islamic conquests, the familiar topological paradigm of the *futūḥ* tradition is violated in startling fashion by a novel explanation for the onset of Arab campaigns in Iraq. As Ibn Aʿtham's source has it, the tribe of Rabīʿa, of the Banū Shaybān, was obliged by drought in Arabia to migrate to Iraqi territory, where the local Sasanian authorities granted them permission to graze their herds on promise of their good behavior. But the presence of these tribal elements eventually led to friction, which the Rabīʿa quite naturally interpreted as unwarranted reneging on an agreed arrangement. When they called on their kinsmen elsewhere for support, the crisis quickly escalated.[186] This report is innocent of any awareness of the decisive role of great generals, or of a central authority directing all operations from far-off Medina. Nor does it comprise tribal *fakhr*, since it does not go on to award Rabīʿa special credit for success in Iraq. It may well represent the survival of an accurate account of how tribal movements along the Sasanian frontier gradually led to violent confrontation, with no role played by the caliph ʿUmar ibn

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183. Massé, "La chronique d'Ibn Aʿtham," esp. 89-90.

184. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, I, 130:9-131ult.

185. See G.R.D. King, "Islam, Iconoclasm, and the Declaration of Doctrine," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 (1985), 267-77.

186. Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 1, 88:7-89:6.

al-Khaṭṭāb, or even by an eminent Muslim commander.

Similarly, it is well-known that in the tense first year of the caliphate of Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiya, the unfolding political crisis focused on Yazīd's efforts to compel a small circle of leading Muslims to pledge their allegiance to him. But the religious eminence of these individuals notwithstanding, it is not clear why this should have been so important. The key seems to be provided by Ibn Aʿtham's version of the terms under which al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī had earlier renounced his claim to the caliphate: one of the provisions mentioned by Ibn Aʿtham,[187] but not by al-Ṭabarī, was that Muʿāwiya agreed that he would not himself appoint a successor to the caliphate, but rather would leave this decision to a *shūrā* of leading Muslims. The formation of such a committee would have been reminiscent of that convened by ʿUmar, and had it ever met, it would have included precisely the personalities whom Yazīd now sought to pressure into acknowledging him; the new caliph probably wished to convene the *shūrā* as a means of legitimating his rule, but knew that left to its own devices it was unlikely to name an Umayyad—and certainly not him—as caliph. The provision for a *shūrā* is also mentioned by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892)[188] and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258),[189] both of whom take their information from al-Madāʾinī; Ibn Aʿtham also makes frequent reference to al-Madāʾinī, and was in any case his contemporary. The *shūrā* stipulation was thus commonly known a century before al-Ṭabarī wrote, and offers a cogent explanation for an issue crucial to our understanding of the crisis that arose on Yazīd's succession.[190]

It is to be observed that here, as in many other places, Ibn Aʿtham used sources identical or similar to those available to such later historians as al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. If there is any single compelling argument for closer attention to the *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, it lies in the simple fact that all of our historical sources for early Islam are of essentially compilatory origin. Ibn Aʿtham offers a valuable opportunity to observe the variety and scope of the second-century compilations upon which all of our knowledge ultimately rests; and while some of the problems posed by these compilations are particularly easy to discern in his text, the implications of these difficulties are relevant not just to his history alone, but more generally to the entire range of later works for which the early compilations comprised almost exclusive sources of information. No other history as broad in scope as the *Kitāb al futūḥ* has survived from the dawn of the third century AH, and for both historical and historiographical questions its testimony is of importance throughout the range of the topics it covers.

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187. *Ibid.*, IV, 159pu-160:1.

188. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, II, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī (Beirut: Dār al-taʿāruf, 1397/1977), 42:2-3.

189. Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd, Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1959-64), XVI, 22ult.

190. Cf. S. Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shiʿa Islam* (London: Longman's, 1979), 152-53.

Notes and Brief Communications

Can Doctoral Dissertations Disappear?
A Look at Ibrahim al-Hafsi's "Correspondance officielle et privée d'al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil"
and its Prospects in a Digital Age

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I have recently had the opportunity to examine a remarkable doctoral disser-tation completed in 1979 under the supervision of Prof. Charles Pellat and now housed at the Bibliothèque Orient - Monde arabe of the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris III. Dr. al-Hafsi's disser-tation is, according to his title and intro-ductions (French and Arabic), a study of the "official and private correspondence" of Mūḥyī al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-ʿAsqalānī "al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil" (529-596/1135-1200), secretary and private scribe (*kātib al-sirr*) for the Fāṭimid caliph, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zankī's deputy in Egypt, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, founder of the Ayyūbid Dynasty. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil wrote his letters in such a florid and intricate style that excerpts made their way into medieval biographical dictionaries, chronicles, and manuals on the secretarial arts. Many of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's poems and letters also survive in *dīwān* collections, compiled to showcase the secretary's finest literary achievements.

Dr. al-Hafsi undertook the gargantuan effort of collecting and collating al-Qāḍī's works. Accordingly, volumes 2-4 of his dissertation, comprising 1265 pages, contain some 430 letters and 44 entries from al-Qāḍī's diary, the *Mutajaddidāt*–all transcribed by hand (!). He also provides manuscript sources in the first footnote of every document and notes variants in the manuscript witnesses, or editions, in the case of published texts, in subsequent footnotes. The footnotes were also handwritten. Dr. al-Hafsi actually adds eleven additional sources for fragments of

al-Qāḍī's letters to Adolph Helbig's list of twenty-one manuscript sources. In effect, he has carried out major steps towards completing the desideratum announced by Claude Cahen and Carl Brockelmann in their 1998 *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article on al-Qāḍī.

Exceeding the proposed aims of his dissertation, Dr. al-Hafsi generously provides a biography of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's life, analyzes his political thought in the context of the *jihād al-Ifranj* (*jihād* against the Franks), and explores his social network. More in line with his main focus, he devotes a lengthy chapter to an analysis of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's writing style, covering his use of motifs and a range of literary devices. Only in recent years are we beginning to appreciate the use of literary devices such as *tawriyya* (double entendre) in literature from the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, thanks to the perceptive work of Thomas Bauer and other experts.

Since Adolph Helbig's pioneering work, only one dissertation and one monograph on the life of al-Qāḍī have appeared, both written by Hadia Dajani-Shakeel.

Her dissertation was completed at the University of Michigan in 1972 under the supervision of Profs. James A. Bellamy and Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz. Her monograph is entitled *Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ʿAbdar-Raḥīm al-Bīsānī al-ʿAsqalānī (526-596 h, 1131-1199 m): dauruhu at-taḫṭīṭī fī daulat Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn wa-futūḥatih* (*Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil: His Role and Administration in the State of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his Conquests*). Dajani-Shakeel's works are the most comprehensive and authoritative studies of al-Qāḍī to date but no corresponding study of the secretary's works is available to students and scholars. The editing and publication of al-Hafsi's monumental dissertation would undoubtedly fill this gap. It is hoped that in the meantime his dissertation will be digitized and made more accessible to historians of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, literary historians, and historical linguists. On a final note, although the multilingual marginalia scattered throughout the dissertation may be of historical interest one day, the digitization of the thesis would also ensure its preservation.

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Note: at present a project of editing and publishing the letters of al-Qāḍī is being headed under the supervision of Prof. Stefan Leder, Dr. Sabine Dorpmüller, and Dr. Muhammad Helmy at the Orient Institut Beirut: "Chancery and Diplomatics Exemplified by the Correspondence of al-Qadi al-Fāḍil", Current Projects, Orient Institut Beirut. Accessed June 2015. www.orient-institut.org/index.php?id=93.

Book Review

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By surveying and interpreting major ʿAlid shrines in Syria from the eleventh century to today, Stephennie Mulder has produced a timely work of great value and insight. Based on over a decade of fieldwork in Syria and extensive engagement with Arabic texts, *Shrines of the ʿAlids in Medieval Syria* makes a convincing case for the emergence of an architecture of ecumenism between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, in which Muslims of different sectarian orientations came together to mourn, commemorate, and supplicate descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad through his son-in-law ʿAlī (the ʿAlids). Mulder argues that the form this ecumenical architecture took – the shrine (*mashhad*) – is uniquely suited to inclusive and polyvalent devotional practices, but at the same time, because of its very flexibility and popularity, presents a particular challenge to the architectural historian. The buildings Mulder analyzes in this book have been, with only a couple of exceptions, used continuously as ritual spaces from the medieval period to the present. Studying such spaces requires an innovative methodology, and one of Mulder's many strengths is her willingness to go beyond what has been thought of as the purview of the medievalist or archaeologist. She does not hesitate to seek out oral histories, written texts, and the lived experience of present-day Muslims as windows onto the origins, meanings, and transformations of shrines over the centuries.

The book is divided into two parts: four chapters in which she lays out empirical evidence for the history of ʿAlid shrines in Bālis (a site on the Euphrates in northern Syria), Aleppo, and Damascus and a fifth chapter in which she explores the theoretical and historiographical implications of her findings. The chapter on Bālis allows Mulder to put her skills and experience as an archaeologist to good use. Abandoned as a Mongol army advanced in 1259, Bālis may have been home to

as many as three ʿAlid shrines in the medieval period, but the one in question, excavated by a Princeton-Syrian team over 2005-2009 for which Mulder served as ceramicist, yields important evidence as to the dynamic and varied usage of such structures over the centuries. Mulder argues that the shrine was dedicated to ʿAlī himself and was not the original location, as previously believed, of a well-known set of stucco panels inscribed to al-Khiḍr now housed in the Damascus Museum. She also suggests that the one patron of the site whose name has been preserved in the written record was a Sunni. Thus, the shrine at Bālis acts as a "template" or "prototype" for the other shrines discussed in the book, a site that exhibits signs of intensive and changing usage over an extended period (in this case about 250 years); that was dedicated not only to an ʿAlid but to *the* ʿAlid, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib himself; and that was patronized at least once by a Sunni, indicating its wide appeal.

The next chapter on two of the most important ʿAlid shrines in Syria, located just outside Aleppo, is perhaps the most impressive in the book. Entitled "Aleppo: An Experiment in Islamic Ecumenism," it is an important reminder of Aleppo's long history as a city with an influential and prosperous Shiʿi population and of the often overlooked chapter in that history in which a Sunni Ayyubid prince in Aleppo, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (r. 1186-1216), following the example of a Sunni Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, al-Nāsir (r. 1180-1225), actively pursued a policy of rapprochement between Sunnis and Shiʿis in which an architecture of ecumenism – namely ʿAlid shrines – played a pivotal part. One of the most effective analytic and methodological interventions of

the chapter is Mulder's re-reading of a set of inscriptions on the entrance to the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn, located about 1.5 km south of the city. This elaborate and imposing portal was constructed in 1195-1196 and likely commissioned by al-Ẓāhir himself. Mulder's interpretation of the three inscriptions on the portal persuasively overturns previous interpretations in which scholars have suggested that one of the inscriptions represents a Sunni attempt to "neutralize" or overshadow the Shiʿi implications of the other two. Mulder's methodology entails not just a close reading of the words of the inscriptions but an analysis of their physical and aesthetic arrangement. She argues that instead of one inscription cancelling out the other two, all three of them "communicated a single message. And the vehicle of that unification was, in fact, the frieze of *miḥrāb* images that decorates the portal, which consists of a series of lamps hanging within intricately carved, multilobed niches" (98). Mulder pays attention not only to the physical relationship between the inscriptions and the aesthetic elements of the portal, but also the iconographic meaning of those elements – lamps as symbols of divine light associated with ʿAlī and the twelve imams.[1] Moreover, she stresses the experience of reading the inscriptions *in situ*: "For viewers, the process of actively reading the inscriptions, guided by the *miḥrāb* image, literally integrated the two opposing viewpoints on figures revered

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1. Mulder elaborates on this argument in a recent book chapter: "Seeing the Light: Enacting the Divine at Three Medieval Syrian Shrines," in *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Honor of Renata Holod*, ed. David Roxburgh (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 89-109.

by the different sects. It spoke to viewers, worshippers and pilgrims as a unifying rhetorical device intended to emphasize the possibility for coexistence and respect between the two seemingly opposite positions" (98). This insightful argument about a single portal is applicable to the book as a whole – physical structures, written texts, and lived experience coming together to illuminate a unifying sacred landscape in medieval Syria.

The next two chapters discuss ʿAlid shrines in Damascus. These are in many ways the most challenging chapters of the book, as most of the shrines are located in densely populated areas and the way they look today is largely the product of twentieth-century reconstruction. The structures themselves, therefore, provide very little physical evidence for their medieval incarnations. Mulder approaches this problem by vigorously mining written texts from the eleventh century on for evidence of foundation, location, patronage, usage, and renovation over the years. Unfortunately the texts themselves often offer vague or conflicting information, and Mulder's discussion of them is occasionally difficult to follow. In chapter four, the discussion mirrors the sources by confusing the caliphs ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (see pp. 208, 218-220). At the end of the same chapter, there is a problem with the English translation of a key passage from al-Badrī's fifteenth-century *faḍāʾil* treatise on Damascus for which only a variant French translation is cited (see pp. 233-234, 245n96).[2] These issues do

not, however, weaken Mulder's overall conclusion, which is that the patronage and visitation of ʿAlid shrines in medieval Damascus were popular acts among the city's overwhelmingly Sunni residents and that despite powerful Sunni voices criticizing such acts in the written record there were others (such as al-Badrī in the passage referred to above) who supported and defended them.

One of the strengths of the chapters on Damascus is Mulder's innovative engagement with twentieth-century history and today's lived experience of these sites. Few scholars of early and medieval Islamic history venture beyond the bounds of their periods, and Mulder not only does so, but does so in such a compelling way that the reader feels that he or she is trailing a pilgrim through the city of Damascus, encountering shrines and their surroundings as they occur in space. Her ability to evoke this literary tour is testimony to the breadth and depth of her fieldwork, as are the photographs that are beautifully reproduced throughout the book. Moreover, the interviews she was able to conduct with the Damascene Shiʿi caretaker of a number of shrines, whose family has played this role for at least four generations, allows her to include

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2. After consulting an Arabic edition of the text, I favor Henri Sauvaire's French translation, which Mulder cites, over Mulder's own. See ʿAbd Allāh al-Badrī, *Nuzhat al-anām fī mahāsin al-Shām*

(Beirut: Dār al-Rāʾid al-ʿArabī, 1980), 224; and Henri Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," *Journal Asiatique* 7, 3 (1896), 453. It may be that Mulder is following Josef Meri's English translation of the same anecdote as reported in Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's sixteenth-century pilgrimage guide, which Mulder reproduces as the epigraph of the book's conclusion (267). See Josef W. Meri, "A Late Medieval Syrian Pilgrimage Guide: Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's *al-Ishārāt ilā amākin al-ziyārāt* (Guide to Pilgrimage Places)," *Medieval Encounters* 7, 1 (2001), 68. I was not able to consult an Arabic edition of Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's text.

a discussion of late Ottoman patronage in Damascus. The financial support provided by the Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) for the renovation and beautification of several ʿAlid shrines in the first decade of the twentieth century can be seen as a continuation of the medieval pattern of ecumenism in which Sunni princes and patrons endowed ʿAlid shrines for the benefit of a diverse Muslim population.[3] Of course, two of the most heavily visited ʿAlid shrines in Syria – the Mashhad Sayyida Zaynab, about 7km south of Damascus, and the Mashhad Sayyida Ruqayya, near Bāb al-Farādīs within the walls of the old city – have been famously and sometimes controversially reconstructed due to political patronage in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries, most recently through joint Syrian-Iranian efforts to promote the sites as destinations for international Shiʿi pilgrimage. Nonetheless, the pattern set in the medieval period continues – while international visitors tend to be Shiʿi, local Muslims of various sectarian orientations worship at these sites as their ancestors had for hundreds of years.

Sadly, this pattern is now being disrupted. Since 2012, many of the sites documented so beautifully in the book have been damaged, and sectarian violence has fragmented and traumatized the Syrian population. Of the experience of finishing her book during this period, Mulder writes: "This reality has made writing about the unifying force of Syria's landscape of ʿAlid shrines a poignant enterprise, leaving me

to wonder at times whether the past I have written of here is relevant for Syria's present. And yet, that past beckons, with its evidence of coexistence even in times of contestation" (268). This past does beckon, and the final chapters of the book make clear why *Shrines of the ʿAlids in Medieval Syria* is such a significant contribution. Mulder attributes the emergence of this architecture of ecumenism to another time of military and sectarian conflict – the onset of the Crusades in the late eleventh century and the nearly simultaneous transition between the era known as the "Shiʿi century" and the era known as the "Sunni revival." She argues that this was a period of intensive "emplacement" of Islamic sacred history, when "Islamic history was linked to the landscape in an ever-increasing variety of ways" (258). And in this landscape, "the shrines of the ʿAlids occupied a very particular place" (261). Unlike many other Syrian holy sites that were linked to Biblical history and therefore could be seen as reinforcing Christian claims in the region, shrines to the ʿAlids were meaningful only to Muslims. Moreover, at a time when Sunni rulers were consolidating power over territories that had recently been under Shiʿi rule while also calling for Muslim solidarity in the face of Crusader incursions, the ʿAlids were reassuringly unifying. As Mulder argues, "shrines for the family of the Prophet function as a neutral palette, from which... visitors could simultaneously paint an image of sectarian specificity or of pan-Islamic inclusivism, depending on the needs and context of those who found them relevant" (237). This made shrines to the ʿAlids the perfect material form for making manifest a uniquely Islamic sacred landscape that could be many things to

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3. Mulder has usefully expanded this section of the book into an article: "Abdülhamid and the ʿAlids: Ottoman Patronage of 'Shiʿi' Shrines in the Cemetary of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr in Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 108 (2013): 16-47.

many Muslims.

Throughout the book Mulder brilliantly reads the built environment as inseparable from lived experience, even when this makes determining the origins and past uses of such living spaces difficult, to say the least. The structures Mulder analyzes in *Shrines of the ʿAlids in Medieval Syria* have been renovated, reconstructed, abandoned, enlarged, beautified, and rededicated over the centuries; some structures that were originally outside of the city walls are now, thanks to urban expansion, located inside of the city walls; and some structures have literally sunk underground, taking on new life as crypts. In all of these cases, devotional practice and material culture have been mutually constitutive. In her conclusion, Mulder emphasizes how studying material culture in this way can complement, enhance, and even provide counter-narratives to a primarily text-based approach to medieval Islamic history, especially since surviving textual sources tend to communicate the perspectives of a relatively homogenous male urban elite. These sources, for instance, make medieval Damascus seem like a quintessentially Sunni city, intolerant of minority sects and suspicious of associations with Shiʿism. In *Shrines of the ʿAlids in Medieval Syria*, however, Damascus is transformed into a diverse city in which ordinary people, wealthy patrons, and bookish scholars – Sunnis and Shiʿis, men and women alike – have mingled together in ʿAlid shrines for hundreds of years. We can only hope that the ecumenism to which Mulder's study is eloquent testimony re-emerges victorious from the rubble of war; the cycle of reconstruction and transformation begins anew; and the resilient Syrian people re-claim their past and present.

Book Review

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Robert Hoyland's *In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire* is the most recent attempt to make sense of the world-changing developments associated with the rise of Islam. It offers an attractive, well-informed, and readily comprehensible account of the geopolitical background in the Near East, the conquests, and the rise of the first Islamic empire up to the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 750. Its author, an established scholar who has made important earlier contributions to the study of Arabia and the seventh century, is in many ways ideally qualified to undertake such an enterprise. Its writing style and organization are absolutely lucid; it provides a readable and fairly concise narrative of the events of the conquests on many different fronts, from Spain to Central Asia and India, made lively by interlarding the narrative with frequent quotes from relevant primary (or literary) sources; and it grapples in numerous asides with some of the broader processes that are associated with this historical phenomenon, such as Arabization and Islamization. The book contains a number of illustrations that, like the quotes from primary sources, help make the material "come alive" for the reader. Moreover, it emphasizes the importance of using contemporary sources rather than later chronicles, partly as a way of giving more voice to the conquered populations who wrote many of them, and partly because of the likelihood that 7th and 8th century sources will provide a more accurate view of "what actually happened" than the idealizing views of the conquests written centuries later in Arabic by Muslim authors. This is a fundamental

point of method, widely recognized now for several decades, and an approach to which Hoyland himself made a yeoman contribution almost twenty years ago with his indispensable earlier book, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*.[1] This methodological point will be especially important for new readers, and together with the book's accessibility means that it will probably find a wide audience, particularly as a textbook in college survey courses on early Islamic history.

It is therefore most unfortunate that this book, with so many points in its favor, adopts an interpretation of the conquests that this reviewer considers seriously misleading—besides having its share of merely formal or cosmetic shortcomings.

Let us begin with the latter. *In God's Path* is marred by what must be called a lack of professional courtesy or etiquette, in that its author often fails to give appropriate (or, sometimes, any) credit to the many scholars whose work prepared the way for his own—sometimes, indeed, conveying the impression that he is the originator of an idea or approach. To pick one glaring example: Hoyland stresses in the "Introduction" that he will emphasize the testimony of seventh-century sources, and non-Arabic sources, rather than later Arabic-Islamic ones—implying strongly in doing so that all previous authors have done otherwise. But, important though it is, this is not an approach new with Hoyland, and precisely because the book is intended for non-specialists, he has a responsibility to make clear (if only in a few brief notes) that he is continuing on

a trail blazed by others. Yet one looks in vain in these passages for any reference to or acknowledgement of the work of scholars like Walter E. Kaegi,[2] Patricia Crone (Hoyland's teacher!) and Michael Cook,[3] Sebastian Brock,[4] Lawrence Conrad,[5] Steven Shoemaker,[6] and many others[7]—to mention only those writing in English— some of whom had already adopted this approach when Hoyland was still in grade school. In the "Appendix" (p. 231), he once again notes the importance of relying on contemporary and non-Muslim sources, saying with satisfaction, "which is what I have done in this book," but here, too, he does not find it necessary to mention the work of the many predecessors who showed the way.

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1. Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997).

2. Walter E. Kaegi, Jr., "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38 (1969), 139-49.

3. Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: the making of the Islamic world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

4. Sebastian Brock, "Syriac Views of Emergent Islam," in G. H. A. Juynboll (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 9-21.

5. Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Conquest of Arwād: A Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East," in Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, I. Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 317-401.

6. Stephen J. Shoemaker, *The Death of a Prophet: the end of Muḥammad's life and the beginnings of Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

7. Including the present reviewer: see Fred M. Donner, "The Formation of the Islamic State, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106 (1986), 283-96; idem, *Muhammad and the Believers: at the origins of Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

The problem of failing to give proper acknowledgement is unfortunately pervasive. In part, this failure to acknowledge may reflect a lack of close familiarity with others' work, particularly studies in languages other than English. Some key works are included, in list form, in Hoyland's "Select Bibliography" but otherwise seem to have had no impact;[8] others are simply missing,[9] even though they are highly relevant, even critical, to Hoyland's subject.

These shortcomings do not for the most part materially affect the book's content; and, since *In God's Path* is likely to sell well and be widely used in teaching, they can be easily rectified in a future edition by the addition of a few notes. There are,

however, also fundamental problems with the book's interpretation, which takes a strong but, to this reviewer at least, highly misleading position in the larger debate about how to characterize the conquests.

The basic argument of *In God's Path* is that the expansion of Muḥammad's community, which took over most of the Near East in the seventh and eighth centuries, should be seen as akin to the expansions of other "peripheral peoples" living just beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire. In Hoyland's view, it is important to see the conquests in this way both because of their intrinsic similarity to the European "barbarian" migrations, and in order to avoid the overly Islamicizing trend of the later Muslim sources (mostly 9th century and later), which viewed the whole expansion as due to the impulse provided by the new religion of Islam.

Hoyland is certainly correct to point out the tendency of later Islamic sources to "Islamicize" the conquest movement, projecting their later understandings back to the origins period of the community. Here he is drawing on the pioneering work of Albrecht Noth, in particular, who revealed the strongly salvation-historical agenda that underlay the later Islamic conquest narratives,[10] work that has been followed by other studies (again, mostly not acknowledged) that brought to light different aspects of this tendency.[11]

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8. For example, Alfred-Louis De Prémare's *Les fondations de l'Islam: entre écriture et histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 2002), and Christian Décobert's *Le mendicant et le combatant: l'institution de l'Islam* (Paris: Seuil, 1991) are both mentioned in the bibliography, but never in the notes, and I sense little trace of their content in Hoyland's presentation.

9. For example, Jens Scheiner's massive *Die Eroberung von Damaskus: Quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Historiographie in klassisch-islamischer Zeit* (Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2010), on the conquest of Damascus—which one might expect to be mentioned in a book on the conquests; the work of Muriel Debié (see now her *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam* [Leuven: Peeters, 2015], which offers a comprehensive bibliography on Syriac historiography) and others on the Syriac and other non-Muslim sources; or Antoine Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir: l'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72-193/692-809)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), with its important insights into historiography and 'image-making' and his detailed study of the career of the Umayyad prince Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and his siege of Constantinople, discussed at length by Hoyland with no reference to this work.

10. Albrecht Noth, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Überlieferungsgeschichte* (Bonn: Selbstverlag der Universität, 1973); revised English translation: Lawrence I. Conrad and Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994).

11. John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieul*

There is, however, a reason to eschew referring to the early expansion as the "Islamic conquests" that is even stronger than the desire to counteract the bias of later sources: it is because in the available early sources the conquerors did not call themselves "Muslims," in the sense of a distinct monotheistic community, before about 700 C.E. Instead, to judge from the testimony of their seventh-century documents and the Qurʾān, the conquerors in their earliest years seem to have referred to themselves as *muʾminūn,* "believers." Curiously, however—perhaps because of his desire to avoid a religious interpretation of any kind—Hoyland passes in virtual silence over the term *muʾminūn.* Despite the author's professed desire to privilege seventh-century and documentary sources, he devotes only a passing mention and brief discussion (p. 57) to the word *muʾmin* and its implications; the uninitiated reader will probably not realize that the early conquerors called themselves, and presumably thought of themselves, primarily a "believers."[12]

In this respect, *In God's Path* is likely to sow confusion, because Hoyland populates the pages of the book with "Muslims," even for the earliest period, when the term was not yet in use. He states, for example: "For the first fifty years or so after the death of Muhammad there was a quite clear

demarcation between the conquerors and the conquered. The former were mostly Arabs and mostly Muslims, though not as uniformly so as later histories suggest, and the latter were mostly non-Arabs and very few had converted to Islam." [p. 157]. This passage makes it clear that in the author's mind, "Muslim" is a distinct religious category, admission to which requires members of other religions, such as Jews or Christians, to "convert," and that this clear-cut confessional distinction was present already in the earliest years of the movement. There is a deep irony here, because despite Hoyland's expressed desire to avoid the Islamicizing tendencies of the later sources, he seems to have bought into one of those later sources' most basic objectives—which was to demonstrate that "Islam," in its later sense of a separate religious confession distinct from other monotheisms like Christianity and Judaism, already existed at the time of the prophet and during the era of the early conquests. This unfortunate implication could have been avoided simply by referring to the early community as one of *muʾminūn,* "believers," as they themselves did.

Despite Hoyland's desire to avoid a religious explanation for the conquests, a decided ambiguity between the religious and non-religious (in this case, "Arab"). perspectives is palpable throughout the book. Hoyland at times acknowledges religion as motivator, as for example when he states, "...there were many non-Muslims in [the conquerors'] ranks initially; what united them was their focus on *jihad*...," which sounds pretty religious. Indeed, this ambiguity is reflected even in the book's complete title (or title and subtitle): *In God's Path: The Arab conquests and the*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Fred M. Donner, *Narrative of Islamic Origins: the beginnings of Islamic historical writing* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1998); Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

12. It is noteworthy that the index contains no entry for "believer" or "*muʾmin,*" but does include entries for terms such as "Islam/Muslim," "Arab identity," and "*muhajirun.*"

creation of an Islamic empire. The title phrase is of course a truncated translation of *jihād fī sabīl Allāh*, "*jihad* in the path of God*,*" so the title seems to put strong emphasis the religious motivations of the conquest—yet the book itself strives to downplay the religious impetus.

And what, then, about the phrase "Arab conquests," which Hoyland proposes as a more suitable, because less religious, terminology? The problem with this nomenclature—despite the fact that it has been frequently used over the past century—is that there is no inscription, or papyrus document, or coin produced by the conquerors in the seventh century in which they refer to themselves as "Arabs." (Such usage only occurs in the later Islamic chronicles.) It is therefore especially misleading when, in support of his interpretation, Hoyland quotes the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 715-717) as saying "I shall not cease from the struggle for Constantinople until either I conquer it or I destroy the entire dominion of the Arabs in trying." (p. 172). This seems to suggest that the caliph conceived of the state as the "dominion of the Arabs." The quote, however, comes not from an Arabic source, but from the Syriac *Chronicon ad annum 1234*, on which Hoyland relied to reconstruct the now-lost work of Theophilus of Edessa;[13] and the Syriac text does not say "dominion of the Arabs", but rather uses the term *ṭayyāyē*,[14] a standard

Syriac designation for nomads—a word that cannot be considered an effort to replicate Arabic *al-ʿarab*, and should not blithely be translated as "Arab," which decidedly rings of conceptions of ethnic nationalism that arose only in the nineteenth century. To call the movement an "Arab conquest" will thus be profoundly misleading to the general readers to whom this book will appeal—offering, as it does, a simplistic interpolation of modern nationalist terminology onto the distant past.

Hoyland also contends that the expansion should be seen as "Arab" because it was closely analogous to the barbarian invasions in Western Europe. Like those invasions, he claims, the conquests were part of a process of ethnogenesis by which "the Arabs" crystallized into a distinct people, just as the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and other peoples had done in Europe. In view of the fact that no self-styled "Arab kingdom" resembling the kingdoms of the Ostrogoths or Visigoths ever seems to emerge, however, the idea that Arab ethnogenesis was taking place at this time seems questionable.

Hoyland also seems to want the "Arab conquest" to be similar to the Germanic invasions because he sees them both as processes that lacked a religious underpinning. He faults Islamicists for saying "that religion plays a greater role in the object of their study, but this is a

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13. Robert G. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 210.

14. *Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens* (ed. J. B. Chabot: Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1920), p. 301 [=*CSCO* 81, *Scriptores Syri* 36]. The

Latin translation by Chabot (*Anonymi Auctoris, Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, I. Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1937), 234 [=*CSCO* 109, *Scriptores Syri* 56]) uses "Arabum" for this passage, so perhaps Hoyland was simply following Chabot's initiative on this rendering. But Chabot (1860-1948) was raised in the heyday of European nationalism and could be expected to see history in terms of projected national identities.

dubious claim." (p. 5). But, as we have seen, there is good reason to believe that the conquests actually did have a religious (if not yet an "Islamic") impetus—as a movement of *muʾminūn*, "believers," led by their *amīr al-muʾminīn* or "Commander of the Believers." The differences between the Germanic invasions and the Arabian ones are in this respect surely as striking as their similarities: in a nutshell, Western Europe saw the emergence neither of a new Gothic scripture analogous to the Qurʾān, nor of a "Gothic caliph, " a unified leader of all Germanic groups having a religious as well as political aura analogous to that of the *amīr al-muʾminīn*. Instead, western Europe saw the emergence of several autonomous Gothic kingdoms. The Germanic invasions did not lead to the emergence of a new religion dominating Europe, as Islam came to dominate the Near East. Nor did the Gothic peoples who fell upon the Roman Empire first announce their presence by emblazoning on their earliest coins, inscriptions, and other documents slogans that are essentially religious. The Arabian believers, however, added short phrases in Arabic such as "In the name of God, who has no associate" to their first coins, based on Byzantine or Sasanian prototypes, which are among the earliest documents testifying to their presence. The religious (if not yet Islamic) character of the early expansion of the believers' movement is thus not merely a figment of the imagination of modern historians, snookered by later Islamic sources, but something for which solid seventh-century documentation actually exists.

Hoyland's determined avoidance of any religious explanation for the Believers' movement also leads him to neglect completely the possibility that apocalyptic eschatology, the anticipation of the imminent end of the world, may have played a part in its dynamism. This idea has in recent years gained considerable support, partly because of the patently eschatological character of many Qurʾānic passages. *In God's Path*, however, makes no mention at all of eschatological concerns.[15] Hoyland describes in some detail the two Umayyad sieges of Constantinople, but says nothing about apocalyptic thought as a possible motivation for them, even though the conquest of that city was a central and highly-anticipated event in early Islamic apocalyptic texts, a key objective to be achieved in order to usher in the End-Time. The extraordinary effort expended by the Umayyads to carry out these two assaults suggests that the conquest of Constantinople may have had cosmic significance to them, as one would expect if they were motivated by eschatological concerns. It is perfectly fine to point out that the conquerors were united by a common commitment to *jihād*, and one might certainly further develop the idea that it was the common experience of engaging in *jihād* together that helped bond conquerors of disparate tribes and regions together, and so helped a movement imbued with *communitas* develop the institutional structures of a nascent state. But *jihād* in the name of what, for what cause? Unless we assume something like eschatological enthusiasm, it is difficult to understand what would have motivated the early believers to embark on the conquests in the first place.

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15. The index has no entry for "apocalyptic/ism," "eschatology," "Last Judgment," or *yawm al-dīn* ("Day of Judgment").

The apocalyptic spark seems most likely to be what ignited the sudden burst of expansionist conquest that we associate with the eventual emergence—almost a century later—of Islam.

It is unfortunate that this well-written and readable volume embraces an interpretation that, to this reviewer at least, seems so stubbornly wrong-headed.

The many non-specialists who are likely to learn from it for the first time about the events of Islam's origins will either be forced to re-conceptualize what they know as they learn more, or will continue to cling to the outmoded trope of the "Arab conquests." In neither case will *In God's Path* have done them a service.

Book Review

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Maḥjūbī, *Al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīthī min khilāl Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl li-Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (240-327 H)* [Ḥadīth terms by way of Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl by Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī]. Baḥth li-nayl al-duktūrāh fī al-dirāsāt al-islāmīyah (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1432/2011), 474 pages.

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This is evidently an edition of Maḥjūbī's doctoral dissertation from around 2003, under the direction of Muḥammad al-Ṣiqillī al-Ḥusaynī, presumably in Fez. It is a highly systematic survey of hadith terminology in Ibn Abī Ḥātim's huge biographical dictionary, *al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*. About half of his entries include an evaluation of the person's hadith transmission, especially (in descending order of frequency) from his father, Abū Ḥātim (d. 277/890), Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848), Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), and Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī (d. 264/878). Maḥjūbī takes one term after another and gives first its dictionary (non-technical) definition, then its technical meaning, its appearance in prophetic hadith, if any, then the way it is used in *al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*.

This study will be useful principally as a reference, so that if one comes across an odd term, one can look it up to see how it used in *al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*, e.g. malīʾ (new to me), meaning "trustworthy." It seems to be accurate, at least as regards hadith terminology. Fairly often, Maḥjūbī goes beyond identifying usage in *al-Jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*, as when he interprets Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn's calling someone ṣuwayliḥ by means of quoting Ibn ʿAdī, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Ḥajar concerning the same man (134-5). The dubious underlying assumption is evidently that characterizations of men are effectively observations of fact, so that Ibn ʿAdī and the rest must have meant exactly the same thing as Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn. Occasionally, however, Maḥjūbī does recognize change over time; for example, the concentration of ninth-century critics on isnād comparison to define who was thiqah ("trustworthy") where critics of the High Middle Ages such as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ stressed personal characteristics such as probity and precision (81). He is not so good at terminology outside the field of hadith; for example, when he quotes Ibn Ḥibbān as saying that someone was a *mujtahid* as if it were relevant to his reliability as a traditionist (129), whereas this quotation must mean rather that he

was much given to supererogatory prayer. Another example: he defines the *abdāl* as 'the virtuous, trustworthy ones given to renunciation and worship' (156) without reference to the theory of substitution (that each one can be said to have taken the place of another, deceased intercessor), association with Syria, and so on. I also missed a few terms, outstandingly *laysa bi-dhāk*. In all, then, this is a workmanlike study, somewhat unimaginative but useful, still, for understanding particular expressions of early hadith criticism.

Book Review

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Seta Dadoyan, whose work on the Fāṭimids stands as a staple in medieval Armenian history, recently published her trilogy *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World.* These ambitious books center on several significant points about the nature of Armenian society and the place of Armenian Christians in the broader Islamic world. Aimed at both Islamicists and Armenologists and navigating both Arabic and Armenian sources, they provide an overview of Armenian-Muslim relations from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries. These books join recent studies in dismantling the assumption that there was a single and united medieval Armenian society. Significantly, they argue that we cannot see Armenian experiences as separate from broader Near Eastern civilization. Dadoyan's work paints a broad picture of relations between Armenians and Muslims, suggesting overarching patterns to make sense of diverse accounts and various events over multiple centuries. The first

volume, reviewed here, is subtitled "The Arab Period in Armīnyah." It introduces readers to Armenian society and religiosity from the fifth century (Eznik and the Council of Šahapiwan) before focusing on Umayyad and ʿAbbasid rule in the province and culminating in the rise and fall of the Arcruni and Bagratuni.

Historians frequently turn to Armenian sources as outside verification of political, social, and religious developments in other places. This potentially implies that Armenians are other, or even exotic, rendering them observers instead of participants in Near Eastern civilization. We need to pay more attention to setting Armenian experiences into the broader currents of Near Eastern history, whether we identify them as Islamic (as Dadoyan does here) or Iranian (as is more common in studies since the 1970s). The challenge is not related to a civilizational divide, but rather the nature of Armenian historiography and the structure of history as an academic discipline. Armenians

are certainly not intrinsically foreign to the Islamic world, but Armenian sources support a clear divide between Armenian Christians and the "foreigners" (*aylazgi*), a term frequently employed to refer to Arab Muslims.[1] Further, as historians we are trained in *either* Armenian *or* Islamic history. Bridging that disciplinary divide requires engagement with multiple historical subfields that typically do not overlap. As Dadoyan points out, the "so-called objectivity" of the historian is an impossible ideal because our training informs what we look at and how we engage with the material at hand.[2] It should come as no surprise, then, that writing interdisciplinary history is hampered by our training. Predictably, the types of questions Islamicists might ask about the Arab conquest or Umayyad and ʿAbbasid rule in Armenia are not always answered in Dadoyan's book because she has her own filters and concerns.

Dadoyan openly notes in her prologue that she "avoided debates on specific issues" and deliberately did not engage with "what some call 'scholarship out there,'" preferring instead "relatively old sources such as Gibbon."[3] But these debates and scholarship are precisely what would bridge the disciplinary divide and pull Armenia into dialogue with Islamic history. The first volume of her trilogy is organized as traditional dynastic history: Chapter 2 deals with the Arab conquest; Chapter 3,

the Umayyad period; and Chapter 4, the ʿAbbasid period, but a broader discussion about alternative periodization in Islamic history would have prompted fascinating questions about how to understand Armenia as a caliphal province. For example, Dadoyan explains that after the death of "the Prophet ʿAlī and the rise of the Meccan Umayyads" in 40AH/661CE,[4] the Umayyads created the caliphal province of Armenia in 73AH/693CE. She describes this as a correction of the commonly-cited 82AH/701CE. There is no demonstrably right or wrong answer here, as the inexactitude of the date is linked to the various Arab military campaigns under Muḥammad b. Marwān against Byzantine and Armenian forces in the North. The problem is not whether we choose the *fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr or the Marwānid Reforms as the impetus for the creation of caliphal Armenia. Instead, we need to address how we might write a chapter about "Umayyad Armenia" given two main problems. First, as Dadoyan herself argues, the Marwānids created caliphal Armenia. Sebēos's treaty between Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni and Muʿāwiya promises no Arab oversight in the province and, subsequently, Łewond's history gives no indication that there were Sufyānid governors in Armenia.[5] Al-Ṭabarī

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1. Thomson, "Christian Perception of History – the Armenian Perspective," in Van Ginkel, Murre, & van Lint (ed), *Redefining Christian Identity* (Louvain: Peeters, 2005).

2. Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World* (New Brunswick: Transaction P, 2011), 2.

3. Dadoyan (2011), xxv – xxvi.

4. Dadoyan (2011), 43 – 44. Presumably, the reference to "the Prophet ʿAlī" is a typo and should be read as ʿAlī, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad. The designation of Umayyads as Meccans reappears later in the book to refer (correctly) to Abū Sufyān. While we might also count ʿUthmān as a "Meccan Umayyad," the Umayyads who rose to power in 40AH/661CE in fact attacked Mecca twice, once in 64AH/683CE and again in 73AH/692CE, even reportedly starting a fire that threatened the Kaʿba itself. It was the heart of Zubayrid territory.

5. Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn,* ed. Abgaryan (Erevan:

even mentions a Zubayrid governor named Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra stationed there in 67AH/687CE,[6] so it seems unlikely that the Sufyānids ever controlled the territory directly. Second, we only have ʿAbbasid-era sources about the Umayyad period. Sebēos's *Patmutʿiwn* cuts off at the end of the first *fitna* and Łewond wrote his *Patmagirkʿ* after the rise of the ʿAbbasids. Our earliest Arabic sources on caliphal Armenia, such as the works of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Yaʿqūbī, and al-Balādhurī, are from the ninth century. Telling conquest- and Umayyad-era history of a caliphal province without problematizing the extant sources bypasses an enormous body of literature on Islamic historiography.

Dadoyan's attempt to circumvent the problem of reliability of extant sources puts the accounts about caliphal Armenia into a broader history, i.e. looking for patterns that make sense of Umayyad and ʿAbbasid history based on our knowledge of Islamic history *writ large.* Yet her focus on "paradigms of interaction" presents the reader with a frustrating conundrum. On the one hand, Dadoyan is committed to showing diversity and heterodoxy within Armenian society. On the other hand, she proposes that we generalize history, as if "Armenians" and "Muslims" over the centuries always interacted with each other in predictable ways that we can now

identify and isolate as paradigmatic. If "[t] he point is that the Armenian experience in the medieval Near East is too diverse and complicated to respond to simplistic and quasi-epic constructions,"[7] then how can the reader make use of "paradigms of interaction"? Every historian looks for shapes to give meaning to our sources and to the events we study, but this surely does not signify that there are broad patterns governing all of the shapes over multiple centuries.

To take a specific example, one of Dadoyan's paradigms of interaction is the proliferation of treaties stipulating Armenian dhimmitude. Dadoyan argues that "the issue of strict authenticity [of any particular treaty] is secondary to the historicity of the tradition of so-called Islamic Oaths to Christians in medieval histories."[8] While scholars have revisited the issue of authenticity recently,[9] she is undeniably correct that Armenians and Muslims frequently signed multiple comparable treaties throughout the entire period of this study and beyond. Still, it is unclear how a paradigmatic framework would allow for an examination of historicity. To support her argument, Dadoyan presents the treaty between Ḥabīb b. Maslama and the people of Dabīl/ Dwin, the caliphal capital of Armenia. She compares English translations of the treaty from al-Balādhurī's ninth-century Arabic *Futūḥ al-buldān* and Samuēl Anecʿi's twelfth-century Armenian *Hawakʿmunkʿ i grocʿ patmagracʿ*. As they appear here,

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Haykakan SSH Gitutʿyunneru Akademiayi Hratarakčʿutʿyun, 1979), 164; Jinbashian, "Arabo-Armenian peace treaty of A.D. 652," *Haykazean hayagitakan handēs* 6 (1977-8), 169 – 174.

6. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk,* ed. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1879 – 1901), II 750: Muhallab is placed over Mawṣil, Jazīra, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, a province known since M. Bates's 1989 article as "the Umayyad North"; Laurent & Canard, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Lisbon: Librairie Bertrand, 1919/1980), 410 n. 6.

7. Dadoyan (2011), 3.

8. Dadoyan (2011), 59.

9. See Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) and Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the early Islamic Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011).

these texts are nearly verbatim. She pulls in references to comparable Ayyūbid-, Mongol-, Safavid-, and Ottoman-era treaties and concludes: "it can be argued that irrespicive [*sic*] of their authenticity—which cannot be established anyway—in medieval Armenian histories the tradition of oaths should be studied as a single broad aspect of Islamic-Armenian relations."[10]

With this example, Dadoyan casts a wide net to speak about the long history of Armenian-Muslim relations, but it is in fact a remarkable comparison that can illuminate a much more specific, *historicized* moment: the twelfth century. It suggests that Samuēl Anecʻi or his informants had access to Arabic sources and that these informed the Armenian historian so much that he even referred to the city by the Arabic Dābil [*sic*][11] instead of by the Armenian Dwin. This does not necessarily diverge from the findings about other Armenian histories written in twelfth-century Ani,[12] but it does suggest that this is part of a much broader literary interaction that should be contextualized and examined in greater depth instead of as an unmoored paradigm, comparable to the Prophet's Medinan oaths and the

Ottomans alike.

While this is a serviceable example of how the paradigmatic approach favors the generalized retelling of history, the matter is moot anyway since Dadoyan's sources cannot be verified. Samuēl Anecʻi's text actually covers the Arab conquest of Dabīl/Dwin very briefly and does not mention Ḥabīb b. Maslama at all.[13] Dadoyan's footnote for Samuēl Anecʻi's rendition of the treaty points the reader not to the *Hawakʻmunkʻ* itself, but to a passage from a modern study of Armenian history that does not mention Samuēl at all. Without recourse to the exact passage in Samuēl Anecʻi's text, we cannot make any conclusions about a twelfth-century rendition of the treaty or its potential relation to earlier Arabic accounts, let alone the similarities between it and Ayyūbid-, Mongol-, Safavid-, and Ottoman-era treaties.

We need historians who are brave enough to step back from the minutia, to gather up all of the details, and to shape them into some sort of narrative. Dadoyan takes a look at the big picture and challenges modern presumptions about categorical identities in the Near East. Significantly, the first volume of *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World* is approachable and encourages students of Armenian history to read the Armenian texts against the grain. From a research-oriented perspective, it introduces a number of interesting questions that Dadoyan will hopefully continue to advance in future publications.

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10. Dadoyan (2011), 61.

11. The Arabic name for Dwin appears as Dābil consistently in this volume and should instead be read Dabīl. Also, it is unclear why it appears with a macron in this particular instance, since this passage purports to translate the treaty from Armenian and, accordingly, should not have long vowels.

12. Kouymjian, "Mxitʻar (Mekhitar) of Ani on the Rise of the Seljuqs," *REA* 6 (1969), 331 – 53 and Kouymjian, "Problems of Medieval Armenian and Muslim Historiography: the Mxitʻar of Ani Fragment," *IJMES* Vol. 4 No. 4 (1973), 465 – 475. Granted, Mxitʻar Anecʻi was probably familiar with Persian sources rather than Arabic.

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13. Samuēl Anecʻi, *Hawakʻmunkʻ i grocʻ patmagracʻ*, ed. Tēr-Mikʻelean (Vałaršapat: Ējmiacni tparan, 1893), 80.

Book Review

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This important volume is based on a doctoral dissertation submitted in 2004 to the Department of History at Aden University. It follows a number of valuable sources on the Rasulid era in Yemen that have been published in Yemen and are rarely accessible outside Yemen. The author has consulted 182 Arabic sources (manuscripts and printed material), including the major chronicles, but is unaware of important sources in Western languages by R. B. Serjeant, G. Rex Smith, Eric Vallet and other scholars who have written on the Rasulids. The Intro-duction (pp. 15-20) lays out the purpose of the book, which is to highlight the inter-action of Yemeni tribes with the Rasulid state. The Rasulids and the Zaydi imams, located in the northern highlands, forged alliances with various tribes, who were prone to frequently rebel against Rasulid policies and taxation. The main value of the book is presenting information on the relations of the Rasulid rulers to specific Yemeni tribes rather than simply having a chronological account.

His text is divided into four parts. The first part describes the politics of the Rasulid state and the nature of the tribal system at the time. The second part focuses on several specific tribal rebellions, indicating their causes and consequences, whether political, economic, social or religious. The third part concentrates on the Yemeni tribes ʿAkk, al-Ashʿār, Madhḥaj and Ḥimyar, but also discusses other specific tribes as they related to the Rasulid state. The final part analyzes the methods of peacemaking and military action of the Rasulids in dealing with the tribes. Also included in the Introduction (pp. 20-36) is an annotated description of the major Rasulid texts consulted for the study.

The book includes a number of valuable appendices, listing the Ayyubid and Rasulid rulers in Yemen, as well as the Zaydi imams during the period. A genealogical chart of the descendants of ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Hārūn (known as al-Rasūl) is provided,

as well as a chart of Yemeni tribes from the ancestral stock of Kahlān and Ḥimyar. The four maps provided (of the Rasulid state and tribal groups) are very difficult to read, given the small size of the print. In addition to the bibliography there are indices of individuals (pp. 395-411), tribes (pp. 413-421) and placenames (pp. 423-436).

Book Review

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Aziz al-Azmeh aims his *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity* at two of the most important questions concerning Middle Eastern history: how did the Muslim faith arise, and what was the role of the Arab people in the venture of Islam? Al-Azmeh proposes to lead the flock of Middle East historians into the pastures of Hellenism, Late Antiquity and anthropology of religion, which he intones have been little-nibbled hitherto, and thereby suggests a "fresh look at Muslim emergence" (i). With this ambitious program, *The Emergence of Islam* is a lengthy text which surveys a wide array of studies written over the past 150 years on Late Antiquity, early Islam, paganism and monotheism to evaluate the paradigms through which modern scholars contemplate Islam's rise and to situate al-Azmeh's own position.

The admirably omnivorous bibliography and the extensive discussions of Late Antique Christianity and Mediterranean polytheism, politics and philosophy in

Chapters 1 and 2 establish this book as the fruit of a long scholarly genesis. Pursuant to his intentions, al-Azmeh introduces a host of intriguing theoretical questions about the nature of monotheism, the patterns of its adoption and its continuities with prior beliefs, and his expedition into Arabian polytheism in Chapter 4 adds further potentials for complexity, all of which should be welcomed by specialists. Al-Azmeh's attention to recent archaeological finds and pre-Islamic Arabian epigraphy is another strength of the book, presenting a store of material that can facilitate constructive advances in scholarship. As the reader rounds the corner into the book's final chapter on the articulation of Islam as the end-product of Umayyad imperial canonisation, he will have traversed a plentiful gamut of details and inferences that argue for the development of Paleo-Islam, an "Arab religion" (100) in the "pagan reservation" (40) of central Arabia, into a "recognisably Muslim cult" and an "imperial religion"

(428) under the transformative vision of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and his entourage who rigorously dissociated their Islam from both "Arab religion" and Judeo-Christian monotheisms. By this juncture, however, the reader will also be carrying a number of qualms, and these need some elaboration before appraising the conclusions al-Azmeh draws from his theoretical questions.

One issue stems from al-Azmeh's theoretical lens. By formulating a model in Chapters 1-2 for the emergence of monotheisms in Late Antiquity as a function of cultic and political centralisation, he establishes a mould into which he pours the evidence about early Islam, driving the argument that Islam's form needs to be understood as a (independent) replication of processes in Christianising Rome (279). The preponderant weight accorded to Romano-Byzantine legacies renders al-Azmeh's vision of Islam as beholden to what he dubs "Romanity", and the space for Sasanian inputs is expressly marginalised (3). This could summon concerns: the Arabic sources for early Islam are Iraqi, and the *a priori* conceptualisation of the Islamic faith as a purely Syrian imperial operation, separate from the supposedly 'Persian' Abbasids, perpetuates a timeworn conceptual model which is currently in need of more reflection than al-Azmeh's model permits. Al-Azmeh's rigid adhesion to his model also has the attendant drawback of subordinating evidence to structure: the model takes precedence, and while theory is manifestly valuable in the field, textual evidence remains important – and here the book docks in difficult methodological moorings.

Al-Azmeh details his interpretive methodology in a companion volume, *The Arabs and Islam in Late Antiquity* (Berlin: Gerlach, 2014). It is directed against the formerly hyper-critical approach to early Islam adopted by various scholars, but in seeking to redress earlier cynicism, al-Azmeh swings far towards a form of positivism whereby writers of Arabic literary sources between the second/eighth and fourth/tenth centuries are lauded as "antiquarians" (*The Arabs in Islam* 43, 62; *The Emergence of Islam* 173) with "scrupulous" intentions to accurately record pre-Islamic facts. This reviewer supports the broad tenor of the Arabic literary tradition, but a classification of its authors as essentially anthropologists will stumble into hazardous misreadings of their literature. Al-Azmeh argues for the sources' empirical accuracy in order to use them as data repositories from which almost any quotation can be extracted to reconstruct *the* pre-Islamic Arab way of life, but this approach is not sustainable. While Arabic literature houses incredibly rich information, it is not a cultural monolith: anecdotal contradictions abound, and the most pressing task of analysis is not simply to distinguish 'correct' from 'false', but rather to question why different visions of the past subsisted (and co-existed) in Arabic literature. The field remains needy of better understanding of the discourses which constructed the edifices of classical Arabic literature before the corpus can be simply trawled for data. The sources require diachronic analysis to unpick the layers of historiography that developed over the 300-year period of recording the pre-Islamic past, with due accord to genre and the voices of classical-era authors, as they were developing varied discourses. Relegating writers to the status of

archivists homogenises them and silences their voices, overlooking the important advances in modern historiography that analyse history writing as narrative. Al-Azmeh's *The Arabs and Islam* refers to Hayden White as a kind of waiver (37), noting the value of his narratological theories, but not adopting his methods.

Accordingly, *The Emergence of Islam* traces Islam's development without giving feel for the Arabic material from which its evidence is adduced, and it rests manifold conclusions on single anecdotes. For example, a reference in the fourth/ tenth century al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* about the Island of Ḥaḍūḍā as a place of imprisonment is adduced to indicate that the pre-Islamic Arabs had an articulated pan-Arabian public political sphere (142). One reference in the reconstituted 'source' of the second/eighth Ibn Isḥāq's biography of Muhammad is quoted as evidence for the 'fact' that pre-Islamic Arabs had a habit of rubbing their bodies on idols (226). And a quotation from the Book of Exodus is matched with an anecdote from the fifth/eleventh century Iranian poetry specialist al-Tabrīzī to prove that the pre-Islamic Arabs and ancient Hebrews shared common views towards sacrifice (225). Chapter 3 relies particularly on the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* to reconstruct the facts of Arab life, but the complex question of how a book of songs, composed for a fourth/ tenth century Hamdanid prince in Aleppo can be used as an anthropological survey of pre-Islamic Arabian etiquette is left for the readers to resolve.

As a consequence, large sections of al-Azmeh's book, particularly chapters 3-5 reduce into vast lists of detail argued as being emblematic of the Arab ways and as proof for the book's model of monotheistic development. But we lack analysis as to why Muslim authors recorded the information, or synthesis of the facts. Investigation of the 'facts' also unearths some inconsistencies. For example, al-Azmeh is rightly critical of the notion of 'tribe', and avows to see through the tidy tribal classifications of Muslim-era genealogies when he discusses the Iraqi group Bakr ibn Wāʾil (127), but elsewhere he expressly cites Bakr as a cohesive tribal actor on the Iraqi-Arabian frontier (119), and Chapter 4 is replete with detailed taxonomies of specific tribal religious practices. I sense that al-Azmeh wants to deconstruct Orientalist prejudices about 'tribal Arabia', and this is an asset to his thinking (see 109), but because he uses Muslim-era sources with limited source-critical apparatus, he incorporates their embedded tribalism via the backdoor, and so ultimately repeats too many of the old sentiments about 'Bedouin' pre-Islam. Al-Azmeh's empirical application of Arabic sources causes some misleading simplifications too. For instance, he names Tåabbaṭa Sharran as one of the quintessential outlaw *ṣaʿālīk* brigand poets (142), but Tåabbaṭa Sharran's literary persona as such a brigand was actually crafted by Muslim narrators over 150 years of storytelling between the second/ eighth and fourth/tenth centuries, and the association of Tåabbaṭa Sharran with ghouls, which al-Azmeh notes as an factoid about pre-Islamic Arabian belief in spirits (209), was likewise augmented by Muslims and only began to truly flower in the fourth/tenth century with the *Aghānī*'s lengthy biography about the poet. Literary figures such as Tåabbaṭa Sharran are too complex to be adduced as one-dimensional exemplars of this or that Arab trait:

the memories of pre-Islam became the property of Iraqi Muslims and often took on new significations, some seemingly different to the 'reality' of pre-Islamic times.

A related, and also fundamental issue concerns al-Azmeh's treatment of the Arab people. Al-Azmeh's model needs 'Arabs' as the protagonists for its story – the possessors of a definitive range of pre-Islamic beliefs that constituted the 'Arab religion', and the actors who transformed Islam into its current form. In aligning "Allāh and His people" with "Arabs", the analysis ignores Bashear's *The Arabs and Others* with its observations from hadith and exegesis that Islam acquired its supposed 'signature' Arab identity only during the later first/ seventh and second/eighth centuries. The problems with viewing Islam as an 'Arab national movement' recently resurfaced in Donner (*Muhammad and the Believers*) and Millar (*Religion, Language and Community in the Roman Near East*), but are not aired in al-Azmeh's Arab narrative.

Furthermore, al-Azmeh's underlying assumption that pre-Islamic pan-Arabian populations were ethnically unified under the term 'Arab', projects Arab identity into an ancient past which verges on primordialist racial archetype, and this notion is critically challenged by the fact that pre-Islamic Arabians did not seem to call themselves 'Arabs', nor did their neighbours describe them as such, labelling Arabians instead as Saracens/ *Saraceni* and *Ṭayyāyē*. Al-Azmeh acknowledges the absence of the name 'Arab' in pre-Islamic records, (104-5), and he argues to trace Arab "ethnogenesis", *i.e.* the process by which Arab communities developed their identity (and name) over time (100, 110, 147), but to substantiate his investigation into ethnicity and ethnogenesis, there is a surprising lack of theoretical engagement, especially given al-Azmeh's wide anthropological reading in other fields. Scholarship now possesses elaborate models to interpret how groups gather together and imagine themselves to constitute an ethnic community: the idea of ethnogenesis began with Max Weber, and more recently with key contributions from Barth, Anderson, Smith, Hobsbawm, Geary and Pohl and Reimitz,[1] but reference to these works is absent in *The Emergence of Islam*. Using the word 'ethnogenesis' without consulting the relevant theorists is a substantial misrepresentation, and the fallout is reflected in al-Azmeh's homogenised treatment of Arabness in pre-Islam. The consequences are not merely semantic: imposing an anachronistic notion of Arabness across Arabia engenders the presumption that there was one cohesive body of people who were 'ready' to come together under

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1. The classic study for ethnicity and identity is Weber, Max, "The Origins of Ethnic Groups," in John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, *Ethnicity.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996, pp. 35-9. For more recent work, see Barth, Fredrik, *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969); Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991); Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990); Smith, Anthony, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003); Pohl, Walter and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Strategies of Distinction: the Construction of Ethnic Communities (300-800)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Geary, Patrick, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003); and Jenkins, Richard, *Rethinking Ethnicity* (London: Sage, 2008).

Muhammad's message, and so risks overlooking perhaps the most important achievement of early Islam: the creation of a novel community of believers. These peoples' decision to call themselves Arabs is reflected in convoluted discourses in Arabic literature about Arab family trees, the definition of *ʿarabī* and the merits of Arabness: such issues can be broached by carefully examining Muslim-era narratives, but this is absent in *The Emergence of Islam.*

A reader may equate the tenor of al-Azmeh's book with Jawād ʿAlī's ten-volume survey of pre-Islamic Arabness, *al-Mufaṣṣal*: both present their readers with an agglomeration of anecdotes about 'Arabs', but yet without according space for source-critical reflection or investigation into Muslim discourses about their pre-Islamic past. Herein, a reader would expect engagement with the idea of *al-Jāhiliyya* (the pre-Islamic 'Age of Ignorance' or 'Passion'): al-Azmeh offers a brief statement illustrating his ample grasp of the discourses involved (359-60), but his treatment of the sources precludes deeper probing; he lists Drory's important

1996 article "The Abbasid Construction of the Jāhiliyya" in his bibliography, but, according to my reading, I could not find it cited in the text or footnotes.

Overall, al-Azmeh's thoughts on monotheism and Late Antiquity are original and pertinent, and it is therefore unfortunate that he retreated into an unsophisticated approach to the Arabic sources which means his excellent questions and inferences are not always backed by compelling evidence. The result is a dense narrative about Islam's origins as an evolution from pagan Arabia, through a nascent guise under the charismatic leadership of a prophet, to a fully articulated faith system in the Fertile Crescent. This ultimately reflects the narratives of many current (and past) scholars, and instead of spearheading the "fresh approach", al-Azmeh rather points towards it. We can hope that scholars will take up his many erudite challenges and think around them with more sensitive methodologies to both sources and the notions of community, faith and ethnicity.

Book Review

Jāsim Muḥammad Kaẓim, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī al-mujtamaʿ
al-Baghdādī fī al-ʿahdayn al-Buwayhī wa-al-Saljūqī* (Baghdad:
Dār al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah, 2013), 327 pages. (Paperback).

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This book belongs to a subfield that has emerged over the past half-century in Arabophone historical scholarship. We might call it "non-Muslim studies." It is first cousin to that historiography which has focused on particular non-Muslim religious communities—usually Jews or Christians—in relation to some period of Islamic history (think of Louis Cheikho's pioneering work on Christian poets, scholars, and state officials, or Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥamad's *Dawr al-yahūd fī al-ḥaḍārah al-islāmiyyah* [al-Raqqah, 2006]). But "non-Muslim studies" treats non-Muslims trans-communally, usually in their legal personality, as *ahl al-dhimmah*. The subfield is distinctive, too, in that most of its contributors have been Muslims, and have written as such. Its appearance has coincided with that of independent nation-states in the Arab world, in which the political salience of religious identities and religious minorities has been increasingly debated amongst a new Muslim-majority reading public. It has also been invigorated by a growing awareness of European-language historical scholarship, with its longstanding, occasionally antagonistic concern for Christians and Jews "under Islam."

One struggles, in fact, to find Arabic historiography on *ahl al-dhimmah* as such before 1949, when Arthur Stanley Tritton's foundational *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects* first appeared in Arabic translation (*Ahl al-dhimmah fī al-Islām*, tr. Ḥ. Ḥabashī. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī). But since then the studies have followed in quickening succession:

- Qāsim ʿAbduh Qāsim, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī Miṣr al-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā: dirāsah wathāʾiqiyyah* (Cairo, 1977

- Idem, *Ahl al-dhimma fī Miṣr min al-fatḥ al-islāmī ḥattā nihāyat dawlat al-Mamālīk* (al-Haram, 2003)

- Sallām Shāfiʿī Maḥmūd, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī Miṣr fī al-ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimī*

al-thānī wa-al-ʿaṣr al-Ayyūbī (Cairo, 1982

- Idem, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī Miṣr fī al-ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimī al-awwal* (Cairo, 1995

- Tawfīq Sulṭān Yūzbakī, *Tārīkh ahl al-dhimmah fī al-ʿIrāq, 12–247* (Riyadh, 1983)

- Shafīq Yamūt, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī mukhtalif aṭwārihim wa-ʿuṣūrihim* (Beirut, 1991)

- Sayyidah Ismāʿīl Kāshif, *Miṣr al-islāmiyyah wa-ahl al-dhimmah* (Cairo, 1993)

- Ḥasan al-Mimmī, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī al-ḥaḍārahal-islāmiyyah* (Beirut,1998)

The subfield continues to flourish in the new millennium:

- Fāṭimah Muṣṭafā ʿĀmir, *Tārīkh ahl al-dhimmah fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyyah min al-fatḥ al-ʿArabī ḥattā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-Fāṭimī, 2v.* (Cairo, 2000)

- Yaḥyā Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Hādī Ḥusayn, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī al-ʿIrāq fī al-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī: al-fatrah al-Saljūqiyyah namūdhajan (447–590/1055–1194)* (Irbid, 2004)

- Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Hādī Sharīf, *Aḥwāl ghayr al-muslimīn fī bilād al-Shām ḥattā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-Umawī* (Amman, 2007)

- Wasan Ḥusayn Muḥaymīd Ghurayrī, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī al-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī: dirāsah fī awḍāʿihim al-ijtimāʿiyyah wa-al-iqtiṣadiyyah* (Baghdad, 2009)

- Banāz Ismāʿīl ʿAdū, *Ahl al-dhimma fī bilād al-Kurd fī al-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī, 132–447/749–1055: dirāsah tàrīkhiyyah taḥlīliyyah* (Irbil, 2011)

- Muḥammad al-Amīn Wuld Ān, *Ahl al-dhimmah bi-al-Andalus fī ẓill al-dawlah al-Umawiyyah, 138–422/755–1031* (Damascus, 2011)

- ʿAlī Fulayḥ ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣumaydiʿī, *Ahl al-dhimmah fī al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā min al-fatḥ al-Islāmī ḥattā nihāyat dawlat al-Muwaḥḥidīn* (Amman, 2014)

We may conclude this brief, inexhaustive survey with a 2005 Zagazig University dissertation — fittingly, by one of Qāsim's students— Zaynab ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad Karīr's *Ahl al-dhimma fī al-ʿahd al-Ḥafṣī (626-982/1228–1574)*. This is to say nothing of the steady flow of studies concerned with specific religious communities or sects, or more narrowly with Islamic law as it related historically to non-Muslims (construed as *ahl al-dhimmah*). European-language scholarship has engaged much less with the Arabophone subfield of non-Muslim studies than the works that comprise the subfield have done with it, which is to say, very little indeed.

Jāsim Muḥammad Kaẓim's study sets out to fill a geographical and chronological gap in this literature: Baghdad in the Būyid and Saljūq periods, including the interlude between the demise of Saljūq rule and the Mongol sack of the city (so, ca. 334–656/945–1258). The book is divided into four thematic chapters (*fuṣūl*). The first surveys the history of non-Muslims (*al-dhimmiyyūn*) in Baghdad prior to the Būyid period, while the remaining three cover aspects of non-Muslims' history in the period under study. There is a thorough introduction and a brief conclusion. Lastly, the author provides seven appendices: four diplomas of investiture from an Abbasid caliph to a Christian or Jewish communal leader (three Nestorian *katholikoi* and

a Jewish head of the yeshiva), from published sources, and three family trees: of the Bukhtīshūʿ dynasty of doctors and the Sabian Qurrah and Zahrūn secretarial clans. The latter are helpful enough, the former less so, as they offer no critical apparatus whatsoever. I shall briefly review each major division of the book in its turn, then conclude with some general observations.

The introductory section is in two parts: prologue (*muqaddimah*) and introduction (*tamhīd*). The prologue outlines the book's rationale, approach, structure, and major sources. The author does not conceal his preference for the Abbasid caliphs' rule over that of the "foreign" Būyids and Saljūqs. He is also eager to highlight the salutary diversity that characterized Islamic society in the period under study. To do this, he engages in what he calls "social history," which earns its name by being attuned to all aspects of non-Muslims' participation (in effect, that of Christians, Jews, and Sabians, since Zoroastrians are evidently all but invisible in the sources) in the society of Baghdad. The book's sources, both primary and secondary, are almost all in Arabic. All will be known to the specialist. It is worth noting that the author has exhaustively combed Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam*, a valuable service; that he uses the works of non-Muslim writers such as Bar Hebraeus, Mārī b. Sulaymān, and Benjamin of Tudela; and that he is cognizant of some European-language scholarship, principally the work of Tritton and (crucially) J.-M. Fiey. The introduction that next follows presents a standard political history of the period under study, concentrating on the Abbasid caliphs. It is evident in these introductory portions of the book that the author will

take a critical approach to some of his sources—such as the works of al-Dhahabī ("extreme" in his views on non-Muslims) and Ibn al-Athīr (too fulsome in praising the late Abbasids)—but not to those for Islam's formative period, and that he has consulted a very wide range of sources beyond the main ones identified in the prologue.

Though the title of the first chapter promises a study of non-Muslims in Baghdad before the Būyids, this is the subject only of its second and final section (*mabḥath*). The first section is a survey of the juristic notion of *ahl al-dhimmah* and the financial obligations of *dhimmis*. It is in this first section that the author's sanguine and ahistorical approach to the early Islamic period is most apparent, and with it the implicit deference to Islamic law that characterizes much of the subfield of "non-Muslim studies" outlined above. Non-Muslim communities and the individuals that comprised them apparently sprang into existence at the precise moment that they concluded the all-important pact with the Muslims, whence flowed the static, divinely ordained *dhimmah* institution that regulated their subsequent lives ("the Qurʾān makes numerous references to *dhimmīs*" [46]; "the wisdom behind this divine legislation... was to create a wide arena for mixing with Muslims, thereby to facilitate their conversion to Islam. The goal was certainly not to amass money" [47]). The presentation of the *dhimmah* arrangement here is highly schematic and idealized. Fortunately, the author soon recovers his critical faculties, but it must be borne in mind that the entire historical investigation is framed by reference to persistent personal-status categories

devised by premodern Muslim jurists.

The picture of pre-Būyid Baghdad presented in the second section would fit well in a modern *faḍāʾil* work in its glowing descriptions of economic flourishing coupled with the caliphs' boundless tolerance and leniency, but this rhetoric, too, gives way soon enough to a well-informed treatment of the major phases in the life of non-Muslims in Baghdad before 334/945. The highlights are all here, including basic introductions to the major religious communities; the discriminatory decrees under al-Rashīd, al-Mutawakkil, and al-Muqtadir; the hotly contested employment of non-Muslims in administration; and their participation in many cultural arenas. The larger picture that emerges is of a thoroughly integrated, multi-religious society in which Muslims formed the ruling class but, apart from enforcing persistent minor disabilities such as the *jizyah*, only tighten the screws on non-Muslims under anomalous circumstances.

The second chapter studies state policy toward the non-Muslims of Baghdad in the period under examination, under the headings of their "rights and obligations"; the state's treatment of them; and their communal leaders' dealings with the state. The bulk of the section on "rights and obligations" uses diplomas of investiture issued by the Abbasid state to communal leaders to flesh out the boundaries of peaceful cooperation. We then get the author's catalog of non-Muslims' "rights" (e.g., legal autonomy, limited freedom of worship, and state employment, the last of which is misleading) and "obligations" (e.g., respect for Islamic symbols, concealment of Islamic taboos like pork and alcoholic drinks). We find

out about the riots that could ensue if those obligations were not met, which the author blames on the urban rabble, not the *dhimmah* arrangement itself. In the author's view (85) the significance of the distinctive dress sometimes imposed on non-Muslims (*ghiyār*) evolved gradually until the Būyid period, when it settled in as a means of punitive and extortionate state discrimination.

The state's treatment of non-Muslims, meanwhile, turns out to be far from a top-down affair. Rather, for the author it is a ceaselessly evolving story of shifting alliances and conflicts among caliphs, Būyid and Saljūq military men, Muslim and non-Muslim high administrative officials, the urban populace, and influential Muslim scholars. The *dhimmah* discourse is deployed alongside other discursive registers as a weapon in this unending struggle. This is a richly documented discussion with many colorful and little-known anecdotal examples. Most of the harsher repression is blamed by the author on the urban masses and the scholars, whom he refers to as "jurists" (*fuqahāʾ*) and who allegedly envied the high social and economic standing of certain non-Muslims. This argument is convincing, and reassuringly distant from the wooden conception of Islamic law that clogged the book's earlier sections. The chapter concludes with a survey of how the state interfaced with the leaders of non-Muslim communities. Specialists will find relatively little new in this final survey. The treatment is competent but thinly documented, as it makes little use of non-Arabic sources, European-language scholarship, or new Arabic sources beyond the well-known information of Ibn al-Sāʿī and al-Qalqashandī on the subject.

The third chapter is perhaps the book's richest. Covering the social, economic, and political conditions of non-Muslims in Baghdad, it is divided into three sections—on "the relationship between *ahl al-dhimmah* and the society of Baghdad," non-Muslims' occupations, and their political and economic roles—but these tend to bleed together. We get a reasonably thorough tour of the urban topography of Baghdad and the religious makeup of its inhabitants (without a good map, unfortunately), a survey of the city's churches and monasteries, and anecdotal evidence of how non-elite Muslims and non-Muslims got along. The author claims (147) that Christians mixed far more freely with Muslims than did Jews, who were (as he repeatedly states, without compelling justification) a community turned in upon itself. The sources for all this are uneven; some anecdotes are richly documented from primary sources like the *Muntaẓam* or the Nestorian Christian Mārī b. Sulaymān's *Kitāb al-majdal*, but too often the author falls back on Arabic translations of European-language secondary sources, like Adam Metz's *The Renaissance of Islam* (dated) and Richard Coke's 1927 *Baghdad: The City of Peace* (dubious). One particularly spotty passage (157) blames "Christian armies" that, under Mongol command, sacked Baghdad in 1258—an exaggeration, to say the least. Nevertheless, the author successfully shows that economic and political motives underlay much of the recorded animosity toward non-Muslims in the period (160). This applied especially to non-Muslim officials, who are treated next, in a lengthy and well-researched section that collects a wealth of material that will be new to many specialists. Time and again

we see Muslim jurists, competing with non-Muslim officials for prestige and influence, rouse urban Baghdādīs against their adversaries. Yet the chapter's final section, on non-Muslims' economic and political roles, disappoints. Too reliant on secondary sources, it briskly surveys non-Muslims' involvement in certain famous intrigues and occupations, notably trade. The highlight is a fascinating (though abortive) "strike" against the imposition of the *ghiyār* that Ibn al-Jawzī reports for the year 450/1057; all the Jews and Christians of Baghdad were to stay home in protest. This incident deserves careful study, but does not receive it here.

The fourth and final chapter attempts to present a picture of non-Muslims' intellectual life in Baghdad. Since the author is so heavily dependent on Arabic sources and secondary literature of uneven quality, it natural that this chapter is the book's weakest. The account of Arabization after the conquests, for instance, is so truncated as to be useless, reliant as it is on antiquated European scholarship in translation (Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes' 1921 *Les institutions musulmanes*) and questionable assertions in more recent Arabic-language works (Suhayl Qāshā's authority is invoked for the claim that "it was the tolerance of the Arab Muslims that led to the spread of Arabic" [197]). Lacking access to Aramaic, Hebrew, and Judeo-Arabic sources, or recent scholarship on them, the author has not moved beyond the accounts—primarily of non-Muslim educational institutions—that are available in those Arabic secondary sources on which he depended most heavily. When he arrives at non-Muslim doctors and translators, however, the Arabic primary sources come

online once again, and the treatment is accordingly rich, though it amounts to little more than a prosopography derived from the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, al-Qifṭī, and other such authors. As such the chapter could be a useful resource for modern historians—who will enjoy such anecdotes as that of the Christian doctor Ibn al-Tilmīdh (d. 560/1164), whose house adjoined the Niẓāmiyyah *madrasah* and who did brisk business treating Muslim jurists (239)—but adds little value to the material it assembles. The non-Muslim learned men treated in the chapter's final section—on non-Muslim philosophers, natural scientists, and littérateurs—are mostly doctors, too, and much of the material about their lives is drawn from the same biographical dictionaries. That which comes from elsewhere, particularly Arabic poetry composed by such men, is chiefly from secondary sources, such as the works of Louis Cheikho. The specifically religious intellectual activities of Baghdad's non-Muslims are glaringly absent.

Nevertheless, several of the conclusions presented in the book's succinct conclusion are astute, particularly the observation that instances of conflict that ostensibly took place between members of different religious communities were usually rooted in factors beyond the ideological. Given the general neglect of Arabophone "non-Muslim studies" by scholars working in European languages, one would like to report that the subfield, to which this book belongs, has a great deal to offer. That claim would not be wholly untrue; the present volume unites much material that was previously quarantined in confessional silos and scours the Arabic literary sources with unprecedented care, bringing new or long-forgotten anecdotes to light and curating it with real skill. Readers of this journal stand to gain by building on its advances in these respects, and they should read those sections that pertain to their interests. Moreover, one is grateful for such a measured contribution to Arabophone scholarship in these dark days of intercommunal strife in Iraq and Syria; it cannot have been easy to research and write the book under such conditions. Yet it must be said that in many respects the book falls short of the reader's hopes: in the stiffly juristic framing of its subject; in its too-frequent reliance on modern studies of irregular quality; in its blithe disregard for sources in languages other than Arabic; in its preference for surveying a set topic, however general and scantily documented, rather than following where the surviving sources lead. Yet instead of continuing to ignore "non-Muslim studies" because of such reservations, we should engage with it, for its strengths, and to bridge the gulf that still separates its practitioners from our own traditions of scholarship, to our mutual disadvantage.

In Memoriam

Thierry Bianquis
(1935-2004)

The French historian of early Islamic Syria and Fatimid Egypt, Thierry Bianquis, died on September 2, 2014 at the age of 79, leaving a permanent ache in the hearts of those who knew him.

Born in Lebanon on August 3, 1935 of French parents, one of four sons and two daughters, his formative years were spent in the warmth of a civilization he would forever be attached to. He earned his doctorate in history at the University of Lyon (1953–1960) and his teaching license in 1963 after a two-year stint in Algeria teaching at a military academy, and then in his early thirties he returned to the Middle East—to begin with, on a year's scholarship at the Centre Religieux d'Études Arabes (CREA) in Bikfaya in the Lebanese mountains, from where he went to the Institut Français d'Études Arabes (IFEAD) in Damascus as a resident (1968–1971), whence on to Cairo for four years (1971–1975) as a visiting scholar at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), before returning to Damascus and IFEAD as its director for the years 1975 to 1981.

The rest of his academic life was spent at Université Lyon Lumière 2 where he completed his thèse d'État (that has since

Photo: Thierry Bianquis at Fustat, Egypt, in 1973. (Photo courtesy of Anne-Marie Bianquis)

Thierry Bianquis in the 1970s. (Photo courtesy of Anne-Marie Bianquis)

been replaced by the French Habilitation) with Claude Cahen (1981–1984) and began his university career, rising to the position of full professor in the History and Civilization of the Muslim World in 1991. It is there that the Editorial Board of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* found him, when the French editor Gérard Lecomte died suddenly in April 1997. As my professional relationship with Thierry began at this time and in this context, I will limit my remarks to the years of his tenure as last editor of the French edition of the *EI*.

The Editorial Board met urgently in Berlin to decide on the succession to Lecomte and a list of three names was agreed upon. Thierry was not on the list, but he was recommended by the first to be asked, who was staunch in his refusal. Thierry's location outside the academic cauldron that was Paris was seen as an advantage and he was subsequently asked if he had any interest (the final decision would be made after pro forma consultation with the Executive Committee). A defining

characteristic immediately came into view: Thierry reached out to colleagues to ask advice. A second characteristic followed: an invitation to the editors to come to his country home where "je pourrais vous loger, vous abreuver, vous nourrir et vous faire visiter des églises romanes." The editors needed little persuasion that Thierry would be a good fit; the appointment was made per July 1, 1997 and he took over at the start of the tenth volume, T–U.

Scholarly integrity and unfailing generosity were his hallmarks. Where the other editors edited more broadly, occasionally adding, often deleting, but trusting in the authorial choice made when the article was just an entry to be allocated, Thierry was precise and idealistic. Had Thierry had his way, which he did not, each article would have been subjected to a process of stringent peer-review, editing, and rewriting, over a period of many, many months. "Il faut adopter les doubles équipes, une équipe écrivant la notice, une autre relisant la notice et complétant

la bibliographie," he wrote soon after beginning. Wedded to the lofty ideals of a pure scholarship but ensnared in the big business of corporate publishing, Thierry chafed under the contractual obligation to produce three fascicules per language edition per year, regardless of extenuating circumstances. "It is only for the big profits," he said more than once.

The *EI* was a machine, and a conveyor belt of articles that needed to be edited, translated, and proofread awaited him, propelled by the incessant pressure from the publisher. Struggling with the encyclopedia ropes, which were in abundance and very tangled, Thierry worked his way through the undiminishing mountain of work that for most contributors and users played out behind the scenes. A good three-quarters of the encyclopedia was submitted in English and had to be translated for the French edition, which was in perpetual need of funds for that very task. However proud of and territorial about their edition the French were—Lévi-Provençal famously declared in 1949 that no French scholar would write for the *EI* if a French second edition was not continued—there was precious little money put forward to support it. In 2000 Thierry estimated that for the ten fascicules of 112 pages that were left to be completed, he had approximately 3,360 typescript pages (*feuillets*) to translate, requiring approximately FF 240,000, or FF 150,000 more than the pledges made (and not always kept), to pay for translating them. Thierry, and his predecessor, spent countless bruising hours in their search for money to pay for the encyclopedia articles to be translated into French, and more often than is widely known took the translations upon themselves, unpaid.

It can truthfully be said that Thierry never learned all the ropes, never closed the gap and brought the English and French editions back to simultaneous publication, and never saw any of his ideas for improvement realized. Yet he worked tirelessly, managing for a number of years two fulltime and taxing jobs; the one remaining after he retired from the university in September 2000 was arguably the most arduous. Hoping that he might have more success influencing the run-up to the third edition, he as tirelessly advocated for a more internationally inclusive approach to ensure its quality—"il faut avoir une commission puisée parmi des savants d'au moins quinze pays qui choisirait les entrées et déciderait à qui les confier, en même temps elle devrait choisir un autre chercheur, ou plus, d'une culture différent pour relire l'entrée, la corriger et la compléter." A consummate scholar.

True to his word, Thierry and his wife Anne-Marie, a scholar of Syria in her own right, opened their beautiful old home in the French countryside for editorial

"Earth, receive an honoured guest."
W. H. Auden

meetings—two of the three convened should perhaps be put in air quotes—and the editors and their spouses, along with two teenage children, unabashedly took advantage. He did indeed know every Romanesque abbey and church in the region and a van to charter everyone was easily rented. Sweet are the memories.

Thierry was in poor health during the latter half of his encyclopedia tenure;

thankfully the *EI* did not send him to a very early grave, however exasperating, complex, rote, and nigh unmanageable the enterprise was. He delighted in his academic work, in his marriage, in his children, and in his grandchildren, and his

letters after the editors went their separate ways are reminders of the fount of love and affection that Thierry could call upon and dispense with ease. He is very sorely missed.

— Peri Bearman

In Memoriam

Irene "Renie" A. Bierman-McKinney

(1942-2015)

Writing obituary notes is an expectation when one is as senior as I am, but when the subject is your closest friend for three and a half decades, your intellectual mentor, and your collaborator on a wide range of projects the task is very hard, very sad but necessary. This is the case for me in preparing what follows.

Born Irene Abernathy, Renie attended as an undergraduate Western College for Women, which is now part of Miami University in Ohio. She then went on to take an M.A. in Middle East Studies at Harvard and then a certificate in Arabic from AUC. Renie then went to work on her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago, which had no one in Islamic art history. In fact Renie is the only major scholar of her generation in Islamic art history who was not trained by either Oleg Grabar at Harvard or Richard Ettinghausen in New York. This was already a clear sign of her independent mind.

By the mid-1970s she was Renie Bierman resident in Portland, OR. For the next half decade she taught courses on Islamic art at Portland State University and the University of Washington in Seattle where we met in 1977. Before I knew what was happening we had received a National Endowment for the Humanities grant to put on interpretive exhibitions of "Oriental" carpets in Portland, Seattle, Bellingham, WA, Spokane, WA, and Reno, NV with appropriate publications and public presentations. Then it was a 12 part

TV series on Islamic art shown extensively in the Pacific Northwest long before TV as an informational source became popular. All the time she was working on her University of Chicago Ph.D. which she completed in 1980.

A major change in her intellectual and professional life took place in 1981 when Renie had the opportunity to interact with a wide range of art historians as a fellow at Center for the Advanced Study of the Visual Arts, which is part of the National Gallery in Washington, DC. From there she went to UCLA for her first and only tenure track position retiring in 2012 as professor emerita. As an administrator Renie was known for her professionalism, openness and fairness and UCLA took advantage of those traits. She served as Director of their Middle East Center for 8 years and later as Chair, Department of Art History. Renie also had a reputation as an outstanding administrator based upon her service to ARCE as an interim director in Cairo. She was also the only art historian president of Middle East Medievalists (2001-2003) and during her career an active committee

member of many other academic organizations including ARCE and HIAA.

Her willingness to "think out of the box" and to create collaborative projects resulted in a number of international activities. She did an amazing job running two Getty Foundation grant in Istanbul and other parts of Turkey which included participants from over a dozen countries. As first a participant and then a co-director I can attest that under Renie's leadership we worked hard, played hard, and even effectively got the then head of Egyptian antiquities, Dr. Zahi Hawass, to Istanbul for a major public lecture and reception.

Renie created and then ran served as co-director of an ARCE/French Institute 4-year Research project in Cairo including 3 international conferences. Her publication record included 7 authored or edited books, 25 articles, and numerous exhibition pamphlets, catalogue descriptions and project reports. As her former M.A. student and friend Nasser Rabbat wrote "Her scholarship was both historical and interpretative, solidly rooted in research and knowingly conversant

with theory. Her work on the role of public writing in Islamic iconography was path-breaking; her study of the Ottomanization of cities extremely inventive, and her understanding of the function of conservation in our understanding of cities today constructively critical."

As a mentor to graduate students, Renie set exceptionally high standards and deliberately limited the number she would work with. As Wendy Shaw, one of her Ph.D. students, reflecting the voice of her almost dozen Ph.D.s, wrote "Renie was my first teacher in art history, and I never realized how unique she was until I entered the world and discovered the breadth with which she enabled her students to think outside of the boundaries of disciplinarity. I think she lives on in how we approach our careers as well as in how

we give shape to our work. I particularly appreciate her desire to engage students of all levels in excitement about discovering the world, her respect for the multiplicity of cultures and people in them, and her professionalism."

For all her public career, Renie was a very private person. One day she told me that she had once published a piece of fiction for the New Yorker, one of the most prestigious literary journals in the United States. "Under what name did you write it?" I eagerly asked. "I forgot," was her reply and the subject never came up again.

As one of her friends and admirers said to me "In short, Renie was a stylish, graceful, intellectual whirlwind." May she rest in peace.

— Jere L. Bacharach

In Memoriam
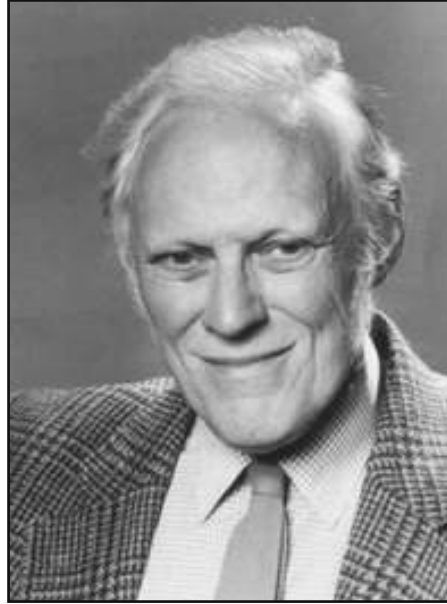
Clifford Edmund Bosworth
(1928-2015)

Clifford Edmund Bosworth was a giant amongst historians of the Middle East and Central Asia, and only the likes of his direct and indirect mentors, Vladimir Minorsky (d. 1966) and V.V. Barthold (d. 1930) respectively, could parallel his staggering erudition and productive zeal in his writings on the eastern Islamic world and beyond it.[1] Other colleagues have written detailed bibliographies of Edmund Bosworth's astoundingly prolific work, and I will draw on these.[2] In this essay, I offer a biographical sketch, while weaving in the highlights from his scholarly portfolio. Above all, I want to explore what made Edmund—as he liked to be called—who he was: an institution unto his own, a trailblazer, and nonetheless, incredibly kind, polite, and generous in spirit, a tall, slender man with his hallmark "unfashionable sideburns."[3] After publishing

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1. C.E. Bosworth, *A Century of British Orientalists, 1902-2001* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 205.

2. Until now, the two-volume Festschrift published in his honour fifteen years ago provides the most comprehensive and accurate bibliography. Ed. Ian R. Netton, Carole Hillenbrand and and C.E. Bosworth, *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), vol. 1: xiii-xxxv. That list has now been boosted and updated to the present day by Michael O'Neal in "C. Edmund Bosworth: An Updated Bibliography," in this issue of *al-ʿUsur al-Wusta*.

3. Ian R. Netton, "An Appreciation of the Life of Professor Clifford Edmund Bosworth," posted

hundreds of articles, twenty monographs and edited volumes, hundreds of conference papers, and editorial productions of multi-tome compendia such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition), the British Institute of Persian Studies journal (*IRAN*) for more than 40 years—"surely a record in journal editorship!" by his own account[4]—the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, and the UNESCO series on *The History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, as well as numerous major translation projects in advanced age, Edmund Bosworth never lacked the time to meet and support the lowliest of scholars—myself included (I had the pleasure of Edmund's acquaintance and mentorship in the last decade of his life). Geert Jan van Gelder remarks that:

Meeting him was always a pleasure, for he was not only a mine of information, often curious and entertaining, to use that phrase once again, but also kind and interested in other people (unlike some other brilliant academics I have known).[5]

I have divided up the biographical sketch into four chronological sections: I) Edmund's formative years in war-time Sheffield, and his early studies at Oxford; II) His Scottish years and his transformation into an academic and a family man; III) Manchester, where Edmund consolidated and established himself as a senior academic; and finally, IV) Castle Cary, his refuge of peace and writing, and setting

the foundations for the next generation of scholars and making more widely available the primary sources for non-specialists and specialist readerships alike.

I. Formative Years: Sheffield and Oxford (1928–52)

Edmund was born during the Christmas season, on the 29th of December 1928, in the industrial steel-producing town of Sheffield in the English county of South Yorkshire. His grandfather had worked in the steel industry as a fitter, and his father was a local government clerk. His mother had come to Sheffield from Peterborough as a teenager for her father to take up a post as a reporter with one of the local papers. At the time, Sheffield was suffering from a recession and the effects of high levels of urban growth. The city saw the development of back-to-back dwellings, poor water supply, and factory pollution, which inspired George Orwell to write in 1937 (when Edmund was nine years old): "Sheffield, I suppose, could justly claim to be called the ugliest town in the Old World."[6]

Edmund began his secondary schooling at Sheffield City Grammar School at the start of World War II in 1939. The pupils at grammar schools, which provided a strong focus on intellectual subjects (classics, literatures, math), were given the best opportunities of any school children in the state system, and many had received extra tutoring for entering the Oxford and Cambridge University systems. Edmund was to become a success story of that system. Sheffield City Grammar School "was to prove very influential in his

online http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/iais/ news/title_443572_en.html [last accessed: 15.09.15].

4. C.E. Bosworth (tr. and ed.), *The Ornament of Histories. A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650-1041. The Persian Text of Abu Sa'id Abd al-Hayy Gardizi* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011): xi.

5. *International Study for Iranian Studies Newsletter* 36/1 (May 2015): 16-18.

6. George Orwell, "Chapter 7," *The Road to Wigan Pier* (Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1937): 72.

life," writes Edmund's family.[7] It is worth mentioning some of the fine qualities of his school: it was co-educational at a time when it was considered revolutionary for the sexes to mingle in class. One reporter wrote:

… there is a solid, down-to-earth atmosphere about it that fits the character of the city, and its pupils have the friendliness and assurance one expects from Sheffield's hard-working, self-respecting citizens …[8]

Sheffield's steel factories began manufacturing weapons and ammunition for the war effort, which made it a target for bombing raids by the German Luftwaffe. Edmund's school suffered damage after the "Sheffield blitz" on the 12th of December 1940, but it was nothing that could not be fixed in a few weeks.[9] However, more than 660 lives were lost and many other buildings were destroyed in the blitz.[10]

According to an account written in 1963 and attributed to the school's headmaster, Stephen Northeast, the School resumed its normal function after the Christmas holiday in January 1941 amid occasional evening raids. In his retrospective, Northeast marveled at the steadfastness of the pupils to assemble at the usual

time despite a sleepless night caused by the air raids. It would be hard to imagine that young Edmund's drive for knowledge and cross-cultural understanding was not related to his childhood wartime experience. He was only 12 during the "Sheffield blitz" and 16 when the war ended: too young to be involved on the battlefield, but too old to be unmoved by the horrors that war and hatred of "the other" can bring.

The end of the war also brought to the British education system a new vigour. Edmund's old headmaster, Mr Northeast, explained: "As all who lived through it will remember, the end of the war brought a great surge of spirits as though we had emerged into the daylight after a journey through a long, dark tunnel."[11]Edmund's music tutor instilled in him a love for classical music (Edward Elgar, in particular), and his history tutor coached him for the Oxford entrance exams. He was awarded a scholarship ("exhibition") at St John's College, which Edmund took up after attending his mandatory army service from 1947 to 1949.

At Oxford, Edmund picked up choir singing and photography, while earning a first-class degree in Modern History—a programme that was focussed on Europe and the history of the West. At Oxford, he also began his contact with the Church, which was to become a lifelong passion. It was a personal acquaintance with an American friend at Oxford studying Arabic that awakened in Edmund what would become an enduring interest in Arabic and the Islamic world. And thus, his journey

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7. Personal communication, 6 May 2015.

8. "The City Grammar School, Sheffield," *Yorkshire Life Illustrated* (March 1960): 54.

9. Account by Stephen Northeast, "You will have a new building soon." http://www.omnesamici.co.uk/SPTC/SPTCnortheast.HTM [last accessed 14.09.15]

10. Mary Walton and Joseph P. Lamb, *Raiders over Sheffield: the Story of the Air raids of 12th & 15th December 194* (Sheffield: Sheffield City Libraries, 1980).

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11. http://www.omnesamici.co.uk/SPTC/SPTCnortheast.HTM [last accessed on 10 September 2015]

into the world of the Islamic history began. But first he had to earn money.

II. Scottish period (1952-67): Becoming an academic, gazing to "the east"

Edmund set off for Scotland in 1952, aged 24, to take up a new post in the Department of Agriculture. The job paid the bills, but Edmund's real interest lay elsewhere. He managed to combine work with Arabic studies with the help of the Reverend Professor Montgomery Watt, who headed the department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Edinburgh University (1947-79). Watt studied Islam from a Christian perspective, and was driven by the desire for a better understanding between the religions.[12] Given Edmund's increasing closeness to the Church, Watt's motivation must have had an effect on him too. Edmund was not a straight-out-of-the-mould "Orientalist" (in the best sense of the term, i.e. someone who worked closely with the primary source texts in the original language). He had experienced life as a civil servant, a theme that would be echoed in his thematic interests in medieval politico-administrative and military systems as a scholar of the Islamic world. During a visit to Oxford, when Edmund took me to St John's Senior Common Room, he reassured me, in his usual generosity of spirit, that he, too, had come late to studying the Islamic world.

In 1954, Edmund obtained a scholarship for a Masters degree in Persian, Turkish,

and Arabic at the University of Edinburgh. In Edinburgh, he met Annette Todd. They married, and she joined him in St Andrews where Edmund took up his first lectureship and started working on his Ph.D. (at Edinburgh). Edmund and Annette had a long and happy marriage together, and their three daughters were all born in St Andrews (and eventually produced six grandchildren). Edmund was awarded his Ph.D. in 1961 when he was 33 years old. Edmund's thesis on the "Transition from Ghaznavid to Seljuq rule in the Islamic East" was prepared under the joint supervision of Montgomery Watt (d. 2006) and J.R. Walsh (d. 1993). It was Walsh, Senior Lecturer in Turkish at Edinburgh, who instilled in Edmund a specific interest in the eastern Iranian world.[13] Edmund also collaborated with John Andrew Boyle (d. 1978), a student of Vladimir Minorsky, on Turkish name forms. Boyle was at the University of Manchester, which was to become Edmund's main academic base a few years thence.[14] In his Ph.D. thesis, Edmund examined a number of themes that have set the tone and direction of scholarship on the region until the present

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12. In an interview he said that the study of Islam had taught him more about the "one-ness of God," something he found to have been obscured by the concept of the Holy Trinity in Christianity. Interview with Bashir Maan and Alastair McIntosh, *Coracle* (August, 2000): 8-11. Rev. Prof. Watt died in 2006, aged 97.

13. C.E. Bosworth, unpublished Ph.D. thesis at the University of Edinburgh, entitled "Transition from Ghaznavid to Seljuq rule in the Islamic East" (1961): v; and C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), with a 2nd ed. in Beirut 1973, reprint in New Delhi 1992, and a Persian translation: v.

14. *Idem.* J.A. Boyle is best known for his translations of the Ilkhānid chronicles of ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī's (d. 681/1283) *Tārīkh-i Jahān-ghushāy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997 [1958]), based on an earlier translation by Muḥammad Qazwīnī, and parts of Rashīd al-Dīn's (d. ca. 718/1318) *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* in *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

time, such as the background of the Turkic Oghuz confederation, conversions to Islam and the general Islamization of the Turkmen tribes, as well as the processes and consequences of the entry of the Turks into the Islamic lands of Central Asia and the Middle East.[15]

Edmund had already started publishing whilst working on his Ph.D. His first article, an entry for the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*'s (*EI²*) first volume, appeared in 1959. Might he already have suspected that he would become the most prolific encyclopaedia writer in his field? Edmund became the British editor of *EI²* for the next three decades. In his updated bibliography of Edmund's works, Michael O'Neal has brought the publication list up to October 2015, and revised the frequently cited number of 200 to more than 700.[16] To this, can be added many dozens of articles written by Edmund as consulting editor for the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (http://iranicaonline.org). In 1961, Edmund published his first book review: again, one of many more to come every single year of his illustrious scholarly career.

In 1963, two years after completing his Ph.D., Edmund published his first book, *The Ghaznavids, their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*. It was a revision of his Ph.D. thesis, and it secured Edmund's place as the foremost historian of medieval Afghanistan. Miklós Maróth of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (of which Edmund was an Honorary Member) has pointed out that Edmund was "admired not only by European Orientalists, but

by Oriental scholars too."[17] The book was reprinted in Beirut and New Delhi, and translated into Persian.[18]

For the remainder of his 15-year Scottish sojourn, Edmund produced around 35 articles and book chapters dealing mainly with Afghan and Islamic Central Asian history, particularly medieval dynasties, such as, the Ghūrids, the Ghaznavids, and the Khwarazmshāhs. Edmund was also able to branch out and publish on administrative and political manuals produced elsewhere in the Islamic world, such as the Egyptian Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*. He began inventorying dynasties in places like Daylam, Gurgān and Ṭabaristān in modern-day Iran, for example.[19] This research culminated in perhaps his best-known and most-used work, *The Islamic Dynasties*.[20] It continues to serve as the standard manual for historians on the rulers and ruling families of the entire Islamic world. Edmund substantially reworked and extended the

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15. See Michael O'Neal's bibliography below for details.

16. These are listed in *EI²* as being written by "Ed."

17. Maróth Miklós akadémikus laudációja C. E. Bosworth tiszteleti tag székfoglalója alkalmából 2005. április 25-én.

18. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994*-1040 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963); 2nd ed. (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1973); repr. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1992); Persian translation (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1356/1977-8).

19. "Dailamīs in Central Iran: the Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd," *IRAN* 7 (1970): 73–95, repr. *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), art. V; "On the Chronology of the Ziyārids in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān," *Der Islam* 40 (1964): 25–34, repr. *Medieval History*, art. II; and *EI²* article on "Ṭabaristān."

20. C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties. A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook*, Islamic Surveys 5 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967).

text in 1996, and again in 2010. The increase in dynasties from 82 (in 1967) to 186 (in 1996) is a testament to the superlative span of Edmund's vision. It would take the cooperative efforts of a team of scholars to produce a future dynastic manual that exceeded the scale and scope of his 2010 edition, and this only underscores the gaping hole that Edmund has left in the field.[21]

Edmund spent the final two years of his lectureship at St Andrews on a visiting professorship in the University of Toronto, where he must have been putting the final touches on his third book in the course of a mere five years, *Sistan under the Arabs*, which came out in 1968. This book continues to be the standard work on the Ṣaffārids, and the medieval history of this highly complex and (still) little understood part of the world: an area between modern-day Iran (Zahedan) and Afghanistan (Zarang and Nimruz), with an ancient history known as the Middle Persian Sakastan. Sīstān was the staging ground for the caliphate's push into Qandahar and Kabul, and ultimately India, which were only brought into the *dār al-Islām* four centuries later. This area, clustered in Afghanistan around the Helmand riverine areas, was a linchpin to the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid eastward expansion project. It continues, of course, to provide the focus for the international security efforts in Afghanistan today.

Although Edmund was about to embark on a new chapter in his life outside Scotland, he never turned his back on the Scottish hills which he loved. He would return to Isle of Arran for family holidays

almost every year, with his characteristic walking stick and hat.

III. Manchester (1967-93): Consolidating and going international

In 1967, Edmund took up the post of Professor of Arabic Studies at the University of Manchester where he remained until his retirement 26 years later (in 1993). During most of his Mancunian period Edmund (in his forties to sixties), also carried the burden of being head of his department. This seems in no way to have reduced Edmund's output either in scope or in diversity. In his research and publications, he remained true to his interest in the history of the eastern Islamic regions, but equally explored new areas as wide and varied as the study of the Turks in medieval Islam and Turkish onomastics, Islamic military organisation, early modern European travel literature and Orientalism, theology, the relationship between medieval Muslims and non-Muslims, literary criticism (e.g. the influence of Arabic on English), the biographies of Sufi shaykhs, and many more.[22]

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21. I am grateful to Michael O'Neal for studying Edmund's bibliography in detail.

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22. See details in O'Neal's bibliography below. <u>On Turkish onomastics</u>: "Notes on some Turkish names in Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī's Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī," *Oriens* 36 (2001): 299–313; "Further notes on the Turkish names in Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī's *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*," Ch. 18 in O. Alí-de-Unzaga, *Fortresses of the Intellect. Ismaili and other Islamic studies in honour of Farhad Daftary* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011): 443–52; "Notes on some Turkish personal names in Seljūq military history", Isl., LXXXIX/2 (2012), 97–110.

<u>On military</u>: "Ghaznavid military organization," *Der Islam* 36 (1960): 37–77; "Military organization under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq," *Oriens* 17-19 (1965–6): 143–67, repr. *Medieval History*, art. III.

<u>On theology</u>: "Al-Ḫwārazmī on Theology

At the same time, Edmund's encyclopaedia articles proliferated at an astronomical rate. For example, in the span of just three years, from 1968 to 1970, Edmund produced 40 encyclopaedia articles, on top of publishing several book reviews and scholarly articles. Rather than being a mere summary of the existing literature, Edmund's encyclopaedia articles are substantial pieces of original scholarship, such as his very important article on the "Saldjūḳids." Around this time, in 1969, Edmund took on a visiting professorship at the Near Eastern Center,

in the University of California Los Angeles. He was now a world-renowned scholar and a "go-to" person for providing overarching introductions to many general works on Islamic history, the history of Iran, and religious history. Edmund, the Islamic scholar, was indefatigable and unflappable—to use the words of his *IRAN* co-editor, C.A. Petrie[23]—and there was nothing that would hold him back. Three more books came out in the 1970s, amongst them a sequel to his Ghaznavid history—a study of "the later Ghaznavids."[24] A lesser-known but equally exciting new book was his treatment of the "Islamic underworld."[25] He saw the book as "scratching the surface" of what was a pioneering area of focus, and hoped that it would stimulate other scholars to follow suit.[26] In his obituary piece, Geert Jan van Gelder highlights this work as one of his favourites, and probably one that influenced van Gelder's attraction to the "marginal" in Arabic literature. "Like Edmund Bosworth I have always eschewed the decent obscurity of Latin," he declares.[27] Edmund's penchant for the underworld might also be reflected in his fine collection of Penguin original crime fiction editions.[28]

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and Sects: the Chapter on kalām in the Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm," BEO, 29 (1977) [1978] [= Mélanges offerts à Henri Laoust]: 85–95, repr., *Medieval History*, art. VII.

On Muslims and non-Muslims: "Christian and Jewish Religions Dignitaries in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria: Qalqashandī's Information on their Hierarchy, Titulature and Appointment," *IJMES* 3 (1972): 59–74, 199–216, repr. *Medieval History*, art. XVI; "Jewish Elements in the Banū Sāsān," BiOr 33/5–6 (Sept.–Nov. 1976) [1977], 289–94, repr. *Medieval History*, art. VI; "The 'Protected People' (Christians and Jews) in Mediaeval Egypt and Syria," *BJRUL* 62/1 (Autumn 1979): 11–36, repr. *Medieval History*, art. VII; "The Concept of Dhimma in early Islam," in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society, I, The Central Lands* (New York: Homes & Meier Publishers, 1982): 37–51, repr. *Medieval History*, art. VI, updated in M. Grey, *et al.* (eds), *Living Stones Yearbook 2012* ([London] 2012): 143–64.

On literary criticism: "The Influence of Arabic Literature on English Literature," *Azure* 5 (Spring 1980): 14–19. Arabic tr., "Taʾthīr al-adab al-ʿarabī fi 'l-adab al-inkilīzī," *al-Maʿrifa*, Damascus, nos. 191–2 (February 1978): 199–215.

On Sufi shaykhs: "An Early Persian Ṣūfī: Shaykh Abū Saʿīd of Mayhanah," in R.M. Savory and D.A. Agius (eds), *Logos islamikos. Studia islamica in honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984): 79–96, repr. *Medieval History*, art. XXIII.

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23. Personal communication, 14.09.15.

24. *The Later Ghaznavids, Splendour and Decay. The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977). Reprinted Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1992.

25. C.E. Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, the Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature,* in 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

26. *Ibid*: vii.

27. Geert Jan van Gelder, "Obituary for Edmund Bosworth," *ISIS Newsletter*, 36/1 (Summer 2015): 17.

28. Personal communication with Edmund's

Edmund's children were now of school age, and his daughter Felicity reminisced at her father's memorial service at Edmund's alma mater, St John's College, Oxford, on the 13th of June 2015, that the house rule was not to disturb her father when he was working. But the rule could be bent: the children always knew that if they needed help with their homework their father would lend a kind ear. Edmund loved to travel widely. He took on visiting fellowships at Kuwait University (1975), at the Center for the Humanities Fellow, Princeton University (Fall Semester 1984), and the Middle East Center, Harvard University (1997). His wife Annette formed the firm backbone of family life that gave him the ability to travel. "He always took many photos, which formed the basis of many family evenings spent with the projector viewing his slides," writes his family.[29]

Edmund's output is too large to list in detail, and only a few highlights and trends can be selected. The 1980s marked the beginning of his most impressive scholarly output: his translations of some important medieval Arabic chronicles. Edmund translated three books from al-Ṭabarī's *History* in the span of four years (1987-91), as well as the delightful *Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* by Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 412/1021).[30]

Edmund was sensitive to the importance of manuscript traditions in his historical studies.[31] Also in the 1980s, he added to his continued encyclopaedic production a new series of what eventually totaled 80 articles for the then newly established *Encyclopaedia Iranica* under the editorship of Ehsan Yarshater in New York. He also edited, corrected and annotated the works of Minorsky and Barthold, such as in the third edition of *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* translated by Vladimir Minorsky.[32] And

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family, 6 May 2015.

29. Personal communication, 6 May 2015.

30. *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation*. Vol. XXXII. *The Reunification of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. The Caliphate of al-Maʾmūn A.D. 812–833/A.H. 198–213* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987); *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Vol. XXX. The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium. The Caliphates of Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd A.D. 785–809/*

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A.H. 169–193 (Albany: State University of New York Press: 1989); C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation*. Vol. XXXIII. *Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information. The Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif of Thaʿālibī. Translated with an introduction and notes* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968).

31. See, for example, "Some new manuscripts of al-Khwārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm,*" *Journal of Semitic Studies* IX (1964): 341–5; "Manuscripts of Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat ad-dahr* in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XVI (1971): 41–9; also catalogue publications for Arabic manuscripts at the John Rylands Library in Manchester (1974, published 1975) and the Chetham's Library in Manchester (1976).

32. See details in O'Neal's bibliography. V.V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 3rd ed. with additional chapter hitherto unpublished in English trans. Mrs. T. Minorsky and ed. C.E. Bosworth, and with further Addenda and Corrigenda by C.E. Bosworth, Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. V (London: Luzac, 1968); Vladimir Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam. The Regions of the World, a Persian Geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D.*, 2nd ed., pref. V.V. Barthold, trans. from Russian and with additional material by the late Professor Minorsky, edited by C.E. Bosworth, GMS, N.S. XI (London: Luzac, 1970); V.V. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, tr. Svat Soucek, ed. with intro. by C.E. Bosworth, Modern Classics in Near Eastern Studies (Princeton:

Edmund also edited Minorsky's Festschrift.[33] Edmund's editorial exceptionalism was probably best described in the obituary notice of Charles Melville who had worked with him on the British Institute of Persian Studies (BIPS) editorial board:

Edmund was a long-standing member of the BIPS Governing Council and, most admirably, editor of the Institute's journal *IRAN* for many years, handling all the contributions in the non-archaeological fields. A measure of the work he dedicated to this task is the fact that it has taken a committee of editors to try to fill the gap left by his retirement.

At Edmund's memorial service in Oxford, the Islamic art historian Robert Hillenbrand again reiterated Edmund's unfailing politeness and industriousness as an editor, a task that has led many a seasoned scholar to near-collapse and angry repartee. I experienced Edmund's tactful handling of my errors as a junior scholar submitting her very first scholarly article for the last *IRAN* volume which Edmund was editing. I also experienced the immense hospitality to which his colleague Ian R. Netton (at the University of Exeter's Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies where Edmund was a Visiting Professor) refers in his obituary piece.[34] My two-year old daughter and I were welcomed at Edmund and Annette's home with open arms when we were passing through Castle Cary in 2012. Our hosts very quickly produced their children's toys, neatly preserved in original 1960s tin boxes to ensure my toddler was sufficiently entertained.

In 1992, Edmund—having just been elected to the prestigious and select fellowship of the British Academy— edited a centenary monograph of British Orientalists (1902-2001) on behalf of the Academy. Out of the thirteen biographies (twelve of which were of Academy fellows and all of whom were men), Edmund contributed the chapters on E.G. Browne, Gerard Clauson and Vladimir Minorsky. Minorsky, in particular—the Russian trained Orientalist who ultimately settled in the UK following the Bolshevik Revolution—is constantly invoked in Edmund's work, as will be seen shortly. Edmund's gratitude and respect towards his senior colleagues are evident from the obituaries he produced.[35] He has also, rather unselfishly, as Macuch observed, picked up occasional work left undone by his deceased colleagues. The exceptionally good Qurʾān commentary by Richard Bell is one such example.[36]

IV. Castle Cary, Somerset (1993-2015): Going Back to the Basics

Castle Cary, a picturesque and sleepy

Princeton University Press: 1984). Section by C.E. Bosworth: "Editor's Introduction," ix–xv.

33. *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1971).

34. Netton, "Appreciation of the Life."

35. Obituary of S.M. Stern, *IRAN* 8 (1970): ix; Obituary, "Sir Gerard Clauson (1891–1973)", in *Bulletin BSMES*, I/1 (1974): 39–40; Obituary, "Professor J.A. Boyle," *IRAN* 17 (1979): i–ix; Obituary, "Martin Hinds, 1941–1988," in *Bulletin BSMES* 16 (1989): 118–20; Obituary: "Joan Allgrove 1928–1991," *IRAN* 29 (1991): v; Obituary: "Professor Charles Beckingham," *The Daily Telegraph*, 14.10.98; Obituary, "Ronald Whitaker Ferrier 1929–2003," *IRAN* 41 (2003): v–vi.

36. *A Commentary on the Qurʾān . . . Prepared by Richard Bell*. Vol. 1. *Surahs I–XXIV*. Vol. 2. *Surahs XXV–CXIV*, edited by C.E. Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson, 2 vols. JSS Monograph no. 14 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

small town in the heart of the English countryside of Somerset was to become Edmund's refuge and retirement bliss. His library was vast, extending into a converted garage set against the rest of the house. "I don't need to use any libraries; I have my very own," he said proudly when showing me around the house during our visit in 2012. "I could use a librarian though," he smiled.

Edmund was still receiving many accolades for a lifetime of achievement: the Silver Avicenna Medal of UNESCO (1998); the Dr Mahmud Afshar Foundation Prize for contributions to Iranian Studies in 2001 and the Prize by the Iranian Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance for contributions to Iranian historical studies in 2003, both in Tehran; the annual Award for Services to Middle Eastern Studies in Britain of the British Society for Middle East Studies in 2007 in Oxford; the Levi Della Vida Award for Excellence in Islamic Studies in 2010 in Los Angeles; and the triennial Royal Asiatic Society Award in 2013 in London. Edmund had retired at 65, but some of the best of his bibliography came during more than two decades of retirement in Castle Cary (1993-2015). First, Edmund tied up loose ends with books on the Saffarids (1994), by revising *New Islamic Dynasties* (1996 and 2010), and completing a fourth book of translation based on Ṭabarī's *History*.[37] Then Edmund returned to his love of travel writing and British Orientalism with a charming biography of an "intrepid Scot," a William Lithgow of Lanark, published in

2006.[38] Edmund possessed the rare skill of knowing how to speak to a variety of new audiences. A review by a non-Islamicist illustrates this point:

In numerous intriguing notes, this book directs readers to studies of Eastern sources that add mightily to the general project of advancing our understanding of the encounter between Britain and the Muslim world in the early modern period. This project tended to be dominated, during the 1990s, by scholars working in English literature and drama who became intrigued by 'Turks' but who had little interest in or access to Ottoman, Maghribian, Safavid or Mughul sources, and largely ignored recent work being produced in the fields of Near Eastern studies. Bosworth's study quietly and unobtrusively draws attention to this deficit by correcting it by example rather than by engaging in polemic.[39]

In some sort of grand finale, Edmund actively worked on a series of major translations, all of which were published in 2011—two from Persian and one from Arabic into English. Far from taking it easy in his retirement years, in his early eighties, Edmund had reinvented himself as a Persianist (with the help of his revisers, Profs Heshmat Moayyad and Mohsen Ashtiany).

Edmund chose one of the most difficult

37. *The History of al-Ṭabarī (Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk). Vol. V. The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lahkmids, and Yemen, Translated and Annotated by C.E. Bosworth* (Albany: Bibliotheca Persica, State University of New York Press: 1999).

38. *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609–21* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

39. Gerald MacLean, "Review: An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609–21, by Clifford Edmund Bosworth (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)," *The English Historical Review* 122/497 (2007): 825-6.

pieces of Persian prose as one translation object: the *History* of Abu al-Faḍl Bayhaqī (d. 470/1077). Bayhaqī had served the Ghaznavid court as chronicler, and his work had formed the cornerstone of Edmund's Ph.D. and all the subsequent scholarship that emanated from it. Already 30 years prior to this Edmund had been asked by his old mentor Minorsky during a visit to his house in Cambridge to work on the text. He managed to find the time for it only after Ehsan Yarshater had asked him again in the late 1990s.[40] Edmund dedicated the three-volume annotated translation to "Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky." He was now going back to the basic texts and making them available to the next generation of scholars and a wider non-specialist audience. But Edmund did not just translate this fragmentary, but highly entertaining, work that provides us with a rare insight into the inner workings of the Ghaznavid court and on the topography of 11th-century Ghazna (modern-day Ghazni, Afghanistan). The final product—three volumes published in 2011—included one volume of detailed commentary on the historical, geographical and philological background. In 398 pages of commentary, Edmund brings to bear his vast and all-embracing scholarly insight on aspects of Bayhaqī's text that range from armaments to food, festivals to military campaigns.

Two more of Edmund's major translations were published in 2011. One was the "historical section" of ʿAbd al-Ḥayy

Gardīzī's (flourished first half of the 5th/11th century) *Zayn al-akhbār*.[41] Edmund dedicated this work, again, to Vladimir Minorsky, and also Gerard Clauson "who were always ready to share their expert knowledge on the Iranian and Turkish world with a much younger scholar."[42] Charles Melville, in his 2013 review of the *Zayn al-akhbār* translation, utters a not-so-veiled lament that Edmund has left out the sections on the neighbouring peoples, especially the Indian and Turks, as well as the pre-Islamic kings, caliphs and local Islamic ruler, which makes it a model for later works, and also "stands as a testament to the imperial horizons of the Ghaznavid court." At the same time, Melville declares that Bosworth is "at his most magisterial at elucidating these facts [of Khurāsānī history] and identifying the correct record of names, dates and places, upon which a secure knowledge of medieval history can be placed."[43]

The third major translation was that of the Arabic chronicle, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūqiyya* ("History of the Seljuq State") ascribed to Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī (fl. A.D. 1180-1225).[44] It is the first complete

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40. *The History of Beyhaqī (The History of Sultan Masʾud of Ghazna, 1030-1041) by Abu'l Fażl Beyhaqi. Tr. by C.E. Bosworth and rev. by Mohsen Ashtiany, vol. I (421-423 A.H. (1030-1032 A.D.)* (Boston, Mass.: Ilex Foundation and Center for Hellenistic Studies, 2011): xxi.

41. C. E. Bosworth, *The Ornament of Histories. A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041. The Original Text of Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Gardīzī translated and edited* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

42. Bosworth, *Ornament of Histories*, preliminaries.

43. Charles Melville, "Review of C. Edmund Bosworth: The Ornament of Histories. A History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650–1041. The Original Text of Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Gardīzī translated and edited. (I.B. Tauris and BIPS Persian Studies Series.) xiv (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011)," *BSOAS* 76/1 (2013): 114-6.

44. *The History of the Seljuq State: A Translation with Commentary of the Akhbār al-dawla al-saljūqiyya, Translated by C.E. Bosworth*

English translation to appear in print (superseding Qibla Ayaz's translation in his laudable though unpublished Ph.D. thesis). The source is important for Seljuq history, especially for western Iran in the late sixth to twelfth centuries where much of its testimony is unique and must derive from first-hand reports. The highly detailed commentary of 497 endnotes that accompanies the text supersedes Edmund's own 202-page article on the Seljūqs in the *Cambridge History of Iran* which was the standard reference on the Seljuqs for nearly five decades, with a necessary update provided by the 1995 article "Saldjūḳids" in *EI²* that incorporates numismatic material. The translation of the *Akhbār* and his more recent articles, therefore, provide important supplements to his earlier Seljuq scholarship.[45]

Conclusion

Edmund Bosworth had a sixty-year scholarly career that is truly staggering, from the beginning of his doctoral studies in 1956 to his very last months in 2014. Edmund's greatest qualities were fourfold: first, he had the vision to put Afghanistan and Central Asia on the map of Islamic history within western European scholarly circles, thus correcting the biased view of the western Islamic lands as the "heartlands" of Islam. Second, Edmund understood the need to produce foundational books that could facilitate a sound understanding of the medieval Islamic world. These included elucidating difficult primary sources, identifying place names, and translating and interpreting the sources. Edmund was not one for grand theories and daring hypotheses, and for this he is sometimes diminished, especially by younger scholars who may not appreciate the diversity and soundness of his scholarship. But, as Geert Jan van Gelder comments, theories come and go, and it is the solid studies that remain.[46] Third, Edmund was highly versatile in his linguistic abilities and a historian with a lively interest in literature and language which enabled him to write cultural history. Finally, he had a wonderful personality: a humane, kind and generous colleague. With these qualities, Edmund was able to bridge the divide that still exists between Islamic historians in western Europe, North America, Russia and Central Europe, and those in the studied region itself. It is only in this way that the divergence perceived in cultures can be overcome. And ultimately, I think this this is what drove Edmund, the war-time schoolboy from smoky Sheffield who never missed a beat and always looked ahead.

— Arezou Azad
University of Birmingham
(A.Azad@bham.ac.uk)

(Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011).

45. I am grateful for Michael O'Neal's bibliography below that highlights Edmund's contributions to Seljuq history.

46. van Gelder, "Obituary": 17.

Clifford Edmund Bosworth: An Updated Bibliography

With the passing of Edmund Bosworth on February 28, 2015, the world lost one of the greatest historians of the Islamic Middle East of the last half century. In terms of scholarly output, he was undoubtedly the most prolific one. Until now, the indispensable guide to Professor Bosworth's works has been the bibliography that introduces the two-volume Festschrift published in his honor fifteen years ago: Ian Richard Netton (ed.), *Studies in honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth. I. Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic studies*, Leiden 2000, pp. xiii–xxxv.[1] As helpful as that list of publications has been, it is only complete through 1998 and includes but a handful of forthcoming works "in the press" as of that date. The time therefore seemed appropriate for an update to Professor Bosworth's bibliography with additional items published to date. For the years 1959 through 1998, I have followed the publication list, item numbering and general formatting of the original bibliography, with a number of additions and corrections. For example, I have identified a total of forty-five articles from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* that had been previously omitted, and these are now included under the appropriate year and volume. When a missing publication has been added, I have marked it "(a)" so as not to affect the overall numbering scheme. In addition, those articles reprinted in a later collected volume have now been given an appropriate cross-reference. I have made a fairly diligent search for new materials and hope that the result is reasonably comprehensive, although, given the vast scale of Professor Bosworth's published output, I am aware that there are likely many oversights.[2] This updated bibliography is offered with gratitude in memory of one of the most distinguished scholars of our age.

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— Michael O'Neal
Washington, D.C., October 2015
(michael.p.oneal@gmail.com)

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1. Those portions of the original bibliography incorporated into this update are reproduced here by kind permission of Messrs. Brill.

2. Sincere thanks to Kristian Girling for calling my attention to item 343, which was Professor Bosworth's 2012 update to item 136.

Abbreviations

AHR	*American Historical Review*, Washington, D.C.
AOASH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
Azure	*Azure. The Review of Arab Arts and Culture*, London
BEO	*Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, Damascus
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BJMES	*British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Durham, Abingdon
BJRUL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, Manchester
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London
Bull. BSMES	*Bulletin of the British Society for Middle East Studies*, Oxford, Exeter
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*, The Hague, Wiesbaden
CT	*Cahiers de Tunisie*, Tunis
DMA	*Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, New York
EHR	*English Historical Review*, London
EI1	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden 1913–36
EI2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn., Leiden 1954–2006
EI3	*Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Leiden 2007–
EIr	*Encyclopædia Iranica*, New York, London, Cosa Mesa, Calif.
EW	*East and West*, Rome
GA	*Graeco-Arabica*, Athens
GMS	Gibb Memorial Series, London
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*, Tel Aviv
IQ	*The Islamic Quarterly*, London
Iran, JBIPS	*Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, London
IS	*Iranian Studies*, Abingdon
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orientale, Rome
Isl.	*Der Islam*, Berlin
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
JAH	*Journal of Asian History*, Wiesbaden
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven, Conn.
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden
JIS	*Journal of Islamic Studies*, Oxford
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JOAS	*Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, Athens
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
MEJ	*Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C.
MESA Bull.	*Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Tuscon
MW	*The Muslim World*, Hartford, Conn.
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin
St. Ir.	*Studia Iranica*, Paris and Leiden

TLS   *The Times Literary Supplement*, London
ZDMG   *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden

1959

1. *EI2* vol. I, art. "Baḥrāʾ".

1960

2. "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", *MW*, L (1960), 5–14. Reprinted in item 104, art. I.
3. "Ghaznevid military organisation", *Isl.*, XXXVI (1960) [1961], 37–77. Persian tr. Sarwar Humāyūn, *Tashkīlāt-i niẓāmī-yi Ghaznaviyān*, Anjuman-i Tārīkh-i Afghānistān, Kabul 1342/1963, pp. 64.
4. *EI2* vol. I, arts. "Biʾr Maʿūna"; "al-Bishr"; "Buʿāth"; "Buzākha".

1961

4(a). "The transition from Ghaznavid to Seljuq rule in the Islamic east", PhD thesis, The University of Edinburgh 1961, pp. viii + 548.
5. "The early Islamic history of Ghūr", *CAJ*, VI (1961), 116–33. Reprinted in item 104, art. IX.

1962

6. "The imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids", *Islamic Studies. Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research*, Karachi, I/3 (1962), 49–82. Reprinted in item 104, art. XI.
7. *EI2* vol. II, art. "Djaʿda (ʿĀmir)".
8. Review of H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und Seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, in *JRAS*, New Ser., 94/1–2 (1962), 86.

1963

9. *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994:1040*, Edinburgh University Press 1963, pp. xii + 331. Reprinted Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1992. 2nd edn., with updated bibliography, Libraire du Liban, Beirut 1973, pp. xii + 335. Persian tr. Ḥasan Anūshih, *Tārīkh-i Ghaznaviyān*, 2 vols., Tehran 1372/1993, repr. 1381/2002.
10. "A Turco-Mongol practice amongst the early Ghaznavids?", *CAJ*, VII (1962), 347–40. Reprinted in item 104, art. XII.
11. "The titulature of the early Ghaznavids", *Oriens*, XV (1962), 210–33. Reprinted in item 104, art. X.
12. "The section on codes and their decipherment in Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*", *JSS*, VIII/1 (1963), 17–33. Reprinted in item 135, art. XIII.
13. "Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977–1041)", *IQ*, VII

(1963), 3–22. Reprinted in item 104, art. XIII.

14. "A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: al Khwārizmī's Keys of the Sciences", *Isis*, LIV/1 (1963), 97–111. Reprinted in item 135, art. I.

15. "Some historical gleanings from the section on symbolic actions in Qalqašandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*", *Arabica*, X/2 (1963), 148–53. Reprinted in item 240, art. IX.

16. *EI2* vol. II, art. "Djudhām".

17. Reviews of U. Heyd (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilisation*, Scripta Hierosylimitana IX, Jerusalem 1961, in *JSS*, VIII/1 (1963), 116–19; E.E. Elder and W. Mc E. Miller (ed. and tr.), *al-Kitāb al-aqdas or the Most Holy Book of Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Bahāʾuʾllāh*, in *JRAS*, New Ser., XCV/1–2 (1963), 93–4; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam, the search for cultural identity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962, in *JRAS*, New Ser., XCV/1–2 (1963), 114–15.

1964

18. "On the chronology of the Ziyārids in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān", *Isl.*, XL (1964), 25–34. Reprinted in item 104, art. II.

19. "A *maqāma* on secretaryship: al-Qalqashandī's *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī 'l-manāqib al-badriyya*", *BSOAS*, XXVII/2 (1964), 291–8. Reprinted in item 135, art. XIV.

20. "Some new manuscripts of al-Khwārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*", *JSS*, IX/2 (1964), 341–5.

21. *EI2* vol. II, art. "Fīl. As beasts of war".

22. Reviews of K.A. Faruki, *Islamic jurisprudence*, Karachi, 1382/1962, in *JRAS*, New Ser., XCVI/1 (1964), 75–6; L. Binder, *Iran, political development in a changing nation*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962, in *Man*, no. 160 (July–August 1964), 127–8.

1965

23. "Language reform and nationalism in modern Turkey, a brief conspectus", *MW*, LV (1965), 58–65, 117–24.

24. "Notes on the pre-Ghaznavid history of eastern Afghanistan", *IQ*, IX (1965), 12–24. Reprinted in item 104, art. XIV.

25. "An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghazna recorded in Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's *Kitāb adh-dhakhāʾir wa 't-tuḥaf*", *JAOS*, LXXXV (1965), 404–7. Reprinted in item 104, art. XV.

26. (with Sir Gerard Clauson) "Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia", *JRAS*, New Ser., XCVII/1 (1965), 2–12. Reprinted in item 104, art. XX. Reprinted as Ch. 7 in *The Turks in the early Islamic world*, item 312, 167–78.

27. *EI2* vol. II, arts. "Ghazna"; "Ghulām. ii. Persia"; "Ghūr"; "Ghūrids".

28. Reviews of R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856–1876*, Princeton 1963, in *IQ*, IX (1965), 56–8; A. Pacheco, *Historia de Jacob Xalabin*, Barcelona 1964, in *IQ*, IX (1965), 58–60; J.J. Saunders, *A history of mediaeval Islam*, London 1965, in *JRAS*, New Ser., XCVII/2 (1965), 149–50; S.M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees, original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, in *JSS*, X/2 (1965), 303–5.

1966

29. "Maḥmūd of Ghazna in contemporary eyes and later Persian literature", *Iran, JBIPS*, IV (1966), 85–92. Reprinted in item 104, art. XVI.
30. *EI2* vol. III, arts. "Ḥādjib. iii. Eastern dynasties"; "Ḥarb. v. Persia".
31. Review of G. Scarcia, *Ṣifat-nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzī. Cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān nell'anno 1582*, Serie Orientale Roma XXXII, IsMEO, Rome 1965, in *EW*, New Ser., XVI (1966), 340–2.

1967

32. *The Islamic dynasties. A chronological and genealogical handbook*, Islamic Surveys 5, Edinburgh University Press 1967, pp. xviii + 245. French tr. Yves Thoraval, *Les dynasties musulmans*, Paris 1966. Russian tr. P.A. Gryaznevich, *Musulmanskie dynastii. Spravochnik po khronologii i genealogii*, Moscow 1971. Persian tr. Farīdūn Badrāʾī, *Silsilahā-yi khāndānhā-yi islāmī*, Tehran 1350/1971, repr. 1371/1992. Turkish tr. Erdoğan Merçil and Mehmet İpşirli, *İslâm devletleri tarihi (kronoloji ve soykütüğü elkitabı)*, Istanbul 1980. Arabic tr. Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Labūdī, *al-Usar al-ḥākima fi ʾl-Islām. Dirāsa fi ʾl-taʾrīkh wa ʾl-ansāb*, Kuwait 1992. Javanese tr. Ilyas Hasan, *Dinasti-dinasti Islam*, Bandung 1993.
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p. xiii + 583. Includes minor supplemental information and updated bibliographies on various previously published *EI2* articles, including several by Bosworth; but also with substantial additions to other entries, such that they should now be considered co-authored by Bosworth and the person(s) indicated: "Alexandria (al-Iskandariyya; in *EI1*, al-Iskandarīya)" with S. Labib and R. Guest; "Algiers (al-Djazāʾir)" with R. le Tourneau; "Amman (ʿAmmān)" with G.L. Harding; "Ankara (Anḳara)" with F. Taeschner; "Baku (Bākū)" with D.M. Dunlop and A. Bennigsen; "Beirut (Bayrūt)" with N. Elisséef; "Dacca (Ḋhākā)" with A.H. Dani; "Ghazna (Ghazna)"; "Haifa (Ḥayfā)" with ed.; "Hamadan (Hamadhān)" with R.N. Frye; "Herat (Harāt)" with R.N. Frye; "Kabul (Kābul)"; "Kandahar (Ḳandahār)"; "Mecca (Makka)" with W.M. Watt, A.J. Wensinck and R.B. Winder; "Merv (Marw al-Shāhidjān)" with A.Yu. Yakubovskii; "Mosul (al-Mawṣil)" with E. Honigmann and P. Slugett; "Najaf (al-Nadjaf)" with E. Honigmann; "Nishapur (Nīshāpūr)" with E. Honigmann; "Palmyra (Tadmur)"; "Peshawar (Peshāwar)" with C.C. Davies; "Ray (al-Rayy)" with V. Minorsky; "Samarqand (Samarḳand)" with H.H. Schaeder and Y. Crowe; "Tabriz (Tabrīz)" with V. Minorsky and S.S. Blair; "Tashkent (Tashkent)" with W. Barthold and C. Poujol; "Tehran (Ṭihrān)" with V. Minorsky, J. Calmard and B. Hourcade; "Tripoli, in Lebanon (Ṭarābulus al-Shām)" with F. Buhl and M. Lavergne; "Tripoli, in Libya (Ṭarābulus al-Gharb)" with V. Christides, G. Oman and R. Mantran.

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321. *EIr* vol. XV, arts. "Jovayn"; "Jowzjān"; "Kharijites in Persia"; "Khwarazmshahs. i. Descendants of the line of Anuštigin"; "Ḵojestāni, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd-Allāh"; "Kondori, Moḥammad b. Manṣur"; "Ḵottal"; "Maʾmun"; "Tekiš b. Il Arslān"; "Terken Ḵātun".

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"With All Good Wishes"

Remembering Patricia Crone
(1945-2015)*

Reminiscences by:

Karen Bauer, *Institute of Ismaili Studies*

Bella Tendler Krieger, *Florida International University*

Deborah Tor, *University of Notre Dame*

Kevin Van Bladel, *Ohio State University*

I think that everyone whose work was critiqued by Patricia must have a story to tell. As a graduate student, I would cry for days on end every time I received her feedback on one of my chapters. My enduringly favorite phrase, "This page is

full of horrors!", referred to my appalling grammar. I also got (more than once!) "I can't go on; please rewrite and tell me what you actually mean". It was rough going. But in the end, it worked. I learned. And I think that was the beauty of Patricia's critiques: I doubt that it occurred to her that these sorts of phrases could be taken in any way other than constructive and professional. She was horrified when I once told her about the floods of tears that they provoked, and wondered aloud if she should re-think her strategy (of course I staunchly replied "Never!"). Her harsh language belied her essentially positive attitude, and I came to see those detailed, scathing critiques as symptomatic of this positivity, as well as of her amazing generosity. She saw that the work could be better, wanted it to be better, and would do everything she could to help me make it better. The pages-long answers to my written work were only a small part of what she gave to me as a scholar in those days. We spent hours over drinks discussing the ins and outs of some obscure point, hours with some particularly difficult texts.

In retrospect, I can see that she must have wanted to help me to become a proper scholar, and this is why she was so generous towards me. I suppose that this is how I cajoled her into reading my work on gender, something that never interested her (another favorite, scribbled, not typed: "Men have always felt this way about women!"). I had essentially no training in medieval texts when I took her seminar my first term in Princeton. I'd read a bit of al-Tabari in translation, but I'd only read modern Arabic. My lack of experience really showed! That first class was so very, very hard as everyone else seemed to read

the texts and understand the context; I felt bewildered. After that—perhaps seeing my lack of expertise as a monumental challenge—she offered me a readings class, and I suppose that it was while reading about recalcitrant women over pots of tea that we started to bond.

It was Stephennie Mulder who suggested the first drinks and dinner. She invited me, Teresa Bernheimer, and Patricia, and we began to have evenings all together. They always passed too quickly. The following semester, Stephennie went to U Penn, Teresa back to Oxford. I was the lucky one, left to pick up the reins of the evenings with Patricia, those evenings which were one of the best things about my time at Princeton. After I graduated, I saw her much less as I had moved to London. However, we often visited when she came to town, and particularly after her cancer diagnosis I would see her no matter what the circumstances. Ten days after the birth of my first child I dimly recall walking around the park with her trying in vain to sustain intelligent conversation in my sleep deprived and physically shattered state, as the baby slept in the pram ("He is so calm!" she said, "He certainly takes after Peter."); another time, she wanted to go to the zoo! We were amazed at the magnificence of the tiger, but both a bit depressed after having seen him there.

Once I understood that being blunt was just her way, it made it easier to understand her underlying sentiments. At different points in conversation after my wedding, she admitted that although it had been a very lovely day, she had been expecting more Islamic studies colleagues to come, she was disappointed that the groom didn't make a speech, and she was a bit put out that the proper walk I had

promised the next day never materialized. But then, in her practical way, she said that she thought that probably going to the wedding was an important step in our becoming friends. She was so warm and caring, but I think she must have abhorred sentimentalism. When I saw her soon after her diagnosis, I remember being astonished at how positive she seemed to be about her own demise. She explained that she had had a good life. She had done most of the work she wanted to do; the best was probably behind her. And she really didn't want to end up addled and "ga-ga": better to go sooner, rather than that.

Of course Patricia's generosity, positivity, and honesty made me love her. But I think that perhaps what made me love her best was that she combined those qualities with such a good sense of fun. She loved parties! She loved people! She loved having a laugh, as strange as that might seem to some on the receiving end of her criticisms. At times, her fantastic love of fun would flash out even in class. I can still see her pacing at the front of our seminar, doing a great impression of Ann Lambton lecturing. But of course it was the parties, the dinners, the drinks, these were the really good bits. She also loved making fun for others – she showed me how she had constructed a whole puppet theatre for neighborhood children: beautiful puppets, scenery, costumes. It was all stowed away in the top floor room, perhaps awaiting a resuscitation that never came.

When she was once going through a bad patch in treatment, she sent an email and said that she wouldn't be writing anymore. This was the "last message but one" that I was to receive. She had underestimated her own resilience. Our communication resumed as normal, but that message had

given me the impression that either before or after the end I might get some sort of a fond farewell. If she ever wrote such a thing, it never came. Our last exchange was typically pithy, blunt, perhaps just a bit gossipy. But maybe that was all for the best. Otherwise, I might have become quite soppy over it.

— Karen Bauer
Institute of Ismaili Studies

I met Patricia Crone at a dinner party in 2008 as a third-year graduate student at Princeton's Near Eastern Studies Department. At the time, she was working on the heterodox sects of early Islamic Iran for the book that would eventually become her *Nativist Prophets.* I had just completed a general examination with Michael Cook on Islamic heresiography. When she realized our shared interests, she engaged me in a conversation on religious syncretism in early Islam. We ended up talking about the *ghulāt* for well over an hour. I remember leaving that dinner, shaking with adrenaline. I could not believe that she had given so much of her time, and that she was so humble, personable, and generous.

She asked me to keep in touch with her, and I did. I would email her brief queries and within a few hours would receive lengthy expositions, more articulate than anything I could have written with months of preparation. When my questions required more attention, she would invite me for lunch at the Institute or tea in her garden. My mind was shaped by those conversations. I no longer remember which of my insights are my own and which were honed by her objections and

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clarifications.

In 2009 she taught a class on the Khurramites that I attended. Despite having worked my way through the entire library of literature on the Islamic sects, I found Patricia's class mind-blowing. She understood the material in a way that was so original and also so obvious. Her ability to synthesize information from disparate cultures and to vividly bring to life the world of early Islam made the class spectacularly fascinating. Her quick humor made it extremely fun. Patricia was fully present as a teacher. She would regularly return home from class and immediately send off an email responding to some question posed in the seminar or further clarifying an idea she felt had been insufficiently covered. It was to be her last class and, in a letter written to me in 2013, she let me know that she had "hugely enjoyed it and profited enormously from it." She also wrote that teaching students had "saved [her] life in a metaphorical sense by allowing [her] to have contact with and teach young people again."

Eventually Patricia agreed to mentor my doctoral thesis together with Michael Cook. She became an invaluable resource and I would email her with questions several times a week. I was still shy with her back then and would often open my letters with some form of apology. She assured me that she "rather likes the email pestering," and encouraged me to "continue bothering" her. Today, I am grateful for my nerve, as I have over two hundred email exchanges with her filled with wisdom I will parse for years.

It was not always easy being her student. Patricia never minced words with me. She let me know when my ideas were sophomoric, when I lapsed into purple prose, or "abused the English Idiom." She was never cruel, though, and her harsh words were regularly followed with apologies. "I often react quite sharply," she wrote me after one particularly biting exchange, "but you shouldn't let that intimidate you." I was intimidated, but

I was also encouraged by her critique. It let me know that she respected me and wanted me to be a better scholar. It made me want to be a better scholar. Her praise, when it finally did come, was equally exuberant.

Patricia's comments were not limited only to my research. She would advise me on my weight, my exercise regime (she was extremely fit), my relationship with my family, and my place as a woman in academia. When I decided to publish my first article using a double-barreled last name, she wrote me three vehement emails insisting that I should not bandy my private life about in the workplace. She was not opposed to my having a private life, though. She celebrated the birth of my first daughter and when I told her I was expecting a second, she was so pleased for me. "If you are going to have a child, you may as well have more than one." She loved her siblings and appreciated being in a large family. They were to be her lifeline at the end.

In 2011 she invited me to be her research assistant at the Institute for Advanced Study. It was during that year that she was diagnosed with cancer. When she told me, I remember thinking, selfishly, that I was not ready to lose her; that her mentorship had been the best thing to ever happen to me, and that I did not know how to continue writing without her tutelage. I could barely look at her without crying. On her part, Patricia wanted nothing to do with my sentimentality. She did not want to dwell on her illness, she did not want it to slow her down. Between doctors' visits, she became furiously productive. I remember asking her about her holiday plans, and she responded that holidays were for uninterrupted work. She held off

getting full-brain radiation because she was worried that it would affect her mind. She could see no point in living if she could not continue to write.

When she was first diagnosed, she did not know if she would make it to my defense. She did, and I was lucky enough to have her in my life for three more years. For a while, she was still so sharp that I could almost forget that she was dying. She never did forget and she faced death with the same humor, pragmatism, and unflinching courage with which she had always faced the world. "I've had a good life," she wrote me, "it's not as though my death will be a tragedy." She continued doing the things that brought her pleasure: writing, gardening, cycling (long past when I thought she should be able), and watching opera and foreign films. Together with her sister Diana, she threw herself into the struggle to legalize medical marijuana, which she believed could have cancer shrinking effects. She also continued the mundane tasks of mentorship, writing reference letters for me and advising me through my first years of post-graduate teaching.

Patricia did not believe in an afterlife. In fact, when I asked her once about this, towards the end, she scoffed at me. "Do you think me such a coward, that I would need to embrace this idea, simply because I am dying?" Her certainty terrified me, not merely because of its existential implications (Patricia was rarely wrong), but also because I could not fathom a world in which she did not exist. Today, as I reread her letters or look at her books on my shelf, as I reminisce with fellow students or sit in front of a difficult text and wonder "what would Patricia say," I think a part of her has survived death. I

hope this part will be sufficient, as I had wanted many more years with her before having to say goodbye. She was the best of mentors and a dear friend. She will be sorely missed.

— Bella Tendler Krieger
Florida International University

E.B. White once wrote: "It is not often that someone comes along who is a true friend and a good writer. " Patricia was both. In fact, she was more than a good writer; she was one of the best literary stylists I have ever read. Yet even her limpid prose, with its extraordinary clarity and lucidity, fails to reflect fully the formidable power of her mind. While it is impossible to read her work without noticing that one is encountering a truly first-rate intellect, the coruscating strength of that mind was revealed completely only in live conversation with her. Patricia's brilliance was dazzling; she had the ability to take one's own haltingly and imperfectly expressed ideas, and to sharpen and hone them to the last degree; not only their formulation, but the very essence of the ideas themselves. One understood better what one had meant in the first place after Patricia had restated the thought.

While her fierce intelligence—oftentimes fiercely expressed—is the stuff of legend in the field, what is less well known is that Patricia had a great heart no less than a great mind. This quality was manifested in various ways. For one thing, she was extravagantly generous; in the case of younger scholars, what counted most was how lavishly she bestowed her time, her mentoring, and her unfailing and unwavering support, both moral and

material. I first encountered Patricia's generosity when she read my dissertation in its entirety, which she was under no obligation to do; and it was as a result of her challenges that I wrote an entire extra chapter for the book that followed—probably the strongest chapter in it. Over the years, she became my ideal audience and my critic of first recourse; she knew how to bring out the best in other scholars.

Another instance of her generosity with her time occurred in 2011, when I sent Patricia the draft of an article I had written. Patricia sent me an eight-page critique and running commentary in reply, which opened a discussion, a give and take that lasted through 6 e-mail exchanges and was probably the deepest intellectual communion I have ever been privileged to experience. I have saved on my computer, just from 2009 onwards—and I by no means saved every e-mail from her, nor was I technologically savvy enough to transfer e-mails from older computers before that date—nearly 600 e-mails.

Patricia was the bravest person I have ever met. This bravery was reflected in every facet of her life: she was utterly without cant and guile, and always stated things as she perceived them to be, without fear of consequences. Her courage was put to the ultimate test after her terminal lung cancer diagnosis toward the end of 2011 and over the following years, in which she bore her sufferings and the gradual loss of her physical and mental abilities with more than Roman fortitude; with grace, dignity, dogged determination and patience. She showed us how to die well and to face death courageously, just as she had showed us how to face life courageously.

Together with Patricia's courage, she

possessed another very rare characteristic: Patricia was genuinely humble and modest, despite her unusual gifts. I think it was because of these two qualities that she was so very open-minded, always willing to listen to ideas and arguments, and to revise and modify her own conclusions accordingly; she would immediately concede when she was wrong. She was the walking embodiment of Ezra Pound's injunction: "Seek ever to stand in the hard Sophoclean light/And take your wounds from it gladly." This humbleness and concomitant readiness to admit error is, in my experience, seldom encountered in academia.

Patricia's greatness of heart was evinced in many other ways as well: Unflagging support, the writing of endless letters of recommendation, and the investment of her time and energy in those she mentored. Whereas most senior colleagues carefully ration the time spent meeting with those they mentor, a visit with Patricia meant a leisurely afternoon in her garden or living room (in the house she loved that was, unbeknownst to Patricia, killing her with its radon), drinking tea together and conversing for hours on end. When I was experiencing a time of professional adversity, she wrote me dozens of e-mails of support, encouragement, and affirmation; her faith in me was always far greater than my own. And when I was having health troubles of my own in 2013, she, already a doomed and dying woman, sent flowers, supportive e-mails, and steadily inquired after me.

Patricia had a very strong and vivid personality, and this, together with her radiance, is perhaps the most difficult thing to capture and convey in writing. She loved humor (I can still hear her laughter

in my mind as I write this), and could be wickedly funny. She also loved gardening, tea, opera and vocal music generally (she had not much use for chamber music), her family and friends, bicycling, and England, and hated talking on telephones. She was a very warm person, and a loyal and devoted friend; and, though she vehemently disliked sentimentality and cheap emotionalism, she was easily moved.

One example of her great heart and warmth should suffice; this is an excerpt taken from the end of a long and ruminative e-mail she wrote on December 17, 2012 during an ongoing e-mail discussion of C.S. Lewis's "A Grief Observed":

> *So as you see, I disagree with you about a lot of things, but it does not stop me feeling immensely (IMMENSELY) moved by your loyalty, friendship, love and admiration. I so agree about the barrier, the veil of convention and superficiality that separates us, and I feel some of it even with you when I see you in person, as I am sure you do too when you see me. But when we email there is none of it, and I find that as wonderful as you do, and did even before I had death in front of me to concentrate my mind.[....]*
> *I have to stop.*
>
> *With love,*
> *Patricia*

Patricia Crone was a colossal scholar and a wonderful human being. Of her can it truly be said:

> *"Against death and all-oblivious enmity Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room*

Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out
to the ending doom."

It was one of the greatest privileges of my life to have known her, and to have been her friend.

— Deborah Tor
University of Notre Dame

I met Patricia Crone in 2003, when I was researching and writing my doctoral dissertation. Out of the blue, I received an e-mail message from her, inviting me to participate in a colloquium at the Institute for Advanced Study on "The Greek Strand in Islamic Political Thought," where I would address Middle Persian sources. At the time I knew her only by reputation, and for this reason I was hesitant to accept. I had heard rumors that she was an aggressive, intimidating scholar, who reportedly had induced at least one graduate student to tears during his candidacy exams.

It baffled me that, as a graduate student, I should be invited by a stranger to participate in a colloquium packed with such well-established and learned scholars from around the world. The roster of speakers included many scholars whose works I had been trained on. But I went and I tried to make myself useful at the event by taking notes for others. Little did I know that Patricia would turn out to be a very important mentor for me, even though I was never formally her student. It was the first of three such extended colloquia of hers to which I was invited, in addition to my half-year as a member of the Institute, where she held regular Qur'an-reading sessions in her office. Through all these events she facilitated my acquaintance with leading scholars in many different fields. I experienced the Institute for Advanced Study as a university without students, except that the professors were all the students of one another. Patricia led us in this way and set the example.

It was during these sessions, and also through correspondence and meetings at conferences, that I got to know Patricia and to admire her intellect and scholarship alike, as well as her generosity as host and as collegial interlocutor. She administered meetings that fostered the scholarship of each participant. She asked tough questions and pushed for answers with clarity. I could also see how she had earned her reputation for ferocity, though the rumors had exaggerated it. Once, when one of the invited scholars invited to her colloquium rambled on in his presentation of his dossier of texts with no purpose, going nowhere sloppily, Patricia hit the table with her palm and said with obvious frustration, "Would you get to the point?" I still think of the outburst as heroic. In principle, nobody was immune. I can't forget the time I mistook the date of the Muʿtazilī theologian ʿAbd al-Jabbār and she silenced me with a sharp "No!" in front of all the assembled colleagues. She herself seems to have known her reputation. When she received the Levi Della Vida Medal in Islamic Studies in 2013, she was subjected to a series of personal appreciations by colleagues assembled there. In response she said laughingly, "I had no idea you all liked me so much!" or words to that effect.

I never had the sense that it was personal when she disagreed or remained unpersuaded. There were big historical problems to solve, and we had better be serious and comprehensive in solving them.

When she realized a mistake on her part, she would correct herself. She has done this in print. Once at dinner with Patricia and Everett Rowson I asked her about the influential book she had co-written with Michael Cook, *Hagarism* (1977). Had she changed her mind about it? She didn't answer that question, but she said, "It was a work of youthful vandalism!" And she added that they had written the book at a relatively young age when she felt intense frustration with the uncritical attitude toward the sources prevalent among leading scholars then.

Patricia did not mince words. I find this admirable, too. Once I was interviewed for a prestigious fellowship at the IAS. Afterwards I found lunch on Nassau Street, and as I made my way back to my lodging, there was Patricia, riding her bicycle homeward. She saw me and immediately stopped. "You didn't get it!" she announced without any greeting, still seated on her bike. But then followed her usual kindness as we talked a while at a nearby café about what was next in our research projects.

At one visit to Princeton in 2014, she invited me to lunch at her house. We sat in her garden, among flowers, where she provided a Mediterranean sort of meal, and we talked about other people's books and our own unproved hypotheses. We also talked a little about the cancer in her brain. Her seemingly unflinching bravery with terminal illness was remarkable. When I left that day, we exchanged a knowing glance, just slightly prolonged. We did not need to say that we both expected it would be our last meeting. It wasn't, but that was her goodbye. I think she would hate any sentimentality about it. Patricia held very high standards.

— Kevin Van Bladel
Ohio State University

In Memoriam
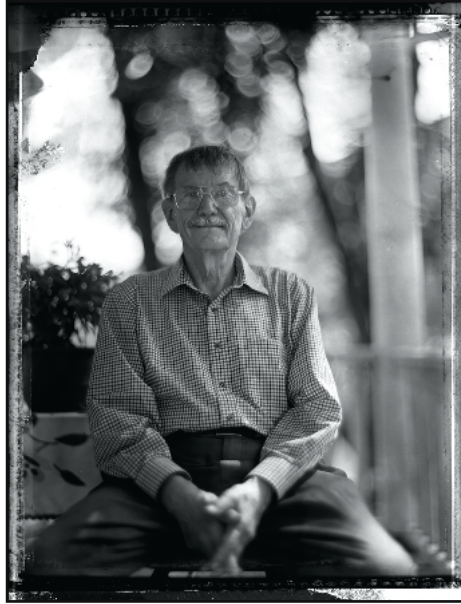
Wolfhart P. Heinrichs
(1941-2014)*

On January 23, 2014, we lost a teacher, a mentor, and a friend. Wolfhart P. Heinrichs was born on October 3, 1941, into a family of philologists. His father H. Matthias was a Germanist, and his mother Anne a scholar of Old Norse who attained a full professorship at the Freie Universität in Berlin at the age of 80.

Wolfhart began his studies in his hometown of Cologne. His university years included much traveling and many languages. After semesters spent at Bonn and Tübingen, he joined the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. He then studied at Frankfurt and finally at Giessen, where he received his doctorate in 1967. Along the way, he learned Latin, Greek, French, English, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Old South Arabian, Ethiopic, Ottoman, and Uigur. He also studied certain other African languages—which ones, specifically, I do not recall, though he is fondly remembered for reciting a text in one of them, complete with clicks, at parties.

After stints in Beirut and Istanbul, and a first foray into Neo-Aramaic, Wolfhart returned to teach at Giessen. In 1977, he was offered a professorship in Arabic at Harvard University. Three years later, he

(Photo by Satoru Murata)

married Alma Giese, a fellow scholar of Arabic and Islam, and an accomplished translator into German. In 1996, he was appointed James Richard Jewett Professor of Arabic at Harvard, a position he held until his death.

Most of Wolfhart's work concerned Arabic literary theory and criticism. With enormous breadth and precision, he investigated questions such as the possible influence of Greek thought on Arabic poetics, the meaning of *istiʿārah* (metaphor), and the relationship between literary theory and legal hermeneutics. He was one of the few internationally recognized authorities on neo-Aramaic. And as co-editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, he not only reviewed countless entries written by others but contributed some fifty articles himself, beginning with "*mubālaghah*" and ending with "Zanjānī." "He never promoted himself," one of his former students recently wrote. "He just quietly and steadily produced, each item of scholarly output a gem contributing to a glittering tapestry of refreshingly oblique perspectives on things otherwise taken for granted or previously not considered."

As a teacher and *Doktorvater*, Wolfhart was reluctant to suggest topics for his students, much less impose a particular method or approach. He was, however, uncompromising in his insistence that students think clearly, write carefully, and translate precisely. To ensure that these standards were met, he would comment copiously on whatever was submitted to him, often poking gentle fun at flights of fancy or (worse yet) errors in transliteration. I once amused him no end by mis-transliterating the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ, "the one who seeks light," as *al-mustaḍīʿ*, "the one

who seeks ruination." "Now that's really funny," I remember him scribbling in the margin. He may even have permitted himself an exclamation mark.

In retrospect, Wolfhart's insistence on getting the details right seems to have arisen from a principle: that of respecting the complexity of the material we deal with. Since Edward Said, it has become customary to dismiss philologists as "Orientalists," that is, as not-so-harmless drudges intent on dominating the natives they study. It is hard to imagine Wolfhart aspiring to anything so grandiose. His method, if I might venture to distill it, consisted of the following premises. First, we must understand what problem it is that our text is trying to solve. Second, we must assume that the response makes sense. If it doesn't make sense to us, then we must have misunderstood it. Wolfhart extended this so-called principle of charity to everything he read, including our comically wrongheaded translations. I don't recall hearing him say that our translations were wrong. Instead, he would ask: "If you wanted to say *that* in Arabic, how would you say it?" This is a question I still ask my own students.

At his memorial service, held in Cambridge, MA, on January 27, 2014, those of us who knew him primarily as a scholar and teacher were touched to hear neighbors and friends outside the university speak of his kindness, his good humor, and his love of life. "He never made anyone feel a lesser person for not knowing all the things he knew," was a refrain we heard again and again. In retrospect it seems that he thought of his work not only as a calling but also as a job, in the good healthy sense of the word. I remember him telling me, with a hint of pride perhaps,

that the briefcase he carried was actually a satchel of the kind carried by German working men.

A longer biography, a bibliography of his works and Alma's, and a list of his students all appear in his Festschrift, *Classical Arabic Humanities In Their Own Terms,* edited by Beatrice Gruendler (Brill, 2008). Meanwhile, tributes to him continue to appear. A particularly apt one was posted on Facebook some weeks ago by one of his former students.

It consists of a poem by Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Fāris that, according to Wolfhart, "encapsulated the life of a scholar":

"How are you?" they asked.
"All is well," I replied:
"One need met, others unfulfilled."
When the heart's sorrows accumulate, we say:
"Perhaps one day there shall be release."
My cat is my companion, my heart's delight
My papers; and my beloved, the lamp.

— Michael Cooperson

In Memoriam

George T. Scanlon

(1925-2014)*

Born in Philadelphia on April 23, 1925, George T. Scanlon was more than just a scholar of Islamic art and architecture; he was a true Renaissance man who paved the way in areas as wide-ranging as salvage archaeology and scholarly writing. One would have to refer back to his vocation as a young Naval officer to find the wellspring of his intrepid career, since it was his service in the armed forces that played an important role in shaping his academic and professional trajectory. According to one of Scanlon's oldest friends, he volunteered to join the US Navy at around the age of 18 and was first active in the Second World War from 1942. One of the advantages of his service was eligibility to enroll in the V-12 Navy College Training Program, an initiative created by the federal government during the wartime period to augment declining college attendance and grant degrees to prospective officers. It was through this program that he received a Bachelors of Science in Chemistry from Villanova College in 1945. As a war veteran

he was also a beneficiary of the G. I. Bill, which enabled him to attend the prestigious Swarthmore College to earn a Bachelor of Arts in Literature and History in 1950. Through ties at Swarthmore he taught English for two years at the Friends Boys School in Ramallah (1950-1951), on a fellowship from the Friends Service Committee; and it was from Ramallah, so I have been told, that Scanlon visited Egypt for the first time.

With the outbreak of the Korean War, Scanlon resumed active service with the Navy during the tumultuous years of 1951 to 1953. He returned to the world of academia immediately thereafter, receiving a Master of Arts in Oriental Studies from Princeton University in 1956. Even though awareness of the Middle East was on the ascent due to the revolutionary spirit that arose in the region at the time, few American institutions offered serious graduate work on the area and Princeton University was one of them. Attendance at this Ivy League university afforded the aspiring historian an opportunity to comprehensively study the region and its languages under the tutelage of the eminent scholar Philip Khuri Hitti and Arabist Farhat J. Ziadeh.

Following a sojourn and fieldwork in Egypt to carry out research for his dissertation on a fifteenth-century Arabic manuscript on the art of Mamluk warfare, Scanlon became affiliated with The American University in Cairo (AUC) (1957-1958) primarily to work with K.A.C. Creswell, the great authority on the Islamic monuments of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean. An ARCE Fulbright Research Fellowship kept Scanlon in Egypt after completion of his doctoral degree in Near Eastern History (1959), also from Princeton University. It was at this time, first from 1959 to 1961, that Scanlon assumed the directorship of The American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), which was still in its nascence, and then again from 1965-1966. His tenure at ARCE coincided with an important interval in the short history of American-Egyptian cultural relations, one that paralleled a politically difficult period for foreign archaeologists working in Egypt; it also marked a key turning point in ARCE's developing mission. Almost all foreign archaeological expeditions operating in Egypt were excavating with an exclusive focus on the country's ancient Pharaonic patrimony; however, it was with Scanlon's appointment(s) that forays into later historical periods were introduced to ARCE. The Center's emphasis on Islamic material culture can be attributed to his early association with ARCE as a Fulbright Fellow and subsequent integration on the executive level.

In the midst of all these promising changes at ARCE, *A Muslim Manual of War: being Tafrij al-kurub fi tadbir al-hurub by 'Umar ibn Ibrahim al-Awsi al-Ansari* was published by The AUC Press. More significant, it was one of the first three books published upon The Press' establishment in 1960. Long since out-of-print, a facsimile of Scanlon's first monograph was recently made available to the public on the occasion of his recent retirement:

http://www.aucpress.com/p-4740-a-muslim-manual-of-war.aspx

Scanlon's fieldwork began in 1963, working for three seasons at Gebel Adda and the Coptic Monastery of Qasr al-Wizz in Nubia. Both of these medieval concessions

were managed under the auspices of ARCE as part of UNESCO's International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia located above the Aswan High Dam. One of Scanlon's colleagues on the campaign, William Y. Adams, an anthropologist and UNESCO coordinator, mentioned in a recent correspondence that a testament to Scanlon's contribution to this international cooperation is that Qasr al-Wizz remains the only monastery in Lower Nubia that was ever published. The massive scale of this salvage undertaking proved to be a valuable networking forum for it was in Nubia where Scanlon met Polish archaeologist and Islamicist Wladislaw B. Kubiak, with whom he co-directed the ARCE sponsored Fustat Expedition for nine seasons between 1964 and 1980.

For most of the academic world, Fustat is where Scanlon sealed his reputation as a doyen of Islamic archaeology. Building on his experience in Nubia, several very important contributions arose from those Fustat years: not only was the first Islamic capital of Egypt and the site from which medieval Cairo blossomed properly documented in the face of inevitable destruction and years of neglect, but Fustat was the first Islamic concession granted to a foreign archaeological institute. Consequently, the breadth and depth of the deluge of articles and reports published by Scanlon on the pits, mounds, rubbish dumps, domestic architecture, sanitation, and material finds of Fustat have filled a lacuna in the fields of Islamic archaeology and Egyptian urban history. Not to be forgotten is his 1965 discovery of a luster-painted glass goblet inscribed with the name of Abd al-Samad (722-802), governor of Egypt for a month in 773. Now in the collection of the Museum of Islamic

Art in Cairo (Inv. No. 23284), it is one of the earliest datable and most important glass objects from the early Abbasid period. This and other significant glass finds ultimately led to the 2001 publication of *Fustat Glass of the Early Islamic period: Finds Excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt, 1964-1980* with Ralph Pinder-Wilson, a distinguished Persian scholar and Islamic archaeologist with whom Scanlon enjoyed a lasting and productive academic relationship. Drawing from his acute interests in material culture, his interpretation of the large variety of finds – especially the imported wares – widened our understanding of medieval trade relations and brought the seemingly desolate remains of Fustat vividly to life. All this wealth of data greatly impacted and accelerated other missions to invest in Islamic sites throughout Egypt, like the subsequent American, French, Japanese and Kuwaiti sponsored excavations in Fustat, Upper Egypt and the Red Sea. Without his laborious efforts in the often challenging fieldwork conditions, precipitated by limited resources and lack of time, much of the material culture of Fustat would have remained undiscovered if not undiscoverable – which is why his prescient fieldwork is greatly appreciated today considering the constant threats and continuous urban encroachment to the site.

Scanlon was closely affiliated with several other US and UK-based institutions throughout his academic career: at the University of Chicago he was awarded a Carnegie Teaching Fellowship (1958 to1959); he taught the history of the Middle East and Islamic Art and Architecture at the University of California at Berkeley (1961-1962); was a
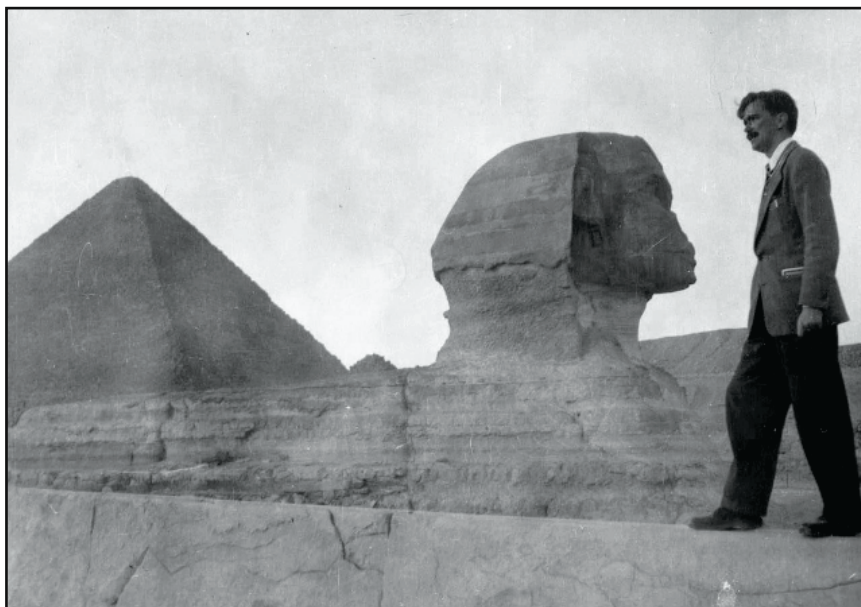
While this photo of a young Scanlon posing in front of the Sphinx and Khufu's pyramid is undated, he looks to be in his 30s so it would have been taken early in his tenure in Cairo. (Photo courtesy of the Margaret Ruffee Estate)

Fellow at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, conjoint with the status of Senior Visiting Fellow at St. Anthony's College in Oxford (1966 to 1968); an Associate Professor of History at the University of Michigan, while acting as a Research Curator at the university's Kelsey Museum of Ancient and Medieval Archaeology (1969-1971); and a Visiting Fellow at St. Anthony's College (1971 to 1974). His longest affiliation, however, was with AUC, where, as successor of K.A.C. Creswell, who died in 1974, he was first a Visiting Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture with tenure ensuing in 1975. Although Creswell's legacy at AUC has remained a strong memory, Scanlon added significantly to the university's Islamic art and architecture curriculum over the decades, so much so that many found it difficult to reconcile his decision to finally hang up his gown in 2011.

Fortunately, Scanlon's manifold contributions have been appropriately recognized by the academe for posterity. The most notable honors were bestowed upon him by the Institut d'Égypte in 1987, when he was elected a Corresponding Member; the Middle East Medievalists awarded him their first ever Lifetime Achievement Award in 1998; and in 2002 The AUC Press published a festschrift, *Historians in Cairo: Essays in Honor of George Scanlon,* containing scholarly articles written by his close friends, former students and colleagues. More recently, he was honored at the 50th anniversary of the Nubia Campaign held in Aswan in 2009; at the 7th International Congress of Archaeologists on the Ancient Near East (ICAANE), held in 2010, a resolution was passed recognizing his life-long achievements; and during the same year, the Ministry of Antiquities (then known as the Supreme Council of Antiques) broke with tradition by honoring him in a formal

ceremony and making him the first and only non-Egyptian medieval archaeologist recognized by the Ministry in this way. The Ministry also dedicated the fourth volume of *Mishkah*, its journal on Islamic archaeology, to him.

I will spend these last few lines offering my own reflections of Scanlon. Although it is through the perceptiveness of a young graduate student that I first became acquainted with him, I was fortunate to have remained in touch and privileged to have enjoyed his company over the years. I probably speak for his cohorts of former students in recounting the engaging narrative style of his lectures, which always implanted drama, intrigue and inquiry. One never left his class without having acquired new appreciation for the dullest of objects (What does laminated glass tell you?), perspectives on the topography of Cairo (When you exit Bab Zuwayla and walk south until the end of the Qasaba, where will you end up?), and an expectation to make impromptu visual associations (Because a good art historian has a remembering eye!). I will forever feel grateful for his uncanny ability and enthusiasm in sharing his rich experience and knowledge, and for opening up new ways of thinking and looking at the world. Surely this is the priceless gift of a true education. As we recognize Scanlon's prowess as an archaeologist, educator and scholar, we should also recall his unforgettable presence and dynamic personality, one that was fueled by the fact that he lived a very long, rich and full life. And we should also remember him as he was: opinionated; complicated; some would say a peculiar man; genuinely interested in the prospects of his students; the life and center of any gathering; and a

man who left an indelible impression on all who have met him. Even his detractors recognized his agency, succumbed to his charm, and acknowledged that he was a consummate intellectual, erudite and, yes, brilliant.

In preparing for this dedication I have also been reminded of Scanlon's many other passions. As a student it was not uncommon to hear him hum arias to the musical accompaniment of his jingling keys, or recite lines penned by his favorite authors, both of which, in many cases, set the tone for his lectures. Then there was Scanlon the lover of horses, and Scanlon the tennis aficionado who regularly played the sport on the courts of AUC's Old Campus. Like those tennis courts of yesteryear, he both preceded and survived one of his favorite meeting places: the Nile Hilton Hotel, which opened in Tahrir Square in 1958 and closed in 2009. And talk to anyone who knew Scanlon during the Fustat years and they will tell you about his beloved floating headquarters, the famous Nile houseboat fittingly named *Fustat*, of which he was the uncontested captain. More than anything, I think Scanlon will be most remembered for his exuberant conversation style, unabashed honesty, colorfully coordinated sartorial elegance and adventurous spirit. What should not be buried with him or fall out of historical record is his incredible generosity. Perhaps little-known outside of certain circles is that Scanlon anonymously endowed the annual George Antonius Memorial lecture at the Middle East Centre of St Antony's College, now in its 40th year; he also gave generously over the years to key institutions that supported the study of the Middle East, such as The American University in Beirut and Middle East

Medievalists. However, the Rare Books & Special Collections Library (RBSCL) at AUC, his official home for the past 40 years, is where his spirit resides: in 2008, Scanlon donated his personal papers, correspondences and the diaries that he has kept over the years, no doubt didactic and composed with typical Scanlonesque eloquence.

To conclude, I leave you with of one Scanlon's notoriously candid expressions – one that is most poignant as we continue to remember and memorialize our good professor, and the first thought that came to mind when I learned of his unfortunate demise in New York City on July 13, 2014: "Say good things about me, say bad things about me but, goddammit, talk about me!!!"

In the year since Scanlon's passing, several events have been held in his memory to ensure that he is appropriately and posthumously recognized for his rescue archaeology of medieval sites below the High Dam, his work in Fustat, as well as for his many years of teaching Egyptian and non-Egyptian students at AUC.

On October 26th of last year, AUC organized and hosted a touching memorial ceremony, "A Celebration of Life," that gathered AUC colleagues and staff, relatives who flew in from the US, friends and different generations of former students. There were a variety of reminiscences from across the board, all cogent, illuminating and moving, particularly the touching remarks of Prof. Doris Shoukri, who had known Scanlon for 60 years and commented on his love of poetry by reciting some of his favorite verses. Mrs. Carol Cohen, Scanlon's niece, told about his family background and read excerpts

from letters that he sent to his older sister, Mrs. Margaret Ruffee, from Cairo. More recently, on June 18th of this year, the 40th George Antonius Memorial Lecture at Oxford was held in Scanlon's memory with a lecture by Prof. Scott Redford. Prof. Redford spoke on Scanlon's career, his contribution to Islamic archaeology and how the field has progressed since his days at Fustat. Later this year, on 14 October, Prof. Jere Bacharach will dedicate his SOAS Islamic Art Circle lecture on the numismatic evidence from Fustat to Scanlon.

In the US, the current exhibition at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *A Cosmopolitan City: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Old Cairo* (through September 13), is using artifacts from their permanent collection that were initially recovered by Scanlon during his first season at Fustat (1964-1965). Since these artifacts serve the basis of the exhibition and make up the majority of the entries in the accompanying catalogue, both the exhibition and catalogue have been dedicated to Scanlon:

http://oi.uchicago.edu/museum-exhibits/special-exhibits/cosmopolitan-city-old-cairo

Finally, it is precisely because of the strong imprint that Scanlon left on the field of Islamic art, architecture and archaeology that alumnae of AUC and former students have established a named endowment in his honor, the proceeds from which will fund an annual award for graduate students at AUC. **The George T. Scanlon Graduate Student Award for Arab and Islamic Civilizations** will be a merit-based award open to all students pursuing a graduate degree in the various

disciplines of Arab and Islamic Civilizations (ARIC), the department where Scanlon taught. The award will recognize the most distinguished MA thesis produced by an ARIC student in that given academic year, with an annual award ceremony that will feature an invited keynote speaker from the Cairo academic community who will recognize the award recipient and commemorate Scanlon's impact on Islamic studies. This humble initiative is one small way to both honor Scanlon's impact on

Islamic visual and material culture:

http://new.aucegypt.edu/news/ stories/auc%E2%80%99s-george-t-scanlon-%E2%80%9Ckeep-faith%E2%80%9D.

If you would like to support this award, please contact AUC's Office of Institutional Advancement: givingthanks@aucegypt.edu.

— Iman Abdulfattah

Announcements

Join MEM or renew your MEMbership: An invitation from Middle East Medievalists

Dear Colleagues,

We are very pleased to announce the launch of the new website of Middle East Medievalists (MEM). Please visit the site at the following address:

http://islamichistorycommons.org/mem/

It is now time to either renew your MEMbership or join MEM if you are not a member. The new website features a new database that will dramatically improve MEM's ability to communicate with MEMbers, manage MEMberships, and carry out other key functions. Just click the membership menu on our website and choose the "individual" or "institutional" option.

Please note that MEM's annual dues have risen (after no increase for years). Individual dues are now $40.00 per year. This is a flat rate (domestic and international). Institutional dues are $250.00 a year.

You will be taken to the relevant MEMbership form. As in the past, you have the option to join or renew for one, two, or three years. If you are a member of Islamic History Commons (IHC), you might want to log in with your IHC credentials first on http://islamichistorycommons.org/. This will enable us to pre-populate the membership form (you may update it as needed). If you are not a member of IHC or if you are joining MEM for the first time, simply fill out the form directly.

You will then be directed to PayPal. There you can either pay with a PayPal account or with a credit/debit card. Once you are done, you will be redirected to our website. You should receive via email 1) a payment confirmation from PayPal and 2) a confirmation from our own website reflecting the changes to your membership. If you run into any problems at all, please be sure to contact us directly.

We have transformed *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā* (*UW*) into an open access, peer-reviewed, and online journal. This decision followed much discussion, online and during our annual business meetings. Our aim, quite simply, is to transform *UW* into the journal of choice of Middle East Medievalists, the largest scholarly association in the field in North America. Please stay tuned for forthcoming announcements regarding the new editorial board, a set of initiatives (including the digitization of the entire run of *UW*) and the TOC of our next and, we believe, very exciting issue. We might add that, the changes notwithstanding, *UW* will continue to provide a sense of community and common purpose for all of us in the discipline.

The new dues also reflect MEM's renewed commitment to the field. We are planning to reintroduce our graduate student paper prize and to introduce a MEM book prize as well, on top of our existing Lifetime Achievement Award and Honorary Membership. Other new ideas are of course welcome!

Announcements

Join MEM or renew your MEMbership: An invitation from Middle East Medievalists (Cont.)

As announced at last MESA, MEM has also noticeably increased its presence on social media. Make sure to follow us on Facebook (http://www.facebook.com/MideastMedievalists) and on Twitter (@MideastMedieval)!

Our new website will include, in due course, further new resources dedicated to teaching and digital humanities in particular, and will benefit from the many resources (such as working papers) that the Islamic History Commons have to offer.

We would also remind you that our list (H-MEM) provides opportunity to engage colleagues worldwide with the topics and questions that concern us all.

Please join now. MEM is embracing change and needs you to continue to provide outstanding service to the field.

— The MEM Board of Directors

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(mempresident@gmail.com or gordonms@miamioh.edu)

George T. Scanlon Graduate Student Award in Arab and Islamic Civilizations

Alumnae of The American University in Cairo (AUC) have established an endowment in the name of the late George T. Scanlon (1925-2014), Professor Emeritus of Islamic Art and Architecture at AUC. The **George T. Scanlon Graduate Student Award in Arab and Islamic Civilizations** will be a merit-based award open to all students pursuing a graduate degree in the various disciplines of Arab and Islamic Civilizations (ARIC), the department that Scanlon was affiliated with for most of his professional career. The award will recognize the most distinguished MA thesis produced by an ARIC student in that given academic year, with an annual award ceremony that will feature an invited keynote speaker from the Cairo academic community who will recognize the award recipient and commemorate Scanlon's impact on Islamic studies. This award will be a lasting tribute to an educator and scholar who left a strong imprint on Islamic archaeology, studies related to the material culture of medieval Egypt and the generations of students that he taught:

http://new.aucegypt.edu/news/stories/auc%E2%80%99s-george-t-scanlon-%E2%80%9Ckeep-faith%E2%80%9D

To contribute to the **George T. Scanlon Graduate Student Award in Arab and Islamic Civilizations**, please contact givingthanks@aucegypt.edu.

العصور الوسطى