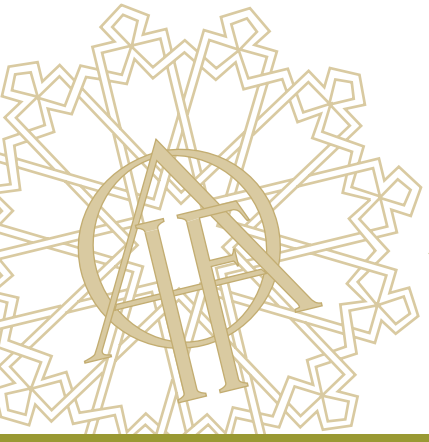
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ANNALES ISLAMOLOGIQUES

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Christopher Melchert

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CHRISTOPHER MELCHERT

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ and the Advantages of Teaching at a Madrasa

When Niẓāmulmulk founded a new Šāfiʿi madrasa in Baghdad, his first choice for the professorship of law was the evident chief of the Šāfiʿi school in Baghdad, Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī (d. 476/1083). Abū Isḥāq refused for reasons of conscience (the construction of the new *madrasa* had depended on wrongful expropriation), so his rival Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ (d. 477/1084) went to teach there instead. Soon, however, Abū Isḥāq's students overcame his scruples by threatening to leave him for Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ at the Niẓāmīya unless he relented and moved there himself. In spite of his better judgement, Abū Isḥāq then went to teach at the new school, where he remained until his death sixteen years later. Contemporaries in Baghdad considered them equal in juristic acumen, or Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ slightly superior. Nevertheless, Abū Isḥāq's writing evidently had a much greater effect on the future development of the Šāfiʿi school. The reason for Abū Isḥāq's greater posthumous renown appears to be that, because he taught for far longer at the Niẓāmīya (sixteen years as opposed to one), which offered stipends to students as well as to professors, far more were able to study under him. It seems from the example of Abū Isḥāq and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ that it was indeed advantageous for one's posthumous fame to teach at a *madrasa*, not an ordinary mosque. I propose this study for a collection concerning the influence of the provinces on the metropole because it appears that the stipends that attracted so many students to him made the most difference in attracting provincials to study under him, who then spread his books in their homelands. Thus the madrasa reinforced the tendency of Islamic law to bind metropole and provinces; thus also effects in the provinces shaped the school of law as a whole.

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Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ: Life and Works

Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ṣabbāġ was born in Baghdad in AH 400/AD 1009-1010. His father, Abū Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ (d. 448/1057), was a Šāfiʿi *faqīh* (jurist) who taught *fiqh* after the doctrine of Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī (d. 406/1016) at Ǧāmiʿ al-Madīna and acted as *šāhid* (witness notary) for Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaġānī (d. 478/1085).[1] (Another *faqīh*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣabbāġ [d. 423/1031-1032], may have come from a cognate line.[2]) Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī was apparently Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ's only teacher of *fiqh*. Born in Āmul in 348/959-960, he had studied under prominent Šāfiʿi jurists in Āmul (Abū ʿAlī al-Zuǧāǧī, d. *ca*. 400/1010), in Gurgan (Abū Saʿd al-Ismāʿīlī, d. Gurgan, 396/1005-1006, and al-Qāḍī Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Kaǧǧ, d. 405/1015), and in Nishapur (Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māsirǧisī, d. 384/994) before coming to Baghdad. There, he wrote a *taʿlīqa* under Abū Muḥammad al-Bāfī (d. 398/1007; al-Māwardī was another of his students) and attended sessions of *uṣūl* given by Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyinī (d. Nishapur, 417 or 418/*ca*. 1027). Abū al-Ṭayyib taught at his own mosque, probably in Karḫ, until he retired from teaching in 430/1038-1039, when he asked Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī to teach in his place.[3] He became *qāḍī* for Karḫ on the death of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaymarī in 436/1045. Al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī and Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī assure us that he remained of sound mind right up to his death at the age of 102 (hijri years, about 99 solar).[4] Already, then, although Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was a Baghdadi born and bred, his teacher had come from the provinces. As Šāfiʿism itself largely came to Baghdad from Egypt, provincial influence on the capital was not an eleventh-century innovation.

Almost nothing is said in the sources about Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ personally. Ibn al-ʿImād and others call him an ascetic (*zāhid*), but we have no illustrative stories as we have for Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī.[5] We actually do know more about Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ's family than we do of Abū Isḥāq's (leading me to suspect, among other things, that Abū Isḥāq never married). Like their father, his brother Muḥammad was a *faqīh*,[6] and he had a son, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī, who figures in an *isnād* related by Ibn ʿAsākir (d. Damascus, 571/1176).[7] Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ married a daughter of his to a cousin, Abū Ġālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who figures among his students.[8] His nephew Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad also studied *fiqh* under him.[9]

1. Al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ* 2, p. 362; 3, p. 629. On this biography is based the later account in Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 188-9.
2. Al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ* 5, p. 383; 3, p. 369-70; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 8, p. 71; 15, p. 232; Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya* 12, p. 35.
3. Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128.
4. Al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ* 9, p. 360; 10, p. 493; Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 127.
5. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt* 3, p. 355, quoting Ibn Šuhba.
6. Abū Ṭālib b. Abī Ṭāhir b. Abī Aḥmad; *v.* short notice in Ṣafadī, *Lexicon* 1, p. 167.
7. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīḫ* 1, p. 384. Subkī mentions this Abū al-Qāsim as relating on his father's authority, *Ṭabaqāt* 3, p. 123.
8. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 86.
9. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 85.

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Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was not heavily involved with political figures. He might be present at important ceremonies, among other *ʿulamāʾ*; for example, Ibn al-Aṯīr places him at the formal acclamation of the caliph al-Muqtadī.[10] He was less prominent in public affairs than Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī became after his installation at the Niẓāmīya.

The Niẓāmīya affair of 459/1067 hardly needs retelling by me.[11] When the school was ready to open on 10 Ḏū al-Qaʿda/22 September, important people were gathered and stood according to occupation and rank. They waited to see Abū Isḥāq teach his first lesson, but he never showed up, having been informed (or reminded) on the way that the building had been constructed with materials wrongly appropriated. Informed of Abū Isḥāq's refusal to come, Niẓāmulmulk appointed Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ to teach in his new school until Abū Isḥāq should relent, which he did, taking over the first of Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa/13 October.[12] I shall return later to the reasons for Abū Isḥāq's change of mind. We can imagine that Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ felt humiliated by his dismissal after only twenty days.

Near the end of his life, Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ returned to teach at the Niẓāmīya for a short time. Abū Isḥāq died 21 Ǧumādā I or II 476/7 October or 6 November 1083.[13] After the funeral, Niẓāmulmulk's *mutawallī* (agent in charge of a *waqf* foundation), his son Muʾayyad al-Mulk, hired al-Mutawallī al-Naysābūrī (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maʾmūn b. ʿAlī, d. 478/1086) to take his place. When Niẓāmulmulk heard of this, he said that the school should have been closed a year for the sake of Abū Isḥāq, reprimanded his son, and ordered that Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ replace al-Mutawallī. The sources tell us neither why al-Mutawallī had been appointed in the first place nor why Niẓāmulmulk countermanded Muʾayyad al-Mulk's order. Perhaps he had heard that the jurists of Baghdad were angry with al-Mutawallī for so rudely taking over.[14] Al-Mutawallī having taught for twenty days, Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ must have resumed at about the middle of 476. At about this time he lost his sight.[15] In 477 (began 10 May 1084), Muʾayyad al-Mulk sacked him again and re-hired al-Mutawallī. Again, I do not know why Muʾayyad al-Mulk so favoured him. Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ travelled to Isfahan to complain to Niẓāmulmulk in person. Niẓāmulmulk promised this time to build a new school for him, but Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ died on 13 Ǧumādā I/18 September 1084, three days after returning to Baghdad and before

10. Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 96, s.a. 467.

11. Cf. Makdisi, "Institutions", p. 31-48.

12. Ibn al-Aṯīr depicts Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ among those attending, the Ḥanbali Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf as the one to summon him to teach on the spot because it was unbecoming for all this gathering to disperse without a demonstration, and Niẓāmulmulk as informed only later (*Kāmil* 10, p. 55).

13. The two alternative months are given by Ṣafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 63 and Nawawī, *Maǧmūʿ* 1, p. 37. Nawawī, *Tahḏīb* 2, p. 174, gives 472 but this appears to be a textual corruption, for the alternatives 11 Ǧumādā I or II 476 are given by al-Asnawī, citing Nawawī, *al-Tahḏīb*; *Ṭabaqāt* 2, p. 84.

14. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 133, citing a lost *ḏayl* to Šīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*, by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hamaḏānī (d. 521/1127), on which *v.* Kātib Çelebī, *Keşf*, 1105.

15. Several sources mention that Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ went blind at the end of his life. Ibn al-ʿImād specifies that this happened after he had succeeded Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī: *Šaḏarāt* 3, p. 133.

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work could begin.[16] Ibn al-Ǧawzī says that Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was well received by the sultan. Perhaps this happened, too, at the time of his visit to Isfahan.[17]

Whereas we know almost nothing of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ personally, and little more about his political attitudes, we may be safer trying to characterize him intellectually, although most of his works appear to be lost.

1. *Al-Fatāwā*. Collected, says Subkī, by his nephew and son-in-law Abū Manṣūr (Subkī, 4:86; quoted *ibid*. 4:125; also mentioned in *Keşf*, 1218).

2. *Al-Kāmil fī al-ḥilāf bayna al-šāfiʿīya wa-al-ḥanafīya* (*Nakt*, 193; *Keşf*, 1381).

3. *Kifāyat al-masāʾil* (*Keşf*, 1501).

4. *Al-Šāmil fī furūʿ al-šāfiʿīya*. The most famous of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ's works. Ṣafadī calls it 'the most sound of Šāfiʿi books and the most excellent with regard to transmission (*al-aǧwad fī al-naql*)' (*Nakt*, 123), while Kātib Çelebī names four commentaries (*Keşf*, 1025). Brockelmann names one copy that has come down to us (*GAL* 1:486 [388]).

5. Probably one work: *Taḏkirat al-ʿālim wa-al-ṭarīq al-salīm* on *uṣūl* (*Keşf*, 389; *Nakt*, 193); *ʿUddat al-ʿālim wa-al-ṭarīq al-salīm* (*Keşf*, 1129); *al-Ṭarīq al-salīm* concerning hadith, juridical problems (*masāʾil*), and Sufism (*Keşf*, 1114); *al-ʿUdda* on *uṣūl* (*Nakt*, 193); *al-ʿUmda* on *uṣūl* (Ibn al-ʿImād, 3:355).

I hope I may one day read an edition of *al-Šāmil*.

As for Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ's students, I have found thirteen jurisprudents who are mentioned as having studied under him. (Their names and more details are to be found in Appendix I.) Six of them studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī as well. By contrast, I have found the names of over sixty who studied under Abū Isḥāq. It seems plain that Abū Isḥāq (or the institution at which he taught) attracted more or better students than Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. I shall propose some reasons for this difference below.

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Šīrāzī was born in 393, 395, or 396 (some time between A.D. 1003 and 1006) in Fīrūzābāḏ, formerly Ǧūr.[18] I have discovered no notice of his father or any other relation. The earliest of Abū Isḥāq's masters in law of whom we know is

16. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 133.

17. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* 9, p. 12; *16, p. 237*.

18. 393 H. is the birthdate given by Ibn al-Ǧawzī (*Muntaẓam* 9, p. 7; 16, p. 228), Nawawī (*Taḥḏīb* 2, p. 172), Subkī (*Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 217); however, Ibn Ḫallikān (*Wafayāt* 1, p. 30), followed by Asnawī (*Ṭabaqāt* 2, p. 84), reports also the traditions that he was born in 395 or 396, citing Ibn al-Naǧǧār (d. 643/1245), author of *Ḏayl tārīḫ Baġdād* (mostly lost). As for the place, all sources agree on Fīrūzābāḏ except Nawawī, who says that Abū Isḥāq was *mansūb ilā Fayrūzābāḏ* but that his *aṣl* was in al-Fārisīya al-Kabīr, a *bulayda* of the same province (*Taḥḏīb* 2, p. 172). To be sure, *aṣl* may indicate family origin rather than birthplace. On Fīrūzābāḏ, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 255-256.

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Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Šīrāzī (*fl.* earlier 5th/11th cent.), who himself studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī (d. Baghdad, 406/1016), chief of the Iraqi Šāfiʿīya. Abū Isḥāq says that he was the first on whose lectures he took notes (*awwal man ʿallaqtu ʿanh*), probably indicating extraordinary preciousness on his own part.[19]

In 410, when he was no more than eighteen years old, Abū Isḥāq moved to Shiraz, where, most sources say, he studied law under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī and Ibn Rāmīn. In his own *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, oddly, Abū Isḥāq identifies both of these as one-time shaykhs of his but does not suggest that he heard either of them in Shiraz. Rather, he says that this Bayḍāwī lived in Baghdad, while he attaches the *nisba* "al-Baġdādī" to Ibn Rāmīn, who he says also lived and taught in Basra.[20] Perhaps he studied under each of them in two places.[21] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Bayḍāwī (d. Baghdad, 424/1033) had pursued advanced studies under Abū al-Qāsim al-Dārakī (d. Baghdad, 375/986), chief of the Iraqi Šāfiʿīya in his time. Among his fellow students had been Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyinī. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī lived in Darb al-Sulūbī, Baghdad, and acted as *qāḍī* for Karḫ besides teaching law. He was buried at Bāb Ḥarb.[22] His son Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad (d. 468/1076) studied, like Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ and Abū Isḥāq, under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and also married a daughter of his.[23] As for Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Rāmīn (d. 430/1039), the fullest notice we have of his life is that of Abū Isḥāq himself. According to Abū Isḥāq, Ibn Rāmīn studied law under al-Dārakī and also Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḫayrān (*fl.* mid-4th/10th cent.).[24]

Also at Shiraz and additionally at Ġundağān (near Ahvāz), Abū Isḥāq studied law and prepared a *taʿlīqa* of some sort under Abū Aḥmad al-Ġundağānī (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn, *fl.* early 5th/11th cent.), a former advanced student under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī.[25] Finally, Abū Isḥāq mentions having studied under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ǧallāb (*fl.* early 5th/11th cent.), the *ḫaṭīb* of Shiraz.[26]

Many of the sources mention that Abū Isḥāq went to Basra after studying in Shiraz. However, they are extraordinarily confused, so that we have almost as many forms of the alleged Basran teacher's name as we do sources:

– Al-Ḥawzī (Samʿānī, f. 434v; Ibn Ḫallikān, 1:31, quoting Ibn al-Naǧǧār);
– Al-Ǧazī (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:7);

19. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, 134.
20. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, 125-126.
21. So suggests Iḥsān ʿAbbās, "Tarǧamat al-mu'allif", introduction to Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5-6.
22. Al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ* 5, p. 476; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 152-154.
23. Ṣafadī, *Lexicon* 1, p. 121; Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1, p. 237.
24. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 117, 125; Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt* 1, p. 30, quoting Ibn al-Naǧǧār; Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1, p. 582, alone giving a month of death (Ramaḍān). There was a notable Basran jurisprudent named Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḫayrān (d. 320/932?), on whom *V* Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 3, p. 271-274. He died too early to have taught Ibn Rāmīn, but a son of his might have taught him.
25. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 133.
26. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 133.

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– Al-Ǧawzī (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *16:229fn*; Nawawī, *Tahḏīb* 2:172);
– Al-Ǧazarī (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *16:229*; Ṣafadī, 6:62);
– Al-Ḫarazī (Nawawī, *Maǧmūʿ* 1:25; Asnawī, 2:84; Subkī, 4:217);
– Ǧurayy al-Nahdī (Ibn Ḥaǧar, *Tabṣīr* 1:253, without expressly associating him with Basra, though).

Oddly, Abū Isḥāq does not mention studying under anyone from Basra in his own *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*. He does mention Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḫarazī (d. 391/1000-1001), a Ẓāhiri master of disputation (*munāẓara*) who came to Baghdad from Shiraz in the company of the Māliki jurisprudent and Ašʿari theologian Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013). This Ḫarazī died too soon for Abū Isḥāq to have had much to do with him, but Abū Isḥāq adds that he saw a son of his. Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113) asserts that Abū Isḥāq was at first a Ẓāhiri and then became Šāfiʿi. Abū Isḥāq's Ẓāhirism is not corroborated by any other evidence that has come down to us, and Ibn al-Qaysarānī was notorious in his own day for unreliability, on which account Abū Isḥāq's modern biographer, Muḥammad Ḥasan Haytū, rejects it.[27] Still, it is just possible that Abū Isḥāq's relationship with this Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḫarazī, whatever it was, led to these numerous reports that Abū Isḥāq studied under someone in Basra with such a name.[28]

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī at last moved to Baghdad in 415/1024-1025. He began to study under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and quickly became his favourite. Abū al-Ṭayyib first hired him to assist in his circle and then, in 430/1038-1039, asked him to teach in his place. Abū Isḥāq did for two years, thenceforward presumably teaching at his own mosque in Bāb al-Marātib.[29] His fellow students under Abū al-Ṭayyib included Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, the Ḥanbali Abū al-Wafā' b. ʿAqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), and al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī.

Besides Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, Abū Isḥāq's main teacher in Baghdad was Abū Ḥātim al-Qazwīnī (Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, d. Baghdad 440/1048 or Āmul, 460/1068). On coming to Baghdad, Abū Ḥātim had studied law under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī, inheritance law (*farā'iḍ*) under Ibn al-Labbān (d. 402/1011), and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (jurisprudence, properly speaking) under Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. Abū Isḥāq writes, "I have benefitted from no one in the journey as I have from him and al-Qāḍī Abū al-Ṭayyib."[30] Additionally, Abū Isḥāq may have travelled to Mosul at this time to hear Ibn Farġān al-Mawṣilī (d. 438/1046-1047).[31]

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī was personally well-liked. Biographical notices continually remind us of his cheerful face, unceasing smile, and witty conversation (to cite only the short list by

27. *EI*², s.v. 'Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī'; Haytū, *Imām*, p. 67.
28. According to one modern study, Abū Isḥāq also studied in Basra under al-Imām al-Ġazālī, Talas, *Madrasah*, 57. This appears to be a mistake, for Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī was born only in 451/1059, when Abū Isḥāq was in his fifties. Certainly, I have found no mention of Abū Ḥāmid or any other Ġazālī in the sources relating to Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī's teachers.
29. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128.
30. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 130 (the main source for subsequent accounts); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, p. 130; Nawawī, *Tahḏīb* 2, p. 207; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 312-313.
31. Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 134; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 57.

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Ibn al-Ǧawzī[32]). Al-Ṣafadī points out verse hidden in Abū Isḥāq's handbook of Šāfiʿi rules, *al-Muhaḏḏab*, but many others cite occasional poetry that Abū Isḥāq composed and declaimed on the spot.[33] Altogether, he was said to have been accepted completely by the élite and general alike.[34]

Abū Isḥāq's personal piety seems to have impressed his contemporaries as much as his wit and good nature. There is the story that he was walking one day with some students when a dog crossed their path. One of the students tried to drive it away, but Abū Isḥāq stopped him, saying, "Don't you know that the way is shared between us and him?"[35] Ibn ʿAqīl is quoted as saying that Abū Isḥāq never gave alms to a beggar without first asking the help of God, or wrote on a question without first framing his statement of intention (*nīya*), discussed a point without first asking the help of God, or wrote on a question without first going through ritual prostrations.[36] Ibn ʿAqīl is also quoted as saying that his teacher, Abū Isḥāq, was the ascetic of the lower world.[37] Al-Subkī illustrates his asceticism by quoting the story of another of Abū Isḥāq's students, al-Qāḍī Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ǧurǧānī (d. 482/1089): he and some others went to visit the shaykh when he was living in al-Qaṭīʿa and found him wearing so little that he could not stand all the way up to greet them, lest he expose himself.[38]

The usual complaint against ascetics is that they merely made an outward show for people without being pious in their hearts. Some of this comes out in the Šarīf Abū Ǧaʿfar's bitter rejection of Abū Isḥāq's protestation of agreement with the traditionalists: "What you say may be so, but when you were poor, we did not see what was inside your soul. Now that you have assistants and power and the Ḫʷāǧah Buzurg [i.e. Niẓāmulmulk], you have made plain what was hidden."[39] Subkī quotes a saying that suggests Abū Isḥāq maintained his detachment from riches to the end of his life: surveying wares, food, clothing, and so on spread out by some townsmen on his mission to Khurasan, he ironically said to the students with him, "You have seen how comely are the spread wedding cakes (*niṯār* or *nuṯār*); now what of it has reached you?"[40] It does seem clear, though, that he increasingly associated with the rich and famous. Subkī names him among those who attended the banquets of Niẓāmulmulk.[41] He died at the house of al-Muẓaffar, son of Raʾīs al-Ruʾasāʾ, and both the caliph al-Muqtadī and the sultan's vizier Niẓāmulmulk attended his funeral. It was the caliph who led the funeral prayers.

32. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 7; *16, p. 229*. The ultimate source may have been the lost *ḏayl* of Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī; cf. Nawawī, *Tahḏīb* 2, p. 173.
33. Ṣafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 64-6.
34. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt* 3, p. 351.
35. Nawawī, *Tahḏīb* 2, p. 173; Ṣafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 66; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 226.
36. Nawawī, *Tahḏīb* 2, p. 173. Also quoted by Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 488, citing Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawzīya, *Badāʾiʿ al-fawāʾid*, 4 vols. in 2 (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Munīrīya, n.d.), 3, p. 175.
37. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 213; *17, p. 180*.
38. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 219.
39. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 8, p. 306; *16, p. 182*. Cf. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 350-366 for a complete account of the circumstances.
40. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 220; cf. Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 125, s.a. 475.
41. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 313.

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Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ in Politics

There are many more indications of political involvement on the part of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī than of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. On the death of the *qāḍī* Ibn Mākūlā in 447/1055, the caliph al-Qā'im (*r.* 422-467/1031-1075) summoned him to be judge in his place. Abū Isḥāq, however, is supposed to have written him back, "Is it not enough that you are lost without making me lost as well?" The caliph wept and said, "Let the *ʿulamā'* be so: we wanted only that it be said that in our time there was one who was commissioned by force to the judgeship but still refused. We pardon him."[42] As Iḥsān ʿAbbās remarks, the story has been told of others as well.[43] Subkī includes it appears in Abū Isḥāq's biography in *Ṭabaqāt al-šāfiʿīya al-kubrā*, drawing on a fairly early source: *Falak al-maʿālī* by Ibn al-Habbārīya (d. 509/1115-1116).

We know much more certainly about another political appointment, that to teach at the new Niẓāmīya *madrasa* in Baghdad. George Makdisi has emphatically reminded us that it was not a public institution in the sense that our police and fire departments are today: Niẓāmulmulk endowed his schools as an individual, on terms virtually identical with those on which other individuals endowed scools. This is not to say, however, that contemporaries considered Niẓāmulmulk as founder of schools independently of Niẓāmulmulk as vizier to the sultan. Neither is it to say that Niẓāmulmulk had no political objects when he endowed schools. The chroniclers Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Ibn al-Aṯīr, and Ibn Kaṯīr all report (s.a. 476) how Abū al-Maḥāsin b. Abī Riḍā suggested to the sultan that he dismiss Niẓāmulmulk and confiscate all his wealth (or rather hand it over to Abū al-Maḥāsin, who would pay him a million dinars from it), and how Niẓāmulmulk responded by putting on a lavish banquet for the sultan, with a thousand of his own armed retainers in attendance. Niẓāmulmulk told his master,[44]

> You have been informed of my taking a tenth of your wealth, and this information is true. I do take it and spend it on these *ġilmān* whom I have gathered for you, and I expend it in alms, prayer, and the endowments (*wuqūf*) whose renown is great, and for which the gratitude is also great.

Clearly, both Niẓāmulmulk and the sultan regarded endowments as a way to attract popular support to the dynasty.

Concerning the political value of endowing law schools, we additionally have the testimony of Niẓāmulmulk's own book on government[45]:

42. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 236.

43. ʿAbbās, 'Tarǧamat al-mu'allif', introduction to Abū Isḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 7; e.g. it is told by Abū Isḥāq himself of Abū ʿAlī b. Ḫayrān (*Ṭabaqāt*, p. 110).

44. Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 131. Cf. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 7; *16, p. 229*, and Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya* 12, p. 124, which account specifically mentions endowments of *madāris* and *rubuṭ*.

45. Niẓāmulmulk, *Siyāsatnāma*, p. 257-258 = *Book*, 166. I have changed one word of Darke's translation, substituting 'worthy persons' for his 'officials' (*mustaḥiqqān*).

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> Then there is another body of men – doctors, scholars, noblemen, and men of valour (*ahl-i ʿilm va ahl-i faḍl va abnā-yi murūvat*) whose portion lies in the treasury (*bayt al-māl*). They are entitled to consideration and remuneration, yet no one offers them any work, and they get neither remuneration nor consideration … . A time may come when the king's agents … neglect to give these worthy persons any work and omit to provide salary and sustenance to such noble and learned men; in that time, this party … will become disaffected to the government (*dawla*); if they are aware of any faults committed by tax collectors, scribes, or the king's intimates, they will expose them publicly rather than report them to the king privately; and they will spread false rumours.

Here, Niẓāmulmulk emphasizes the role of hireling *ʿulamā'* in preventing popular disaffection.

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī was evidently reluctant to become a hireling, as we have seen, when asked to teach at the Niẓāmīya in Ḏū al-Qaʿda 459 / September 1067. It remains a question why he eventually consented. Our fullest account is that of Ṣibt b. al-Ǧawzī (d. Damascus, 654/1257), quoted *in extenso* by George Makdisi.[46] I fully agree with Makdisi's dismissal of Asad Talas' suggestion that Abū Isḥāq's initial dissuasion from accepting the appointment was a Bāṭini plot.[47] My reading of the evidence also fully supports Makdisi's evaluation of the rivalry between Abū Isḥāq and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. However, the statement of Ibn al-Ǧawzī, even if based entirely (as Makdisi conjectures) on an earlier one by Ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. Baghdad, 480/1087), seems already to include two divergent traditions: (1) that Abū Isḥāq transferred to the Niẓāmīya to appease his students (who had actually stopped coming to his classes, according to Ibn Ḫallikān, who used the same source[48]) "and in anger against Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ for having taken his place"; and (2) that Abū Isḥāq transferred to the Niẓāmīya under pressure from Niẓāmulmulk through the ʿAmīd Abū Saʿīd al-Qāšī and the caliph. Only the persuasion of the ʿAmīd, not the student strike, appears in our Ašʿari account by Subkī.[49] As an Ašʿari who counted Abū Isḥāq also an Ašʿari, he may have wished to suppress the suggestion that he could be influenced by money and personal rivalry (and that Niẓāmulmulk could use such things to influence him). He may have been justified, however, inasmuch as he had two traditions before him from which to choose. (Compare, however, the Ašʿari al-Yāfiʿī, who mentions the students' threat to go over to Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ and omits only the connection with scholarship money.[50])

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī was involved in politics at several other points as well. His prominent role in subsequent clashes between Ašʿari *provocateurs* and conservative Ḥanābila is treated fully in George Makdisi's biography of Ibn ʿAqīl.[51] He appeared in these affairs as public guarantor of Šāfiʿi adhesion to the reconciliation. At the time of the first one, he seems to

46. Makdisi, "Institutions", p. 32-33.
47. Makdisi, "Institutions", p. 33-34, discussing Talas, *Madrasah*, p. 27.
48. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 218.
49. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 218.
50. Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 114.
51. The affair of 469-70/1077 in Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 350-366; of 470/1078 in *ibid.*, p. 366-371.

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have gone so far as to call on Niẓāmulmulk to suppress Baghdadi Ḥanbalism: Subkī reports that the Ḥanābila accused him of this, and we have the text of a return letter to him from Niẓāmulmulk explaining that the *maḏāhib* cannot be changed, nor people forcibly transferred from one to another.[52] If he once hesitated to teach at the Niẓāmīya for fear of thereby selling himself to Niẓāmulmulk, his fear seems to have been largely justified by events.

Finally, among political involvements, Abū Isḥāq travelled near the end of his life to Khurasan as diplomatic envoy to the caliph. Ibn Ḫallikān reports that Abū Isḥāq went to arrange the engagement of the caliph to a daughter of the sultan.[53] Subkī says the same, adding that Niẓāmulmulk was the one who had suggested the match.[54] In another place, Subkī gives an altogether different reason for the trip, namely to deliver a complaint to the sultan and his vizier regarding the sultan's agent in Baghdad, the ʿAmīd Abū Fatḥ b. Abī al-Layṯ.[55] According to Ibn al-Aṯīr, though, Abū Isḥāq set out for Khurasan in Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 473/April-May 1083 to deliver the caliph's complaint concerning the ʿAmīd, while the caliph's vizier Faḫr al-Dawla handled the wedding negotiations.[56] It seems likely that this is the correct account and that the others conflated the two missions.

Whatever his mission, Abū Isḥāq's trip seems to have been something like a triumphal progress. He took along at least twelve of his students, debated Imām al-Ḥaramayn in Nishapur, and was greeted at every town by a crowd of townspeople, who would spread out wares, clothing, sweets, fruits, furs, and other products before him.[57] Subkī reports that Abū Isḥāq told someone, "I never went into a town or village but found its judge, its *muftī*, or its *ḫaṭīb* a student of mine, undergraduate or graduate."[58] Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was sometimes among the *ʿulamā'* called to represent the Muslim community (as at the inauguration of al-Muqtadī, according to Ibn al-Aṯīr), but he was never so prominent as Abū Isḥāq, and never on such close terms as to appeal to a vizier for political action or to go anywhere as envoy for the caliph. Neither did he make any recorded boast that he was known in every town from Baghdad to Khurasan.

The Superior Fame of Madrasa Teachers

Abū Isḥāq evidently published more works than Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, although we still apparently have several dubious attributions. Eric Chaumont has published a good list, which there is no need for me to reproduce.[59] The most important are *al-Tabṣira* and *al-Lumaʿ* on *uṣūl al-fiqh*,

52. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 235; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 8, p. 312; 16, p. 190-1, trans. by Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 365.
53. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt* 5, p. 267.
54. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 324.
55. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 219.
56. Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 125. Ibn al-Aṯīr also says that Niẓāmulmulk himself observed the disputation in Nishapur between Abū Isḥāq and Imām al-Ḥaramayn, a datum reported by no one else and doubtful because no one places Niẓāmulmulk so far from Isfahan at this time, either.
57. Cf. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 220.
58. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 216.
59. Cf. Chaumont, 'Introduction' to Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣīrāzī, *al-Lumaʿ*, ed. Chaumont, p. 6-19.

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al-Muhaḏḏab and *al-Tanbīh* on *fiqh* (meaning the peculiar rules of the Šāfiʿi school), and *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, a biographical dictionary of important men in the elaboration of Islamic law up to the death of Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī in 450/1058. It seems ironic, as I have observed before, that Abū Isḥāq should have published this last work when Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was particularly known for his knowledge of transmitters but wrote no biographical work, himself (so far as we know). Did envy prompt Abū Isḥāq to write this book, as it would prompt him to begin *al-Muhaḏḏab* a few years later? Alternatively, he may have wished to show with how many distinguished teachers he had studied (in contrast to Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, who had studied only under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī). All five of these have been published. By contrast, Brockelmann lists only one manuscript to one of the works of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ: all copies of the rest are presumed lost. Plainly, then, the works of Abū Isḥāq circulated much better.

Contemporary opinion did not hold Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī intellectually superior to Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. Ibn ʿAqīl studied under both and put Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ first in knowledge of the school (meaning the peculiar doctrines of the Šāfiʿīya) and other things.[60] Among the followers of al-Šāfiʿī, he once said, only Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ could stand up to the Ḥanafi al-Dāmaġānī.[61] He also put Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ (but not Abū Isḥāq) among the only three he knew who fulfilled all the conditions of *al-iǧtihād al-muṭlaq* (independent juridical inquiry).[62] Among later writers, al-Ṣafadī likewise put Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ first, although a century later, al-Subkī asserted that they were equals concerning points of consensus (*al-muttafaq*) but that no one was the equal of Abū Isḥāq concerning points of disagreement (*al-muḫtalaf*).[63] Al-Subkī may have been prejudiced because he counted Abū Isḥāq an Aš'ari.

Given the intellectual equality of Abū Isḥāq and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ (with the possibility that Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was actually superior), how are we to explain the far greater celebrity of Abū Isḥāq? Abū Isḥāq was probably more plausible in person, and it may be that he also had a more plausible style of writing. Also, he was evidently successor to Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, undisputed chief of the Baghdadi Šāfiʿi school in his time. I propose, however, that his position at the Niẓāmīya was crucially important for the number and stature of students it brought him.

Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī was the winner by far, *vis-à-vis* Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, at the game of attracting students. Where, as I have said, I have been able to name thirteen who studied at some time under Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, I have actually been able to name sixty-seven who studied under Abū Isḥāq. (Appendix II comprises the list of Abū Isḥāq's known students.) Of those thirteen who studied under Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, two were relatives, who presumably studied under him for family reasons. Of two more I know only the names. Without exception, the remaining nine also studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī, and the majority of them were associated with Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ when he was briefly professor at the Niẓāmīya near the end of his life. The Niẓāmīya

60. Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 217; cf. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 12; *16, p. 237*.
61. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 12-13; *16, p. 237*.
62. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 163; Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 405. The other two were the Ḥanbali Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrā' (d. 458/1065) and the Šāfiʿi Abū al-Faḍl al-Hamaḏānī (d. 489/1096).
63. Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, p. 193; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 123.

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seems to have been especially attractive to students from outside Baghdad. We know the birthplaces of ten who studied under Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ: six were born in Baghdad, four (40 percent) elsewhere. By contrast, of the forty-eight students of Abū Isḥāq's whose birthplaces I know, forty-one were born outside Baghdad (85 percent). Perhaps students from out of town stood more in need of financial aid.

Students from outside Baghdad moreover spread Abū Isḥāq's fame further and faster than it might have spread otherwise, for while some settled in Baghdad (like Abū Isḥāq himself), the majority returned to their homes or went on to third countries (such as the Hijaz). We know the death places of ten who studied under Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ: seven died in Baghdad and three outside (30 percent; Abū ʿAlī al-Fāriqī probably died in Baghdad, as well, and would lower the proportion to three out of eleven, or 27 percent). By contrast, of the fifty-three who studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī whose places of death we know, thirty-seven died outside Baghdad (70 percent).

Fame was crucially dependent on having students because of the peculiar emphasis that medieval Muslims laid on the personal transmission of books. A striking illustration is provided by two books that treat Yemen, Abū Muḥammad al-Yāfiʿī (d. Mecca, 768/1367), *Mir'āt al-ǧanān* and Ibn Samura al-Ǧaʿdī (d. Abyan, after 586/1190), *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*. Yāfiʿī testifies to Abū Isḥāq's fame in his own lifetime, relating, as I have already said, that Abū Isḥāq's *Tanbīh* was taught in Sanaa like the Qur'an.[64] Ibn Samura piles florid praise onto *al-Muhaḏḏab*:

> the noble and virtuous book, the blessed, perfect composition, the object of independent investigators (*muǧtahidīn*) and simple passers on of knowledge (*mu'aṭṭirīn*), the pure, pared book (*muhaḏḏab*) and limpid object of desire, by which authors learn the law and on which jurisconsults depend.[65]

At another point, Ibn Samura relates that a certain book was as famous among the Ḥanafīyah of Yemen, Syria, and the two Iraqs as *al-Muhaḏḏab* was among the Šāfiʿīya.[66] On the following page is a schematic summary of how *al-Muhaḏḏab* was introduced to Yemen and then transmitted from one generation of Yemeni *fuqahā'* to another. Nearly all the important Yemeni Šāfiʿi names are there, and the transmission of half a dozen other books by Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī could similarly be plotted.

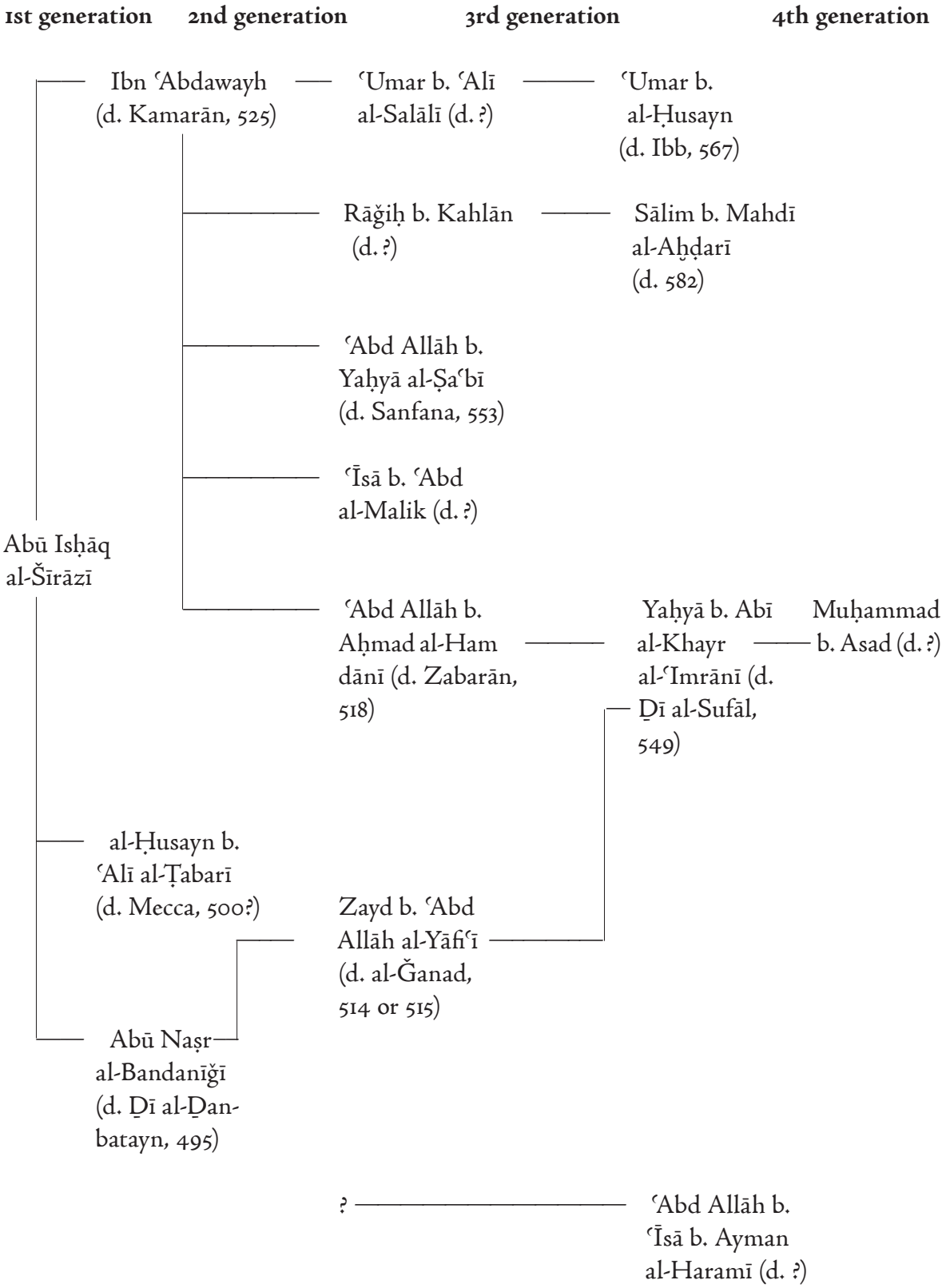
64. Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 115.

65. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 126.

66. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 103. Ibn Samura may have been misinformed about conditions in Syria and the two Iraqs, for I have discovered no other mention of either the book or its author, *K. al-Qāḍī* by al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwf of Zabīd; however, the context plainly suggests that Ibn Samura intended high praise.

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The spread of *al-Muhaḏḏab* in Yemen, based on Ibn Samura



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Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was not unknown in Yemen, nor even without influence; however, knowledge of his books was the subject of much less pride than of Abū Isḥāq's. For example, there is the story that Ibn Samura and Yāfiʿī relate, of how Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Ḫayr (d. Ḏī al-Sufāl, 558/1163) read Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ's *Šāmil* along with a number of other Šāfiʿi legal works. He noticed that these books treated problems not mentioned in *al-Muhaḏḏab*. Therefore, at the instigation of his teacher, Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfiʿī, he set to writing a new book, *al-Zawā'id*, that would combine them all. This he finished in 520/1126-7.[67] In 521/1127-1128, he debated an Aš'ari in Mecca and found his notes wanting (although he still won the debate, according to the traditionalist Ibn Samura). His teaching duties evidently interfered with the work of revision, but from 528 to 533/1133-1134 to 1138-1139), he excused himself and withdrew from most of his students to produce *Kitāb al-Bayān*.[68] Yāfiʿī says that *al-Bayān* relied heavily on the *Šāmil* of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ[69]: Yaḥyā had evidently not forgotten it. Nevertheless, we know of his transmitting no work by Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, whereas not only do we know of his passing on *al-Muhaḏḏab* and *al-Nukat* of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī, his method of transmission was the subject of stories. According to Subkī, for example, it was said,[70]

> He would drill the student on the chapter of *al-Muhaḏḏab*, then repeat it for him from memory. Next he would inform him of points of disagreement with Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa in particular, sometimes mentioning others as well. He would then mention criticisms of *al-Muhaḏḏab* and the arguments and evidence. At last he would drill him on analogies with the clearest expressions, then repeat that material in other words until it firmly settled in the student's mind.

The reason for this special treatment – Yaḥyā was neither ignorant nor disdainful of other books – is largely, I should guess, that Yaḥyā had a living chain of transmitters between himself and Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī but none between himself and, among others, Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ.

The Rise of the Provinces

The increasing prominence of the provinces in legal discourse after the establishment of *madāris* should be demonstrable from leading handbooks. The Māliki school became extinct in Baghdad after the earlier eleventh century, possibly because there were no Māliki *madāris* but certainly with the consequence that no significant comparison can be made between the prominence of Baghdad jurisprudents in the school before and after the eleventh century.[71] No comparisons can be made for the Ḥanbali school because virtually nothing is known of

67. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 176-177; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 319. Unfortunately, Ibn Samura says that Yaḥyā began his *taʿlīq*, *al-Zawā'id*, in 517, Yāfiʿī in 514 or 515. Ibn Samura specifies a little further on (p. 178) that Yaḥyā wrote it under Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hamdānī. Perhaps he took up a suggestion of Zayd's posthumously.
68. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 177; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 319.
69. Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 321.
70. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, p. 337.
71. *V.* Makdisi, *Rise of colleges*, p. 37-38.

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Ḥanbali legal writing from outside Baghdad until the next century. But a comparison of Šāfiʿi handbooks is telling. Here are the Šāfiʿi jurisprudents cited in a random sample of 128 pages in al-Māwardī (d. Baghdad, 450/1058), *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, in descending order of frequency (except for the last three, all cited just once in the sample)[72]:

– al-Šāfiʿī (d. Old Cairo, 204/820)[73];
– Abū ʿAlī b. Abī Hurayra (d. Baghdad, 345/956)[74];
– Abū Isḥāq al-Marwazī (d. Ḥulwān, Egypt, 340/951)[75];
– Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Surayǧ (d. Baghdad, 306/918)[76];
– al-Muzanī (d. Old Cairo, 264/877?)[77];
– Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭaḫrī (d. Baghdad, 328/940)[78];
– Abū ʿAlī b. Ḫayrān (Baghdadi, d. 320/932)[79];
– al-Rabīʿ (b. Sulaymān al-Murādī, d. Old Cairo, 270/884)[80];
– ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. bint al-Šāfiʿī (d. 295/907-908?)[81].

Of these nine names, three are of Šāfiʿī's immediate disciples (so we are told even of the grandson, presumably Egyptian but significant for transmitting directly from Šāfiʿī). The rest are all Baghdadi (Abū Isḥāq al-Marwazī having transferred from there only near the end of his life).

By contrast, here are the Šāfiʿi jurisprudents most often cited in al-Nawawī (d. Nawā, 676/1277), *al-Maǧmūʿ* from a sample of 179 pages randomly chosen from the first nine volumes (i.e. the portion of the published work written by Nawawī himself):

– al-Šāfiʿī;
– Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī;
– Imām al-Ḥaramayn (Khurasani, d. 478/1085)[82];
– al-Māwardī[83];
– al-Baġawī (d. Marw-i Rūḏ, 510/1117?)[84];
– Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī;

72. Māwardī, *Ḥāwī*.
73. *GAS* 1, p. 484-90; Ḏahabī, *Tārīkh* 14 (201-210 H.), p. 304-342, with further references.
74. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 3, p. 220; 12, p. 381; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 25 (331-350 H.), p. 326-327, with further references.
75. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 1, p. 3-4; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 25 (331-350 H.), p. 187-188, with further references.
76. *GAS* 1, p. 495; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 23 (301-320 H.), p. 177-180, with further references.
77. *GAS* 1, p. 492-3; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 20 (261-280 H.), p. 65-68, with further references
78. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 3, p. 204; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 24 (321-330 H.), p. 226-227, with further references.
79. Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 23 (301-320 H.), p. 617-687, with further references.
80. Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 20 (261-280 H.), p. 96-98, with further references
81. *GAS* 1, p. 494; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 2, p. 186.
82. *GAL* 1, p. 486-488 (388-389); S 1, p. 671-673; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 32 (471-480 H.), p. 229-239, with further references.
83. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 221-223; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 30 (441-460 H.), p. 252-256 , with further references.
84. *GAL* 1, p. 447-449 (363-364); S 1, p. 620-622; Ḏahabī, *Siyar* 19, p. 439-443, with further references.

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– Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī (d. Baghdad, 406/1016)[85];
– al-ʿImrānī (d. Yemen, 558/1163)[86];
– al-Bandanīǧī (d. Bandanīǧīn, 425/1034)[87];
– Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ;
– al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn (d. Marv-i Rūḏ, 462/1069)[88];
– al-Maḥāmilī (Baghdadi, 407/1016)[89];
– al-Ġazālī (d. Ṭabarān, 505/1111)[90];
– al-Rūyānī (d. Āmul, 502/1108).[91]

These are the fourteen Šāfiʿi jurisprudents named more than ten times in the sample. Apart from al-Šāfiʿī himself, they comprise seven Baghdadis, four Khurasanis and Transoxanians, and one Yemeni. The series of provincials begins before the later 11th century (Bandanīǧī actually spent most of his professional life in Baghdad, where he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī, but neither al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn nor Imām al-Ḥaramayn trained in Baghdad) and cannot be related causally to the establishment of *madāris*, although Khurasan seems to be where the institution was originally developed.[92] Imām al-Ḥaramayn notably supported his own students, at least before he was appointed to the professorship of the Nishapur Niẓāmīya *madrasa*[93]: endowed scholarships had little to do with his renown. Still, although all of these Šāfiʿi authorities who came after Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ started and ended their careers in the provinces, not Baghdad, ʿImrānī was taught by someone who studied under Abū Isḥāq at the Baghdad Niẓāmīya, Ġazālī taught at the Baghdad Niẓāmīya, while Rūyānī taught at the Niẓāmīya of Tabaristan. Rūyānī is most famous for his book *al-Baḥr*, which Subkī tells us is heavily dependent on Māwardī's book *al-Ḥāwī*, unfortunately without tracing the line of teachers and students between Māwardī and Rūyānī.[94] In sum, it appears first that Baghdad was eclipsed as the centre of Šāfiʿi writing in the course of the eleventh century (one might say that the school became more polycentric), secondly that the *madrasa* is thoroughly involved in the history of the Šāfiʿi school from the later eleventh century without explaining all developments.

85. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 195-200; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 28 (401-420 H.), p. 135-137, with further references.
86. *GAL* 1, p. 490 (391); S 1, p. 675; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 38 (551-560 H.), p. 277-278, with further references.
87. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 3, p. 238; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 29 (421-440 H.), p. 153, with further references.
88. *GAL* 1, p. 484 (387); S 1, p. 669; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 31 (461-570 H.), p. 62-63, with further references.
89. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 200-201; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 28 (401-420 H.), p. 366-368, with further references.
90. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 212-215; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 35 (501-520 H.), p. 115-126 with further references.
91. *GAL* 1, p. 488 (390); S 1, p. 673; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 35 (501-520 H.), p. 62-64, with further references.
92. Halm, "Anfänge". Temporary and permanent immigration to Baghdad are discussed by Ephrat, *Learned society*, esp. p. 38-48, 55-68.
93. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 175-6, quoting ʿAbd al-Ġāfir al-Fārisī, *al-Siyāq li-*Tārīḫ Naysābūr, a passage missing from the extant abridgement, al-Ṣayrafīnī, *Muntaḫab*, p. 330-331.
94. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, p. 195.

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Comparisons are more difficult for the Ḥanafi school inasmuch as its juridical literature characteristically cites fewer names than the literature of the other schools.[95] For example, the first work from which I have collected figures, the *Taǧrīd* of al-Qudūrī (d. Baghdad, 428/1037), continually contrasts the opinions of 'our comrades' and 'al-Šāfiʿī', the former of which terms is overly vague, concealing the evolution of many discussions within the Ḥanafi school, while the latter of which is overly precise, continually conflating the opinions of the eponym himself with those of later adherents. Still, here are the Ḥanafi jurisprudents (in a sample of almost 400 pages) who appear the most often, in descending order[96]:

– Abū Ḥanīfa (d. Baghdad, 150/767);
– Abū Yūsuf (d. Baghdad, 182/798);
– al-Šaybānī (d. near Rayy, 189/804-805);
– al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. Old Cairo, 321/933);
– Abū Bakr (al-Ǧaṣṣāṣ) al-Rāzī (d. Baghdad, 370/981);
– Ibn Šuǧāʿ (al-Ṭalǧī, Baghdadi, d. 266/880?);
– Zufar (Basran, d. 158/774-775);
– Ibn Samāʿa (d. Baghdad, 233/848).

Of these eight names, four belong to the eighth century, of whom three were effectively Baghdadis. Of the remaining four—those who were known in their own day as adhering to a Ḥanafi school—, one was active in Egypt (although his principal teacher had immigrated from Baghdad), the other three in Baghdad. It is plain that the early Ḥanafi legal tradition was predominantly Baghdadi. Here, by contrast, are the Ḥanafi jurisprudents who appear the most often in a sample of 189 pages from Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451), *al-Bināya*, in descending order of frequency (except for the last five, all cited ten times in the sample):

– Abū Ḥanīfa;
– Šaybānī;
– Abū Yūsuf;
– al-Saraḫsī (Transoxanian, d. *ca*. 483/1090)[97];
– al-Utrārī (al-Itqānī, d. Cairo, 758/1357)[98];
– Ṭaḥāwī;
– al-Qudūrī[99];
– al-Isbīǧābī (Transoxanian, d. 480/1087-1088?)[100];
– Qāḍī Ḫān (Transoxanian, d. 592/1196?)[101];

95. A characteristic shared by Ḥanafi heresiographical works, for which *v*. Lewinstein, "Notes".
96. Qudūrī, *Taǧrīd*.
97. *GAL* 1, p. 460-461 (373); S 1, p. 638; *EI*², s.n., by N. Calder.
98. *GAL* 2, p. 95 (79); S 2, p. 87-88; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 3, p. 4.
99. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, p. 168-170; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 29 (421-440 H.), p. 211-213 with further references.
100. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 2, p. 183; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 33 (481-490 H.), p. 353-354 with further references.
101. *GAL* 1, p. 465 (376); S 1, p. 643-644; Ḏahabī, *Siyar* 21, p. 231-232, with further references.

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– al-Marġīnānī (d. Marġīnān, 593/1197)[102];
– Ibn Māza (Transoxanian, d. 616/1219-1220)[103];
– Tāǧ al-Šarīʿa (al-Maḥbūbī, Transoxanian, d. 747/1346-1347?)[104];
– Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī (d. Cairo, 786/1384)[105].

Of these 13, the three eighth-century Baghdadis remain at the top, but only one of the rest was active mainly in Baghdad. The Transoxanian school was well under way already in the eleventh century, as Saraḫsī's importance shows, and the eclipse of Baghdadis after Qudūrī cannot be a consequence mainly of the establishment of *madāris* at the centre. The tradition after the eleventh century is to some degree about provincials who went to study in Baghdad, then returned home to teach Ḥanafi law there; for example, Naǧm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. Samarqand, 537/1142), one of Marġīnānī's principal teachers.[106] The exact degree is hard to make out, though, for the Ḥanafi biographical tradition preserves less often than the Šāfiʿi who was taught by whom. I have not been able to trace the teachers of the Transoxanians Ibn Māza, Qāḍī Ḫān, and Tāǧ al-Šarīʿa al-Maḥbūbī for more than a generation or two, nor even of the two who ended up in Mamluk Egypt, Utrārī and Akmal al-Dīn. In sum, it appears first that Baghdad was eclipsed as the centre of Ḥanafi writing by the second half of the eleventh century, secondly that the *madrasa* is involved in the history of the Ḥanafi school from the later eleventh century but to a very uncertain extent.

Abū Isḥāq and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ clashed most visibly over who would teach at the Baghdad Niẓāmīya. Abū Isḥāq was probably immune to personal bribery, and nothing indicates that Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ was any more corruptible (although some of their successors at the school evidently were). At first, personal pride probably played a large part in making each one desire the position for himself: he would not see his rival there. They could not know exactly how famous each would become. However, they could see how the Islamic educational system worked, and very soon how many more students would come from far and wide to the Niẓāmīya and whoever taught there. The lists of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ and Abū Isḥāq's respective students seem to show that the chair of law at that institution of learning was a prize well worth fighting for, not only inasmuch as it paid the incumbent a comfortable stipend but also as it magnified his influence on the subsequent development of the school of law. The sole announced purpose of the Niẓāmīya was the teaching of Šāfiʿi law. In large part, it was precisely because the Niẓāmīya was so effective as an institution of Islamic learning that it was also effective in attracting otherwise incorruptible *ʿulamā'* to Niẓāmulmulk and the sultan's regime.

102. *GAL* 1, p. 466-469 (376-378); S 1, p. 644-649; Ḏahabī, *Tārīḫ* 42 (591-600 H.), p. 137, with further references.
103. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, on whom *v.* *GAL* 1, p. 464 (375); S 1, p. 642.
104. *GAL* 2, p. 277-278 (214); S 2, p. 300-301; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 6, p. 246.
105. *GAL* 2, p. 97 (80-81); S 2, p. 89-90; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam* 11, p. 298.
106. On Naǧm al-Dīn al-Nasafī, *v.* Ibn Abī al-Wafā', *Ǧawāhir* 2, p. 657-660.

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Appendix I
The Students of Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ

1. Al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. Baghdad, 463/1071), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ṯābit. *Ṣāḥib*. *V*. *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 419, for references.

2. Abū al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Samʿānī (d. Marv, 489/1096), Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Came from an old Ḥanafi family of Marv but transferred the the Šāfiʿi school shortly before (Ibn Kaṯīr, 12:153) or after (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:102 *17:37*) hearing Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ in Baghdad. *V*. Subkī, 5:335-46.

3. Abū Ġālib Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ (d. Baghdad, 492/1099), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. *V*. Subkī, 4:192.

4. Abū Manṣūr Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ (d. Baghdad, 494/1100), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. *Ṣāḥib*. Also studied law under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī. *V*. Subkī, 4:85.

5. Abū Naṣr al-Rabaʿī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113), al-Muʾtaman b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *Zāhid*, traditionist. Wrote down *al-Šāmil* in his hand. Also studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *V*. Subkī, 7:308-9.

6. Abū Bakr al-Šāšī (d. Baghdad, 507/1114), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl. Was *muʿīd* (repetitor) for Abū Isḥāq, with whom he travelled to Khurasan, then went to study under Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. He projected a twenty-volume commentary on Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, *al-Šāmil* but finished only four volumes before his death. *V*. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 208-10, for references.

7. Ibn ʿAqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), Abū al-Wafāʾ ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl. Also studied under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *V*. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*.

8. Al-Ḥarīrī (d. Basra, 516/1122), al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. Also studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *V*. Subkī, 7:266-70, *EI*², s.v. (Presumably transient.)

9. Ibn al-ʿAmmūra (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḫayr b. Muḥammad. Came from Qayrawan, also studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *V*. Subkī, 7:148.

10. Ibn al-Ruṭabī (d. Baghdad, 527/1133), al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Salāma b. ʿUbayd Allāh. *Ṣāḥib*. Appointed *muḥtasib*, judge. Also pursued advanced studies under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *V*. Subkī, 6:18-19; Asnawī, 585-6.

11. Abū ʿAlī al-Fāriqī (d. Wasit, 528/1144), al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī. From Mayyafāriqīn. Also studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. Taught according to Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ, *al-Šāmil*. *V*. Subkī, 7:57-60.

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Appendix II
The Students of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī[107]

1. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baġdādī (d. Mecca, 447/1055-1056), Rāfiʿ b. Naṣr. *Faqīh, zāhid*, and *mutakallim*. Studied *uṣūl* under Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. May have studied *fiqh* under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī as well as Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *V*. Subkī, 4:377-378.

2. Abū Muḥammad al-Sinnī (d. Baghdad, 465/1072-1073), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (Muḥammad). From Sinn on the Tigris. Studied under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and then Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī until his death at almost 80. *V*. Subkī, 5:70; Ibn Ḥağar, *Tabṣīr* 2:756.

3. Al-Zanǧānī (d. Baghdad, 473/1080), Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan. From Zanǧān, Jibal. *Tilmīḏ*. *V*. Subkī, 5:361fn, quoting from *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wusṭā*.

4. Abū Ḥakīm al-Ḥabrī (d. Baghdad, 476/1083), ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh. Worked as copyist. *V*. Subkī, 5:62-63; *GAL* 1:486 (388); *GAL* S 1:671; s.a. 489 in Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Ibn Kaṯīr, and *Nuǧūm*.

5. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ǧurǧānī (d. betw. Isfahan and Basra, 482/1089-1090), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. From Baghdad, but appointed judge in Basra, where he also taught. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:50 *16:285*, Subkī, 4:74-76.

6. Abū Saʿd al-Daskarī (d. 486/1093), ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn, Ḥuṣayn). Stories told of his wealth. *V*. Subkī, 5:224.

7. Abū Šuǧāʿ (d. Medina, 488/1093), al-Wazīr Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. Father was vizier for al-Qāʾim, 460-1/1067-1068. Succeeded ʿAmīd al-Dawla b. Ǧahīr in 476/1083. Deposed 484/1092? at behest of Malikšāh. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:90-94 *17:22-27*; Ibn Ḫallikān, 5:134; Subkī, 4:136-140.

8. Ibn Muḥallad (d. Bandanīǧayn, 488/1095), Abū Muḥammad ʿUbayd Allāh b. Salama. Later *qāḍī* for Šarhrābād & Bandanīǧayn. *V*. Asnawī, 2:586; Subkī, 5:232-233.

9. Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Samʿānī (d. Marv, 489/1096), Manṣūr b. Muḥammad. *V*. Appendix I, no. 2.

10. Abū al-Fatḥ al-Maqdisī (d. Damascus, 490/1096), Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm. Subkī quotes someone as saying he found the *ṭarīqa* of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī better than that of Imām al-Ḥaramayn, but then, on moving to Syria, the *ṭarīqa* of Abū Fatḥ better than that of Abū Isḥāq. *V*. Subkī, 5:351-353.

11. Abū Ġanāʾim al-Fāriqī (d. Diyarbakr, 492/1099), Muḥammad b. al-Faraǧ. *Tilmīḏ*. Originally came to Baghdad with his father. Taught law in both Baghdad and Mesopotamia. *V*. Subkī, 4:193.

12. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭarāʾiqī (d. Baghdad, 493/1099-1100), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan. Died of plague. *V*. Subkī, 4:303fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wusṭā*.

107. Haytū lists the fifty-three to whom Subkī devotes biographies (137-53). Unfortunately, he ignores those identified only elsewhere as students of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī's and likewise disdains to add information (like precise dates of death) found only elsewhere. Like Haytū, I restrict this list to students of law (*fiqh*, disputation), as opposed to those who merely related hadith on the authority of Abū Isḥāq.

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13. Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿAbdarī (d. Baghdad, 493/1100), ʿAlī b. Saʿīd. Former student of Ibn Ḥazm's. Migrated from Majorca to Baghdad, where he became a Šāfiʿi. Studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī, then Abū Bakr al-Šāšī. *V*. Subkī, 5:257.

14. Abū Manṣūr al-Šīrāzī (d. Baghdad, 493/1100), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Mūsā. Known as a fine preacher. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:114 *17:55*; Subkī, 4:27.

15. Abū al-Qāsim al-Maḥāmilī (d. 493/1100), ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. *V*. Subkī, 5:266.

16. Abū al-Faḍā'il al-Mawṣilī (d. Baghdad, 494/1100), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī. Also studied law under al-Māwardī. *V*. Ṣafadī, 2:106; Subkī, 4:102-103.

17. Al-Ḥaraqī (d. Khurasan, 495/1100-1101). Came from Khurasan. Studied under al-Fūrānī in Marv, the *qāḍī* al-Ḥusayn in Marv-i-Rūḏ, and Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Abīwardī in Bukhara before going to Baghdad. *V*. Subkī, 5:115.

18. Abū Naṣr al-Bandanīǧī (d. Mecca, 495/1101-1102), Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh. Identified as a *tilmīḏ* of Abū Isḥāq's by Ibn Samura (119) and as one of his greatest *aṣḥāb* by al-Ṣafadī (*Nakt*, 277) and Subkī (4:207).

19. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (d. Mecca, 498/1104-1105?), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. I have found no source giving Abū ʿAbd Allāh's name as 'Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan', as it appears in the list of Talas (58). Among the *aṣḥāb* who accompanied Abū Isḥāq to Khurāsān. Wrote *al-ʿUdda*, a commentary on the *Ibāna* of al-Fūrānī (d. 461/1069), to which his predecessor at the Niẓāmīya, al-Mutawallī, had written a completion. Taught at the Niẓāmīya from 483/1090 to the advent of al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) next year. Most of this time he taught on alternate days with Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Šīrāzī (d. 500/1106; *v*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:53). When Ġazālī left in 489, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī was reinstated. It is unclear how long he remained at the Niẓāmīya. Subkī, quoting Ibn al-Naǧǧār, places his death at 20 Šaʿbān 495/499 June 1102 in Isfahan (Subkī, 4:351fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wusṭā*). However, Ḏahabī (*ʿIbar* 3:350), Ibn al-ʿImād (3:408), & al., place his death at 20 Šaʿbān 498/497 May 1105 in Mecca, where he stirred up trouble between the Ahʿarīya and their opponents (called here *ahl al-sunna*, even by Yāfiʿī, 3:161, as he quotes Ḏahabī). Our earliest Yemeni source, Ibn Samura, mentions a falling out between Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Naṣr al-Bandanīǧī, another former student of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī's, perhaps a split along rationalist-traditionalist lines. Ibn Samura thought Abū ʿAbd Allāh died at the beginning of 500/September 1106.

20. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Wāsiṭī (d. Wasit, 498/1105), Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:126 *17:94*; Subkī, 4:191-192.

21. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Šāriqī (d. Eastern Andalus, *ca*. 500/1106-1107), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. *V*. al-Subkī, 6:57-58. (Transient.)

22. Abū ʿAmr al-Darbandī (d. Baghdad, after 500/1106), ʿUṯmān b. al-Musaddad b. Aḥmad. *V*. Subkī, 7:210.

23. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭībī (d. Tib, Iraq, after 500/1106), al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad. *V*. Subkī, 6:28.

24. Al-Bawāzīǧī (d. al-Bawaziǧ, Iraq, after 501/1107), al-Qāḍī Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. *V*. Subkī, 7:304.

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25. Abū al-Faḍl al-Anbārī (d. Basra, 503/1110), al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Qanān. *Tilmīḏ* of Abū Isḥāq's. Later taught at the Niẓāmīya in Basra where he was also judge. Subkī, 6:175.

26. Al-Šāmī (d. Samarqand, 504/1111), Idrīs b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:168-169; Subkī, 7:40-41.

27. Al-Ušnuhī (d. Adharbayjan, *ca*. 505/1111), Abū al-Faḍl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. *V*. Subkī, 7:171; *Keşf*, col. 1245.

28) Abū al-Qāsim al-Taflīsī (d. Tiflis, 505/1111-1112), Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn. Samʿānī, ff. 73v., 74r. Subkī says that he died after 550/1155 (7:294).

29. Abū Naṣr al-Rabaʿī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113), al-Muʾtaman b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *V*. Appendix I, no. 5.

30. Al-Fāmī b. Dūst (d. Baghdad, 507/1113), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Makkī b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī. *V*. Subkī, 7:12.

31. Ibn Ḥasanawayh (d. Baghdad, 507/1114), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī. *V*. Subkī, 6:184.

32. Abū Bakr al-Šāšī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl. *V*. Appendix I, no. 6.

33. Al-Nahāwandī (d. Nahavand, 509/1115-1116), Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. ʿUbayd Allāh. *Qāḍī* for Nahavand. *V*. Subkī, 7:80. (Transient.)

34. Ibn Baǧkam (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭarḫān b. Altagīn al-Turkī. Worked as a copyist. *V*. Subkī, 6:106-107; Ibn al-ʿImād, 4:41.

35. Ibn ʿAqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), Abū al-Wafāʾ ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl. *V*. Appendix I, no. 7. Learnt disputation from Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī.

36. ʿAlī b. Ḥaskawayh (d. Marv, 516/1122). The *tilmīdh* who listened to Abū Isḥāq's reciting poetry about reciting in the mud. *V*. Samʿānī, f. 519r; Subkī, 4:223.

37. Al-Ḥarīrī (d. Basra, 516/1122), al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī. *V*. Appendix I, no. 8.

38. Al-Ǧallāb (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Marzūq. A travelling merchant. *V*. Ḏahabī, *ʿIbar* 4:41; Subkī, 6:400-401.

39. Ibn al-ʿAmmūra (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḫayr. V. Appendix I, no. 9.

40. Abū Saʿd al-Bazzār (d. Samarqand, 520/1126). Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī (Bundār) b. al-Ḥasan. Read *maḏhab*, *ḫilāf*, and *uṣūl* with Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī. *Muḥtasib*. Taught at the Baghdad Niẓāmīya. *V*. Subkī, 7:333-334.

41. Al-Qalānisī (d. 521/1157), Abū al-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Buried in Wasit, where born. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 10:8 *17:247*; Subkī, 6:97-98.

42. Al-Ḫuwayyī (d. Adharbayǧan, 521/1127-1128), al-Faraǧ b. ʿUbayd Allāh. Studied under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and al-Mutawallī. *V*. Subkī, 7:257. (Transient.)

43. Abū Saʿd al-Burūǧirdī (was alive after 521/1127), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Judge. *V*. Subkī, 7:146.

44. Al-Mūšilī (d. Urmiya, Adharbayjan, *ca*. 525/1131), Abū al-Ġanāʾim Ġānim b. al-Ḥusayn. Also studied under Imām al-Ḥaramayn in Nishapur. *V*. Subkī, 7:256. (Transient.)

45. Ḫaṭīb al-Mawṣil (d. Mosul, 525/1131), Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 10:22 *17:265-266*; Subkī, 6:58-59. (Presumably emigrant.)

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46. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ʿAbdawayh (d. Kamaran Island, Yemen, 525/1131-1132). Studied *al-Muhaḏḏab* and *Masāʾil al-ḫilāf* under Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī in Baghdad. Wrote *al-Iršād* on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Travelling merchant. Lost his fortune at Zabīd to plundering Arabs, so built up another from Kamaran. *V*. Ibn Samura, 144-147 (even in this single work, his name appears in several forms).

47. Abū Saʿd al-Ṭabarī (d. Gurgan, after 525/1132), ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī Bakr. *V*. Subkī, 7:145.

48. Al-Takrītī (d. 527/1132), Abū Šākir Muḥammad b. Ḫalaf b. Saʿd. Studied under Abū Isḥāq at the Niẓāmīya, then withdrew to a Sufi *ribāṭ*. *V*. Subkī, 6:103fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wusṭā*.

49. Ibn al-Ruṭabī (d. Baghdad, 527/1133), al-Qāḍī Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Salāma b. ʿUbayd Allāh. Studied law under both Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. Accompanied Abū Isḥāq to Khurasan. Studied later under Abū Bakr al-Šāšī and at the Isfahan Niẓāmīya under Abū Bakr al-Ḫuǧandī (d. 482/1089-1090). Began as an ascetic but later advanced in the caliph's favour, became *muḥtasib*, judge for Nahr al-Muʿallā and Ḥarīm al-Ẓāhirī. *V*. Subkī, 4:220, 6:18-19.

50. Abū ʿAlī al-Fāriqī (d. Wasit, 528/1144), al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī. Studied under both Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāġ. From Mayyafariqin. Went with Abū Isḥāq to Khurasan. Taught one day from *al-Šāmil*, one day from *al-Muhaḏḏab*, of which he published extracts. "The last of the *aṣḥāb* of Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī on whom devolved *al-tadrīs* and *al-fatwā*" (i.e. the last to complete both stages of his higher education under him), according to Ibn Ḫallikān, 2:77. *V*. Subkī, 4:220, 7:58fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wusṭā*.

51. Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Burūǧirdī (d. on the road to Iraq, 528/1133-1134), Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. *Qāḍī* in Mecca. *V*. Subkī, 7:114. (Emigrant.)

52. Al-Qāḍī al-Wāsiṭī (d. Wasit, 530/1136), Abū Ṭaʿlab Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. Accompanied Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī to Khurasan. *V*. Subkī, 6:491. (Transient.)

53. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. Ḫʷārazm, 530 or ʾ31/*ca* 1136), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. Subkī thought him the son of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, but the name is wrong. *V*. Subkī, 7:148; *Keşf*, col. 1129, s.n. *al-ʿUdda*.

54. Abū Saʿd al-Naysābūrī (d. Burdasīr, Kirman, 532/1138), Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Also studied under Imām al-Ḥaramayn and Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Samʿānī. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 10:74 *17:330*; Subkī, 7:44. (Transient.)

55. Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Burūǧirdī (d. Burūǧird, 534/1139), al-Qāḍī Šabīb b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh. Came to Baghdad after 470/1077. Judge in Burūǧird. *V*. Subkī, 7:101-102. (Transient.)

56. Ibn Wahara al-Hamaḏānī (d. Herat, 535/1140), Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ayyūb b. Yūsuf. Studied *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *al-maḏhab*, and *ḫilāf* under Abū Isḥāq. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 10:94 *18:14-15*.

57. Abū Manṣūr al-Šahrazūrī (d. *ca*. 536/1141-1142), al-Qāḍī Muẓaffar b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muẓaffar. Judge at Sinǧar, but returned to Baghdad 534. *V*. Samʿānī, 341v.; *Nakt*, 293; Subkī, 7:301. (Transient.)

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58. Abū Bakr al-Urmawī (d. Baghdad, 537/1142), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar. Came to Baghdad 465/1072-1073. *V*. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 10:105 *18:29*; Subkī, 6:98. Samʿānī says that he died in 536 (26v). (Immigrant.)

59. Qāḍī al-Ḫāfiqayn (d. Baghdad, Ǧumādā II 538/December 1143-January 1144), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muẓaffar. *V*. Ibn Ḫallikān, 4:69; Subkī, 6:174-175. (Immigrant.)

60. Abū Naṣr al-Ḥadīṯī (d. 541/1146), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. Witness-notary (*šāhid*). *V*. Subkī, 6:48.

61. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Šāšī (d. 550/1155-1156), ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn. Brother of Abū Bakr al-Šāšī. *V*. Subkī, 7:239.

62. Abū al-Faḍl al-Urmawī (d. Baghdad, 547/1152), al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Yūsuf. Judge for Dayr al-ʿAqūl in his youth, later witness notary. *V*. Subkī, 7:165-166. (Baghdadi.)

Subkī names twelve *aṣḥāb* who accompanied Abū Isḥāq al-Šīrāzī on his trip to Khurasan (Subkī, 4:220). Seven are identified above (nos. 3, 18, 19, 31, 49, 50, and 52). As for the rest, I have not discovered dates of death or even, for most, complete names:

63. Al-Qāḍī al-Mayāniǧī (d. Hamadhan?), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan. Judge for Hamadhan. His son studied under Ġazālī, &al., and was put to death for some poetry he had written in 525/1130-1131. *V*. Samʿānī, 547r., v.; Ṣafadī, 17:541; Subkī, 6:151-152.

64. Ibn Bayān.

65. Abū Muʿāḏ.

66. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Šāhpurḫʷāstī.

67. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Āmidī.

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