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Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg and the Advantages of Teaching at a Madrasa.

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## Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāġ and the Advantages of Teaching at a Madrasa

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WHEN Niẓāmulmulk founded a new Šāfi'i madrasa in Baghdad, his first choice for the professorship of law was the evident chief of the Šāfi'i school in Baghdad, Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī (d. 476/1083). Abū Ishāq refused for reasons of conscience (the construction of the new *madrasa* had depended on wrongful expropriation), so his rival Ibn al-Šabbāġ (d. 477/1084) went to teach there instead. Soon, however, Abū Ishāq's students overcame his scruples by threatening to leave him for Ibn al-Šabbāġ at the Niẓāmīya unless he relented and moved there himself. In spite of his better judgement, Abū Ishāq 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-Šabbāġ slightly superior. Nevertheless, Abū Ishāq's writing evidently had a much greater effect on the future development of the Šāfi'i school. The reason for Abū Ishāq'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 Ishāq and Ibn al-Šabbāġ 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.

## Ibn al-Şabbāġ: Life and Works

Abū Naşr ‘Abd al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Şabbāġ was born in Baghdad in AH 400/AD 1009-1010. His father, Abū Ṭāḥir Ibn al-Şabbāġ (d. 448/1057), was a Šāfi‘i *faqīh* (jurist) who taught *fiqh* after the doctrine of Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 406/1016) at Ġāmi‘ al-Madīna and acted as *šāhid* (witness notary) for Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Dāmaġānī (d. 478/1085).<sup>1</sup> (Another *faqīh*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Şabbāġ [d. 423/1031-1032], may have come from a cognate line.<sup>2</sup>) Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī was apparently Ibn al-Şabbāġ’s only teacher of *fiqh*. Born in Āmul in 348/959-960, he had studied under prominent Šāfi‘i jurists in Āmul (Abū ‘Alī al-Zuġġāġī, d. ca. 400/1010), in Gurgan (Abū Sa‘d al-Ismā‘īlī, d. Gurgan, 396/1005-1006, and al-Qāḍī Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Kaġġ, d. 405/1015), and in Nishapur (Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māsirġīsī, d. 384/994) before coming to Baghdad. There, he wrote a *ta‘līqa* under Abū Muḥammad al-Bāfi (d. 398/1007; al-Māwardī was another of his students) and attended sessions of *uşūl* given by Abū Işĥāq al-Isfarāyīnī (d. Nishapur, 417 or 418/ca. 1027). Abū al-Ṭayyib taught at his own mosque, probably in Karḥ, until he retired from teaching in 430/1038-1039, when he asked Abū Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī to teach in his place.<sup>3</sup> He became *qāḍī* for Karḥ on the death of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Şaymarī in 436/1045. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī and Abū Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī assure us that he remained of sound mind right up to his death at the age of 102 (hijri years, about 99 solar).<sup>4</sup> Already, then, although Ibn al-Şabbāġ was a Baghdadi born and bred, his teacher had come from the provinces. As Šāfi‘ism 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-Şabbāġ personally. Ibn al-‘Imād and others call him an ascetic (*zāhid*), but we have no illustrative stories as we have for Abū Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī.<sup>5</sup> We actually do know more about Ibn al-Şabbāġ’s family than we do of Abū Işĥāq’s (leading me to suspect, among other things, that Abū Işĥāq never married). Like their father, his brother Muḥammad was a *faqīh*,<sup>6</sup> and he had a son, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī, who figures in an *isnād* related by Ibn ‘Asākir (d. Damascus, 571/1176).<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Şabbāġ married a daughter of his to a cousin, Abū Ġālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, who figures among his students.<sup>8</sup> His nephew Abū Maşşūr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad also studied *fiqh* under him.<sup>9</sup>

1. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ* 2, p. 362; 3, p. 629. On this biography is based the later account in Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 188-9.

2. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ* 5, p. 383; 3, p. 369-70; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 8, p. 71; 15, p. 232; Ibn Kaṭīr, *Bidāya* 12, p. 35.

3. Abū Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128.

4. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ* 9, p. 360; 10, p. 493; Abū Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 127.

5. Ibn al-‘Imād, *Şaḍarāt* 3, p. 355, quoting Ibn Şuhba.

6. Abū Ṭālib b. Abī Ṭāḥir b. Abī Aḥmad; v. short notice in Şafadī, *Lexicon* 1, p. 167.

7. Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīḥ* 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.

Ibn al-Şabbāġ was not heavily involved with political figures. He might be present at important ceremonies, among other ‘*ulamā*’; for example, Ibn al-Aṭīr places him at the formal acclamation of the caliph al-Muqtadī.<sup>10</sup> He was less prominent in public affairs than Abū Ishāq al-Şīrāzī became after his installation at the Niẓāmīya.

The Niẓāmīya affair of 459/1067 hardly needs retelling by me.<sup>11</sup> When the school was ready to open on 10 Dū al-Qa’da/22 September, important people were gathered and stood according to occupation and rank. They waited to see Abū Ishāq 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 Ishāq’s refusal to come, Niẓāmulmulk appointed Ibn al-Şabbāġ to teach in his new school until Abū Ishāq should relent, which he did, taking over the first of Dū al-Ḥiġġa/13 October.<sup>12</sup> I shall return later to the reasons for Abū Ishāq’s change of mind. We can imagine that Ibn al-Şabbāġ felt humiliated by his dismissal after only twenty days.

Near the end of his life, Ibn al-Şabbāġ returned to teach at the Niẓāmīya for a short time. Abū Ishāq died 21 Ğumādā I or II 476/7 October or 6 November 1083.<sup>13</sup> After the funeral, Niẓāmulmulk’s *mutawallī* (agent in charge of a *waqf* foundation), his son Mu’ayyad al-Mulk, hired al-Mutawallī al-Naysābūrī (‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma’mūn b. ‘Alī, 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 Ishāq, reprimanded his son, and ordered that Ibn al-Şabbāġ replace al-Mutawallī. The sources tell us neither why al-Mutawallī had been appointed in the first place nor why Niẓāmulmulk countermanded Mu’ayyad al-Mulk’s order. Perhaps he had heard that the jurists of Baghdad were angry with al-Mutawallī for so rudely taking over.<sup>14</sup> Al-Mutawallī having taught for twenty days, Ibn al-Şabbāġ must have resumed at about the middle of 476. At about this time he lost his sight.<sup>15</sup> In 477 (began 10 May 1084), Mu’ayyad al-Mulk sacked him again and re-hired al-Mutawallī. Again, I do not know why Mu’ayyad al-Mulk so favoured him. Ibn al-Şabbāġ travelled to Isfahan to complain to Niẓāmulmulk in person. Niẓāmulmulk promised this time to build a new school for him, but Ibn al-Şabbāġ died on 13 Ğumādā I/18 September 1084, three days after returning to Baghdad and before

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

11. Cf. Makdisi, “Institutions”, p. 31-48.

12. Ibn al-Aṭīr depicts Ibn al-Şabbāġ among those attending, the Ḥanbalī Abū Manşūr 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 Şafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 63 and Nawawī, *Maġmū’* 1, p. 37. Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 2, p. 174, gives 472 but this appears to be a textual corruption, for the alternatives 11 Ğumādā I or II 476 are given by al-Asnawī, citing Nawawī, *al-Tahdīb*; *Ṭabaqāt* 2, p. 84.

14. Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 133, citing a lost *ḍayl* to Şīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā*, by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Hamaḍānī (d. 521/1127), on which v. Kātib Çelebī, *Keşf*, 1105.

15. Several sources mention that Ibn al-Şabbāġ went blind at the end of his life. Ibn al-‘Imād specifies that this happened after he had succeeded Abū Ishāq al-Şīrāzī: *Şaḍarāt* 3, p. 133.

work could begin.<sup>16</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī says that Ibn al-Şabbāġ was well received by the sultan. Perhaps this happened, too, at the time of his visit to Isfahan.<sup>17</sup>

Whereas we know almost nothing of Ibn al-Şabbāġ 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 Maşūr (Subkī, 4:86; quoted *ibid.* 4:125; also mentioned in *Keşf*, 1218).

2. *Al-Kāmil fi al-ḥilāf bayna al-şāfi'īya wa-al-ḥanaḥīya* (*Nakt*, 193; *Keşf*, 1381).

3. *Kifāyat al-masā'il* (*Keşf*, 1501).

4. *Al-Şāmil fi furū' al-şāfi'īya*. The most famous of Ibn al-Şabbāġ's works. Şafadī calls it 'the most sound of Şāfi'i books and the most excellent with regard to transmission (*al-aġwad fi 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: *Taḍkirat al-ālim wa-al-ṭarīq al-salīm* on *uşūl* (*Keşf*, 389; *Nakt*, 193); *Uddat al-ālim wa-al-ṭarīq al-salīm* (*Keşf*, 1129); *al-Ṭarīq al-salīm* concerning hadith, juridical problems (*masā'il*), and Sufism (*Keşf*, 1114); *al-Udda* on *uşūl* (*Nakt*, 193); *al-Umda* on *uşūl* (Ibn al-Imād, 3:355).

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

As for Ibn al-Şabbāġ's students, I have found thirteen jurists 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 Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī as well. By contrast, I have found the names of over sixty who studied under Abū Işḥāq. It seems plain that Abū Işḥāq (or the institution at which he taught) attracted more or better students than Ibn al-Şabbāġ. I shall propose some reasons for this difference below.

## Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī

Abū Işḥāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Şīrāzī was born in 393, 395, or 396 (some time between A.D. 1003 and 1006) in Fīrūzābād, formerly Ġūr.<sup>18</sup> I have discovered no notice of his father or any other relation. The earliest of Abū Işḥāq's masters in law of whom we know is

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

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

18. 393 H. is the birthdate given by Ibn al-Ġawzī (*Muntaẓam* 9, p. 7; 16, p. 228), Nawawī (*Tahḍīb* 2, p. 172), Subkī (*Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 217); however, Ibn Ḥallikān (*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-Naġġār (d. 643/1245), author of *Dayl tāriḥ Baġdād* (mostly lost). As for the place, all sources agree on Fīrūzābād except Nawawī, who says that Abū Işḥāq was *mansūb ilā Fāyruzābād* but that his *aşl* was in al-Fārisīya al-Kabīr, a *bulayda* of the same province (*Tahḍīb* 2, p. 172). To be sure, *aşl* may indicate family origin rather than birthplace. On Fīrūzābād, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 255-256.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Širāzī (*fl.* earlier 5th/11th cent.), who himself studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. Baghdad, 406/1016), chief of the Iraqi Šāfi‘īya. Abū Ishāq says that he was the first on whose lectures he took notes (*awwal man ‘allaqtu ‘anh*), probably indicating extraordinary preciousness on his own part.<sup>19</sup>

In 410, when he was no more than eighteen years old, Abū Ishāq moved to Shiraz, where, most sources say, he studied law under Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī and Ibn Rāmīn. In his own *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’*, oddly, Abū Ishāq 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-Baḡdādī” to Ibn Rāmīn, who he says also lived and taught in Basra.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps he studied under each of them in two places.<sup>21</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd 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 Šāfi‘īya in his time. Among his fellow students had been Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāyīnī. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī lived in Darb al-Sulūbī, Baghdad, and acted as *qāḍī* for Karḥ besides teaching law. He was buried at Bāb Ḥarb.<sup>22</sup> His son Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad (d. 468/1076) studied, like Ibn al-Šabbāḡ and Abū Ishāq, under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and also married a daughter of his.<sup>23</sup> As for Abū Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Rāmīn (d. 430/1039), the fullest notice we have of his life is that of Abū Ishāq himself. According to Abū Ishāq, Ibn Rāmīn studied law under al-Dārakī and also Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayrān (*fl.* mid-4th/10th cent.).<sup>24</sup>

Also at Shiraz and additionally at Ġundaḡān (near Ahvāz), Abū Ishāq studied law and prepared a *ta’līqa* of some sort under Abū Aḥmad al-Ġundaḡānī (‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn, *fl.* early 5th/11th cent.), a former advanced student under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Abū Ishāq mentions having studied under Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ġallāb (*fl.* early 5th/11th cent.), the *ḥaṭīb* of Shiraz.<sup>26</sup>

Many of the sources mention that Abū Ishāq 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 (Sam‘ānī, f. 434v; Ibn Ḥallikān, 1:31, quoting Ibn al-Naḡḡār);
- Al-Ġazī (Ibn al-Ġawzī, 9:7);

19. Abū Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, 134.

20. Abū Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, 125-126.

21. So suggests Iḥsān ‘Abbās, “Tarḡamat al-mu‘allif”, introduction to Abū Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5-6.

22. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Tārīḥ* 5, p. 476; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 152-154.

23. Šafādī, *Lexicon* 1, p. 121; Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1, p. 237.

24. Abū Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 117, 125; Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 1, p. 30, quoting Ibn al-Naḡḡār; Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt* 1, p. 582, alone giving a month of death (Ramaḏān). There was a notable Basran jurist named Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayrān (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 Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 133.

26. Abū Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 133.

- Al-Ġawzī (Ibn al-Ġawzī, 16:229fn; Nawawī, *Tabḥīb* 2:172);
- Al-Ġazarī (Ibn al-Ġawzī, 16:229; Şafadī, 6:62);
- Al-Ḥarazī (Nawawī, *Mağmūʿ* 1:25; Asnawī, 2:84; Subkī, 4:217);
- Ġurayy al-Nahdī (Ibn Ḥaġar, *Tabşīr* 1:253, without expressly associating him with Basra, though).

Oddly, Abū Işḥāq does not mention studying under anyone from Basra in his own *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*. He does mention Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥarazī (d. 391/1000-1001), a Zāhiri master of disputation (*munāẓara*) who came to Baghdad from Shiraz in the company of the Māliki jurist and Aşʿari theologian Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013). This Ḥarazī died too soon for Abū Işḥāq to have had much to do with him, but Abū Işḥāq adds that he saw a son of his. Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113) asserts that Abū Işḥāq was at first a Zāhiri and then became Şāfiʿi. Abū Işḥāq's Zāhirism 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 Işḥāq's modern biographer, Muḥammad Ḥasan Haytū, rejects it.<sup>27</sup> Still, it is just possible that Abū Işḥāq's relationship with this Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥarazī, whatever it was, led to these numerous reports that Abū Işḥāq studied under someone in Basra with such a name.<sup>28</sup>

Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī 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 Işḥāq did for two years, thenceforward presumably teaching at his own mosque in Bāb al-Marātib.<sup>29</sup> His fellow students under Abū al-Ṭayyib included Ibn al-Şabbāġ, the Ḥanbali Abū al-Wafāʾ b. ʿAqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), and al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī.

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

Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī 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. *EP*, s.v. 'Ibn al-Qaysarānī'; Haytū, *Imām*, p. 67.

28. According to one modern study, Abū Işḥāq 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 Işḥāq was in his fifties. Certainly, I have found no mention of Abū Ḥāmid or any other Ġazālī in the sources relating to Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī's teachers.

29. Abū Işḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128.

30. Abū Işḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 130 (the main source for subsequent accounts); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ṭabyīn*, p. 130; Nawawī, *Tabḥīb* 2, p. 207; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 312-313.

31. Abū Işḥāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 134; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 57.

Ibn al-Ġawzī<sup>32</sup>). Al-Şafadī points out verse hidden in Abū Ishāq’s handbook of Şāfi‘i rules, *al-Muhaddab*, but many others cite occasional poetry that Abū Ishāq composed and declaimed on the spot.<sup>33</sup> Altogether, he was said to have been accepted completely by the élite and general alike.<sup>34</sup>

Abū Ishāq’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 Ishāq stopped him, saying, “Don’t you know that the way is shared between us and him?”<sup>35</sup> Ibn ‘Aqīl is quoted as saying that Abū Ishāq 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.<sup>36</sup> Ibn ‘Aqīl is also quoted as saying that his teacher, Abū Ishāq, was the ascetic of the lower world.<sup>37</sup> Al-Subkī illustrates his asceticism by quoting the story of another of Abū Ishāq’s students, al-Qāḍī Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ġurġānī (d. 482/1089): he and some others went to visit the shaykh when he was living in al-Qaṭī‘a and found him wearing so little that he could not stand all the way up to greet them, lest he expose himself.<sup>38</sup>

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 Şarīf Abū Ġa‘far’s bitter rejection of Abū Ishāq’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 H<sup>w</sup>āġah Buzurg [i.e. Niẓāmulumulk], you have made plain what was hidden.”<sup>39</sup> Subkī quotes a saying that suggests Abū Ishāq 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 (*niṭār* or *nuṭār*); now what of it has reached you?”<sup>40</sup> It does seem clear, though, that he increasingly associated with the rich and famous. Subkī names him among those who attended the banquets of Niẓāmulumulk.<sup>41</sup> He died at the house of al-Muẓaffar, son of Ra‘īs al-Ru‘asā’, and both the caliph al-Muqtadī and the sultan’s vizier Niẓāmulumulk attended his funeral. It was the caliph who led the funeral prayers.

32. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 7; 16, p. 229. The ultimate source may have been the lost *ḍayl* of Abū Sa‘d al-Sam‘ānī; cf. Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 2, p. 173.

33. Şafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 64-6.

34. Ibn al-‘Imād, *Şaḍarāt* 3, p. 351.

35. Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 2, p. 173; Şafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 66; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 226.

36. Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 2, p. 173. Also quoted by Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, 488, citing Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziya, *Badā’i‘ al-fawā’id*, 4 vols. in 2 (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Muniriya, n.d.), 3, p. 175.

37. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 213; 17, p. 180.

38. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 219.

39. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 8, p. 306; 16, p. 182. Cf. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 350-366 for a complete account of the circumstances.

40. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 220; cf. Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 125, s.a. 475.

41. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 313.

## Abū Işhāq al-Şīrāzī and Ibn al-ŞabbāĒ in Politics

There are many more indications of political involvement on the part of Abū Işhāq al-Şīrāzī than of Ibn al-ŞabbāĒ. 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 Işhāq, 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 'ulamā' 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."<sup>42</sup> As Iḥsān 'Abbās remarks, the story has been told of others as well.<sup>43</sup> Subkī includes it appears in Abū Işhāq's biography in *Ṭabaqāt al-şāfi'īya al-kubrā*, drawing on a fairly early source: *Falak al-ma'ālī* by Ibn al-Habbārīya (d. 509/1115-1116).

We know much more certainly about another political appointment, that to teach at the new Nizāmīya *madrassa* 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: Nizāmūlmulk endowed his schools as an individual, on terms virtually identical with those on which other individuals endowed schools. This is not to say, however, that contemporaries considered Nizāmūlmulk as founder of schools independently of Nizāmūlmulk as vizier to the sultan. Neither is it to say that Nizāmūlmulk had no political objects when he endowed schools. The chroniclers Ibn al-Ġawzī, Ibn al-Aṭīr, and Ibn Kaṭīr all report (s.a. 476) how Abū al-Maḥāsīn b. Abī Riḍā suggested to the sultan that he dismiss Nizāmūlmulk and confiscate all his wealth (or rather hand it over to Abū al-Maḥāsīn, who would pay him a million dinars from it), and how Nizāmūlmulk responded by putting on a lavish banquet for the sultan, with a thousand of his own armed retainers in attendance. Nizāmūlmulk told his master,<sup>44</sup>

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 Nizāmūlmulk 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 Nizāmūlmulk's own book on government<sup>45</sup>:

42. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 236.

43. 'Abbās, 'Tarġamat al-mu'allif', introduction to Abū Işhāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 7; e.g. it is told by Abū Işhāq himself of Abū 'Alī b. Ḥayrān (*Ṭabaqāt*, p. 110).

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

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

Then there is another body of men – doctors, scholars, noblemen, and men of valour (*ahl-i ‘ilm 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, Niẓām mulk emphasizes the role of hireling ‘*ulamā*’ in preventing popular disaffection.

Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī was evidently reluctant to become a hireling, as we have seen, when asked to teach at the Niẓāmīya in Dū al-Qa’da 459 / September 1067. It remains a question why he eventually consented. Our fullest account is that of Šibt b. al-Ġawzī (d. Damascus, 654/1257), quoted *in extenso* by George Makdisi.<sup>46</sup> I fully agree with Makdisi’s dismissal of Asad Talas’ suggestion that Abū Ishāq’s initial dissuasion from accepting the appointment was a Bāṭini plot.<sup>47</sup> My reading of the evidence also fully supports Makdisi’s evaluation of the rivalry between Abū Ishāq and Ibn al-Šabbāg. However, the statement of Ibn al-Ġawzī, even if based entirely (as Makdisi conjectures) on an earlier one by Ibn Hilāl al-Šabī (d. Baghdad, 480/1087), seems already to include two divergent traditions: (1) that Abū Ishāq transferred to the Niẓāmīya to appease his students (who had actually stopped coming to his classes, according to Ibn Ḥallikān, who used the same source<sup>48</sup>) “and in anger against Ibn al-Šabbāg for having taken his place”; and (2) that Abū Ishāq transferred to the Niẓāmīya under pressure from Niẓām mulk through the ‘Amīd Abū Sa‘īd al-Qāšī and the caliph. Only the persuasion of the ‘Amīd, not the student strike, appears in our Aš‘ari account by Subkī.<sup>49</sup> As an Aš‘ari who counted Abū Ishāq also an Aš‘ari, he may have wished to suppress the suggestion that he could be influenced by money and personal rivalry (and that Niẓām mulk 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 Aš‘ari al-Yāfi‘ī, who mentions the students’ threat to go over to Ibn al-Šabbāg and omits only the connection with scholarship money.<sup>50</sup>)

Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī was involved in politics at several other points as well. His prominent role in subsequent clashes between Aš‘ari *provocateurs* and conservative Ḥanābila is treated fully in George Makdisi’s biography of Ibn ‘Aqīl.<sup>51</sup> He appeared in these affairs as public guarantor of Šāfi‘i 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 Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 218.

49. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 218.

50. Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āh* 3, p. 114.

51. The affair of 469-70/1077 in Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 350-366; of 470/1078 in *ibid.*, p. 366-371.

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 *maḍāhib* cannot be changed, nor people forcibly transferred from one to another.<sup>52</sup> 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 Işḥāq travelled near the end of his life to Khurasan as diplomatic envoy to the caliph. Ibn Ḥallikān reports that Abū Işḥāq went to arrange the engagement of the caliph to a daughter of the sultan.<sup>53</sup> Subkī says the same, adding that Niẓāmulmulk was the one who had suggested the match.<sup>54</sup> 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 'Amīd Abū Faṭḥ b. Abī al-Layṭ.<sup>55</sup> According to Ibn al-Aṭīr, though, Abū Işḥāq set out for Khurasan in Dū al-Ḥiġġa 473/April-May 1083 to deliver the caliph's complaint concerning the 'Amīd, while the caliph's vizier Faḥr al-Dawla handled the wedding negotiations.<sup>56</sup> It seems likely that this is the correct account and that the others conflated the two missions.

Whatever his mission, Abū Işḥāq'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.<sup>57</sup> Subkī reports that Abū Işḥāq told someone, "I never went into a town or village but found its judge, its *muftī*, or its *ḥaṭīb* a student of mine, undergraduate or graduate."<sup>58</sup> Ibn al-Şabbāġ was sometimes among the '*ulamā*' called to represent the Muslim community (as at the inauguration of al-Muqtadī, according to Ibn al-Aṭīr), but he was never so prominent as Abū Işḥāq, 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 Işḥāq evidently published more works than Ibn al-Şabbāġ, although we still apparently have several dubious attributions. Eric Chaumont has published a good list, which there is no need for me to reproduce.<sup>59</sup> The most important are *al-Tabṣira* and *al-Luma'* on *uṣūl al-fiqh*,

52. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 235; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 8, p. 312; 16, p. 190-1, trans. by Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, p. 365.

53. Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 5, p. 267.

54. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 324.

55. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 4, p. 219.

56. Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 125. Ibn al-Aṭīr also says that Niẓāmulmulk himself observed the disputation in Nishapur between Abū Işḥāq 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 Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī, *al-Luma'*, ed. Chaumont, p. 6-19.

*al-Muhaddḍab* and *al-Tanbīh* on *fiqh* (meaning the peculiar rules of the Šāfi‘i 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 Ishāq should have published this last work when Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ was particularly known for his knowledge of transmitters but wrote no biographical work, himself (so far as we know). Did envy prompt Abū Ishāq to write this book, as it would prompt him to begin *al-Muhaddḍab* a few years later? Alternatively, he may have wished to show with how many distinguished teachers he had studied (in contrast to Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ, 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-Ṣabbāḡ; all copies of the rest are presumed lost. Plainly, then, the works of Abū Ishāq circulated much better.

Contemporary opinion did not hold Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī intellectually superior to Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ. Ibn ‘Aqīl studied under both and put Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ first in knowledge of the school (meaning the peculiar doctrines of the Šāfi‘īya) and other things.<sup>60</sup> Among the followers of al-Šāfi‘ī, he once said, only Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ could stand up to the Ḥanafi al-Dāmaḡānī.<sup>61</sup> He also put Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ (but not Abū Ishāq) among the only three he knew who fulfilled all the conditions of *al-iḡtihād al-muṭlaq* (independent juridical inquiry).<sup>62</sup> Among later writers, al-Ṣafadī likewise put Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ 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 Ishāq concerning points of disagreement (*al-muḥtalaf*).<sup>63</sup> Al-Subkī may have been prejudiced because he counted Abū Ishāq an Aš‘ari.

Given the intellectual equality of Abū Ishāq and Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ (with the possibility that Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ was actually superior), how are we to explain the far greater celebrity of Abū Ishāq? Abū Ishāq 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 Šāfi‘i school in his time. I propose, however, that his position at the Niẓāmiya was crucially important for the number and stature of students it brought him.

Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī was the winner by far, *vis-à-vis* Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ, 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-Ṣabbāḡ, I have actually been able to name sixty-seven who studied under Abū Ishāq. (Appendix II comprises the list of Abū Ishāq’s known students.) Of those thirteen who studied under Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ, 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 Ishāq al-Širāzī, and the majority of them were associated with Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ when he was briefly professor at the Niẓāmiya near the end of his life. The Niẓāmiya

60. Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 217; cf. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 12; 16, p. 237.

61. Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam* 9, p. 12-13; 16, p. 237.

62. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 163; Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 405. The other two were the Ḥanbali Abū Ya‘lā b. al-Farrā’ (d. 458/1065) and the Šāfi‘i Abū al-Faḍl al-Hamaḍānī (d. 489/1096).

63. Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, p. 193; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 123.

seems to have been especially attractive to students from outside Baghdad. We know the birthplaces of ten who studied under Ibn al-Şabbāġ: six were born in Baghdad, four (40 percent) elsewhere. By contrast, of the forty-eight students of Abū Işĥāq'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 Işĥāq's fame further and faster than it might have spread otherwise, for while some settled in Baghdad (like Abū Işĥāq 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-Şabbāġ: seven died in Baghdad and three outside (30 percent; Abū 'Alī 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 Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī 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 Muĥammad al-Yāfi'ī (d. Mecca, 768/1367), *Mir'āt al-ġanān* and Ibn Samura al-Ġa'dī (d. Abyan, after 586/1190), *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*. Yāfi'ī testifies to Abū Işĥāq's fame in his own lifetime, relating, as I have already said, that Abū Işĥāq's *Tanbīh* was taught in Sanaa like the Qur'an.<sup>64</sup> Ibn Samura piles florid praise onto *al-Muĥaddḍab*:

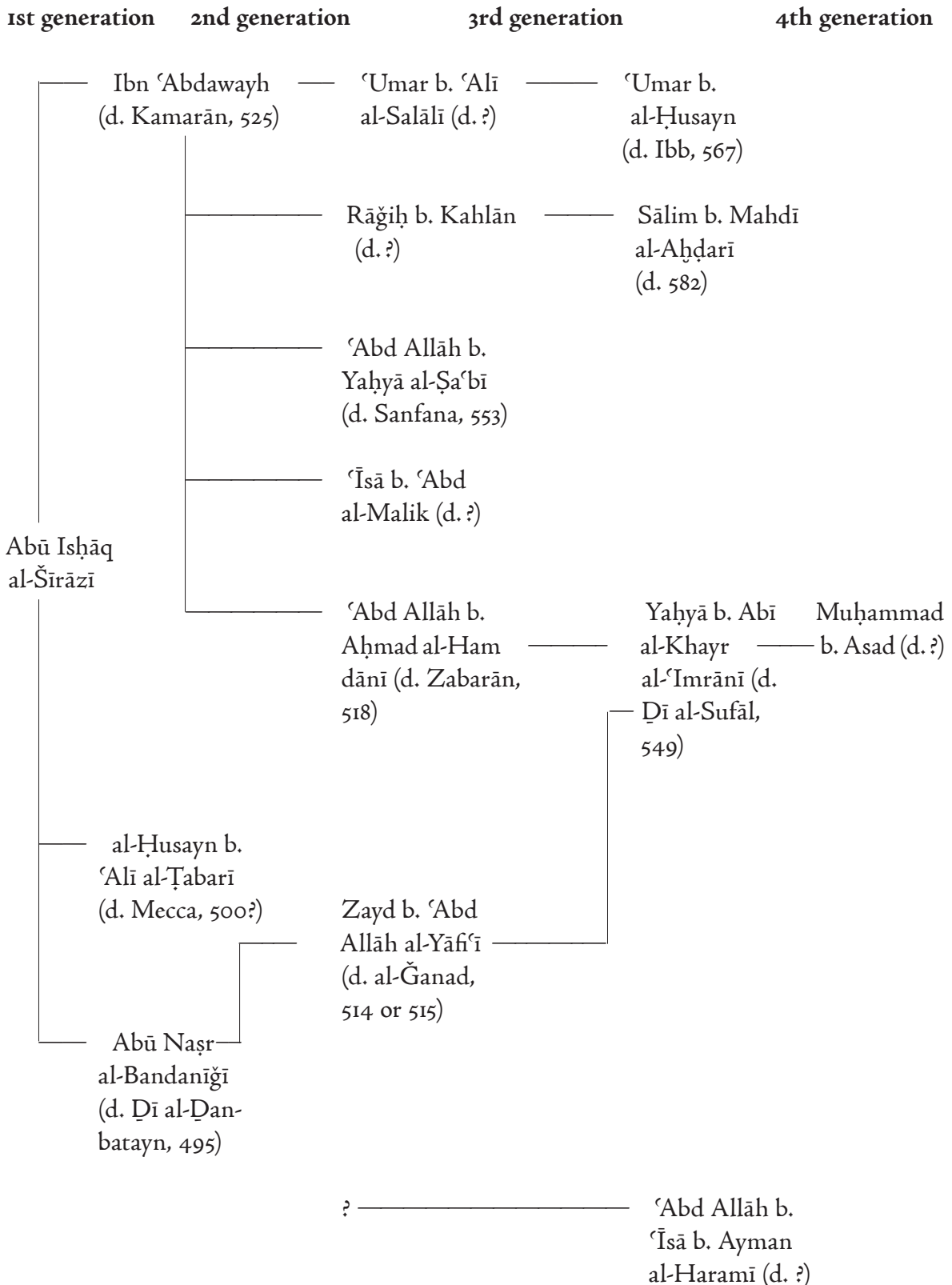
the noble and virtuous book, the blessed, perfect composition, the object of independent investigators (*muġtahidīn*) and simple passers on of knowledge (*mu'attirīn*), the pure, pared book (*muĥaddḍab*) and limpid object of desire, by which authors learn the law and on which jurisconsults depend.<sup>65</sup>

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-Muĥaddḍab* was among the Šāfi'īya.<sup>66</sup> On the following page is a schematic summary of how *al-Muĥaddḍab* was introduced to Yemen and then transmitted from one generation of Yemeni *fuqahā'* to another. Nearly all the important Yemeni Šāfi'ī names are there, and the transmission of half a dozen other books by Abū Işĥāq al-Şīrāzī could similarly be plotted.

64. Yāfi'ī, *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 Muĥammad b. Abī 'Awf of Zabīd; however, the context plainly suggests that Ibn Samura intended high praise.

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

Ibn al-Šabbāġ was not unknown in Yemen, nor even without influence; however, knowledge of his books was the subject of much less pride than of Abū Iṣḥāq's. For example, there is the story that Ibn Samura and Yāfi'ī relate, of how Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Ḥayr (d. Dī al-Sufāl, 558/1163) read Ibn al-Šabbāġ's *Šāmil* along with a number of other Šāfi'ī legal works. He noticed that these books treated problems not mentioned in *al-Muḥaḍḍab*. Therefore, at the instigation of his teacher, Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'ī, he set to writing a new book, *al-Zawā'id*, that would combine them all. This he finished in 520/1126-7.<sup>67</sup> 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*.<sup>68</sup> Yāfi'ī says that *al-Bayān* relied heavily on the *Šāmil* of Ibn al-Šabbāġ<sup>69</sup>: Yaḥyā had evidently not forgotten it. Nevertheless, we know of his transmitting no work by Ibn al-Šabbāġ, whereas not only do we know of his passing on *al-Muḥaḍḍab* and *al-Nukat* of Abū Iṣḥāq al-Šīrāzī, his method of transmission was the subject of stories. According to Subkī, for example, it was said,<sup>70</sup>

He would drill the student on the chapter of *al-Muḥaḍḍab*, 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-Muḥaḍḍab* 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 Iṣḥāq al-Šīrāzī but none between himself and, among others, Ibn al-Šabbāġ.

## 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 jurists in the school before and after the eleventh century.<sup>71</sup> No comparisons can be made for the Ḥanbali school because virtually nothing is known of

67. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 176-177; Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 319. Unfortunately, Ibn Samura says that Yaḥyā began his *ta'liq*, *al-Zawā'id*, in 517, Yāfi'ī in 514 or 515. Ibn Samura specifies a little further on (p. 178) that Yaḥyā wrote it under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī. Perhaps he took up a suggestion of Zayd's posthumously.

68. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 177; Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 319.

69. Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 321.

70. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, p. 337.

71. V. Makdisi, *Rise of colleges*, p. 37-38.

Ḥanbali legal writing from outside Baghdad until the next century. But a comparison of Šāfi‘ī handbooks is telling. Here are the Šāfi‘ī jurists 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)<sup>72</sup>:

- al-Šāfi‘ī (d. Old Cairo, 204/820)<sup>73</sup>;
- Abū ‘Alī b. Abī Hurayra (d. Baghdad, 345/956)<sup>74</sup>;
- Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (d. Ḥulwān, Egypt, 340/951)<sup>75</sup>;
- Abū al-‘Abbās b. Surayġ (d. Baghdad, 306/918)<sup>76</sup>;
- al-Muzanī (d. Old Cairo, 264/877?)<sup>77</sup>;
- Abū Sa‘īd al-Iṣṭaḥrī (d. Baghdad, 328/940)<sup>78</sup>;
- Abū ‘Alī b. Ḥayrān (Baghdadi, d. 320/932)<sup>79</sup>;
- al-Rabī‘ (b. Sulaymān al-Murādī, d. Old Cairo, 270/884)<sup>80</sup>;
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. bint al-Šāfi‘ī (d. 295/907-908?)<sup>81</sup>.

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

By contrast, here are the Šāfi‘ī jurists most often cited in *al-Nawawī* (d. Nawā, 676/1277), *al-Maġmū‘* 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-Šāfi‘ī;
- Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī;
- Imām al-Ḥaramayn (Khurasani, d. 478/1085)<sup>82</sup>;
- al-Māwardī<sup>83</sup>;
- al-Baġawī (d. Marw-i Rūd, 510/1117?)<sup>84</sup>;
- Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī;

72. Māwardī, *Ḥāwī*.

73. GAS I, p. 484-90; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 14 (201-210 H.), p. 304-342, with further references.

74. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ġam* 3, p. 220; 12, p. 381; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 25 (331-350 H.), p. 326-327, with further references.

75. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ġam* 1, p. 3-4; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 25 (331-350 H.), p. 187-188, with further references.

76. GAS I, p. 495; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 23 (301-320 H.), p. 177-180, with further references.

77. GAS I, p. 492-3; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 20 (261-280 H.), p. 65-68, with further references.

78. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ġam* 3, p. 204; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 24 (321-330 H.), p. 226-227, with further references.

79. Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 23 (301-320 H.), p. 617-687, with further references.

80. Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 20 (261-280 H.), p. 96-98, with further references.

81. GAS I, p. 494; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 2, p. 186.

82. GAL I, p. 486-488 (388-389); S I, p. 671-673; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 32 (471-480 H.), p. 229-239, with further references.

83. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 221-223; Ḍahabī, *Tārīkh* 30 (441-460 H.), p. 252-256, with further references.

84. GAL I, p. 447-449 (363-364); S I, p. 620-622; Ḍahabī, *Siyar* 19, p. 439-443, with further references.

- Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. Baghdad, 406/1016)<sup>85</sup>;
- al-‘Imrānī (d. Yemen, 558/1163)<sup>86</sup>;
- al-Bandanīgī (d. Bandanīgīn, 425/1034)<sup>87</sup>;
- Ibn al-Šabbāg;
- al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn (d. Marv-i Rūḍ, 462/1069)<sup>88</sup>;
- al-Maḥāmīlī (Baghdadi, 407/1016)<sup>89</sup>;
- al-Ġazālī (d. Ṭabarān, 505/1111)<sup>90</sup>;
- al-Rūyānī (d. Āmul, 502/1108).<sup>91</sup>

These are the fourteen Šāfi‘i jurists named more than ten times in the sample. Apart from al-Šāfi‘i himself, they comprise seven Baghdadis, four Khurasanis and Transoxanians, and one Yemeni. The series of provincials begins before the later 11th century (Bandanīgī actually spent most of his professional life in Baghdad, where he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī, 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.<sup>92</sup> Imām al-Ḥaramayn notably supported his own students, at least before he was appointed to the professorship of the Nishapur Niẓāmīya *madrasa*<sup>93</sup>: endowed scholarships had little to do with his renown. Still, although all of these Šāfi‘i authorities who came after Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg started and ended their careers in the provinces, not Baghdad, ‘Imrānī was taught by someone who studied under Abū Ishāq 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.<sup>94</sup> In sum, it appears first that Baghdad was eclipsed as the centre of Šāfi‘i 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 Šāfi‘i school from the later eleventh century without explaining all developments.

85. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, 195-200; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 28 (401-420 H.), p. 135-137, with further references.

86. GAL 1, p. 490 (391); S 1, p. 675; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 38 (551-560 H.), p. 277-278, with further references.

87. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ḡam* 3, p. 238; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 29 (421-440 H.), p. 153, with further references.

88. GAL 1, p. 484 (387); S 1, p. 669; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 31 (461-570 H.), p. 62-63, with further references.

89. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 200-201; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 28 (401-420 H.), p. 366-368, with further references.

90. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 212-215; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 35 (501-520 H.), p. 115-126 with further references.

91. GAL 1, p. 488 (390); S 1, p. 673; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 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 ‘Abd al-Ġāfir al-Fārisī, *al-Siyāq li-Tārīḥ Naysābūr*, a passage missing from the extant abridgement, al-Šayrafīnī, *Muntaḥab*, p. 330-331.

94. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, p. 195.

Comparisons are more difficult for the Ḥanafī school inasmuch as its juridical literature characteristically cites fewer names than the literature of the other schools.<sup>95</sup> For example, the first work from which I have collected figures, the *Tağrīd* of al-Qudūrī (d. Baghdad, 428/1037), continually contrasts the opinions of ‘our comrades’ and ‘al-Šāfi‘ī’, the former of which terms is overly vague, concealing the evolution of many discussions within the Ḥanafī 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 Ḥanafī jurists (in a sample of almost 400 pages) who appear the most often, in descending order<sup>96</sup>:

- Abū Ḥanīfa (d. Baghdad, 150/767);
- Abū Yūsuf (d. Baghdad, 182/798);
- al-Šaybānī (d. near Rayy, 189/804-805);
- al-Ṭahāwī (d. Old Cairo, 321/933);
- Abū Bakr (al-Ġaṣṣāṣ) al-Rāzī (d. Baghdad, 370/981);
- Ibn Šuġā‘ (al-Ṭalġī, Baghdadi, d. 266/880?);
- Zufar (Basran, d. 158/774-775);
- Ibn Samā‘a (d. Baghdad, 233/848).

Of these eight names, four belong to the eighth century, of whom three were effectively Baghdadi. Of the remaining four—those who were known in their own day as adhering to a Ḥanafī 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 Ḥanafī legal tradition was predominantly Baghdadi. Here, by contrast, are the Ḥanafī jurists who appear the most often in a sample of 189 pages from Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī (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-Sarahsī (Transoxanian, d. ca. 483/1090)<sup>97</sup>;
- al-Utrārī (al-Itqānī, d. Cairo, 758/1357)<sup>98</sup>;
- Ṭahāwī;
- al-Qudūrī<sup>99</sup>;
- al-Isbīġābī (Transoxanian, d. 480/1087-1088?)<sup>100</sup>;
- Qāḍī Ḥān (Transoxanian, d. 592/1196?)<sup>101</sup>;

95. A characteristic shared by Ḥanafī heresiographical works, for which v. Lewinstein, “Notes”.

96. Qudūrī, *Tağrīd*.

97. GAL I, p. 460-461 (373); S I, p. 638; EP, s.n., by N. Calder.

98. GAL 2, p. 95 (79); S 2, p. 87-88; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ġam* 3, p. 4.

99. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 168-170; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 29 (421-440 H.), p. 211-213 with further references.

100. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ġam* 2, p. 183; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 33 (481-490 H.), p. 353-354 with further references.

101. GAL I, p. 465 (376); S I, p. 643-644; Ḍahabī, *Siyar* 21, p. 231-232, with further references.

- al-Marġinānī (d. Marġinān, 593/1197)<sup>102</sup>;
- Ibn Māza (Transoxanian, d. 616/1219-1220)<sup>103</sup>;
- Tāġ al-Şarī‘a (al-Maḥbūbī, Transoxanian, d. 747/1346-1347?)<sup>104</sup>;
- Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī (d. Cairo, 786/1384)<sup>105</sup>.

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 Saraḥsī’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 Ḥanafī law there; for example, Naġm al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. Samarqand, 537/1142), one of Marġinānī’s principal teachers.<sup>106</sup> The exact degree is hard to make out, though, for the Ḥanafī biographical tradition preserves less often than the Šāfi‘ī who was taught by whom. I have not been able to trace the teachers of the Transoxanians Ibn Māza, Qāḍī Ḥān, and Tāġ al-Şarī‘a 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 Ḥanafī writing by the second half of the eleventh century, secondly that the *madrasa* is involved in the history of the Ḥanafī school from the later eleventh century but to a very uncertain extent.

Abū Işḥāq and Ibn al-Şabbāġ clashed most visibly over who would teach at the Baghdad Niẓāmīya. Abū Işḥāq was probably immune to personal bribery, and nothing indicates that Ibn al-Şabbāġ 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-Şabbāġ and Abū Işḥāq’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 Šāfi‘ī 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 ‘*ulamā*’ to Niẓāmulmulk and the sultan’s regime.

102. GAL 1, p. 466-469 (376-378); S 1, p. 644-649; Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ* 42 (591-600 H.), p. 137, with further references.

103. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 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, *Mu‘ġam* 6, p. 246.

105. GAL 2, p. 97 (80-81); S 2, p. 89-90; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘ġam* 11, p. 298.

106. On Naġm al-Dīn al-Nasafī, *v.* Ibn Abī al-Wafā’, *Ġawāhir* 2, p. 657-660.

## Appendix I The Students of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ

1. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī (d. Baghdad, 463/1071), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ṭābit. *Ṣāḥib*. V. *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, 419, for references.
2. Abū al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Sam‘ānī (d. Marv, 489/1096), Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḡabbār. Came from an old Ḥanafī family of Marv but transferred the the Ṣāfī school shortly before (Ibn Kaṭīr, 12:153) or after (Ibn al-Ḡawzī, 9:102 17:37) hearing Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ in Baghdad. V. Subkī, 5:335-46.
3. Abū Ḡālib Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ (d. Baghdad, 492/1099), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid. V. Subkī, 4:192.
4. Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ (d. Baghdad, 494/1100), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid. *Ṣāḥib*. Also studied law under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī. V. Subkī, 4:85.
5. Abū Naṣr al-Raba‘ī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113), al-Muṭaman b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. *Zāhid*, traditionist. Wrote down *al-Šāmīl* in his hand. Also studied under Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī. V. Subkī, 7:308-9.
6. Abū Bakr al-Šāšī (d. Baghdad, 507/1114), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl. Was *mu‘īd* (repetitor) for Abū Ishāq, with whom he travelled to Khurasan, then went to study under Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ. He projected a twenty-volume commentary on Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ, *al-Šāmīl* but finished only four volumes before his death. V. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, 208-10, for references.
7. Ibn ‘Aqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), Abū al-Wafā‘ ‘Alī b. ‘Aqīl. Also studied under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī. V. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*.
8. Al-Ḥarīrī (d. Basra, 516/1122), al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. Also studied under Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī. V. Subkī, 7:266-70, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (Presumably transient.)
9. Ibn al-‘Ammūra (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥayr b. Muḥammad. Came from Qayrawan, also studied under Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī. V. Subkī, 7:148.
10. Ibn al-Ruṭabī (d. Baghdad, 527/1133), al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Salāma b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. *Ṣāḥib*. Appointed *muḥtasib*, judge. Also pursued advanced studies under Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī. V. Subkī, 6:18-19; *Asnawī*, 585-6.
11. Abū ‘Alī al-Fāriqī (d. Wasit, 528/1144), al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī. From Mayyafāriqīn. Also studied under Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī. Taught according to Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡ, *al-Šāmīl*. V. Subkī, 7:57-60.

## Appendix II

### The Students of Abū Ishāq al-Şirāzī<sup>107</sup>

1. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baġdādī (d. Mecca, 447/1055-1056), Rāfi' b. Naşr. *Faqīh*, *zāhid*, and *mutakallim*. Studied *uşūl* under Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. May have studied *fiqh* under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī as well as Abū Ishāq al-Şirāzī. V. Subkī, 4:377-378.
2. Abū Muḥammad al-Sinnī (d. Baghdad, 465/1072-1073), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī (Muḥammad). From Sinn on the Tigris. Studied under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and then Abū Ishāq al-Şirāzī until his death at almost 80. V. Subkī, 5:70; Ibn Ḥaġar, *Tabşīr* 2:756.
3. Al-Zanġānī (d. Baghdad, 473/1080), Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan. From Zanġān, Jibal. *Tilmīd*. V. Subkī, 5:361fn, quoting from *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*.
4. Abū Ḥakīm al-Ḥabrī (d. Baghdad, 476/1083), 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh. Worked as copyist. V. Subkī, 5:62-63; GAL 1:486 (388); GAL S 1:671; s.a. 489 in Ibn al-Ġawzī, Ibn Kaṭīr, and *Nuġūm*.
5. Abū al-'Abbās al-Ġurġānī (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-Ġawzī, 9:50 16:285, Subkī, 4:74-76.
6. Abū Sa'd al-Daskarī (d. 486/1093), 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn, Ḥuṣayn). Stories told of his wealth. V. Subkī, 5:224.
7. Abū Şuġā' (d. Medina, 488/1093), al-Wazīr Ḥāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. Father was vizier for al-Qā'im, 460-1/1067-1068. Succeeded 'Amīd al-Dawla b. Ġāhīr in 476/1083. Deposed 484/1092? at behest of Malikšāh. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 9:90-94 17:22-27; Ibn Ḥallikān, 5:134; Subkī, 4:136-140.
8. Ibn Muḥallad (d. Bandanīġayn, 488/1095), Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh b. Salama. Later *qāḍī* for Şarhrābād & Bandanīġayn. V. Asnawī, 2:586; Subkī, 5:232-233.
9. Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Sam'ānī (d. Marv, 489/1096), Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad. V. Appendix I, no. 2.
10. Abū al-Faḥ al-Maqdisī (d. Damascus, 490/1096), Naşr b. Ibrāhīm. Subkī quotes someone as saying he found the *ṭarīqa* of Abū Ishāq al-Şirāzī better than that of Imām al-Ḥaramayn, but then, on moving to Syria, the *ṭarīqa* of Abū Faḥ better than that of Abū Ishāq. V. Subkī, 5:351-353.
11. Abū Ġanā'im al-Fāriqī (d. Diyarbakr, 492/1099), Muḥammad b. al-Faraġ. *Tilmīd*. Originally came to Baghdad with his father. Taught law in both Baghdad and Mesopotamia. V. Subkī, 4:193.
12. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭarā'iqī (d. Baghdad, 493/1099-1100), Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. Died of plague. V. Subkī, 4:303fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*.

107. Haytū lists the fifty-three to whom Subkī devotes biographies (137-53). Unfortunately, he ignores those identified only elsewhere as students of Abū Ishāq al-Şirāzī'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 Ishāq.

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 Ishāq al-Širāzī, then Abū Bakr al-Šāšī. V. Subkī, 5:257.
14. Abū Manṣūr al-Širāzī (d. Baghdad, 493/1100), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Mūsā. Known as a fine preacher. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 9:114 17:55; Subkī, 4:27.
15. Abū al-Qāsim al-Maḥāmili (d. 493/1100), ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. V. Subkī, 5:266.
16. Abū al-Faḍāʿil al-Mawṣili (d. Baghdad, 494/1100), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī. Also studied law under al-Māwardī. V. Šafadī, 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-Rūd, and Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Abīwardī in Bukhara before going to Baghdad. V. Subkī, 5:115.
18. Abū Naṣr al-Bandanīgī (d. Mecca, 495/1101-1102), Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh. Identified as a *tilmiḍ* of Abū Ishāq's by Ibn Samura (119) and as one of his greatest *aṣḥāb* by al-Šafadī (*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 ʿḤusayn b. Ḥasan', as it appears in the list of Talas (58). Among the *aṣḥāb* who accompanied Abū Ishāq to Khurāsān. Wrote *al-ʿUdda*, a commentary on the *Ibāna* of al-Fūrānī (d. 461/1069), to which his predecessor at the Niẓāmiya, al-Mutawallī, had written a completion. Taught at the Niẓāmiya 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-Širāzī (d. 500/1106; v. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 9:53). When Ġazālī left in 489, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarī was reinstated. It is unclear how long he remained at the Niẓāmiya. Subkī, quoting Ibn al-Nağğār, places his death at 20 Šaʿbān 495/499 June 1102 in Isfahan (Subkī, 4:351fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*). However, Ḍahabī (*Ibar* 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 Ah'ariya and their opponents (called here *ahl al-sunna*, even by Yāfiʿī, 3:161, as he quotes Ḍahabī). Our earliest Yemeni source, Ibn Samura, mentions a falling out between Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Naṣr al-Bandanīgī, another former student of Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī'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-Ġawzī, 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), ʿUṭmān b. al-Musaddad b. Aḥmad. V. Subkī, 7:210.
23. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭibī (d. Tib, Iraq, after 500/1106), al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad. V. Subkī, 6:28.
24. Al-Bawāziġī (d. al-Bawaziġ, Iraq, after 501/1107), al-Qāḍī Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. V. Subkī, 7:304.

25. Abū al-Faḍl al-Anbārī (d. Basra, 503/1110), al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Qanān. *Tilmīḍ* of Abū Işḥāq's. Later taught at the Niẓāmīya in Basra where he was also judge. Subkī, 6:175.
26. Al-Şāmī (d. Samarqand, 504/1111), Idrīs b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 9:168-169; Subkī, 7:40-41.
27. Al-Uşnuhī (d. Adharbayjan, ca. 505/1111), Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. V. Subkī, 7:171; *Keşf*, col. 1245.
- 28) Abū al-Qāsim al-Taflīsī (d. Tiflis, 505/1111-1112), Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn. Sam'ānī, ff. 73v., 74r. Subkī says that he died after 550/1155 (7:294).
29. Abū Naşr al-Raba'ī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113), al-Mu'taman b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī. 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 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī. V. Subkī, 6:184.
32. Abū Bakr al-Şāşī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl. V. Appendix I, no. 6.
33. Al-Nahāwandī (d. Nahavand, 509/1115-1116), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Naşr b. 'Ubayd Allāh. *Qāḍī* for Nahavand. V. Subkī, 7:80. (Transient.)
34. Ibn Baġkam (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭarḥān b. Altagīn al-Turkī. Worked as a copyist. V. Subkī, 6:106-107; Ibn al-'Imād, 4:41.
35. Ibn 'Aqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), Abū al-Wafā' 'Alī b. 'Aqīl. V. Appendix I, no. 7. Learnt disputation from Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī.
36. 'Alī b. Ḥaskawayh (d. Marv, 516/1122). The *tilmīdh* who listened to Abū Işḥāq's reciting poetry about reciting in the mud. V. Sam'ānī, f. 519r; Subkī, 4:223.
37. Al-Ḥarīrī (d. Basra, 516/1122), al-Qāsim b. 'Alī. V. Appendix I, no. 8.
38. Al-Ġallāb (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Marzūq. A travelling merchant. V. Dahabī, *Ibar* 4:41; Subkī, 6:400-401.
39. Ibn al-'Ammūra (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥayr. V. Appendix I, no. 9.
40. Abū Sa'd al-Bazzār (d. Samarqand, 520/1126). Yaḥyā b. 'Alī (Bundār) b. al-Ḥasan. Read *maḍhab*, *ḥilāf*, and *uşūl* with Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī. *Muḥtasib*. Taught at the Baghdad Niẓāmīya. V. Subkī, 7:333-334.
41. Al-Qalānisī (d. 521/1157), Abū al-'Izz Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Buried in Wasit, where born. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 10:8 17:247; Subkī, 6:97-98.
42. Al-Ḥuwayyī (d. Adharbayġan, 521/1127-1128), al-Faraġ b. 'Ubayd Allāh. Studied under Abū Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī and al-Mutawallī. V. Subkī, 7:257. (Transient.)
43. Abū Sa'd al-Burūġirdī (was alive after 521/1127), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Judge. V. Subkī, 7:146.
44. Al-Mūşilī (d. Urmiya, Adharbayjan, ca. 525/1131), Abū al-Ġanā'im Ġānim b. al-Ḥusayn. Also studied under Imām al-Ḥaramayn in Nishapur. V. Subkī, 7:256. (Transient.)
45. Ḥaṭīb al-Mawşil (d. Mosul, 525/1131), Abū Naşr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qāhir. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 10:22 17:265-266; Subkī, 6:58-59. (Presumably emigrant.)

46. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ‘Abdawayh (d. Kamaran Island, Yemen, 525/1131-1132). Studied *al-Muḥaddḍab* and *Masā’il al-ḥilāf* under Abū Ishāq 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 Sa’d al-Ṭabarī (d. Gurgan, after 525/1132), ‘Abd al-Ġalīl b. Abī Bakr. V. Subkī, 7:145.

48. Al-Takrītī (d. 527/1132), Abū Šākīr Muḥammad b. Ḥalaf b. Sa’d. Studied under Abū Ishāq at the Nizāmīya, then withdrew to a Sufi *ribāṭ*. V. Subkī, 6:103fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*.

49. Ibn al-Ruṭabī (d. Baghdad, 527/1133), al-Qāḍī Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Salāma b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. Studied law under both Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg. Accompanied Abū Ishāq to Khurasan. Studied later under Abū Bakr al-Šāšī and at the Isfahan Nizāmīya under Abū Bakr al-Ḥuḡandī (d. 482/1089-1090). Began as an ascetic but later advanced in the caliph’s favour, became *muḥtasib*, judge for Nahr al-Mu‘allā and Ḥarīm al-Zāhirī. V. Subkī, 4:220, 6:18-19.

50. Abū ‘Alī al-Fāriqī (d. Wasit, 528/1144), al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī. Studied under both Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg. From Mayyafariqin. Went with Abū Ishāq to Khurasan. Taught one day from *al-Šāmil*, one day from *al-Muḥaddḍab*, of which he published extracts. “The last of the *aṣḥāb* of Abū Ishāq 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 Ḥallikān, 2:77. V. Subkī, 4:220, 7:58fn, quoting *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*.

51. Abū al-Muḡaffar al-Burūġirdī (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 Ṭa‘lab Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. Accompanied Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī to Khurasan. V. Subkī, 6:491. (Transient.)

53. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. Ḥwārazm, 530 or 31/ca 1136), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. Subkī thought him the son of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī, but the name is wrong. V. Subkī, 7:148; *Keṣf*, col. 1129, s.n. *al-‘Udda*.

54. Abū Sa’d al-Naysābūrī (d. Burdasīr, Kirman, 532/1138), Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Also studied under Imām al-Ḥaramayn and Abū al-Muḡaffar al-Sam‘ānī. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 10:74 17:330; Subkī, 7:44. (Transient.)

55. Abū al-Muḡaffar al-Burūġirdī (d. Burūġird, 534/1139), al-Qāḍī Šabīb b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. Came to Baghdad after 470/1077. Judge in Burūġird. V. Subkī, 7:101-102. (Transient.)

56. Ibn Wahara al-Hamaḍānī (d. Herat, 535/1140), Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf b. Ayyūb b. Yūsuf. Studied *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *al-maḍhab*, and *ḥilāf* under Abū Ishāq. V. Ibn al-Ġawzī, 10:94 18:14-15.

57. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Šahrazūrī (d. ca. 536/1141-1142), al-Qāḍī Muḡaffar b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muḡaffar. Judge at Singār, but returned to Baghdad 534. V. Sam‘ānī, 341v.; *Nakt*, 293; Subkī, 7:301. (Transient.)

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

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

60. Abū Naṣr al-Ḥadīṭī (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 Işḥāq al-Şīrāzī 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-Mayāniġī (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.; Şafadī, 17:541; Subkī, 6:151-152.

64. Ibn Bayān.

65. Abū Muʿāḍ.

66. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Şāhpurḥ<sup>w</sup>āstī.

67. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Āmidī.

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