



ANNALES ISLAMOLOGIQUES

en ligne en ligne

AnIsl 45 (2011), p. 141-166

Christopher Melchert

Abū Ishaq al-Širāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg and the Advantages of Teaching at a Madrasa.

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724711523	<i>Bulletin de liaison de la céramique égyptienne</i> 34	Sylvie Marchand (éd.)
9782724711707	?????? ?????????? ??????? ??? ?? ????????	Omar Jamal Mohamed Ali, Ali al-Sayyid Abdelatif
?????? ?? ??????? ??????? ?? ??????? ??????? ?????????? ????????????		
????????? ??????? ??????? ?? ??????? ?? ??? ??????? ????????		
9782724711400	<i>Islam and Fraternity: Impact and Prospects of the Abu Dhabi Declaration</i>	Emmanuel Pisani (éd.), Michel Younès (éd.), Alessandro Ferrari (éd.)
9782724710922	<i>Athribis X</i>	Sandra Lippert
9782724710939	<i>Bagawat</i>	Gérard Roquet, Victor Ghica
9782724710960	<i>Le décret de Saïs</i>	Anne-Sophie von Bomhard
9782724710915	<i>Tebtynis VII</i>	Nikos Litinas
9782724711257	<i>Médecine et environnement dans l'Alexandrie médiévale</i>	Jean-Charles Ducène

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

WHEN Niżāmulmulk 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-Şabbāğ (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-Şabbāğ at the Niżāmiya 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-Şabbāğ 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 Niżāmiya (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-Şabbāğ 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-Şabbāğ: Life and Works

Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Şabbāğ was born in Baghdad in AH 400/AD 1009-1010. His father, Abū Tāhir Ibn al-Şabbāğ (d. 448/1057), was a Šāfi‘i *faqīh* (jurist) who taught *fiqh* after the doctrine of Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 406/1016) at Ğāmi‘ al-Madīna and acted as *śāhid* (witness notary) for Qādī al-Quḍāt Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Dāmāğānī (d. 478/1085).¹ (Another *faqīh*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Şabbāğ [d. 423/1031-1032], may have come from a cognate line.²) Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī was apparently Ibn al-Şabbāğ’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-Zuġāġī, d. ca. 400/1010), in Gurgan (Abū Sa‘d al-Ismā‘īlī, d. Gurgan, 396/1005-1006, and al-Qādī Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Kaġġ, d. 405/1015), and in Nishapur (Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māsirḡī, 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 *uṣūl* given by Abū Ishāq 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 Ishāq al-Širāzī to teach in his place.³ He became *qādī* for Karḥ on the death of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Şaymārī in 436/1045. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī and Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī 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-Şabbāğ was a Baghdaďi born and bred, his teacher had come from the provinces. As Šāfi‘ism itself largely came to Baghdaď from Egypt, provincial influence on the capital was not an eleventh-century innovation.

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

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

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

3. Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 128.

4. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ* 9, p. 360; 10, p. 493; Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī, *Tabaqāt*, p. 127.

5. Ibn al-‘Imād, *Şađarāt* 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 ‘Asākir, *Tārīḥ* 1, p. 384. Subkī mentions this Abū al-Qāsim as relating on his father’s authority, *Tabaqāt* 3, p. 123.

8. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 86.

9. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 85.

Ibn al-Şabbāğ was not heavily involved with political figures. He might be present at important ceremonies, among other *'ulama'*; for example, Ibn al-Atīr places him at the formal acclamation of the caliph al-Muqtadī.¹⁰ He was less prominent in public affairs than Abū Ishaq al-Širāzī became after his installation at the Niżāmiya.

The Niżāmiya affair of 459/1067 hardly needs retelling by me.¹¹ 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 Ishaq 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 Ishaq's refusal to come, Niżāmulmulk appointed Ibn al-Şabbāğ to teach in his new school until Abū Ishaq should relent, which he did, taking over the first of Dū al-Ḥiğğa/13 October.¹² I shall return later to the reasons for Abū Ishaq's change of mind. We can imagine that Ibn al-Şabbāğ felt humiliated by his dismissal after only twenty days.

Near the end of his life, Ibn al-Şabbāğ returned to teach at the Niżāmiya for a short time. Abū Ishaq died 21 Ĝumādā I or II 476/7 October or 6 November 1083.¹³ After the funeral, Niżāmulmulk's *mutawallī* (agent in charge of a *waqf* foundation), his son Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, hired al-Mutawallī al-Naysābūrī ('Abd al-Rahmān b. Ma'mūn b. 'Alī, d. 478/1086) to take his place. When Niżāmulmulk heard of this, he said that the school should have been closed a year for the sake of Abū Ishaq, reprimanded his son, and ordered that Ibn al-Şabbāğ replace al-Mutawallī. The sources tell us neither why al-Mutawallī had been appointed in the first place nor why Niżāmulmulk 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.¹⁴ Al-Mutawallī having taught for twenty days, Ibn al-Şabbāğ must have resumed at about the middle of 476. At about this time he lost his sight.¹⁵ 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-Şabbāğ travelled to Isfahan to complain to Niżāmulmulk in person. Niżāmulmulk promised this time to build a new school for him, but Ibn al-Şabbāğ died on 13 Ĝumādā I/18 September 1084, three days after returning to Baghdad and before

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

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

12. Ibn al-Atīr depicts Ibn al-Şabbāğ among those attending, the Ḥanbali Abū Maṣṣūr 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 Niżāmulmulk as informed only later (*Kāmil* 10, p. 55).

13. The two alternative months are given by Ṣafadī, *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 II Ĝumādā I or II 476 are given by al-Asnawī, citing Nawawī, *al-Tahdīb*; *Tabaqāt* 2, p. 84.

14. Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 3, p. 133, citing a lost *dayl* to Širāzī, *Tabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hamadānī (d. 521/1127), on which v. Kātib Çelebī, *Kesf*, 1105.

15. Several sources mention that Ibn al-Şabbāğ went blind at the end of his life. Ibn al-'Imād specifies that this happened after he had succeeded Abū Ishaq al-Širāzī: *Šadarāt* 3, p. 133.

work could begin.¹⁶ Ibn al-Ğawzī says that Ibn al-Şabbāğ 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-Şabbāğ 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-ṣāfi‘iyya wa-al-ḥanafīyya* (*Nakt*, 193; *Keşf*, 1381).
3. *Kifāyat al-masā'il* (*Keşf*, 1501).
4. *Al-Šāmil fī furū‘ al-ṣāfi‘iyya*. The most famous of Ibn al-Şabbāğ’s works. Şafadī calls it ‘the most sound of Šāfi‘i books and the most excellent with regard to transmission (*al-ağwad 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: *Tađkirat al-‘ālim wa-al-ṭariq al-salīm* on *uṣūl* (*Keşf*, 389; *Nakt*, 193); ‘*Uddat al-‘ālim wa-al-ṭariq al-salīm* (*Keşf*, 1129); *al-Ṭariq al-salīm* concerning hadith, juridical problems (*masā'il*), and Sufism (*Keşf*, 1114); *al-‘Udda* on *uṣūl* (*Nakt*, 193); *al-‘Umda* on *uṣūl* (Ibn al-‘Imād, 3:355).

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

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

Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Širāzī was born in 393, 395, or 396 (some time between A.D. 1003 and 1006) in Fīrūzābād, formerly Ğūr.¹⁸ I have discovered no notice of his father or any other relation. The earliest of Abū Ishāq’s masters in law of whom we know is

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

17. Ibn al-Ğawzī, *al-Muntażam* 9, p. 12; 16, p. 237.

18. 393 H. is the birthdate given by Ibn al-Ğawzī (*Muntażam* 9, p. 7; 16, p. 228), Nawawī (*Tahdīb* 2, p. 172), Subkī (*Tabaqāt* 4, p. 217); however, Ibn Ḥallikān (*Wafayāt* 1, p. 30), followed by Asnawī (*Tabaqāt* 2, p. 84), reports also the traditions that he was born in 395 or 396, citing Ibn al-Nağğār (d. 643/1245), author of *Dayl tārīḥ Bağdād* (mostly lost). As for the place, all sources agree on Fīrūzābād except Nawawī, who says that Abū Ishāq was *mansūb ilā Fayrūzābād* but that his *aṣl* was in al-Fārisiya al-Kabīr, a *bulayda* of the same province (*Tahdīb* 2, p. 172). To be sure, *aṣl* may indicate family origin rather than birthplace. On Fīrūzābād, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 255-256.

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

In 410, when he was no more than eighteen years old, Abū Iṣhāq moved to Shiraz, where, most sources say, he studied law under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī and Ibn Rāmīn. In his own *Tabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, oddly, Abū Iṣhāq 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 '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'iya in his time. Among his fellow students had been Abū Iṣhāq al-Isfarāyīnī. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī lived in Darb al-Sulūbī, Baghdad, and acted as *qādī* for Karbala besides teaching law. He was buried at Bāb Ḥarb.²² His son Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad (d. 468/1076) studied, like Ibn al-Šabbāg and Abū Iṣhāq, under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and also married a daughter of his.²³ 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 Iṣhāq himself. According to Abū Iṣhāq, Ibn Rāmīn studied law under al-Dārakī and also Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayrān (fl. mid-4th/10th cent.).²⁴

Also at Shiraz and additionally at Ǧundağān (near Ahvāz), Abū Iṣhāq studied law and prepared a *ta'liqa* of some sort under Abū Aḥmad al-Ǧundağānī ('Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥusayn, fl. early 5th/11th cent.), a former advanced student under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī.²⁵ Finally, Abū Iṣhāq mentions having studied under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ǧallāb (fl. early 5th/11th cent.), the *ḥaṭib* of Shiraz.²⁶

Many of the sources mention that Abū Iṣhāq 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-Naġġār);
- Al-Ǧazī (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:7);

19. Abū Iṣhāq, *Tabaqāt*, 134.

20. Abū Iṣhāq, *Tabaqāt*, 125-126.

21. So suggests Iḥsān 'Abbās, "Tarġamat al-mu'allif", introduction to Abū Iṣhāq, *Tabaqāt*, 5-6.

22. Al-Ḥaṭib al-Baġdādī, *Tārīh* 5, p. 476; Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 152-154.

23. Ṣafadī, *Lexicon* 1, p. 121; Asnawī, *Tabaqāt* 1, p. 237.

24. Abū Iṣhāq, *Tabaqāt*, p. 117, 125; Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt* 1, p. 30, quoting Ibn al-Naġġār; Asnawī, *Tabaqāt* 1, p. 582, alone giving a month of death (Ramaḍān). There was a notable Basran jurisprudent named Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣalīḥ b. Ḥayrān (d. 320/932?), on whom V Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 3, p. 271-274. He died too early to have taught Ibn Rāmīn, but a son of his might have taught him.

25. Abū Iṣhāq, *Tabaqāt*, p. 133.

26. Abū Iṣhāq, *Tabaqāt*, p. 133.

- Al-Ǧawzī (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 16:229fn; Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 2:172);
- Al-Ǧazarī (Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 16:229; Șafadī, 6:62);
- Al-Ḥarazī (Nawawī, *Mağmū'* 1:25; Asnawī, 2:84; Subkī, 4:217);
- Ǧurayy al-Nahdī (Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Tabṣīr* 1:253, without expressly associating him with Basra, though).

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

Abū Iṣhāq al-Širāzī 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 Iṣhāq 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-Šabbāğ, the Ḥanbali Abū al-Wafā' b. ‘Aqīl (d. Baghdad, 513/1119), and al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī.

Besides Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, Abū Iṣhāq’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-Isfarāyīnī, inheritance law (*fara’id*) under Ibn al-Labbān (d. 402/1011), and *uṣūl al-fiqh* (jurisprudence, properly speaking) under Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. Abū Iṣhāq writes, “I have benefitted from no one in the journey as I have from him and al-Qādī Abū al-Ṭayyib.”³⁰ Additionally, Abū Iṣhāq may have travelled to Mosul at this time to hear Ibn Fārgān al-Mawṣilī (d. 438/1046-1047).³¹

Abū Iṣhāq al-Širāzī 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 Iṣhāq also studied in Basra under al-Imām al-Ǧazālī, Talas, *Madrasah*, 57. This appears to be a mistake, for Abū Ḥāmid al-Ǧazālī was born only in 451/1059, when Abū Iṣhāq was in his fifties. Certainly, I have found no mention of Abū Ḥāmid or any other Ǧazālī in the sources relating to Abū Iṣhāq al-Širāzī’s teachers.

29. Abū Iṣhāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 128.

30. Abū Iṣhāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 130 (the main source for subsequent accounts); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn*, p. 130; Nawawī, *Tahdīb* 2, p. 207; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt* 5, p. 312-313.

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

Ibn al-Ǧawzī³²). Al-Šafadī points out verse hidden in Abū Iṣhāq’s handbook of Šāfi’i rules, *al-Muḥaddab*, but many others cite occasional poetry that Abū Iṣhāq composed and declaimed on the spot.³³ Altogether, he was said to have been accepted completely by the élite and general alike.³⁴

Abū Iṣhāq’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 Iṣhāq stopped him, saying, “Don’t you know that the way is shared between us and him?”³⁵ Ibn ‘Aqīl is quoted as saying that Abū Iṣhāq 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 ‘Aqīl is also quoted as saying that his teacher, Abū Iṣhāq, was the ascetic of the lower world.³⁷ Al-Subkī illustrates his asceticism by quoting the story of another of Abū Iṣhāq’s students, al-Qādī Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ǧurğānī (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.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 Ğa’far’s bitter rejection of Abū Iṣhāq’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 Ḥwāğah Buzurg [i.e. Niżāmulmulk], you have made plain what was hidden.”³⁹ Subkī quotes a saying that suggests Abū Iṣhāq 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 (*nīṭār* or *nūṭār*); 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 Niżāmulmulk.⁴¹ He died at the house of al-Mużaffar, son of Ra’īs al-Ru’asā’, and both the caliph al-Muqtadī and the sultan’s vizier Niżāmulmulk attended his funeral. It was the caliph who led the funeral prayers.

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

33. Šafadī, *Lexicon* 6, p. 64-6.

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

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

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

37. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntazam* 9, p. 213; 17, p. 180.

38. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 219.

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

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

41. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 313.

Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī and Ibn al-Şabbāğ in Politics

There are many more indications of political involvement on the part of Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī than of Ibn al-Şabbāğ. On the death of the *qādī* Ibn Mākūlā in 447/1055, the caliph al-Qā'im (r. 422-467/1031-1075) summoned him to be judge in his place. Abū Ishāq, 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.”⁴² As İhsān ‘Abbās remarks, the story has been told of others as well.⁴³ Subkī includes it appears in Abū Ishāq’s biography in *Tabaqāt al-ṣāfi‘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 Niżāmīya *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: Niżāmulmulk 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 Niżāmulmulk as founder of schools independently of Niżāmulmulk as vizier to the sultan. Neither is it to say that Niżāmulmulk had no political objects when he endowed schools. The chroniclers Ibn al-Ğawzī, Ibn al-Atīr, and Ibn Katīr all report (s.a. 476) how Abū al-Mahāsin b. Abī Riḍā suggested to the sultan that he dismiss Niżāmulmulk and confiscate all his wealth (or rather hand it over to Abū al-Mahāsin, who would pay him a million dinars from it), and how Niżāmulmulk responded by putting on a lavish banquet for the sultan, with a thousand of his own armed retainers in attendance. Niżāmulmulk 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 *gilmān* 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 Niżāmulmulk 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 Niżāmulmulk’s own book on government⁴⁵:

42. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 236.

43. ‘Abbās, ‘Tarğamat al-mu‘allif’, introduction to Abū Ishāq, *Tabaqāt*, p. 7; e.g. it is told by Abū Ishāq himself of Abū ‘Alī b. Ḥayrān (*Tabaqāt*, p. 110).

44. Ibn al-Atīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 131. Cf. Ibn al-Ğawzī, *Muntazam* 9, p. 7; 16, p. 229, and Ibn Katīr, *Bidāya* 12, p. 124, which account specifically mentions endowments of *madāris* and *rubūt*.

45. Niżāmulmulk, *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, Niẓāmulmulk emphasizes the role of hireling '*ulamā'* in preventing popular disaffection.

Abū Iṣhāq 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 Ṣibṭ 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 Iṣhāq'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 Iṣhāq and Ibn al-Šabbāg. However, the statement of Ibn al-Ǧawzī, even if based entirely (as Makdisi conjectures) on an earlier one by Ibn Hilāl al-Šābī (d. Baghdad, 480/1087), seems already to include two divergent traditions: (1) that Abū Iṣhāq transferred to the Niẓāmīya to appease his students (who had actually stopped coming to his classes, according to Ibn Ḥallikān, who used the same source⁴⁸) "and in anger against Ibn al-Šabbāg for having taken his place"; and (2) that Abū Iṣhāq transferred to the Niẓāmīya under pressure from Niẓāmulmulk 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.⁴⁹ As an Aš'ari who counted Abū Iṣhāq also an Aš'ari, 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 Aš'ari al-Yāfi'i, who mentions the students' threat to go over to Ibn al-Šabbāg and omits only the connection with scholarship money.⁵⁰)

Abū Iṣhāq 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.⁵¹ 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, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 218.

50. Yāfi'i, *Mir'āk* 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 Niżāmulmulk 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 Niżāmulmulk explaining that the *madāhib* cannot be changed, nor people forcibly transferred from one to another.⁵² If he once hesitated to teach at the Niżāmiya for fear of thereby selling himself to Niżāmulmulk, his fear seems to have been largely justified by events.

Finally, among political involvements, Abū Ishāq travelled near the end of his life to Khurasan as diplomatic envoy to the caliph. Ibn Ḥallikān reports that Abū Ishāq went to arrange the engagement of the caliph to a daughter of the sultan.⁵³ Subkī says the same, adding that Niżāmulmulk 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 'Amīd Abū Fath b. Abī al-Layt.⁵⁵ According to Ibn al-Atīr, though, Abū Ishāq set out for Khurasan in Dū al-Ḥiḡga 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.⁵⁶ It seems likely that this is the correct account and that the others conflated the two missions.

Whatever his mission, Abū Ishāq'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 Ishāq 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."⁵⁸ Ibn al-Şabbāğ was sometimes among the 'ulamā' called to represent the Muslim community (as at the inauguration of al-Muqtadī, according to Ibn al-Atīr), but he was never so prominent as Abū Ishāq, 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 Ishāq evidently published more works than Ibn al-Şabbāğ, 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-Luma'* on *uṣūl al-fiqh*,

52. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 235; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntazam* 8, p. 312; 16, p. 190-1, trans. by Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, p. 365.

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

54. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 324.

55. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 219.

56. Ibn al-Atīr, *Kāmil* 10, p. 125. Ibn al-Atīr also says that Niżāmulmulk himself observed the disputation in Nishapur between Abū Ishāq and Imām al-Ḥaramayn, a datum reported by no one else and doubtful because no one places Niżāmulmulk so far from Isfahan at this time, either.

57. Cf. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 220.

58. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 4, p. 216.

59. Cf. Chaumont, 'Introduction' to Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī, *al-Luma'*, ed. Chaumont, p. 6-19.

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

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

Given the intellectual equality of Abū Iṣhāq and Ibn al-Ṣabbāg (with the possibility that Ibn al-Ṣabbāg was actually superior), how are we to explain the far greater celebrity of Abū Iṣhāq? Abū Iṣhāq 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‘ī 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 Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī was the winner by far, *vis-à-vis* Ibn al-Ṣabbāg, 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-Ṣabbāg, I have actually been able to name sixty-seven who studied under Abū Iṣhāq. (Appendix II comprises the list of Abū Iṣhāq’s known students.) Of those thirteen who studied under Ibn al-Ṣabbāg, 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 Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī, and the majority of them were associated with Ibn al-Ṣabbāg when he was briefly professor at the Niẓāmīya near the end of his life. The Niẓāmīya

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

61. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntażam* 9, p. 12-13; 16, p. 237.

62. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 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‘ī Abū al-Faḍl al-Hamadānī (d. 489/1096).

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

seems to have been especially attractive to students from outside Baghdad. We know the birth-places of ten who studied under Ibn al-Şabbāğ: six were born in Baghdad, four (40 percent) elsewhere. By contrast, of the forty-eight students of Abū Ishāq'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 Ishāq's fame further and faster than it might have spread otherwise, for while some settled in Baghdad (like Abū Ishāq 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-Şabbāğ: 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 Ishāq al-Širāzī 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-Yāfi'ī (d. Mecca, 768/1367), *Mir'āt al-ğanān* and Ibn Samura al-Ğādī (d. Abyan, after 586/1190), *Tabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*. Yāfi'ī testifies to Abū Ishāq's fame in his own lifetime, relating, as I have already said, that Abū Ishāq's *Tanbīh* was taught in Sanaa like the Qur'an.⁶⁴ Ibn Samura piles florid praise onto *al-Muhaddab*:

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

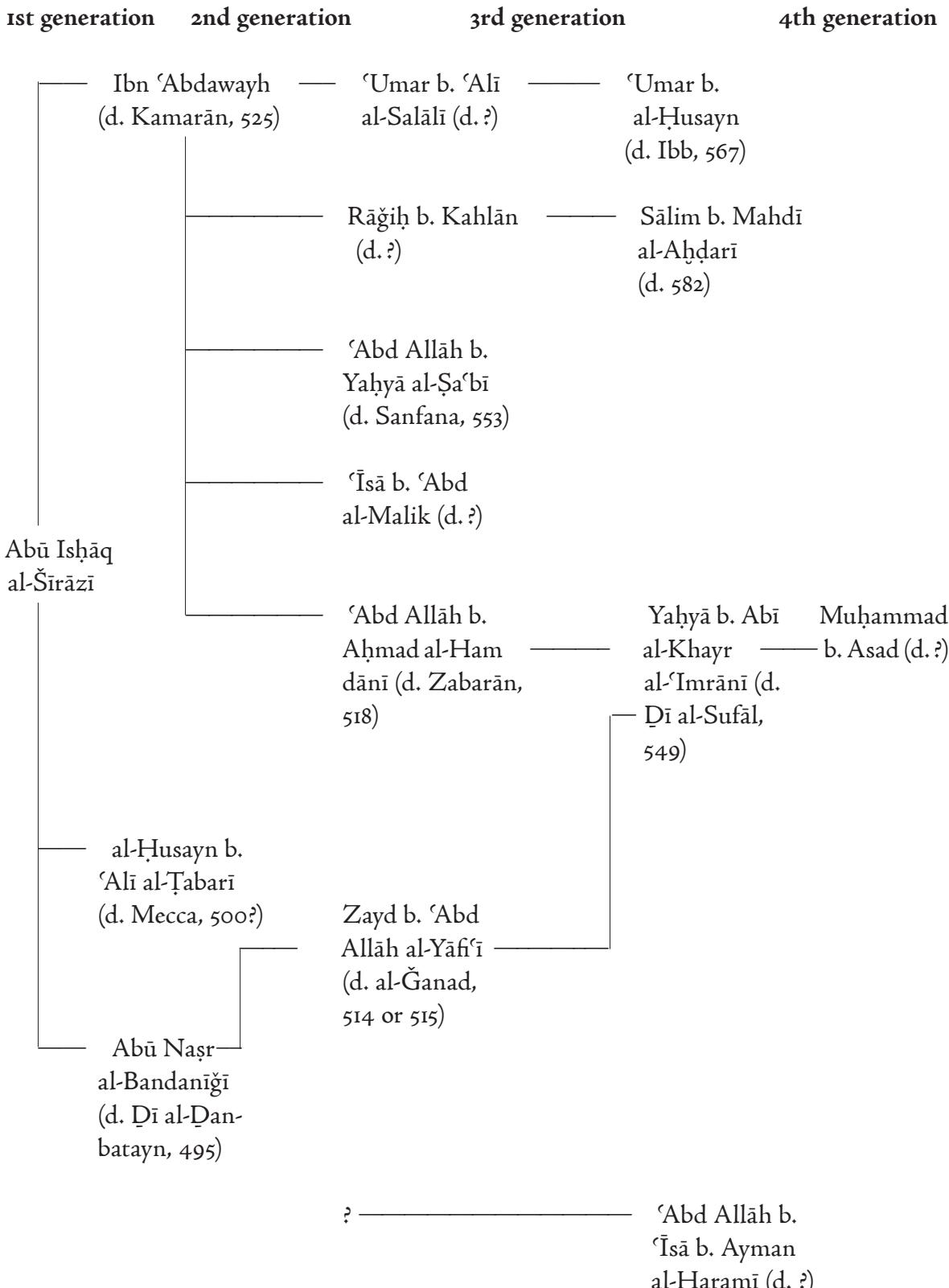
At another point, Ibn Samura relates that a certain book was as famous among the Ḥanafiyah of Yemen, Syria, and the two Iraqs as *al-Muhaddab* was among the Šāfi'iya.⁶⁶ On the following page is a schematic summary of how *al-Muhaddab* was introduced to Yemen and then transmitted from one generation of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

64. Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 115.

65. Ibn Samura, *Tabaqāt*, p. 126.

66. Ibn Samura, *Tabaqāt*, 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-Qādī* by al-Qādī Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awf of Zabīd; however, the context plainly suggests that Ibn Samura intended high praise.

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



Ibn al-Šabbāğ was not unknown in Yemen, nor even without influence; however, knowledge of his books was the subject of much less pride than of Abū Ishāq's. For example, there is the story that Ibn Samura and Yāfi'i relate, of how Yahyā b. Abī al-Ḥayr (d. Dī al-Sufāl, 558/1163) read Ibn al-Šabbāğ's *Šāmil* along with a number of other Šāfi'i legal works. He noticed that these books treated problems not mentioned in *al-Muhaddab*. Therefore, at the instigation of his teacher, Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'i, 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 Yāfi'i says that *al-Bayān* relied heavily on the *Šāmil* of Ibn al-Šabbāğ⁶⁹: Yahyā had evidently not forgotten it. Nevertheless, we know of his transmitting no work by Ibn al-Šabbāğ, whereas not only do we know of his passing on *al-Muhaddab* and *al-Nukat* of Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī, 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-Muhaddab*, 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-Muhaddab* 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 – Yahyā was neither ignorant nor disdainful of other books – is largely, I should guess, that Yahyā had a living chain of transmitters between himself and Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī but none between himself and, among others, Ibn al-Šabbāğ.

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 Mālikī school became extinct in Baghdad after the earlier eleventh century, possibly because there were no Mālikī *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, *Tabaqāt*, p. 176-177; Yāfi'i, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 319. Unfortunately, Ibn Samura says that Yahyā began his *ta'liq*, *al-Zawā'id*, in 517, Yāfi'i in 514 or 515. Ibn Samura specifies a little further on (p. 178) that Yahyā wrote it under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī. Perhaps he took up a suggestion of Zayd's posthumously.

68. Ibn Samura, *Tabaqāt*, p. 177; Yāfi'i, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 319.

69. Yāfi'i, *Mir'āh* 3, p. 321.

70. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 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 Șāfi'i handbooks is telling. Here are the Șāfi'i 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-Șāfi'i (d. Old Cairo, 204/820)⁷³;
- Abū 'Alī b. Abī Hurayra (d. Baghdad, 345/956)⁷⁴;
- Abū Iṣhāq al-Marwazī (d. Ḥulwān, Egypt, 340/951)⁷⁵;
- Abū al-'Abbās b. Surayg (d. Baghdad, 306/918)⁷⁶;
- al-Muzanī (d. Old Cairo, 264/877?)⁷⁷;
- Abū Sa'īd al-İṣṭahrī (d. Baghdad, 328/940)⁷⁸;
- Abū 'Alī b. Ḥayrān (Baghdadi, d. 320/932)⁷⁹;
- al-Rabī' (b. Sulaymān al-Murādī, d. Old Cairo, 270/884)⁸⁰;
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. bint al-Șāfi'i (d. 295/907-908?)⁸¹.

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

By contrast, here are the Șāfi'i jurisprudents most often cited in al-Nawawī (d. Nawā, 676/1277), *al-Mağmū'* 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-Șāfi'i;
- Abū Iṣhāq al-Širāzī;
- Imām al-Haramayn (Khurasani, d. 478/1085)⁸²;
- al-Māwardī⁸³;
- al-Baġawī (d. Marwī Rūd, 510/1117?)⁸⁴;
- Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī;

72. Māwardī, *Ḥāwī*.

73. GAS 1, p. 484-90; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 14 (201-210 H.), p. 304-342, with further references.

74. Kahhāla, *Mu'ğam* 3, p. 220; 12, p. 381; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 25 (331-350 H.), p. 326-327, with further references.

75. Kahhāla, *Mu'ğam* 1, p. 3-4; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 25 (331-350 H.), p. 187-188, with further references.

76. GAS 1, p. 495; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 23 (301-320 H.), p. 177-180, with further references.

77. GAS 1, p. 492-3; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 20 (261-280 H.), p. 65-68, with further references.

78. Kahhāla, *Mu'ğam* 3, p. 204; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 24 (321-330 H.), p. 226-227, with further references.

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

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

81. GAS 1, p. 494; Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 2, p. 186.

82. GAL 1, p. 486-488 (388-389); S 1, p. 671-673; Dahabī, *Tārīkh* 32 (471-480 H.), p. 229-239, with further references.

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

84. GAL 1, p. 447-449 (363-364); S 1, p. 620-622; Dahabī, *Siyar* 19, p. 439-443, with further references.

- Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī (d. Baghdad, 406/1016)⁸⁵;
- al-‘Imrānī (d. Yemen, 558/1163)⁸⁶;
- al-Bandānīğī (d. Bandānīğīn, 425/1034)⁸⁷;
- Ibn al-Şabbāğ;
- al-Qādī Ḥusayn (d. Marv-i Rūd, 462/1069)⁸⁸;
- al-Mahāmīlī (Baghdadi, 407/1016)⁸⁹;
- al-Ġazālī (d. Ṭabarān, 505/1111)⁹⁰;
- al-Rūyānī (d. Āmul, 502/1108).⁹¹

These are the fourteen Šāfi‘ī jurisprudents named more than ten times in the sample. Apart from al-Šāfi‘ī himself, they comprise seven Baghdadis, four Khurasanis and Transoxanians, and one Yemeni. The series of provincials begins before the later 11th century (Bandānīğī actually spent most of his professional life in Baghdad, where he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī, but neither al-Qādī 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 Niżāmīya *madrasa*⁹³: endowed scholarships had little to do with his renown. Still, although all of these Šāfi‘ī authorities who came after Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī and Ibn al-Şabbāğ started and ended their careers in the provinces, not Baghdad, ‘Imrānī was taught by someone who studied under Abū Ishāq at the Baghdad Niżāmīya, Ġazālī taught at the Baghdad Niżāmīya, while Rūyānī taught at the Niżāmīya of Tabaristan. Rūyānī is most famous for his book *al-Baḥr*, which Subkī tells us is heavily dependent on Māwardī’s book *al-Hāwī*, 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 Šāfi‘ī 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‘ī school from the later eleventh century without explaining all developments.

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

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

87. Kaħħala, *Mu’ġam* 3, p. 238; .DataVisualization, *Tārīh* 29 (421-440 H.), p. 153, with further references.

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

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

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

91. GAL 1, p. 488 (390); S 1, p. 673; .DataVisualization, *Tārīh* 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, *Tabaqāt* 5, p. 175-6, quoting ‘Abd al-Ġāfir al-Fārisī, *al-Siyāq li-Tārīh Naysābūr*, a passage missing from the extant abridgement, al-Šayrafīnī, *Muntakhab*, p. 330-331.

94. Subkī, *Tabaqāt* 7, p. 195.

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 *Taḡrīd* 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 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 order⁹⁶:

- 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-Ǧaṣṣāṣ) al-Rāzī (d. Baghdad, 370/981);
- Ibn Šuḡā’ (al-Ṭalḡī, Baghdadi, d. 266/880?);
- Zufar (Basran, d. 158/774-775);
- Ibn Samā’ā (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-‘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-Sarāḥī (Transoxanian, d. ca. 483/1090)⁹⁷;
- al-Utrārī (al-Itqānī, d. Cairo, 758/1357)⁹⁸;
- Ṭahāwī;
- al-Qudūrī⁹⁹;
- al-Isbīḡābī (Transoxanian, d. 480/1087-1088?)¹⁰⁰;
- Qādī Ḥān (Transoxanian, d. 592/1196?)¹⁰¹;

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

96. Qudūrī, *Taḡrīd*.

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; Kahhāla, *Mu’ğam* 3, p. 4.

99. Makdīsī, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, p. 168-170; Dahabī, *Tārīh* 29 (421-440 H.), p. 211-213 with further references.

100. Kahhāla, *Mu’ğam* 2, p. 183; Dahabī, *Tārīh* 33 (481-490 H.), p. 353-354 with further references.

101. GAL 1, p. 465 (376); S 1, p. 643-644; Dahabī, *Siyar* 21, p. 231-232, with further references.

- al-Margīnānī (d. Marġīnān, 593/1197)¹⁰²;
- Ibn Māza (Transoxanian, d. 616/1219-1220)¹⁰³;
- Tāğ al-Šarī'a (al-Maḥbūbī, Transoxanian, d. 747/1346-1347?)¹⁰⁴;
- Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābārtī (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 Sarahsī'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, Naġm al-Dīn 'Umar 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 Šāfi'i who was taught by whom. I have not been able to trace the teachers of the Transoxanians Ibn Māza, Qādī Hān, and Tāğ al-Šarī'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 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 Ishāq and Ibn al-Şabbāğ clashed most visibly over who would teach at the Baghdad Niżāmīya. Abū Ishāq was probably immune to personal bribery, and nothing indicates that Ibn al-Şabbāğ 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 Niżāmīya and whoever taught there. The lists of Ibn al-Şabbāğ and Abū Ishāq'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 Niżāmīya was the teaching of Šāfi'i law. In large part, it was precisely because the Niżāmīya was so effective as an institution of Islamic learning that it was also effective in attracting otherwise incorruptible 'ulamā' to Niżāmulmulk and the sultan's regime.

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

103. Mahmūd 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; Kāḥhāla, *Mu'ğam* 6, p. 246.

105. GAL 2, p. 97 (80-81); S 2, p. 89-90; Kāḥhāla, *Mu'ğam* 11, p. 298.

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

Appendix I

The Students of Ibn al-Şabbāğ

1. Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Bağdādī (d. Baghdad, 463/1071), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ṭābit. *Şāhib*.

V. *Ibn ‘Aqīl*, 419, for references.

2. Abū al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Sam’ānī (d. Marv, 489/1096), Maṇṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ğabbār. Came from an old Hanafi family of Marv but transferred to the Šāfi‘i school shortly before (Ibn Kaṭīr, 12:153) or after (Ibn al-Ğawzī, 9:102 17:37) hearing Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Şabbāğ in Baghdad. V. *Subkī*, 5:335-46.

3. Abū Ḥālib Ibn al-Şabbāğ (d. Baghdad, 492/1099), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid. V. *Subkī*, 4:192.

4. Abū Maṇṣūr Ibn al-Şabbāğ (d. Baghdad, 494/1100), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid. *Şāhib*. Also studied law under Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī. V. *Subkī*, 4:85.

5. Abū Naṣr al-Raba‘ī (d. Baghdad, 507/1113), al-Mu’taman b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. *Zāhid*, traditionist. Wrote down *al-Şāmil* in his hand. Also studied under Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī. V. *Subkī*, 7:308-9.

6. Abū Bakr al-Şāšī (d. Baghdad, 507/1114), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘il. Was *mu‘id* (repetitor) for Abū Iṣhāq, with whom he travelled to Khurasan, then went to study under Ibn al-Şabbāğ. He projected a twenty-volume commentary on Ibn al-Şabbāğ, *al-Şāmil* 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 Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī. V. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl*.

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

9. Ibn al-‘Ammūra (d. Baghdad, 517/1123), Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥayr b. Muḥammad. Came from Qayrawan, also studied under Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī. V. *Subkī*, 7:148.

10. Ibn al-Ruṭabī (d. Baghdad, 527/1133), al-Qādī Aḥmad b. Salāma b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. *Şāhib*. Appointed *muhtasib*, judge. Also pursued advanced studies under Abū Iṣhāq 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 Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī. Taught according to Ibn al-Şabbāğ, *al-Şāmil*. V. *Subkī*, 7:57-60.

Appendix II

The Students of Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī¹⁰⁷

1. Abū al-Hasan al-Bağdādī (d. Mecca, 447/1055-1056), Rāfi' b. Naṣr. *Faqīh*, *zāhid*, and *mutakallim*. Studied *uṣūl* under Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. May have studied *fiqh* under Abū Hāmid al-Isfarāyīnī as well as Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī. 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-Tayyib al-Tabarī and then Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī until his death at almost 80. V. Subkī, 5:70; Ibn Hağar, *Tabṣīr* 2:756.
3. Al-Zanğānī (d. Baghdad, 473/1080), Yūsuf b. al-Hasan. From Zanğān, Jibal. *Tilmīd*. V. Subkī, 5:361fn, quoting from *al-Tabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*.
4. Abū Ḥakīm al-Habrī (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-Ǧawzī, Ibn Kaṭīr, and *Nuğūm*.
5. Abū al-Abbās al-Ǧurğānī (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 Sa'd al-Daskarī (d. 486/1093), 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad b. al-Hasan (Huṣayn, Huṣayn). Stories told of his wealth. V. Subkī, 5:224.
7. Abū Šuğā' (d. Medina, 488/1093), al-Wazīr Ẓāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. Muḥammad. Father was vizier for al-Qā'im, 460-1/1067-1068. Succeeded 'Amīd al-Dawla b. Ǧahīr in 476/1083. Deposed 484/1092? at behest of Maliksāh. V. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:90-94 17:22-27; Ibn Ḥallikān, 5:134; Subkī, 4:136-140.
8. Ibn Muḥallad (d. Bandanīğayn, 488/1095), Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh b. Salama. Later *qāḍī* for Ǧarhrābād & Bandanīğayn. V. Asnawī, 2:586; Subkī, 5:232-233.
9. Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Sam'ānī (d. Marv, 489/1096), Maṇṣūr b. Muḥammad. V. Appendix I, no. 2.
10. Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Maqdīsī (d. Damascus, 490/1096), Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm. Subkī quotes someone as saying he found the *ṭarīqa* of Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī better than that of Imām al-Haramayn, but then, on moving to Syria, the *ṭarīqa* of Abū Faṭḥ better than that of Abū Ishāq. V. Subkī, 5:351-353.
11. Abū Ḡanā'īm al-Fāriqī (d. Diyarbakr, 492/1099), Muḥammad b. al-Faraḡ. *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-Hasan. Died of plague. V. Subkī, 4:303fn, quoting *al-Tabaqāt 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-Širāzī'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-‘Abdarī (d. Baghdad, 493/1100), ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd. Former student of Ibn Ḥazm’s. Migrated from Majorca to Baghdad, where he became a Ṣāfi‘i. Studied under Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī, then Abū Bakr al-Šāšī. V. Subkī, 5:257.

14. Abū Manṣūr al-Šīrāzī (d. Baghdad, 493/1100), Aḥmad b. ‘Abd 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-Mahāmilī (d. 493/1100), ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. V. Subkī, 5:266.

16. Abū al-Faḍā’il al-Mawsilī (d. Baghdad, 494/1100), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd 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 *qādī* al-Ḥusayn in Marv-i-Rūd, and Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Abīwardī in Bukhara before going to Baghdad. V. Subkī, 5:115.

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

19. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (d. Mecca, 498/1104-1105?), al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. I have found no source giving Abū ‘Abd Allāh’s name as ‘Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan’, as it appears in the list of Talas (58). Among the *ashāb* who accompanied Abū Iṣhāq to Khurāsān. Wrote *al-‘Uddā*, a commentary on the *Ibāna* of al-Fūrānī (d. 461/1069), to which his predecessor at the Niżāmīya, al-Mutawallī, had written a completion. Taught at the Niżāmīya 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 ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Šīrāzī (d. 500/1106; v. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 9:53). When Ġazālī left in 489, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī was reinstated. It is unclear how long he remained at the Niżāmīya. Subkī, quoting Ibn al-Naġġār, places his death at 20 Šābān 495/499 June 1102 in Isfahan (Subkī, 4:351fn, quoting *al-Tabaqāt al-wusṭā*). However, Ǧahabī (*Ibar* 3:350), Ibn al-‘Imād (3:408), & al., place his death at 20 Šābān 498/497 May 1105 in Mecca, where he stirred up trouble between the Ahāriya and their opponents (called here *ahl al-sunna*, even by Yāfi‘ī, 3:161, as he quotes Ǧahabī). Our earliest Yemeni source, Ibn Samura, mentions a falling out between Abū ‘Abd Allāh and Abū Naṣr al-Bandanīğī, another former student of Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī’s, perhaps a split along rationalist-traditionalist lines. Ibn Samura thought Abū ‘Abd Allāh died at the beginning of 500/September 1106.

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

21. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Šāriqī (d. Eastern Andalus, ca. 500/1106-1107), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān. V. al-Subkī, 6:57-58. (Transient.)

22. Abū ‘Amr al-Darbandī (d. Baghdad, after 500/1106), ‘Uṭmān b. al-Musaddad b. Aḥmad. V. Subkī, 7:210.

23. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ṭibī (d. Tib, Iraq, after 500/1106), al-Qādī Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad. V. Subkī, 6:28.

24. Al-Bawāzīğī (d. al-Bawāzīğ, Iraq, after 501/1107), al-Qādī Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. V. Subkī, 7:304.

25. Abū al-Faḍl al-Anbārī (d. Basra, 503/1110), al-Qādī Muḥammad b. Qanān. *Tilmīd* of Abū Iṣhāq'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-Uṣnuhī (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. Samānī, ff. 73v., 74r. Subkī says that he died after 550/1155 (7:294).

29. Abū Naṣr 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-Šāšī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl. V. Appendix I, no. 6.

33. Al-Nahāwāndī (d. Nahavand, 509/1115-1116), Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. *Qādī* 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 Iṣhāq al-Širāzī.

36. ‘Alī b. Ḥaskawayh (d. Marv, 516/1122). The *tilmīd* who listened to Abū Iṣhāq's reciting poetry about reciting in the mud. V. Samānī, f. 519r; Subkī, 4:223.

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

38. Al-Ǧallāb (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*, *ḥilaf*, and *uṣūl* with Abū Iṣhāq al-Širāzī. *Muhtasib*. 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-Ǧawzī, 10:8 17:247; Subkī, 6:97-98.

42. Al-Ḥuwayyī (d. Adharbayjan, 521/1127-1128), al-Faraḡ b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. Studied under Abū Iṣhāq al-Širāzī and al-Mutawallī. V. Subkī, 7:257. (Transient.)

43. Abū Sa’d al-Burūgirdī (was alive after 521/1127), ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Judge. V. Subkī, 7:146.

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

45. Ḥaṭīb al-Mawṣil (d. Mosul, 525/1131), Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qāhir. V. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 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-Muḥaddab* and *Masa'īl al-hilāf* under Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī in Baghdad. Wrote *al-Iṛṣād* on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Travelling merchant. Lost his fortune at Zabid 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'īd al-Ṭabarī (d. Gurgan, after 525/1132), 'Abd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī Bakr. V. Subkī, 7:145.

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

49. Ibn al-Ruṭabī (d. Baghdad, 527/1133), al-Qādī Abū al-Abbās Aḥmad b. Salāma b. 'Ubayd Allāh. Studied law under both Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg. Accompanied Abū Iṣhāq to Khurasan. Studied later under Abū Bakr al-Šāšī and at the Isfahan Niẓāmīya under Abū Bakr al-Ḥuḡandī (d. 482/1089-1090). Began as an ascetic but later advanced in the caliph's favour, became *muhtasib*, judge for Nahr al-Mu'allā and Ḥarīm al-Ζāhirī. 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 Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī and Ibn al-Šabbāg. From Mayyafariqin. Went with Abū Iṣhāq to Khurasan. Taught one day from *al-Šāmil*, one day from *al-Muḥaddab*, of which he published extracts. "The last of the *ashāb* of Abū Iṣhāq 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-Muẓaffar al-Burūğirdī (d. on the road to Iraq, 528/1133-1134), Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. *Qādī* in Mecca. V. Subkī, 7:114. (Emigrant.)

52. Al-Qādī al-Wāsiṭī (d. Wasit, 530/1136), Abū Ṭā'lab Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. Accompanied Abū Iṣhāq al-Šīrāzī to Khurasan. V. Subkī, 6:491. (Transient.)

53. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. Ḥwārazm, 530 or '31/c. 1136), 'Abd al-Rahmān 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; *Keşf*, col. 1129, s.n. *al-'Uddā*.

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

55. Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Burūğirdī (d. Burūğird, 534/1139), al-Qādī Ǧabīb b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh. Came to Baghdad after 470/1077. Judge in Burūğird. V. Subkī, 7:101-102. (Transient.)

56. Ibn Wahara al-Hamadānī (d. Herat, 535/1140), Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ayyūb b. Yūsuf. Studied *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *al-maḏhab*, and *hīlāf* under Abū Iṣhāq. V. Ibn al-Ǧawzī, 10:94 18:14-15.

57. Abū Mansūr al-Šahrazūrī (d. c. 536/1141-1142), al-Qādī Muẓaffar b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muẓaffar. Judge at Singar, but returned to Baghdad 534. V. Sam'ānī, 34iv.; *Nākt*, 293; Subkī, 7:301. (Transient.)

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

59. Qādī al-Ḥāfiqayn (d. Baghdad, Ǧumādā 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 (*ṣāḥid*). V. Subkī, 6:48.

61. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Šāšī (d. 550/1155-1156), ‘Umar 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-Qādī Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf. Judge for Dayr al-‘Aqūl in his youth, later witness notary. V. Subkī, 7:165-166. (Baghdadi.)

Subkī names twelve *aṣḥāb* who accompanied Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī 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-Qādī al-Mayāniğī (d. Hamadhan?), Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan. Judge for Hamadhan. His son studied under Ḥazālī, &al., and was put to death for some poetry he had written in 525/1130-1131. V. Sam‘ānī, 547r., v.; Ṣafadī, 17:541; Subkī, 6:151-152.

64. Ibn Bayān.

65. Abū Mu‘ād.

66. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Šāhpurḥwāstī.

67. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Āmīdī.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Abū Ishāq al-Širāzī, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī, *Al-Luma‘*, edited by Eric Chaumont, *Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph* 53, 1993-94, p. 1-249.

—, *Kitāb al-Luma‘ fī uṣūl al-fiqh. Le livre des rais illuminant les fondements de la compréhension de la Loi. Traité de théorie légale musulmane*, traduit par Éric Chaumont, Studies in comparative Legal History, Robbins Collection, Berkeley, 1999.

—, *Tabaqāt al-fuqahā‘*, edited by Iḥsān ‘Abbās, Dār al-Rā‘id al-‘Arabī, Beirut, 1970.

Al-Asnawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan, *Tabaqāt al-ṣāfi‘īya*, edited by ‘Abd Allāh al-Ǧabbūrī, Dīwān al-Awqāf, Baghdad, 1391/1971, 2 vols.

Al-Dahabī, *Al-‘Ibar fī ḥabar man ḡabar*, edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munağğid and Fu‘ād Sayyid, Dā’irat al-Maṭbū‘āt wa-al-Naṣr, Kuwait, 1960-, 3 vols.

—, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā‘*, edited by Ṣu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūṭ &al., Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, Beirut, 1401-9/1981-8, 25 vols.

—, *Tārīḥ al-islām*, edited by ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmuri, Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, Beirut, 1407-21/1987-2000, 52 vols.

Al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ Baġdād*, Maktabat al-Ḥāngī, Cairo, 1349/1931, 14 vols.; repr. Maktabat al-Ḥāngī and Dār al-Fikr, Cairo and Beirut, n.d. Also *Tārīḥ madīnat al-salām*, edited by Baṣṣār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf, Dār al-Ġarb

al-*Islāmī*, Beirut, 1422/2001, 17 vols. References to the latter edition in *italic*.

Ibn Abī al-Wafā', *Al-Ǧawāhir al-muḍīya fi tabaqāt al-ḥanafiyā*, edited by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, Cairo, 1398-1408/1978-88, 5 vols. Reprinted Giza: Haḡr, 1413/1993.

Ibn al-Āṭir, *Izz al-Dīn, Al-Kāmil fi al-tārīḥ*, edited by C. J. Tornberg, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1851-76, 12 vols. Repr. Dār Sādir, Beirut, 1965-7, 13 vols.

Ibn al-Ğawzī, Abū al-Faraḡ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī, *Al-Muntaẓam fi tārīḥ al-mulūk wa-al-umam*, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, Hyderabad, 1357-1360, 6 vols. Also edited by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, with Nu'aym Zurzūr, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1412/1992, 18 vols. References to the latter edition in *italic*.

Ibn al-'Imād, *Šaḍarāt al-ḏahab*, Maktabat al-Qudsī, Cairo, 1350-1351, 8 vols.

Ibn al-Qaysarānī, Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, *Kitāb al-samā'*, edited by Abū al-Wafā' Muṣṭafā al-Marāḡī, n.p., Cairo, 1970.

Ibn 'Asākir, Thiqat al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, *Tabyīn kadīb al-muftari fīmā nusiba ilā al-imām Abī al-Ḥasan al-Āṣ'arī*, al-Qudsī, Damascus, 1347.

—, *Tārīḥ madīnat Dīmaṣq wa-dikr fadlīhā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallabā min al-amā'il aw iḡtāza bi-nawāḥīhā min wāridīhā wa-ablīhā*, edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaḡid, Damascus, 1371/1957.

Ibn Ḥaḡār, Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥaḡār al-'Asqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-muntabib bi-taḥrīr al-Muṣtabib*, edited by 'Alī Muḥammad al-Biḡāwī, revised by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Naḡgār, Turāthunā, al-Dār al-Miṣrīya lil-Ta'lif wa-al-Tarḡama, Cairo, 1964-7, 4 vols. Repr. al-Maktaba al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, n.d.

Ibn Ḥallikān, Šams al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās, Dār al-Taqāfa, Beirut, 1968-1971, 1973, 7 vols. + index..

Ibn Katīr, Ismā'īl b. 'Umar, *Al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya fi al-tārīḥ*, Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, Cairo, 1932-1939, 14 vols.

Ibn Qayyim al-Ğawziyya, Šams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb, *Badā'ī al-fawā'id*, al-Maṭba'a al-Munīriyya, Cairo, n.d.

Ibn Samura, 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Ğa'di, *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*, edited by Fu'ād Sayyid, Maṭba'at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, Cairo, 1957.

Kātib Çelebī, *Keşf al-zunun*, edited by Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Rıfat Bilge, Maarif Matbaası, Istanbul, 1941, 1943, 2 vols. (*Keşf al-zunun*.)

Al-Māwardī, *Al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, edited by Maḥmūd Maṭrağī & al., Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 1414/1994, 24 vols.

Al-Nabhbānī, Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl, *Ğāmī' karāmāt al-awliyā'*, edited by Ibrāhīm 'Atwa 'Iwād, n.p., Cairo, 1381/1962, 2 vols.

Al-Nawawī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā b. Ṣaraf b. Mūrī, *Al-Maġmū'*, Edited by Zakariyyā 'Alī Yūsuf, Maṭba'at al-'Āshima (1, 7, 9, 11), Maṭba'at al-Imām (2-6, 8, 10, 12-18), Cairo, 1966 (-69), 18 vols. Vols. 1-9 by Nawawī.

—, *Tahdīb al-asmā' wa-al-luġāt*, Idārat al-Ṭibā'a al-Munīriyya, Cairo, 1927, 2 vols. in 3.

Nizāmulmulk, *Siyāsatnāma (siyar al-mulūk)*, edited by Ğa'far Šī'ār, n.p., Tehran, 1969. Also translated by Darke, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, 2nd edition, Routledge and Keegan Paul, London, 1978.

Al-Qudūrī, *Al-Taġrīd*, edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Sirāḡ and 'Alī Ğum'a Muḥammad, Dār al-Salām, Cairo, 1425/2004, 12 vols.

Al-Şafadī, Ḥalil b. Aybak, *Das biographische Lexicon*, edited by Helmut Ritter & al. Bibliotheca Islamica 6, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1931-2008. (*Al-Wāfi bi-al-wafayāt*.)

Al-Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad, *The Kitāb al-Ansāb*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series 20, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1912.

Al-Şayrafīnī, *Al-Muntaṭabab min K. al-Siyāq li-Tārīḥ Naysābūr*, edited by Ḥalid Haydar, Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 1993/1414.

Al-Subki, Tāḡ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣāfiyya al-kubrā*, edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw, 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, 1964-1976, 10 vols.

Al-Yāfi'i, 'Afīf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad, *Mir'at al-ğanān wa-'ibrat al-yaqzān*, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Niżāmiyya, Hyderabad, 1337-1339, 4 vols.

Reference Works

Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd edition, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1943-9, 2 vols.
I cite the second edition, with the marginal pagination (referring to the first edition) in parentheses.
—, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplement, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1937-42, 3 vols.

Kahhāla, 'Umar Ridā, *Mu'ğam al-mu'allifin*, al-Maktaba al-'Arabiya, Damascus, 1376-1381/1957-1961, 15 vols.
Le Strange, Guy, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1905.

Secondary Sources

Ephrat, Daphna, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: the Sunni 'Ulama' of Eleventh-century Baghdad*, SUNY series in Medieval Middle East history, State Univ. of New York Press, Albany, 2000.
—, "Madhab and Madrasa in Eleventh-Century Baghdad", in Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (ed.), *The Islamic School of Law*, Harvard Series in Islamic law 2, Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass., 2005, p. 77-93
Halm, Heinz, "Die Anfänge der Madrasa", *ZDMG Supplement III*, 1: XIX, deutscher Orientalistentag, edited by Wolfgang Voigt, Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 438-448.
Haytū, Muhammed Ḥasan, *Al-Imām al-Širāzī: bayātuh wa-ārā'uh al-uṣūliyya*, Dār al-Fikr, Damascus, 1400/1980.
Lewinstein, Keith, "Notes on Eastern Hanafite Heresiography", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, 1994, p. 583-598.

Makdisi, George, "Ash'arī and the Ash'arites in Islamic Religious History", *Studia Islamica* 17, 1962, p. 37-80, and 18, 1963, p. 19-39.
—, *Ibn 'Aqil et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au xi^e siècle (v^e siècle de l'hégire)*, Institut français de Damas, Damascus, 1963.
—, "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, 1961, p. 1-56.
—, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1981.
—, "The Topography of Eleventh-Century Baghdad: Materials and Notes", *Arabica* 6, 1959, p. 178-197, 281-309.
Melchert, Christopher, 'Rivals in Eleventh-Century Baghdad: Abū Ishāq ash-Shirāzī and Ibn as-Şabbāgh', unpublished seminar paper, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1985.
Talas, Asad, *La Madrasah Nizāmiyya et son histoire*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1939.