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AUTOGRAPH DIARY OF AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY HISTORIAN OF BAGHDĀD—I

By GEORGE MAKDISI

(PLATES I-III)

THE Arabic manuscript which forms a part of *Majmūʿ* No. 17, preserved in the Zāhiriya Library in Damascus, is the only fragment extant of a diary kept during the fifth/eleventh century by a contemporary historian of Baghdād, Abū ʿAlī b. al-Bannāʾ al-Ḥanbalī. An edition and translation of this fragment (hereafter referred to as the *Diary*) are given here for the first time. It covers in some detail a period of slightly more than one year, from A.H. 460 to A.H. 461 (corresponding to A.D. 1068-69), in the socio-religious history of Baghdād. The following pages will be devoted to a biographical sketch of the author, a list of his works, and a description of the present manuscript of his *Diary*, written by his own hand.¹

THE AUTHOR

His Birth and his Family.—Abū ʿAlī b. al-Bannāʾ² was born in 396/1005, and he appears to have lived all his life in Baghdād. The available biographical notices offer no information on his family origins, nor on his having made

¹ I am happy to have this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professors Louis Massignon and Henri Laoust for the encouragement and advice I received from them with regard to this study ; to Mr. ʿUmar Kaḥḥālī, Director of the Zāhiriya Library, and Mr. Khānjī, Secretary of the Arab Academy, for the facilities granted to me ; to Messrs. Henri Laoust and Nikita Elisséeff for the use of the facilities at the Institut Français de Damas ; to the U.S. Cultural Center in Damascus and their photographer, Mr. Joseph Fehdeh, for microfilming facilities. I gratefully acknowledge a grant in aid of this work from the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C. My thanks are also particularly due to the Editorial Board of the *BSOAS* for accepting this study, especially the Arabic text, for publication, and to Dr. D. S. Rice for his generous help in reading and correcting the proofs.

² His full name is Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Bannāʾ al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanbalī. Numerous biographical notices have been devoted to him, the most complete of which is that by Ibn Rajab in his *Dhail ʿalā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, I (ed. Henri Laoust—Sāmī Dahhān, 1951), 41-7. The other biographical notices used are as follows : Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila* (ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo, 1952), II, 243-4 ; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Al-muntaẓam fī tārikh al-mulūk waʾl-umam* (Ḥaidarābād, 1357/1938 ff.), VIII, 319-20 ; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (ed. M. Amīn al-Khānjī, Cairo, 1349/1930), 523 ; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb ilā maʾrifat al-adīb* (Cairo, 1936-8), VII, 265-70 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī ʿt-tārikh* (Cairo, 1348/1929 ff.), VIII, 127 (*anno* 471) ; Qiftī, *Inbāḥ ar-ruwāḥ ʿalā anbāḥ an-nuḥāḥ* (ed. M. Abūʾl-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1952), 256 ; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz* (Ḥaidarābād, 1315/1897), III, 348 ; Dhahabī, *Duwal al-islām* (Ḥaidarābād, 1337/1918), II, 4 ; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-janān wa-ʾibrat al-yaqẓān* (Ḥaidarābād, 1338/1919), III, 100 ; Nābulusī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila* (ed. Aḥmad ʿUbaid, Damascus, 1930), 397 ; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Kitāb ghāyat an-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ* (ed. Bergsträsser-Pretzl, Leipzig-Cairo, 1933-7), I, 206 (notice that Ibn al-Jazarī designates the notice of Ibn al-Bannāʾ by the letter ʿain, which means that the latter was also treated in all the important works mentioned by Ibn al-Jazarī in the introduction) ; ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān* (Ḥaidarābād, 1329/1911 ff.), II, 195-6 ; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʾāḥ fī ṭabaqāt an-nahwīyīn waʾn-nuḥāḥ* (Cairo, 1326/1908), 216 ; ʿUlaimī, *Al-manhaj al-aḥmad fī tarājīm al-Imām Aḥmad*, MS. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Tārikh 838 (Taimūr), 197 ; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt adh-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (Cairo, 1350/1931 ff.), III, 338-9.

significant travels or lived away from Baghdād. He is known to have been the son-in-law of the Ḥanbalite al-Qarmīsīnī (d. 460/1067), whose daughter is specifically mentioned as the mother of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad. Abū Naṣr was the eldest of three known sons of Ibn al-Bannā'; the other two were Abū Ghālib Aḥmad and Abū 'Abd Allāh Yaḥyā.¹

His Teachers.—Ibn al-Bannā' studied under the direction of some of the great masters of the period in Baghdād. Those listed as his teachers of Qur'ānic science and traditions were also among the teachers of the renowned historian of Baghdād, Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb. The latter devotes biographical notices to each of them and speaks very highly of their trustworthiness as traditionalists. A list of them follows.

Abū'l-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥammāmī (328–417) was the eminent scholar of his day in Qur'ānic science, according to al-Khaṭīb's testimony. Under his direction, Ibn al-Bannā' studied the variant readings of the Seven canonical systems.² It is of him that a traditionalist of note, Ibn Abī'l-Fawāris (see below), said that if one were to travel all the way from Khurāsān in order to hear him, the trip would not have been in vain. He lived on the east side of Baghdād.³

Hilāl al-Ḥaffār (322–414), renowned traditionalist and teacher, also lived on the east side of Baghdād.⁴

Ibn Rizqawaih (325–412) taught traditions in Jāmi' al-Manṣūr for about 30 years, from 380/990 to some time just before his death. He became almost totally blind towards the end of his life. He taught, at one time, Shāfi'ite *fiqh*, and was the first *ḥadīth* teacher of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī who, later in life, changed from Ḥanbalism to Shāfi'ism.⁵

Abū'l-Faṭḥ b. Abī'l-Fawāris (338–412) lived on the east side of Baghdād and dictated traditions in Jāmi' ar-Ruṣāfa. He travelled to Baṣra, Fārs, Khurāsān and Iṣfahān in search of traditions which he collected extensively.⁶

Abū'l-Ḥusain b. Bishrān (328–415) of Baghdād.⁷

His younger brother Abū'l-Qāsim b. Bishrān (339–430), also of Baghdād.⁸

Abū 'Alī b. Shihāb al-'Ukbarī (335–428), was a resident of 'Ukbarā where he was born and where he died. His broad interests may have later influenced those of Ibn al-Bannā'. Al-'Ukbarī was versed in Qur'ānic science, *ḥadīth*; in poetry, letter-writing and grammar. He gave extensive *fatwā's*, wrote on *fiqh*, and on the law of inheritance (*farā'id*). Ibn Abī Ya'lā gives a sample of his poetry wherein he opposes the building of a Christian church. In evidence of his orthodoxy, it is said of him that he allowed a brother to live in his house for a period of 20 years, during which time he refused to speak to him; the reason being that his brother had Rāfiḍite tendencies. 'Ukbarī was known for his calligraphy, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī relates a story which reports

¹ Inasmuch as his three sons studied under his direction, more will be said about them in treating of his students, below. For his father-in-law, see the brief notice in *Dhail*, I, 10.

² cf. Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the Qur'ān*, I and n. 4.

³ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, XI, 329–30; cf. *Diary*, No. 162, n. 5.

⁴ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 75.

⁵ *ibid.*, I, 351–2. ⁶ *ibid.*, I, 352–3. ⁷ *ibid.*, XII, 98–9. ⁸ *ibid.*, X, 432–3; *Muntazam*, VIII, 102.

him as affirming that he had gained 25,000 Rāḍī dirhems as a copyist (*fī 'l-wirāqa*). He would buy sheets of paper for five dirhems and copy the *dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī on it in three nights, then sell it for 200 dirhems or, at the least, 150 dirhems; and he did the same thing with books on *adab*-literature which were in demand. 'Ukbarī left a sizable amount of wealth at his death, and a will in which he specified that one-third of it was to go to the Ḥanbalites. The Caliph is reported to have taken what amounted to 1,000 dīnārs, plus what he left in real estate; the Ḥanbalites, however, are said not to have received any part of their appointed share.¹

Another of Ibn al-Bannā's teachers of traditions was Abū'l-Faḍl at-Tamīm, (342-410) who had a study circle in Jāmi' al-Manṣūr for *wa'z* and *fatwā*, and the dictation of traditions.²

The teachers who have been named so far are listed by Ibn Rajab as having been Ibn Bannā's teachers in *ḥadīth*. As for his teachers in *fiqh*, his first was Abū Ṭāhir b. al-Ghubārī (352-432), a close friend of the famed Shāfi'ite jurisconsult of the day, Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 476), who takes pride in affirming this friendship.³ He had two study circles, one in Jāmi' al-Manṣūr and the other in Jāmi' al-Khalīfa.⁴

After starting his studies in *fiqh* with Ibn al-Ghubārī, Ibn al-Bannā' became one of the early disciples of Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā b. al-Farrā' al-Ḥanbalī (380-458).⁵ Abū Ya'lā was one of the most capable teachers and prolific authors of the Ḥanbalite school, attracting to his study circles a great number of students early in his career and until he died at 78 years of age. His influence on Ibn al-Bannā' was mainly in the fields of *fiqh* and theology.

Three other Ḥanbalite jurisconsults contributed to Ibn al-Bannā's education in *fiqh*. Qāḍī Abū 'Alī b. Abī Mūsā al-Hāshimī (345-428), highly regarded by the Caliphs al-Qādir (381-422) and al-Qā'im (422-467), taught at Jāmi' al-Manṣūr and wrote several works on Ḥanbalism, among which were *Al-irshād* and *Sharḥ al-Khiraqī*.⁶ Both al-Baghdādī and Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī were his students and speak very highly of him.⁷ The Ḥanbalite jurisconsult Abū'l-Faḍl at-Tamīmī, who has already been identified among Ibn al-Bannā's teachers of *ḥadīth*, and his younger brother Abū'l-Faraj at-Tamīmī (353-425), contributed likewise to the juridical training of Ibn al-Bannā'. Abū'l-Faraj

¹ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 329-30; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 186-8; listed in Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'* (Baghdād, 1356/1937), 147, as Abū Shihāb 'Alī b. Shihāb al-'Ukbarī.

² *Tārīkh Baghdād*, XI, 14-15; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 179.

³ Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 147, where a brief biographical notice is given of al-Ghubārī.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 188.

⁵ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, II, 256; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 193-230; *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 243-4.

⁶ See Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taimīya*, 13, n. 3; the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraqī was considered at this time as one of the most important books on Ḥanbalite *fiqh*, and several commentaries were written on it. By the time of Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), the number of these commentaries had risen, according to the latter, to 300.

⁷ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, I, 354; Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, 147; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 182.

succeeded to the position of his brother at Jāmi‘ al-Manṣūr where he gave sermons and legal decisions.¹

His Interests.—The interests of Ibn al-Bannā’ were varied, and went beyond the basic fields primarily represented by the teachers just mentioned; namely, Qur’ānic science, traditions, *fiqh* and theology. Among his other interests were history and biography, sermon-writing, philology, pedagogy, and the science of dream-interpretation. This broad and active interest on his part is attested by the variety of his biographers, by their statements, and by the list of his known works.

In theology he appears to have had Shāfi‘ite tendencies. Two things point in this direction; an insistence upon those theological doctrines held in common by Ḥanbalites and Shāfi‘ites alike, in order to minimize the differences between these two Schools; and the report that early in his career, Ibn al-Bannā’ had written a work on theology which gained the approving signature of his master Abū Ya‘lā.² The latter, as has already been pointed out by Henri Laoust,³ had Shāfi‘ite tendencies in his theology. In *fiqh*, Ibn al-Bannā’ differed from other Ḥanbalites on certain points, examples of which are given by Ibn Rajab⁴ and in particular one case in which Ibn al-Bannā’ differs from the opinion of his teacher Abū Ya‘lā.

Ibn Shāfi‘⁵ affirms that Ibn al-Bannā’ wrote the prefaces of his books in rhythmic prose, following the method of Abū’l-Ḥusain b. al-Munādī.⁶ As

¹ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ix, 32; *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’*, 147; *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 182. Two more names are found among Ibn al-Bannā’’s teachers; they are given by Ibn Abī Ya‘lā (*Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 243): Abū’l-Qāsim al-Ghūrī and Abū Muḥammad as-Sukkārī. The first of these two is somewhat suspect. To begin with, he is not mentioned by Ibn Rajab (cf. *Dhail*, i, 42). Ibn Abī Ya‘lā (op. cit., ii, 253) devotes one line to him, in which he gives no date of birth or death, nor any additions to the brief name. Ibn al-Bannā’ himself refers to an ‘Abū’l-Qāsim b. al-Ghūrī’ in his *Diary* (No. 87, 1) as one of his informants. Yāqūt (in *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, iii, 823) lists an Abū’l-Qāsim Fāris b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Isā al-Ghūrī, of Baghdād, who died in 348, and his son, Abū’l-Faraj Muḥammad, who died in 409. It is quite possible that the person in question is the son of Abū’l-Faraj, with his grandfather’s *kunya*, Abū’l-Qāsim. But it seems more likely that Abū’l-Qāsim (b.) al-Ghūrī was Ibn al-Bannā’’s friend or acquaintance, judging by the position of the one-line biographical notice devoted to him by Ibn Abī Ya‘lā between two obituaries for the years 498 and 499, almost three decades after the death of Ibn al-Bannā’.

Abū Muḥammad as-Sukkārī is no less difficult to identify, because of the brevity of the name. Two contemporaries of Ibn al-Bannā’ have this *kunya-nisba* combination. Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār as-Sukkārī is reported by Ibn al-Jauzī (*Muntaẓam*, ix, 140) as still living in 414; it is possible then that he was Ibn al-Bannā’’s teacher, whereas Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad as-Sukkārī (395–472), teacher of one of Ibn al-Bannā’’s students, appears more likely to have been a friend or acquaintance of Ibn al-Bannā’.

² *Dhail*, i, 43.

³ cf. *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d’Ibn Taimiyya*, 78.

⁴ *Dhail*, i, 46–7.

⁵ In *Dhail*, i, 44.

⁶ Well-known for his works in Qur’ānic science and for his knowledge of traditions, Ibn al-Munādī was highly regarded by the great Ḥanbalite scholar Abū’l-Faraj b. al-Jauzī who speaks of having acquired several of his works. Ibn al-Munādī, according to Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī’s testimony as given by Ibn al-Jauzī, is supposed to have written no less than 440 works on the Qur’ān, of which Qazwīnī says he knew about 21 and had heard of the rest. Ibn al-Munādī’s last disciple to transmit his traditions was Abū’l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Fāris b. al-Ghūrī (320–409) who may have been the father of Abū’l-Qāsim b. al-Ghūrī, mentioned above. On Ibn al-Munādī, see *Tārīkh Baghdād*, iv, 69–70, and *Muntaẓam*, vi, 357.

for poetry, some of his verses are recorded in Yāqūt's *Dictionary of learned men*, and in the *Dhail* by Ibn Rajab.¹

Criticism against him and his Defenders.—In the more detailed biographical notices devoted to Ibn al-Bannā', one of the most recurring features is the criticism levelled against him—criticism which seemingly arose long after he had died and which degenerated into a veritable partisan squabble between the two following Schools: the Shāfi'ites, who condemned him for one reason or another, and his fellow Ḥanbalites, who rose to his defence. As was almost invariably the case in such partisan fights, the Shāfi'ites had the advantage of being the more numerous party and therefore stood a better chance of making more noise all along the line and of having the last word on the matter. No wonder, therefore, that the Shāfi'ites succeeded not only in making their opinions known to the general public down through the centuries, but also in rallying to their cause certain orientalist of eminence.² Adam Mez, in writing about the tumults and riots taking place in Baghdād at an earlier period, in which the various juridical schools took part, describes the Shāfi'ites as 'decidedly the most quarrelsome among the Jurists'. Then he adds: 'People in these matters have been misled, for most of the information regarding them comes from Shāfi'ite sources'.³

Ignaz Goldziher, in his excellent work on Islamic traditions,⁴ relates only part of the whole story, the part which was available to him in the *Kāmīl* of the Shāfi'ite historian, Ibn al-Athīr. Other historical sources have since become available, and it would therefore be well to furnish, in the following pages, a more complete picture of the squabble which was begun not by the Ḥanbalites, as Ibn al-Athīr would have his readers believe, but rather by the Shāfi'ites. Ibn al-Athīr intentionally suppressed, for obvious partisan motives, all of what the Ḥanbalite historian Ibn al-Jauzī had said of Sam'ānī, regarding the latter's scholarship and in evidence of his exaggerated partisanship against the Ḥanbalites.⁵ There is hardly any doubt that both sides were guilty of exaggerations against each other in these matters; but a review of the more complete story will be of benefit both as to what it might bring to the understanding of Ibn al-Bannā' and as an example of such squabbles which were carried on down through the centuries by members of the opposing schools of thought.

The criticisms against Ibn al-Bannā' were circulated, it seems, in the early part of the sixth/twelfth century, some time after his death in the previous

¹ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VII, 269–70; *Dhail*, I, 47.

² cf., for instance, the list given by Henri Laoust in *Melanges Maspéro*, III, 431ff., and *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taimīya*, 483.

³ A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 205 (English translation by S. K. Bukhsh, *The renaissance of Islam*, 215).

⁴ In *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 185–6 (French translation by Léon Bercher, *Études sur la tradition islamique*, 229–30).

⁵ See Ibn al-Jauzī, *Muntazam*, X, 224–5; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmīl*, anno 563.

century. Silafī¹ is said to have reported derogatory allusions made by Shujā' adh-Dhuhlī² and al-Mu'taman as-Sājī³ with regard to Ibn al-Bannā'; he is said to have written in his book, entitled *As'ilat Shujā'* (*Questions addressed to Shujā' [adh-Dhuhlī]*), that upon asking the latter with regard to Ibn al-Bannā', he received the following answer: 'He was a Qur'ānic chanter (*mujaawwid*) and one of the often praised (or: mentioned) Shaikhs. We learned a good amount of traditions from him. *More than this much about him I shall not say*'. Silafī interpreted this statement as an allusion to Ibn al-Bannā''s weakness as a traditionalist. Then, Sājī's statement concerning Ibn al-Bannā' is reported as follows: 'He was a Shaikh with bright face and good appearance (but) his personality did not so agree with me that I could learn traditions from him'.⁴

Silafī himself, more definite in his criticism, states that Ibn al-Bannā' used to take liberties with the original manuscripts at his disposal by modifying or erasing parts of the text.⁵ And, as though by way of illustrating this criticism of Silafī, Sam'ānī relates a rather ingenious story on the authority of a Shāfi'ite student of Ibn al-Bannā', Abū'l-Qāsim b. as-Samarqandī.⁶ There used to be a traditionalist, so goes the story, who had the very same name as Ibn al-Bannā', except that it ended with 'an-Nisābūrī'. Ibn al-Bannā', in order to appropriate to himself the traditions of this man and transmit them under his own name, simply modified 'an-Nisābūrī' to read 'al-Bannā''. This he did by erasing the last two syllables of this *nisba*, and the diacritical points of what remained, and by flattening out the letter *sīn* (thus: *النيسابوري*). Then Sam'ānī ends his story by saying: 'Thus has it been said that he used to do this'.⁷

In copying this report from Sam'ānī, the Ḥanbalite historian Ibn al-Jauzī contests the accusation. This story, he writes in substance,⁸ is far from being correct for three reasons. First, the one who narrated it did not receive it first-hand; therefore, it cannot be positively established. Second, Ibn al-Bannā' has a great number of traditions to his name and does not stand in need of augmenting them. He is a devout person, and one should not suspect a devout person of perjury. Third, the traditions related by Ibn al-Bannā' are known to be numerous; on the other hand, where is this man by the name of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh an-Nisābūrī? Who has mentioned him? Who knows him? Every one is aware that he whose teaching of traditions is well-known

¹ 472/5/8 ?-576; *GAL*, I, 365; Subkī, IV, 43; Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, index, under Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as-Silafī.

² *Muntaẓam*, IX, 176 (430-507); see Rosenthal, op. cit., 444.

³ *Muntaẓam*, IX, 179; Subkī, IV, 313 (445-507); see Rosenthal, op. cit., 444.

⁴ *ibid.*, 195 and 196.

⁵ *Dhail*, I, 45; *Lisān al-mizān*, II, 195.

⁶ See biographical notice in Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iya*, IV, 204.

⁷ *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 319-20; *Irshād*, VII, 267; *Lisān al-mizān*, II, 195; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh fī ṭabaqāt an-naḥwīyīn wa'n-nuḥāh*, 216.

⁸ *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 320; *Irshād*, VII, 267-8.

cannot simply disappear ! Tell us then, who is this man ?—God preserve us from accusations without proof !

Ibn al-Jauzī, whose ire was thus roused by what he considered to be too clever a story by Samʿānī, was neither to forget him nor to allow himself to be outdone by him. Thus, in his *Muntaẓam*, when he came to write the obituary of his erstwhile schoolmate, Samʿānī,¹ he published an accusation against the latter's scholarship and supplied his own story which likewise plays on the theme of forged identities. He accuses Samʿānī for his extreme partisanship against the Ḥanbalites, and the fact that his *Supplement* to Baghdādī's *History of Baghdād* was all but completely prepared before him by Shujā' adh-Dhuhli (d. 507)² and Abū'l-Faḍl b. Khairūn (d. 488)³; and that 'Abd al-Wahhāb,⁴ Muḥammad b. Nāṣir,⁵ and other living masters supplied him with what was fit to be mentioned from Baghdādī's time to his own. Ibn al-Jauzī criticized Samʿānī for having said of Ibn Nāṣir that 'he likes to make attacks against the reputations of people'. What surprised Ibn al-Jauzī about this statement was that Samʿānī had very often relied upon Ibn Nāṣir's critical judgment in making his own criticisms of certain traditionalists. Why then did Samʿānī make use of Ibn Nāṣir's criticisms ? And if Ibn Nāṣir attacked the reputation of some traditionalist *unfairly*, why not state as much ? What other business, inquires Ibn al-Jauzī, has a *ḥadīth*-expert but to engage in the criticism of the transmitters of *ḥadīth* ? He who considers this as blameworthy criticism knows nothing about religious science !⁶

Ibn al-Jauzī criticizes Samʿānī's *Supplement* to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *History of Baghdād* for its abundant errors, confused genealogies, and obituaries given of people who were still alive ; and remarks that the bad intentions of its author were a cause of its lack of popularity. Then he proceeds to tell the story, this being that Samʿānī used to have a teacher of traditions give him his lesson on the other side of Nahr 'Īsā in order to be able to say later that he learned traditions from So-and-So *mā warā' an-nahr* ; that is, in Transoxiana, but which meant in ordinary language, 'on the other side of the river'.⁷ Another intentional forgery attributed to him by Ibn al-Jauzī⁸ was that he would have the Shaikh give him his lesson in Raqqā (on the Euphrates), and later say that So-and-So taught me traditions in Raqqā (in far-off Qūhistān).⁹

¹ *Muntaẓam*, x, 224–5.

² cf. also Franz Rosenthal, op. cit., 444, n. 3.

³ *Muntaẓam*, viii, 87.

⁴ Abū'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Anmāṭī, the *ḥadīth* expert (462–538), biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, x, 108–9 ; very highly regarded by his student Ibn al-Jauzī.

⁵ Abū'l-Faḍl al-Baghdādī (467–550) ; biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, x, 162–3 ; Ibn al-Jauzī again reprimands Ibn as-Samʿānī for having spoken against Abū'l-Faḍl b. Nāṣir.

⁶ *Muntaẓam*, x, 225 ; cf. ibid., 163, where Ibn al-Jauzī points out in this regard that there is a difference between criticism (*jarḥ*) and calumny (*ghība*).

⁷ Goldziher, op. cit., II, 186 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, anno 563.

⁸ *Muntaẓam*, viii, 225 ; not related by Ibn al-Athīr.

⁹ Ibn al-Jauzī has further criticisms to make against Samʿānī ; cf. ibid.

At this point Ibn al-Athīr enters the fight against Ibn al-Jauzī.¹ In doing so, he carefully avoids transmitting any of the criticism of Ibn al-Jauzī bearing upon the scholarship of Sam'ānī; a fact which, without pointing with certainty to his own suspicions that Ibn al-Jauzī may have been right, at least indicates that he considered the latter to have some convincing arguments which it would be discrete not to reproduce. Still, not intending to keep complete silence on the matter, he seizes upon the story which Ibn al-Jauzī quite apparently intended as an answer to that of Sam'ānī's. It is doubtful if Ibn al-Jauzī believed the story himself, or if he had intended that others should. It is more likely that he intended it as simply a clever answer required by a clever story.

Next in line to carry on the criticism against Ibn al-Bannā' was the Shāfi'ite historian Ibn an-Najjār (d. 643),² who said of him: 'His works reveal the paucity of his religious knowledge, his bad tactics, and the meagreness of his knowledge of grammar and language',³ And this time, it is the Ḥanbalite biographer Ibn Rajab (d. 795) who answers the criticism of Ibn an-Najjār, perhaps with more heat than conviction: 'Thus says Ibn an-Najjār! But he is a foreigner to these sciences! What business has he to speak about them?'⁴

Later still Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852) records the criticisms against Ibn al-Bannā' and adds that the latter succumbed to extremist doctrines in his work *Kitāb fī's-sukūt*.⁵ 'Asqalānī further informs the reader, with regard to the 'Nisābūrī' affair, that the objection of Ibn al-Jauzī concerning the obscurity of this traditionalist can no longer stand, since Ibn an-Najjār devotes to him a biographical notice in his *Supplement to the History of Baghdad*, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī mentions him several times in his history.⁶

Thus the quarrel was carried on through several centuries with the Shāfi'ites having the advantage of being more numerous. For of all the individuals who were mentioned as participants in this quarrel only Ibn al-Jauzī and Ibn Rajab were Ḥanbalites. It should, however, be mentioned in favour of the Shāfi'ite biographer Yāqūt that he presented both sides of the question as equitably as it could possibly have been done, thus not allowing his partisanship to get the better of him, as did that of Ibn al-Athīr.⁷

Very little can be determined with regard to Ibn al-Bannā''s scholarship. The statement of Shujā' adh-Dhuhli does in fact appear to conceal something about Ibn al-Bannā'. But that is as far as one can safely go. The statement of al-Mu'taman as-Sājī bears quite clearly upon the personality of Ibn al-Bannā'. In this case we have more to go on in his *Diary* whenever he refers to himself

¹ See *Kāmil*, anno 563.

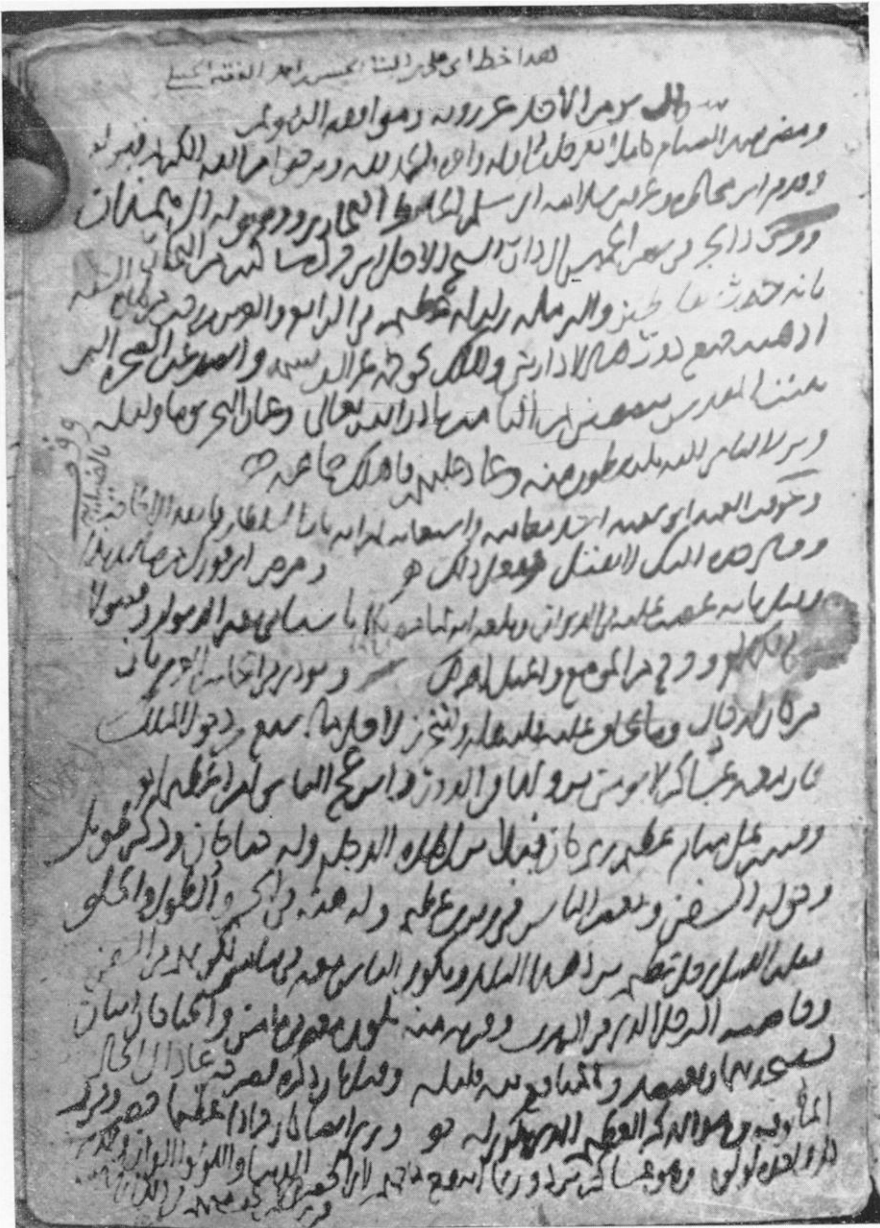
² *GAL*, I, 360, Suppl. I, 613.

³ *Dhail*, I, 45; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh*, 216; *Lisān al-mīzān*, II, 195. ⁴ *Dhail*, I, 45.

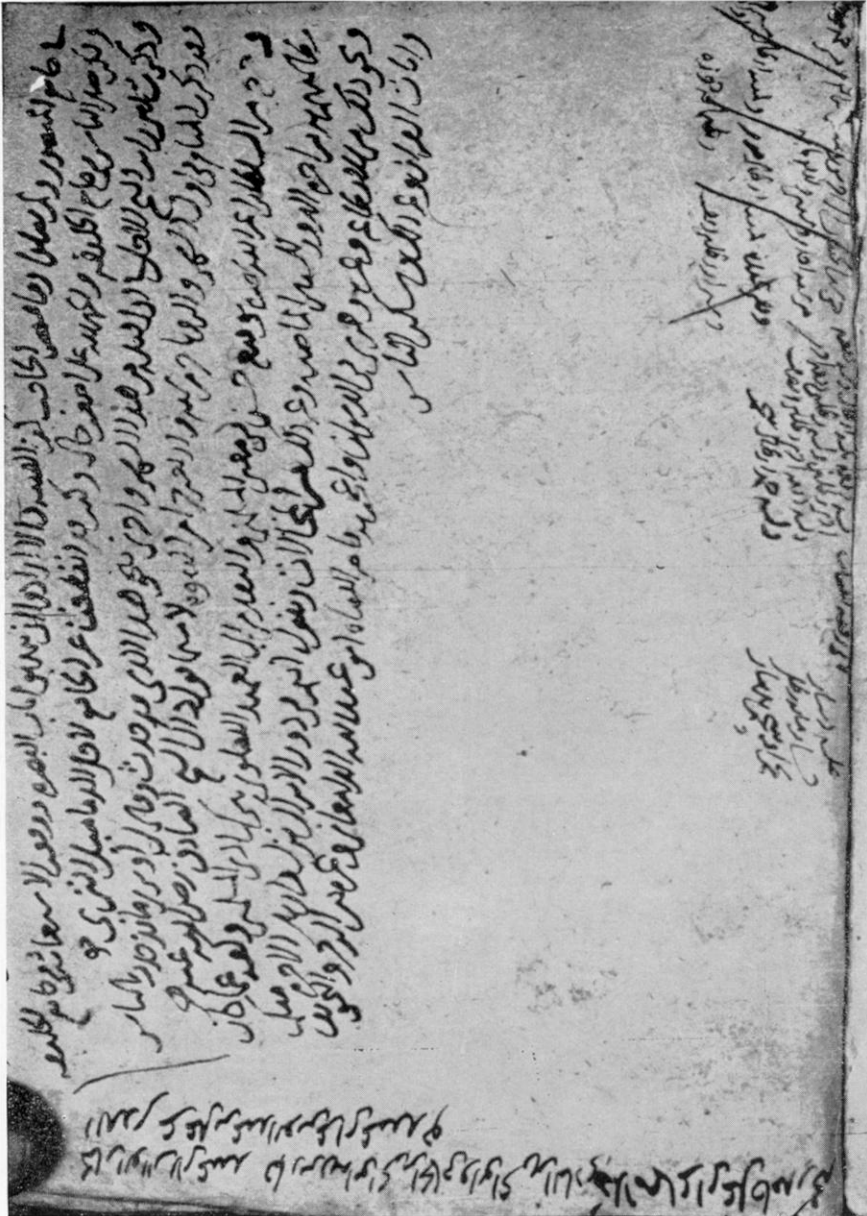
⁵ *Lisān al-mīzān*, II, 195; cf. the text: *في كتابه الذي صتفه في السكوت*; ووقع بعلو [= بعلق] في كتابه الذي صتفه في السكوت; for the work mentioned, see list of Ibn al-Bannā''s works below.

⁶ *ibid.* The quarrel was recorded again later by Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh*, 216.

⁷ See the impartial treatment which the quarrel received from Yāqūt, in *Irshād*, VII, 265 ff.



FOLIO 163A : ' AUTOGRAPH DIARY OF AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY HISTORIAN
OF BAGHDAD ' (INCIPIT)



Folio 178B: 'Autograph Diary' (EXPLICIT)

or has others referring to him, and especially in the interpretation of dreams wherein he is in some way involved. Here it is quite clear that Ibn al-Bannā' had a high opinion of himself, perhaps to the point of becoming overbearing. As far as the clear statement of Silafī is concerned, there is no way in which it can be verified. Those who erase and modify originals to which they have access do not usually care to leave their signatures for purposes of identification.

The 'Nisābūrī' account by Sam'ānī fits the statement of Silafī about Ibn al-Bannā's erasing and modifying of texts. There is no way of knowing whether Silafī's statement was the result of his knowledge of this story, nor if the story was supplied later to fit it. As far as we have been able to determine, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī does not supply a biographical notice of a 'Nisābūrī' with the same full name as Ibn al-Bannā'. The closest one appears to be: Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh . . . an-Nisābūrī, known by the name of al-Maḥmī,¹ who is known to have taught traditions in 389; no other dates are given. In addition to modifying 'an-Nisābūrī', other parts of the name would have had to be omitted or modified in order to make it equivalent to Ibn al-Bannā's name.²

Ibn an-Najjār's criticism has, like that of Silafī, the virtue of being definite. On the basis of the present *Diary*,³ his statement can be credited as true, as far as grammar and classical usage are concerned. Still, given the character of the *Diary* itself, this judgment must be qualified, as will be seen below in the description of the *Diary*.

To judge by the list of Ibn al-Bannā's works, it would seem that his relations with contemporary Shāfi'ites were on a more cordial basis than was later the case among those who came after him and quarrelled on his account. The Ḥanbalite historian Ibn Shāfi' (474-543),⁴ a teacher of the Shāfi'ite Sam'ānī, praised Ibn al-Bannā' for his theological works where he sought to treat of doctrines held in common by the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanbalites,⁵ and which Ibn Shāfi' said was done with a view to effecting a *rapprochement* between the two Schools.⁶ Sam'ānī himself, perhaps under the influence of Ibn Shāfi', praises Ibn al-Bannā' in a biographical notice devoted to him in one of his other works. Yāqūt who transmits the information given by Sam'ānī on Ibn al-Bannā', copies both the 'Nisābūrī' affair, as well as another laudatory account wherein Sam'ānī, surprisingly enough, refers to Ibn al-Bannā' as one of the leading

¹ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, VII, 277; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 512b without any dates given.

² cf. the name of Ibn al-Bannā', n. 2, p. 9.

³ The Zāhiriya Library has two more works of Ibn al-Bannā' which I noticed a few years ago. See the notes to the list of Ibn al-Bannā's works below.

⁴ See biographical notice in *Muntazam*, x, 134-5, *Shadharāt*, iv, 135; Abū'l-Ma'ālī Šāliḥ b. Shāfi' al-Jilī al-Ḥanbalī, student of Ibn 'Aqil.

⁵ cf. work No. 24 in the list below.

⁶ This confirms the statement that Ibn al-Bannā's ideas in theology were in conformity with those of his teacher Abū Ya'lā; cf. *supra*.

figures of his day, author of many works, and endowed with a pleasing manner of expression.¹

His Teaching Positions and his Students.—The teaching career of Ibn al-Bannā' began in the lifetime of his teacher, Qādī Abū Ya'lā, on the east side of Baghdād. Later he acquired two study circles, one in Jāmi' al-Qaṣr and another in Jāmi' al-Manṣūr. In addition to these two study circles, he was commissioned by the wealthy Ḥanbalite merchant Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jarada to teach in a *maṣjid* built by the latter and known by his name.² He was also a special tutor of Ibn Jarada's family.³

Ibn al-Bannā' contributed to the training of a good many well-known traditionalists and Qur'ānic scholars, according to the list of his students given by Ibn Rajab and other biographers.⁴ The Qur'ānic scholars listed are Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bārī,⁵ Abū'l-'Izz al-Qalānisi,⁶ and Abū Bakr al-Mazrafi⁷; while the traditionalist al-Ḥumaidī⁸ is also mentioned as having studied extensively under his direction.

Among those who related traditions on his authority, the following are

¹ *Irshād*, VII, 268, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muqri'.

² See paragraph No. 35 of *Diary*. Maṣjid Ibn Jarada was located on the east side of Baghdād in the precincts of the Caliphal Palace; Ibn Jarada resided in this quarter. Another well-known Ḥanbalite ascetic, Abū Manṣūr al-Khaiyāt (d. 499) taught the Qur'ān to the blind in this *maṣjid* for a long period of time; 70,000 blind students are said to have mastered the Qur'ān under his direction during the sixty odd years of his teaching, and this figure is insisted upon by such historians as Ibn al-Jauzī and Ibn an-Najjār. See *Dhail*, I, 118–9. Ibn Jarada also built a school for girls and commissioned Abū Ṭālib al-'Ukbarī (d. 461) to teach them. See *Diary*, No. 96.

³ This appears in a statement attributed to Ibn 'Aqīl by Ibn Rajab, see *Dhail*, I, 43.

⁴ *Dhail*, I, 42.

⁵ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad al-Ḥārithī al-Bakrī ad-Dabbās, known as al-Bārī' al-Baghdādī; born in Baghdād in 443; Qur'ānic scholar, he also taught *ḥadīth* to the renowned historian of Damascus, Abū'l-Qāsim b. 'Asākir (d. 571), and to the historian of Baghdād Ibn al-Jauzī (d. 597); author of *Ash-shams al-munīra fī'l-qirā'āt as-sab' ash-shahīra* (see *Kashf az-zunūn*, VII, 775; cf. Ibn al-Jazārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'*, I, 251) and of a *diwān* of poetry; close friend of poet Ibn al-Habbāriya (d. 509, cf. *GAL*, I, 252, Suppl., I, 446–7); excerpts of his poetry, in dialogue with Ibn al-Habbāriya, are included in the biographical notice devoted to him by Yāqūt, *Irshād* (Cairo ed.), x, 147–54, more excerpts in *Muntazam*, x, 17.

⁶ Abū'l-'Izz Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Bundār al-Qalānisi (435–521); Qur'ānic teacher of wide reputation; accused of Rāfiḍism by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anmāṭī (d. 528), teacher of Ibn al-Jauzī; biographical notices in *Muntazam*, x, 8 (where the *nisba* 'al-Misrī' should be amended to read al-Muqri'), Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-shāfi'iya*, IV, 67, Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt*, IV, 64.

⁷ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī ash-Shaibānī al-Mazrafi (439–527); teacher of Ibn an-Nāṣir (d. 550) and Ibn al-Jauzī; praised by Ibn an-Nāṣir as the Qur'ānic scholar of his day; a good biographical notice in *Dhail*, I, 214–6; see *ibid.*, 215, n. 1, where there is a question as to the *nisba* al-Mazrafi being al-Mazraqī; this *nisba* has been spelled out as 'al-Mazrafi' in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 52, whereas both Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 526a, and Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt*, IV, 82, spell it out as 'al-Mazraqī'; Sam'ānī locates the town five miles west of Baghdād; Yāqūt locates it three leagues away from Baghdād, and he and Ibn al-'Imād place it to the north; both Yāqūt and Sam'ānī speak of it as a deserted place.

⁸ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Futūḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥumaid al-Ḥumaidī al-Andalusī (before 420–488); al-Ḥumaidī studied under the direction of Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb and was greatly influenced by him; he was also a friend of the traditionalist Ibn Mākkūlā (d. 475); studied under the Zāhirite Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456), travelled extensively and died in Baghdād; cf. *GAL*, I, 338, Suppl., I, 578–9; *Muntazam*, IX, 96; *Ansāb*, fol. 177b.

mentioned: his two sons, Abū Ghālib Aḥmad,¹ and Yaḥyā,² Abū'l-Ḥusain b. Abī Ya'lā al-Farrā',³ Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Bāqī,⁴ Ibn al-Ḥusain,⁵ and Abū'l-Qāsim b. as-Samarqandī.⁶

Other students not included in the lists of Ibn al-Bannā's biographers are: his son Abū Naṣr Muḥammad,⁷ Abū'l-Qāsim b. Abī Ya'lā al-Farrā',⁸ Abū's-Su'ūd al-Mubārak b. Ṭālib al-Ḥalāwī al-Muqri',⁹ Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥanbalī, known as Ibn Ṣūfān,¹⁰ Abū Sa'id Ṣāfi b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jammālī,¹¹ Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan al-Darzījānī,¹² Abū'l-Ma'ālī Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir al-Madhārī.¹³

¹ Abū Ghālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Bannā' (445–527); a teacher of *ḥadīth* to Ibn al-Jauzī; biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, x, 31 (modification of the name in the Ḥaidarābād edition is based on faulty sources); mentioned in *Dhail*, i, 42, in his father's biography as one of his students of *ḥadīth*.

² Abū 'Abd Allāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Bannā' (453–531); learned *ḥadīth* from his father and was in turn a teacher of *ḥadīth* to Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn al-Jauzī; Sam'ānī related traditions on his authority by *ijāza*; biographical notice in *Dhail*, i, 226–8.

³ Abū'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Farrā' (451–526); student of his father, Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā (d. 458), in *ḥadīth* and of Sharīf Abū Ja'far (d. 471) in *fiqh*; author of many works, one of which was the recently published *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqrī, 1952, 2 vols.).

⁴ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bazzāz, known as Qāḍī'l-Māristān (442–535); see biographical notice in *Dhail*, i, 230–7.

⁵ Abū'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad ash-Shaibānī (432–525); biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, x, 24. Ibn al-Jauzī writes that he learned under his direction the whole of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's *Musnad* as well as another *ḥadīth* collection entitled *al-Ghailānīyāt*. The information on this collection (studied by Ibn Taimīya) in *GAL*, Suppl. i, 121, needs to be amended: it is attributed to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (died in 354, instead of 359, biographical notices, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, v, 456–8; *Muntaẓam*, vii, 32), whereas it should be attributed to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ghailān al-Khazzāz (d. 322), biographical notice in *Tārīkh Baghdād*, v, 445–6. Ibn al-Jauzī studied the collection under Abū'l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusain who in turn studied it under Abū Ṭālib b. Ghailān (346, i, 7, 8 ?–440, biographical notices in *Tārīkh Baghdād*, iii, 234–5; *Muntaẓam*, viii, 139–40). But the *Ghailānīyāt* could not be attributed to Abū Ṭālib b. Ghailān, since it had been published by ad-Dāraqutnī (306–385) who had died before him, and who was a disciple of Abū Bakr b. Ghailān; cf. *Muntaẓam*, viii, 140, where Ibn al-Jauzī writes:

حدثنا أبو القاسم بن الحصين عن أبي طالب بن غيلان بالأجزاء التي تسمى الغيلانيات التي خرجها الدارقطني لابن غيلان

⁶ Abū'l-Qāsim Ismā'il b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar as-Samarqandī (454–536); biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, x, 98 (for the correction in the name, see also the biographical notice of his father Abū Bakr Aḥmad (d. 489), *ibid.*, ix, 98); teacher of Ibn al-Jauzī; see also Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-shāfi'iya*, where the date of his death is given as 538.

⁷ Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Bannā' (434–510); biographical notice in *Dhail*, i, 142–3; eldest son of Ibn al-Bannā' under whose direction he studied *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, and whom he succeeded in his two study circles in Jāmi' al-Qaṣr and Jāmi' al-Manṣūr.

⁸ Abū'l-Qāsim 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Farrā' (443–469); eldest son of Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā; travelled extensively in search of traditions, but died at the early age of 26 on his way to Mekka; biographical notices in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 235–6 and in *Dhail*, i, 16–17.

⁹ Died 511; see biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, ix, 196.

¹⁰ Died 514; see biographical notice, *ibid.*, 219.

¹¹ Died 545; biographical notices in *Ansāb*, fol. 134b, and *Muntaẓam*, x, 144; freedman of Shaikh Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jarada (see index, to be printed in the final part of this study); both Ibn al-Jauzī and Sam'ānī studied *ḥadīth* under his direction.

¹² Died 506; biographical notice in *Dhail*, i, 36.

¹³ 462–546; biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, x, 145–6; teacher of *ḥadīth* to Ibn al-Jauzī.

His Death.—Ibn al-Bannā's career of teaching and writing was ended by his death on the 5th of Rajab, in the year 471. Funeral rites were performed at the two Mosque-Cathedrals where he had taught, Jāmi' al-Qaṣr and Jāmi' al-Manṣūr. The prayers were led by the Ḥanbalite doctor Abū Muḥammad at-Tamīmī (d. 488), and burial took place in the Cemetery of Bāb Ḥarb, attended by a multitudinous crowd. He had lived to the age of 75.

HIS WORKS

The number of works written by Ibn al-Bannā' are estimated to have been between 150 and 500.¹ He wrote on various subjects: history and biography, *fiqh*, ethics and asceticism, *ḥadīth*, theology, philology, pedagogy, and the interpretation of dreams. The following list of his works is taken from the *History of the Ḥanbalites* by Ibn Rajab.²

- (1) *Sharḥ al-Khiraqī fī'l-fiqh* ³
- (2) *Al-kāmil fī'l-fiqh*
- (3) *Al-kāfī 'l-muḥaddad fī sharḥ al-mujarrad* ⁴
- (4) *Al-khiṣāl wa'l-aqsām*
- (5) *Nuzhat aṭ-ṭalīb fī tajrīd al-madhāhib*
- (6) *Adab al-'ālim wa'l-muta'allim* ⁵
- (7) *Sharḥ kitāb al-Kirmānī fī't-ta'bīr* ⁶
- (8) *Sharḥ qaṣīdat Ibn Abī Dāwūd fī's-sunna* ⁷
- (9) *Al-manāmāt al-mar'īya li'l-Imām Aḥmad* ⁸
- (10) *Akhbār al-auliya' wa'l-'ubbād bi-Makka*

¹ The number is given as 150 in *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 319, and *Irshād*, VIII, 266; in *Dhail*, I, 43, the number is given as 'over 300' according to Ibn Shāfi', and (ibid., 44) 500 according to *Muntaẓam*; the latter number appears to be due to a copyist who read Ibn al-Jauzī's خمسين ومائة as خمس مائة. The error is repeated by some of the later biographers of Ibn al-Bannā'.

² *Dhail*, I, 45-6.

³ Listed also by Ibn Badrān, in his *Madkhal ilā madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (Damascus, n.d.), 216. For al-Khiraqī (d. 334), see *GAL*, I, 183, Suppl., I, 311. His *Mukhtaṣar fī'l-fiqh* is reported to have had as many as 300 commentaries, cf. n. 6, p. 11. An excerpt of Ibn al-Bannā's commentary will be found in *Dhail*, I, 46.

⁴ An excerpt is given by Ibn Rajab, ibid. It is probably a commentary on the work of his teacher of *fiqh*, Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā, entitled *al-Mujarrad fī'l-madhhab*, see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 205. Cf. Ibn Badrān, *Madkhal*, 206, who attributes to Ibn al-Bannā' a *Kitāb al-mujarrad fī'l-fiqh*.

⁵ Excerpt in *Dhail*, I, 52-3.

⁶ Abū Muḥammad (Abū 'Abd Allāh ?) Ḥarb b. Ismā'il al-Kirmānī (d. 288), disciple of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, I, 145-6; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 480a; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 213, VI, 377; Ibn Badrān, *Madkhal*, 206. For this work of al-Kirmānī, see Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo ed.), 439.

⁷ This is a commentary on the 'Aqida in verse by 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Dāwūd (230-316), son of Abū Dāwūd, author of the *Sunan*. The 'Aqida is given in the biographical notice devoted to him by Ibn Abī Ya'lā, in *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 51-5; several variants are to be noted in comparison with the edition given in *Ashr rasā'il wa-'aqā'id salafiya* (ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Abd as-Salām, Cairo 1351/1932), 16-17. See also *GAL*, Suppl., I, 267.

⁸ cf. Ibn al-Jauzī, *Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī, Cairo, 1349/1930), 435 ff. (chapter: 'Dhikru 'l-manāmāti 'llati ru'īya fihā Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal'), where Ibn al-Bannā' is cited abundantly in the *isnāds*.

- (11) *Ṣifat al-‘ubbād fī t-tahajjud wa’l-awrād*
- (12) *Al-mu‘āmalāt wa’ṣ-ṣabr ‘alā ’l-munāzalāt*
- (13) *Ar-risāla fī s-sukūt wa-luzūm al-buyūt* ¹
- (14) *Salwat al-hazīn ‘inda shiddat al-anīn*
- (15) *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā* ²
- (16) *Aṣḥāb al-a‘imma al-khamsa*
- (17) *At-tārīkh* ³
- (18) *Mashyakhat shuyūkhīhī* ⁴
- (19) *Faḍā’il sha‘bān*
- (20) *Kitāb al-libās*
- (21) *Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad* ⁵
- (22) *Akḥbār al-Qāḍī Abū Ya‘lā* ⁶
- (23) *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*
- (24) *Thanā’ Aḥmad ‘alā ’sh-Shāfi‘ī, wa-thanā’ ash-Shāfi‘ī ‘alā Aḥmad, wa-faḍā’il ash-Shāfi‘ī* ⁷
- (25) *Kitāb az-zakāh wa-‘iqāb man farāṭa fīhā*
- (26) *Al-maṣṣūl fī kitāb allāh*
- (27) *Sharḥ al-īdāh fī n-nahw li’l-Fārisī* ⁸
- (28) *Mukhtaṣar gharīb al-ḥadīth li-Abī ‘Ubaid* (classified alphabetically) ⁹

HIS DIARY

Majmū‘ 17.—The present *Diary* is only a fragment of what must have been a larger work. It constitutes a part of *Majmū‘ 17*, preserved in the Zāhiriya

¹ *Kashf az-zunūn*, III, 444–5; *Lisān al-mizān*, 195; cf. *Diary*, No. 130, 3; Sakhāwī, *I‘lān*, transl. F. Rosenthal in *A history of Muslim historiography*, 217; cf. *ibid.*, the interesting remark of Sakhāwī concerning the alleged desire of Ibn al-Bannā’ (found in several of the biographies cited in n. 2, p. 9) to have been mentioned by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in the latter’s *History*.

² *Kashf az-zunūn*, IV, 149; used by the historian of Baghdad, Ibn an-Najjār (d. 643), see Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-shāfi‘īya*, III, 51; and by Ibn Rajab, see *Dhail*, I, 206.

³ It is by this title that Ibn Rajab refers to the present *Diary*, cf. *Dhail*, I, 10. The other parts of the *Diary* are lost. Two excerpts of what I believe to be other parts of the *Diary*, known to Ibn al-Jauzī but not to Ibn Rajab, will be found in *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 248–9, and 316. See below, pp. 26–7.

⁴ In the Zāhiriya Library in Damascus.

⁵ cf. Ibn al-Jauzī’s book by the same title (cf. n. 2, p. 9), where Ibn al-Bannā’ is cited frequently. Other works on *Manāqib Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*: one by the great Ḥanbalite mystic al-Harawī al-Anṣārī (d. 481), cited in his work *Dhamm al-kalām*, British Museum MS. 1571, fols. 106b and 109a, listed by Ibn Rajab in *Dhail*, I, 66; another by the Ḥanbalite traditionalist Yahyā b. Manda (d. 511), excerpts of which will be found in *Dhail*, I, 56, 125, and 156.

⁶ Qāḍī Abū Ya‘lā b. al-Farrā’ al-Ḥanbalī (d. 458), the author’s teacher.

⁷ It is perhaps a work such as this one that Ibn Shāfi‘ had in mind when he praised Ibn al-Bannā’ for works which he had written with a view to effecting a *rapprochement* between the two Schools; see *Dhail*, I, 43.

⁸ Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Fārisī (d. 377); see *GAL*, I, 113–4, Suppl., I, 175–6, where other commentaries are cited. For this commentary by Ibn al-Bannā’, see Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āh*, 216; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VII, 266, where Yāqūt states he has seen it, and Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf az-zunūn*, I, 512, where the *nisba* ‘al-Miṣrī’ attributed to Ibn al-Bannā’ should be amended to ‘al-Muqri’.

⁹ Abū ‘Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223–4/837–8), *GAL*, I, 107, Suppl., I, 166, Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo ed.), 129. See *Diary*, No. 184, 2. There is a work attributed to him in the Zāhiriya Library in Damascus with an autograph of the Ḥanbalite Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Hādī (d. 909; *GAL*, II, 107, Suppl., II, 947), entitled *Kitāb ar-radd ‘alā ’l-mubtadi‘a*.

Library in Damascus,¹ and is composed of 16 folios in all, fol. 163a to 178b, 19 × 13 cm. The pages are unequal as to the amount of the written matter they contain, ranging between 20 and 31 lines each.

Majmū' 17 contains the following items:—

- 1 (fol. 1a): كتاب سلوك طريق السلف في ذكر مشايخ الشيخ المعمر أبي محمد عبد الحق بن خلف، تحرير الشيخ الإمام العالم زكي الدين أبي عبد الله محمد ابن يوسف بن محمد البرزالي²
- 2 (24a): أنشدنا الإمام أبو النجم هلال بن محفوظ بن هلال الرسعني لنفسه³
- 3 (24b): من حديث ابن منده⁴
- 4 (30a): حديث قس بن ساعدة، وغير ذلك⁵
- 5 (43a): الجزء الثاني من أمالي أبي الحسين... بن سمعون الواعظ، ويحتوي على عشر محالس⁶
- 6 (73a): الجزء الثامن من فوائد الشيخ أبي القاسم الحسين بن محمد بن إبراهيم الحنّالي المعدل... تحرير الشيخ عبد العزيز بن محمد بن محمد النخشي الحافظ⁷
- 7 (87a): الجزء فيه الردّ على من يقول القرآن مخلوق، للنّجاد⁸
- 8 (104a): فضائل فاطمة، لابن شاهين⁹
- 9 (117a): من مناقب النساء صاحبات لعبد الغني¹⁰

¹ See Yūsuf al-'Ishsh, *Fihris makhtūṭāt dār al-kutub az-Zāhiriya* (Damascus, 1947), 156-7; *GAL*, II, 2, 669 (in 'Nachträge und Berichtigungen').

² Died 636; cf. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 445, n. 7; *Bidāya*, XIII, 153, grandfather of historian 'Alam ad-Dīn al-Birzālī; Ibn al-'Imād makes him the latter's father, *Shadharāt*, v, 182.

³ al-Jazarī al-Faqīh al-Ḥanbalī (d. 610); a biographical notice in *Shadharāt*, v, 44.

⁴ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Manda (d. 395) biographical notice in Ibn Abī Ya'la, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 167; cf. F. Rosenthal, op. cit., 328, n. 1.

⁵ cf. *EI*, art. Lammens, s.v. 'Kuss Ibn Sā'ida'.

⁶ Died 387; see *GAL*, Suppl., I, 360, where this item is cited, but without specification of *juz'*; cf. item 14.

⁷ Died 456-7-9, a biographical notice in Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, s.v. 'Ustughdādīzī', fol. 31a, line 6; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 243; cf. *GAL*, Suppl., I, 565, line 27.

⁸ Perhaps Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Salmān an-Najjād (d. 348); Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 553a; Ibn al-Jauzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 390.

⁹ Abū Ḥafs 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Shāhīn (d. 385); for the author, see *GAL*, I, 165, Suppl., I, 276; the work cited here is listed in *GAL*, II, 2, 664 ('Nachträge und Berichtigungen').

¹⁰ Taqī 'd-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Jammā'ī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 600); for the author, see *GAL*, I, 356, Suppl., I, 605.

- 10 (126a): الجزء الأول من عروس الأجزاء¹
- 11 (143a): من فضائل العباس، لابن السمرقندي²
- 12 (155a): الجزء الثالث من الأخبار والحكايات، رواية أبي علي محمد بن القسم بن معروف بن حبيب (؟) المعروف بابن أبي نصر (؟)³
- 13 (163a): هذا خط أبي علي بن البناء الحسن بن أحمد الفقيه الحنبلي⁴
- 14 (179a): الثاني من أمالي ابن سمعون الواعظ⁵
- 15 (199a) الجزء فيه أربعون حديثاً من مسموعات الحافظ أبي القسم علي بن الحسن بن هبة الله الشافعي⁶

Date.—The problem of dating the *Diary* is a simple one. The beginning of each lunar month, almost without exception, is established by the author as being such and such a day, even though he did not have anything to report for that particular first day of the month. The result is that, along with other dates given with precision in the text of the *Diary*, almost every entry which it contains may be likewise dated with precision. Thus the present fragment of the *Diary* begins on Sunday the first day of the lunar month of Shawwāl of the year 461, which corresponds to 3 August 1068 of the Christian era. The last entry is dated the 14th of Dhū'l-Qa'da, 461, corresponding to 4 September 1069.

There are some mistakes in the dates as set down by the author; some he corrected, and others apparently escaped his attention. The dated entries, indicating the date on which an event took place, do not necessarily indicate the date on which the entry was recorded; the author rarely declares having written the report of a given event on the same day of its occurrence. The month with the lowest amount of entries is Shawwāl, 461, where there are only a few lines; while Rabi II, of the same year, is the most documented one. The most frequent and persistent documentation occurs with regard to the case of Ibn 'Aqil.

Place of Composition.—The *Diary* was written in Baghdād, as can be readily seen from its contents. But it was later brought to Damascus where it

¹ In 3 *juz*'s; no external indication of authorship.

² Perhaps Abū'l-Lāith Naṣr b. Muḥammad as-Samarqandī (d. c. 373), *GAL*, I, 195–6; or the Shāfi'ite traditionalist Abū'l-Qāsim Ismā'il b. Aḥmad b. as-Samarqandī (d. 536–8), *Muntaẓam*, x, 98, Subkī, iv, 204.

³ For the work, see *GAL*, Suppl., II (Anhang), 912, where it is listed, but without specification of *juz*'. For a biographical notice of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ma'rūf, whose *nisba*'s are listed as at-Tamīmī ad-Dimashqī al-Akḥbārī (d. 347), see Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt*, II, 376; his teacher Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Marwazī (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, iv, 303), was accused of forging traditions, and the disciple was accused of plagiarizing the teacher's works.

⁴ The present *Diary*.

⁵ cf. item 5, above.

⁶ The historian of Damascus, Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571); compiled several *Arba'ūn* works, some of which are cited in Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf az-zunūn*, I, 232 ff.; cf. *GAL*, I, 331.

was dedicated as *waqf* in the library of the Ḍiyā'īya Madrasa by its founder, the renowned Ḥanbalite traditionalist, Ḍiyā' ad-dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (567–643).¹ The first page of the fragment, fol. 163a, carries the following note in the margin : وقف بالضائية—a *waqf*—possession of the Ḍiyā'īya School. Ḍiyā' ad-dīn al-Maqdisī, founder of this School and dedicator of his own, as well as of other, books to its library, had made a trip to Baghdād shortly before the death of Ibn al-Jauzī (d. 597) under whose direction he studied *ḥadīth*. Returning to Damascus at the turn of the century, Ḍiyā' ad-dīn, who had gathered many manuscripts during his travels, may have brought back with him the present fragment of the *Diary*. In any event, it found its way to him and he constituted it *waqf* in the library of the school which he founded.²

Authorship.—Being only a fragment of the whole work, the *Diary* is not signed by its author. An external indication of authorship is found at the head of the first page, corresponding to folio 163a of the *Majmū'*, where the following words are written by a hand other than that of the author :—

هذا خط أبي علي بن البناء الحسن بن أحمد الفقيه الحنبلي

(This is the handwriting of Abū 'Alī b. al-Bannā' al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, the Ḥanbalite jurisconsult.) These words, and the two words already mentioned in the preceding paragraph, constitute all that is not of the author's handwriting. All marginal notes found elsewhere in the *Diary* (fols. 166a, 168b, 171b, 173a, 174b, and 178b), are those of the author himself. In the text of the *Diary*, the author, speaking in the first person and relating incidents which were brought to his attention, has other people referring to him by name. Thus in paragraph No. 74, he is referred to as 'ash-Shaikh Abū 'Alī b. al-Bannā', and in No. 79, as 'Ibn al-Bannā'. There is therefore no doubt that the writer of the *Diary* and Abū 'Alī b. al-Bannā' are one and the same person. Other evidence of authorship may be found in excerpts of the *Diary* used by Ibn Rajab, as will be seen below.

Sources of the Diary.—Most of the information contained in the *Diary* is the result of the personal observations and experiences of the author himself. But the author does not neglect to report information which was not the result of his own direct observation. These sources of information may be listed as follows :—

(a) Reports from outside of Baghdād, such as Palestine or the Arabian Peninsula, which come to Baghdād via communiqués either specifically stated as sent by merchants or without specification of source. In the case of the earthquake which is reported as having occurred in Palestine on Tuesday,

¹ *GAL*, I, 398–9, Suppl., I, 690. For a history of the school and its founder see 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad an-Nu'aimī, *Ad-dāris fī tārīkh al-madāris* (ed. Ja'far al-Ḥinnī, Damascus, 1370/1951), II, 91 ff.

² cf. *ibid.*, 91 (line 5 from bottom), where Ḍiyā' ad-dīn is called the founder (*bānī*) of the school, and *ibid.*, 94, last line, where he is called its dedicator in *waqf* (*wāqif ad-Ḍiyā'īya*).

the 11th of Jumādā I, 461, the communiqué, from which Ibn al-Bannā' had copied the information, had been sent to Baghdād by merchants who were in the area, a copy thereof finding its way to the wealthy Ḥanbalite merchant Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jarada. The author's close relations with this man gave him access to the information in question. Whenever the author's source of outside information was derived from such communiqués, he would indicate the source by terms such as the following: ورد الخبر... في كتب من التجار (No. 3); ورد الخبر (Nos. 11, 104); أكتب وردت (No. 20).

(b) Reports on events in Baghdād and its vicinity which were related to the author by acquaintances of his who would often come to him with the news, or from whom the news was solicited by the author himself (No. 94). A good number of these informants were well placed to observe the facts on which they reported; they will be found identified, in most cases, in the notes attached to the text.

(c) Anonymous reports introduced by such verbs as: بلغني — قيل — عرفت — أختبروني — ذكر

The Diary as a Source.—The *Diary* is a contemporary and, for the most part, a primary source of the period with which it deals. Some texts in the *Diary*, such as the two reports concerning the earthquakes in Palestine (No. 3) and in the Arabian Peninsula (No. 11), may be found in other historical sources. But these sources cannot be considered as dependent upon the *Diary* simply because they carry very similar reports on the earthquakes. This similarity is most likely the result of the similarity of the original communiqués disseminated in the various localities and copied independently.¹ The later historical sources carry no other information from the *Diary*, nor are their reports on the earthquakes the same as those of the *Diary*, word for word.

On the other hand, the *Diary* itself was used as a source, though in a most restricted way, by Ibn Rajab in his *Continuation* to Ibn Abī Ya'lā's *History of the Ḥanbalites*. Ibn Rajab refers to the present *Diary* of Ibn al-Bannā' as 'at-Tārikh'.² Such also is its title as given by Ibn Rajab under No. 17 of the above list of works attributed to Ibn al-Bannā'. That Ibn Rajab is referring to the present *Diary* by this title can be easily seen in the reference he makes to it, in the brief biographical notice which he devotes to the Ḥanbalite Ibn Tauba al-'Ukbarī (d. 461):³ ذكره ابن البتاء في تاريخه وقال: هو صاحب الخط والأدب. These last four words are but a paraphrase of what Ibn al-Bannā' had said in the biographical notice which he himself had devoted

¹ cf. the remarks of Claude Cahen, 'La Chronique d'al-'Azīmī', *JA*, ccxxx, 1938, 356. For the later sources on the earthquake, see *Diary*, No. 11, n. 1.

² So also does the much later historian Yāfī, *Mir'at al-janān*, III, 100, where he speaks of Ibn al-Bannā' as: صاحب التواريخ والتأليف.

³ *Dhail*, I, 10.

to the same 'Ukbarī : معرفة بالأدب¹. Another reference by Ibn Rajab to the *Diary*, only this time without mentioning the 'Tārīkh', is made on the succeeding page of the *Dhail*, where the biographical notice devoted to Abū Muḥammad al-Baradānī (d. 461) is copied almost entirely from the *Diary*.²

It is by no means certain that the title 'at-Tārīkh' was given to the work by its author; indeed, it is no less uncertain that the author had even taken the trouble to give his *Diary* a title, since all indications point to the fact that he was writing it for his personal use with no intention of publishing it as it stood (see below). What is certain, however, is that the title 'at-Tārīkh' as used by Ibn Rajab refers to the present *Diary*.

Ibn Rajab himself had access only to that part of the *Diary* which is being edited here, and which carries no title. This may be seen in what we believe to be another extract from the *Diary* of Ibn al-Bannā', copied by Ibn Rajab, not directly from the *Diary*, but rather from a copy made thereof by Ibn al-Jauzī. The extract in question is a *waṣīya* written by Sharīf Abū Ja'far, just before he died in 470, to Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jarada. Since the present fragment of the *Diary* does not cover that period, the extract cannot be found in it. Here is how the extract is introduced by Ibn Rajab³ :

قال [ابن الجوزي] : : قرأت بخط أبي علي بن البناء قال : جاءت رقعة بخط الشريف أبي جعفر ووصيته
وقرأت بخط أبي علي بن البناء قال : [Ibn al-Jauzī] said : I read in the

handwriting of Abū 'Alī b. al-Bannā' [and this is what] he said : A note in the handwriting of Sharīf Abū Ja'far, his last will, was brought to Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jarada; so I wrote it down and these were its contents :). In this case Ibn Rajab's source was again Ibn al-Bannā', but this time derived through Ibn al-Jauzī who had seen the original text of Ibn al-Bannā'. Assuming, for the time being, that Ibn al-Jauzī had copied from the *Diary* of Ibn al-Bannā' rather than from some other work of his, this would mean that, of the two fragments, Ibn Rajab had direct access only to the present fragment of the *Diary*.

On the other hand, Ibn al-Jauzī includes no information from the present *Diary* in his history, the *Muntazam*. He names Ibn al-Bannā' as his source on two different occasions, both of which concern periods not included in the present *Diary*. One of these, concerning the year 470, has just been quoted. The second excerpt relates to a period four and one-half months prior to the period treated by the present *Diary*. Again here, Ibn al-Jauzī introduces the text as follows : قرأت بخط أبي علي بن البناء قال (I read in the handwriting of Abū 'Alī b. al-Bannā' [and this is what] he said :).⁴ Ibn Rajab makes use of this

¹ See *Diary*, No. 56. On Ibn Rajab's use of the *Diary*, see below.

² cf. *Dhail*, I, 11, and *Diary*, No. 66.

³ cf. *Dhail*, I, 29, and *Muntazam*, VIII, 316.

⁴ *Muntazam*, VIII, 248-9.

text of Ibn al-Bannā' through Ibn al-Jauzī. On this occasion, however, he neglects to cite Ibn al-Jauzī as his source. But a comparison of his text with that of Ibn al-Jauzī reveals quite clearly its dependence on the latter.¹ Ibn Rajab depends very heavily on the *Muntazam* of Ibn al-Jauzī as a source for the *Dhail*, and though he cites most frequently Ibn al-Jauzī as his source, there are several occasions where he simply neglects to do so. Thus Ibn Rajab did not have access to this second excerpt, preceding the period covered by the present *Diary*.

The excerpts which were copied by Ibn al-Jauzī bear definite indications of having been copied from the *Diary* of Ibn al-Bannā'. Both excerpts are historical and fit into the category of items which were noted by Ibn al-Bannā' in his *Diary*. The style, the dating, the individuals involved, the use of the first person, and the noting down of information obtained at the house of Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jarada, are facts which recall the *Diary*.

On this basis, Ibn al-Jauzī would then have had access to excerpts of the *Diary* which are now lost. It is almost certain that he did not have access to the present fragment of the *Diary*, since he would have made some use of it, if only to record some of the information it contained, such as obituaries devoted to Ḥanbalites and other well-known men who died in the period covered. On the other hand, Ibn Rajab had access to the present *Diary* to the exclusion of the other parts mentioned. The fragmentary state of the *Diary* must have occurred some time before the use of some of its parts by Ibn al-Jauzī in his *Muntazam*.

Termini of the Diary.—Ibn al-Bannā' died in 471. The excerpt relating to the year 470 is evidence that he was active in his note-taking until the last years of his life. The year 471 may therefore be safely considered as the *terminus ad quem* of the *Diary*. Just how early Ibn al-Bannā' may have begun his *Diary*, cannot be determined at present.

Ibn Rajab's use of the Diary.—Ibn Rajab, in his *Continuation* to Ibn Abi Ya'la's *History of the Ḥanbalites*, starts with the biographies of those who died in the year 460. Yet his use of the *Diary* (460 to 461) was very restricted, not only as to the obituaries of Ḥanbalites which he would normally be expected to have included, but also as to the events which took place and involved many leading Ḥanbalites of the day.

Thus, of the many obituaries found in the *Diary*, Ibn Rajab has only transmitted three; namely those of Ibn Tauba al-'Ukbarī (No. 56), al-Baradānī (No. 66), and Ṣihr Hibat al-Muqri' (No. 58).² Several other obituaries of men listed as Ḥanbalites of some note were omitted.³ The reasons for these omissions are not clear in every case; but that they were conscious omissions, there

¹ cf. *Dhail*, I, 24-5, and *Muntazam*, loc. cit.

² For the source of this last obituary which was not taken from the *Diary*, cf. *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, II, 231-2.

³ cf. Jamila al-'Ajjān (*Diary*, No. 12), al-Hamadhānī (No. 13), Abū'l-Faḥ b. Qurraiq (?) (No. 15), an-Najjād al-Ḥanbalī (No. 26), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣṣār (No. 36), al-Āmidī (No. 67), Abū Ṭalīb al-'Ukbarī (No. 96), 'Uthmān al-Khaiyāt (No. 119), Abū'l-Ḥusain b. aṭ-Ṭuyūrī (No. 123).

can hardly be any doubt. The question as to whether the *Diary* was in its present state of integrity at the time of its use by Ibn Rajab, may be easily answered in the affirmative, not only because it was constituted as *waqf* by Ḍiyā' ad-dīn al-Maqdisī more than a century before, but for other reasons as well. Ibn Rajab copies the obituary of al-Baradānī (No. 66), folio 169a of the *Diary*, but omits, for no apparent reason, that of al-Āmidī on the very same folio. From the rather lengthy obituary of Ibn Tauba al-'Ukbarī (No. 56) he chooses a few words, but omits the notes of Ibn al-Bannā' implicating this Ḥanbalite as a traitor and outcast.

One other omission, which is conspicuous in its absence from Ibn Rajab's *Continuation*, is the case of Ibn 'Aqīl.¹ A good amount of information is noted by Ibn al-Bannā' in the *Diary* concerning this case. Ibn Rajab in his own relation of the case, takes the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jauzī as his source and avoids using the detailed information found in the notes of Ibn al-Bannā'. Significant in this regard are the introductory words to the account given by Ibn Rajab. Commenting on a statement of Ibn 'Aqīl which he had just quoted, he writes : 'As for the harm which he mentions as having been done to him by his companions, and the demand they made upon him to abandon (the company of) a certain group of scholars, I shall explain them (hereinafter) *in part* . . .'.² Ibn Rajab thus states that his explanation is going to be *partial*, even after he had related all that the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jauzī had to offer on the case. It is evident, then, that Ibn Rajab had some other information regarding the case which he did not wish to divulge. Much as in the previous case of Abū Ṭālib al-'Ukbarī, where he made use of only a few words in a lengthy biographical notice in the *Diary*, containing adverse information compromising the character of that Ḥanbalite, Ibn Rajab chose to transmit only that information which had already been published in the *Muntaẓam* avoiding the intimate details which Ibn al-Bannā' had noted in his *Diary*.

This was not done from any lack of trust in the credibility of Ibn al-Bannā''s information. The answer must be sought in the private character of the *Diary* and in the intimate details which it offered about certain members of the Ḥanbalite school. Ibn Rajab did not wish to publish the differences which were current among these members. He abstained from the full use of information concerning al-'Ukbarī, because it would have compromised the character of a fellow Ḥanbalite. He abstained from using the information concerning Ibn 'Aqīl's case, because it involved fellow Ḥanbalites and shed unfavourable light on some of them. Ibn Rajab was simply acting according to the true spirit of Muslim solidarity, which enjoins prudent silence in all matters of dissension among the faithful.

What about Ibn al-Bannā' and the intimate details of his *Diary* ? Had he indeed intended to publish these, he would certainly have violated such a principle. An example of the type of information which the author would not have wanted to be known is the internal dissension among Ḥanbalites, a fact

¹ See *Diary*, No. 15, n. 2.

² *Dhail*, I, 174.

which he repeatedly deplors in the *Diary*. Another example is the information which the *Diary* contains about Sharīf Abū Ja'far¹—in whose favour the author shows a great amount of partiality—information which puts the Sharīf in an unfavourable light. The *Diary* appears merely to have been the depository of information considered important or interesting by the author, and which could serve as a general notebook upon which the author could later draw with discretion for purposes of publication.

Value of the Diary.—Since the author's aim was to note down all that he considered, for one reason or another, to be worth preserving, his first draft not intended for publication, it is certain that the contents of his *Diary* have a greater evidential value than if he had written for propaganda purposes. The *Diary* reveals the temperament of the author, his personality, his prejudices, more vividly and more accurately than the stereotyped accounts given in the biographical notices devoted to him.

The principal value of the *Diary* lies in the fact that it deals with the day-to-day socio-religious life of Baghdād, with the author concentrating his attention on the Ḥanbalites and their activities. Although it is only a fragment of the whole work, yet it treats certain phases of life in appreciable detail, allowing the reader to come into closer contact with the spirit of the times, by reading firsthand accounts of some of the prevailing conditions.

Contents.—The contents of the *Diary* are varied: events of historical interest, numerous obituaries, anecdotes, traditions, miracles or wonders, verses of poetry by the author, numerous dreams and their interpretations. The greater part of history which it contains is local, concerning the social, political, and religious life of Baghdād proper, and its vicinity; only a small amount of information concerns other parts of the Islamic world. Among the important personages frequently referred to by the author, the following may be listed: the Caliph al-Qā'im (No. 4, 2) and the Wazīr Ibn Jahīr (No. 18, 1); and especially, Shaikh Abū Maṣṣūr b. Yūsuf (No. 22, 2), Shaikh Ibn Jarada (No. 3, 2), Shaikh Ibn Riḍwān (No. 8, 3), Naqīb al-Ḥāshimīyīn (No. 17, 1), Sharīf Abū Ja'far (No. 17, 3), and Ibn 'Aqīl (No. 15, 2). Much about the author himself may be learned in connexion with these last six personages. The first three were wealthy Ḥanbalite merchants, and the last three, with Ibn Riḍwān, were the principal actors in what the author refers to as the 'Case of Ibn 'Aqīl' leading to the latter's retraction of 465/1072.² The author was biased in favour of Sharīf Abū Ja'far, against Ibn 'Aqīl.

Dreams and their interpretations play an important role in the *Diary*, in so far as they too allow the reader to get a closer view of the author. For it is here that he allows himself to speak freely of his likes and dislikes. Whether it be a dream of his own or one which was brought to him for interpretation, it presented him with an occasion to predict some event, to praise or to condemn some person seen in the dream. Thus, for example, in interpreting one dream,

¹ See *Diary*, No. 17, n. 3.

² cf. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits*, 92.

the author 'foresaw' the return of the Wazīr Ibn Jahīr in the graces of the Caliph (*Diary*, No. 53) ; in others, he praises himself for his own good qualities (e.g., No. 54), for the spiritual benefits he procures for other people (No. 79, second dream) ; and he arrives at an interpretation that his abode (No. 176) and that of his relatives (No. 107) will be in heaven. As for others, outside his family circle, there is he who will suffer for the evil that he had committed during his life (No. 161), and another (No. 79) who is destined for hell-fire on account of his *zandaqa*.

These are some examples of the subjective side of the *Diary*. As for the objective side, there are many details of historical import for the general historian of the period, such as the dismissal of the Wazīr Ibn Jahīr and his reinstatement by the Caliph, the relations between Ḥanbalites and Shāfi'ites, between Ḥanbalites and the government, and among the Ḥanbalites themselves. For this reason, the *Diary* is of particular, though limited, importance, for the history of the Ḥanbalite school of the fifth/eleventh century.

Text.—The text of the *Diary* is that of a first draft, written without care. The handwriting is complicated throughout and obscure in many places. There is a minimum of diacritical marks. The letters themselves are not always clearly traced out ; they often appear attached to each other where they should not be, and in many cases, they do not even appear. I spent a great amount of time merely on the deciphering of the text, for the relative success of which a special alphabet had to be constructed. A certain number of words remain undeciphered and are marked in each case by an ellipsis where they were too doubtful to risk a reading ; a question mark is placed after words where conjecture was possible.

Since the manuscript was written by the author himself, a minimum amount of modifications have been brought to the text. These modifications are only of an orthographic character. For example, in the words : رسول—راو—الف the *alif* was restored : رأوا — آلف ; in the words : نرجوا — ارجوا the *alif* was omitted : نرجو — أرجو ; نركما was changed to كلّما when the meaning required it : الحيا was changed to الحياة ; اخطا was written أخطى and سما was written سمى ; etc. The grammatical mistakes were left intact in the text, and noted in the critical apparatus at the bottom of each page. Anomalies of language were also left intact, such as قال بأنّ, used by the author in the same sense as قال إنّ. Another anomaly is the use of the plural verb when placed before the plural subject, a practice which is admitted by the spoken language alone ; e.g., ... فشكوا الصالحون ; and عملوا دعوة كبيرة أولاد ... الشيخ ; etc.

It may be mentioned here in passing that it was perhaps for such mistakes and anomalies that Ibn an-Najjār severely criticized Ibn al-Bannā' for a

lack of knowledge of the Arabic language. However, it is not entirely certain that Ibn al-Bannā' deserved so severe a criticism. Anomalies in grammar and classical usage can be charged to his use of the colloquial language which required less thought on his part, and which he used for the purpose of getting his notes down with a minimum of effort. Writing for his own use, as in the *Diary*, the author did not concern himself too much with the rules of classical grammar. The justification for Ibn an-Najjār's criticism cannot therefore be fully made on the basis of the present *Diary*, and must wait until other works of the author are found, works which had been intended for publication.

Explanatory Notes.—Our principal concern in the notes to the *Diary* is to identify the persons to whom the author referred. For most of these, only one biographical source is given, leaving it to the interested reader to look up the others according to the full name of the author, or the date of his death, in the other readily accessible historical-biographical works. Wherever possible, the *Dhail 'alā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila*, by Ibn Rajab, was cited in preference to others, in the case of Ḥanbalites, because of the superior quality of the work itself as well as the notes of the editors indicating other biographical sources. When more than one biographical source is given it is usually for purposes of comparison or the completion of information given by the first source. Some of the names remain unidentified for various reasons; in some cases the name itself was not deciphered; in others, it was not sufficiently full and therefore search in the various biographical works was restricted. In still other cases, the person referred to could not have found a place in one of the historical-biographical works for sheer lack of the necessary qualifications; for the author, who enters into the details of daily life, names many persons whose status in life would not interest the biographer.¹

An index of names has been supplied comprising the various forms under which a given name appears throughout the *Diary*. Each of these forms in the index carries a reference to the first mention of the name in the *Diary*; the first number refers to the paragraph, and the second number, if any, refers to the note in that paragraph identifying the personage concerned. This identifying note enumerates all subsequent mentions of the name throughout the *Diary*.

An ellipsis in the text marks the spot of one or more undeciphered words, the number of which is given approximately in the critical apparatus. 'Crossed out' means that the word was crossed out by the author himself; 'modified' means that the author began writing a word and changed it to another; 'uncertain' represents a conjecture on my part in the reading.

¹ cf. some of the more obvious cases: the niece of Abū Ṭāhir b. an-Narsī (No. 70); the daughter of the son- (or brother-)in-law of Hiba (No. 71); Ibn aṣ-Ṣaiyād, husband of the daughter of Ibn as-Sunni, and employee of Ibn Jarada (No. 104); the mother of al-Khaiyāt (No. 149); the wife of the merchant Ibn 'Umar (No. 171); the butcher Abū Raḡba(?) (No. 185); etc.