

# Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World

*Edited by*  
**Claude Gilliot**

General Editor:  
Lawrence I. Conrad



The Formation of the Classical Islamic World

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**THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD**

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Volume 43

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Volume 43

# Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World

edited by  
Claude Gilliot

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The pagination of articles originally published in English has been maintained for this volume. In articles translated into English, the original pagination has been indicated in the text in bold-face type.

## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Since the days of Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921), generally regarded as the founder of Islamic studies as a field of modern scholarship, the formative period in Islamic history has remained a prominent theme for research. In Goldziher's time it was possible for scholars to work with the whole of the field and practically all of its available sources, but more recently the increasing sophistication of scholarly methodologies, a broad diversification in research interests, and a phenomenal burgeoning of the catalogued and published source material available for study have combined to generate an increasing "compartmentalisation" of research into very specific areas, each with its own interests, priorities, agendas, methodologies, and controversies. While this has undoubtedly led to a deepening and broadening of our understanding in all of these areas, and hence is to be welcomed, it has also tended to isolate scholarship in one subject from research in other areas, and even more so from colleagues outside of Arab-Islamic studies, not to mention students and others seeking to familiarise themselves with a particular topic for the first time.

*The Formation of the Classical Islamic World* is a reference series that seeks to address this problem by making available a critical selection of the published research that has served to stimulate and define the way modern scholarship has come to understand the formative period of Islamic history, for these purposes taken to mean approximately AD 600–950. Each of the volumes in the series is edited by an expert on its subject, who has chosen a number of studies that taken together serve as a cogent introduction to the state of current knowledge on the topic, the issues and problems particular to it, and the range of scholarly opinion informing it. Articles originally published in languages other than English have been translated, and editors have provided critical introductions and select bibliographies for further reading.

A variety of criteria, varying by topic and in accordance with the judgements of the editors, have determined the contents of these volumes. In some cases an article has been included because it represents the best of current scholarship, the "cutting edge" work from which future research seems most likely to profit. Other articles—certainly no less valuable contributions—have been taken up for the skillful way in which they synthesise the state of scholarly knowledge. Yet others are older studies that—if in some ways now superseded—nevertheless merit attention for their illustration of thinking or conclusions that have long been important, or for the decisive stimulus they have provided to scholarly discussion. Some volumes cover themes that have emerged fairly recently, and here it has been necessary to include articles from outside the period covered by the series, as illustrations of paradigms and methodologies that may prove

useful as research develops. Chapters from single author monographs have been considered only in very exceptional cases, and a certain emphasis has been encouraged on important studies that are less readily available than others.

In the present state of the field of early Arab-Islamic studies, in which it is routine for heated controversy to rage over what scholars a generation ago would have regarded as matters of simple fact, it is clearly essential for a series such as this to convey some sense of the richness and variety of the approaches and perspectives represented in the available literature. An effort has thus been made to gain broad international participation in editorial capacities, and to secure the collaboration of colleagues representing differing points of view. Throughout the series, however, the range of possible options for inclusion has been very large, and it is of course impossible to accommodate all of the outstanding research that has served to advance a particular subject. A representative selection of such work does, however, appear in the bibliography compiled by the editor of each volume at the end of the introduction.

The interests and priorities of the editors, and indeed, of the General Editor, will doubtless be evident throughout. Hopefully, however, the various volumes will be found to achieve well-rounded and representative syntheses useful not as the definitive word on their subjects—if, in fact, one can speak of such a thing in the present state of research—but as introductions comprising well-considered points of departure for more detailed inquiry.

A series pursued on this scale is only feasible with the good will and cooperation of colleagues in many areas of expertise. The General Editor would like to express his gratitude to the volume editors for the investment of their time and talents in an age when work of this kind is grossly undervalued, to the translators who have taken such care with the articles entrusted to them, and to Dr John Smedley and his staff at Ashgate for their support, assistance and guidance throughout.

Lawrence I. Conrad

# INTRODUCTION

## Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World

Claude Gilliot

His amplius fili mi ne requiras faciendi  
plures libros nullus est finis frequensque  
meditatio carnis adflictio est  
Ecclesiastes 12:12\*

### **Preliminary notes\*\***

The study of education and learning in Islam from 600 to 950 AD encounters at least two difficulties. The first is that the sources, especially the later ones, easily lend themselves to backward projection—the projection of later institutions and practices on to an ancient past. Indeed, religious scholars have taken great pains to establish the idea of an authentic and uninterrupted transmission (*mutawâtir*) of religious knowledge and ancillary learning in order to show at all costs that their foundations lie in the time of the Prophet, or at the very least that they hark back to the very first Muslim generations, and take place within a continuum.<sup>1</sup>

The second difficulty lies in the fact that most of the existing studies are general, considering education and learning over practically the entire span of “classical” Islam, although it seems that there are exceptions. The fact remains that bringing the continuities and discontinuities of the subject and period of our interest to the fore is rarely an easy matter.

### **The First Orientalist Approaches to Education and Learning in Islam**

While making no claim to set out the history of Western research in this area, it nevertheless seems useful at this juncture to broadly set out some of the stages of

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\* “And further, by these, my son, be admonished: of making many books [there is] no end; and much study [is] a weariness of the flesh.”: *The Holy Bible: American King James Version*, Eccl. 12:12.

\*\* Any incomplete reference made in the text or in the footnotes can be found in full in the bibliography that follows.

<sup>1</sup> See Juynboll, G.H.A. (ed.), *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, Carbondale, IL, 1982, 1–2.

Western interest in education and learning in Islam up until around the twentieth century.

The Reformed theologian from Utrecht, Adriaan Reland (1676–1718), to whom we owe the first scientific exposition of Muslim institutions, set himself the goal of presenting his subject “as is taught in the Muslim churches and schools” (*uti docetur in templis et scholis mohammedicis*), incidently something for which he advocated the necessity of knowing the Arabic language.<sup>2</sup>

Admittedly, certain travellers and missionaries of the Middle Ages, such as the Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (d. 1320), have given some indications about educational institutions in Islam. During his sojourn in Baghdad (ca. 1290–96) Monte di Croce attended lessons given by Muslim masters and frequented the libraries that had survived the partial destruction of the town at the hands of the Mongols in 1258.<sup>3</sup>

Yet it was not until the work of a Lebanese Maronite Christian, Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrāhīm al-Haqilānī, d. 1664 in Rome),<sup>4</sup> that any fairly detailed information on teaching methods and pedagogy became available. Ecchellensis translated and annotated in Latin the *Instruction of the Student: The method of learning*<sup>5</sup> by Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (d. 620/1223).<sup>6</sup>

Some 60 years later, Reland published al-Zarnūjī’s<sup>7</sup> Arabic text with a Latin translation on the facing pages (pp. 1–165) by the Danish Fredrik Rostgaard (d. 1745); this was accomplished in collaboration with the Maronite Josephus Banesis (Yūsuf b. Jirjis al-Bānī al-Ḥalabī, called al-Mu’allim Yūsuf, of the Maronite College in Rome, d. 1725 in Aleppo),<sup>8</sup> from a copy belonging to Jacobus Salomon Damascenus (Sulaymān al-Aswad), an orthodox priest of Damascus. He added to this translation (p. 167 *et seq.*) Ecchellensis’s rather different version with a commentary entitled *Semita sapientiae*, reproduced from a manuscript copy. Reland was apparently unaware that a printed edition already existed!<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Hadriani Relandi, *De Religione mohammedica*, 2nd edn, Utrecht, 1717, §XI. First edition published in 1705.

<sup>3</sup> Méricoux, J.-M., “L’ouvrage d’un frère prêcheur florentin à la fin du XIIIe siècle. Le ‘Contra legen Sarracenorūm’ de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce”, *Memorie Domenicane*, n.s. 17 (1986), 117–21, ch. XIII; Riccoldo, *Itinerarium*, chs. XXI–XXIX, 131–35 (*Itinerarius Fratris Ricoldi*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores mediæ ævi quatuor*, Leipzig, 1873, 105–41).

<sup>4</sup> Fück, J., *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, Leipzig, 1955, 75–76; Troupeau, G., “Le rôle des chrétiens du monde arabe dans l’orientalisme en France, du XVIIe au XIXe siècle”, in Musall, F. and Al-Mudarris A. (eds), *Im Dialog bleiben. Festschrift für Raif Georges Khoury*, Wiesbaden Harrassowitz, 2011, 232–33 (231–35).

<sup>5</sup> *Semita Sapientiae sive ad scientias comparandas methodvs*, Parisiis, apud Adrianum Taupinart, 1646, 104pp.

<sup>6</sup> See “Pedagogy” *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> *Enchiridion studiosi*, Utrecht, 1709.

<sup>8</sup> Kaḥḥāla, ‘Umar Riḍā, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifin*, Beirut, (reprint of the Damascus edn, 1957–61). XIII, 285.

<sup>9</sup> Smitskamp, R., *Catalog 621* (Leiden, 1999), no. 606.

Al-Zarnūjī's treatise was then published in a new and better edition<sup>10</sup> taken from the text published by Reland and from five manuscripts, with a new Latin translation by Carl Paul Caspari (d. 1892).<sup>11</sup> The latter added to it variants and scholia taken from Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl's commentary (written in 996/1588).<sup>12</sup>

The publication of the two volumes of *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* in Madrid (1760–70) by the Maronite Miguel Casiri (d. 1791)<sup>13</sup> proved to be an important landmark in the field of our study and not only for the region of al-Andalus. Indeed, the author's scholarly notes do not merely include descriptions of written works, but also information on the scholarly production of the Arabs, on scholarship, on the transmission of knowledge, on libraries, schools and so on. This *opus magnum* practically became a source in its own right for several generations of orientalists.

As for the father of modern orientalism, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (d. 1838), he made good use of the store of Arab manuscripts in the Royal Library, as well as the works of his predecessors, in order to write a long *mémoire*, in which he set out the history of Arabic writing along with the production of the ancient Arab poets.<sup>14</sup> Some of his other works also contain material on education and learning, notably his *Chrestomathie arabe*<sup>15</sup> and, more specifically, some edited and translated extracts from al-Maqrizī and Ibn Khaldūn, among others.

On the Protestant side, the Lutheran theologian Heinrich Middeldorpf (d. 1861) published a dissertation in which he painted a literary landscape of Spain under the Arabs,<sup>16</sup> a landscape in which every feature was drawn from Casiri. This work notably examined the "Arab academies and schools" and libraries. Its concluding epilogue is dedicated to the Arabic translations of the Greek authors.

The Austrian diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856) published two large volumes *Encyclopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients* (1804),<sup>17</sup> which covered the history of writing, grammar, historiography, philosophy, theology, law, medicine, magic, amulets and talismans and the like. He based this work on seven manuscript works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but most particularly on the *Kashf al-zunūn* of Ḥājī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657).

<sup>10</sup> Borhān-ed-dīni es-Sernūdī, *Enchiridion Studiosi*, Leipzig, 1838.

<sup>11</sup> Fück, *Studien*, *op. cit.*, 199-200.

<sup>12</sup> Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* [hereafter GAL], I, 462; Supplement [hereafter S] I, 837.

<sup>13</sup> Fück, *Studien*, *op. cit.*, 125-26.

<sup>14</sup> "Mémoire" (1785), 248-348, 349-412; "Nouveaux aperçus" (1827), 209-31.

<sup>15</sup> Silvestre de Sacey, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 3 vols, Paris, 1826-27. First edition 1806.

<sup>16</sup> *Commentatio de institutis literariis in Hispania* ..., Göttingen, 1810.

<sup>17</sup> *Encyclopädische Uebersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients, aus sieben arabischen, persischen und türkischen Werken übersetzt. Den Freunden... der orientalischen Literatur gewidmet von einem derselben Beflissenen in Konstantinopel*, 2 vols, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1804, XIV+701 pp.

In 1838 Étienne-Marc Quatremère (d. 1857) published his famous *Mémoire sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux*<sup>18</sup> which holds much information particularly on literary life and education at the time of the Umayyads and of the Abbasids, on the study sessions (*majālis*), the libraries and so on. He drew his material from the *Fihrist* [*Index of Books and Disciplines*] by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990 or 385/995), from Ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), Ibn al-Athīr (Izz al-Dīn, d. 630/1233), Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), among others. We have come a long way since the publication, in 1747, of J.J. Reiske's (d. 1774) *mémoire*, which still appears to be little known.<sup>19</sup> It should, however, be noted that the latter's *Dissertatio inauguralis exhibens miscellaneas aliquot observationes medicas ex Arabum monumentis*,<sup>20</sup> which was published in the preceding year, dealt with Arab medicine and thus held little interest for literary circles.

The Saxon Gustav Flügel (d. 1870) focused his energies on, among other things, cataloguing the Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts of the princely library of Vienna. In addition to his edition and concordance of the Qur'an (1837, 1875), he published two important sources for the knowledge of scholarship in Islam: the *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum (Kashf al-ẓunūn)* (1835–58) of Ḥājī Khalīfa, with a Latin translation and scholarly notes, and the *editio princeps* of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (1872), which was edited and published posthumously. He also published two monographs aimed at providing readers with a better understanding of scholars and scholarship in Islam: *Die Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten (The Classes of Ḥanafī Jurists)* (1861) according to Ibn Quṭlūbughā (d. 879/1474), and *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber (Arabic Grammatical Schools)* (1862). Several of his other writings followed in the same spirit.<sup>21</sup>

Ferdinand Wüstenfeld's (d. 1899) edition of the biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-a'yān (The Obituary of Illustrious Persons)* (1835–50) by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) gave access to a treasure trove of information concerning Arabic literary and scientific life. His *Die Akademien der Araber und ihre Lehrer (The Academies of the Arabs and their Teachers)* (1837)—a German adaptation of the *The Classes of the Shāfi'īs* by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448)—made an important contribution to our knowledge of sources on teaching and scholarship. He also wrote on the history of Arabic physicians and naturalists (*Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, 1840). He then

<sup>18</sup> Quatremère, Étienne, "Mémoire sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux", *JA*, 3rd series (1838), 35–78; Hammer-Purgstall, J., "Additions au 'Mémoire' de M. Quatremère sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux", *JA*, 4th series, XI (1848), 178–98.

<sup>19</sup> *Dissertatio de principibus Muhammedanis ...*, Leipzig, 1747.

<sup>20</sup> *Lugduni Batavorum* (Leiden), 1746, 29 pp.

<sup>21</sup> Among others, "Einige geographische und ethnographische Handschriften der Refajja auf der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig", *ZDMG*, 16 (1862), 651–709.

published *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (*The Historiographers of the Arabs and their works*) (1882) and also compiled a wealth of information in the *The Classes of the Shāfi'īs* of al-Subkī, al-Asanawī and Ibn Quṭlūbughā, which was published under the title of *Der Imām el-Schāfi'ī, seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum J. 300 d. H.* (*The Imām al-Shāfi'ī, his Pupils and Disciples until 300*) (1890–91).

In his dissertation, the Dutch theologian Pieter Johannes Veth (d. 1895)<sup>22</sup> investigated Arab institutions for the education of youth and the promotion of literatures.<sup>23</sup> He based this on the works of Casiri, Wüstenfeld, Hammer-Purgstall, G. Weil, Georg Wilhelm Freytag (d. 1861), William McGuckin de Slane (d. 1878), José Antonio Conde (d. 1820),<sup>24</sup> among others, as well as on edited Arab sources such as that of al-Zarnūjī and on Leiden manuscripts (Maqrīzī *et al.*).

In 1849 the orientalist Aloys Sprenger (d. 1893), an Austrian doctor, edited an important source for an understanding of the *ratio studiorum* and the Muslim classification of the sciences: the *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid* (s.t. *Survey of the Mohammadan Sciences*)<sup>25</sup> by Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348), until then better known as al-Anṣārī or Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ibrāhīm. A few years later, Sprenger published an article on the subjects taught in schools and Muslim scholasticism.<sup>26</sup> Theodor Haarbrücker (d. 1880), the translator of Shahrastānī, had, however, previously partially translated al-Akfānī's text, notably the passages relating to pedagogy and the taught sciences (1859).<sup>27</sup> Having access to al-Akfānī's treatise in Arabic, and also partly in German, represented significant progress, particularly since this work is one of the sources for the *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* (*The Key of Happiness*), a biographical/bibliographical work by Ṭāshkubrīzādah (d. 986/1651), which in turn is the principal source for Ḥājjī Khalīfa. Sprenger also oversaw, with W. Nassau Lees, the publication of the *Dictionary of Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans* (1854–62) by al-Tahānawī (originally written in 1158/1745). Finally, he wrote a long article on the writing down of historical facts among Muslims.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Velde, Paul van der, *Een Indische liefde: P.J. Veth (1814–1895) en de inburgering van Nederlands-Indië*, Amsterdam, Balans, 2000, 451 pp.; id., *A Lifelong Passion: P.J. Veth (1814–1895) and the Dutch East Indies*, trans. Beverly Jackson, Leiden, KITLV Press, 2006, XVI+355 pp.

<sup>23</sup> Veth, P.J., *Dissertatio De institutis Arabum erudiendae juventutis ...*, Amsterdam, 1843.

<sup>24</sup> Conde, J.A., *Geschichte der Herrschaft der Mauren in Spanien*, trans. Karl Rutschmann, Karlsruhe, 1824–25 [*Historia de la Dominación de los Árabes*, 1820–21].

<sup>25</sup> *Two Works on Arabic Bibliography*, Calcutta, 1849, 14–99; reprint F. Sezgin *et al.* (eds), *Historiography and Classification of Science in Islam*, IX, Frankfurt, IGAIW, 2005, 187–275; Witkam, J.J., "Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348) and his bibliography of the sciences" *MME*, 2 (1987), 37–41.

<sup>26</sup> Sprenger, A., "Die Schulfächer und die Scholastik der Muslime", *ZDMG*, 32 (1878), 1–20.

<sup>27</sup> "Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Anṣārī's arabische Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften, vornehmlich in pädagogischer Beziehung", *Jahresbericht über die Louisenstädtische Realschule* (Berlin, Lange), 1859, 1–38; reprint in F. Sezgin *et al.* (eds), *Historiography and Classification of Science in Islam*, IX, Frankfurt, IGAIW, 2005, 1–25.

<sup>28</sup> Sprenger, A., "On the origin and progress of writing down historical facts among the Musulmans". *JAS of Bengal*, 25 (1856–57), 303–29, 375–85.

This same period saw several works contribute to a better understanding of the transmission of the *ḥadīth* and its terminology: L. Krehl's (1825–1901)<sup>29</sup> publication of the 20-verse didactic poem on the terminology of the *ḥadīth* by the Andalusian Ibn Farāḥ (d. 699/1300) was followed by an edition of Izz al-Dīn's (d. 819/1416) commentary, *Zawāl al-taraḥfī manẓūmat Ibn Farāḥ*, edited, translated and annotated by F. Risch (1859).<sup>30</sup> In 1862 E.E. Salisbury (d. 1901) penned a long contribution on “the science of the Muslim tradition” made up of Arabic texts drawn from several sources and accompanied by a translation.<sup>31</sup>

The polyglot Benedictine abbot Daniel Bonifacius Haneberg (d. 1876) wrote a treatise in Latin on *Teaching and Instruction among the Mahomedans of the Middle Age*<sup>32</sup> in which he considered the relationship between schools and the state, the teaching of pupils, the method of instruction, and the formation of the various disciplines.

At the same time, much of what we know about Muslim Sicily has been culled from later Arabic sources and collated by the historian Michele Amari (d. 1889),<sup>33</sup> an effort that led him to compile a substantial work that was edited and published posthumously.<sup>34</sup> Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a work by the ecclesiastic, diplomat and historiographer Rosario de Gregorio (d. 1809)<sup>35</sup> was published in Palermo, but was made obsolete by the works of Michele Amari.

Certain general histories of education or teaching, based on monographs written by specialists, have included pages or chapters on Muslim Spain, one example being that by Auguste Vallet de Viriville (d. 1868).<sup>36</sup>

Because of a greater availability of Arabic sources edited in the West, lithographed or printed in the East, or, to a lesser extent, in the Maghreb, the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century saw an increase in the publication of better-informed monographs, articles or book chapters on education than ever before. Thus, the Austrian Alfred von Kremer (d. 1889) devoted some chapters and pages of his *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* (1875–77) to teaching and the *kuttāb*, other institutions, like mosques, study circles, *madrasas* (colleges), and disciplines, like poetry, science and literature, and libraries in the first four centuries of Islam. For his part, Julián

<sup>29</sup> Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne (Nafh al-ṭīb)*, 2 vols, ed. R. Dozy et al., Leiden, 1855–61, I, 819–20.

<sup>30</sup> *Commentar des Izz-ed-Dīn Abu Abd-ullah*, Leiden, 1885, VII+15+42 pp.; cf. Gilliot, “Textes arabes anciens édités en Égypte”, *MIDEO*, 28 (2010), 400–402, no. 184.

<sup>31</sup> “Contributions from original sources to our knowledge of the science of Muslim tradition”, *JAOS*, VII (1862), 60–142.

<sup>32</sup> *Über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Muhamedaner im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1850.

<sup>33</sup> *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig, 1857; reprint Baghdad, 1965; Beirut, n.d.

<sup>34</sup> *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd edn, 3 vols in 5, Catania, 1933–39; Firenze, 1854–72. Arabic trans. I. Muḥibb Sa'd, *Ta'riḫ Muslimī Šiqilliya*, 3 vols, Italy, 2003.

<sup>35</sup> *Rerum Arabicarum quae ad Historiam Siculam*, Palermo, 1790.

<sup>36</sup> *Histoire de l'instruction publique en Europe et principalement en France*, Paris, 1849, 103–10, on the Arabs and Jews in Spain.

Ribera y Tarragó (d. 1934) published two of his conferences—one on *Teaching among the Muslims of Spain* (1893)<sup>37</sup> and the other on book-lovers and libraries in Islamic Spain.<sup>38</sup> Moritz Güdemann (d. 1918) made a study of teaching among the Spanish Jews during the Muslim occupation,<sup>39</sup> and the American Duncan Black Macdonald (d. 1943),<sup>40</sup> published *A Selection from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn* in 1905.

In 1912 Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921) published the first truly scientific article on education among the Muslims ever published in an encyclopaedia, which is as useful to us now as it was then (see Chapter 2, this volume). It benefited from Goldziher's previous research, which already included substantial relevant material such as his "Contributions to the History of Linguistic Scholarship among the Arabs"<sup>41</sup> and his *Muhammedanische Studien* (1889–90), which has now been partly translated into other languages, including French and English.

However, the great event proved to be the posthumous publication, in 1922, of Adam Mez's (d. 1917) *Die Renaissance des Islams* which has since been translated into several languages. This was the first attempt since that made by Alfred von Kremer to present a cultural history of Islam, here focusing on the fourth/tenth century.

## The History of Education and Learning in Islam: General Notes

We have at our disposal a bibliography of Islamic education drawn up by A. Belambri (1988) almost up-to-date until around 1987, and also the *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy* by Hans Daiber, the index of which includes an entry on "Education".<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, two Tunisian researchers, I. al-Najjār and B. al-Zaribī (1985), have collected numerous texts relating to education, teaching and pedagogy in Islam, drawn from Muslim sources; this anthology is of some use. Finally, the electronic site moderated by J.J. Witkam gives us direct access

<sup>37</sup> Ribera y Tarragó, J., *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles. Bibliófilos y Bibliotecas en la España Musulmana*, 3rd edn, Córdoba, 1925, 120 pp./Arabic trans. al-Ṭ.A. Makkī, *al-Tarbiyya al-islāmiyya fī al-Andalus*, Cairo, 1981.

<sup>38</sup> Ribera y Tarragó, J., "Bibliófilos y bibliotecas de la España musulmana", dissertation, Faculty of Medicine and Science, Zaragoza, 1896.

<sup>39</sup> *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der spanisch-arabischen Periode*, Vienna, 1873; reprint, Amsterdam, 1968.

<sup>40</sup> *Aspects of Islam*, New York, 1911, 288–322; id., "The moral education of the young among Muslims", *International Journal of Ethics*, XV/3 (1915), 286–304.

<sup>41</sup> "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachgelehrsamkeit bei den Arabern". I. "Mit Mitteilungen aus der Refā'ijja"; II. "Zur Gauhari-Literatur"; III. "Abu-l-Husein ibn Fâris"; SKAW, LXVII (1871), 207–51; LXXII (1872), 587–631; LXXIII (1873), 511–52; reprint in *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, Hildesheim, 1964, 7–51.

<sup>42</sup> *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*, 2 vols, Leiden, 1999; *Supplement*, Leiden, 2007, II, 107, under Education, and Supplement.

to numerous articles, and even to some works, on books, manuscripts and even scholarship on Islam.<sup>43</sup>

Shlomo Dov Goitein's (d. 1985) *opus magnum*, *A Mediterranean Society*, dedicated to the Jewish communities of the world, as portrayed in documents of the Cairo Geniza, is a treasure trove of information for the subject of our study, especially its sixth chapter entitled "Education and the Professional Classes".<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, it boasts an index volume, and access to the *materia arabica* has been made even easier by a special dictionary.<sup>45</sup>

Given the chronological parameters (from 600 AD to 340/950) assigned to this collection of essays, the *terminus ad quem* to which we have adhered is the creation of the *madrāsas* (colleges), even though *madrāsas* existed prior to the establishment of the Nizāmiyya of Baghdad (457/1065), and even though the question of the origin, birth and evolution of these institutions remains highly controversial.<sup>46</sup>

We have not yet found a satisfactory work on the general history of education and learning in Islam, or even a monograph on this subject, for the formative period of Islamic history. It is no coincidence that the article "Tarbiyya" ("Education and Pedagogy")—referred to several times in the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*—has an entry of merely a few lines.<sup>47</sup> The best work, which also relates to the concept of knowledge in medieval Islam, is the study by Franz Rosenthal, particularly Chapter 8: "Knowledge is Society: Education".<sup>48</sup> Arthur Stanley Tritton's 1957 study, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages*, remains a mine of ever useful information, but it covers the whole of the medieval period and is in need of updating. Nevertheless, the author, being a good historian, often orders the material within the various chapters chronologically—for example, "Elementary Education", "Advanced Education", "Teachers and the Taught" and so on. Bayard Dodge's 1962 study, *Muslim Education Medieval Times*, is a short general synthesis. As regards the Qur'an, two articles in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* address knowledge, learning and teaching.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/index.html>.

<sup>44</sup> *A Mediterranean Society*, 6 vols, Berkeley, 1967–93; reprint, 1999, II, 171–272.

<sup>45</sup> Diem, W. and Radenberg, H.-P., *A Dictionary of the Arabic Material of S.D. Goitein's A Mediterranean Society*, Wiesbaden, 1994.

<sup>46</sup> Makdisi, G., "Madrasa", *EI*, 2nd edn, V, 1123–34 (French edn, V, 1119–30), V, 1126–27/1122–23; id., *The Rise of Colleges*, Edinburgh, 1981, 27–34. For a summary of Makdisi's ideas on these topics and the critique to them, see Lowry, J., "Colleges of law and the institutions of medieval Sunni Islam", in Lowry et al. (eds), *Law and Education in Medieval Islam*, Warminster, 2004, 1–4.

<sup>47</sup> "Tarbiya", *EI*, 2nd edn, X, 223a; French edn "Tarbiyya", X, 241a, with reference to Kuttāb, Madrasa, Djāmi'a, Kulliyya and so on; Berkey, J.P., "Tadris", *EI*, 2nd edn, X (1998), deals with teaching in the period of the *madrāsas*.

<sup>48</sup> Rosenthal, F., *Knowledge Triumphant*, Leiden, 1970, 240–333.

<sup>49</sup> Walker, P.E., "Knowledge and learning", *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* [hereafter *EQ*], III, 100–104; Günther, S., "Teaching", *EQ*, V, 200–205.

A. Shalaby's thesis, *The History of Muslim Education with Special Reference to Egypt*, published in English (1954/1979) and in Arabic translation (1954/1973), certainly contains interesting material, yet suffers from a methodological insufficiency and a lack of historical objectivity. The last chapter of this work is dedicated to the Ismailis of Egypt<sup>50</sup> and does not seem to follow on well from what comes before. M. Hamiuddin Khan's first volume, *History of Muslim Education* (1967), considers the period between 712 and 1750 and offers little interesting information in its own right. S.M. Ziauddin Alavi's short book, *Muslim Educational Thought in the Middle Ages*, attempts to trace the development of Muslim education from the rise of Islam up to the fourteenth century and focuses on the ideas of Avicenna, al-Fārābī, Ibn Miskawayh, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn. We were unable to consult 'Abdul-Rahman Salih 'Abdullah's (1982) thesis, nor even M.A. 'Abdullatif's (1997) large work in Urdu.

More works have been produced, either based on specific sources or on towns and regions. Accordingly, Munir-ud-Din Ahmed studied Muslim education and the status of scholars until the fifth/eleventh century using the *History of Baghdad* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) as his principal source.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, on the basis of the *History of Damascus* by Ibn 'Asākir, Malake Abiad has put forward a culture and education chart for Shām (Syria) during the first three centuries of Islam.<sup>52</sup> K.D. Zarw (1971), however, confined his study of Shām to its intellectual life solely during the first-third/seventh–eighth centuries. Ali Driss, for his part, wrote his 1979 doctoral thesis on education and pedagogic ideas in Muslim Barbary. In a work published in 1997 A. 'U. Ḥijāzī set himself the task of drawing out the main characteristics of education among the Malikis, Fatimids, Sufis and Ibadites in Qayrawan (Fr: Kairouan) over the course of the three first centuries of the Hijra. Other works have focused on cultural life, teaching and transmission of knowledge in Sicily.<sup>53</sup>

Ibrahim Salama's 1938 publication on Islamic teaching in Egypt includes some pages on the first centuries of Islam. In 1992 Vernet made a written contribution to a volume on education in ancient and medieval Islamic Spain, while M. 'A. 'Īsā devoted a large work to the history of education in this same region (1982).

Although Charles Pellat's study of Bassora<sup>54</sup> at the time of al-Jāḥiẓ does not confine itself to education and learning, it remains a model of the genre for the *Geistesgeschichte* of this Muslim metropolis.

<sup>50</sup> *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya al-islāmiyya*, 389–421.

<sup>51</sup> *Muslim Education and the Scholars' Social Status*, Zurich, 1968.

<sup>52</sup> *Culture et éducation arabo-islamique au Šām*, Damascus, 1981.

<sup>53</sup> 'Abbās, Iḥsān, *al-'Arab fī Šiqilliyya. Dirāsa fī al-ta'rikh wa-al-adab*, Cairo, 1959, 2nd edn, Beirut, 1975; al-Zahrānī, 'A. b. M. b. Sa'īd, *al-Hayāt al-'ilmīyya fī Šiqilliyya al-islāmiyya (212–484/826–1091)*, Mecca, 1996; Granara, W., "Islamic education and the transmission of knowledge in Muslim Sicily", in Lowry et al. (eds), *Law and Education in Medieval Islam* (2004), 150–73.

<sup>54</sup> *Le Milieu bašrien et la formation de Ġāḥiẓ*, Paris, 1953/Arabic trans., 1961.

Several monographs have focused on non-Sunni Muslim groups, such as the Imamites<sup>55</sup> and the Ibadites,<sup>56</sup> among others.

### Literacy in Pre-Islamic Times and in the Time of Muḥammad<sup>57</sup>

When it comes to knowledge about the writings of the ancient Arabs,<sup>58</sup> the researcher is caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, Muslim sources seek to convince us that the Arabs were illiterate (*umīyyūn*), thus seeking to establish the basis for the Muslim dogma according to which Muḥammad knew neither how to read nor how to write, in order to better establish the notion of the uniquely divine origin of the Qur'an. On the other hand, over time, these same sources extended the list of those Muslims who would have committed the revelations of the Prophet of Islam to writing in order to emphasize the idea of the faithful transmission of the Qur'an. We now know that if the word *ummī* came to be understood to mean "illiterate" it was probably in consequence of "a sectarian dispute about the probative value of the miracle in the Muḥammadan biography".<sup>59</sup>

Indeed, a debate broke out over whether or not Muḥammad knew how to write (or read). It is here, once again, that Aloys Sprenger emerges as a pioneer, even though the question had been raised a long time previously. According to him, Muḥammad probably did know how to read and write.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, Sprenger held that:

... the intellectual training of the Meccans or of the Qurayshites, as they were called, should not be disregarded. Most knew how to read and write; for their commercial travels had allowed them to acquire learning that cannot

<sup>55</sup> Fayyāḍ, *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya 'inda al-imāmiyya wa aslāfihim min al-shi'a bayna 'ahday al-Ṣādiq wa al-Ṭūsī*, 2nd edn, Beirut, 1983; Qazwinī, 'A.A.M.M., *al-Fīkr al-tarbiwī 'inda al-Shi'a al-imāmiyya*, Cairo, 1985.

<sup>56</sup> Hījāzī (2000).

<sup>57</sup> For this whole section, see Gilliot, C., "Die Schreib- und/oder Lesekundigkeit in Mekka und Yathrib/Medina zur Zeit Mohammeds", in Groß, Markus, and Ohlig, Karl-Heinz (eds), *Schlaglichter. Die beiden ersten islamischen Jahrhunderte*, Berlin, Hans Schiler, 2008, 293–319.

<sup>58</sup> For the pre-Islamic period it is always worth consulting the following work, sadly lacking in references: Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī ma'rīfat aḥwāl al-'Arab*, Cairo, 1923, III, 367–84.

<sup>59</sup> Calder, N., "The Ummī in early Islamic juristic literature", *Der Islam*, 67 (1990), 111 (111–23); Wansbrough, J., *Quramic Studies*, Oxford, 1977, 53–54, 63; Goldfeld, I., "Al-Nabiyy al-Umiyy: an inquiry into the development of a dogma in Islamic tradition", *Der Islam*, 57 (1980), 58–67; Athamina, K., "Al-nabiyy al-umiyy": an inquiry into the meaning of a Qur'anic verse", *Der Islam*, 69 (1992), 61–80.

<sup>60</sup> Sprenger, A., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, 2nd edn, 3 vols, Berlin, 1869, II, 398–402. See also 'Alī, Jawād, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī ta'rikh al-'arab qabla al-islām*, 2nd edn, 10 vols, n.p., 1413/1993 (1st edn, 1968–76), VIII, 91–143, which shows a certain critical distance, particularly concerning Muḥammad's illiteracy.

be underestimated, so that they could even boast before the Prophet of their knowledge (Koran 40, 83).<sup>61</sup>

Though sensitive to Sprenger's arguments, and that of others, Theodor Nöldeke does not follow suit.<sup>62</sup> Henri Lammens, on the basis of a passage from the *Sīra*, deduces that of the ten sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad's father, knew how to write.<sup>63</sup>

Investigation of the milieu that witnessed the birth of Arabic inscriptions<sup>64</sup> and the derivation of the Arabic alphabet has become a vexed issue among scholars.<sup>65</sup> Although everyone agrees that the Arabic alphabet is ultimately derived from some form of the Aramaic alphabet, some hold that it stems from the Nabatean, while yet others believe that it comes from the Syriac. The latter view is the older, harking back to the eighteenth<sup>66</sup> and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>67</sup> The small principality of Lakhm, and more specifically its capital Ḥīra,<sup>68</sup> could well be the birthplace of Arabic writing. This state welcomed the Manicheans persecuted by the Sassanids and, above all, Christians expelled from the Byzantine Empire for reasons of heterodoxy. The languages spoken there were Syriac and Arabic (they were also written down, but we do not know in what form). From a historical perspective, a likely hypothesis might be that Arabic script was created in Ḥīra in the fifth century for the purposes of the chancellery. It would then have been brought to Syria by Christians fleeing the Sassanid Empire at the beginning of

<sup>61</sup> Sprenger, *Mohammed und der Koran: eine psychologische Studie*, Hamburg, 1889, 4–5.

<sup>62</sup> Nöldeke, *De origine et compositione surarum qoranicarum ipsiusque Qorani*, Göttingen, 1856, 10–14; id., *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Göttingen, 1860, 7–15; id., *GdQ*, I, 11–15.

<sup>63</sup> Lammens, H., *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, Beirut, 1924, 123, n. 5; cf. Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, (*Das Leben Mohammeds*), ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858–60, 97/trans A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad*, Karachi, 1978, 66. For Lammens, writing was very widespread in the “république marchande de La Mecque” (*La Mecque*, 192); id., “La république marchande de La Mecque vers l'an 600 de notre ère”, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 5th series, 4 (1910), 27, 46 and fn. 7.

<sup>64</sup> Robin, C., “L'écriture arabe et l'Arabie”, *Pour la Science*, Dossier (October–January 2002), 62–69; Endress, G., “Die arabische Schrift”, in Fischer, Wolfdietrich (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, I, Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden, 1982, 166–70 (165–183); Gilliot, C., “Une reconstruction critique du Coran ou comment en finir avec les merveilles de la lampe d'Aladin”, in Kropp, M. (ed.), *Results of Contemporary Research on the Qur'an: The question of a historico-critical text*, Beyrouth, Orient Institut/Würzburg, Ergon Verlag, 2007, 66–76 (33–137).

<sup>65</sup> Bellamy, J.A., “The Arabic alphabet”, in Senner, Wayne M. (ed.), *The Origins of Writing*, Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1991, 99 (91–102).

<sup>66</sup> Silvestre de Sacy, A.-I., “Mémoire”, 1785, 266, 299–300, 306–307; id., “Nouveaux aperçus”, 1827, 27 pp. He developed and reinforced through further arguments this idea which had already been proposed by others, such as: Adler, J.G.C., *De arte scribendi apud Arabes*, Hamburg, 1780; and Reiske, *Tharāfae Moallakah cum scholiis Nahas*, Leiden, 1742.

<sup>67</sup> Ewald, H. (G.H.A. von), *Grammatica critica linguae Arabicae*, 2 vols in 1, Leipzig, 1831–33, I, 34–36, giving the Arabic and Syriac alphabets side-by-side in a table reproduced in Troupeau, G., “Réflexions sur l'origine syriaque de l'écriture arabe”, in Kaye, Alan S. (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau*, II, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1991, 1567 (1562–70).

<sup>68</sup> Thus al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), in Tha'labi, Abū Ishāq, *al-Kashf wa l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'an*, 10 vols, ed. Abū M. 'A. 'Ashūr and Abū M. b. 'Ashūr, Beirut, 2002, II, 281, *ad* Koran 2, 275.

the sixth century. This would, to some extent, agree with the accounts of Muslim historiographers.

Another hypothesis suggests that Arabic script could have its origins in the Arab Church of Syria, but this Church comprised tribes who would have had a centre only from the time of the establishment of the principality of Ghassān, towards 520, and it does not seem to have undertaken an Arabic translation of the Bible.<sup>69</sup> That said, the problem of pre-Islamic Christian literature in the East during the fifth century in relation to an Arabic Bible and liturgy has been considered by I. Shahid, who notably presented a *status quaestionis* of this subject.<sup>70</sup>

If we take a palaeographic approach to determining the origin of Arabic script we find two opposing currents. The first defends the Nabatean origin of the Arabic alphabet, claiming that the shape of the letters is the result of an evolution of the classical Aramaic alphabet (inscriptions in Jordan, southern Syria and north-west Arabia).<sup>71</sup> This thesis is generally agreed upon and originated with the publication of Sinaitic and Nabatean inscriptions in the nineteenth century, and, ever since, most scholars have followed the lead of Theodor Nöldeke who proposed the Nabatean origin, in 1865.<sup>72</sup>

However, beginning in the 1960s, several French researchers<sup>73</sup> revisited the old theory—that the Arabic alphabet has a Syriac origin—this time backing up their thesis with more arguments. As was quite rightly written, “On est frappé de constater que les opérations au moyen desquelles l’écriture estrangelo a pu être transformée pour devenir l’écriture coufique concordent avec les données fournies par la tradition arabe”<sup>74</sup>—in other words, among others, a tradition transmitted by al-Kalbī (M. b. al-Sā’ib, d. 146/763) in a familial *isnād* that starts

<sup>69</sup> Robin, “L’écriture arabe”, *art. cit.*, 65.

<sup>70</sup> Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington, DC, 2006, 438–49, 449–58. First published 1989.

<sup>71</sup> Robin, “L’écriture arabe”, *art. cit.*

<sup>72</sup> Nöldeke, T., “Bemerkungen zu den von de Vogüé herausgegebenen nabatäischen und hebräischen Inschriften”, *ZDMG*, 19 (1865), 638 (637–41); Euting, J., *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, 1885; Lidzbarski, M., *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften*, Weimar, 1898; Abbott, N., *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Kurānic Development*, Chicago, 1939, 1–5; Moritz, B., “Arabia (Arabic Writing)”, *EI*, 1st edn (1913), I, 381–92, and more particularly 384, 387–89; Grohmann, A., *Arabische Paläographie*, II, *Das Schriftwesen. Die Lapidarschrift*, Vienna, 1971, 12–20; Gruendler, B., *The Development of the Arabic Scripts*, Atlanta, Scholars Press (Harvard Semitic Studies, 63), 1993.

<sup>73</sup> Starcky, J., “Pétra et la Nabatène”, *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris, 1967, 932–34 (886–1017); Sourdél-Thomine, J., “Les origines de l’écriture arabe”, *REI*, 1966, 151–57; Troupeau, “Réflexions”, *art. cit.*; Briquel-Chatonnet, F., “De l’araméen à l’arabe ...”, in Déroche, F. and Richard, F. (eds), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Paris, 1997, 135–49.

<sup>74</sup> “We are struck by the observation that the processes by which the estrangelo script could be transformed into the Kufic script tallies with the material supplied by the Arabic tradition”: Troupeau, “Réflexions”, *art. cit.*, 1539–70.

with his grandson al-‘Abbās b. Hishām and Sharqī al-Quṭāmī al-Kalbī al-Kūfī,<sup>75</sup> who was the private tutor of Caliph al-Mahdī (d. 169/785) and Ibn al-Nadīm (except for the elements that refer to mythical figures such as Adam, Ishmael and others, which these notes contain).<sup>76</sup>

As for Irfan Shahid, he has presented the historical context within which the Arabic script was born.<sup>77</sup>

Muslim sources supply us with lists of those in Mecca who would have known how to write. Thus we have that of Wāqidi (d. 207/823)—which could belong to a chain of guarantors going back to Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. a. Jahm Ṣukhayr al-Qurashī<sup>78</sup> al-‘Adawī—for Mecca: (1) ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; (2) ‘Alī b. a. Ṭālib; (3) ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān; (4) Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh; (5) Ṭalḥa (b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī); (6) Yazīd b. a. Sufyān; (7) Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a; (8) Ḥāṭib b. ‘Amr al-‘Āmirī; (9) Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī; (10) Abān b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Aṣ b. Umayya; (11) Khālid b. Sa‘īd, his brother; (12) ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. a. Sarḥ al-‘Āmirī; (13) Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā al-‘Āmirī; (14) Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya; (15) Mu‘āwiya b. a. Sufyān; (16) Juḥaym b. al-Ṣalt b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf; and (17) al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥaḍramī.

Some sources also supply the names of women who were able to write:<sup>79</sup> (1) al-Shifā’ bint ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Adawiyya;<sup>80</sup> (2) Ḥafsa, wife of Muḥammad; (3) Umm Kulthūm bint ‘Uqba b. Mu‘īṭ; (4) ‘Ā’isha bint Sa‘d; (5) Karīma bint al-Miqdād; (6) ‘Ā’isha, who read the Qur’an in the codex (*al-muṣṣhaf*), but did not know how to

<sup>75</sup> In Balādhuri (*viv.* third/ninth century), *Liber Expugnationis regionum*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum, 1866, 471; also *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. al-Ṭabbā’, Beirut, Mu‘assasat al-Ma‘ārif, 1407/1987, 659–660. German trans. in Sprenger, *Leben*, 129. English trans. in Horowitz, J., “Ibn Quteiba’s ‘Uyun al-akhbar’, *IC*, IV (1930), 488, n. 1; trans. and commentary by Gilliot, “Une reconstruction critique”, *art. cit.*, 68–72; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, 8 vols, ed. I. ‘Abbās, Beirut, Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1968–72, III, 344, no. 457. Murtaḍā al-Zabidi, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāf ilā kuttāb al-āfāq*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn, in *Nawādir al-makhtūṭāt*, 2nd edn, Cairo, 1393/1973, II, 65, takes up the former. More developed in id., *Tāj al-‘arūs*, ed. of Kuwayt, X, 386–87 (s. rad. *jad*); XIV, 112–13 (s. rad. *mrr*); cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Ibn Coteibas Handbuch der Geschichte*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850, 273 *et seq.* *Kitāb al-Ma‘ārif*, 2nd edn, ed. ‘Ukāsha, Cairo, Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1388/1969, 552–53; cf. Ibn a. Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Maṣāḥif*, ed. A. Jeffery, in *Materials or the History of the Qur’an*, Leiden, 1937, 4.

*Kitāb al-Kitāba wa al-Kuttāb* by the blind grammarian Abū Mūsā (such was his *shuhra*) al-Baghdādī al-Ḍarir (Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz), who was tutor (*ca.* 255/869) to the children of the caliph al-Muḥtadī, gives a list of 11 scribes in Sourdel, D., “Le ‘Livre des secrétaires’ by ‘Abdallāh al-Baghdādī”, *REI*, XIV (1954), 128–29 (116–53). Other accounts are also given by Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-farid*, 9 vols, ed. Mufid Qumayḥa *et al.*, Beirut, 1404/1983, IV, 239–40; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, 14 vols, ed. M. Ḥusayn Shams al-Din, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 1407/1987, III, 12–15.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1872, 4–5/German trans. by Sprenger, *Leben*, 129–30/English trans. by Dodge, 2 vols, New York, Columbia University Press, 1970, I, 6–9.

<sup>77</sup> *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 409–22.

<sup>78</sup> Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamal*, 23 vols, ed. A.‘A. ‘Abid and Ḥ.A. Āghā, Beirut, 1414/1994, XXI, 37–38, no. 78314.

<sup>79</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, *op. cit.*, 662.

<sup>80</sup> We deduce from a tradition transmitted by Muḥammad that she would have learnt how to write to Ḥafsa; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb*, XXII, 355–356, no. 8458.

write; and (7) Umm Salama (Hind bint Abī Umayya, of the Makhzūm, the wife of Muḥammad) who knew how to read but not how to write.

We were also able to find the names of more literate women. In his Persian abridgement of the *Annals* of Ṭabari, Balʿamī (d. 363/974) writes that Khadija “had read the ancient writings and knew the history of the prophets, and also the name of Gabriel”.<sup>81</sup> Of course, this tradition belongs in a Muslim apologetic context, but it is likely that this merchant-woman, cousin to Waraqa b. Nawfal, had at least some notion of reading and writing.

The same Wāqidī<sup>82</sup> mentions for Yathrib: (1) Saʿd ʿUbāda<sup>83</sup> of the Najjār (Khazraj); (2) al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr of the Sāʿida; (3) Ubayy b. Kaʿb of the Najjār (Khazraj); (4) Zayd b. Thābit of the Najjār (Khazraj); (5) Rāfiʿ b. Mālik of the Zurayq (Khazraj); (6) Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr of the ʿAbd al-Ashhal (Aws); (7) Maʿn b. ʿAdī of the Balī, a client of the ʿAmr b. Awf (Awf); (8) Bashīr b. Saʿd of the Ḥārith (Khazraj); (9) Saʿd b. Rabīʿ of the Ḥārith (Khazraj); (10) Aws b. Khawli of the Aws (Khazraj); (11) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy al-Munāfiq; (12) Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit; and (13) Ḥuḍayr al-Katāʿib. In the list that he gives after that of Wāqidī, Qalqashandī mentions, in addition,<sup>84</sup> Abū ʿAbs b. Jabr of the Ḥāritha (Aws).<sup>85</sup>

In comparing Wāqidī’s list with the corresponding notes of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), who was the former’s scribe, Michael Lecker<sup>86</sup> ascertained differences, some of which are highly significant, the most important being that Ibn Saʿd hushes up the fact that, because he had attended the Jewish school in this locality, Zayd b. Thābit knew how to write before Muḥammad came to Yathrib.

Thus the Muʿtazilite Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī (d. 311/931) quotes, and then criticizes, a tradition transmitted by al-Shaʿbī (d. 103/721):

The Qurayshis were literate but the Helpers (*anṣār*) were illiterate. Therefore the Messenger of God ordered those [Qurayshis who were taken prisoner in the battle of Badr] who could not [pay ransom] (*man kāna lā māla lahu*) to teach writing to ten Muslim [helpers],<sup>87</sup> among whom was Zayd b. Thabit.

<sup>81</sup> Ṭabari (that is, Balʿamī), *Muḥammad, sceau des prophètes*, trans. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1980, 67 (originally 4 vols, Paris, 1867–74); cf. Sprenger, *Leben*, I, 151–52. For the possible literacy of her cousin, Waraqa b. Nawfal, see Gilliot, “Une reconstruction critique du Coran”, 60–62; Sprenger, *Leben*, *op. cit.*, I, 124–34.

<sup>82</sup> Balādhurī, *Liber Expugnationis regionum*, 473/*Futūḥ al-buldān*, 663–664.

<sup>83</sup> Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, *op. cit.*, III, 15, gives Saʿd b. Zurāra!

<sup>84</sup> Or at least according to *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. al-Ṭabbāʾ, 663–64.

<sup>85</sup> After correction, for in reality he gives Abū ʿAbs b. Kathir, which is a misprint.

<sup>86</sup> Lecker, Michael, “Zayd b. Thābit, ‘a Jew with two sidelocks’: Judaism and literacy in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)”, *JNES*, 56 (1997), 267–68 (259–73).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau *et al.*, 9 vols, Leiden, 1905–40, II/1, 14/ed. Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1957–59, II, 22.

Al-Ka‘bī continues:

I asked those who were trained in the field of the life (*sīra*) [of the Prophet] about this, among others Ibn Abi l-Zinad, Muḥammad b. Salih (d. 252/866) and ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far, and they objected to this strongly, saying: “How could someone teach writing to Zayd, who had learned it before the Messenger of God arrived [to Yathrib/Medina]? There were more literate men (*kuttāb*) in Medina than in Mecca. In fact, when Islam arrived in Mecca, there were already a dozen there who knew how to write. When it was the turn of Medina, there were already twenty,<sup>88</sup> among whom was Zayd b. Thābit, who wrote in Arabic and Hebrew [other versions have Syriac or Aramaic], along with Sa‘d b. ‘Ubada, al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr, Rafī’ b. Malik, etc.”

Our hypothesis is that here we have a reversal of the situation. In Islamic times, the idea that the scribe of the Revelation could have written in Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic or another script prior to Muhammed coming to Yathrib became unacceptable, and so the account was reversed.<sup>89</sup>

If we turn our attention to the names of those who would have been Muḥammad’s scribes (*kuttāb*, pl. of *kātib*),<sup>90</sup> we find more or less lengthy lists depending on the source. According to Ya‘qūbī (d. post 292/905)<sup>91</sup> we have: (1) ‘Alī b. a. Ṭālib; (2) Uthmān b. ‘Affān; (3) ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya; (4) Mu‘āwiya b. a. Sufyān; (5) Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana; (6) ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. a. Sarḥ; (7) al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba; (8) Mu‘ādh b. Jabal; (9) Zayd b. Thābit; (10) Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabī‘;

<sup>88</sup> In addition to the 13 mentioned above, Lecker, “Zayd b. Thābit”, 269–71, gives ten further names, bringing the total to 23. Among the 12 tribal representatives (*nuqabā*) of the ‘Aqaba meeting, seven were literate men (*art. cit.*, 271).

<sup>89</sup> For more sources, especially the *History of Damascus* of Ibn ‘Asākir, and details, see Gilliot, “Reconsidering the authorship of the Qur’an. Is the Qur’an partly the fruit of a progressive and collective work?”, in Reynolds, G.S. (ed.), *The Qur’an in its Historical Context*, Abingdon, 2008, 92–94 (88–108); id., “Une reconstruction critique du Coran”, 62–66; Lecker, “Zayd b. Thābit: ‘a Jew with two sidelocks’”, 266, and n. 52.

<sup>90</sup> See a few references in *GdQ*, I, 46, n. 5. According to certain sources there would have been 26 scribes; Ḥalabi, Nūr al-Dīn (d. 1044/1635), *al-Sīra al-Halabiyya*, 3 vols, Beirut, n.d., III, 422. Ṣāliḥī, M. b. Yūsuf al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā [al-Sīra al-shāmiyya]*, 12 vols, ed. ‘Ā.A. ‘Abd al-Mawjūd and ‘A.M. Mu‘awwaḍ, Beirut, 1993, XI, 375–94 gives the names of 34 scribes. According to al-‘Irāqī, in his *Sīra*, there would have been 42; see Ḥalabi, *al-Sīra*, *op. cit.*; cf. Weil, G., *Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, Stuttgart, 1843, 350, n. 552. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), *Uyūn al-athar*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1937, II, 315–16, also has a long list. Casanova, P., *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, Paris, 1911–13, 96–98, drew up a list of 40.

<sup>91</sup> *Historiae Ibn-Wādhih*, ed. M.Th.Houtsma, Leiden, 1883, II, 87. Abū Mūsā al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, *op. cit.*, 138, gives 11 names. It will be noted that Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tawrikh*, ed. A.Ḍ al-‘Umārī, 1st edn, Baghdad, 1967, 2nd edn, Damascus/Beirut, 1977, 99, only gives four names: 9, 4, 10 and 6 above.

(11) Ubayy b. Ka'b; (12) Juhaym (or al-Juhaym)<sup>92</sup> b. al-Şalt b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Muṭṭalibī; and (13) al-Ḥuşayn (b. Numayr) (al-Anşārī) al-Numayrī.<sup>93</sup>

According to Ṭabarī (d. 310/923)<sup>94</sup> we have: (1) 'Alī b. a. Ṭālib; (2) Khālid b. Sa'īd; (3) Abān b. Sa'īd; (4) al-'Alā b. al-Ḥaḍramī; (5) Ubayy b. Ka'b (it is said he was the first to write for the Prophet); (6) Zayd b. Thābit (when Ubayy was unavailable); (7) 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. a. Sarḥ (who customarily wrote for him, but who renounced his faith and then returned to Islam);<sup>95</sup> (8) Mu'āwiya b. a. Sufyān; and (9) Ḥaṅzala al-Uṣayyidī.<sup>96</sup>

Ibn 'Asākir (m. 571/1176)<sup>97</sup> records 24 scribes, listed here in Arabic alphabetical order: (1) Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āş al-Umawī; (2) Ubayy b. Ka'b Abū al-Mundhir al-Anşārī; (3) Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam al-Makhzūmī; (4) Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anşārī; (5) Ḥaṅzala b. al-Rabī' al-Tamīmī al-Uṣayyidī; (6) Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āş al-Umawī; (7) Khālid b. al-Walīd Abū Sulaymān al-Makhzūmī; (8) al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Asadī al-Qurashī; (9) Zayd b. Thābit Abū Sa'īd al-Anşārī al-Khazrajī; (10) Sijill al-Kātib;<sup>98</sup> (11) ('Abd Allāh) Sa'd b. a. Sarḥ; (12) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq al-Qurashī al-Tamīmī; (13) 'Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Arqam al-Makhzūmī; (14) 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. a. Sarḥ al-Qurashī al-'Āmirī; (15) 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Abd Rabbih al-Anşārī al-Khazrajī; (16) 'Āmir b. Fuhayra *mawlā* of Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq; (17) 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafş al-Qurashī al-'Adawī; (18) 'Uthmān b. 'Affān b. a. al-'Āş Abū 'Amr al-Umawī; (19) 'Alī b. a. Ṭālib Abū al-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī; (20) al-'Alā b. al-Ḥaḍramī ('Abd

<sup>92</sup> Zabidī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, XXXI, 432b, gives two possibilities. He submitted to Islam (*aslama*) in the year of Ḥunayn, or during the conquest of Mecca; see Ibn al-Athīr, *Yzz al-Dīn, Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-şahāba*, 2nd edn, 7 vols, ed. Maḥmūd Fāyid *et al.*, Cairo, 1970, I, 369, no. 828.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukāsha, 343—he was one of the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*); Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asnā' bi-mā li-rasūl Allāh min al-abnā' wa al-amwāl wa al-ḥafada wa al-matā'*, 15 vols, ed. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Namīsī, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1420/1999, II, 76; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Işāba fī tamyiz as-şahāba*, 4 vols, ed. Ibr. b. Ḥ. al-Fayyūmī, Cairo, 1910, with, in the margin, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, Beirut, n.d, I, 339, no.1746.

<sup>94</sup> Ṭabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje *et al.*, I, 1782/*History*, trans. I.K. Poonawala, Albany, 1990, IX, 147–48.

<sup>95</sup> Sprenger, *Leben*, *op. cit.*, II, 407, n. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Maqrīzī, *Imtā'*, *op. cit.*, IX, 334: ten names; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, *op. cit.*, IV, 250–51: ten names.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn 'Asākir *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq, al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. S. al-Shihābī, Damascus, II, 1991, 328–52. This list and these notes (although abbreviated) are taken up, but with minor differences, by Ibn Kathīr (Imād al-Dīn, d. 774/1313), *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, 2nd edn, 14 vols, Beirut/Riyad, 1978, V, 339–350 (1st edn 1966). The same was done by Ibn Ḥadīda (d. 783/1381), *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī' fī kuttāb al-nabī*, Beirut, 1985, I, 27–28.

<sup>98</sup> According to Ibn 'Abbās (*ad Qur'an 21 104*) this was the name of one of Muḥammad's scribes! Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, *op. cit.*, XVII, 100. Ibn Taymiyya and Mizzi considered this tradition to be a forgery. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād* [hereafter *TB*], 14 vols, ed. M. Sa'īd al-'Irāqī, Cairo, 1931–49; reprint Beirut, Dār al-Kitāb al-'arabī, 1970–80, VIII (under Ḥamdān b. Sa'īd al-Baghdādī), 175 no. 4289: "The Messenger of God had a scribe whose name was Sijill, and God revealed Q 21"; Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'itidāl fī naqd al-rījal*, 4 vols, ed. 'A.M. al-Bijawī, Cairo, 1963, I, 602, no. 2286. Tha'labī, *Kashf*, VI, 311 (*ad Qur'an 21, 104*), according to Ibn al-Jawzā'/'Ikrima/Ibn 'Abbās. But Tha'labī declares that this tradition is not sound, because the Prophet's scribes are all known, and he mentioned them in the *Rabī' al-mudhakkirīn*.

Allāh b. ‘Abbād or ‘Ibād);<sup>99</sup> (21) al-‘Alā’ b. ‘Uqba; (22) Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī;<sup>100</sup> (23) Mu‘āwiya b. a. Sufyān al-Qurashī al-Umawī; and (24) al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba Abū ‘Isā al-Thaqafi.<sup>101</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 245/860) in turn provides us with a list of 26 chancellery scribes in the service of the first caliphs or governors of towns and provinces in the decades following Muḥammad’s death.<sup>102</sup>

## Teaching and Learning: Places and Institutions

### *Places and Institutions of Learning*

“Elementary schools” (*kuttāb*, pl. *katātīb*; or *maktab*) The origin of this institution remains problematic. While Gérard Lecomte and Marius Canard have drawn parallels between primary education in Byzantium and in Islam,<sup>103</sup> others believe that the term *kuttāb* was already in use in pre-Islamic times, bearing the Hebrew meaning of *beth ha-sepher* or *beth ha-midrash*.<sup>104</sup> According to Wāqidi, the Jews taught Arabic script in Yathrib and even at Medina’s very beginnings.<sup>105</sup> As we have already seen, Zayd b. Thābit attended a Jewish school in Yathrib prior to Muḥammad emigrating there. ‘Alī b. a. Ṭālib would have learnt to read at the age of 14, although this would have taken place in Mecca.<sup>106</sup> As for Yathrib, among other towns, being the origin of Arabic writing, the town of al-Ḥīra equally comes to mind, for Arabic script most probably first saw the light of day there.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, Muslim sources tell us that a Christian from al-Ḥīra,<sup>108</sup> Jufayna, a slave and a foster son of Sa’d b. a. Waqqāṣ, had been brought to Medina to teach people how to write.<sup>109</sup> It should be emphasized that Arabia, and particularly Mecca and Yathrib, entertained relations with the Lakhmid kingdom and its capital.<sup>110</sup> Ibn

<sup>99</sup> Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, IV, 77, no. 3745.

<sup>100</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb*, III, 1377, no. 2344.

<sup>101</sup> Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *Tahdhīb al-asmā’ wa l-lughāt*, 4 vols in 3, Cairo, 1929; reprint Beirut, n.d., I, 29, takes up, with a few exceptions, Ibn ‘Asākir’s list.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad, 1942, 378–79.

<sup>103</sup> Lecomte, G., “Sur la vie scolaire à Byzance et en Islam, I. L’enseignement à Byzance et le *kuttāb*, II. (by Marius Canard), *Falaqa* = ΦΑΛΛΑΓΓΑ”, *Arabica*, I (1954), 324–31, 331–36.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Alī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, op. cit., VIII (1993), 291.

<sup>105</sup> Baladhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. al-Ṭabba’, 663.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Alī, *Mufaṣṣal*, VIII, 292, according to al-Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*.

<sup>107</sup> Shahid, I., al-Ḥīra’, *EI*, 2nd edn, III, 463a (462–63)/III, 479a (478–79).

<sup>108</sup> On Ḥīra, see Rothstein, G., *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin, 1899. On Christianity in this town see Charles, H., *Le Christianisme des Arabes nomades ...*, Paris, 1936, 55–61; Fiey, J., *Jalons pour une histoire de l’Église en Iraq*, Louvain, 1970, index, 153a; ‘Abd al-Ghanī, ‘Arif, *Tarikh al-Ḥīra fī al-jāhiliyya wa l-islām*, Damascus, 1414/1993, 45–74, 471–95.

<sup>109</sup> Ṭabari, *Annales*, I, 2795, 2797 (sub ann. 23)/*History*, XIV, 161, 163, ‘Alī, *Mufaṣṣal*, VIII, 292.

<sup>110</sup> Kister, M.J., “al-Ḥīra: some notes on its relations with Arabia”, *Arabica*, XV (1968), 143–69; reprint in *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, London, 1980, no. III; Sachau, E., *Zur Ausbreitung des*

Ḥabīb (d. 245/860),<sup>111</sup> probably following Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), gives a list of eight Qurayshites who had been initiated to the *zandaqa* (here Manicheism?)<sup>112</sup> in al-Ḥira. Several of them were massacred by Muḥammad, and the only one to finally submit to the yoke of Islam was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb,<sup>113</sup> the father of Mu'āwiya.

It is difficult to draw even an approximate picture of “primary teaching” in the Ḥijāz prior to Islam and in its very beginnings. We do have a study by Muhammad Hamidullah<sup>114</sup> at our disposal, but it is characterized by an apologetic mindset and lacks rigour in terms of its references and quotations.<sup>115</sup>

We have no comprehensive monograph on the *kuttāb* in the first centuries of Islam. The article in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is very laconic on the matter.<sup>116</sup> One must therefore refer to general studies on teaching that contain a few pages relating to this period,<sup>117</sup> or to works on education among the Imamites, the Ibadites, to books on education and teaching in a region (see

*Christentums in Asien*, Berlin 1919; Andrae, Tor J.E., *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala, 1926, 137–38/*Les origines de l'islam et le christianisme*, trans. J. Roche, Paris, 1955, 32–37; Dussaud, R., *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'islam*, Paris, 1955, 62–70; Trimmingham, J.S., *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, London and Beirut, 1979, 188–201, *passim*; Qanawāti (Anawati), Jūrj Shihāta, *al-Masīhiyya wa al-ḥadāra al-'arabiyya*, 2nd edn, Cairo, 1992, 77–79; al-'Ayib, Salwā Balḥājī Ṣāliḥ, *al-Masīhiyya al-'arabiyya wa taṭawwuruhā*, 2nd edn, Beirut, 1998, 53–59 (1st edn 1997).

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, *op. cit.*, 161; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukāsha, 621, does not give the names but writes instead: “The *zandaqa* existed among the Qurayshis; it came to them from Ḥira.”

<sup>112</sup> Van Ess, Josef, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschrah. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* [hereafter *TG*], 6 vols, Berlin and New York, 1991–97, I, 421, with references to other sources and studies.

<sup>113</sup> 'Alī, *Mufaṣṣal*, VIII, 494.

<sup>114</sup> Hamidullah, M., “Educational system in the time of the Prophet”, *IC*, 13 (1939), 48–59, taken up, modified and argued for in French in *id.*, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, 4th edn, I–II, Paris, 1979, 1008 pp., II, 684–702, § 1219–70 (1st edn 1959).

<sup>115</sup> Among other examples in “Educational system”, *art. cit.*, 53, it is said that Muḥammad “appointed Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ [read: 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ] to teach reading and writing”, referring to 'Abd ul Barr, *Istī'āb*, [read: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr]. In *Le Prophète*, II, 693: “'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, a calligrapher [sic!] was appointed by the Prophet teacher of the wisdom”, with no further explanation! At p. 692: “La Ṣuffah a été la première ‘université’ islamique [sic!]”

<sup>116</sup> Landau, J.M., “Kuttāb”, *EI*, 2nd edn, V, 567 (567–70)/French edn, V, 572 (572–75); Brunot, L., “Maktāb”, *EI*, 1st edn, III, 177–80. On the other hand, Pedersen, “Masjdīd”, *EI*, 1st edn, III, 360–61 (Fred., III, 411–412), was far better with respect to the period of our interest. There is much to be gained from consulting Gil'adi, A., “Individualism and conformity in medieval Islamic educational thought: some notes with special reference to elementary education”, *Al-Qantara* (Madrid), 26/1 (2005), 99–121.

<sup>117</sup> Mez, *Die Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, 176–79/183–87; Tritton, A.S., *Materials on Muslim Education*, 1–26; Salama, *L'enseignement islamique*, *op. cit.*, 97–110; Pedersen, “Masjdīd”, *art. cit.*; Talas, *L'enseignement chez les Arabes: la Madrasa Nizamiyya et son histoire*, Paris, 1939, 7–12; Pellat, *Milieu*, *op. cit.*, 58–62; Shalabi, *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya al-islāmiyya/id.* (Shalaby), *History of Muslim Education*; Makdisi, “Madrasa”, *art. cit.*; *id.*, *The Rise of Colleges*, *op. cit.*, 19; Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, 40–46; Abiad, *Culture et éducation*, *op. cit.*, 213–19; Baer, E. “Muslim teaching institutions and their visual reflections: the *kuttāb*”, *Der Islam*, 78 (2001), 73–102, deals with the way in which the *kuttāb* were seen and presented by the artists in later periods.

“Literacy in Pre-Islamic Times and in the Time of Muḥammad” *supra*), or even to works examining childhood in Islam.<sup>118</sup> On starting at Qurʾanic school, and in addition to memorizing the Qurʾan, grammar, arithmetic and so on, boys had to learn the *ḥadīths* and elements of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) off by heart.

There are two so-called “institutions” that are problematic for the beginnings of Islam in Medina. The first is that which Muhammad Hamidullah calls a little hastily “the school of Suffah” and even “the first Islamic university”.<sup>119</sup> Even if it is possible that the Medinian ‘Ubāda b. Ṣāmit (‘Awf Khazraj) could have taught literacy to the *ahl al-ṣuffa*,<sup>120</sup> it has been demonstrated that the reality on which the legend of the *ahl al-ṣuffa* is based is difficult to uncover,<sup>121</sup> and that, in any case, one cannot speak of an “institute”.

The second is the *dār al-qurrāʾ* (at least this is how it is generally read) of Medina mentioned by Ibn Saʿd.<sup>122</sup> When Ibn Umm Maktūm ‘Amr/Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Zāʾida al-Qurashī al-Maʿīṣī al-Aṣamm, nephew of Khadija,<sup>123</sup> emigrated from Mecca to Medina, he resided in the *dār al-qurrāʾ*,<sup>124</sup> which was the dwelling (*dār*) of Makhrama b. Nawfal al-Zuhrī (d. 54/674), one of the three genealogists of the Quraysh who were ordered by ‘Umar to establish the state registers.<sup>125</sup> This was understood to be a “house of reciters of the Qurʾan”, or even a “house of the Qurʾan”.<sup>126</sup> But one may ask, given the context, if it is not here a matter of a *dār al-qarāʾ* (*hospitium*).<sup>127</sup>

*The mosques* The mosque (*masjid*) was the first institution of learning in Islam, and the term *majlis* gives philological evidence of this purpose.<sup>128</sup> It seems that Muḥammad and his Companions were quick to consider the mosque as both

<sup>118</sup> Gilʿadi, A., *Children of Islam: Concepts of childhood in medieval Muslim society*, Basingstoke, 1992, 61–66 (corporal punishment).

<sup>119</sup> Hamidullah, “Educational system”, *art. cit.*; id., *Le Prophète*, II, 692–95.

<sup>120</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols, ed. M. al-Zuhrī al-Ghamrāwī, Cairo, al-Maymaniyya, 1313/1895, V, 315/20 vols, ed. A.M. Shākir *et al.*, Cairo, Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1416/1995, XVI, 391, no. 22088; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 22, *Buyūʾ*, 36, *Bāb fī kasb al-muʾallim*, ed. M.M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, III, 264, no. 3416; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 12, *Tijārāt*, 8, ed. M.F. ‘Abd al-Bāqī, II, 729–30; Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 10 vols, Hyderabad, 1344–55/1925–36, VI, 125; Lecker, “Zayd b. Thābit”, *art. cit.*, 270, n. 96.

<sup>121</sup> Watt, W.M., “Ahl al-ṣuffa”, in *EI*, 2nd edn, I, s.v.

<sup>122</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sachau *et al.*, IV/1, 150/edn Beirut, IV, 205; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, 2 vols, ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1387/1967, I, 256, according to al-Wāqidi; Hamidullah, *Le Prophète*, II, 695.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 263–64, no. 4005.

<sup>124</sup> The term *qurrāʾ* applied to a group that rebelled against ‘Uthmān, and then against ‘Alī also creates a problem: see the works of M. Hinds and G.H.A. Juynboll on this subject, mentioned by T. Nagel, “Ḷurrā”, in *EI*, 2nd edn, V.

<sup>125</sup> Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 2750/*History*, trans. G.R. Smith, Albany, 1994, XIV, 115–16; Ibn Athīr, *Usd*, IV, V, 125–26, no. 4791; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, 370; ‘Alī, *Mufaṣṣal*, VIII, 331; IX, 377.

<sup>126</sup> Talas, *L’enseignement*, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. *qarāʾ*: *qarāʾ al-ḍayfa qiran wa qarāʾan: aḍafahu*.

<sup>128</sup> Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, *op. cit.*, 10.

a house of worship and their place of assembly. The following statements are attributed to Muḥammad. The first is: “He who enters a mosque either to teach or to be taught is like a warrior (*mujāhid*) who fights for God.”<sup>129</sup> As it is permitted for a tradition to be transmitted according to its meaning, and not exclusively to the letter, it may be that this is an adaptation of a slightly different tradition: “He who enters a mosque either to teach good acts or be taught is like a warrior (*mujāhid*) who fights for God.”<sup>130</sup>

The best writing on mosques and teaching is by the Dane, Johannes Pedersen (d. 1977), in his article on the mosque,<sup>131</sup> appearing in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (ca. 1935). Here, he addresses, among other things, the genesis and evolution of teaching in the mosques, the subjects taught there, the teachers, their salaries and the students. This article was taken up, with an updated bibliography, in the second edition.<sup>132</sup> The section on teaching, however, was not kept but was instead rewritten by George Makdisi (d. 2002) in his article, “Madrasa”.<sup>133</sup> Pedersen

... had been fascinated with al-Azhar, and during the last months of his stay [in Cairo] in 1921, he managed to study with an Azhari Shaykh .... But what really interested Pedersen was the teaching method, the meticulous transmission of knowledge from shaykh to student. For ever since his dissertation on the oath,<sup>134</sup> Pedersen had been particularly interested in Islam, not as ideas, but as a culture of learning. So he wrote on the mosque, the madrasa, the preacher (Chapter 6), the college, and the book. And in the book about the book, he wrote about how it was produced, traded, used, stored, even forgotten. Similarly, the book on al-Azhar<sup>135</sup> gives a rich portrait of a higher educational institution, its teachers and students, its incomes and salaries, its exams and careers, its disciplinary and health problems, its teaching methods, its buildings and its patrons and politics.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Zarkashī, *Flām al-sājid bi-aḥkām al-masājid*, ed. Abū al-Wafā Muṣṭ. al-Marāghī, Cairo, 1384/1964, 328 (2nd edn 1402/1982); Sibai, *Mosque Libraries*, 1987, 25.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 350/VIII, 362, no. 8587; II, 527/IX, 574, no. 10758; Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ummāl*, 18 vols, Beirut, 1409/1989, X, 125, no. 28856-7.

<sup>131</sup> Pedersen, “Masdjīd”, *EI*, 1st edn, 1913-1933, III, 350-52, then “Special educational institutions”, 352-53 (the whole article, 315-76); id., *The Arabic Book*, 20-26, *passim*.

<sup>132</sup> Pedersen, “Masdjīd”, *EI*, 1st edn, III, 315-76; French edn/reprint in *EI*, 2nd edn, VI, 644-77; French edn, VI, 629-64; id., *The Arabic Book*, 20-26, *passim*.

<sup>133</sup> G. Makdisi, “Madrasa”, *EI*, 2nd edn, V (French edn, V, 1120-21). Thus one should read the sections by both Pedersen and Makdisi on teaching in the mosques, for they complement each other.

<sup>134</sup> Pedersen, J., *Der Eid bei den Semiten ...*, Strasburg, 1914, VIII+242 pp.

<sup>135</sup> Pedersen, J., *Al-Azhar*, Et muhammedansk Universitet, Copenhagen, 1922.

<sup>136</sup> Skovgaard-Petersen, J., “Johannes Pedersen in Cairo” at: <http://www.dedi.org.eg/english/articles/johannes-pedersen-in-cairo/>.

Other works had preceded Pedersen's article,<sup>137</sup> but those that came after tended, with little exception (Chapters 1 and 4),<sup>138</sup> to do little more than contribute additional information<sup>139</sup> on specific regions such as Muslim Spain,<sup>140</sup> or on more recent periods.<sup>141</sup>

Christopher Melchert's account (Chapter 1, this volume) of the etiquette of learning in early Islam is based on materials from the third/ninth century. It demonstrates that ninth-century forms continued to characterize Islamic learning for centuries to come "as becomes plain from comparison with an account by Sam'ānī of teaching in the the twelfth century" (p. 1).

In a case study on Nishapur, Richard W. Bulliet (Chapter 4, this volume) gives the reasons why the age structure of the educational system is so difficult to ascertain with precision prior to the gradual introduction of the *madrassa* system—matriculation, graduation, set curricula, age limits, degrees, admission qualifications: "the whole panoply of modern educational administration was absent" (p. 51).

Following on, the organization of "advanced studies" was characterized by study circles (*ḥalqa*)<sup>142</sup> and "sessions" (*majlis*, pl. *majālis*)<sup>143</sup> that were not solely confined to the mosques. These sessions could be dictated and then edited, sometimes with the date and place given for where each (*jalsa*, *majlis*) had been held.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Mez, *Die Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, 320–24 and *passim*/*The Renaissance*, 332–36 and *passim*; Totah, K.A., *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education*, 39, 58–63; Khuda Bukhsh, S., "The educational system of the Muslims in the Middle Ages", 456–58; Mackensen, R.S., "Background of the history of Moslem libraries", *AJSL*, 51 (1934–35), 122–23.

<sup>138</sup> Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 115–64; Imamuddin, S.M., "Mosque", *art. cit.*, 159–70; Melchert, C., "The etiquette of learning", Chapter 1, this volume, 1–4; van Ess, *TG*, IV, index 1076b.

<sup>139</sup> Pellat, *Milieu*, *op. cit.*, 116–21, 243–45; Shalabi, *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya*, chapter I/8, 102–12/Shalaby, *History of Muslim Education*, the corresponding pages; Tritton, *Materials*, *op. cit.*, 61–22, 64, 89, 111, 117–20, but for all periods; Abrashi, *al-Tarbiyya al-islāmiyya ...* (1969), 70–85; Fayyāḍ, *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya 'inda al-imāmiyya*, *op. cit.*, 72–82; Abiad, *Culture et éducation*, *op. cit.*, 246–59; Sibai, *Mosque Libraries*, *op. cit.*, 25–34; Khūlī, *Dawr al-masājid ...*, Cairo, 1961; Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 52, 115–17, addresses the subject until the fifth/eleventh century.

<sup>140</sup> Marín, M. "Learning at mosques in al-Andalus", in Masud, M. Khalid *et al.* (eds), *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas*, Cambridge, MA and London, 1996, 47–54.

<sup>141</sup> Berkey, J.P., *The Transmission of Knowledge: A Social History of Islamic Education*, Princeton, 1992, 50–56.

<sup>142</sup> Lewicki, "Ḥalka" (for the Ibadites), *EI*, 2nd edn, III, 95–98 (French edn, III, 97–101); Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 52–54; Ephrat, D., *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: the Sunni 'ulama' of eleventh century Baghdad*, Albany, 2000, 76–85; see also the previously mentioned articles by Pedersen and Makdisi; Fayyāḍ, *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 87–90, for the *majālis* outside mosques; Sibai, *Mosque Libraries*, *op. cit.*, 27–33.

<sup>143</sup> Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 55–85; Calder, *Studies*, *op. cit.*, 166–71.

<sup>144</sup> Thus that of Ibn Bābawayh, al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991), *Amālī al-Ṣadūq*, 5th edn, Beyrouth, 1410/1985, 544 pp.; Fayyāḍ, *Ta'rikh al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 89. On the connection between the following three titles—*Amālī* et *K. al-'Arḍ 'alā al-majālis* ou *'Arḍ al-majālis* d'al-Ṣadūq—see Kohlberg, Etan, *A Medieval Muslim at Work*, Leiden, 1992, 119–21.

*Other places of teaching* Scholars' houses played an important role among the other places of teaching.<sup>145</sup> Instruction was sometimes also given from the doorsteps of their houses, in their shops (*ḥānūt*),<sup>146</sup> in a garden, in a marketplace and so on.<sup>147</sup> In order to collect the poetry of the ancient Arabs, and to enrich their language, certain scholars spent time among the Arab tribes in the desert.<sup>148</sup> Some caliphs<sup>149</sup> and great state officials invited scholars, theologians, jurists, poets and grammarians into various types of study circles, cenacles, "sessions" and "salons" (*majlis*).<sup>150</sup> They organized (or participated in) debates (*munāẓara*) between not only scholars, theologians<sup>151</sup> and jurists,<sup>152</sup> but also, notably, non-Muslims.<sup>153</sup> These debates also brought together other specialists, such as men of letters<sup>154</sup> or philologists. Thus, the grammarian of the school known as al-Baṣra, al-Mubarrad (210–285/826–898) and that of the school known as al-Kūfa, Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) held discussions in the palace of the Tahirid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh.<sup>155</sup> Al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān b. ʿUrtūj (d. 247/861),<sup>156</sup> the *kātib* and friend of al-Mutawakkil, was the mentor of the court literary circle.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Shalabi, *Taʾriḫ al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 66–77; Fayyāḍ, *Taʾriḫ al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 83–86; Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 135–140; Melchert, "The etiquette of learning", this volume, 2–3.

<sup>146</sup> Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 141.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 112–14.

<sup>148</sup> Blachère, R., *Analecta*, Damascus, 1950, 37–48; Fück, J., *ʿArabīya*, Berlin, 1950/*Arabīya*, Paris, 1955, *passim*; Jacobi, R., 'Rāwī', *EI*, 2nd edn, 466–67; Shalabi, *Taʾriḫ al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 96–101.

<sup>149</sup> Bencheikh, J.E., "Le cénacle poétique du calife al-Mutawakkil (m. 247): Contribution à l'analyse des instances de légitimation socio-littéraires", *BEO*, XXIX (1976–77), I, 33–52; Ḥāshim, ʿAlī M., *al-Andīya al-adabīyya fī l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsi fī al-ʿIrāq ...*, Beirut, 1982; Ḥulaybī, M. b. S., *al-Ḥaraka al-adabīyya fī majālis Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, 170–193 H*, 3 vols, Beirut, 2008.

<sup>150</sup> Editorial [C. Pellat], "Madjlis", *EI*, 2nd edn, V, 1031–33 (French edn, V, 1027–29); Mez, *Die Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, 141–42/*The Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, 143–44, *passim*; Chejne, A.G., "The Boon-companion in early ʿAbbāsīd times", *JAOS*, 85 (1965), 327–35; Blachère, R., *Histoire de la littérature arabe: des origines à fin du XVe siècle de J.C.* [hereafter *HLA*], 3 vols, Paris, 1952–66, III, 544–551 (poets and patrons of the arts); van Ess, *TG*, IV, 720.

<sup>151</sup> Van Ess, J., "Disputations praxis in der islamischen Theologie. Eine vorläufige Skizze", *REI*, 44 (1976), 23–60; *id.*, *TG*, IV, 725–730; *cf.* I, 48–55.

<sup>152</sup> Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, *op. cit.*, 109–11, but for a subsequent period than that which interests us.

<sup>153</sup> Putman, H., *L'Église et l'islam sous Timothée*. I. *Étude sur l'Église nestorienne au temps des premiers Abbāsides, avec nouvelle éd. du dialogue entre Timothée et al-Mahdī*, Beirut, 1975; Swanson, M.N., "The Christian al-Ma'mūn Tradition", in Thomas, F. (ed.), *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule. Church Life and Scholarship in ʿAbbasid Iraq: The History of Christian-Muslim Relations*, Leiden, 2003, 63–92; Moosa, Matti, "A New Source on Aḥmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsī: Florentine MS Arabic 299", *JAOS*, 92 (1972), 21b (19–24).

<sup>154</sup> Holmberg, Bo, "The public debate as a literary genre in Arabic literature", *Orientalia Suecana*, 38–39 (1989–90), 45–53.

<sup>155</sup> Bernardus, M., *Changing Traditions: Al-Mubarrad's refutation of Sibawayh and the subsequent reception of the Kitāb*, Leiden, 1996, 28–30.

<sup>156</sup> Sourdel, D., *Le vizirat ʿAbbāsīde de 749 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'hégire)*, 2 vols, Damascus, 1960, I, 282–86.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

Sometimes, this teaching took on a more “private” character, being reserved for a tribe or being under its direction, such as in Baṣra, where there was a “school” of the Banū Sakūn (Kindah) for the training of orators/preachers (*khaṭībs*).<sup>158</sup> The Ibadites of Baṣra had their own *majālis*, open to the members of the community, in which theological or juridic questions were addressed; these were also used for the training of missionaries, the “bearers of learning/knowledge” (*ḥamalāt al-‘ilm*).<sup>159</sup> Such “sessions” could be held in private homes.

### *Teachers and Scholars*

The education of princes at the Abbasid Court, as studied by Albert Dietrich (Chapter 3), is characteristic of the cultural patrimony of the time. The caliphs entrusted their sons to scholars of all types, particularly to philologists and traditionists, but also to poets and musicians.

With regard to “elementary school” schoolmasters, the private tutors of the sons of caliphs or high-ranking state officials or their families, or even “professors of higher education”, the sources provide us with lists of their names until around 250/864.<sup>160</sup> We will begin with that of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889): (1) Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb b. Rubay‘a al-Muqri’ al-Kūfī, d. ca. 74), who was blind, taught the Qur’an in Kūfa and was the master (*mu‘allim*) of the sons of ‘Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn;<sup>161</sup> (2) the Qadarite Ma‘bad al-Juhanī (d. 80/700), who was a teacher in Baṣra and a private tutor to Sa‘īd, son of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik;<sup>162</sup> (3) the exegete, traditionist and storyteller al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim al-Balkhī (d. 105/723), who had a school (*maktab*) that is said to have been attended by 3,000 children, and in which he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass;<sup>163</sup> (4) ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī al-Baṣrī<sup>164</sup> (the two latter taught free of charge); (5) Qays b. Sa‘d (b. ‘Ubāda al-Khazrajī, d. at the end of the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya); (6) ‘Aṭā b. a. Rabāḥ (Aslam al-Qurashī al-Makkī,

<sup>158</sup> Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn*, 4 vols, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām M. Hārūn, Cairo, 4th rev. edn with index, Cairo, al-Khānjī, 1975 (1st edn 1948–1950, 2nd edn 1961), I, 135; Blachère, *HLA*, III, 731, n. 4; van Ess, *TG*, III, 112; IV, 720, n. 20.

<sup>159</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, IV, 720–21; II, 203; Savage, E., “Survival through alliance: the establishment of the Ibādiyya”, *Bull. BriSMES*, 17 (1990), 5–15; id., *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise*, Princeton, 1997, 4, 24, 37–38, 45, 49.

<sup>160</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 475–78; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 547–549; Talas, *L’enseignement*, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>161</sup> Mizzi, *Tahdhīb*, X, 161–162, no. 3205. The date given for his death by some (105), notably Mizzi, according to Ibn Qānī, must be corrected, according to Dhahabi, *Siyar a‘lam al-nubalā’*, 25 vols, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arna‘ūt et al., Beirut, Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1981–88, IV, 272 (267–72). Correction should be made to the publication by Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, who portrays Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb as two different people.

<sup>162</sup> Van Ess, “Ma‘bad al-Ḡuhani”, in R. Gramlich (ed.), *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1974, 49–77; Abiad, *Culture et éducation*, *op. cit.*, 263.

<sup>163</sup> Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, IV, 272-3/*Udaba’*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, IV, 1452–53, no. 606.

<sup>164</sup> Mizzi, *Tahdhīb*, X, 76–77, no. 3200.

d. 114/732);<sup>165</sup> (7) Qabiṣa b. Du'ayb (al-Khuzā'ī, al-Madanī al-Dimashqī, d. 86);<sup>166</sup> (8) Abū Umayya 'Abd al-Karīm b. a. al-Mukhāriq, d. ca. 140/757);<sup>167</sup> (9) Ḥusayn al-Mu'allim (or al-Mu'addib): Ḥusayn b. Dhakwān al-'Awdhī al-Baṣrī (al-Muktib, d. 145);<sup>168</sup> (10) al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymira (al-Kūfī al-Hamadhānī, d. 100), who was a schoolmaster in Kūfa before settling in Damascus, and who taught free of charge;<sup>169</sup> (11) al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī (d. 126/743), the Shī'ite poet who taught the young people in the mosque of Kūfa;<sup>170</sup> (12) Ḥabīb al-Mu'allim (Abū Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, Ḥabīb b. a. Baqiyya/Qurayba Dīnār/Zā'ida) *mawlā* of the Companion Ma'qil b. Yasār al-Muzanī al-Baṣrī, who died during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya;<sup>171</sup> (13) 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib (m. 132/750);<sup>172</sup> (14–15) al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (41–95/661–714) and his father, who both taught in Ṭā'if; (16) 'Alqama b. a. 'Alqama (Bilāl al-Madanī, d. ca. 158/775), *mawlā* of 'Ā'isha,<sup>173</sup> who had a school in which he taught Arabic, grammar and metrics; (17) Abū Mu'āwiya al-Naḥwī Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (al-Miṣrī al-Mu'addib, d. 164),<sup>174</sup> *mawlā* of the Tamīm, a traditionist who was private tutor to the sons of Dāwūd b. 'Alī (b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, al-Saffāḥ's paternal uncle);<sup>175</sup> (18–19) Abū Sa'īd al-Mu'addib Muḥammad b. Muslim b. a. al-Waḍḍāḥ al-Quḍā'ī (d. during the caliphate of al-Ḥādī),<sup>176</sup> who was named private tutor to Mūsā (al-Ḥādī) by this latter's grandfather al-Manṣūr, who then conferred this position to Sufyān b. Ḥusayn al-Wāsiṭī (d. ca. 150/767);<sup>177</sup> (20) Abū Ismā'īl al-Mu'addib Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān (b. Razīn al-Baghdādī, d. 183),<sup>178</sup> a traditionist, who was private tutor to the sons of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ash'arī al-Shāmī (d. 170), al-Mahdī's vizier;<sup>179</sup> (21) Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (m. 224/838), was the *mawlā* of the Azd. In 191/806 this son of a slave captured in Byzantine territory became private tutor to the high-ranking

<sup>165</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 78–88: *mu'allim kuttāb* (81).

<sup>166</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 282–83: *mu'allim kuttāb* (283), in his youth.

<sup>167</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, II, 659–60, a Murjite from Baṣra, who established himself in Mecca, where he became a schoolmaster. His death being dated at 127 is probably the result of confusion with another, as shown by van Ess.

<sup>168</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 345–46; Jāhīz, *Bayān*, I, 251; van Ess, *TG*, II, 316.

<sup>169</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 201–203; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols, Hyderabad, Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-nizāmiyya, 1325–27/1907–09, VIII, 337–38.

<sup>170</sup> According to Khalaf al-Aḥmar, in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 2.

<sup>171</sup> Mizzi, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 141–42, no. 1091; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 254.

<sup>172</sup> Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayāt*, III, 228 (228–32, no. 405).

<sup>173</sup> He transmitted some traditions by 'Ā'isha; Mālik b. Anas and Ibn Ishāq transmitted from him: see, for example, Maqrizī, *Imtā'*, IX, 31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 275–76.

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 377; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 406–408.

<sup>175</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, I, 90, 99, etc.; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 444–45; it was said that he was a Qadarite.

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 453–54.

<sup>177</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 302–303.

<sup>178</sup> Ṣafadī, *al-Wafī bi-al-wafayāt*, 30 vols, ed. H. Ritter *et al.*, Istanbul, 1931, Beirut, 2004, V, 359.

<sup>179</sup> Sourdrel, *Vizirat*, *op. cit.*, I, 94–103. One of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh's sons was executed following an accusation by *zandaqa*.

Abbasid state official Harthama b. A'yān, then governor of Khorasān on behalf of al-Rashīd (d. 193/809).<sup>180</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 245/860) list shares most of the names listed by Ibn Qutayba, but his list also includes: (22) the Christian Bishr b. 'Abd al-Malik (al-Kindī) al-Sakūnī, brother of Ukaydir,<sup>181</sup> Christian king (*ṣāhib*) of pre-Islam (*jāhilī*) Dumat al-Jandal. If Bishr is designated as *muktib* it is because, as we saw, he would have taught Arabic script in al-Ḥīra, and then in Mecca to Sufyān b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, Abū Qays b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb and others. He was married to the sister of Abū Sufyān, al-Ṣahbā' bint Ḥarb b. Umayya and is designated here symbolically as “the first master in literacy” for Mecca.<sup>182</sup> (23) Abū Qays b. 'Abd Manāf, designated here as the “first teacher in literacy” for Mecca; (24) the poet (*mukhaḍram*) Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu'attib al-Thaqafī, chief of the Aḥlāf clan (d. ca. 23/644);<sup>183</sup> (25) 'Ubayd b. Mihrān al-Muktib al-Kūfī, *mawlā* of the Ḍabba, who disseminated the traditions of Mujaḥhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722);<sup>184</sup> (26) 'Amr b. Zurāra<sup>185</sup> b. 'Udus<sup>186</sup> b. Zayd (*jāhilī*) (al-Ḥanzalī) al-Tamīmī, who was called al-Kātib; (27) 'Āmir (b. Sharāḥīl) al-Sha'bī al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728),<sup>187</sup> to whom 'Abd al-Malik entrusted the education of his sons;<sup>188</sup> (28) Abū Ṣāliḥ (Bādḥām), *mawlā* of Umm Hānī bint Abī Ṭālib and master (*ṣāhib*) of al-Kalbī, who was a teacher (*mu'allim*) according to Muḥammad b. Bakkār (al-Rayyān d. 238)<sup>189</sup>—he was also an exegete, but apparently couldn't read the Qur'an very well (!);<sup>190</sup> (29) Ismā'īl b. 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>191</sup> b. a. al-Muhājir, Aqram al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī, *mawlā* of al-Dimashqī (d. 132), who was 'Abd

<sup>180</sup> Lecomte, G., “Le problème d'Abū 'Ubayd: Réflexions sur les erreurs que lui attribue Ibn Qutayba”, *Arabica*, XII (1965), 147.

<sup>181</sup> Lecker, M. in *EI*, 2nd edn, VI, under “Ukaydir”.

<sup>182</sup> Ghanima, Y.R., *al-Ḥīra, al-madīna wa al-mamlaka al-'arabiyya*, Baghdad, 1936, 56, according to al-Kalbī, via Balādhurī, etc.; 'Abd al-Ghanī, 'Arif, *Ta'rikh al-Ḥīra*, op. cit., 353, 354.

<sup>183</sup> *GAS*, II, 302; *Aghānī*, XIII, 200–208.

<sup>184</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 340; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 317–18, no. 4320.

<sup>185</sup> Zurāra was the chief of the Darīm in the second half of the sixth century. See Caskel, W., *Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols, Leiden, 1966, II, 613; I, table 60; *Aghānī*, XXII, 187–94; Abū al-Baqā' Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī (lived second half of the fifth or first half of the sixth century of the Hīra), *K. al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Mūsā Darāka and 'Aq. Khuraysāt, Amman, 1404/1984, 354–55, gives the list of his ten sons, of which one was 'Amr; cf. on Zurāra, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 240–42.

<sup>186</sup> Zabidī, *Tāj*, XVI, 235: 'Udas can also be said, but, according to him 'Udus is the correct form.

<sup>187</sup> Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, [hereafter *GAS* I], Leiden, Brill, 1967, 277; Juynboll, in *EI*, 2nd edn, IX, s.v.

<sup>188</sup> Jāhīz, *Bayān*, II, 251.

<sup>189</sup> Indeed, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 475, provides a chain of guarantors.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'arīf*, 479.

<sup>191</sup> After correction of the text by Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 476, which has 'Abd Allāh.

al-Malik b. Marwān's private tutor;<sup>192</sup> (30) 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Qays (al-Sulamī)<sup>193</sup>, private tutor to the sons of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik; (31) the grammarian Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (al-Baṣrī, d. 182/798);<sup>194</sup> (32) Hārūn b. Mūsā al-A'war al-Qārī' (al-Baṣrī al-Azdī al-'Atakī, d. before 200), who was a converted Jew;<sup>195</sup> (33) 'Umar b. al-Faḍl (al-Sulamī) al-Baṣrī;<sup>196</sup> (34) Muḥammad (b. Muslim) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742). His first teacher (*mu'addib*) was probably a *mawlā*, Šāliḥ b. Kaysān al-Madanī.<sup>197</sup> If Ibn Ḥabīb considers him a *mu'allim*, it is probably because he conducted dictation sessions (of traditions) for state officials during the Umayyad caliphates of 'Abd al-Malik and Hishām;<sup>198</sup> (35) Ismā'īl b. Ja'far b. a. Kathīr al-Madanī (d. 180), who was private tutor to 'Alī, the son of al-Mahdī;<sup>199</sup> (36) Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-A'war, who was a *mawlā* (al-Miṣṣīṣi, d. 206, in Baghdad); (37) Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu'addib al-Baghdādī (d. 207 or 209); (38) Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Mu'āwiya al-Naḥwī (that is, of the Naḥw clan) al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī, d. 164); (39) Šāliḥ b. Kaysān al-Madanī (d. after 140(?) at the age of about 80 years(?)),<sup>200</sup> who was *mawlā* of the 'Āmir, Ghifār and others, and was named private tutor to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, then governor of Medina. When al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik acceded to the caliphate, he asked 'Abd al-'Azīz, his governor in Medina, to send him over so that he could be private tutor to his son 'Abd al-'Azīz and Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān; (40) Abū 'Ubayda b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yasār al-'Ansī,<sup>201</sup> who succeeded Šāliḥ b. Kaysān as private tutor to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik; (41) the Murjīrite 'Awn b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd al-Hudhalī al-Kūfī (d. between 110/728 and 120/738),<sup>202</sup> who was private tutor to Yazīd, son of Muḥammad b. Marwān, the brother of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, but also to Ayyūb, the son of the caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik; (42) Mundhir al-Aftas al-Šan'ānī; (43) Abū Ayyūb Maymūn b. Mihrān al-Jazarī al-Raqqī (d. 118),<sup>203</sup> who was private tutor to the son of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; (44) al-Hasan

<sup>192</sup> Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 197–201, no. 459.

<sup>193</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḥ madīnat Dimashq*, 80 vols, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Umar b. Gharāma al-'Amrawī and 'Alī Shirī, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1995–2001, XXXVII, 260–66, no. 4335. He was a scholar of grammar and private tutor to Yazīd's sons (264).

<sup>194</sup> GAS, IX, 57–58; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 2850–52, no. 1262. If he is placed among the "teachers", it is probably because people flocked to his circle (*halqa*).

<sup>195</sup> Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XIX, 207–209, no. 7124.

<sup>196</sup> 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) transmitted traditions from him; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 488–89.

<sup>197</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 456; Lecker, in *EI*, 2nd edn, XI, under "al-Zuhrī".

<sup>198</sup> Lecker, Michael, "Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī", *JSS*, XLI/1 (1996), 21–63.

<sup>199</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 228–30.

<sup>200</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 454–56.

<sup>201</sup> Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXI, 368–69, no. 8092.

<sup>202</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, I, 163–66.

<sup>203</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḥ madīnat Dimashq*, Beirut, LXI, 336–668; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 71–78.

b. ‘Arafa al-‘Abdī al-Baghdādī al-Mu‘addib (born 150, d. 257(!));<sup>204</sup> (45) ‘Ubayda b. Ḥumayd al-Ḥadhdhā’ al-Naḥwī al-Kūfī (d. 190), who was private tutor to Muḥammad b. Hārūn (i.e. al-Amīn);<sup>205</sup> (46) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz b. Sarjis al-Madanī al-‘Araj (d. 117);<sup>206</sup> (47) Shayba b. Niṣāḥ b. Sarjis al-Madanī (d. 130);<sup>207</sup> (48) the genealogist Daghfal b. Ḥanzala al-Dhuhli al-Shaybānī (d. 65/695) who was private tutor to Yazīd, son of Mu‘āwiya; (49) Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Mu‘allim (?); (50) Maymūn b. a. Shurā‘a (?) –Yazīd b. Zuray‘ al-Baṣrī (d. 182), who is known to have transmitted from him; (51) Ishāq b. a. Isrā’īl Ibrāhīm b. Kāmjr al-Marwazī (b. 150/767, d. 246/860),<sup>208</sup> who taught a group (of children or youths) in Baṣra, at the door of Ḥammād b. Zayd al-Baṣrī (d. 199) and, according to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Qawārīrī al-Jushamī al-Baṣrī (d. 235),<sup>209</sup> like Ibn Abī Isrā’īl, attended the lessons of Ḥammād b. Zayd. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Sululaymān al-Zammī al-Mu‘addib al-Khurasānī al-Baghdādī (d. 246),<sup>210</sup> who is not mentioned by Ibn Ḥabīb and also belongs to this same generation of traditionists.

We could, of course, make the lists of Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Ḥabīb longer, but will confine ourselves to mentioning only a few more names. It is said that Muḥammad ordered al-Ḥakam/‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd (Abū Uḥayḥa Dhū al-Tāj)<sup>211</sup> b. al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams (d. 8/629)<sup>212</sup> to teach literacy (*al-kitāb*) in Medina, or, alternatively, that he taught *al-ḥikma* before he was sent to al-Shām. In this context *al-ḥikma* seems to also mean literacy.<sup>213</sup>

The Shī‘ite ‘Umayr b. ‘Āmir al-Hamdānī (?) taught in a *kuttāb* in Kūfa,<sup>214</sup> when ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abihi (d. 67/686) had him released from prison, our teacher declared that he would never again teach young people, and that he would never again set foot in a school (*maktab*).<sup>215</sup> The poet Ṭirimmaḥ b. al-Ḥakīm (d. ca. 126/743) was once a schoolmaster in Rayy.<sup>216</sup> The Kūfian jurist and traditionist al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt (d. 206/821) was part of Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr’s entourage. Al-Manṣūr charged him (*dammahu ilā al-Mahdī*) with the education

<sup>204</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 547–51.

<sup>205</sup> *TB*, XI, 120–23. He was not a cobbler but he frequented the cobblers’ quarter and thus came by this nickname.

<sup>206</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 69–70.

<sup>207</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 377–78.

<sup>208</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 476–87; van Ess, *TG*, IV, 219.

<sup>209</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 442–46.

<sup>210</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 452–53.

<sup>211</sup> Zabidī, *Tāj*, VI, 293b; V, 440b.

<sup>212</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh madīnat Dimashq*, XXXI, ed. M. al-Ṭarābīshī, Damascus, 1986, 48–53.

<sup>213</sup> Lecker, “Zayd b. Thābit”, *art. cit.*, 266, n. 52. Some might object that both *kitāb* and *ḥikma* mean “the Qur’an” (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, V, 576–79, *ad Koran* 2, 269), but, in agreement with Lecker’s interpretation, we do not hold this.

<sup>214</sup> Fayyāḍ, *Ta’rikh al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 72, according to al-Imām M. ‘Abd Allāh, *Qurrat al-‘ayn fī akhdh tha’r al-Ḥusayn*, Baghdad, 1957, 40.

<sup>215</sup> Fayyāḍ, *Ta’rikh al-tarbiyya*, *op. cit.*, 67.

<sup>216</sup> Jāhīz, *Bayān*, II, 257; Talas, *L’enseignement*, *op. cit.*, 9.

of his son, al-Mahdī, in whose company he remained until the latter's death.<sup>217</sup> The grammarian al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805) bestowed his learning upon al-Rashīd, who entrusted him with the education of his sons, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn.<sup>218</sup> Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 244/858) was private tutor to al-Mu'tazz (Abū 'Abd Allāh) and al-Mu'ayyad (Ibrāhīm), the sons of al-Mutawakkil;<sup>219</sup> with his father, he taught the children of the masses in Baghdad (Darb al-Qanṭara).<sup>220</sup> The blind grammarian 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghdādī was private tutor (ca. 255/869) to the children of the caliph al-Muhtadī.<sup>221</sup> Tha'lab (200–291/815–904), who was well known for his love of riches, was private tutor to the Tahirids, notably to Ṭāhir b. M. b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 296/908),<sup>222</sup> but also to Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī.<sup>223</sup> Finally, there is mention of Abū 'Alī Shaqrān (*sic*) al-Hamdānī,<sup>224</sup> one might speculate whether he might not be the Qayrawanian Abū 'Alī Shuqrān b. 'Alī al-Faraqī (d. 186/802),<sup>225</sup> who was the Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī's master.<sup>226</sup>

Given the informal nature of teaching in Islam,<sup>227</sup> no-one was under any compulsion to teach or to follow a teaching, and all who had been granted a licence (*ijāza*) to transmit part of a *ḥadīth* (or other text), a book or one of the 30 parts of the Qur'an (*juz'*), or even the unwritten *ḥadīth*, were authorized to do so. Occasionally, a master might attend the lessons given by one of his pupils.<sup>228</sup>

With regard to the relationship between scholars ('*ulamā'*), scholarship and teaching, and the relevant bibliography, one should refer to my article "Ulamā".<sup>229</sup> Several researchers have addressed the question of leadership (*riyāsa*) among

<sup>217</sup> *TB*, VIII, 230, no. 4341.

<sup>218</sup> *GAS*, IX, 127; *TB*, XI, 403.

<sup>219</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, VI, 2841; "Ibn al-Sikkīt", an article by the editor [C. Pellat], in *EI*, 2nd edn, III, s.v.

<sup>220</sup> *TB*, XIV, 273.

<sup>221</sup> Sourdél, D., "Le 'Livre des secrétaires'", *op. cit.*, 116.

<sup>222</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIV, 7. This provides an incomplete list that nevertheless suggests the scholars who taught the Abbasid princes. See Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 96–100.

<sup>223</sup> Vadet, J.-C., *Lesprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, Paris, 1968, 281. For other schoolmasters or private tutors, see Talas, *L'enseignement*, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>224</sup> Talas, *L'enseignement op. cit.*, 9, according to the introduction by 'Abd al-Wahhāb to his edition of Ibn Saḥnūn.

<sup>225</sup> Muranyi, M., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ḥadīṭ- und Rechtsgelehrsamkeit der Malikiyya in Nordafrika bis zum 5. Jh. d. H.*, Wiesbaden, 1997, 11–12.

<sup>226</sup> Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, *op. cit.*, 49–51, gives a list of 30 tutors with pupils.

<sup>227</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, IV, 720: "Der Betrieb war erfreulich 'ungeregelt'."

<sup>228</sup> See the comments by van Ess, *TG*, IV, 718–19, on the ambiguity of the term *ṣāhib* (companion), which can be applied to a pupil or a master; also Arioli, Angelo, "Ṣāhib/aṣḥāb, waḡḡ/wuḡūh, 'ayn/uyūn nei testi di 'ilm al-riḡāl'", in Scarcia Amoretti, B. (ed.), *Onomastica e trasmissione del sapere nell'Islam medievale*, 6–17 (1–21).

<sup>229</sup> Gilliot, "Ulamā' 1. In the Arab world", *EI*, 2nd edn, X, 801–804 (French edn, X, 865–68); also Modarressi, H., *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī'ite Islam*, Princeton, 1993, 12–15.

the *‘ulamā*,<sup>230</sup> the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of scholars<sup>231</sup> and their relationship with the general public,<sup>232</sup> with one another<sup>233</sup> and with the government,<sup>234</sup> as well as the question of their financial condition.<sup>235</sup> Others have focused their attention on dynasties of scholars.<sup>236</sup>

Among the ancient Arabs, the art of the spoken word played a crucial role through poets (*sha’irs*), orators/preachers (*khatibs*), and storytellers (*qussas*, sing. *qass*).<sup>237</sup> The poet, in particular, could pass for a rival of the Prophet, in so far as the revelations made (delivered) by the latter were reminiscent of poetry, or at least of rhymed prose (*saǰ’*).<sup>238</sup> As Johannes Pedersen states in Chapter 6 of this volume, “In Islam the poet maintained his influence in public life, and as the one who stimulated the Prince; and likewise poetry entered the service of religion” (p. 93). The preacher, however, gained standing “as the one who in continuance of the Prophet’s function as a leader addressed the congregation from the *minbar* during Friday’s service” (ibid.). As for the *qass* (often translated as “popular storyteller”, “preacher”, or “deliverer of sermons”) in Islam, the origin, genesis and evolution of his role throughout the centuries have varied considerably: “[his] activity considerably varied over the centuries, from preaching in the mosques with a form of koranic exegesis to downright charlatanism”<sup>239</sup> The release of Ibn al-Jawzi’s *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa-al-mudhakkirīn*<sup>240</sup> has brought new material to our understanding of this phenomenon; yet even prior to this publication, Léon

<sup>230</sup> Mottahedeh, R.P., *Loyalty*, 1980, 135–57, 162–63; van Ess, TG, IV, 718–20. Asfaruddin, A., *Excellence and Precedence*, Leiden, 2002, deals with the discourse on legitimate leadership according to Jāhīz and the Shī’ī Ibn Tāwūs (d. 673/1274). This does not relate to our subject, as it addresses the question of Muḥammad’s succession. For “the scholars as heirs of the prophets”, see Takim, Liyakat N., *The Heirs of the Prophet*, Albany, 2006, 1–36; Amir-Moezzi, M.-A. and Ch. Jambet, *Qu’est-ce que le shī’isme?*, Paris, 2004, 241–83; Amir-Moezzi, “Remarques sur les critères d’authenticité du hadith et l’autorité du juriste dans le shī’isme imamite”, *Stud. Isl.*, 85 (1997), 5–39.

<sup>231</sup> Ephrat, *A Learned Society*, op. cit., 95–124.

<sup>232</sup> Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, op. cit., 196–200.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 201–23.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 224–52.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 252–54.

<sup>236</sup> See the references in Gilliot, “‘Ulamā”, art. cit., 803b /867a; Bulliet, R.W., *The Patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, MA, 85–245; Ephrat, *A Learned Society*, op. cit., 155–69.

<sup>237</sup> ‘Alī, *Mufaṣṣal*, VIII, 371–79.

<sup>238</sup> Gilliot, “Poète ou prophète? Les traditions concernant la poésie et les poètes attribuées au prophète de l’islam et aux premières générations musulmanes”, in Sanagustin (ed.), *Paroles, Signes, Mythes*, Damascus, 2001, 331–96.

<sup>239</sup> Pellat, C., “Kāṣṣ”, *EI*, 2nd edn, IV, 733 (733–35); Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 161–70/ *Muslim Studies*, II, 150–59; Mez, *Die Renaissance*, op. cit., 313–20/ *The Renaissance*, 325–32, and 344–52 (here trans. from Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 161–70); Najm, W.Ṭ., *al-Qaṣaṣ wa-al-quṣṣāṣ fi al-adab al-islāmī*, Kuwait, 1972; Bosworth, C.E., *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld*, I, Leiden 1976, 23–29; Leder, S., *Ibn al-Gauzi und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft*, Beirut/Wiesbaden, 1984, 21–23; Athamina, K., “Al-Qasas”, art. cit.; Toorawa, Sh.M., “Defining *adab* by (re)defining the *adib*. Ibn Abi Ṭāhīr Ṭayfūr and Storytelling”, in Kennedy, P.F., (ed.), *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 294–302.

<sup>240</sup> Ed. and trans. M.L. Swartz, Beirut, 1971.

Bercher had consulted one of its manuscripts and included some of its material in his translation of part of Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*.

For Khalil Athamina, the main event to have influenced the nature of the *qasas* was the civil war (*fitna*).<sup>241</sup> The battlefield preachers—for example, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723) from Khorasan<sup>242</sup> and Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), among others<sup>243</sup>—played a role in this, even though they were probably not considered as “popular storytellers” in their usual working life. The progressive establishment of an orthodoxy was in large part responsible for some of their declarations being declared unacceptable.

## Pedagogy

The history of childhood in Islam is becoming better known, even though there remains room for progress. Kūrkiš ‘Awwād (1908–1992) has compiled a bibliography of relevant sources,<sup>244</sup> and several works on children and childhood have been written.<sup>245</sup> Although he belongs to a later period than that which concerns us, we must mention Ibn al-‘Adīm (d. 660/1262) from Aleppo, whose work, *al-Darārī fī dhīkr al-dharārī* (*Stellae fulgentes de laudanda progenie*), has been the subject of two studies by Anne-Marie Eddé.<sup>246</sup>

We have seen from the first section of this Introduction how Western interest in education, teaching and pedagogy in Islam dates back a long time. With regard to pedagogy, some progress has been made since around 1950,<sup>247</sup> and more recently still, thanks to the work of Sebastian Günther (see Chapter 5, this volume; also the Bibliography).

<sup>241</sup> Athamina, “Al-Qasas”, *art. cit.*, 65.

<sup>242</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, II, 508–509.

<sup>243</sup> Van Ess, *TG*, II, 516–32; Gilliot, “Muqātil, grand exégète, traditionniste et théologien maudit”, *JA*, 1–2 (1991), 39–92.

<sup>244</sup> ‘Awwād, K., *al-Ṭufūla wa al-atfāl fī al-maṣādir al-‘arabiyya al-qadīma wa al-ḥadītha*, Baghdad, 1979.

<sup>245</sup> Rosenthal, F., “Child psychology in Islam” (1952); Adamek, G., “Das Kleinkind in Glaube und Sitte der Araber im Mittelalter”, dissertation, University of Bonn, 1967; Motzki, H., “Das Kind und seine Sozialisation in der islamischen Familie des Mittelalters”, in Martin, J. and Nitschke, A. (eds), *Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit*, Freiburg and München, 1986, 391–441; Gil’adi, *Children of Islam*, *op. cit.*: we will add to his list of sources (11–12) Nūr al-Dīn al-Salīmī al-Ibāḍī (d. 1914; *GAL S II*, 823), *Talqīn al-ṣibyān*, trans. A. Hamoud Al-Maamiry, Oman, 1989, 48 pp.; *Talqīn al-ṣibyān mā yalzamuhu al-insān*, Masqaṭ, 2004, 23rd edn (followed by other texts which are not by this author), also printed in Damascus, 1966. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Baladī, A. b. M. (d. ca. 380/990) wrote *Kitāb Tadbīr al-ḥubālā wa al-atfāl wa al-ṣibyān wa-ḥifẓ ṣiḥḥatihim*, ed. M.H. Qāsim, Baghdad, 1980, 335 pp.

<sup>246</sup> Eddé, A.-M., “Un traité sur les enfants d’un auteur arabe du XIIIe siècle”, in Dubois, H. and Zink M. (eds), *Les Âges de la vie au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1992, 139–49; id., “La représentation de l’enfant dans le traité d’Ibn al-‘Adīm”, in Jong, F. de (ed.), *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica*, Leuven, 1993, 175–85.

<sup>247</sup> Khan, M. Abdul Mu’id, “The Muslim theories of education during the Middle Ages”, *IC*, XVIII (1944), 418–33.

As far as the sources are concerned, one of the first to have reached us in part is the treatise of Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), *The Book of Teachers*, the best edition being that of I. Gerjes.<sup>248</sup> Previously, some passages had been presented and translated,<sup>249</sup> or simply translated,<sup>250</sup> but not all of them came from the same origin.<sup>251</sup> Jāḥiẓ also tackled the issue of masters and teaching in several passages of his other books, notably in the *Book of Animals*.<sup>252</sup> His concept of pedagogy and the criticisms he directed against teachers have provided subject-matter for several studies in Arabic, particularly those of: al-Qazzāz (1995) and Shams al-Dīn (1985), works in Arabic, which also address the pedagogic ideas of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and 'Abd al-Hāmid al-Kātib. The best developed studies on al-Jāḥiẓ remain those of Sebastian Günther (see Chapter 5, this volume).<sup>253</sup>

The publication by Ibn Saḥnūn (d. 256/870) from Kairouan, entitled *Rules of Conduct for Teachers* has been edited numerous times.<sup>254</sup> The author relied especially on material obtained from his father, in part orally, but also in writing from the Qāḍī of Tunis Shajara al-Ma'āfirī (d. 262/875).<sup>255</sup> This work has been translated,<sup>256</sup> and has also been the subject of several studies by Driss, Ahwānī, Ḥijāzī and Shams al-Dīn, among others.<sup>257</sup> More recently, Günther has devoted

<sup>248</sup> See the Bibliography, section V, under al-Jāḥiẓ.

<sup>249</sup> Hirschfeld, H., "A volume of essays by al-Jāḥiẓ", in Arnold, T.W. and R.A. Nicholson (eds), *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, 202–209.

<sup>250</sup> Partly adapted in German: Rescher, O., *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus den Schriften des Philologen und Dogmatikers Gahiz aus Bacra*, Stuttgart, 1931; Pellat, C., *Arabische Geisteswelt: Ausgewählte und übersetzte Texte von al-Gahiz*, 181–84 (Rasā'il, III, 38–42; ms. Rieu, Br. Mus., 1129, 10b–19b, for the whole of the treatise); id., *The Life and Works of Jahiz*, trans. D.M. Hawke, London and Berkeley, 1969.

<sup>251</sup> A passage from Ibshihī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, ch. 76, s. 5, Cairo, 2 vols in 1, ed. M. 'A. Ṣubayḥ, n.d., II, 318–19/trans. G. Rat, *al-Mostaṭraf*, 2 vols, Toulon, 1899–1902, II, 657–60; Basset, R., *Mille et un contes: récits et légendes arabes*, 3 vols, Paris, 1924–26, II, 159–61, corresponds to Rat, 658–60, but in a different translation. Pellat, *Milieu*, *op. cit.*, took up Basset's translation.

<sup>252</sup> Jāḥiẓ, *Le Cadi et la mouche*, *op. cit.*, 138, 167–69.

<sup>253</sup> See also Günther, S. "Be masters in that you teach and continue to learn: medieval Muslim thinkers on educational theory", *Comparative Education Review* (Chicago) 50/3 (2006), 371–73 (367–88). In addition to his work still to be published, there are two other published contributions: Günther, "Praise to the book: Al-Jahiz and ibn Qutayba on the excellence of the written word", *JSAI*, 31 (2008); id., "al-Jahiz on the poetic of teaching", in Khalidi, Tarif (ed.), *al-Jahiz: A Humanist for our Time*, Beirut, 2008.

<sup>254</sup> Ibn Saḥnūn, *Adab al-mu'allimin*. For the editions, see the Bibliography.

<sup>255</sup> Muranyi, *Beiträge*, *op. cit.*, 56–47, 66–67.

<sup>256</sup> Lecomte, G., "Le livre des règles de conduite des maîtres d'école par Ibn Saḥnūn", *REI*, 21 (1954), 77–105; *Eğitim ve öğretim esasları. Adabul-muallimîn*, trans. M. Faruk Bayraktar, İstanbul, 1996, 88 pp.

<sup>257</sup> Shams al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Amīr, *al-Fikr al-tarbawī 'inda Ibn Saḥnūn wa-al-Qābisi*, Beirut, 1985, 236 pp.; reprint Beirut, 1990; Ismail, S.M., "Muḥammad ibn Saḥnūn [sic]: an educationalist and faqih", *Muslim Education Quarterly*, 12 (1995–94), 37–54.

some well-informed pages to the latter, in preparation for a work he is putting together (see Chapter 5, this volume).<sup>258</sup>

Yet another writer from Kairouan, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qābisī (d. 403/1012),<sup>259</sup> composed *al-Risāla al-mufaṣṣala li-aḥwāl al-muta'allimin wa aḥkām al-mu'allimīn wa al-muta'allimīn* (*Detailed Epistle on the Circumstances of Pupils, their Rules of Conduct and Those of the Masters*). Al-Qābisī is highly dependent on Ibn Saḥnūn's text and also frequently cites Ibn Ḥabīb (ʿAbd al-Malik, d. 238/853).

As for *Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning* by Burhān al-Dīn ou Burhān al-Islām al-Zarnūjī (d. after 620/1223),<sup>260</sup> it became, after several translations into Latin, the subject of several other translations and presentations.

With respect to the teaching of philosophy, medicine and the true sciences, one should refer to the corresponding volumes of the series “The Formation of the Classical Islamic World”,<sup>261</sup> as well as to the scholarly exposition of G. Endress with its copious bibliography.<sup>262</sup> Nor will we forget to mention here al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), who was among the first thinkers in Islam to formalize a theory of instruction<sup>263</sup> and to suggest an integrated curriculum for the higher learning of both the “foreign” and “religious” sciences, in which he affirmed the distinction between “human and divine knowledge”: “It did not become an integral component of formal higher learning in Islam; yet it did have an impact on the philosophers who—in their private studies and in study circles—followed it to some extent.”<sup>264</sup> Finally, A.ʿA. al-Qāḍī has studied the educational thought of the Muʿtazilites, the Ashʿarites and of the philosophers.<sup>265</sup>

Several works have also been dedicated to instruction and pedagogy among the Brethren of Purity (writing ca. 350/961, 370/980),<sup>266</sup> Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī

<sup>258</sup> See also Günther, “Be masters”, *art. cit.*, 369–70; id., *Medieval Muslim Thinkers on Education*, *op. cit.*, to be published.

<sup>259</sup> Idris, H.R., “Deux juristes kairouanais de l’époque ziride: Ibn Abi Zaid al-Qairawānī et al-Qābisī”, *AIEO*, 12 (1954), 181–83 (122–98); Muranyi, *Beiträge*, *op. cit.*, 271–96 and *passim*.

<sup>260</sup> *GAL S*, I, 837; Plessner, M. [Berkey, J.P.], *EI*, 2nd edn, XI, 462 (French edn, XI, 501). He was the student of Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī (d. 593/1197). Ibn Abi al-Wafāʾ held Zarnūjī's book in high esteem: see Ibn Abi al-Wafāʾ al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍīyya fi ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya*, 2nd edn, 5 vols, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ M. al-Ḥulū, Cairo, 1993, IV, 365, no. 2065, 219: our Zarnūjī was in the same class as Nuʿmān b. Ibr. al-Zarnūjī (d. 640/1242); *op. cit.*, III, 557, no. 1758.

<sup>261</sup> Vols 39–41 of this series.

<sup>262</sup> Endress, G., “Die wissenschaftliche Literatur”, in *GAP* II, 431–60 (400–506); *GAP* III, 3–152.

<sup>263</sup> Haddad, F.S., “An Early Arab Theory of Instruction”, *IJMES*, 5 (1974/3), 240 (240–59), only on Alfarabius.

<sup>264</sup> Günther, “Be masters”, *art. cit.*, 374 (Fārābī, 373–76); Bayraklı, B., “The philosophy of education of al-Fārābī”, *Hamdard Islamicus*, X (1987), 29–34; Reisman, D.C., “Al-Fārābī and the Philosophical Curriculum”, in Adamson, P. and Taylor, R.C. (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge, 2005, 52–71; cf. Asfaruddin, A., “Muslim views on education: parameters, purviews and possibilities”, *Journal of Catholic Legal Studies*, 44 (2005), 143–78.

<sup>265</sup> al-Fikr al-tarbawī ʿinda al-mutakallimīn al-muslimīn, Cairo, 1996.

<sup>266</sup> Gardet, L., “Notion et principes de l’éducation dans la pensée arabo-musulmane”, *REI*, 44 (1976), 1–16; Shams al-Dīn, *al-Falsafa al-tarbawīya ʿinda Ikhwān al-Ṣafaʾ min khilāl rasāʾilihim*, Beirut, 1988.

(d. 381/992),<sup>267</sup> Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037),<sup>268</sup> Miskawayh (d. 421/1030),<sup>269</sup> Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185)<sup>270</sup> and so on. With regard to the teaching of the *dā'ir* of the Fāṭimids and of the “Conference of Wisdom” (*majlis al-ḥikma*), we have at our disposal the pages that al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442)<sup>271</sup> devoted to the subject, based on ancient sources, mostly al-Muṣabbiḥī (d. 420/1030).

Many other similar works could be mentioned,<sup>272</sup> but among those that fit into our period of study we can cite *Riyāḍat al-muta'allim* (*Instruction of the Pupil/Student*) by the Shāfi'ite Abū 'Abd Allāh Zubayr b. Sulaymān al-Baṣrī al-Zubayrī al-Ḍarīr (d. 317/929 or 323)<sup>273</sup> and the *Kitāb al-'ilm wa l-ta'lim* (*The Book of Knowledge and Teaching*) by the Mu'tazilite Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) who was a schoolmaster.<sup>274</sup>

Although al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) does not belong to our period of interest, we will mention him here not only because of his ideas concerning pedagogy and education, but also because he bears witness to the previous eras. We know that the first book (*Kitāb al-'ilm*)<sup>275</sup> of his *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* considers the subject, as well as books XXII and XXIII.<sup>276</sup> Ghazālī's ideas on education have also inspired numerous works.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>267</sup> Arkoun, M., “La conquête du bonheur selon Abū-l-Ḥasan al-‘Amirī”, *Stud. Isl.*, XXII (1965), 55–90; Lacroix, M.-C., “Éducation et instruction selon Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Amirī. Présentation et traduction d’un extrait du ‘Kitāb al-sa‘āda wa l-is‘ād, [ed. Minovi, 348–88]”, *Rev. Ph. de Louvain*, 87 (1989), 165–214.

<sup>268</sup> Stanton, C.M. *Higher Learning in Islam: The Classical Period, A.D. 700-1300*, Savage, MD., 1990; Shams al-Din, *al-Falsafa al-tarbawiya*, *op. cit.*; Günther, “Be masters”, *art. cit.*, 376–80.

<sup>269</sup> Siddiqi, B.Ḥ., “Ibn Miskawayh’s theory of education”, *Iqbal* (Lahore), 11 (1961), 39–46; *id.*, “The view of Miskawayh on the education of children”, *Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute* (Tehran), 4 (1971), 49–56; Arkoun, M., *Contribution*, *op. cit.*, 294–302 *et passim*; Bhat, B., “Miskawayh on social justice, education and friendship”, *Islamic Studies*, 25 (1986), 197–210.

<sup>270</sup> Shams al-Din ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam‘ānī *fī kitābihi Adab al-implā’ wa-al-istimplā’*, Beirut, 1984.

<sup>271</sup> Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā‘iz wa l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-ḥiṭaṭ wa l-āthār*, Būlāq, 2 vols, 1270/1853, I, 390–97/ *Description topographique et historique de l’Égypte*, IV, trans. P. Casanova, Cairo, 1920 (reprint F. Sezgin, Frankfurt, 1992), 118–44.

<sup>272</sup> Totah, *Contribution*, *op. cit.*, 67–76, established a list of 42 works addressing the masters and the students as well as teaching methods.

<sup>273</sup> GAS, I, 495. This work is mentioned by Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XV, 58, etc.; Totah, *Contribution*, *op. cit.*, 68, n. 2, with this same title attributed to several other authors.

<sup>274</sup> Yaḳūt, I, 141/I, 274 (274–78, no. 92). This title is not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 138, but is mentioned, nevertheless, by Ḥājjī, Khalifa, *Lexicon biographicum*, V, 119, no. 10328; Ahlwardt, I, 53. On al-Balkhī see Rosenthal, F., “Abū Zayd al-Balkhī on politics”, in Bosworth, C.E., *et al.*, *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton, 1989, 287–301.

<sup>275</sup> Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4 vols, Būlāq, 1289/1872; reprint Cairo, al-Maṭba‘a al-Uthmāniyya, 1933, Book 1, *Kitāb al-'ilm*, I, 5–79; *The Book of Knowledge*, 2nd edn, trans. Nabih Amin Faris, Lahore, 1966, 6+246 pp.

<sup>276</sup> Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Book XXII, Bayān 10, III, 62–64 (on child education); *On Disciplining the Soul and Breaking the Two Desires*, Books XXII and XXIII, trans. T.J. Winter, 1995; Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Maladies de l’âme et maîtrise du cœur*, Livre XXII, intro., trans., notes by M-T Hirsch, Paris, 2007.

<sup>277</sup> El-Bagīr, El-K.M., “Al Ghazali’s philosophy of education, with special reference to Al Ihya, Book 1”, PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1954; Dar, M.I., “Al-Ghazālī on the problem of

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) dedicated the sixth chapter of his *Prolegomena* to the “sciences” and to scholarship;<sup>278</sup> it includes a section entitled: “The Proper Method of Instruction”.<sup>279</sup> In his autobiography Ibn Khaldūn gives an account of his own education, listing the principal books he read and describing the life and works of his main teachers.<sup>280</sup> Because the body of literature on Khaldūn is so enormous, we will confine ourselves here to mentioning just a few studies.<sup>281</sup> Ibn Khaldūn’s educational ideas along with those of the Andalusian Ibn al-Azraq al-Aṣḥabī (Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, d. 896/1491) have been discussed in a single book, with selected passages from both scholars.<sup>282</sup> Another author has presented the principles of education held by Zarnūjī, Miskawayh, Sharastānī, Ibn ‘Arabī, al-Ghazālī, and Fārābī.<sup>283</sup>

## Scholarship

### *The Transmission of Knowledge*

Just as the transmission of the Qur’an must be assured—that is, the believer must be certain that the Qur’an he recites contains the *ipsissima verba Dei* proclaimed by Muḥammad and that it is transmitted in an “uninterrupted” (*mutawātir*) fashion by trustworthy readers—so the transmission of the *ḥadīth* must be established with the same degree of certainty, even though Muslim scholars admit that, to a certain extent, this transmission may be undertaken according to the meaning and not imperatively word-for-word so long as the meaning is not distorted. Indeed, many consider knowledge of the *ḥadīth* to be the “science” (*‘ilm*) *par*

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education”, in Abdullah, S.M. (ed.), *Armaḡān-‘ilmī. Professor Muḥammad Shafī‘ Presentation Volume*, Lahore, 1955, 31–40; Sulaymān, F.H., *Madhāhib fī al-tarbiyya. Baḥṡ fī al-madhab al-tarbawī ‘inda al-Ghazālī*, Cairo, 1964; Gardet, “Notion et principes”, *art. cit.*, 4–8; Shams al-Dīn, ‘*Abd al-Karīm*, *op. cit.*; Günther, “Be masters”, *art. cit.*, 380–85.

<sup>278</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, 3 vols, trans. F. Rosenthal, New York and Princeton, 1967 (1st edn 1958), III, ch. VI, 3–480.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 292–98 *et passim*.

<sup>280</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Le voyage d’Occident et d’Orient*, trans. A. Cheddadi, Arles, 1995 (1st edn Paris, 1980), 45–71.

<sup>281</sup> Sulaymān F.H., *Madhāhib fī al-tarbiyya. Baḥṡ fī al-madhab al-tarbawī ‘inda Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo, 1955; Qurayshī, M.A., “The educational ideas of Ibn Khaldun”, *Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda*, XIV, (1965), 83–92; Semaan, K.I.H., “Education in Islam, from the Jahiliyya to Ibn Khaldun”, *MW*, 56 (1966), 188–98; Ahmad, A. “The educational thought of Ibn Khaldun”, *J. of the Pakistan Historical Soc.*, XVI (1968), 175–81; Gardet, “Notions et principes”, *art. cit.*, 8–9; al-Nu‘mī, ‘Al. al-Amin, *Manāḥij wa ṡuruq al-‘ilm ‘inda al-Qābisi wa Ibn Khaldūn*, Tripoli (Libya), 1980; Bānabila (1984); Cheddadi, A., ‘Ibn Khaldun’, *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, XXIV/1–2 (1994), 7–19.

<sup>282</sup> Shams al-Din, ‘*Abd al-Karīm*, *op. cit.*: for Ibn Khaldūn, 5–98; Ibn al-Azraq, 99–114. For the *Muqaddimah*, 119–96; for Ibn al-Azraq’s *Bada’i’ al-silk fī ṡabā’i’ al-milk*, 197–280.

<sup>283</sup> ‘Abd al-Laṡif, M., *Dirāsāt fī al-fikr al-islāmī*, Cairo, 1977, 190 pp., with the texts of several sources.

*excellence*, knowledge founded on certainty,<sup>284</sup> in contrast to dialectic theology (*kalām*) and lay knowledge such as literature, philosophy and so on; this is why it must be disseminated throughout all Muslim regions (see Chapters 15 and 16 in this volume). Moreover, among the traditionalist circles that claim to represent the Hanbalite theological perspective, in opposition to dialectic theology, those who have done nothing but devote themselves to the memorization, study and transmission of the *ḥadīth*, who basically have been nothing but traditionists (*muḥaddiths*), are presented as nothing short of saints.

The *ḥadīth* must be transmitted from master to disciple—at least this was how it was, in principle, until the beginning of the twentieth century, even though from the fifteenth century onwards this was no longer always the rule. In Islam, the Companions transmitted the Prophet’s *ḥadīth* to their Successors, who transmitted what had been transmitted to them by the Companions, and so on and so forth, from generation to generation, or rather from scholarly “class” (*ṭabaqa*)<sup>285</sup> to scholarly class (a scholarly class might represent ten to 40 years, depending on the timespan between masters and pupils). From a certain period onwards, the transmitted *ḥadīths* were preceded by a chain of guarantors (*isnād*): “So-and-so told me, he said: ‘So-and-so told me’” and so on and so forth, until a Companion had related one of the Prophet’s sayings, or a tale in which he figured. According to the Successor Ibn Sirīn (d. 110/729):

They were not used to inquiring after the *isnād*, but when the *fitna* [the civil war between Mu‘āwiya and ‘Alī, 35/655] occurred they said: “Name us your informants.” Thus, if these were *ahl as-sunna*, their traditions were accepted, but if they were *ahl al-bida’* [innovators], their traditions were not accepted.<sup>286</sup>

It is difficult to give credence to this tradition, which contains an anachronism (“people of the sunna”), yet it remains likely that towards the end of the first/seventh century there was recourse to chains of guarantors, even if these were far from being commonly used. Thus there are few in Muqātil b. Sulaymān’s (d. 150/767) Qur’anic commentary, and most of those that are present have been inserted by one of the transmitters of this work. From the end of the second/eighth century, those who transmitted traditions without necessarily attributing them to Muḥammad were ridiculed as “storytellers” (*quṣṣāṣ*) and more often than

<sup>284</sup> Gilliot, “La transmission des sciences religieuses”, in J.-C. Garcin et al., *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval Xe–XVe siècle*, 3 vols, II, Paris, PUF (Nouvelle Clio), 2000, 327–29, 336–38 (327–51); “La transmission du message muhammadien. Juristes et théologiens”, in Bianquis, T., et. al. (eds), *Les Débuts du monde musulman*, chap. XXV, 385–89; Nagel, Tilman, “Ḥadīth – oder: die Vernichtung der Geschichte”, in Wunsch, Cornelia (ed.), *XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, 1991, Stuttgart, 1994, 118–28.

<sup>285</sup> Marçais, William (trans. and annotation by), *Le Taqrīb de en-Nawawī*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1902, ch. 63; Gilliot, “Ṭabaqāt”, *EI*, 2nd edn, X, 7–10.

<sup>286</sup> Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, op. cit., 17–18, according to Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. ‘Abd al-Bāqī, I, 15.

not rejected. At the same time, a new discipline began to emerge within what was called “the sciences of the *ḥadīth*”—“disparaging and declaring trustworthiness” (*al-jarḥ wa l-ta’dīl*),<sup>287</sup> namely the criticism of traditions or, better, the critical examination of the qualities of a transmitter<sup>288</sup>—and this developed to a significant extent during the following centuries. Works were even penned that kept record of the transmitters who were “truthful authorities” (*thiqāt*), those who were “weak” (*ḍa’īf-s*), “disparaged transmitters” (*majrūhūn*) and so on. However, these distinctions were most often made according to doctrinal and moral criteria and hardly correspond to those of a dispassionate researcher.<sup>289</sup> From the sixth/twelfth century onwards, works were even composed on the “fabricated” (*mawḍū’āt*) *ḥadīths*, one of the most famous being that of the Hanbalite Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201).

Indeed, *ḥadīth* specialists were aware of the phenomenon of forgery from very early on, because the various groups (*firaq*) of politico-religious opposition had no qualms in attributing to Muḥammad traditions that would serve their position or their political or doctrinal ideas. Some of these *ḥadīths* can even be found in collections of traditions that are said to be authentic. This is how Muḥammad came to say “The Qadarites are the Zoroastrians of this community”. Yet the Qadarite movement that proclaimed, in one form or another, the principle of free will, which ran against the predestinationist “orthodoxy”, only came into being around 70/689. Of course, one could always say that God had evidently granted his prophet a certain prescience for him to make this declaration!

### *Travel in Search of (Religious) Knowledge* (al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-‘ilm)

Muslim scholars, especially *ḥadīth* scholars, travelled extensively in search of religious knowledge;<sup>290</sup> they were reputedly inspired by words attributed to Muḥammad, “‘Seek knowledge even in China’,<sup>291</sup> since the search for knowledge is an obligation for all Muslims”.<sup>292</sup> This is the picture presented by the sources

<sup>287</sup> Marçais, *Le Taqrīb*, *op. cit.*, 80–101, ch. 23., Among the Imāmīs one of the equivalents of Nawawī Taqrīb, or of other books, is: Shahīd al-Thānī, Zayn al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī, *Munyat al-murīd fī ādāb al-muḥaddith al-mustafīd*, ed. al-Sayyid A. al-Ḥusaynī, Beirut, 1984, 214 pp.; cf. Scarcia Amoretti, Bianciamaria, “Sulla riwāya in ambito imamita”, in Amoretti, Scarcia (ed.), *Onomastica*, 110–48.

<sup>288</sup> On the study of the *ḥadīth* in the Islamic East, see Mottahedeh, R., “The transmission of learning: the role of the Islamic East”, 67–72.

<sup>289</sup> Gilliot, “Prosopography in Islam: an essay of classification”, 5–36.

<sup>290</sup> On the ambiguity of the word ‘ilm, see Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., *The Lifestyles of Islam*, Leiden, 1985, 115–22.

<sup>291</sup> The first part of this tradition is as famous as it is spurious; see Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, *op. cit.*, 89, n. 4.

<sup>292</sup> Baghdādī, al-Khaṭīb, *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth*, 72–76; cf. Zarnūjī, *Instruction of the Student*, trans. von Grunebaum, 21, 28–29. The tradition “The search for knowledge is an obligation for all Muslims” has been transmitted in several “ways” (*ṭuruq*); see Suyūṭī, *Juz’ fīhi ṭuruq ḥadīth: Ṭalab*

and secondary literature on the subject.<sup>293</sup> Indeed, many scholars travelled extensively to hear the lessons given by masters in traditions. Once they had completed the training that was available in their village, neighbouring village or their region, the most talented students were sent “travelling” by their fathers, in order to collect as many prophetic, exegetic or even historiographic or other traditions as possible. This could be done for its own sake or as part of the pilgrimage to Mecca, in which case, whether on the way there or back, it was perfectly acceptable to make great detours in order to listen to the lessons of one or several renowned transmitters, in one location or another. This is how it was possible to retrace the “wanderings in pursuit of knowledge” undertaken by several Muslim scholars, such as those of Ṭabarī (d. 310/923)<sup>294</sup> (see Chapter 7, this volume). Such travels were also undertaken from the West (Muslim Spain<sup>295</sup> and the Maghreb) to the East. However, it has recently been shown that this custom was less widespread than was previously thought, not only among the philologists and grammarians, but even among the traditionists.<sup>296</sup> The practice was deep-rooted in a shared social and religious *imaginaire* (mindset):

“The more teachers a scholar could boast of, and the more he knew to tell about the circumstances of their lives and studies, the more trustworthy he regarded himself .... An Egyptian scholar of the thirteenth century, who had made a dictionary of his 1,270 teachers, was asked by a friend how many were outstanding (*imāms*) and answered: ‘Had I listed only *imāms*, I would not have reached the number five!’”<sup>297</sup>

### Orality and Literacy

It was, in some ways, in the continuity of its oral transmission that the *ḥadīth*’s authenticity was meant to reside. Yet, even when delivering orally traditions they knew off by heart, many traditionists used “books of notes” dating as far back as to the first/seventh century, even though some were praised for “never” having done so. In the early days of Islam many opposed the writing down of

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*al-‘ilm farīdah ‘alā kull Muslim*, ed. in id., *Taḥdhīr al-khawāṣṣ min akādhīb al-quṣṣāṣ*, ed. M.H.M.Ḥ Ismā‘īl, Beirut, 2002.

<sup>293</sup> Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, II, 436–39; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 175–93/*Muslim Studies*, II, 164–80/217–38/*Études*, 215–56; Shalabi, *Ta’rīkh al-tarbiyya*, 317–26; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, *op. cit.*, 66–70; Gellens, S.I., “The search for knowledge in medieval Muslim societies” (1990); Ephrat, *A Learned Society*, *op. cit.*, 33–58.

<sup>294</sup> Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en islam*, 19–37.

<sup>295</sup> Makki, M.‘A., *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales ...*, 1–58; Jarrar, M., *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien*, Frankfurt, 1989, 65–67.

<sup>296</sup> Bernardas, M.M., “Ṭalab al-‘ilm amongst the linguists of Arabic during the ‘Abbasid period”, in Montgomery, James E. (ed.), *‘Abbasid Studies*, Leuven, 2004, 33–46.

<sup>297</sup> Goitein, reviewing Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, in *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 195.

the *ḥadīth* (*kitābat/kitāb al-‘ilm*), particularly in Bassora during the second/eighth century, but elsewhere too. On the one hand, it is said of the great Medinian traditionist Ibn Shibāb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742) that he never wrote down a tradition or that he left no book, but, on the other hand, he is presented as an assiduous writer and even as the first to have written down the *ḥadīth*, which he would have done at the behest of the Umayyads. Those opposed to the writing down of the *ḥadīth* emphasized the tradition attributed to Muḥammad, of which one variant is: “Do not write what I say, except for the Koran. If someone writes down something other than the Koran, may God destroy him!”<sup>298</sup> One of the arguments put forward by Muslim scholars to justify such opposition was the fear that the Qur’an and the *ḥadīth* might be confused! The question of the history and origins of the opposition to the writing down of traditions has been thoroughly addressed by Michael Cook.<sup>299</sup> He shows that, at an earlier stage, this opposition had existed in all major centres of learning, and that at one time it had been the prevailing attitude. He presents an argument for the Jewish origin of this Muslim hostility to the writing down of the traditions. He then sketches out a general explanation for the demise of the authentically oral tradition in Islam.<sup>300</sup>

Nevertheless, although over time the written took over from the oral, the latter continued to be regarded as an ideal; moreover, oral and written “reception of knowledge” (that is, of the traditions) (*taḥammul al-‘ilm*)<sup>301</sup> retained an ambivalence. Drawing on the practices of reception or transmission of knowledge, authors such as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) or al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), among others, set out criteria for the quality of the transmission not only of the traditions, but also of books, without making the error of projecting into the most ancient past practices that only progressively came into being from the second half of the second/eighth century. These theoreticians enumerate some eight modes of transmission in descending order of value along with the terms designating the mode of reception (see also Vajda, Chapter 9, this volume). The first three modalities are as follows.

According to the authors, the best of these types of reception is “direct listening” (*al-samā’*): the disciple or the auditor listens to the traditions that are recited from memory or read from the master’s “book” or “booklet” (*juz’*). In this case, the terms used in the transmission will be: “I heard” or “So-and-so

<sup>298</sup> Cook, M., “The opponents of the writing of tradition”, 459–66; Schoeler, *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l’islam*, Paris, 2002., 52–56/*The Oral and the Written in Early Islam*, trans. Uwe Vagelpohl, ed. J.E. Montgomery, London, 2006, 116–21, 124 et seq.

<sup>299</sup> Cook, “Opponents”, *art. cit.*

<sup>300</sup> For the previous studies on this issue by Sprenger, Goldziher, Wansbrough, Sezgin, Schoeler, see Cook, *ibid.*, 440, n. 23–27.

<sup>301</sup> Sublet, J., “Le modèle arabe. Éléments de vocabulaire”, in Grandin (ed.), *Madrasa*, 13–27.