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## A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY BY A KHOREZMIAN AUTHOR

The Russian Arabist V. I. Beliaev (1902—1976) was the first to mention the manuscript of an unknown biographical dictionary in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. While working on the collection in 1953, he singled out this manuscript, acquired in 1939 from the Astrakhan book collector S. A. Alimov, as of “outstanding interest”. The scholar also determined its provenance as Khorezm and suggested that it is an autograph copy dating to the twelfth century [1]. The manuscript was later examined by A. I. Mikhaylova (in drawing up a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the collection) and B. Z. Khalidov, who drew from it a biography of the famous scholar al-Zamakhsharī [2]. But it is only two decades after V. I. Beliaev's first comments on the manuscript that his pupil, A. B. Khalidov, published a more detailed discussion of it in his two articles [3]. Apart from an analysis of the manuscript's contents and sources used, the author made the description of the manuscript. But what is more important, A. B. Khalidov was successful in attributing the work. However, at present, the results of his research need some corrections and additions inevitable after many years had elapsed from the appearance of his articles. The present article presents my own observations on the manuscript, which are basing certainly on the main results of Prof. Khalidov's work.\*

The manuscript contains 193 large-format folios (18.7 × 29.7 cm); 29 lines per page, *naskh*. The text was copied in black ink in a single hand; headings and emphasised words are underlined. There are corrections and additions in the margins, as well as a number of notes made by a reader (two readers?) soon after the copying of the manuscript. Vowelling and diacritical marks are rare. The custodes belong partially to the copyist, partially to readers. Late Arabic pagination runs up to fol. 31b in black ink and is continued thereafter in blue pencil until the end of the manuscript. The paper is of Samarqand origin, thick, glossed, and browned with age. The folios are worm-eaten in places, ragged, and soiled. The manuscript is stitched together and held in a paste-board binding of later production. The order of folios has been disrupted.

The manuscript is defective: it lacks both a beginning and an end. The text starts with a continuation of the biography of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak al-Khurāsānī (d. 181/797) and continues with the biographies of individuals whose names begin with the letters ‘*ayn*, *ghayn*, etc.

in the order of the Arabic alphabet to the letter *ya*. Then the biographies of people known only by *kunya* follow. The text breaks off on the biography of the traditionalist Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh (d. 173/789—90).

Thus, the dictionary is constructed in alphabetical order and most likely consisted originally of 28 chapters (*bābs*), one for each letter of the Arabic alphabet, and a concluding section (*dhikr*) listing those known only by *kunya*. The manuscript contains only 10 incomplete chapters (approximately one third of the work), presenting 277 biographies (some with *lacunae*) of considerably varying length. Nearly half of the manuscript is occupied by some fifteen extensive biographies, while the length of the others varies from 2 or 3 lines to half of a page.

Within chapters, the biographies are arranged in alphabetical-chronological order: the companions of Muḥammad (*ṣaḥāba*) come first, then the “followers” (*tābi‘ūn*), etc. Within the large chapter on ‘*ayn* we find subdivisions for the names ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Abd al-Mālik, etc. The names of those whose biography is presented are written in large letters and underlined, serving as the headings of the text's sections and sub-sections (see *figs. 1* and *2*).

After comparing materials found in the manuscript with data provided in K. Brockelman, A. B. Khalidov came to the conclusion that the author of the dictionary was the traditionalist Abū-l-Karam ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥijjī al-Firdawsī al-Khwārizmī al-Andarasfānī. As the scholar points out, the author refers to one of his own works entitled *al-Mustaḥṣā* (“What Was Studied”) dealing with the early history of Islam (the history of Muḥammad, the early Arab conquests, the first four caliphs, etc.). A work of this title and content is listed by Brockelman, who gives the author's name as Abū-l-Karam al-Khwārizmī al-Andarasfānī [4]. Second, like Brockelman's Abū-l-Karam, the author of the dictionary lived in Khorezm (and must have also carried the *nisba* al-Khwārizmī); like him, he could have had another, specifically Khorezmian *nisba*, al-Ḥijjī, instead of al-Ḥājjī. The time of the active literary involvement of the dictionary's author is contemporary with the lifetime of Brockelman's Abū-l-Karam: his another extant work was written in 564/1169. Its content is connected with Muslim tradition, which also interested the author of the dictionary [5]. Finally, the decisive argument which permitted A. B. Khalidov to make his attribution is that the native village of the dictionary's author is shown in the

\* At present, the author of this article is preparing the manuscript of the dictionary for publication.

manuscript as Andarasbān, located in Khorezm. This forms the basis for the *nisba* — al-Andarasbānī (Pers. al-Andarasfānī). All this leaves no doubt that the attribution suggested is quite correct.

As concerns the dictionary's title *Kitāb tarājim al-rijāl* ("Biographies of the Transmitters of the Tradition"), as it is given in the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number C2387, No. 9454), variants of similar titles in this genre are usually numerous: from the common *Ta'rikh* ("History") or *Mu'jam* ("Dictionary") to the individual and original (cf., for example, al-Sam'ānī's *al-Ansāb* or *al-Taḥbīr*).

Unfortunately, I was not able to discover any information about Abū-l-Karam 'Abd al-Salām in other sources. However, luckily enough, the manuscript itself contains abundant materials on the scholar's biography, his teachers and acquaintances, as well as the titles and even the contents of some of his works. These materials in the text give us an idea of his work on the dictionary and on the corpus of sources he drew on in his work. The author frequently betrays his presence in the book, often speaking in the first person and referring to his personal encounters, conversations, and correspondence. He also reports that he made numerous notes (*maktūbātī*) and selections (*muntakhabātī*) from texts and wrote down what he "heard" (*masmū'ātī*). He mentions collections he drew up (*majmū'ātī*), lists cities he visited, and scholars under whose direction he learned *ḥadīths* or copied out works. He also informs the reader that the famous philologist and Qur'ānic commentator Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī al-Khwārizmī (467—538/1075—1144) studied for a short time with his maternal grandfather. In turn, the author himself came to al-Zamakhsharī with the intention of studying with him, but the latter discouraged him from this, much to the youth's disappointment. Abū-l-Karam dedicates to his would-be teacher a heartfelt and detailed article which contains facts absent in other sources.

We also learn that in 545/1150—51, while completing the *ḥajj*, Abū-l-Karam stayed in Ray with *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Abū 'Abdallāh al-Astrābādī. He learned *ḥadīths* from him (*ḥadḍathanī*) and visited the grave of the noted Mu'tazilite theologian and Shafi'ite *faqīh al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad (d. 415/1025) [6]. The grave of this scholar was located in the courtyard of al-Astrābādī's home. Abū-l-Karam was "blessed" there by *waqf* deeds written in the deceased scholar's own hand. The special respect for this scholar demonstrated by the dictionary's author testifies to his Mu'tazilite sympathies; the Mu'tazilite school was firmly entrenched in his homeland, Khorezm. On his way to Mecca, Abū-l-Karam made pilgrimage to several tombs of celebrated Islamic personalities and *'ulaā's* in Baghdad — the tomb of the Shi'ite *imām* Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāzim (d. 183/799) and the tomb of the caliph al-Amīn (d. 193/809), in Jabal-Tabarak — the tomb of the Hanafite *imām* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shāybanī (d. 189/804—5), in Medina — the tomb of the eponymous head of the Malikites, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). Furthermore, the author visited Asadābād, where he heard *al-qāḍī* Abū-l-Faḍl al-Tamīmī [7] and, on numerous occasions, Hamadan, where he studied with Abū-l-'Alā' *al-ḥāfiẓ* al-Hamadānī. From the latter he learned many *ḥadīths* with various *isnāds*, copied books, and studied, in particular, the books *Kitāb al-tamhīd fī ma'rifat al-tajwīd* ("Introduction to the Study of Qur'ānic Recitation") [8] and *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-

Bukhārī. Also in Hamadan, he made a "selection" from the *Kitāb al-muzah* ("Book of Delights") and copied an "excerpt" about a letter from the above-mentioned al-Shaybānī sent from Kufa to Baghdad to the first *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* in Islam, Abū Yūsuf.

The author compiled the dictionary in Gurganj — the main city in Khorezm — in close contact with the pupils of al-Zamakhsharī. As their titles *shaykh al-quḍāt*, *ṣadr al-sharī'a*, *ṣadr al-a'emma*, and others show, they occupied prominent positions in society. It can be deduced from the text of the manuscript that the author understood Khorezmian dialect. One of his mentors (*ustādhunā*, *shaykhunā*) was Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Mu'ayyad al-Makkī (d. 568/1172), a favoured and devoted pupil of al-Zamakhsharī. References to Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad in the manuscript are accompanied by such honorific sobriquets as *al-ṣadr al-khaṭīb*, *akḥṭab al-khuṭabā'* ("head of the preachers"), and *ṣadr al-sharī'a* ("bastion of the *sharī'a*"). The author also expresses his gratitude toward his deceased teacher with a special formula (in addition to the traditional *rahimahu Allah*) — *jazāhu Allah khayran* ("May Allah grant him prosperity!"). Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad was a famed orator, the author of sermons at the local mosque, a *faqīh*, as well as a literary figure and a poet. A significant amount of the information on the "pride of Khorezm" — as al-Zamakhsharī was referred to — is given with reference to Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad or taken directly from his work *Kitāb al-arba'in* ("Forty [*Ḥadīths*]") [9]. This includes his elegy for al-Zamakhsharī, his verses about Abū Ḥanīfa and two of his companions, the biography of an ascetic (*zāhid*) written at his request, etc.

The author had close ties to another titled pupil of al-Zamakhsharī — 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Umar Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Tarjumānī, who studied with al-Zamakhsharī for seven years his well-known Mu'tazilite commentary on the Qur'ān, *al-Kashshāf* [10], and other subjects. The author also uses the term "friend" (*ṣaḍīqī*) in relation to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Abū-l-Ma'ālī al-Ḥākīmī al-Zamakhsharī, on whose authority he cites the verses of others about Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī, and Muḥammad al-Ḥājj, who accompanied al-Zamakhsharī throughout his life and later became one of the author's pupils. Together with *shaykh* al-Qāḍībī (?), Muḥammad al-Ḥājj learned from him al-Firdaws [11] and the author's own works (*mu'allafātī*).

The author's family evidently maintained close relations with al-Zamakhsharī himself, whom they had known since childhood. The author reports that after the death of his maternal uncle, al-Zamakhsharī, then in elementary school (*kuttāb*), wrote a letter to his grandfather with condolences and apologies that he had been unable to come from Zamakhshar to Andarsbān because of a physical ailment (he had lost a leg in childhood).

A spiritual authority for the author of the dictionary was Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167), who descended from a family of well-known scholars in Merv and was the author of dozens of works. Abū-l-Karam calls him "crown of Islam" (*tāj al-Islām*) and frequently cites from what he "heard" from him or his numerous writings. He also notes a letter in which Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, together with his teacher, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Abū Ṭāhir al-Sinjī (d. in Bukhara, 555/1160), conveyed necessary information as transmitted by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Muzaffar al-Bukhārī. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī was the author whose writings Abū-l-Karam cites abundantly — seven of his works

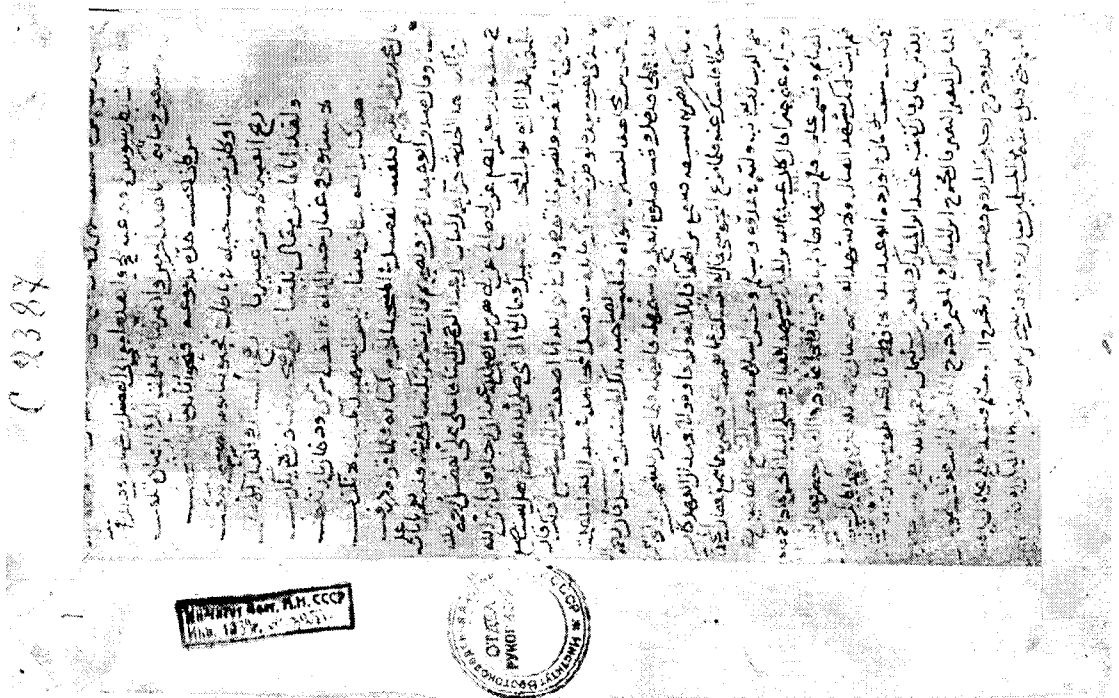


Fig. 1

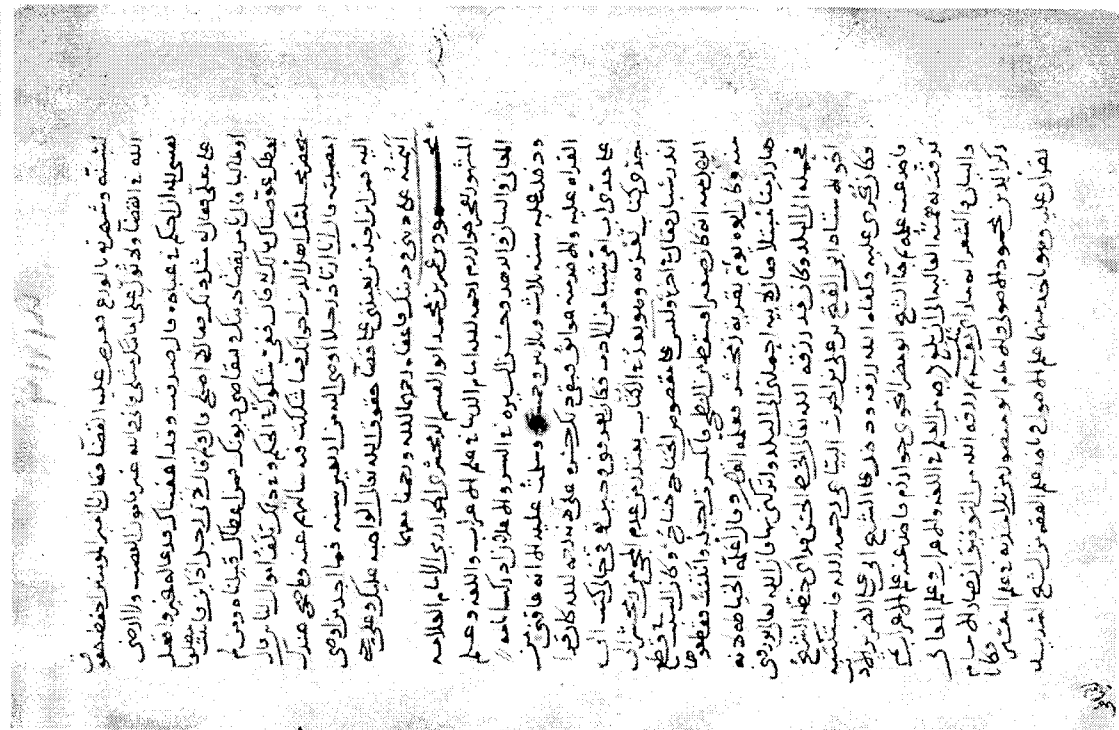


Fig. 2

are cited, two of them — *Uns al-shātī* (“Sociability of One Spending the Winter”) and *al-Nukhba* (“Selections”) not being attested in other sources.

The author's work was founded on the assiduous collection of *ḥadīths*, a thorough familiarity with the historical, biographical, theological, and legal literature, primarily of Mawarannahr and Khorasan, and a breadth of views (among his sources of information are Hanafites, Shafi'ites, Ṣūfīs, and Mu'tazilites). He refers the reader who wishes to learn more about particular individuals and events mentioned in the dictionary to his other works and lists eight titles. They are: *Kitāb ṣifāt al-ṣāliḥāt wa-'ādāt al-'ābidāt* (“Book of the Qualities of Virtuous Women and Customs of Devout Women”), *Fiddat al-mūna wa-kanz al-ghūna* (“The Silver of Desires and the Treasure-Trove of Sufficiency”), *al-Muntakha fī-l-ghazāwāt* (“The Limit of the Desirable in Military Campaigns”), *al-Mustaṣṣā* (“What Has Been Studied”), *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* (“The Virtues of Abū Ḥanīfa”), *Manāqib Mālik* (“The Virtues of Mālik [b. Anas]”), and *Siyar al-quḍāt* (“Biographies of Judges”). The *Siyar al-quḍāt* comprised, in particular, the biography of Muḥammad b. 'Alī *al-qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh al-Marwazī. An excerpt from this work is copied out in the margins of the manuscript under discussion here. Among his writings Abū-l-Karam mentions also the *Kitāb al-qand*. This is the abbreviated title of the works dedicated to the history of Samarqand. Their more common title was *Kitāb al-qand fī ta'rīkh Samarqand*, or *Kitāb al-qand fī dhikr 'ulamā' Samarqand* (“What Is Sweet in the Enumeration of Samarqand's Scholars”). That is the title, for example, of the work by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142—43), to which he also refers [12]. With the exception of the above-mentioned *al-Mustaṣṣā*, which survives in a Persian translation of the fifteenth century, the works enumerated have not come down to us.

This information provided by Abū-l-Karam leads us to the conclusion that the author of the biographical dictionary was a broadly educated Khorezmian scholar. He was most likely a follower of the Hanafite *madhhab*, which is evident from the character of the materials he presents in his dictionary and, to a certain degree, from the fact that al-Subkī does not mention him as a Shafi'ite. At the same time, he apparently held to Mu'tazilite views. One can also conclude that Abū-l-Karam drew up his biographical dictionary after 569/1173 and probably died at the end of the 6th/12th century.

Those studying the manuscript of Abū-l-Karam's dictionary are faced with a not easy problem of identifying the sources of the author's information. The difficulty is that we have here only the final third of the writing in which the works cited or mentioned, as well as the names of their authors, are given in the abbreviated form. The full titles were likely provided in the preceding sections of the work. In the surviving part of the work, the full titles of works and the names of their authors are given only when they appear for the first time. Most often the author limits himself to providing only the first word of the title of the work he cites. Moreover, names of authors also appear frequently in their abbreviated form, with *laqab*, *kunya*, or *nisba* solely mentioned. Nonetheless, at the present stage of investigation we can state that the basic body of sources can be identified with a certain degree of accuracy [13]. The titles of more than 60 works employed by the author have been identified. The majority of these writings were compiled by

scholars from the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate — Khorasan and Mawarannahr (Nishapur, Khorezm, Merv, Bukhara, Baykhak, etc.). They are historians who represent local literature tradition. Among them are *faqīhs*, *muḥaddiths* of various *madhhabs*, *qāḍīs*, literary figures, officials, and preachers.

The works cited belong to diverse genres. They include various collections of Muslim tradition, commentaries of the Qur'ān, works on *ḥadīths*, law, *madhhabs*, Islamic dogmatics, polemics, and Ṣūfism. Historical-biographical writings are also numerous. Primarily, these are chronicles of cities, most frequently *Ta'rīkhs* or works with individual names, which present the biographies of famous people who either lived in the city or visited it. The dictionary makes use of chronicles of Baghdad, Nishapur, Khorezm, Bukhara, and others (in all, eight cited works bear the title *Ta'rīkh*). To the same category belong biographical works with individual titles such as *al-Taḥbīr* and *al-Mudhayyāl* by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, and specialised works on Ṣūfism, for example, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1039), on the Mu'tazilites — *al-Ṭabaqāt* by *al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, and others.

Another genre of biographical literature actively employed by the author is the description of the “virtues” (*manāqib*) of the founders of the main four *madhhabs*: Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfi'ī, Mālik b. Anas, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Works with the title *al-Manāqib* are cited in the dictionary either with reference to their compilers (for example, al-Ṣaymarī, al-Sijistānī, al-Zaranjarī) or without such references (for example, the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* covers dozens of works).

The citation frequency varies. Ten works are cited about 10 to 40 times: the biographical dictionary *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (“History of Baghdad”) by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) — more than 40 times, and the *Ḥilyat awliyā'* (“Adornment of the Saints”) by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī — about 20 times. Both of these multi-volume works are well-known to specialists and have been published.

About 15 citations are accorded the *Ta'rīkh Naysābūr* (“History of Nishapur”) by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh *al-ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, also known as Ibn al-Bayyī' (d. 405/1014—15). This enormous, eight-volume history of the ‘ulamā’ of Nishapur is divided chronologically into six “sections” (generations). The final section covers people who transmitted *ḥadīths* between 320/932 and 380/990. The majority of the individuals mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh Naysābūr* were either studied directly with al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī or were teachers of his teachers. This writing was also used by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, who borrowed from it information about fifty Central Asian scholars who visited Nishapur. Later, Ibn al-Bayyī'’s work was translated into Persian, in which version it has come down to us (published in Tehran in 1961) [14].

Of special interest is the *Ta'rīkh Khwārizm* (“History of Khorezm”) by Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī, which Abū-l-Karam heard directly from the author and which he cites on several occasions. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-'Abbās b. Arslān *madhhar* (var. *dhāhir*) al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī (492—568/1099—1172/73) was a Khorezmian Shafi'ite *faqīh*, *muḥaddith*, historian, and Ṣūfī. He heard *ḥadīths* in Khorezm, Merv, Bukhara, Samarqand, and Baghdad and taught at the famed al-Nizamiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. The honorary title of *al-ḥāfiẓ al-muṭlaq* he bore

testifies to his profound knowledge of “the science of *ḥadīth*”. Al-Sam‘ānī wrote about Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī’s extensive knowledge of legal methodology and differences between the *fiqh* schools. His work *al-Kāfi fī-l-fiqh* was held in high esteem not only by Shafī‘ites but also by the representatives of other *madhhabs*.

Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī’s “History of Khorezm” consisted of eight large volumes, or parts. The autograph of this work was used by Yāqūt al-Hamawī (d. 626/1229), author of a well-known geographical dictionary. In particular, he took from it information on the famed Ash‘arite theologian and philosopher al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), on Abū-l-Ḥasan al-‘Umrānī (d. 560/1165), the pupil of Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī, etc. The “History of Khorezm” has been preserved in the abridged version of al-Dhahabī. Al-Subkī, who was acquainted with the first volume of the *Ta‘rīkh Khwārizm*, cites in his own writing the “Introduction” (*al-muqaddima*) to the *Ta‘rīkh Khwārizm* [15].

Several times Abū-l-Karam cites also the *Ta‘rīkh Bukhārā* (“History of Bukhara”) by Gunjār, most likely the manuscript trader (and copyist — *warrāq*) whose full name was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Bukhārī. He is known by the *laqab* Gunjār (d. 412/1021). According to al-Sam‘ānī, he inherited this sobriquet from his teacher, the well-known Bukharan *muḥaddith* ‘Isā b. Mūsā Abū Aḥmad al-Tamīmī whose *laqab* was Gunjār (d. 385/995). The tale of how the famed ascetic *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* ‘Isā b. Mūsā (Gunjār) resisted a posting as judge in Mawarannahr is given in the manuscript of the dictionary but it does not contain a biography of Gunjār as the author of the “History of Bukhara”.

Al-Sam‘ānī describes Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī as an expert in *ḥadīths* who travelled widely in the cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan and his work *Ta‘rīkh Bukhārā* as the best book ever written on the history of that city. He cites the work when presenting the biographies of sixteen Bukharan scholars from the Samanid rule. Later historians also held Gunjār’s “History of Bukhara” in high esteem. Gunjār’s grave in Bukhara was preserved for many centuries; at the beginning of the twentieth century, his tomb still stood in the Western section of the city [16].

Among individually titled works in the *ta‘rīkh* genre most frequently cited in the dictionary we find *al-Mudhāyyal* and *al-Taḥbīr* by Abū Sa‘d al-Sam‘ānī. The first does not appear with this title in other sources, although we know that al-Sam‘ānī wrote a lengthy continuation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s “History of Baghdad” which he entitled *Kitāb al-dhayl* (“Addition”) or *Dhayl Ta‘rīkh Baghdād* (“Addition to the ‘History of Baghdad’”). In length it surpasses (by one third) the surviving and published biographical dictionary by the same author, the *Kitāb al-ansāb* (“Book of Genealogies”). Strangely enough, the latter work does not appear in the dictionary of Abū-l-Karam, although he was well acquainted with al-Sam‘ānī and his works. *Al-Mudhāyyal* is another title of the *Kitāb al-dhayl* [17].

The second work by al-Sam‘ānī cited by Abū-l-Karam in his dictionary is *Kitāb al-taḥbīr fī-l-mu‘jam al-kabīr* (“Annotation to the Large Dictionary”). In the view of F. Sezgin, this is but a reworking of *al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr fī asmā‘ al-ṣaḥāba* (“Large Dictionary of the Names of the Companions”) by the traditionalist Sulaymān b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Qāsim al-Lakhmī al-Ṭabarānī (d. in Isfahan, 360/971). According to al-Subkī, *al-Taḥbīr* was equal in size to the *Kitāb al-ansāb* by the same author. The work has

survived and has been published (Baghdad, 1976) on the basis of a single extant manuscript in Damascus [18]. To the same genre of biographical literature belongs *al-Ṭabaqāt* by the Mu‘tazilite *al-qādī* ‘Abd al-Jabbār frequently cited by our author.

Abū-l-Karam also drew on diverse materials from biographical works in the *manāqib* genre. The focus in this case is on the virtues of Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi‘ī. Most frequently cited (more than 25 times) is the *Manāqib* by al-Ṣaymarī. The reference is likely to the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* or *Manāqib wa-musnad Abī Ḥanīfa*, compiled in 404/1013. Its author, [al]-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ṣaymarī (d. 436/1045), was a Shafī‘ite *faqīh* who shared the views of the Mu‘tazilites. He was a pupil of a Baghdad Shafī‘ite *faqīh*, Muḥammad b. Mūsā Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī [19].

Another work in the same genre often cited in the dictionary is the *Manāqib al-Shāfi‘ī* (“Virtues of al-Shāfi‘ī”) by al-Sijistānī. The author, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm Abū-l-Ḥusayn (Abū-l-Ḥasan?) al-Sijistānī (d. 363/974), was originally from the village of Abīr (or Abūr) in Sijistan, which explains the second sobriquet we find in the manuscript — al-‘Ābirī (or al-‘Ābūrī). According to al-Subkī, al-Sijistānī’s *Manāqib* is the best work in this genre, containing the largest number of chapters (*abwāb*) — 75. The latter assertion, however, conflicts with the description he provides of the structure of the *Manāqib al-Shāfi‘ī* by a different author, the Shafī‘ite *faqīh* Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm Abū Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī al-Harawī (d. 414/1022—23). Al-Subkī saw this work in the al-Ashrafiyya library in Damascus (in the Dār al-Ḥadīth). It consists of 116 chapters divided into two parts: the first (44 chapters) contains al-Shāfi‘ī’s genealogy, beginning with the Prophet Muḥammad; the final forty chapters of the second part provide 40 *ḥadīths* as transmitted by al-Shāfi‘ī with *isnāds* that go back to the Prophet [20].

A significant amount of the dictionary’s source material comes from collections of Muslim tradition of various structures and organisational schemes. To this category belongs *al-Maṣābīḥ*, which the author cites more than 15 times. The compiler’s name is not given, but we know from other sources that one of the seven fundamental compilations of Muslim tradition was the *Kitāb maṣābīḥ al-sunna* (“Lights of the Sunna”). Its compiler was the Shafī‘ite *faqīh*, *muḥaddith*, Qur’ānic commentator and author of numerous works, al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd Abū Muḥammad al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī (from the village of Bagh, which lies between Herat and Marwaruz). His *laqab* was Muḥyi al-Sunna (Restorer of the Sunna); he died in Marwaruz in 516/1122. Each chapter of the work classifies traditions in the accepted fashion: true (*ṣaḥīḥ*), good (*ḥasan*), strange (*gharīb*), and weak (*ḍa‘īf*). At the time of the dictionary’s writing, this collection of traditions was considered one of the most authoritative; in subsequent centuries, it was the object of numerous commentaries and reworkings [21].

Among works of various genres cited by the author, we were able to identify the following:

1. A commentary on the Qur’ān (*tafsīr*) entitled *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* (“Revelation and Explanation”), which is cited (as *al-Kashf*) about 20 times. The author is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Ishāq an-Naysābūrī al-Tha‘labī, or al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 427/1036). This *tafsīr* was read and copied by al-Sam‘ānī under the direction of the Shafī‘ite Muḥammad b. al-Muntaṣir al-Mutawallī, known as

Muhammad b. Abī Sa'd al-Tūqānī (Tuqan is a village in Tus; d. 535/1141) [22].

2. *Al-Zawājir*, from which the author took “notes”, is cited about 10 times. This is likely *Kitāb al-zawājir wa-l-mawā'iz* (“Book of Restraining Elements and Exhortations”) by al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī (293—382/906—992/93), the uncle and teacher of the traditionalist Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d. 395/1005), author of *Kitāb al-awā'il* (“Book of Predecessors”). A manuscript of the *Kitāb al-zawājir* has survived [23].

3. *Kitāb tanbīh al-ghāfilin* (“Gaining the Attention of the Carefree”) by the Hanafite *faqīh*, Qur'ānic commentator, and Ṣūfī Abū-l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983). The work consists of 94 chapters and treats questions of morality, piety, ethics, and other topics on the basis of utterances by the Prophet Muhammad [24]. The work was also used by Shafī'ites, in particular, the “devout ascetic” Aḥmad b. Mūsā Abū-l-‘Abbās al-Ashnahī (?) (450—515/1058—1121), who came to Baghdad and there learned *fiqh* from the Shafī'ite *imām* Abū Sa'd al-*shaykh* al-Mutawalli (427—478/1036—1085), author of the *Kitāb al-tatimma* (“Continuation”) [25].

4. *Kitāb shu'ab al-īmān* (“Branches of Faith”), a dogmatic work known in sources also by the title *al-Minhāj fī shu'ab al-īmān*, penned by the traditionalist al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥalīmī (338—403/949-50—1012). Originally from Jurjan, he lived in Bukhara before moving to Nishapur. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014) is considered to have been one of his pupils. The *Kitāb shu'ab al-īmān* was used by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (384—458/894—1066) in his treatise *Kitāb al-asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt* (“Divine Names and Attributes”). We should add that a *Kitāb shu'ab al-īmān* is also cited as one of al-Bayhaqī's numerous works. The author of the dictionary was also familiar with his works in Khorezm: the manuscript contains references to Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī [26].

5. *Riyāḍat al-nafs* (“Training the Soul”), or *Kitāb al-riyāḍa*. The author is Muhammad b. ‘Alī Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. after 283/898), an extremely important figure in Khorasan mysticism and the author of many works (around 80) in which he developed his teachings on asceticism, mystic gnosis, the hierarchy of the saints, etc. His ideas on the soul, its “states” and “movements”, on means of self-perfection, exerted a powerful influence on subsequent Ṣūfī psychology. *Riyāḍat al-nafs* has survived and has been published in Cairo in 1947 [27].

6. *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī* (“The Condemnation of Musical Entertainments”) and *Kitāb al-muḥtaḍarīn* (“Those Possessed by Spirits”). The author of these works is the *imām* ‘Abdallāh b. Muhammad Abū Bakr al-Qurashī, known also as Ibn Abī-l-Dunyā (d. 281/894). The title of the second work could not be found in other sources. It is possible that the same author is responsible for the work on banning chess (*Kitāb taḥrīm al-shatranj*) which is also cited in the dictionary [28].

7. *Kitāb sharḥ al-'uyūn*, or *Sharḥ kitāb al-'uyūn* (“Commentary on the ‘Sources’”). The author is *shaykh al-islām* al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (as it stands in the manuscript). This is likely al-Muḥassin b. Karrāma Abū Sa'd al-Bayhaqī al-Zamakhsharī al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (b. in Mecca in 431/1039, d. there in 494/1101). The full name of the work is *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* (“The Interpretation of Theological Problems on the Basis of the Qur'ān”) [29]. The title (in both variants) indicates that this

is a commentary on *Kitāb 'uyūn al-masā'il*, but we know of various authors who wrote works by this name. They are the Hanafite Abū-l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983) who compiled his *'Uyūn al-masā'il fī-l-furū'* [30], al-Nawawī (d. 476/1083) with his *Kitāb 'uyūn al-masā'il* [31]; and al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī himself who wrote *Kitāb 'uyūn al-masā'il*. The latter work has been identified as *Kitāb al-'uyūn fī-l-radd 'alā ahl al-bida'* (“Sources for the Refutation of Those Who Introduce Impermissible Novelties”) by the same author [32]. In this case, the title cited in the work may be interpreted as the author's commentary on his own work.

8. *Ma'rifat al-ṣahāba* (“Information on the Companions [of the Prophet]”) by the above-mentioned Ṣūfī traditionalist Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1039) [33].

9. *Al-Majmū'* (“Collection”) by the Hanafite *faqīh* and ascetic Makhūl b. al-Faḍl Abū Muṭṭī' al-Nasafī (d. 318/930). *Al-Majmū'* is not mentioned in other sources known to me [34].

10. *Kitāb al-'uzla* (“Solitude”), or *al-I'tiṣām bi-l-'uzla* (“Search for Refuge in Solitude”). The author is Aḥmad b. Muhammad Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī al-Bustī (d. in Bosta in 388/998), one of the teachers of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. A *muḥaddith*, he wrote many works on *ḥadīths* (aside from the *Kitāb al-'uzla*, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *Ma'ālim al-sunan*, and others). He was an ascetic who turned to mysticism in old age and entered a Ṣūfī cloister. The *Kitāb al-'uzla* has survived and been published in Cairo in 1937 [35].

11. *An-naṣā'ih al-kibār* (“Main Exhortations”) by the above-mentioned Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī. The work was written in 512/1118 and consisted, according to the author of the dictionary, of 50 *maqāms* (whence its other title — *al-Maqāmāt*) [36].

12. *Al-Qaṣīda fī-l-tawḥīd wa-'adl* (“*Qaṣīda* on Monotheism and Divine Justice”) by Abū Sa'd al-Ābī. The title seems to be a descriptive. The full name of the author is Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn Abū Sa'd al-Ābī (d. 421/1030), the well-known Buwayhid *wazīr* Majd al-Dawla in Ray. A literary figure, poet, and historian, he was the author of the *Ta'rikh Ray* (“History of Ray”), *Nuzhat al-adīb* (“Pleasure of One Well-Educated”), and poetic works. His anthology in verse and prose has survived [37].

In addition to the works mentioned above, the manuscript cites another 10 works which could not be identified at present. Among them are *Futūḥ Nasaf*, *Mafāriḍ ahl Marw*, *al-Majālis*, and others.

The question of what was the criterion by which these or those Muslim authors were selected for inclusion in the dictionary remains unclear. We can only state with surety that the majority of these authors, excluding the companions of the Prophet were residents of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate (Iraq, Khorasan, Mawarannahr). Some are linked to Mecca and Medina, and only a handful to Syria and Egypt. Chronologically, the dictionary deals with all generations of Muslims, including contemporaries of the author, however, figures from the first two centuries of the Hijra predominate.

Most numerous in the dictionary are Muslim scholars who wrote on a vast range of religious matters, but also on other branches of humanitarian Muslim science. They were *faqīhs*, *muḥaddiths*, Qur'ān commentators, *mutakallims*, preachers, philologists, literary figures, and historians. However, the predominance of *qāḍīs*, including those who

combined scholarly pursuits with the performance of legal duties, is evident. The dictionary contains also biographies of the caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (an extensive biography, running to 17 pages of text), the seventh Shi‘ite *imām* Mūsā al-Kāzīm, and others.

The theological and legal affinity of scholars represented in the dictionary is shown impartial and fully. We find in the dictionary the biographies of Hanafites, Shafi‘ites, Mu‘tazilites, Sūfīs, and others. Detailed and extensive biographies of Abū Ḥanīfa (one tenth of the manuscript) and his notable followers — Abū Yūsuf (approx. 16 pages) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (approx. 13 pages) — reflect their great authority and popularity in the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate. The author lavishes the same attention on the eponymous founder of the Shafi‘ite *madhhab* — Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī (approx. 17 pages). The Mu‘tazilite theological school is also broadly represented, beginning with its founders, Wāsil b. ‘Aṭā’ and ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd, and closing with Mu‘tazilites from Khorezm. But what is noticeable is that almost all individuals included in the dictionary were ascetics (*zuhhād*) and pious men (*‘ubbād*). The author recounts with care and reverence their asceticism, marvels of self-abnegation, restraint and selfless devotion, pious utterances, and dreams. As A. B. Khalidov has pointed out, many of the biographies resemble hagiographies. A guiding principle in the author's selection of subjects was piety to serve as an example of a pious way of life.

The dictionary makes use of information from a wide array of Arabic sources, including those which have since been lost or which today survive in abridged versions or in later Persian translations. Of especial interest are the biographies of men connected with the religious and cultural centres of Central Asia — Khorezm, Merw, Bukhara, Samarqand, etc. Such biographies reflect local historical-biographical traditions, actual life and mores, Islamic wor-

ship, the formation of a class of local religious authorities, their role in the dissemination and transmission of religious knowledge and in the establishment of close and mutually enriching spiritual ties with other regions of the Muslim world both far and near. Evidence of this is found, for example, in the biographies of outstanding Muslim scholars known far beyond Mawarannahr, such as al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and al-Zamakhsharī. Moreover, we find here facts about their lives which are absent in other sources.

The materials in the dictionary testify to the fact that Central Asia was a part of the single cultural realm formed by the Muslim world, that scholarly schools and local dynasties of scholars took shape in the cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan. People from this region not only gained knowledge from authorities in the capital, but also taught at the famed *madrasas* of Baghdad and Nishapur, and their works were known throughout the Muslim world. It is sufficient to cite names such as al-Khwārizmī, al-Māturīdī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Sam‘ānī, and others, whose works stand as a treasured contribution to the legacy of Muslim science. This biographical dictionary by a Khorezmian author also took its place in the history of Muslim culture.

The dictionary was drawn up at a time when religion and culture in Khorezm were flourishing. In the final quarter of the twelfth century, Khorezm and its main city, Gurganj, were regional centres of scholarship with libraries, schools, and mosques. Not long after, however, the region fell victim to the ruinous assault of the Mongols: Khorezm was destroyed, the libraries were burnt, and scholars who failed to flee were slaughtered. An enormous written legacy created by generations of scholars perished forever. In this context, one should view the surviving section of this biographical dictionary by a Khorezmian scholar as a fragment of a culture which was destroyed, as a rich remnant of the Arabic literature of pre-Mongol Khorezm.

## Notes

1. V. I. Beliaev, “Arabskie rukopisi v sobranii Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR” (“Arabic manuscripts in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences”), *Uchenye zapiski IVAN SSSR*, VI (1953), pp. 66—76.
2. B. Z. Khalidov, “Zamakhshari (o zhizni i tvorchestve)” (“Al-Zamakhsharī: on his life and works”), *Semitskie iazyki*, 2/2. *Materialy pervoi konferentsii po semitskim iazykam 26—28 oktiabria 1964* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 542—56.
3. A. B. Khalidov, “Neizvestnyi biograficheskii slovar’ XII v. iz Khorezma” (“An unknown twelfth-century biographical dictionary from Khorezm”), *Folia Orientalia*, XIII (1971), pp. 67—75; *idem*, “Biograficheskii slovar’ al-Andarabani” (“The biographical dictionary by al-Andarabānī”), *Pis’mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. 1971* (1974), pp. 143—61. For the list of sources cited in the second article, see below, n. 13.
4. *GAL*, I, 365, No. 10; *SbD*, I, 624. This work has survived only in the manuscript of a 9th/15th century Persian translation. See C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, (London, 1935), i, pp. 177—8.
5. *GAL*, I, 365; *SbD*, I, 624.
6. Originally from Asadabad, ‘Abd al-Jabbār lived in Baghdad and at the invitation of the Buwayhid *wazīr* al-Šāhib Ibn ‘Abbād, he arrived in Ray and received from him the title of *qādī*. Hence, he is known in Mu‘tazilite literature as *qādī-l-quḍāt*. Among the surviving works of ‘Abd al-Jabbār is *Faḍl al-i‘tizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-mu‘tazila* (“The Virtue of Mu‘tazilism and the Ranks of the Mu‘tazilites”), published in Tunis in 1974 and cited by the author of the dictionary (*al-Ṭabaqāt* in the manuscript) in his biography of the Mu‘tazilites. For more detail about him, see *GAS*, I, 624—6.
7. This evidently refers to the Shafi‘ite *faqīh* ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Sa‘d Abū-l-Faḍl al-Tamīmī, who studied *fiqh* in Baghdad from Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and later directed teaching in the city of Khurrahād. According to al-Sam‘ānī, who conveys first-hand information from ‘Abd al-Mālik, the latter was born in 475/1082. Al-Sam‘ānī does not give the date of his death; it is possible that he was still alive at the time that al-Sam‘ānī’s dictionary was written. See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 262.
8. This is Muḥammad b. Sahl Abū-l-‘Alā’ al-ḥāfiz al-Hamadānī (488—569/1095—1173), *muhaddith* and Qur’ānic reader. In addition to *al-Tajwīd*, he authored a ten-volume biographical dictionary, *Kitāb ma‘rifat al-qurrā’* (“Information about Qur’ānic Readers”) and a multi-volume work on *ḥadīths*, *Kitāb zād al-mūsāfir* (“Traveller’s Provisions”), see Kahhala, *Mu‘jam*, X, 58. His name in the manuscript is accompanied by the formula for one departed — *rahīmahu Allah* — which indicates that the Khorezmian wrote his dictionary after 569/1173.

9. Works with this title were extremely common — they expounded the 40 *ḥadīths* (with *isnāds*) which go back to the Prophet. In addition to the *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn*, the author seems to have used another work by Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad, *Manāqib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa* (“The virtues of *Imām Abū Ḥanīfa*”), the manuscript of which has been preserved and published (Hyderabad, 1321/1903—04). See *GAL, SBd, I*, 549, 623; Kahhala, *Muʿjam*, XIII, 52.

10. The full title of this commentary is *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʿwīl* (“Showing the Truths of the Revelation and Sources of Judgments on Means of Interpretation”). The author was the authoritative Muʿtazilite theologian, Hanafite *faqīh*, literary figure, and philologist Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (467—538/1075—1144). He was born in Zamakhshar and lived and died in Gurganj (Khorezm). *Al-Kashshāf* (completed in 528/1134) is the only Muʿtazilite commentary to have survived in full. It was well-known in the Muslim East even among opponents of the Muʿtazilites. Al-Zamakhsharī’s commentary is distinguished by its attention to philological detail (a quality which made the Khorezmian school of philology famous) and its depth of analysis, founded on a rational interpretation of Islamic dogma. The main authorities for al-Zamakhsharī were the Muʿtazilites al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār* and others who are mentioned by the author of the dictionary. He also made direct use of *al-Kashshāf*. On al-Zamakhsharī’s commentary, see E. A. Rezvan, “Koran i ego tolkovanie” (“The Qurʾān and its commentary”), *Khrestomatīia po islamu*, comp. and ed. by S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1994), pp. 55—9.

11. This is an obvious reference to *Firdaws al-akḥbār* (“Garden of Reports”), a collection of 10,000 short traditions in alphabetical order. The author of the collection was the historian of Hamadan, Shīrawayh b. Shahridār (Shahridād) *al-ḥāfiẓ* Abū Shujāʿ al-Daylamī al-Hamadānī, whose *laqab* was al-Kayā (445—509/1054—1115). See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 230; *GAL, I*, 344, Nos. 5, 3.

12. *Kitāb al-qand* (or *al-Qandiya*) by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī is a continuation of the “History of Samarqand” compiled by al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1012). An abridged Persian version of the *Kitāb al-qand* has come down to us (published), as well as a seventeenth-century Arabic manuscript of this writing. See V. V. Bartol’d, *Sochinenia* (Works) (Moscow, 1963), i, p. 61; *GAL, SBd, I*, 762, XIII; also *GAS, I*, 353, No. 11, I.

13. A. B. Khalidov was the first to publish the list of sources employed by the author of the dictionary (in all, 59 compositions). See Khalidov’s “Biographicheskii slovar”, pp. 144—56. The scholar subdivided them into 6 groups. The first group comprises the works which have come down to us, including those surviving in citations or in Persian translations (Nos. 1—20); the second — those works which have been lost but are known by their titles mentioned in Muslim writings (Nos. 21—31); the third — those identified if unknown by other sources (Nos. 32—40); the fourth — not identified (Nos. 41—43); the fifth — writings the titles of which are mentioned without providing any information about them (Nos. 44—52); and, finally, the last group comprises the writings about which only mentions in passing survives and one cannot state with certainty whether those mentions refer to written texts or not (Nos. 53—59). Apart from this, some well-known authors — al-Madāʾinī, al-Wāqidī, al-Ṣūlī, etc. — constitute a separate group: citations from them are given in the dictionary with no indication of the exact titles of the works. As a whole, the list suggested can be considered as rather full, though the titles are regrettably given in the concise form. Nonetheless, the list enables us to have an idea of the corpus of works, which were used by the author of the dictionary. Certainly, this list needs some corrections and additions. Thus, among the works which are labelled by A. B. Khalidov as “unknown”, we see *al-Ṭabaqāt* by a certain *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* (No. 47). In effect, this appears to be the *al-Ṭabaqāt al-muʿtazila*, composed by the well-known *faqīh* and Muʿtazilite theologian, *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad (about him, see n. 6) whose works are referred to by the dictionary’s author more often than it is believed by A. B. Khalidov. The work has come down to us and been published recently. Moreover, the author of the dictionary refers to another extant writing by ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī* (published). It is lacking in the list given by A. B. Khalidov. Also, the scholar included in the same group of “unknown” sources *Kitāb al-kashf* (in the manuscript this work is also referred to more often than A. B. Khalidov thinks). Most likely, this *Kitāb al-kashf* is *Kitāb al-kashf wa-l-bayān*, a commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qurʾān authored by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Ishāq al-Thaʿlabī, or al-Thaʿālibī (about him, see n. 22).

Among sources, which could not be identified by A. B. Khalidov, is also the *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī* by Sijistānī (No. 42). The work under this title is also listed (No. 38) in the group of sources which are known only from the dictionary of Abū-l-Karam, as A. B. Khalidov maintains. His author is shown as Abū-l-Ḥasan al-ʿAbirī (with reference to *GAS, I*, 486). However, we know from al-Subkī that the author of the *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī* had two *nisbas* — al-ʿAbirī (or al-ʿAburī as stands in the manuscript) and al-Sijistānī. Evidently, in the case with the *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī* we deal with the same author (see also n. 20).

The list of A. B. Khalidov lacks also the following works: *al-Naṣāʾih al-kibār* by al-Zamakhsharī (see also n. 36), *al-Nuḥba* by al-Samʿānī (by the way, this work is absent in the list of al-Samʿānī’s writings given in al-Subkī), *Kitāb al-qand* by the author of our dictionary (*katabtu fī kitāb al-qand*), from which he borrows the tale about *imām* Abū Muḥammad al-Muzanī who was a table-companion of the ruler of Khorasan (this work may be identified as the work under the same title authored by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī), about it, see n. 12. It seems also unlikely that the author of the work entitled *Amālī* (“Dictations”) was Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī, as A. B. Khalidov states (see No. 25 of his list and his note 11). In any case, the author of the dictionary asserts that the author of the *Amālī* is the father of Abū Saʿd, Muḥammad. About the latter al-Subkī writes that he “dictated” (*amlā*) the text during 140 gatherings (*majlises*) in the mosque of Merv (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 187). Undoubtedly, the dictionary’s author cites *imām* Muḥammad al-Samʿānī’s *Amālī*. However, doubts remain as to the correct identification of the *Kitāb al-tamhīd* whose author, A. B. Khalidov believes, was Abū-l-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī (No. 35 of the list and note 39 with reference to *GAL, SBd, I*, 724, No. 11). About it, see above, n. 8.

14. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 64—72; Bartol’d, *op. cit.*, pp. 61—2; *GAL, I*, 166; *SBd, I*, 276. According to Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, who completed his history of Bayhaq in 563/1168, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī’s work consisted of 12 volumes (see Bartol’d, *op. cit.*, p. 61, n. 6). The “History of Nishapur” was continued in a chronicle *al-Siyāq li-Tarʾīkh Naysābūr* by ʿAbd al-Gāfir b. Ismāʿīl Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Fārisī (451—529/1059—1134), the Nishapur *muhaddith* and preacher. The writing covered the period up to 518/1124. ʿAbd al-Gāfir travelled much and visited Khorezm, Ghazna, and India (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 255; *GAL, I*, 364; *SBd, I*, 197). In turn, *al-Siyāq li-Tarʾīkh Naysābūr* by ʿAbd al-Gāfir al-Fārisī is one of the main sources of the *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā* by al-Subkī.

15. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 305—7; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 343; Bartol’d, *op. cit.*, pp. 78—9; Kahhala, *Muʿjam*, XII, 196. Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī is also the author of the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa*. A manuscript of this work has come down to us (published in Hyderabad in A.H. 1321). Probably, the author of the dictionary used this work by Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī: he mentions the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* as his source.

16. Al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, II, 100; IX, 177; Kahhala, *Muʿjam*, IX, 7, 105; O. A. Sukhareva, *Kvartalʾnaia obshchina pozdnefeodalʾnogo goroda Bukhary (v svyazi s istoriei kvartalov)* (The Block Community of the Later Feudal Bukhara: with Regard to the History of the Blocks) (Moscow, 1976), p. 276. Sh. S. Kamaliddinov, “*Kitāb al-Ansāb*” *Abū Saʿda al-Samʿānī kak istochnik po istorii kulʾtury Srednei Azii (Kitāb al-ansāb by Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī as a Source for the History of Culture of Central Asia)* (Tashkent, 1993), pp. 145—6.

17. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 260; *GAL, SBd, I*, 564—5; Kahhala, *Muʿjam*, VI, 4.



18. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 260; *GAL*, *SbD*, I, 279; *GAS*, I, 196. The author of the dictionary refers also to other writings by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī. These are *Kitāb al-ḥalāwā* ("Sweetness"), *Kitāb al-Isfār 'an al-asfār* ("Exposure of Travels"), *al-Fawā'id al-Sam'āniya* ("Al-Sam'ānī's Useful Exhortations"), or *Fawā'id al-mawā'id* ("Useful Feast Exhortations"). The titles of these compositions are known from other sources.

19. *GAL*, *SbD*, I, 636, 1a; *GAS*, I, 411; Makdisī, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 170 ff. The author of the dictionary refers also to *al-Musnad* by Abū Ḥanīfa, which he thinks to be an independent work. A manuscript of the writing has reached us (published in Aleppo in 1382/1962).

20. Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, I, 63—4; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 149—50; *ibid.*, III, 115—6.

21. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 214—7; *GAL*, I, 363—4; *SbD*, I, 620—2.

22. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 23; *ibid.*, IV, 186.

23. *GAL*, I, 127; *SbD*, I, 193.

24. *GAL*, I, 196; Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, XIII, 91; *GAS*, I, 445.

25. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 56. In turn, Abū Sa'd al-Mutawallī studied *fiqh* with three authoritative scholars such as *al-qādī* al-Ḥusayn (in Marwaruz), Abū Sahl al-Abīwardī (in Bukhara), and Abū-l-Qāsim al-Marwazī al-Fūrānī (in Merv). The latter died in Merv in 461/1069. He was the author of *Kitāb al-ibāna* ("The Exposure [of the Foundations of the Belief]") to which his pupil Abū Sa'd al-Mutawallī wrote a "Supplement" (*Kitāb al-tatimma*). Both works reflected the views of al-Ash'arī's theological school whose principles they shared and advocated. Abū Sa'd al-Mutawallī was considered an authority in dogmas and their divergences. Till his death he taught at the famous *madrasa* al-Nizamiyya. See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 223—5.

26. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 147—50; *ibid.*, 3—7; *GAL*, *SbD*, II, 144.

27. *GAL*, *SbD*, I, 355—6 (No. 4); *GAS*, I, 654 (No. 4); see also A. Knysh, "At-Tirmizi" ("Al-Tirmidhī"), *Islam na territorii byvsheĭ Rossijskoĭ imperii. Ėntsiĭkopedicheskiĭ slovar'*, fasc. I (Moscow, 1998), pp. 91—2.

28. *GAL*, I, 154 (No. 3); *SbD*, I, 247 (No. 3); *GAS*, I, Indices. In the list of sources suggested by A. B. Khalidov, *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī* and *Kitāb tahrīm al-shaṭranj wa-l-malāhī* are shown as a single work under the title *Kitāb tahrīm al-nard wa-l-shaṭranj wa-l-malāhī* whose author is said to be Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī (d. 360/970). See Khalidov, "Biograficheskiĭ slovar'", p. 151, No. 11 with reference to *GAL*, *SbD*, I, 274, No. 9. But the author of the dictionary considered the two works to be independent writings. It should be noted that among numerous compositions of Ibn Abī-l-Dunyā we encounter *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī*, a manuscript of which is held in Berlin.

29. *GAL*, I, 412.

30. The work was published in Cairo (also many times in Mecca). See *GAS*, I, 447, 436.

31. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 224.

32. *GAL*, *SbD*, I, 731—2; *GAS*, I, 626; S. M. Stern, "Abu-l-Qasim al-Busti and his refutation of Isma'ilism", *JRAS* (1961), pp. 14—35 where the author used this work by al-Jushamī.

33. *GAL*, *SbD*, I, 616—7 (No. 8).

34. *Ibid.*, 293, 6a; 357, 6b; *GAS*, I, 601—2.

35. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 218; *GAL*, I, 275; *GAS*, I, 210—1.

36. *GAL*, I, 292 (XII); *SbD*, I, 511 (XII).

37. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, VI, Index; *idem*, *Irshād*, II, 304; *ibid.*, V, 355; *GAL*, I, 351; *SbD*, I, 593; Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, XIII, 12; A. B. Khalidov, "Antologiya al-Abi v rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR" ("A manuscript of the anthology of al-Ābī in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences"), *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. Sbornik v chest' akademika I. A. Orbeli* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), pp. 487—91.

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Manuscript of the biographical dictionary by Abū-l-Karam al-Khwārizmī al-Andarasfānī (call number C2387) from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1a with the text of the biography of 'Abdallāh b. al-Murābak al-Khurāsānī.

**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, fol. 137b (p. 273) with the beginning of the biography of Muḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsarī al-Khwārizmī.