

Version of 31.iii.14. Submitted 9.viii.13 to Andrew Peacock [acsp@st-andrews.ac.uk], then with modifications 2.iv.14. ` for Ar. `ayn.

Copy sent to Nurit Tsafirir.

THE SPREAD OF ḤANAFISM TO KHURASAN AND TRANSOXANIA

by Christopher Melchert

University of Oxford

Abstract: Nurit Tsafirir, *The history of an Islamic school of law* (2004), traces the spread of Ḥanafī law from Kufa to the cities of Iraq, Fars, Egypt, and North Africa. Here is a complementary study of its spread to Khurasan and Transoxania. Early Khurasani adherents of the Ḥanafī school are here identified first of all from Ḥanafī biographical sources, above all Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya*. Of about ninety identified followers who died in the second half of the second century H., the overwhelming majority are Iraqī but ten are Khurasani; of 130 who died in the first half of the third century H., 23 appear to be Khurasani or Transoxanian. Secondly, I have looked at transmitters of hadith from Abū Ḥanīfa who appear in al-Khwārizmī, *Jāmi' al-masānīd*. In a sample of 381 reported *isnāds*, 21 transmitters from Abū Ḥanīfa are Khurasani. Khurasanis make up a similar proportion of transmitters from transmitters, although the very large number of unknowns at this level makes comparison with other regions difficult. It is a puzzle why so few of these names are identified with remembered legal positions in later Ḥanafī legal literature (e.g. Sarakhsī).

A prominent theme of Tsafirir's study is that Ḥanafī strength depended on the authority of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty; hence, for example, Ḥanafism had special difficulty establishing itself in Syria, where sympathy for the defeated Umayyads was still strong. The same apparently accounts for Ḥanafī penetration of Khurasan and Transoxania, the region whence the 'Abbāsīds had originally come to confront the Umayyads. The conquest of Khurasan had been organized from Basra, and there is much evidence of Basran influence on the development of religion in Khurasan. But Khurasan is the only region besides Baghdad where Ibn Sa'd locates any follower of Abū Ḥanīfa, and it seems likely that the identification of Ḥanafism with Baghdad and the 'Abbāsīds is the reason for its success in Khurasan, by comparison with, notably, Basran Mālikism.

Nurit Tsafirir has traced the spread of Ḥanafī law from Kufa to the cities of Iraq, Fars, Egypt, and North Africa.¹ As for its spread to Khurasan and Transoxania, the leading studies begin with a book (originally a doctoral dissertation) by Muḥammad al-Mudarris, which draws on various biographical sources to list the jurists of Balkh in northeastern Khurasan (some

of them emigrants from Balkh to other places, not all of them demonstrably Ḥanafī) before reviewing problems from the Ḥanafī legal literature over which there are opinions peculiar to men from Balkh.² An article by Wilferd Madelung traces especially the association of Ḥanafism with political Murji'ism and its early hold on Balkh.³ Berndt Radke summarizes Mudarris and Madelung's leading source, *Faḍā'il Balkh* (on which more below).⁴ Josef van Ess very systematically surveys Murji'ism throughout Khurasan.⁵ Eyyup Said Kaya has published a chapter discussing the three centres of Iraq (actually mainly Baghdad), Balkh, and Bukhara, touching only lightly on the eighth and ninth centuries.⁶ Most recently, Arezou Azad has published a book-length survey of *Faḍā'il Balkh*, including remarks on the jurists it describes, although minimizing their affiliation with any formal Ḥanafī institution.⁷ The first object of this essay is simply to extend Tsafir's sketch to Khurasan and Transoxania.

The evidence of biographical dictionaries.

The earliest biographical source to identify Ḥanafīyya is that of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845). These are the eight men he identifies with Abū Ḥanīfa⁸:

Abū Yūsuf (d. Baghdad, 182/798; vii/2, pp.73–4 *vii*, pp.330–1);
Asad b. 'Amr al-Bajalī (d. Kufa? 190/805–6; vii/2, p.74 *vii*, p.331);
'Āfiya b. Yazīd al-Awdī (d. after 170/786; vii/2, p.74 *vii*, p.331);
Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. near Ray, 189/804–5; vii/2, p.78 *vii*, p.336–7);
Yūsuf b. Abī Yūsuf (d. Baghdad, 192/808; vii/2, pp.78–9 *vii*, p.337);
al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥurr (d. Baghdad, 216/831–2?; vii/2, pp.87–8, *vii*, p.348);
Bishr b. al-Walīd al-Kindī (d. Baghdad, 238/853; vii/2, p.93 *vii*, p.355–5); and
al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. 183/800; vii/2, p.105 *vii*, p.373).

These are all from the section on Baghdad except for the last, who is Khurasani. An early biographical source from within the Ḥanafī school is the account of the qadi al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ṣaymarī (d. 436/1045) appended to his biography of Abū Ḥanīfa himself. He does not mention al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad or, indeed, any other Khurasani adherents. But regional biographical dictionaries do mention other Khurasani adherents of the Ḥanafī school.

Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014), *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, is the most important of these.

Although now lost except for fragments and a Persian abridgement (little more than a list of names), it is often quoted in Mamluk-era biographical dictionaries, of which the most important for the purposes of this study is Ibn Abī l-Wafā' (d. 775/1373), *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya*.⁹ Also significant is *Faḍā'il Balkh*, of uncertain authorship, completed in Arabic in 610/1214, extant only in Persian translation.¹⁰ It offers stories not found in other sources, although few additional names. Less full but the very earliest extant Ḥanafī biographical dictionary is `Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sa`dī Ibn Abī l-`Awwām (d. 335/946–7?), *Faḍā'il Abī Ḥanīfa*, whose section on Abū Ḥanīfa's adherents includes a sub-section on the people of Ray and Khurasan.¹¹

Of about ninety followers of Abū Ḥanīfa, as identified by Ibn Abī l-Wafā', who died in the second half of the second century H. (roughly 768–816), the overwhelming majority were Iraqī but ten were Khurasani; of 130 who died in the first half of the third century H. (roughly 816–65), 23 appear to be Khurasani or Transoxanian. It appears from his coverage of the school that Ḥanafism was first introduced to Marw and Balkh at about the same time by students of Abū Ḥanīfa himself. Early figures in Marw are the following:

Abū Ḥamza Muḥammad b. Maymūn *al-Sukkarī* (d. 168/784–5?), quoted as relating legal theory of Abū Ḥanīfa.¹²

Al-Jāmi`, *Abū `Iṣma* Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam al-Marwazī (d. 173/789–90), qadi for Marw at his death, by one account called 'al-Jāmi`' because he learnt jurisprudence from Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Abī Laylā.¹³

Al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. 183/799–800), who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Ḥanīfa.¹⁴

Abū `Abd Allāh *al-Faḍl* b. *Mūsā* l-Sīnānī (d. Rāmāshāh, 192/808?), who related hadith of Abū Ḥanīfa.¹⁵

Tawba b. Sa`d b. `Uthmān (*fl.* 170/786–7), qadi for Marw, who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Yūsuf.¹⁶

Abū Yazīd *`Abd al-Raḥmān* b. *`Alqama* al-Sa`dī al-Marwazī (d. 201–10/816–26?), 'one of the *aṣḥāb* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, sighted in *ra'y* and *ḥadīth*, a pious man.'¹⁷

Abū Bakr *Ibrāhīm b. Rustam* (d. Nishapur, 211/826?), who learnt jurisprudence from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.¹⁸

These are all directly connected to Iraq. Abū `Iṣma and al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad were both accused of Murji'ism, confirming that there was some connection between *irjā'* in theology and Ḥanafism in law.¹⁹ Madelung associates the Murji'a first of all with an early political doctrine, refusal to condemn either `Alī or `Uthmān, but his explanation for Murji' prevalence in Transoxania and Khurasan is rather a later theological doctrine, that one is either a believer or not, hence no less a one if one omits ritual works—convenient in a land of recent converts.²⁰ On the other hand, Abū `Iṣma is also said to have been hard on the Jahmiyya, so not everything that animated the Ḥanafī school of Iraq likewise prevailed among the Ḥanafīyya of Khurasan.²¹ Wakī` (b. al-Jarrāh, Kufan, d. 197/812?) identified al-Faḍl b. Mūsā as an exemplar of orthodoxy (*ṣāhib sunna*).²² However, neither Ibn Sa'd nor al-Bukhārī mentions any connection with Abū Ḥanīfa, so his adherence specifically to Ḥanafī law is in doubt.²³

Early figures in Balkh are the following:

Abū `Alī `Umar (ʿAmr) b. *Maymūn* b. Baḥr b. *al-Rammāh* (d. Balkh, 171/787–8), qadi, who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Ḥanīfa.²⁴

Abū Muḥammad Wasīm b. Jamīl (d. Balkh, 182/798–9), immigrant from Basra, who related hadīth of Abū Ḥanīfa.²⁵

Abū `Alī *Shaqīq* b. *Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī* (d. 194/809–10), famous renunciant, disciple to Abū Yūsuf, before whom he read *K. al-Ṣalāt*.²⁶ A significant source of biographical information in al-Bakrī (d. Khwārizm, 568/1172–3), *Manāqib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa*.²⁷

Salm b. Sālim (d. Mecca? 194/810?), Murji' renunciant brought to al-Raqqa and imprisoned by Hārūn.²⁸

Abū Muṭī` al-Ḥakam b. `Abd Allāh b. Maslama b. `Abd al-Raḥmān *al-Balkhī* (d. 199/814?), qadi, who related *al-Fiqh al-akbar* from Abū Ḥanīfa himself.²⁹

Abū Mu`ādh Khālid b. Sulaymān (d. Balkh, 199/814), disciple to Abū Ḥanīfa alongside Abū Muṭī` and Abū Yūsuf.³⁰ Also related hadīth of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Mālik.³¹

Abū `Iṣma `Iṣām b. Yūsuf b. Maymūn (d. Balkh, 210/825–6?), who learnt jurisprudence from Zufar, Abū Yūsuf, `Āfiya, and one other of the *aṣḥāb* of Abū Ḥanīfa.³²

Shaddād b. Ḥakīm (d. 210/826?), qadi, a disciple to Zufar.³³

Abū Sakan Makkī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 215/829), *ṣāhib* to Abū Ḥanīfa.³⁴

Abū Sa`īd *Khalaf* b. *Ayyūb* (d. 215/830?), among the *aṣḥāb* of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and Zufar, also said to have learnt jurisprudence from Abū Yūsuf and Ibn Abī Laylā.³⁵

Abū Ishāq *Ibrāhīm* b. *Yūsuf* b. Rustam al-Mākiyānī (d. 239/853?), brother to `Iṣām and Muḥammad, who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Yūsuf.³⁶

Again, they are all connected directly to Iraq. Madelung alleges that ‘Balkh . . . became the chief center of Ḥanafite learning in the east. In other towns of eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania, the school of Abū Ḥanīfa also found an early foothold though it did not gain immediately such predominance.’³⁷ This seems possible but uncertain, first from lack of evidence that Ḥanafism initially spread to the rest of Khurasan from Balkh, secondly from evidence of non-Ḥanafī ulema in Balkh as in other centres.³⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’ names two in the next generation who studied under Abū Muṭī’: Abū l-Faḍl `Abd al-Mu`min b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-`Āṣimī (n.d.)³⁹ and Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Zurayq (d. 201/816–17).⁴⁰ But the most important Ḥanafī of Balkh in the second half of the ninth century seems to have been Muḥammad b. Salama (d. 278/891–2), who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Sulaymān al-Jūzajānī (d. 204/819–20?), a prominent student of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī’s, and Shaddād b. Ḥakīm (d. 210/826?).⁴¹ The latter was active in Balkh, but so far as I can tell the former taught in Iraq, so knowledge from Iraq still distinguished the important scholar. This said, Balkhi jurists outnumbered those from other cities who contributed to the Ḥanafī legal tradition well into the tenth century, as documented from al-Sarakhsī below.

Abū Muṭī’ and Khalaf b. Ayyūb were said to be Murji’a.⁴² Salm b. Sālim was imprisoned for his outspoken advocacy, and Ibn Abī l-Wafā’ may have claimed him for the

school simply on the assumption that a Murji' from Balkh must have been Ḥanafī in law, since no source that I have discovered names any direct connection to Abū Ḥanīfa, although Abū Ḥanīfa's rival Sufyān al-Thawrī is often mentioned among Salm's shaykhs. Ibn Ḥibbān alleges that Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf outwardly adhered to Murji'ism but inwardly to the Sunna, presumably an indication of how prevalent was Murji'ism in Balkh.⁴³ On the other hand, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf is quoted as disallowing even to abstain from pronouncing that the Qur'an is increate, which, like Abū 'Iṣma's opposition to the Jahmiyya, goes against the prevailing theological trend among the Ḥanafīyya of Iraq.⁴⁴

Early figures in Nishapur are the following:

Abū 'Umar Ḥafṣ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar al-Balkhī (d. 199/815), qadi, who related hadīth of Abū Ḥanīfa.⁴⁵

Abū Sa'id Ashraf b. Muḥammad (n.d.), qadi, among the *aṣḥāb* of Abū Yūsuf.⁴⁶

Abū 'Alī (or al-Ḍaḥḥāk) al-Jārūd b. Yazīd (d. 206/821–2?), *ṣāhib* to Abū Ḥanīfa.⁴⁷

Abū Sulaymān Ḥammād b. Sulaymān b. al-Marzubān (d. 201–10/816–26?), who in his old age learnt jurisprudence from (*tafaqqaha 'inda*) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.⁴⁸

Abū Sahl Bishr b. Abī l-Azhar Yazīd (d. 213/828), qadi and renunciant, who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Yūsuf; an immigrant from Kufa.⁴⁹

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb al-Ramjārī (n.d.), who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Yūsuf.⁵⁰

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Maymūn al-Rammāḥ (d. 234/849), qadi, who learnt jurisprudence from his father (d. Balkh, 171/787–8), who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Ḥanīfa.⁵¹

Abū Muḥammad *Naṣr b. Ziyād* b. Nahīk (d. 236/850?), qadi, who learnt jurisprudence from Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.⁵²

Aḥmad b. Ḥājj al-'Āmirī (d. 237/851–2), who learnt jurisprudence from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.⁵³

Abū l-Qāsim Sahl b. Bishr b. al-Qāsim (d. 239/853–4), qadi, who learnt jurisprudence from his father.⁵⁴

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Bishr b. al-Qāsim (d. 242/856–7?), qadi, who learnt jurisprudence from his father.⁵⁵

Abū `Alī al-Ḥasan b. Bishr b. al-Qāsim (d. 244/858–9), qadi, who learnt jurisprudence from his father and al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu'lu'.⁵⁶

Here was no apparent connection between Ḥanafism and Murji'ism. `Abd Allāh b. `Umar b. Maymūn al-Rammāḥ strongly opposed the doctrine that the Qur'an was create, defiantly walking out of a session (presumably in Baghdad between 212/827 and 218/833) at which the caliph was present behind a screen.⁵⁷ Ḥafṣ b. `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Balkhī was the son of an earlier qadi for Nishapur appointed by Qutayba b. Muslim (governor of Khurasan 86–96/705–15?). After some time, Ḥafṣ repented and withdrew from the judgeship. There must have been some presumption that he was meet to be appointed qadi in the first place. If in fact he took up Ḥanafī law, it presumably reflects some preference for Ḥanafī law on the part of the `Abbāsids who appointed him qadi. With Sahl, al-Ḥusayn, and al-Ḥasan the sons of Bishr, we evidently have the beginning of a local Ḥanafī tradition, not directly dependent on Iraq. However, it is unclear what sort of law was taught by their father Bishr b. al-Qāsim (d. 215/830–1), since his biographies mention no Ḥanafī teacher.⁵⁸

Indeed, the Nishapuran Ḥanafī tradition remains obscure in the later ninth century. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī describes Abū Naṣr al-Labbād (d. 280/893–4) as 'the shaykh of *ahl al-ra'y* in his time and their *ra'īs* (chieftain)', but we do not know the name of his teachers in law.⁵⁹ Similarly, he says of `Alī b. Mūsā b. Yazīd (or Yazdād; d. 305/917–18), 'the *imām* (leader) of *ahl al-ra'y* in his time' and of the qadi `Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid (d. 309/921), 'the *imām* of *ahl al-ra'y* in his time without contest', yet we do not know the name of their teachers in law, either.⁶⁰ This is not surprising, considering the nature of schools of law at this point: the guild schools with boundary enforcement mechanisms were yet to come, so that learning jurisprudence was still somewhat like learning hadith, with no set curriculum and depending on multiple teachers.⁶¹

The fourth great city of Khurasan was Herat, where I have found just one Ḥanafī who

died in the first half of the third century H.:

Abū Ja`far Furāt b. Naṣr al-Quhunduzī al-Harawī (d. 236/850–1), who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Yūsuf and also related the books of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.⁶²

An odd story is told of the introduction of Ḥanafism to Sarakhs. Khārija b. Muṣ`ab (d. 168/785), alleged to be a Murji`, apparently collected hadith in Iraq and Medina. According to an Abū Ma`mar al-Hudhalī, ‘The partisans of *ra`y* would go to the questions (*masā`il*) of Abū Ḥanīfa and create *asānīd* for them from Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād from Mujāhid from Ibn `Abbās. Then they put them in his books and he would relate them.’⁶³ The story may indicate that later traditionalists were puzzled to see hadith supporting Ḥanafī positions transmitted by Khārija b. Muṣ`ab, whom they were inclined to respect. It usefully reminds us that there were more advocates of Ḥanafī doctrine about, such as these anonymous partisans of *ra`y*, than are named in the extant biographical literature.

Some Ḥanafīyya are on record in other places in the Northeast:

`Abd al-`Azīz b. Khālīd al-Yazīdī (d. 180s/797–806), disciple to Abū Ḥanīfa, qadi for Tirmidh.⁶⁴

Abū Muqātil Ḥafṣ b. Salm al-Samarqandī (d. 208/823–4?), who transmitted Abū Ḥanīfa (attrib.), *Kitāb al-`ālim wa-l-muta`allim*, a Murji` creed, notable for ignoring hadith, also sometimes said to have related hadith of Abū Ḥanīfa.⁶⁵

Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ *al-Kabīr* (d. Bukhara, 217/832), who learnt jurisprudence from Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.⁶⁶

Sawra b. al-Ḥasan al-Alūzānī (n.d.), among the *aṣḥāb* of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.⁶⁷

Abū Ishāq Ismā`īl b. Sa`īd *al-Shālanjī* (d. Astarabadh? 230/844–5?), who learnt jurisprudence from Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.⁶⁸

Al-Shālanjī is said to have repented late in life of adherence to *ra`y* and written a *Kitāb al-Bayān* systematically refuting the opinions of his teacher, al-Shaybānī.⁶⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā` also names two Ḥanafīyya of the next generation who studied under Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr: Ḥātim b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Sam`ān al-Ghujdawānī (n.d.)⁷⁰ and Abū `Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr (d. 274/888).⁷¹ This indicates some local tradition of Ḥanafism, likewise the

assertion that the chieftaincy of the Ḥanafīyya of Bukhara devolved on Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr, then on his son.⁷² Abū Ḥafṣ is said to have had the famous traditionist Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) expelled from Bukhara for giving an inane *fatwā* (declaring that it created a marriage bar for two infants to drink the milk of the same animal), presumably around the time al-Bukhārī, only 15 or 16, left with his brother for the pilgrimage in 210/825–6.⁷³

The evidence of hadith collections and law books.

Secondly, I have looked at transmitters of hadith from Abū Ḥanīfa who appear in al-Khwārizmī (d. 665/1266–7?), *Jāmi` al-masānīd*.⁷⁴ This is a synthesis of fifteen earlier compilations of hadith related from Abū Ḥanīfa. In a sample of 381 reported *isnāds*, 21 transmitters from Abū Ḥanīfa (6 percent) are Khurasani. Khurasanis make up a similar proportion of transmitters from transmitters, although the very large number of unknowns at this level makes comparison with other regions difficult. Still, this is a smaller percentage of Khurasanis than in the list of Abū Ḥanīfa's adherents as identified by Ibn Sa'd (13 percent) and of second-century Khurasanis (11 percent) and earlier third-century (18 percent) as identified by Ibn Abī l-Wafā'. These Khurasani Ḥanafīyya made it into the biographical tradition to a greater extent than into the hadith or legal literature of the school.

As another indication of how important different persons were to the Ḥanafī legal tradition, I have counted citations in an index to the massive *Mabsūṭ* of al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090–1?).⁷⁵ To some extent, citations in the legal literature act as a control on early identifications with Ḥanafism in the biographical literature. For example, Abū Ḥamza, named above for having related a legal principle of Abū Ḥanīfa (mainly giving priority to hadith from the Prophet, staying within the range of Companion opinions, and feeling free to disagree with the Followers), seems to have been mainly a renunciant and traditionist. But al-Sarakhsī never cites him, so he must be characterized as an outside observer of the Ḥanafī

tradition, not a significant participant. If we put the leading contributors to the Ḥanafī tradition in chronological order, here is what we get (going down to four or more citations in the whole *Mabsūṭ*):

Abū Ḥanīfa (d. Baghdad, 150/767), 2015 citations
Zufar (d. Basra, 158/774–5), 446
Abū Yūsuf (d. Baghdad, 182/798), 1792
Asad b. `Amr al-Bajalī (d. Kufa? 190/805–6), 16
Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. near Ray, 189/804–5), 1795
Yūsuf b. Khālīd al-Samtī (Basran, d. 189/805), 4
al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu`lu`ī (active in Kufa and Baghdad, d. 204/819–20), 218
Abū Sulaymān al-Jūzajānī (Baghdadi, d. 204/819–20?), 37
al-Ḥasan b. Abī Mālīk (Baghdadi, d. 204/819–20), 15
Abū `Iṣma `Iṣām b. Yūsuf (d. Balkh, 210/825–6?), 8
Ibrāhīm b. Rustam (d. Nishapur, 211/826), 16
Mu`allā b. Manṣūr (Baghdadi, d. 211/826–7), 12
Abū Ḥaḥṣ al-Kabīr (Nishapur, d. Bukhara, 217/832), 39
Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Marīsī (Baghdadi, d. 219/834–5?), 23
`Isā b. Abān (d. Basra, 220/835?), 44
Muḥammad b. Samā`a (d. Baghdād, 233/847–8), 77
Muḥammad b. Shujā` al-Thaljī (Baghdadi, d. 266/880?), 19
Muḥammad b. Salama (Balkhi, d. 278/891–2), 8
`Abd al-Ḥamīd b. `Abd al-`Azīz, Abū Khāzīm (d. Baghdad, 292/905), 4
al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. Old Cairo, 321/933), 69
al-Ḥākīm al-Shahīd al-Marwazī (d. 334/945), 28
Abū l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. Baghdad, 340/952), 52
Abū Ja`far al-Hinduwanī (Balkhi, d. Bukhara, 362/973), 14
Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī (d. Baghdad, 370/981), 25
Muḥammad al-Maydānī (Bukharan, *fl.* first half 4th/10th cent.), 17
Abū Zayd al-Kabīr, Aḥmad b. Zayd (Iraqī, *fl.* first half 4th/10th cent.?), 6

The impression from frequency of citation is of some decline of importance from the late second century H. (Spearman rank correlation coefficient is .40), which is to say a preference for citing earlier authorities. There is also a strong early predominance of Iraqis (ten of the first thirteen names are Iraqī, nine of the second, but 99 percent of all citations in the first thirteen, down to 65 percent in the second). No one is named from North Africa or Fars, and only one from Egypt. Here, then, is a chronological list of Khurasanis cited by Sarakhsī (this time going down to two or more citations):

Abū `Iṣma `Iṣām b. Yūsuf (d. Balkh, 210/825–6?), 8
Ibrāhīm b. Rustam (d. Nishapur, 211/826), 16
Khalaf b. Ayyūb (Balkhi, d. 215/830–1?), 2

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr (Nishapurān, d. Bukhara, 217/832), 39
Muḥammad b. Salama (Balkhi, d. 278/891–2), 8
Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr (al-Naḍr? Nishapurān, d. 291/903–4), 2
Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Sallām (Balkhi, d. 305/917–18), 2
Aḥmad b. `Iṣma, Abū l-Qāsim (Balkhi, d. 326/938), 3
Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (Samarqandi, d. 333/944–5), 2
al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd al-Marwazī (d. 334/945), 28
`Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) the qadi (Balkhi, d. 357/967–8), 2
Abū Ja`far al-Hinduwanī (Balkhi, d. Bukhara, 362/973), 14
Muḥammad al-Maydānī (*fl.* Bukhara, first half 4th/10th cent.), 17
Ibn Abī Muṭī`, al-Mu`tamid b. Muḥammad (Nasafī, d. 430s/1039–49), 3
Shams al-A`imma al-Ḥalwānī (Bukharan, d. Kishsh, 449/1057–8?), 4

Balkh indeed seems to be the most important centre until the later tenth century (e.g. six Balkhis, just three Nishapurans), when Transoxania seems to take over. Up to Muḥammad b. Salama, they all learnt Ḥanafī jurisprudence directly from Iraqī teachers. Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr is identified by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī as an adherent of Ḥanafism, but no source records his teacher in law.⁷⁶ Similarly, many teachers of hadīth are named for Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd, but no particular teacher of jurisprudence.⁷⁷ Aḥmad b. `Iṣma learnt jurisprudence from Abū Ja`far al-Hinduwanī.⁷⁸ Abū Ja`far al-Hinduwanī himself, Muḥammad b. `Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, learnt jurisprudence from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sa`īd al-A`mash (d. Marw, 318/930–1), once said to have learnt jurisprudence in turn from Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Iskāf (d. 336/947–8); but al-Iskāf is also said, more plausibly, to have taught Abū Ja`far al-Hinduwanī directly.⁷⁹ Our knowledge of how Ḥanafism spread in Khurasan is still very shaky, then, even for the earlier tenth century. Muḥammad al-Maydānī is probably to be identified as a contemporary of al-Hinduwanī's whose formation is completely unknown.⁸⁰ Nothing is said in our sources of how Ibn Abī Muṭī` learnt jurisprudence, either.⁸¹ We are told that Shams al-A`imma al-Ḥalwānī (or Ḥalwā`ī) learnt jurisprudence from Abū `Alī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaḍīr al-Nasafī (Bukharan, d. 424/1033), of whom we hear in turn only that he learnt jurisprudence in Baghdad.⁸² The Ḥanafī guild school of law crystallized only with the teaching of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī in Baghdad (d. 340/952) and the spreading out of his students.⁸³

Alternatives to Ḥanafism.

One might have expected the predominant school of law in Khurasan to be whatever was predominant in Basra. The conquest of Khurasan had been organized from Basra, and there is much evidence of Basran influence on the development of religion in Khurasan. Of those Followers (*tābi`ūn*) in Nishapur identified by al-Ḥākim as coming from outside Khurasan, eight are from Basra, one each from Kufa and Mecca. To be sure, this is from the severe abridgement. Probably, the original mentioned more. But it is consistent with the section on the Followers and later men in Ibn Sa`d's section on Khurasan, of whom five are identified as coming from outside: four from Basra, one from Sijistan. The jurisprudence most likely to have dominated Khurasan might then have been some Basran variety, such as the Basran Mālikism embraced by some of the ninth-century `Abbāsids, notably al-Muwaffaq (d. 278/891).

In fact, Khurasani Mālikism is completely absent from Ibn Sa`d. Significant quantities of hadith were related of Mālik by Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 226/840?) in Nishapur and Qutayba b. Sa`īd (d. 240/854) near Balkh, but along with much hadith from others.⁸⁴ Al-Qāḍī `Iyāḍ names 156 *aṣḥāb* to Mālik, only three of them from Khurasan: Ibn al-Mubārak, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, and Qutayba b. Sa`īd.⁸⁵ Māliki legal opinions were related in Khurasan, such as this from Sahl b. `Ammār (d. Nishapur, 267/880–1?)⁸⁶:

< Sahl b. `Ammār, when he was qadi over Herat < `Abd Allāh b. Nāfi`: 'Mālik was asked about going into women's rears. He said, "I have just now done so with my *umm walad*. I heard Nāfi` say, 'I do so with my wives and concubines. Concerning this came down, "Your women are a tillage. Go to your tillage as you wish (Q. 2:223)."'”

But Sahl himself was not counted a Māliki. Al-Dhahabī characterizes him rather as the chief of *ahl al-ra'y* in his time, once also as a Ḥanafī.⁸⁷ The earliest jurist I have come across to be expressly identified as a Māliki is Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. Ḥamza (d. 299/911–12?), former student under Ibn `Abd al-Ḥakam of Egypt (i.e. Muḥammad, d. 268/882) and

said to have become the shaykh of the Mālikiyya in Nishapur—also to have had no successor in the teaching of Mālikism there.⁸⁸ Until the later ninth century, the local alternative to Ḥanafism appears to have been old-fashioned eclecticism, sometimes with a notable traditionalist inflection; for example, it seems, the law taught by Yahyā b. Muḥammad Ḥaykān al-Dhuhlī (d. 267/881), the *ra'īs* of Nishapur put to death by the warlord al-Khujistānī and said to have been counted among both *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* and *aṣḥāb al-ra'y*.⁸⁹ After that point, the chief alternative became Shāfi'ism, with a few stray Ḥanābila and Zāhiriyya. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Maḥmūd (d. 347/958–9) of Herat was said to be a Ḥanbali.⁹⁰ Writing in about 375/985, al-Maqdisī reports some Ḥanābila in Qumis and Tabaristan.⁹¹ Al-Dārawardī (d. Bukhara, 376/986?), qadi for various cities in Khurasan and Transoxania, was said to be the jurist of the Dāwūdiyya in his time in Khurasan.⁹²

No form of Shāfi'ism seems to have caught on in Khurasan until the spread of the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī and the *Umm* of al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān in the second half of the ninth century. Aḥmad b. Sayyār (d. 268/881), said to have brought back the books of al-Rabī' and others to Marw, seems to be remembered chiefly for his aberrant opinions.⁹³ `Abdān b. `Īsā (d. 290's/902–12) travelled from Marw to Egypt when Ibn Sayyār would not allow his books to be copied, confirming his independence of the nascent Shāfi'ī school; that is, he plainly treated the works of al-Shāfi'ī as a basis for his own teaching, not as something for him to transmit as he had received it.⁹⁴ Ishāq b. Mūsā (Ibrāhīm? d. Isfarayin, 284/897–8) is said to have learnt jurisprudence from al-Muzanī and heard *al-Mabsūṭ* from al-Rabī', which he presumably brought back to Transoxania.⁹⁵ Alternatively, however, the traditionist Abū `Awāna Ya`qūb b. Ishāq (d. 316/928–9?) is credited with introducing the books of al-Shāfi'ī to Isfarayin.⁹⁶ One Abū Sahl Maḥmūd b. al-Naḍr b. Wāṣil al-Bukhārī is said to have been a disciple to al-Buwayṭī and the first to take the books of al-Shāfi'ī to Bukhara.⁹⁷ But he is an exceedingly obscure figure, with no separate biography in any source I have examined. The

four Muḥammads were men who learnt Shāfi`i doctrine in Egypt from al-Muzanī and al-Rabī` but were notoriously too independent in their thought to be easily identified as members of the school. One of them was Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma (d. 311/924) of Nishapur, another Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d. 294/906), who grew up in Nishapur and taught mainly in Samarqand.⁹⁸ Probably not very different from them in orientation was al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Nasawī (d. Baluz, near Nasa, 303/916), who learnt jurisprudence from Abū Thawr (d. Baghdad, 240/854) and al-Shāfi`i's Egyptian disciple Ḥarmala (d. 243/858?).⁹⁹ Al-Dhahabī states that he gave opinions according to the doctrine (*madhhab*) of Abū Thawr.¹⁰⁰ A stable Shāfi`i tradition developed in Khurasan only with the return of students under the Baghdadi Abū l-`Abbās b. Surayj (d. 306/918).¹⁰¹

Conclusion.

It appears from the present study that `Abbāsīd favour accounts for initial Ḥanafī penetration of Khurasan and Transoxania, the region whence the `Abbāsīds had originally come to confront the Umayyads. They did not bring Ḥanafī jurisprudence with them to Iraq from Khurasan. Rather, on coming to power in Iraq, they initially favoured Medinese jurisprudence.¹⁰² Before long, however, they turned to Ḥanafism, strong in their new capital of Baghdad. This favour was quickly communicated to Khurasan by students returning from Iraq, so that Ḥanafism was the earliest and strongest of the personal schools to be represented there. This is to confirm a prominent theme of Tsafirir's study, that Ḥanafī strength depended on the authority of the `Abbāsīd dynasty; hence, for example, Ḥanafism had special difficulty establishing itself in Syria, where sympathy for the defeated Umayyads was still strong, hostility to the favoured jurisprudence of the `Abbāsīds correspondingly high.

The thesis that state support was vital to the flourishing of the Ḥanafī school, even the stress on qadi appointments, goes back at least to Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064)¹⁰³:

The origin of that was Abū Yūsuf's prevailing on Hārūn al-Rashīd and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā's on `Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam so that no one was appointed in

East or West save whom these two men indicated and concerned themselves with. People were avid for the world, so the majority became their pupils, not from piety but from seeking worldly fortune, the assumption of the judgeship and giving of opinions, crowing over their neighbours in the cities, suburbs, and villages, and acquiring wealth by means of being known for jurisprudence.

The timing here does not quite work, for Hārūn al-Rashīd cannot have appointed Abū Yūsuf chief qadi before he became caliph in 170/786. On the other hand, Abū Yūsuf was apparently first appointed qadi by al-Mahdī (*r.* 158–69/775–85), so it seems likely that even fifteen years before Abū Yūsuf became chief qadi, Khurasani students in Baghdad could see the direction of patronage and be sure to pick up some of the new Ḥanafism. In 166/782–3, that caliph's son Mūsá appointed Abū Yūsuf qadi for Gurgan, not in Khurasan but nearby.¹⁰⁴

We have also the explanation that the Khurasanis were predisposed to take up Ḥanafism in law because they were already Murji'a in theology. Madelung's first proposal that they specifically liked the Murji' exclusion of ritual works from the definition of who was a believer, who not, has never impressed me. Surely new converts could have been taught to perform the ritual prayer; more surely still, the Khurasani Ḥanafīyya we know about were aristocrats who could travel to Iraq and back to become teachers and qadis: they cannot have needed to be excused from performing the ritual prayer. Besides, we lack evidence that this exclusion of the ritual prayer from the definition of faith was a defining character of Murji'ism before the ninth century. There are other ways than association with Murji' theology in which Ḥanafism might have been especially attractive to Khurasanis. For example, the Ḥanafī school is friendlier than the others to performing the ritual prayer in other languages than Arabic.¹⁰⁵ Again, however, the élite of Balkh, Nishapur, and so on should have been in little need of such a dispensation. On the contrary, indeed, their mastery of correct ritual must have been a major support to their aristocratic status. More important than Murji' doctrine on faith and works, I am inclined to think, is early Murji' association with political dissidence in Khurasan. Early on, Orientalists supposed that the Murji'a were

necessarily quietist. It now seems clear that this was a position the Murji'a arrived at only over time, from about the last third of the eighth century. Before then, they upheld *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, 'commanding right and forbidding wrong', as much as the Khawārij and other parties.¹⁰⁶ Besides being often identified as a Murji' himself, Abū Ḥanīfa was involved with mediating between the caliph and one important Khurasani Murji' rebel, al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in 126/744, as pointed out by Madelung in his 1982 article.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the earlier, politically activist Murji'ism is securely located in Khurasan at mid-century, and it becomes more explicable that the Khurasani élite (especially, it appears, in Balkh) should have been eager to pick up the law now associated with both Murji'ism and favour from the new dynasty.

Imperial favour and local predisposition are complementary explanations of Ḥanafī strength inasmuch as state support would be offered to a school that already commanded important local support, so that favour to the school would win friends for the state. As George Makdisi puts it, 'The doctors of the law, or the school of law, had first to be important enough to attract the prince's attention and to secure his favors in return for what the school could do *for him*.'¹⁰⁸ Finally, it must be admitted that the difficulty of defining school adherence before the advent of the guild school in the tenth century (and its spread from Baghdad) makes it as difficult to firmly identify early Ḥanafīyya in Khurasan as it is to identify them in Iraq.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Wāʿiẓ al-Balkhī (attributed). *Faḍā'il Balkh*. Translated by ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (attributed). Edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī. *Manābi' -i tārikh u-jughrāfiyā-yi Īrān* 37. N.p., 1350 sh.

Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī. *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*. Pp. 57-119 in Fu'ād Sayyid (editor). *Faḍl al-i'tizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila*. Tunis, 1393/1974.

Al-Bakrī, Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad Khaṭīb Khwārizm. *Manāqib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa*. 2 vols. Hyderabad, 1321.

Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*. 8 vols. Hyderabad, 1941–5, reprinted Hyderabad, 1377/1958, reprinted with index Beirut, n.d.

Al-Dhahabī. *Mīzān al-i'tidal fī naqd al-rijāl*. Edited by `Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. 4 vols. Cairo, 1963-4.

----- . *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*. Edited by Shu`ayb al-Arna'ūt, &al. 25 vols. Beirut, 1401–9/1981–8.

----- . *Tārīkh al-Islām*. Edited by `Umar `Abd al-Salām Tadmurī. 52 vols. Beirut, 1407–21/1987–2000.

Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. Abridged by al-Khalīfa al-Naysābūrī. Published in facsimile in Richard Nelson Frye (editor). *The histories of Nishapur*. Harvard Oriental series 45. London, 1965. Also published as *Tārīkh-i Nīshābūr*. Edited by Bahman Karīmī. Tehran, n.d. Also published as *Tārīkh-i Nīshābūr*. Edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Shafī'ī Kadkanī. N.p., 1375.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim. *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta`dīl*. 9 vols. Hyderabad, 1360-71, reprinted Beirut, n.d.

Ibn Abī l-Wafā'. *Al-Jawāhir al-muḍīyya fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya*. Edited by `Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw. 5 vols. Cairo, 1398–1408/1978–8, reprinted Giza: Hajr, 1413/1993.

Ibn Ḥajar. *Lisān al-Mīzān*. 7 vols. Hyderabad, 1329-31, reprinted Beirut, 1406/1986.

----- . *Tabṣīr al-muntabih bi-taḥrīr al-Mushtabih*. Edited by `Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, reviewed by Muḥammad `Alī al-Najjār. Turāthunā. 4 vols. Cairo, 1964?-7,

reprinted Beirut, n.d.

----- . *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. 12 vols. Hyderabad, 1325–7, reprinted Beirut, n.d.

Ibn Ḥazm. *Al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. Edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr. 8 vols in 2. Cairo, 1345–7, repr. 2 vols, Beirut, n.d.

Ibn Ḥibbān. *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*. Edited by Muḥammad `Abd al-Mu`īd Khān. 7 vols. Hyderabad, 1393–1403/1973–83.

Ibn Kathīr. *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' al-shāfi`iyyīn*. Edited by Aḥmad `Umar Hāshim and Muḥammad Zaynuhum Muḥammad `Azab. 3 vols. Al-Zāhir, Egypt, 1413/1993.

Ibn Sa`d. *Biographien*. Edited by Eduard Sachau, &al. 9 vols in 15. Leiden, 1904–40. Also *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. 9 vols. Beirut, 1957–68.

`Iyāḍ, al-Qāḍī. *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-ma`rifat al-lām madhhab Mālik*. Edited by Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, &al. 8 vols. Rabat, &c., 1966–83.

Al-Khwārizmī, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. *Jāmi` masānīd al-imām al-a`zam*. 2 vols. Hyderabad, 1332.

Al-Maqdisī. *Descriptio imperii moslemici*. (*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma`rifat al-aqālīm*.) Edited by M. J. De Goeje. Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum 3. 2nd edition. Leiden, 1906.

Al-Maqrīzī. *Kitāb al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Ya`lawī. 8 vols. Beirut, 1991.

Al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī. *Ḥilyat al-`ulamā' fī ma`rifat madhāhib al-fuqahā'*. Edited by Yāsīn Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Darādakah. 8 vols. Amman & Mecca, 1988

Al-Sa`dī Ibn Abī l-`Awwām, `Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad. *Faḍā'il Abī Ḥanīfa*. Edited by Laṭīf al-Raḥmān al-Bahrā'ajī. Mecca 1431/2010.

Al-Sahmī. *Tārīkh Jurjān*. Edited by Muḥammad `Abd al-Mu`īd. Beirut, 1401/1981.

Al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn. *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi`iyya al-kubrā*. Edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad

al-Ṭanāhī and `Abd al-Fattāh al-Ḥulw. 10 vols. Cairo, 1964–76.

Al-Ṭabarī. *Annales. (Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk.)* Edited by M. J. de Goeje, &al. 3 vols in 15. Leiden, 1879–1901. Also *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*. Edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Dhakhā'ir al-`arab 30. 10 vols. Cairo, 1960–9.

Al-`Uqaylī. *Kitāb al-Ḍu`afā' al-kabīr*. Edited by `Abd al-Mu`ṭī Amīn Qal`ajī. 4 vols. Beirut, 1404/1984.

Secondary sources.

Azad, Arezou. *Sacred landscape in medieval Afghanistan: revisiting the Faḍā'il-i Balkh*. Oxford Oriental monographs. Oxford, 2013.

Crone, Patricia, and Fritz Zimmermann. *The epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*. Oxford Oriental monographs. Oxford, 2001.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edn., s.v. 'miḥna', by M. Hinds; s.v. 'al-Sarakhsī', by N. Calder.

Halm, Heinz. *Die Ausbreitung der šāfi`itischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients: Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, 4. Wiesbaden, 1974.

Kaya, Eyyup Said. 'Continuity and change in Islamic law: the concept of madhhab and the dimensions of legal disagreement in Hanafī scholarship of the tenth century'. Pp.26–40 in Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (eds). *The Islamic school of law: evolution, devolution, and progress*. Harvard series in Islamic law 2. Cambridge, Mass., 2005.

Madelung, Wilferd. 'The early Murji'a in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the spread of Ḥanafism', *Der Islam*, lix (1982), pp.32–9.

-----'. 'The spread of Māturīdism and the Turks' Pages 109–68 in *Actas, IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa, 1 a 8 de setembro de 1968*.

Leiden, 1971.

Makdisi, George. 'The significance of the Sunni schools of law in Islamic religious history', *International journal of Middle East studies*, x (1979), pp.1–8.

-----'. 'Tabaqāt-biography: law and orthodoxy in classical Islam', *Islamic studies* (Islamabad), xxxii (1993), pp.371–96.

Al-Mays, Khalīl. *Fahāris al-Mabsūṭ li-Shams al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī*. Beirut, 1400/1980.

Melchert, Christopher. 'The formation of the Sunnī schools of law'. Pages 351–66 in Wael B. Hallaq (editor). *The formation of Islamic law. The formation of the Classical Islamic world* 27. Aldershot, 2004.

-----'. *The formation of the Sunni schools of law, 9th-10th centuries C.E.* Studies in Islamic law and society 4. Leiden, 1997.

Al-Mudarris, Muḥammad Maḥrūs 'Abd al-Laṭīf. *Mashāyikh Balkh wa-mā infaradū bihi min al-masā'il al-fiqhiyya*. Iḥyā' al-turāth al-islāmī. 2 vols. Baghdad, 1978–9.

Radtke, Bernd. 'Theologien und Mystiker in Ḥurāsān und Transoxanien', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, cxxxvi (1986), pp.536–69.

Sezgin, M. Fuad. *Buhārī'nin kaynakları: hakkında araştırmalar*. Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi yayınlarından 13. Istanbul, 1956.

Story, C. A. *Persian literature*. 2 vols. London, 1953.

Tillier, Mathieu. *Les cadis d'Iraq et l'état abbaside (132/750–334/945)*. Damascus, 2009.

Tsafirir, Nurit. *The history of an Islamic school of law: the early spread of Hanafism*. Harvard series in Islamic law. Cambridge, Mass., 2004.

Van Ess, Josef. 'Ḍirār b. `Amr und die "Cahmīya"', *Der Islam*, xliii (1967), pp.241–79, xliv (1968), pp.1–70, 318–20.

-----'. *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jarhundert Hidschra*. 6 vols. Berlin,

1991–5.

¹ Nurit Tsafirir, *The history of an Islamic school of law: the early spread of Hanafism*, Harvard series in Islamic law (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

² Muḥammad Maḥrūs ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Mudarris, *Mashāyikh Balkh, Iḥyā’ al-turāth al-islāmī*, 2 vols (Baghdad, 1978–9).

³ Wilferd Madelung, ‘The early Murji’a in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the spread of Ḥanafism’, *Der Islam*, lix (1982), pp.32–9.

⁴ Bernd Radtke, ‘Theologien und Mystiker in Ḥurāsān und Transoxanien’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, cxxxvi (1986), esp. 536–51.

⁵ Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, 6 vols (Berlin, 1991–5), ii, pp.534–62.

⁶ Eyyup Said Kaya, ‘Continuity and change in Islamic law: the concept of madhhab and the dimensions of legal disagreement in Hanafī scholarship of the tenth century’, in Peri Bearman, &al. (eds), *The Islamic school of law*, Harvard ser. in Islamic law 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp.26–40.

⁷ Arezou Azad, *Sacred landscape in medieval Afghanistan: revisiting the Faḍā’il-i Balkh*, Oxford Oriental monographs (Oxford, 2013), chap. 3.

⁸ Ibn Sa’d, *Biographien*, ed. Eduard Sachau, &al., 9 vols in 15 (Leiden, 1904–40) = *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 9 vols (Beirut, 1957–68). References to the latter edition in *italic*.

⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 5 vols (Cairo, 1398–1408/1978–8, repr. Giza: Hajr, 1413/1993). The Persian abridgement is al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, abr. al-Khalīfa al-Naysābūrī, published in facsimile in Richard Nelson Frye (ed.), *The histories of Nishapur*, Harvard Oriental ser. 45 (London, 1965), also as *Tārīkh-i Nīshābūr*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran, n.d.), and ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Shafī’ī Kadkanī (n.p., 1375). References to the latter edition in *italic*.

¹⁰ ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Wā’iẓ al-Balkhī (attrib.), *Faḍā’il Balkh*, trans. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (attrib.), ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Manābī’-i tāriḥ u-jughrāfiyā-yi Īrān 37 (n.p., 1350 sh.). V. C. A. Story, *Persian literature*, 2 vols (London, 1953), i/2, pp.1296–7, also Radtke, ‘Theologien’, pp.536–51, and Azad, *Sacred*, chap. 1.

¹¹ ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Sa’dī Ibn Abī l-‘Awwām, *Faḍā’il Abī Ḥanīfa*, ed. Laṭīf al-Raḥmān al-Bahrā’ajī (Mecca, 1431/2010), pp.212–22.

¹² Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, iv, p.39. V. also also al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, 52 vols (Beirut, 1407–21/1987–2000), x (161–170 H.), pp.544–5, with further references; Sa’dī, *Faḍā’il*, p.214.

¹³ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, i, pp.7–8, ii, p.67. V. also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xi (171–180 H.), pp.386–7, with further references; Sa’dī, *Faḍā’il*, pp.217–18; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.549–51.

¹⁴ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, iii, p.556. V. also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xii (181–190 H.), pp.424–5, with further references; Sa’dī, *Faḍā’il*, pp.219–20.

¹⁵ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.697–8. V. also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiii (191–200 H.), pp.337–8, with further references; Sa’dī, *Faḍā’il*, p.218; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, rev. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Najjār, Turāthunā, 4 vols (Cairo, 1964?–7, repr. Beirut, n.d.), ii, p.820 (confirming ‘Sinānī’ rather than ‘Sībānī’).

¹⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, i, p.473.

¹⁷ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, ii, p.385, quoting al-Ḥākim, *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. V. also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv (201–210 H.), pp.230–1, with further references.

¹⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, i, pp.80–2. V. also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, pp.39–40, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, p.555.

¹⁹ Ibn Ḥibbān, *K. al-Thiqāt*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu’īd Khān, 7 vols (Hyderabad, 1393–1403/1973–83), vii, p.536; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 12 vols (Hyderabad, 1325–7, repr. Beirut, n.d.), x, p.488.

²⁰ Madelung, ‘Early Murji’a’, p.33; also idem, ‘The spread of Māturīdism and the Turks’, in *Actas, IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islâmicos* (Leiden, 1971), pp.122–3.

²¹ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xi, p.387. The doctrine that the Qur’an was create is to be identified with the Ḥanafīyya rather than the Mu’tazila, at least to start with, for which v. Josef van Ess, ‘Dirār b. ‘Amr und die “Cahmīya”’, *Der Islam*, xliii (1967), pp.241–79, xlv (1968), pp.1–70, 318–20, and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn., s.v. ‘miḥna’, by M. Hinds.

²² *Apud* Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiii, p.338.

²³ Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii/2, p.104 vii, p.372; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 8 vols (Hyderabad, 1941–5, repr. Hyderabad, 1377/1958, repr. with index Beirut, n.d.), vii, p.117.

²⁴ Ibn Abī l-Wafā’, *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.672–3. V. also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xi, pp.278–9, with further references.

²⁵ ‘Abd Allāh, *Faḍā’il Balkh*, p.156; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *K. al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl*, 9 vols (Hyderabad, 1360–71, repr.

Beirut, n.d.), ix, p.46.

²⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.254–5. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiii, pp.227–32, with further references; Azad, *Sacred*, p.177.

²⁷ Al-Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad al-Bakrī Khaṭīb Khwārizm, *Manāqib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa*, 2 vols (Hyderabad, 1321).

²⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.232. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiii, pp.207–10, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.540–1.

²⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iv, pp.87–8. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, pp.158–60, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.536–9.

³⁰ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.162; *Faḍā'il Balkh*, pp.142–6, where his name given as Ḥārith and where alone a connection with Abū Ḥanīfa is identified. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiii, p.167, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.535–6.

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 7 vols (Hyderabad, 1329-31, repr. Beirut, 1406/1986), ii, p.377; Azad, *Sacred*, p.177.

³² Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.527–8.

³³ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.247–8. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xv (221–220 H.), p.186, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.542–3.

³⁴ `Abd Allāh, *Faḍā'il Balkh*, pp.202–6.

³⁵ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.170–2. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, 143–5, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.541–2.

³⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.119–121. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvii (231–240 H.), pp.78–9, with further references; van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.543–4.

³⁷ Madelung, 'Early Murjī'a', p.38.

³⁸ e.g. from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii/2, pp.101–9 *vii*, pp.368–79; however, men in Balkh identified somewhere as Ḥanafīyya appear to be less outnumbered by others (about 3:1) than men in Marw identified as Ḥanafīyya are outnumbered (about 8:1).

³⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.477.

⁴⁰ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.705; also `Abd Allāh, *Faḍā'il Balkh*, p.177. The latter (where he appears as ibn Ruzayq) credits al-Qāsim also with transmitting *K. al-Qaḍīyya* directly from Abū Yūsuf, although the editor puts a question mark after the name of this book, otherwise unattested.

⁴¹ On Muḥammad b. Salama, v. Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, pp.162–3. On Abū Sulaymān al-Jūzajānī, v. Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, pp.518–19, also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xv, p.423, with further references.

⁴² Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii/2, p.105 *vii*, p.374; al-'Uqaylī, *K. al-Du'afā' al-kabīr*, ed. `Abd al-Mu`ṭī Amīn Qal' ajī, 4 vols (Beirut, 1404/1984), ii, p.24. But Abū Muṭī' is claimed rather for the Mu'tazila by Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*, in Fu'ād Sayuyid (ed.), *Faḍl al-i'tizāl* (Tunis, 1393/1974), p.105.

⁴³ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, viii, p.76.

⁴⁴ `Abd Allāh, *Faḍā'il Balkh*, pp.214–15.

⁴⁵ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.137–8; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiii, pp.150–1, with further references.

⁴⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, p.440. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, p.80, with one further reference.

⁴⁷ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.6–7. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, pp.86–7, with further references.

⁴⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.150. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, p.131, with further references.

⁴⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, p.456. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xv, p.83, with further references. Immigration from Kufa is implied especially by his description as *naẓīl-i Naysābūr* in al-Ḥākim, *Tārīkh*, p.20 82.

⁵⁰ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.48–9.

⁵¹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.319–20. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvii, pp.219–20, with further references.

⁵² Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, pp.537–8. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvii, pp.373–4, with further references.

⁵³ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, p.153. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xv, p.84, with further references.

⁵⁴ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.239. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvii, p.188, with one further reference, and Heinz Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfi`itischen Rechtsschule*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients: Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, 4 (Wiesbaden, 1974), p.67, where he is identified as a qadi.

⁵⁵ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.102. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xviii (241–250 H.), p.236, with one further reference, and Halm, *Ausbreitung*, p.68, where he is identified as a qadi.

⁵⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.49. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xviii, p.221, with further references.

⁵⁷ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvii, p.220, drawing partly on al-Ḥākim, *Tārīkh Naysābūr*.

⁵⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.450–1. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xv, p.88, with one further reference.

⁵⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.320–1. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xx (261–280 H.), p.275, with one further reference.

⁶⁰ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.378, 618–19; al-Ḥākim, *Tārīkh*, pp.49, 50 117, 119.

⁶¹ For the stages of regional, personal, and guild schools, v. George Makdisi, 'Ṭabaqāt-biography', *Islamic studies*, xxxii (1993), pp. 389–91. *V.* also Christopher Melchert, 'The formation of the Sunnī schools of law', in

- Wael B. Hallaq (ed.), *The formation of Islamic law*, The formation of the Classical Islamic world 27 (Aldershot, 2004), pp.351–66.
- ⁶² Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.690.
- ⁶³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, p.77.
- ⁶⁴ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.430; `Abd Allāh, *Faḍā'il Balkh*, pp.145–6. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xii, pp.276–7, with further references (but none to his Ḥanafism).
- ⁶⁵ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xiv, pp.114–15, with further references; Van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, pp.560–2.
- ⁶⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.66–7, iv, p.37. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xv, pp.39–41, with further references.
- ⁶⁷ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.242.
- ⁶⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.406–7. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvi (221–230 H.), p.90, with further references.
- ⁶⁹ Al-Sahmī, *Tārīkh Jurjān*, ed. Muḥammad `Abd al-Mu`īd (Beirut, 1401/1981), p. 141.
- ⁷⁰ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.26.
- ⁷¹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iv, p.62. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xx, pp.153–4, with one further reference.
- ⁷² Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xx, p.154.
- ⁷³ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.166–7. But Abū Ḥafṣ is also said to have travelled with Bukhārī: Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xx, p.154.
- ⁷⁴ Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī, (d. 665/1266–7?), *Jāmi' masānīd al-imām al-a`ẓam*, 2 vols (Hyderabad, 1332).
- ⁷⁵ Khalīl al-Mays, *Fahāris al-Mabsūt li-Shams al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī* (Beirut, 1400/1980). On Sarakhsī, *v. Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn, s.v. 'al-Sarakhsī', by N. Calder.
- ⁷⁶ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, p.383; al-Ḥākim, *Tārīkh*, p.58 128. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxii (291–300 H.), pp.301–2, with further references.
- ⁷⁷ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, pp.313–15. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxv (331–350 H.), pp.113–14, with further references.
- ⁷⁸ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, i, pp.200–1.
- ⁷⁹ For the sequence Hinduwānī < al-A`mash < al-Iskāf, *v.* Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, p.192, also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxiii, pp.571–2. For al-A`mash, *v.* Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, p.160. For al-Iskāf, *v.* Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, p.76, iv, pp.15–16.
- ⁸⁰ *V.* Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, pp.193–4.
- ⁸¹ *V.* Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, p.491, also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxix (421–440 H.), p.508.
- ⁸² Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, p.429 (Shams al-A`imma), p.109 (al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaḍīr). *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxx (441–60 H.), pp.179–80, 397–9 (Shams al-A`imma), xxix, pp.127–9 (al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaḍīr).
- ⁸³ *V.* Christopher Melchert, *The formation of the Sunni schools of law*, Studies in Islamic law and society 4 (Leiden, 1997), pp.125–36; idem, 'Formation', 6.
- ⁸⁴ For example, Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* includes 20 hadith reports < Qutayba < Mālik but 66 < Qutayba < Layth b. Sa`d: M. Fuad Sezgin, *Buhārī'nin kaynakları* (Istanbul, 1956), p.284. On Yahyā b. Yahyā, *v.* Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvi, p.459–63, with further references; on Qutayba b. Sa`īd, *v.* Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xvii, pp.299–301, with further references.
- ⁸⁵ Al-Qāḍī `Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, ed. Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, &al., 8 vols (Rabat, &c., 1966–83), i, pp.6–15.
- ⁸⁶ Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *apud* Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, iii, 121.
- ⁸⁷ Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i`tidāl*, ed. `Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, 4 vols (Cairo, 1963–4), ii, p.240; likewise idem, *Tārīkh*, xx, p.102; idem, *Siyar a`lām al-nubalā'*, 25 vols (Beirut, 1981–8), xiii (ed. `Alī Abu- Zayd), p.32. Included as a Ḥanafī by Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, ii, pp.239–40.
- ⁸⁸ Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *apud* Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxii, p.101; al-Ḥākim, *Tārīkh*, p.40 107.
- ⁸⁹ Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, iii, p.601. *V.* also Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xx, pp.198–200, with further references.
- ⁹⁰ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxv, p.108.
- ⁹¹ Al-Maqdisī, *Descriptio imperii moslemici*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum 3, 2nd edn (Leiden, 1906), p.365.
- ⁹² Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxvi (351–380 H.), p.577, with one further reference.
- ⁹³ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xx, pp.45–6, with further references.
- ⁹⁴ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxii, pp.174–5, with further references.
- ⁹⁵ Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi`iyya al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī and `Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw, 10 vols (Cairo, 1964–76), ii, 258–9; al-Maqrīzī, *K. al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya`lawī, 8 vols (Beirut, 1991), ii, 57–8.
- ⁹⁶ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxiii (301–320 H.), pp.525–6, with further references.
- ⁹⁷ Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' al-shāfi`iyyīn*, ed. Aḥmad `Umar Hāshim & Muḥammad Zaynuhum Muḥammad `Azab, 3 vols (al-Zāhir, Egypt, 1413/1993), i, p.160.

⁹⁸ On Ibn Khuzayma, v. Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxiii, pp.422–6, with further references; on Ibn Naṣr, v. Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxii, pp.295–9, with further references. The others were Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. Baghdad, 310/923) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir (d. Mecca, 318/930–1?).

⁹⁹ Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, p.263.

¹⁰⁰ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, xxiii, p.117.

¹⁰¹ V. Melchert, *Formation*, pp.92–101.

¹⁰² For the evidence of judicial appointments, v. Mathieu Tillier, *Les cadis d'Iraq et l'état abbaside (132/750–334/945)* (Damascus, 2009), pp.148–51.

¹⁰³ Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, 8 vols in 2 (Cairo, 1345–7), iv, 230 = 2 vols (repr. Beirut, n.d.), i, 625.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, &al., 3 vols in 15 (Leiden, 1879–1901), iii, p.517 = *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Dhakhā'ir al-'arab 30, 10 vols (Cairo, 1960–9), viii, p.162.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī, *Ḥilyat al-'ulamā'*, ed. Yāsīn Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Darādakah, 8 vols. (Amman & Mecca, 1988), ii, pp.92-3.

¹⁰⁶ For a thorough review, v. Patricia Crone and Fritz Zimmermann, *The epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, Oxford Oriental monographs (Oxford, 2001), pp.219-43.

¹⁰⁷ Madelung, 'Early', p.34, citing Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ii, p. 1867 = *Tārīkh*, vii, p.293. For Abū Ḥanīfa's theological position, v. van Ess, *Theologie*, i, 191-200.

¹⁰⁸ George Makdisi, 'The significance of the Sunni schools of law', *International journal of Middle East studies*, x (1979), p.5.