

AL-LĀRĪ'S COMMENTARY TO THE ARBA'ĪN AN-NAWAWĪ

A Critical Edition with Introduction

Presented by

Muhammad Siddique Khalid Alavi

Thesis Submitted to the University of
Edinburgh for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Arts

December 1979



To my father,

whose interest in Islamic studies took me to the madrasa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my debt of gratitude to the Government of Pakistan for providing me with a state bursary which enabled me to study in Edinburgh, and to the University of the Punjab which granted me leave of absence.

My thanks go to Professor W. Montgomery Watt and Dr. M. V. McDonald for supervising this thesis and offering advice and direction throughout my period of study. I should also like to thank my third supervisor Dr. 'Abd al-Rahīm 'Alī for checking the Arabic text and Dr. Ferrard for offering suggestions on English style in the introduction. My thanks also to Miss D. S. Straley for typing the manuscript of the thesis and Miss I. Crawford, secretary of the Dept. of Arabic and Islamic Studies, for her help throughout my period of study. I would also like to thank Mr. Shaukat Mahmud for writing the title page and the text of ahādīth.

A special debt of gratitude is owed to the Director and staff of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, without whose help this thesis would not have been possible. In particular I acknowledge the help of Dr. Ismail Erünsal and Mr. Ismail Özdoğan who offered me assistance and hospitality during a short stay in Istanbul, which marked the most fruitful period of my studies.

My thanks also to the staff of Edinburgh University Library, the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the British Library, India Office Library and the Zāhiriyya Library in Damascus.

M. S. Khalid Alavi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vol. I. Introduction

Acknowledgements	ii
Contents	iii
Abstract	v
Abbreviations	vi
Note on Transliteration	xi
Foreword	1
Chapter I: The Concept of <u>Arba'in</u> and its Basis in the Islamic Tradition	5
<p>Significance of the number forty (5); the basis for <u>Arba'in</u> in the <u>hadīth</u> (9); the weak <u>hadīth</u> (15).</p>	
Chapter II: Brief Survey of <u>Arba'in</u> Literature	26
<p>First <u>Arba'in</u> (26); Purpose of their compilation (27); classification of <u>Arba'ins</u> (28); the principal <u>Arba'ins</u> (30).</p>	
Chapter III: The Life and Scholarship of an-Nawawī	44
<p>His early life (45); his studies at Damascus (46); his teachers (48); an-Nawawī as a teacher (54); his pupils (56); his piety and asceticism (59); his conflict with the authorities (64);</p> <p>His scholarship (68); his contribution to <u>hadīth</u> literature (66); <u>Fīh al-hadīth</u> (70); his works on <u>hadīth</u> (71);</p> <p>An-Nawawī as a jurist (77); his works on <u>fīh</u> (80); <u>ar-Rawda</u> (81); commentaries on and criticism of <u>ar-Rawda</u> (81); <u>al-Minhāj</u> (84); <u>al-Idāh fī l-Manāsik</u> (86); <u>al-Majmū'</u> (87); other works (88);</p> <p>An-Nawawī as a linguist (91); <u>at-Tahrīr</u> (92); <u>Tahdhīb al-Asmā'</u> (92); other works (93).</p>	
Chapter IV: The Importance of <u>Arba'in an-Nawawī</u> and a review of its commentaries	96
<p>The importance of <u>Arba'in an-Nawawī</u> (96); commentaries on <u>Arba'in an-Nawawī</u> (102).</p>	

Chapter V: The Life and Scholarship of al-Lārī	109
Early life and education (111); migration to India (114); his residence in the Ottoman Empire (119); a <u>sūfī</u> (120); His scholarship (122); his works (124).	

Chapter VI: A Critical Appraisal of al-Lārī's Commentary on the <u>Arba'īn an-Nawawī</u>	130
---	-----

Bibliography	140
--------------	-----

Vol. II.

PART I

Introduction to the Text	i
--------------------------	---

Text	1
------	---

PART II

NOTES and REFERENCES	436
----------------------	-----

INDICES	534
---------	-----

ABSTRACT

The genre of Islamic devotional literature known as the Arba'īn is one of the major vehicles for the dissemination of knowledge of the traditions of the Prophet among the Muslim community. After the first four centuries of Islam, when the major collections and classifications had been completed, the efforts of the scholars were directed to the compilation of such anthologies and to the work of commentary.

This thesis presents a critical edition of the Arabic commentary of al-Lārī (d. 979/1571) on the Arba'īn of an-Nawawī (d. 676/1277). This Arba'īn is universally held to be the best of its genre, and the commentary which forms the present edition was to achieve the greatest popularity among the students of the Arba'īn an-Nawawī. As an introduction to the edition there is given an account of the lives of al-Lārī and an-Nawawī together with a list of all other known works by them and a critical appraisal of their total contribution to scholarship. This thesis offers a brief survey of all Arba'īns written up to the time of an-Nawawī and the commentaries thereon, written up to the time of al-Lārī.

The text is based on six MSS and variant readings are given, corrections being made on the bases of these readings and by reference to the sources of the commentary. Notes and indices follow the text in the appendices.

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS CITED IN FOOTNOTES

(For place and date of publication see bibliography)

<u>Ādamiyyat</u>	<u>Ādamiyyat, Dānishwarān-u Sukhan Sarāyān-i Fārs</u>
A. Dā'ūd	Abū Dā'ūd, <u>Sunan Abī Dā'ūd</u>
<u>Adhkār</u>	an-Nawawī, <u>al-Adhkār al-Muntakhaba min Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār</u>
<u>Ajwiba</u>	al-Laknawī, <u>al-Ajwiba al-Fādila li-l-As'ila al-Kāmila</u>
<u>Akhbār</u>	Ḥaqqī Dihlawī, <u>Akhbār al-Akhyār</u>
<u>Ansāb</u>	as-Sam'ānī, <u>Kitāb al-Ansāb</u>
<u>Arba'in (A)</u>	Ibn 'Asākir, <u>al-Arba'in</u>
<u>Arba'in (N)</u>	an-Nawawī, <u>al-Arba'in</u>
Badāyūnī	Badāyūnī, <u>Muntakhab at-Tawārīkh</u>
<u>Badr</u>	ash-Shawkānī, <u>al-Badr at-Tāli'</u>
Barnī	Barnī, <u>Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī</u>
<u>Bidāya</u>	Ibn Kathīr, <u>al-Bidāya wa-n-Nihāya</u>
Bayhaqī	al-Bayhaqī, <u>as-Sunan al-Kubrā</u>
<u>Bughya</u>	as-Suyūṭī, <u>Bughyat l-Wu'āt</u>
Bukhārī	al-Bukhārī, <u>al-Jāmi' as-Sahīh</u>
<u>Buldān</u>	Yāqūt, <u>Mu'jam al-Buldān</u>
<u>Daw'</u>	as-Sakhāwī, <u>ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'</u>
<u>Dhayl</u>	Baghdādī, <u>Dhayl Kashf az-Zunūn</u>
<u>Dhayl Mir'āt</u>	Quṭb al-Yūnīnī, <u>Dhayl Mir'āt az-Zamān</u>
<u>Dhayl T.H.</u>	Ibn Rajab, <u>Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila</u>
<u>Dirāsāt</u>	<u>ad-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyya</u>
<u>Durar</u>	Ibn Ḥajar, <u>ad-Durar al-Kāmīna</u>
<u>E.I.</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam (1st edition)</u>
<u>E.R.E.</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</u>

<u>Fath M.</u>	al-Haythamī, Ibn Ḥajar, <u>al-Fath al-Mubīn li-Sharḥ al-Arba'in</u>
<u>Fawā'id</u>	al-Laknawī, <u>al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya</u>
<u>Fayḍ</u>	Sayyid Anwar, <u>Fayḍ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī</u>
<u>Fayḍ (Q)</u>	al-Munāwī, <u>Fayḍ al-Qadīr fī Sharḥ al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr</u>
<u>Fawāt</u>	al-Kutubī, <u>Fawāt al-Wafayāt</u>
Firishta (B)	Firishta, <u>Tārīkh-i Firishta</u> , trans. John Brigg
<u>GAL</u>	C. Brockelmann, <u>Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur</u>
<u>Ghāya</u>	Ibn al-Jazarī, <u>Ghāyat an-Nihāya</u>
Ghifārī	Ghifārī, <u>Tārīkh-i Niḡāristān</u>
<u>Ḥadā'iq</u>	'Aṭā'i, <u>Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq</u>
<u>Hadiyya</u>	al-Baghdādī, <u>Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn</u>
<u>Ḥaqqī</u>	Ḥaqqī Dihlawī, <u>Tārīkh-i Ḥaqqī</u>
<u>Ḥazīn</u>	Ḥazīn, <u>Tadhkira</u>
<u>Hilya</u>	Abū Nu'aym, <u>Hilyat al-Awliyā'</u>
Hujwīrī	al-Hujwīrī, <u>Kashf al-Maḥjūb</u> , trans. R. A. Nicholson
<u>Ihyā'</u>	al-Ghazālī, <u>Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn</u>
I. Humām	Ibn Humām, <u>Fath al-Qadīr</u>
<u>'Ilm</u>	Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, <u>Kitāb al-'Ilm wa l-'Ulamā'</u>
<u>I'lām</u>	Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, <u>I'lām al-Muwaqqi'in</u>
I. Māja	Ibn Māja, <u>Sunan al-Muṣṭafā</u>
<u>'Iqd</u>	'Alī b. Bālī ('Alī Mānik), <u>al-'Iqd al-Manzūm fī Afādil ar-Rūm</u>
Iqtidāri	Iqtidāri, <u>Lāristān-i Kuhan</u>
'Irāqī	al-'Irāqī, <u>Sharḥ Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīth</u>
I. Sa'd	Ibn Sa'd, <u>Kitāb at-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr</u>
<u>Iṣāba</u>	Ibn Ḥajar, <u>al-Iṣāba fī Tamyiz aṣ-Ṣaḥāba</u>
Isnawī	al-Isnawī, <u>Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya</u>
<u>Istī'āb</u>	Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, <u>al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb</u>

<u>Janān</u>	al-Yāfi'ī, <u>Mir'āt al-Janān</u>
Jawhar	Jawhar, <u>Tadhkirat al-Wāqi'āt</u>
<u>Kāmil</u>	Ibn al-Athīr, <u>al-Kāmil</u>
<u>Kashf</u>	Ḥājjī Khalīfa, <u>Kashf az-Zunūn</u>
Khaṭīb	al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, <u>Tārīkh Baghdād</u>
<u>Kifāya</u>	al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, <u>al-Kifāya</u>
<u>Khiṣāl</u>	Shaykh Ṣadūq, <u>al-Khiṣāl</u>
<u>Khulāṣa</u>	aṭ-Ṭībī, <u>al-Khulāṣa</u>
Lane	Lane-Poole, <u>Babur</u>
<u>Lisān</u>	Ibn Ḥajar, <u>Lisān al-Mizān</u>
<u>Lubāb</u>	Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, <u>al-Lubāb fī l-Ansāb</u>
<u>Majālis</u>	Shushtarī, <u>Majālis al-Mu'minīn</u>
Malcolm	Malcolm, <u>History of Persia</u>
<u>Manāqib</u>	adh-Dhahabī, <u>Manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa</u>
<u>Ma'rifa</u>	al-Ḥākim, <u>Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth</u>
Ma'sūmī	Ma'sūmī, <u>Tārīkh-i Sind</u>
<u>Maqālāt</u>	al-Kawtharī, <u>al-Maqālāt</u>
<u>Maqāma</u>	as-Suyūṭī, <u>al-Maqāma as-Sundusiyya</u>
<u>Mawdū'āt</u>	al-Qārī, <u>al-Mawdū'āt</u>
<u>Memoirs</u>	Bābur, <u>Bābur-Nāma</u> , trans. Erskine
<u>Miftāḥ</u>	Ṭāshkūbrizāda, <u>Miftāḥ as-Sa'āda</u>
<u>Minhāj</u>	Ibn Taymiyya, <u>Minhāj as-Sunna an-Nabawiyya</u>
<u>Mir'āt</u>	al-Lārī, <u>Mir'āt al-Adwār</u>
<u>Mizān</u>	adh-Dhahabī, <u>Mizān al-I'tidāl</u>
<u>Mubīn</u>	al-Qārī, <u>al-Mubīn al-Mu'in</u>
<u>Mughīth</u>	as-Sakhāwī, <u>Faṭḥ al-Mughīth</u>
<u>Muḥādara</u>	as-Sakhāwī, <u>Ḥusn al-Muḥādara</u>
Munshī	Munshī, <u>Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-yi 'Abbāsī</u>

Muslim	Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, <u>al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ</u>
Musnad	Ibn Ḥanbal, <u>al-Musnad</u>
Mustaṭrafa	al-Kattānī, <u>ar-Risāla al-Mustaṭrafa</u>
Mustawfī	Mustawfī, <u>Nuzhat al-Qulūb</u> , trans. Le Strange
Nasā'ī	an-Nasā'ī, <u>Sunan an-Nasā'ī</u>
Nasīm	al-Khafājī, <u>Nasīm ar-Riyāḍ</u>
Nujūm	Ibn Taghrī Birdī, <u>an-Nujūm az-Zāhira</u>
Nuzhat	al-Laknawī, <u>Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir</u>
Parasad	Parasad, <u>The life and times of Humāyūn</u>
Qāmūs (A)	Sāmī, <u>Qāmūs al-A'lām</u>
Qawl	as-Sakhāwī, <u>al-Qawl al-Badī'</u>
Rawḍa (S)	Khwāndamīr, <u>Rawḍat aṣ-Ṣafā'</u>
Rieu	Rieu, <u>Catalogue of Persian manuscripts</u>
Sāfir	'Abd al-Qādir, <u>an-Nūr as-Sāfir</u>
Ṣaḥā'if	Munajjim Bāshī, <u>Ṣaḥā'if al-Akḥbār</u>
Shadharāt	al-Ḥanbalī, <u>Shadharāt adh-Dhahab</u>
Shaqā'iq	Ṭāshkūbrizāda, <u>ash-Shaqā'iq an-Nu'māniyya</u>
Sharaf	al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, <u>Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth</u>
Sharḥ	al-Qārī, <u>Sharḥ ash-Sharḥ</u>
Sharḥ Mawāhib	az-Zurqānī, <u>Sharḥ Mawāhib al-Ladunniya</u>
Shubrakhītī	ash-Shubrakhītī, <u>al-Futūḥāt al-Wahbiyya</u>
Shuhba	Ibn Shuhba, <u>Ṭabaqāt an-Naḥwiyyīn</u>
Storey	C. A. Storey, <u>Persian Literature</u>
Subkī	as-Subkī, <u>Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya</u>
Ta'aqubāt	as-Suyūṭī, <u>at-Ta'aqubāt 'alā l-Mawḍū'āt</u>
Ṭabaqāt	Niẓām ad-Dīn, <u>Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī</u>
Ṭabarī	aṭ-Ṭabarī, <u>Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa l-Mulūk</u>
Ṭabyīn	Ibn 'Asākir, <u>Ṭabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī</u>

<u>Tadrib</u>	as-Suyūṭī, <u>at-Tadrib ar-Rāwī</u>
<u>Tadhkira</u>	adh-Dhahabī, <u>Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz</u>
<u>Ṭālib</u>	Ṭālib Shīrāzī, <u>Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣiri</u>
<u>Tarjuma</u>	as-Sakhāwī, <u>Tarjumat al-Imām an-Nawawī</u>
<u>Tirmidhī</u>	at-Tirmidhī, <u>al-Jāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ</u>
<u>Travels</u>	Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, <u>Travels in Asia and Africa</u> , trans. H. A. R. Gibb
<u>Tuhfa</u>	Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, <u>Tuhfa</u>
<u>Tuhfa (M)</u>	Sām Mīrzā, <u>Tuhfa-yi Sāmī</u>
<u>Unmūdhaj</u>	Dawān, <u>Unmūdhaj al-‘Ulūm</u>
<u>Wafayāt</u>	Ibn Khallikān, <u>Wafayāt al-A‘yān</u>
<u>Wāfi</u>	aṣ-Ṣafadī, <u>al-Wāfi bi-l-Wafayāt</u>
<u>Wāci‘āt</u>	Mushtāqī, <u>Wāci‘āt-i Mushtāqī</u>
<u>Watt</u>	Watt, <u>Islamic Political Thought</u>

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration for Arabic is that used by the Dept. of Arabic, University of Edinburgh. For the sake of convenience Persian works have been transliterated according to a system closely following the above. Turkish follows the practice of modern scholarship whereby Ottoman is transcribed according to the system of the Islam Ansiklopedisi and modern Turkish references according to modern Turkish orthography. Occasionally Turkish names better known within an Arabic context will be transcribed as if they are Arabic names (e.g. Ṭāshkūbrizāda rather than Ṭaşküprizāde or Ṭaşköprüzade).

FOREWORD

Arba'īn literature is one of the branches of hadīth studies. Although it has its beginnings in the early period it was to see its flowering in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. It belongs more properly to the post-classical period rather than classical age of Arabic scholarship from which its origins may be traced in the second century. This is not surprising when we bear in mind that Arba'īns are primarily anthologies of hadīth rather than scholarly treatises or *recherché* investigation of isnād. Although some were to be adopted as text books in the Islamic universities, the readership for which they were written was to be found among the common people whose thirst for devotional literature could not be quenched by the voluminous and scholarly tomes in which the classical Islamic scholars had poured out their erudition.

The Arba'īn also served to propagate the method and values of the scholarly class among the laymen, whose lack of systematic education in the religious sciences would otherwise have formed a barrier to their understanding and appreciation of hadīth. The Arba'īn therefore served not only to place the conduct and personality of the Prophet before the people as a model for their own lives, but served to bridge the gap between the scholar and the common man. Some of the Arba'īns were so much appreciated that they were to attract commentaries.

In spite of its importance, Arba'īn literature has not as yet attracted as much scholarly attention as have many other branches of Islamic studies. The efforts of the past generation of Islamicists was quite correctly directed to the earlier, formative period, from the birth of Islam to the fourth or fifth century, which witnessed

the foundation and development of most of the genres of literature found in the Islamic world today. By the end of the fifth century the Islamic religious sciences had, for the greater part, been developed, and it remained for the later scholars to contribute to the work of commentary, textual exegesis and interpretation. The commentary became one of the major vehicles for developing ideas throughout the period which spanned the sixth to the fourteenth centuries. It is in the commentaries that we find attempts to reconcile contemporary social developments with the body of received knowledge inherited from the past generations of scholars. This thesis presents the text of a popular commentary on the most famous of all the anthologies, the Arba'īn an-Nawawī.

Although some of the Arba'īns achieved great popularity in academic circles, the recognition given by the Muslim community to the Arba'īn an-Nawawī is unparalleled in the history of this literature. This book even took its place in the syllabus of Islamic education and even today is offered for examination in some Muslim countries.

Scholars have written many commentaries on it, traced the sources of its aḥādīth and translated it into several languages. Certain of the 'ulamā' such as Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Sa'd ad-Dīn at-Taftazānī, Mawlānā Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn al-Lārī and Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī have written commentaries on it. The famous ṣūfī poet Jāmī translated it into Persian verse and it was also translated into Turkish.

Although many scholars of repute have written commentaries on the Arba'īn an-Nawawī and some were to achieve popularity among scholars and students, yet the commentary which is presented in this thesis has a special place among them. It not only manifests the

personality of the author but also presents the scholarly trends of the time. Al-Lārī himself being a scholar, well versed in all the traditional Islamic sciences, adopted such a comprehensive approach in his commentary that it was to be ranked above all previous commentaries. Al-Lārī is justified in his claim:

By God, this commentary has taken a form which will delight the hearts of the people. It includes all that was omitted by other commentaries, so that in truth, all other commentaries, as compared to this, are like a body without a soul. And this is true despite the greatness of their authors and large number of their copyists. 1

As far as the study of Arba'īn literature is concerned no serious effort has been made to study it thoroughly. Dr. Munajjid has published the text of the Arba'īn of Ibn 'Asākir in an article but without any detailed survey of the literature.² Professor Karahan has studied the Arba'īn, but only within the context of Turkish literature. His brief introduction to Arba'īn literature, however, is informative and useful. One must note two analytical and useful articles on the Arba'īn an-Nawawī by Eric Bishop.³ The commentaries on the Arba'īn an-Nawawī have been published, namely Ibn Rajab's Jāmi' al-'ulūm wa-l-Ḥikam (Cairo, 1382/1962), Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd's Sharḥ al-Arba'īn (Damascus, n.d.) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī's Fath al-Mubīn (Cairo, Maymaniyya, 1307/1889). These editions do not, however, offer any note or introduction to the text. Despite an early interest in the field the movement seems to have slowed, and we have little indication of a continuing interest in this subject today.

1. Sharḥ Arba'īn, 2.

2. Dirasāt al-Adabiyya, 34 (1964):211.

3. Moslem World, 29 (1939):163-177; 30 (1940):253-261.

This present text has been edited from six copies, variant readings of the text being given in the margins while references and indices are given separately as appendices. An introduction has been written to trace the basis of Arba'īn literature along with a brief survey of Arba'īns compiled up to the time of an-Nawawī. The life and scholarship of an-Nawawī has also been discussed. It deals with the importance of Arba'īn an-Nawawī including its commentaries up to the time of al-Lārī. The life and scholarship of al-Lārī is discussed and his commentary is critically examined.

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF ARBA'ĪN AND ITS BASIS IN THE ISLAMIC TRADITION

Among the large variety and great number of ḥadīth collections, we find a particular type known as Arba'īn, which consist of brief selections of about forty traditions, either of a general character or dealing with a specific subject. Although the importance of these collections and compilations of aḥādīth is clear, one wonders why scholars have restricted their efforts by limiting the number of aḥādīth to forty. There are several possible reasons for this. One is that they may have chosen it as a sufficient basis for a particular theme or subject, thus avoiding lengthy and detailed discussions by providing a focus for the reader's attention and by selecting a number which could easily fulfil the requirements of a particular subject or of a general field.

Alternatively one of the reasons for stressing the number forty may have been the well-attested fact that it had a particular significance. It is accepted that various numbers carried certain kinds of importance to different cultures.

In the folklore of many peoples we find evidences of peculiar significance attaching to certain numbers, notably 7, 10, 70, and in a lower degree 3, 4, 12, 40 and 100. In scripture we find that some of the numbers are meant to be taken representatively rather than determinatively. The numbers 7, 10, 40 and 100 are regarded as giving the idea of completeness - a notion found in the speculation of Pythagoras, the Gnostics and even St. Augustine. 1

1. E.R.E., IX, 406.

Numbers have been of great importance to Aryans, Babylonians, Syrians, Israelites, Arabs, Persians and Turks.¹ Certain numbers have also been mentioned as significant in Islamic tradition. The number forty has always been referred to as important, and different Aryan, Semitic and Turanian races coming to the fold of Islam and imbibing this concept embodied it in their own Islamic literature and tradition.

This number occurs in the Qur'ān in various places: "And We appointed a time of forty nights then you took the calf (for God) after him and you were unjust"²; "And We appointed with Moses a time of thirty nights and completed it with ten (more) so the appointed time of his Lord completed forty nights"³; "He said: it will surely be forbidden to them for forty years"⁴; "Till, when he attains his maturity and reaches forty years, he says: My Lord, grant me that I may give thanks for thy favour, which thou hast bestowed on me and on my parents...".⁵ The same number is also occasionally mentioned in several ahādīth. The following can be quoted as illustrative examples:

1. Having not been polytheists, if forty persons attended the funeral of a dead Muslim...⁶
2. We asked the Prophet, "How long will he (Dajjāl) stay upon this earth?" He answered, "Forty days."⁷
3. ...Between two sounds [of the trumpets] there will be a pause of forty...⁸

1. E.R.E. IX, 406. For the Turkish tradition, see Karahan, who has given useful information, pp. 12-17.
 2. Qur'ān 2:51.
 3. Qur'ān 7:142.
 4. Qur'ān 5:26.
 5. Qur'ān 46:15.
 6. A. Dā'ūd, III, 275; I. Māja, I, 454.
 7. Muslim, 18, 65, 75; A. Dā'ūd, IV, 166; I. Māja, II, 509.
 8. Bukhārī, III, 322, 370; Muslim, 18, 92.

4. ...forty days journey...¹
5. Establishment of divine law on the earth is more fruitful for them than forty nights' rain.²
6. Recite the Qur'ān in forty days.³
7. The messenger of Allāh (Muhammad) was sent at forty.⁴
8. Whenever forty believers intercede for a believer, their intercession is accepted by Allāh.⁵
9. ...forty autumns⁶
10. The baby is given his form in the womb of his mother in forty days.⁷
11. A confined woman stayed at home for forty days in the Prophet's time.⁸
12. To pluck out the hair of the armpit once in forty days.⁹
13. ...his prayer will not be accepted for forty mornings.¹⁰
14. One who hoards food for forty days will be cut off [from Allāh].¹¹
15. One who prays to Allāh in congregation during forty days...¹²
16. When a Muslims reaches forty years of his age...¹³
17. ...he was flogged with forty lashes¹⁴
18. ...it would have been better for him to stand for forty years.¹⁵

-
1. Muslim, 1, 102; 18, 110; Nasā'i, VIII, 25; Tirmidhī, 10, 53.
 2. Nasā'i, VIII, 76.
 3. Tirmidhī, V, 197.
 4. Bukhārī, III, 34; IV, 96.
 5. I. Māja, 1, 454.
 6. Tirmidhī, IX, 58, 214.
 7. Bukhārī, II, 308, 333; A. Dā'ūd, IV, 314.
 8. Tirmidhī, 1, 228.
 9. A. Dā'ūd, IV, 118.
 10. Muslim XIV, 227; A. Dā'ūd, III, 447; I. Māja, II, 339; Musnad, III, 35.
 11. Musnad, II, 32.
 12. I. Māja, I, 267.
 13. Ibid., II, 89.
 14. Bukhārī, III, 26; Tirmidhī, VI, 221.
 15. Bukhārī, I, 138; Muslim, IV, 225; Tirmidhī, II, 131; Nasā'i, II, 66.

Keeping in view the Qur'ānic verses and prophetic traditions, some of the Muslim scholars have given special consideration to the significance of the number forty. Ḥājji Khalīfa records that al-Baṭṭāl al-Yamanī (630 A.H.) wrote a treatise on this subject. The title of the book was al-Arba'īn fī Lafẓ al-Arba'īn.¹ The renowned scholar and commentator, Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī, made a special mention of numbers in the introduction of his commentary on Arba'īn an-Nawawī, which begins thus:

All praise is due to Allāh who made numbers and times an admonition. Having created the Heavens and Earth in six days, He at a noble place leavened Adam's clay during forty days. He determined the stages of the creation of the descendants of Adam to forty drops of semen, forty clots and then forty days as an embryo until the flesh was clothed onto bones. He promised Moses a conversation of forty nights. He raised our Prophet to [the status of] messenger when the latter reached forty years, as was the case for most of the noble prophets. 2

Discussing the importance of the number forty, he states:

We have pointed out in the beginning of this book the reason for our choice of this number for the subject. It is narrated that whoever worships Allāh sincerely for forty mornings, streamlets of wisdom come forth from his heart to his tongue. At the death of a believer, his place of worship weeps for him during forty days. The blessings of the parents' prayers for the pious son last for forty years. When the number of believers reached forty by 'Umar's acceptance of the faith, the following verse was revealed: "O Prophet, Allāh is sufficient for thee and the believers who follow you." 3 Bishr al-Ḥāfi, advising the scholars, said, "O traditionists! Act upon one ḥadīth out of each forty traditions." 4

-
1. Kashf, I, 52. This work does not seem to have survived.
 2. Mubīn, 1.
 3. Qur'ān, 8:64.
 4. Mubīn, 15.

The significance of the number forty was reflected among the academically and intellectually oriented, and also reached the heart of the common man, attaining a mystical level. According to a common belief among the ordinary Muslims, there are forty persons from the invisible world (rijāl al-Ghayb) who control this world.¹ The concept of forty followers of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib² was perhaps popularised by various Shī'ite sects. The term Abdāl has a special position in the mystical hierarchy. Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal reported a tradition of the Prophet which indicates the significance of forty Abdāl.³

It seems clear therefore that the number forty had great importance among the Arabs, Persian and Turks.⁴

In spite of this significance, it is difficult to be sure about its being a definite basis for the compilation of Arba'in, because numbers like 3, 7, 10, 30, 70, 100 and 700 are also mentioned in the Qur'ān and ḥadīth. However, it would seem that the main reason for

1. E.I., I, 17, Abdāl.

2. Ibid.

3. Musnad, II, 171. Aḥmad Shākir has declared it weak. Ibn al-Qayyim considered it fabricated (al-Manār al-Munif, 136). as-Sakhāwī dealt with this issue in detail in al-Maqāsid al-Ḥasana, 8-10, and also wrote a separate treatise entitled Naẓm al-La'āl fi al-Kalām 'alā al-Abdāl. His contemporary, as-Suyūṭī, has discussed this tradition in al-La'āl al-Maṣnū'a, II, 330-32. An independent treatise is also written by him, which has been published in Egypt. In spite of all criticism, the concept of Abdāl is considered authentic among the ṣūfis, by some traditionists and the Muslim public.

It is argued that this tradition has attained the status of commonly accepted fact and that it is considered authentic by the majority of scholars. Moreover, this tradition is transmitted by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who is certainly more trustworthy than such critics as Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya etc. His position among the scholars of ḥadīth and his knowledge and understanding of ḥadīth literature gives an additional strength to the concept.

4. For an interesting account of the Turkish tradition, see Karahan, Kırk Hadis, 12-17.

the development of Arba'īn literature is a tradition of the Prophet, which exhorts Muslims to preserve, memorise and propagate forty traditions. Perhaps this ḥadīth has played the most important role in the development of this literature. This is clear from the fact that every compiler and commentator of Arba'īn mentioned it specially and wished for the promised reward. The ḥadīth is narrated by several companions of the Prophet with a few variations in the text. Some versions of the text together with the chains of narration are given below, in order to show its acceptance by the people and its popularity among them.

1. Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn ash-Shaybānī al-Kātib narrated more than once in Baghdad [the following]: Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ghaylān al-Bazzāz said that Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm ash-Shāfi'ī narrated to us when someone related [something] and I was listening - Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Dunyā al-Faḍl b. Ghānim - 'Abd al-Malik Hārūn b. 'Antara narrated from his father and his grandfather, who narrated from Abū Dardā' that the Prophet said: "Any one who preserves for my community forty traditions relating to religious matters will be raised by Allāh as a faqīh. I shall be a witness for him and intercede on his behalf on the day of resurrection."

2. Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-'Allāf al-Muqri' reported in a letter to someone in Baghdad - Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭā'ūs al-Muqri', imām of Damascus mosque - Qādī l-Qudāt Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Muḥaffar b. Bakrān al-Ḥamawī - Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Bashrān al-Mu'addil - Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurri reported in Mecca - Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-'Aṭṭār - Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Muḥammad

al-Khandaqī and he had Hifz¹ - Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm as-Sā'igh - 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Ruwwād - his father has reported from Ibn 'Abbās and he narrated from Mu'ādh b. Jabal that the Prophet said: "Anybody memorising forty traditions for [the benefit] of my umma relating to a religious matter will be raised by Allāh among the class of jurists and scholars ['ulamā' and fuḥahā']."

3. Umm al-Khayr Fāṭima bint 'Alī b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Za'bal b. 'Ajlān the teacher in Nīsābūr told us - Abū l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī the merchant - Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sinān al-Ḥiyyarī - Abū l-'Abbās al-Ḥusayn b. Sufyān b. 'Āmir b. al-'Abbās ash-Shaybānī related in Nīsābūr - 'Alī b. Ḥajar - Ishāq b. Nujayḥ - Ibn Jurayj - 'Atā' b. Abī Ribāḥ narrated from Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet said: "Anyone who preserves forty traditions of Prophetic practice for my umma, I shall be an intercessor for him on the day of resurrection."²

4. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī, known as al-Ghāzī al-Ḥāfiẓ of Iṣbahān - Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Mu'addil - Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Mardawayh al-Ḥāfiẓ - 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Qāni' - al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq - Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Ḥarrāfī³ - 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Asadī - Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh - 'Āṣim - Abū Wā'il has narrated from 'Abd Allāh that the Prophet said: "Anyone

-
1. A technical term denoting a high degree of mastery in memorising of ḥadīth.
 2. Ibn 'Asākir, Arba'īn, Ms. aḡ-Zāhiriyya, f. 1; Sharaf, 20.
 3. Giving the term al-Ḥarrāfī as obtained from his teachers, Ibn 'Asākir comments that the correct form is Ḥarāmī, derived from Banū Ḥarām.

preserving forty beneficial traditions for my umma will be asked to enter paradise from any door he wishes."

5. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Qurādī, the shāhid in Baghdad, reported to us correctly together with Abū Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Sahl b. Bashīr b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā'inī, the goldsmith, in Damascus - Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī - Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. 'Allān ash-Shurūṭī - Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq aṣ-Ṣayrafī - Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Ḥarāmī al-Kūfī - Duḥaym b. Muḥammad b. aṣ-Ṣaydānī an-Naḥḥās¹ - Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh - 'Āṣim - Zurr² narrated from 'Abd Allāh that the Prophet said: "Anyone who preserves forty traditions by which Allāh will benefit my community, will be told, 'Enter paradise through the door of your choice.'"³

6. Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus reported from Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Harawī - Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Sawār - 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-'Asqalānī - 'Urwa b. Marwān al-Barqī - Rabī' b. Badr - Abān - Anas reported that the Prophet said: Anyone from my umma who preserves forty traditions from me relating to a religious matter aiming only at the blessing of Allāh and the hereafter will be raised among jurists and scholars on the day of resurrection."⁴

-
1. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad from Banū Ṣaydā', a clan of Banū Asad, not from Ṣaydā' (Sidon). He is a Kufan.
 2. Zurr is narrating from 'Abd Allāh and not Abū Wā'il Shafīq b. Salama as was the case in earlier chains of narration.
 3. All these asānīd are reported by Ibn 'Asākir, Arba'in, f. 1b; Sharaf, 20.
 4. Khiṣāl, 508; the hadīth of Anas has been narrated through different chains also; Sharaf, 20.

7. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd - Muḥammad al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaffār - 'Alī b. Ismā'il - 'Ubayd Allāh ad-Dihqān - Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī - Abū l-Ḥasan ('Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) narrated that the Prophet said: "Anyone from my community who preserves forty traditions of needed religious matter will be raised by Allāh as a jurist and scholar on the day of resurrection."¹

8. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Haytham al-'Ijlī and 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad as-Ṣā'igh, 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Warrāq - Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim al-'Alawī - al-Ḥasan b. Mathīl ad-Daqqāq - Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Alī b. Muḥammad ash-Shādhī 'Alī b. Yūsuf - Ḥannān b. Sudayr said that he has heard Abū 'Abd Allāh saying: "Anyone who has preserved forty traditions regarding ḥalāl wa ḥarām [lawful and unlawful matters] from our aḥādīth, Allāh will raise him as a jurist and scholar on the day of resurrection, and he will not be punished."²

9. Ibn 'Umar narrated that the Prophet said: "Anyone who preserves and contributes to the transmission of forty traditions of the sunan will gain my intercession and witness on the day of resurrection."³

10. On the authority of Anas, the Prophet is reported to have said: "Anyone from my community who carries forty traditions will meet Allāh on the day of resurrection as a jurist and scholar."⁴

It is evident from the above report that this tradition has been narrated by a number of Companions through various chains with certain

1. Khiṣāl, 507.

2. Ibid.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has reported these words from Anas through a different chain; Sharaf, 20.

3. 'Ilm, 16.

4. Ibid.

variations. This tradition has been commonly accepted throughout the centuries. However, it is also a fact that in spite of its various chains of narration and popular acceptance, the scholars of hadīth have been almost unanimous on its being a weak tradition.¹ Ibn 'Asākir asserts that it has not been narrated in any confirmed way.² In his 'Ilal, ad-Dāraquṭnī declares that all its ways of narration are weak, and in al-Bayhaqī's opinion all its chains are weak.³ Giving some chains of narration, Ibn 'Asākir remarks, "This tradition has also been narrated from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Abū Hurayra ad-Dawsī, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī and Anas b. Mālik through isnāds which have all been subject to discussion. Neither these nor those mentioned earlier have any likelihood of being sound.⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has expressed the same opinion.⁵ Only one isolated voice, that of Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī is recorded as favouring its authenticity. He says: "It has been transmitted through asānīd in which scholars have trust, and relied upon while recognising their soundness."⁶

It is remarkable, therefore, that a tradition which is so commonly accepted as being "weak" should be used as the basis for a genre of religious literature. However this is not so much of a paradox when we examine the attitude of traditionists to a weak hadīth. Their attitude introduces an important issue, namely the general practice of acting upon a weak tradition in spite of unanimity on its weakness.

-
1. Arba'in (N), 4.
 2. Arba'in (A), f. 8 .
 3. Mubīn, 16.
 4. Arba'in (A), f. 8.
 5. 'Ilm, 17.
 6. Mubīn, 17; Arba'in (S), f. 1.

It is therefore appropriate to elaborate the opinions of the 'ulamā' on, and their attitude towards, a weak tradition. Traditionists of all times have discussed the ḥadīth da'if (weak tradition) in great depth. The specification of its definition and nature have been elaborated in detail. They have explained its validity as a source of religious and legal practice and its position in the whole body of traditions. The following two points must be considered while presenting the opinions of various eminent scholars of ḥadīth:

(1) the definition of a weak tradition; (2) the weak tradition as an authentic source.

The important point regarding the definition of a weak tradition is to recognise the attitude of at-Tirmidhī and that of earlier scholars. In the terminology of those preceding at-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth was considered as either sound (ṣaḥīḥ) or weak (da'if). The weak tradition was divided into two categories: da'if matrūk (weak and abandoned) and da'if ghayr matrūk (weak and unabandoned). In the system introduced by at-Tirmidhī, ḥadīth are classified as ṣaḥīḥ (sound) ḥasan (fair), and da'if (weak), a weak tradition being one which lacks the quality of qubūl (acceptance). Thus at-Tirmidhī's use of the word da'if indicates a lesser degree of acceptability than it does among earlier scholars, by whom it is used in a more general way. By weak they did not imply forsaken ḥadīth, but rather what was described by at-Tirmidhī as ḥasan. When those who knew only at-Tirmidhī's term heard the saying generally quoted by muhaddithūn, "Weak ḥadīth is preferable to analogy", they presumed that it was used in the sense which at-Tirmidhī defined. They therefore started to give preference to the scholar who was more inclined to follow the sound ḥadīth.¹ In

1. Minhāj, II, 191.

a situation where the choice has to be made between accepting a weak tradition which is the only available source, or adopting personal opinion, Ibn 'Allān states that Ibn Ḥanbal preferred weak traditions over personal opinion. This indicates that Ibn Ḥanbal used the term "weak" in opposition to the term "sound" as employed in the terminology of earlier scholars. To them the traditions are of two types: sound and weak. The weak is lesser than the sound, but similar to ḥasan.¹ Discussing the issue Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya states,

Imām Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal]'s fourth principle on which he based his juridical opinions was to accept mursal [defective] and weak traditions if uncontradicted. He preferred this to analogy. By a weak tradition he did not mean bāṭil [baseless], munkar [denounced] or that which contains a muttahaḥ [suspect] narrator in its chain, which forbade any reference to or action upon it. To him ḥadīth was either a part of ṣaḥīḥ, or was derived from the types of ḥasan.²

This discussion clearly indicates various usages of the term. It also makes it clear that the term ḍa'īf is not always used in the sense of a rejected tradition.

Muslims from the beginning accepted ḥadīth as a secondary source of Islamic thought and practice. The Companions of the Prophet and their successors narrated traditions from the Prophet. As a result of the existence of different levels of narrators, variations in the chains of narration and some discrepancies in the texts of ḥadīth, scholars of ḥadīth developed a body of rules and conditions which helped in their classification and gradation. Scholars of the sciences of ḥadīth have developed various categories of tradition and specified

1. Sharḥ al-Adhkār, I, 86.

2. I'ḷām, I, 31; for the details about the definition, see Ma'rifa, 20; Tadrīb, 6.

ways of narration, and have evolved a particular approach to the whole subject. The main purpose of this section is to study their approach to the subject of weak tradition.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is reported to have said, "When we narrate a tradition regarding ḥalāl wa-ḥarām [permissibility and prohibition] we are strict and careful, but about fadā'il al-a'māl [meritorious actions] we are lenient and show compliance."¹ This statement represents the attitude of the traditionists. Scholars of the later period adopted the same attitude regarding the acceptance of various categories of tradition. As stated by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, they separated al-aḥkām ash-shar'īyya (ruling of the revealed law) from other aspects of Islamic life and dealt with them on a different basis. Giving the opinions of various scholars, as-Sakhāwī writes, "Ibn 'Abd al-Barr said that the traditions explaining meritorious actions did not require one who used them as a basis for argument to prove their authenticity." Imām al-Ḥakīm an-Nisābūrī reported that he had heard Abū Zakariyyā saying, "If it does not forbid the lawful and permit the forbidden, does not impose a ruling and deals with the matters of tarḥīb wa-tarḥīb [awakening of desire and intimidation], a report may be approached tolerantly and leniently." Quoting Ibn Maḥdī in al-Madkhal, al-Bayhaqī states, "When we narrated from the Prophet regarding aḥkām and ḥalāl wa-ḥarām, we were very strict in asānīd, and critical of the persons involved, but when we narrated concerning matters of merits, reward and punishment, we became more lenient in asānīd and less critical of the narrators."² In al-Maymūnī's narration from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, his words are, "Al-aḥādīth ar-riqāq [traditions

1. Kifāya, 134.

2. Mughīth, 120.

dealing with devotional matters] may be treated leniently except when they bring certain legal commands." In the narration of 'Abbās ad-Dūrī, Aḥmad is reported to have said, "Ibn Ishāq is a person from whom these traditions - maghāzī and the like - could be written, but when they involve lawful and unlawful matters, we refer to people [who are more strict in narrating aḥādīth]" and he clutched the four fingers of his hand on this.¹

However, Ibn Ḥanbal treated the weak ḥadīth as an authentic source when it alone is available on the subject.² It is also narrated from him that action could be taken on a weak ḥadīth if nothing else is found. In another case he is reported to have said, "A weak tradition is better to us than personal opinion of people."³ If uncontradicted by a tradition or the saying of a Companion, and if consensus was not against it, he considered acting upon it as preferable to analogy.⁴ Perhaps Ibn Ḥanbal was more forceful in putting his view about the weak tradition, although earlier traditionists, while classifying aḥādīth, held the same view - az-Zuhri, Mālik and ash-Shāfi'ī can be quoted.⁵ There has been no leading jurist who did not agree with him on this issue. Even the rationalist Ḥanafites preferred the weak tradition to analogy. Ibn Ḥazm reported the consensus of the Ḥanafites regarding the acceptance of Abū Ḥanīfa's opinion concerning his preference for a weak ḥadīth over analogy, given the lack of more reliable sources.⁶ Ash-Shāfi'ī used mursal [defective] ḥadīth as an argument when unable

1. Mughīth, 120.

2. Ibid.

3. Qawl, 18.

4. I'lām, I, 131.

5. Mughīth, 120.

6. Manāqib, 21; I'lām, I, 88.

to find anything else.¹ Explaining the Ḥanafites' view, Ibn Humām says that commendability can be proved by a weak tradition and not by a fabricated one.²

Ibn 'Asākir stresses that when added together weak traditions gain strength, especially when they are not intended to prove fard [obligation].³ An-Nawawī expressed his views on the issue in his various works. He stated, "Lenience in asānīd, narration of a weak tradition - not fabricated - and action according to it in the spheres other than the attributes of Allāh and aḥkām, is permitted by the traditionists."⁴ He further asserted, "The learned men among the jurists and traditionists are of the view that in matters relating to the merits and targhīb wa-tarhīb [awakening of desire and intimidation], it is permissible and commendable to accept a weak tradition unless it is fabricated. However, regarding the aḥkām such as ḥalāl wa-ḥarām [the lawful and the unlawful], business transaction, marriage, divorce etc., only ṣaḥīḥ [sound] and ḥasan [good, fair] can be acted upon unless a problem requires particular care."⁵ He restated his opinion in his Arba'īn, saying that the 'ulamā' were unanimous in allowing action upon a weak tradition regarding faḍā'il al-a'māl [meritorious actions].⁶

As-Suyūṭī states that neither Ibn Ṣalāḥ nor an-Nawawī have mentioned any condition for the weak tradition, except that it should deal with meritorious action, but Ibn Ḥajar laid down three conditions for acting upon it.⁷ Discussing Ibn Ḥajar's stand regarding the problem,

1. Mughīth, 120.

2. I. Humām, I, 467.

3. Mughīth, 120; Arba'īn, f. 8, Ms. Zāhiriyya.

4. at-Taḍrīb, 196.

5. Adhkār [be-Sharḥ Ibn 'Allān], I, 86.

6. Arba'īn, 5.

7. Tadrīb, 196.

as-Sakhāwī states that many a time he heard his shaykh saying: "A weak tradition can be acted upon with the following three conditions:

the first, which is unanimously agreed upon, is that it should not be very weak. This will exclude those who are liars, accused of lying and those who have erred excessively;

secondly, it should be embodied in a general principle, so that any innovation or something having no basis will be excluded;

thirdly, while acted upon, its proof should not be believed, so that nothing would be attributed to the Prophet unless he said it.

The last two conditions are reported from Ibn 'Abd as-Salām and Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd. Al-'Alā'ī has reported unanimity on the first."¹

Commenting upon a tradition about the Prophet's parents, as-Suyūṭī says: "Learned men of ḥadīth and other sciences, in the past and present, have narrated this tradition and have used it while enumerating his distinctions and miracles. They considered it within the scope of merits and noble qualities. They are of the view that weakness of isnād within this context is tolerated. The use of unsound traditions regarding the virtues and merits of the Prophet are accepted."² Al-'Irāqī asserts that if a tradition is not fabricated, leniency in its isnād and narration, without reference to its weakness, is permissible. The condition is that it would not concern juridical matters and beliefs, rather that it would deal with the subjects of targhīb wa-tarhīb, exhortations, stories and virtuous deeds, etc. As far as revealed rulings

1. Qawl, 195; Tadrīb, 196.

2. Maqāma, 5.

like ḥalāl wa-ḥarām, religious tenets such as attributes of Allāh and what is permissible for him or improper for him, are concerned, leniency is not permitted. Among the leading scholars who have made specific statements on the issue are 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and 'Abd Allāh b. Mubāarak.¹ Commenting on the ḥadīth al-arba'īn, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī says: "The 'ulamā' agreed on the permissibility of acting according to a weak tradition in the sphere of virtuous deeds. If the tradition is sound, it must be acted upon, otherwise action upon it neither results in the determination of the lawful and unlawful nature of matters nor infringes upon the rights of others."² Discussing the ḥadīth concerning the eminence of the Ḥajj when it falls on Friday, Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī says: "What some traditionists have mentioned relating to the weak narration of this ḥadīth indicates that its acceptance does not affect our purpose, since the weak ḥadīth relating to virtuous deeds is acceptable to all scholars."³ He has also restated this opinion in some of his other works.⁴ As-Sakhāwī held that the 'ulamā' have three different opinions on the issue of weak tradition:

1. it should not be acted upon absolutely;
2. it should be acted upon unrestrictedly;
3. it should be acted upon with certain reservations in the matters relating to meritorious deeds.⁵

Assessing the different statements, al-Laknawī reports: "To some it is absolutely forbidden to act on a weak tradition and this is a weak stand. Others have given unrestricted permission and this is a flimsy

1. Sharḥ Alfiyya, II, 291.

2. Fath (M), 32.

3. al-Ḥazz al-Awfar, quoted by al-Laknawī, Ajwiba, 37.

4. Mawḍū'āt, 73.

5. Qawl, 195.

and unsubstantial extension. Yet another group drew the distinction between different situations and imposed certain limitations. The latter is the right attitude."¹

Another important point discussed by the scholars is the general acceptance of a weak tradition. If the umma grants acceptance of a weak ḥadīth, it is obligatory to act upon it², so much so that it is given the status of a commonly transmitted (mutawātir) tradition for the purpose of abrogating the maqṭū' (having an interrupted isnād). Expressing his opinion on the ḥadīth lā waṣiyya li-wārith, ash-Shāfi'ī states that the traditionists do not affirm it, but that the common people have accorded it acceptance, and acted upon it to such a degree that they made it an abrogator to the Qur'ānic verse dealing with the will.³

The isnād is a very important factor in determining the status of a tradition, and scholars of ḥadīth are unanimous on its necessity⁴;

-
1. Ajwiba, 53.
 2. Nukat, f. 85a.
 3. Al-Kawtharī has dealt with the subject in detail; Maqālāt, 65-67.
 4. Ibn Mubārak is reported to have said: "Isnād is a part of religion. If there was no isnād, anybody could say whatever he wished." (Muqaddimat Muslim, I, 87; 'Ilāl [with al-Jāmi', with the commentary of Mubārakpūrī], IV, 388; Tadhkira [1054], with a slight change in the wording; Minhāj, IV, 96; al-Jarḥ wa-t-Ta'dīl, I, 16; Ma'rifa, 6; Ibn Ṣalāḥ, 231; Subkī, I, 187; Mughīth, 355; Tadrīb, 359; Sharḥ Mawāhib, V, 453). He is also reported to have said: "A person seeking a religious matter without isnād is like one who climbs up to the roof without a ladder." (Kifāya, 393). Sufyān ath-Thawrī says: "Isnād is a weapon of the believer. If he does not have the weapon, with what will he fight?" (Mughīth, 335). Subkī has reported the first sentence only (Ṭabaqāt, I, 167; Tadrīb, 359). Ash-Shāfi'ī says: "Seeking ḥadīth without isnād is like collecting firewood at night." (Sharḥ Mawāhib, V, 359). Munāwī has added the following words to the statement: "Unknowingly he picks up a bundle of the firewood which contains a viper." (Fayḍ (2), I, 433). It is reported about Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanẓala that whenever he narrated a ḥadīth without isnād to 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, the latter said: "A ḥadīth without isnād is crippled, because the isnād of the ḥadīth is an honour given by Allāh to the Umma." (Mawāhib, V, 453). al-Ḥakīm says: "Knowledge/

nevertheless a tradition having a weak isnād may be rightly acted upon if it has a common acceptance. Many scholars of ḥadīth held this view.

In order to make the point clearer, the opinions of some of the scholars may be quoted. While talking of the definition of ḥadīth maqbūl, as-Suyūṭī enumerates three possibilities: "It is a tradition which gained acceptance among the 'ulamā' in spite of having no sound isnād. This has been mentioned by a group of 'ulamā', including Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. A tradition narrated by Jābir¹ is quoted as an example. Secondly, its being well-known among the leading traditionists, while they have not denounced it, is the case with the two ahādīth² mentioned by Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī and Ibn Fūrak. Ibn Ḥajar, while discussing ḥadīth maqbūl, says: "One of the qualities of acceptance, ignored by our shaykh, al-'Irāqī, is agreement of the 'ulamā' on the indicated meaning of a tradition. Having attained this, a tradition is accepted and acted upon."³ Thirdly, the ḥadīth should conform with a Qur'ānic

"Knowledge of the higher isnād [al-isnād al-'ālī] and the search for it is a genuine sunna." (Ma'rifa, 6; Muslim, I, 169). He also stated that the demand for a high isnād is a practice of the earlier scholars (Mughīth, 335). Further elaborating, he said: "If the institution of isnād did not exist, and the group of traditionists did not search for it and concentrate on its preservation, the beacon of Islam would have disappeared. The heretic and the heterodox would have been strengthened by fabricating tradition and changing asānīd. If the narrations were deprived of asānīd, they would be considered truncated." (Ma'rifa, 6). Explaining the importance of isnād, al-Qārī says: "The principle of isnād is an excellent distinctive quality of this Umma" (Sharḥ ash-Sharḥ, 194), "and one of the important and confirmed practices [sunan]. It is rather fard al-kifāya [an obligation that is not meant for everyone]. To seek a higher isnād is a desirable attitude." (Aṭ-Ṭibī has used the same words in explaining the importance of isnād, Khulāṣa, 53).

1. ad-dīnār arba'a wa-'ishrūn qirāṭa (a dinar is [equal to] twenty four carats).
2. lā waṣīyya li-wārith (no will for the heir), fī ar-riqqa rub' al-'aṣhr (a fortieth is [required] in pure silver).
3. Nukat, 55.

verse or some principle of the sharī'a, provided that there is no liar in its chain of narration as Ibn al-Ḥaddār mentioned.¹ Commenting on the ḥadīth al-jam' bayn aṣ-ṣalātayn (anybody who offers two prayers together without any excuse comes to a gate of heinous crimes), at-Tirmidhī says that the traditionists (ahl al-'ilm) acted on it.² as-Suyūṭī points out that it could be strengthened by a favourable attitude on the part of the scholars. He further asserts that more than one scholar has specified the affirmation of its soundness by the acceptance of the learned men, in spite of the fact that it has no reliable isnād.³ He also expressed this opinion in his other works.⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has expressed the same opinion in his works al-Istidhkārah and at-Tamhīd.⁵ This view is shared also by modern scholars. Ash-Shubrakhītī and Sayyid Anwar Shāh can be quoted as examples.⁶

Examining the various works on 'ulūm al-ḥadīth, and considering the attitudes and opinions of different scholars and compilers on the weak tradition, the following conclusions could possibly be drawn:

1. a weak tradition is unanimously acceptable in matters relating to virtuous deeds, merits, inspiration and intimidation;
2. it is even accepted in establishing the permissibility and commendability of a religious matter⁷;
3. it is also accepted when it attains a general acceptance by the 'ulamā' or umma;

1. Sharh Nuzum, quoted by al-Laknawī, 229.

2. Tirmidhī, I, 303.

3. Ta'aqubāt, 12.

4. Tadrib, 24.

5. Ajwiba, 229.

6. Sharh Arba'in, 139; Fayd, III, 409.

7. Dawānī has discussed this issue in detail and gives convincing arguments in favour of the assertion, Unmūdhaj, 2; for further information, see Nasīm ar-Riyād, I, 54; Ajwiba, 55.

4. sometimes weakness in isnād may be overlooked, if general acceptance is accorded to a tradition by traditionists or the 'ulamā'.

This survey of various aspects of the weak tradition may give an idea of its position in Islamic tradition and its importance as an acceptable source. It may also be evident from the above discussion that the development of Arba'īn literature was basically due to the tradition quoted at the beginning of this section. Almost every compiler and commentator has made specific reference to this ḥadīth and expressed his desire to be rewarded for writing his work. He hopes to be reckoned among the fortunate people who have been promised the Prophet's intercession. An-Nawawī has mentioned also another tradition as an incentive for his compilation.¹ However, it is clear from his statement that he wanted to strengthen the ḥadīth al-arba'īn by introducing sound traditions to the argument.

It would therefore seem that this genre of religious literature, consisting of anthologies of aḥādīth, based on the number forty, has grown out of one particular ḥadīth, which although considered weak, has nevertheless gained acceptance. Underlying this ḥadīth is the symbolic motif of the number forty, common to many cultures. However this concept of a "perfect number" is secondary to the exhortation attributed to the Prophet in the tradition. This can be seen in the fact that although all Arba'īns contain at least forty traditions, thus fulfilling the precept of the Prophet, some do however violate the "perfect" quality of the number forty by exceeding it, so that we have Arba'īns with forty-two and fifty traditions. In fact, an-Nawawī's own Arba'īn presents forty-two.

1. Arba'īn (N), 10.

CHAPTER II

BRIEF SURVEY OF ARBA'ĪN LITERATURE

As has already been noted, the justification for compiling anthologies of hadīth has been the tradition of the Prophet to the effect that all who preserve forty traditions will be favoured by God. This custom of compilation of selected traditions became popular, so that one can identify the movement, for such it is, as a distinct genre of devotional literature, whose title, arba'īn, being derived from the number of traditions in these anthologies, gave this movement its distinct character. It developed from great activities of the collection of ahādīth in the second Islamic century, and can be seen as an early attempt to classify, select and popularise hadīth, whose very number, exceeding 200,000, posed many problems for scholars, particularly the students, and the laymen to this field. The work of selection had up to then taken the form of classification, but with the birth of Arba'īn anthologies we may observe an attempt to acquaint the non-specialist with the literature of the field, and thus provide a source of devotional reading and spiritual inspiration. It should be noted that in Islam such a source of popular devotion tends to be intellectual rather than purely spiritual.

'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak¹ (d. 181/797) is considered the first of these early compilers.² His anthology, unfortunately, did not

-
1. A scholar, trader and warrior, he combined the knowledge of hadīth, fiqh, Arabic language and history with practical aspects of Islamic life. Tadhkira, I, 253; Ḥilya, VIII, 162; Khaṭīb, X, 152; Miftāḥ, II, 112; GAL, S, I, 256.
 2. Ibn 'Asākir mentioned his name as the first compiler (Arba'īn, 1b); an-Nawawī has also given him this credit in the introduction of his Arba'īn, 2.

survive, and we therefore have little idea of the earliest nature of Arba'īn literature. Following the example of Ibn al-Mubārak scholars continued their efforts in preparing collections of Arba'īn, since it was viewed as a source of merit. Hundreds of collections of Arba'īn and their commentaries have been prepared and this practice continues today not only in Arabic but also in Persian, Turkish, Urdu and other Muslim languages. Before proceeding to a discussion of the various collections, it is appropriate to assess the purpose and objectives of this activity.

By careful study of the available material one can say that the compilers have been inspired in their work by a variety of motives. In the early period the main motivation was certainly devotional, as mentioned in the various versions of the Ḥadīth al-Arba'īn. The propagation of the Prophet's sayings is also one of the motives implicit in these compilations. At a later stage other motives played a part, among them the desire of scholars to earn reputations as transmitters of certain traditions, and thus take their place among the great scholars of the field. Some sought to establish their names as scholars of deep understanding and religious insight. Some anthologies were written in response to the demands of students who requested their teachers to compile an Arba'īn on a particular topic. Some collections are therefore of a pedagogical nature, being tailored to the needs of students. In the Ottoman and Ṣafavid periods, a few other considerations can be seen behind the preparation of such collections, such as monetary benefits, a high place in the court or the desire to be counted among the prominent persons of the religious class. As an example one may cite Osmān Zāde Tā'ib, who compiled

forty traditions about health and presented them to Sulṭān Aḥmad III on the occasion of his recovery from illness.¹

Whatever motive one may attribute to an Arba'īn anthologist, one must bear in mind that the purpose of the collection was basically devotional.

As we have already noted, the characteristic feature of Arba'īn literature is the restricted number of aḥādīth in a single collection, however variable the subject matter. It is the number forty which moulds these different collections into a single genre. Observing this literature at large one may observe various aims and intentions in the compilations. Personal inclination and particular outlook have given a collection a particular character within the category of Arba'īn literature.

Ibn 'Asākir and an-Nawawī have classified some types in the introduction to their Arba'īns.² The following categories can be identified:

1. Traditions relating to the oneness of God and His attributes.
2. Traditions regarding worship.
3. Traditions dealing with the fundamental tenets of Islam.
4. Traditions on the "pillars" of Islam.
5. Legal and juristic traditions.
6. Traditions about exhortation, asceticism and compassion.
7. Traditions that provide material and guidance on the devotional mention of God.
8. Traditions on jihād.

1. Karahan, 19.

2. Arba'īn (A), 1b; Arba'īn (N), 6.

9. Traditions dealing with merits and virtues of selected people and places.
10. Traditions explaining the merits of the hajj.
11. Traditions containing the proofs of the Prophethood.

The above mentioned collections were made on the basis of subject matter, but there are a good number of Arba'īns compiled on the basis of chains of narration, among which are the following:

12. Traditions which have perfect chains of narration, and are free from all categories of faults.
13. Traditions with high chains of narration, the asānīd al-'āliya.
14. Traditions which are sound, conspicuous and concise in terms of language.
15. Traditions on different topics narrated by forty companions. Some anthologies are selections of forty traditions narrated by forty shaykhs from forty companions.
16. Traditions narrated by forty shaykhs from the companions of different cities. This kind of collection was called al-Arba'īn al-Buldāniyya.
17. Traditions directly narrated from God, known as al-Ahādīth al-Qudsiyya; Muḥyī ad-Dīn Ibn 'Arabi compiled such an Arba'īn.¹

The above mentioned classification gives us some idea of the diversity within the genre of Arba'īn literature. It encompasses almost every aspect of a Muslim's life and most collections serve as self-explanatory guides to a particular aspect of a Muslim's life.

While it is not within the scope of a study such as this to compile a comprehensive list of all known Arba'īn collections, as the

1. Dirāsāt, XXXIV, 211.

subject has, by and large, been neglected by scholars, the opportunity has been taken to provide a list of the main anthologies in this field up to the time of an-Nawawī.

1. Following in the path of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, the accepted founder of the genre, the first compiler was Aḥmad b. Ḥarb an-Nīsābūrī¹ (d. 234/849). His collection has not, unfortunately, survived.

2. An-Nawawī, however, gives Muḥammad b. Aslam aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 242/856)² as the immediate successor to Ibn al-Mubārak.³ He has been described by his biographers as a ḥāfiẓ and a trustworthy transmitter.⁴ A copy of his Arba'in, in the handwriting of al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī and narrated by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī from the author, is in the Zāhiriyya⁵ and in other libraries.⁶

3. A great traditionist and one of the authors of the six canonised books, Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā at-Tirmidhī⁷ (d. 279/892) has also compiled an Arba'in.⁸

4. An-Nasawī, Abū l-'Abbās al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān b. 'Āmir⁹ (d. 303/916) compiled an Arba'in¹⁰ which contains various chapters dealing

1. He used to narrate from the class (ṭabaqa) of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Though he narrates some disagreeable (munkar) traditions, he is not one of the authorities regarded as matrūk. Mizān, I, 89; Kashf, I, 54.
2. Tadhkira, II, 103; Hilya, IX, 238; Shadharāt, II, 100.
3. Arba'in, 5.
4. Tadhkira, II, 103.
5. Majmū' 101 (93-106); two more copies also in the same collection.
6. Taymūriyya, Majmū' 262, 63; Berlin, 1462.
7. Ansāb, 95; Tadhīb, IX, 387; Tadhkira, II, 187; Wafayāt, I, 484; Mizān, III, 117; Lubāb, I, 174.
8. Gotha, collection 613/I.
9. A great traditionist of his time in Khurāsān; Tadhkira, II, 245; Mustaṭrafa, 53; Tadhīb (A), IV, 178; Subkī, II, 210.
10. Şehid Ali Paşa 54/3; Dār al-Kutub 1577; a copy written by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im is available in Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 348.

with prayers, zakāt, hajj, spending money on the family, the importance of intention in action, a warning against the violation of the teachings of the Prophet, and committing offences against believers.

5. Al-Ājurri, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn¹ (d. 330/990), an accepted scholar and trustworthy traditionist, earned wide recognition with his collection. It is a very important work and always remained popular among the scholars and students of hadīth. Various copies can be found in different libraries of the world.² Many scholars of repute have transmitted it.

6. Al-Kalābādhī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm³ (d. 380/990) is mentioned as one of the compilers of Arba'in.⁴ No copy of this work can be traced.

7. Ad-Dāraqūṭnī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar⁵ (306-385/918-995) collected forty traditions⁶ from the Musnad of Burayd (or perhaps Yazīd) b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Burda, which he narrated from his grandfather. He compiled traditions dealing with different topics and every hadīth was narrated with a complete chain of transmission.

8. Al-Hāshimī, Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd b. Rifā'a⁷ (d. ca. 400/1010) has been mentioned as one of the contributors to Arba'in literature. Being one of the "pure brethren", he had a philosophical

1. Wafayāt, I, 488; Ṣifa, II, 265; Khaṭīb, II, 243; Nujūm, IV, 60; Mustaṭrafa, 32.
2. Berlin, 1456; Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 4 (49-80); Majmū' 27 (34-35), part of it; B.M., 155.
3. He is one of the great scholars of hadīth and a ṣūfī. Ta'arruf, introduction, 1; Kutubkhāna, I, 375.
4. Kashf, I, 55.
5. Wafayāt, I, 231; Khaṭīb, II, 34; Subkī, II, 310; Lubāb, I, 404; GAL, I, 173 (165).
6. Arba'in (N), 5; Kashf, I, 55.
7. Imtā', II, 3; Mizān, I, 364; Lisān, II, 506; Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī bi-Dimashq, XXII, 182 (article by Dr. Muṣṭafā Jawād); Muntazam, IX, 127.

approach towards Islam.¹ Most of the traditions deal with asceticism, the transitoriness of this world, morals and the desire for good deeds. This Arba'in is narrated by ash-Sharīf Abū Ṭālib 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī.²

9. Al-Jawzaqī, Shaykh Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā³ (306-388/918-998) compiled an Arba'in⁴, a copy of which is available in Taymūriyya⁵, copied by Yūsuf b. Shāhīn, a grandson of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī.

10. Al-Ḥākim, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh an-Nisābūrī⁶ (321-405/933-1015) wrote a work based on forty traditions.⁷ Subkī claims that he has seen his Arba'in in which three of the chapters were devoted to the merits and qualities of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, to whom he gave preference over the other companions.⁸

11. Al-Mālīnī, Abū Sa'd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Khalīl⁹ (d. 412/1021), a ṣūfī, compiled an Arba'in from the ṣūfī shaykhs.¹⁰ Adh-Dhahabī remarks that when compiling his Arba'in he narrated every ḥadīth through a reliable ṣūfī chain. He did, however, include some objectionable traditions, unacceptable

1. It was his free thinking and particular approach which prevented the traditionists from trusting him. Khaṭīb describes him as a big liar, Tārīkh, VIII, 455. Dhahabī, uses stronger language when he remarks, "May God not bless him, he compiled forty traditions which are absolutely false." Mizān, I, 364. According to Ibn Ḥajar he was commonly known for fabricating ahādīth; Lisān, II, 506, 508.
2. Zāhiriyya 532, 1-25; Süleymaniye, Laleli 3667/2, 3667/3; Berlin, 1458.
3. Tadhkira, III, 204; Shadharāt, III, 129; 'Ibar, III, 41; Nujūm, IV, 199; Wāfi, III, 216.
4. Kashf, I, 53.
5. M.S., 400.
6. Mafayāt, I, 484; Khaṭīb, V, 473; Mizān, III, 85; Lisān, V, 232; Subkī, 3064; Tabyīn, 227-31; Mustatrafā, 17; GAL, I, 175 (166), S, I, 276.
7. Arba'in (N), 5; Kashf, I, 53.
8. Tabaqāt, IV, 167.
9. A ḥāfiẓ, trustworthy and perfect in his memory and character. Tahdhīb, I, 77; Mustatrafā, 76; Lubāb, III, 89; Shadharāt, III, 195.
10. Kashf, I, 53; copies are available in Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 63 (33-49), 64 (50-65); Majmū' 164 (1-19); Taṣawwuf 121 (1-26).

to the more orthodox scholars of ḥadīth, who tended to view the efforts of the sūfī brethren with suspicion as they believed that they had not developed a thorough and reliable approach to the subject. The title of the book as found in one of the copies, is as follows: Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī Shuyūkh aṣ-Ṣūfiyya, narrated by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

12. An Arba'īn was compiled by Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Mūsā as-Sulamī¹ (d. 422/1031), called shaykh of sūfīs by adh-Dhahabī, who mentions that this scholar was a great authority on sūfīs.² His Arba'īn is about the morals of the sūfīs.³

13. Abū l-Qāsim Ḥamza b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm as-Sahmī al-Jurjānī⁴ (d. 427/1036) is listed among the compilers of the Arba'īns. He collected traditions explaining the merits of al-'Abbās.⁵

14. Another important compiler of Arba'īn is Abū Nu'aym, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Asbahānī⁶ (354-430/946-1039). Being a sūfī he collected the traditions which explain the teachings of taṣawwuf. The title of the book, Kitāb al-Arba'īn 'alā Madhhab al-Muḥaqqiqīn min aṣ-Ṣūfiyya⁷, clearly indicates the nature of the contents. His mysticism can be seen throughout the book.

1. According to Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn he died in 412 A.H., II, 61; Ṭabaqāt Ṣūfiyya, 16-49; Mustaṭrafā, 41; Miftāḥ, I, 451; Khaṭīb, II, 248; Lubāb, I, 554; GAL, I, 218 (200), S, I, 361.

2. Mizān, III, 46.

3. Murad Buhari, 318/6; Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 124 (2-9). According to some reports it is published; A'lām, VI, 330.

4. Lubāb, I, 580; Tārīkh Jurjān, introduction, 2.

5. Kashf, I, 57.

6. Wafayāt, I, 26; Mizān, I, 52; Lisān, I, 201; Subkī, III, 7; he was considered a ḥāfiẓ and trustworthy by the critics.

7. Copies are available in manuscript form: Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 64 (50-63); Majmū' 79 (79-90).

15. Al-Bayhaqī, Shams ad-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī ash-Shāfi‘ī¹ (334-458/946-1066) has also contributed to the development of Arba‘īn literature.² A renowned traditionist and the author of two source books on ḥadīth, namely as-Sunan al-Kubrā and Shu‘ab al-Imān, he attempted to present a strict traditionist view of an ideal Islamic life. The forty chapters each deal with a special problem, such as, for example, tawhīd, istiḳāma, dawām al-murāqaba, al-ijtihād fī tā‘at Allāh, etc.

16. Al-Qushayrī, Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṭalḥa an-Nīsābūrī³ (376-465/986-1077) also compiled an Arba‘īn.⁴

17. An Arba‘īn⁵ was compiled by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Alī Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī⁶ (d. 466/1073) commonly known as Abū Bakr al-‘Aṭṭār.⁷ In the Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn his name is given as Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. ‘Āsim al-Asbahānī, Abū Bakr al-Muqri,⁸ (381-466).

18. Al-Ḥamawī, Shaykh al-Islām, Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī⁹ (d. 481/1089) collected traditions about the attributes of God. The book is commonly known as al-Arba‘īn fī Dalā’il at-Tawhīd.¹⁰

-
1. Shadharāt, III, 304; Subkī, III, 3; Muntaẓam, VIII, 242; Wafayāt, I, 20; Lubāb, I, 170.
 2. Süleymaniye, Kılıç Ali Paşa 1034/I (1-26).
 3. Famous for his scholarship and asceticism, he was considered shaykh of Khurāsān in his time; Wafayāt, I, 438; II, 186; Subkī, III, 243; Tabyīn, 271; Kashf, I, 520, 1551; GAL, I, 556, S, I, 770.
 4. Berlin 1457; Brill, 383, 746; Zāhiriyya, Majmū‘ 117 (150-).
 5. Zāhiriyya, 116 (2-119). The name of the author on the title page is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Alī; Albānī suggests that it is the incomplete name of the same person described by Ḥājjī Khalīfa as Muḥammad b. ‘Alī; Kashf, I, 52; Makhtūṭāt, 139.
 6. Hadiyya, II, 73; Shadharāt, III, 101; Mustaṭrafa, 71; Kutubkhāna, I, 275; GAL, S, I, 280.
 7. Zāhiriyya (M), 13.
 8. Hadiyya, II, 73.
 9. Dhayl Ṭ.H., I, 64; GAL, S, I, 773.
 10. Patna, 510/1608.

19. Ath-Thaqafī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Asfahānī¹ (397-489/1006-1096) has also written a book of forty traditions.²

20. An important contribution to the Arba'in literature was made by al-Maqdisī, al-Ḥāfiẓ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm b. Dā'ūd³ (337-490/987-1096). A copy of his collection is available in the Zāhiriyya.⁴

21. Ibn Wad'ān, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān⁵ (401-494/1010-1101) selected forty traditions about religious exhortation and the Prophet's speeches.⁶ Many copies of the book are available in the Süleymaniye, the Zāhiriyya and other libraries.⁷ The author explains the meaning of difficult words and gives short comments by quoting verses from the Qur'ān.

22. Al-Fārisī, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Muḥammad⁸ (d. 529/1135) has also prepared an Arba'in.⁹

23. Copies of an Arba'in compiled by al-Furāwī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad¹⁰ (441-530/1050-1136) are found in various libraries.¹¹

-
1. Wafayāt, II, 489; Shuhba, 100b; GAL, I, 453 (355).
 2. Bibl. Nat. 722/6; Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 435; I (602-).
 3. Tabyīn, 206; Uns, I, 264; Hadiyya, II, 490; GAL, S, I, 603.
 4. Majmū' 67 (42-65).
 5. Lubāb, III, 264; Lisān, V, 305; Kashf, I, 70; GAL, S, I, 602. He was accused by as-Silafī of lying and Ibn Ḥajar declares his Arba'in to be fabricated. Lisān, V, 305.
 6. According to adh-Dhahabī his Arba'in is a collection of fabricated traditions which he stole from Zayd b. Rifā'a (see above); Mizān, I, 364.
 7. Şehid Ali Paşa 540/I, 542/I, Vehbī Ef., 2157/6, Izmir, 763/4, Esad Ef., 1695/39; Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 532 (4-14), Ḥadīth 479; Silafī's version: Bibl. Nat. 722/6; Berlin, 1464, 1459.
 8. Tadhkira, IV, 1274; Wafayāt, II, 391; Bidāya, XII, 230; Subkī, VII, 171; Shadharāt, IV, 93; Mir'āt, III, 259.
 9. Dār al-Kutub, 1229; Berlin, 1463.
 10. Wafayāt, III, 418, 419; Kāmil, XI, 18; Ibar, IV, 83; Tabyīn, 322.
 11. Bibl. Nat. 722/4; Süleymaniye, Şehid 'Ali Paşa 539/I; Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 22, Majmū' 541/4.

He narrates forty traditions each from a different shaykh. In one of the copies the whole chain of narration is provided and the full name of the author is on the first page.¹

24. Abū l-Futūḥ aṭ-Ṭā'ī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī² (d. 555/1160), a well-known traditionist and popular preacher of his time while compiling his Arba'in³ maintained that he would include those traditions which he had heard from forty shaykhs, each shaykh having narrated from a companion of the Prophet. The author gives biographical sketches of the companions along with their virtues and explains the difficult words and adds useful information about religion. Ibn as-Sam'ānī comments that it is the clearest and indeed the best of the Arba'ins, for it contains exhortation and valuable information about ḥadīth, Islamic jurisprudence and the Arabic language.⁴ Copies are available in various libraries.⁵

25. Abū Sa'id Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Mansūr ash-Shāfi'ī an-Nisābūrī⁶ (476-548/1083-1153) has prepared an Arba'in on the same pattern, giving the narration from forty companions.⁷

26. Al-Jayyānī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yāsir al-Andalusī⁸ (492-563/1099-1168) compiled a book on forty traditions, entitled Kitāb al-Arba'in fī Riwāyāt al-Muḥammadīn.⁹

1. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 541/4.
2. Mustatrafa, 77; Kashf, I, 57; Nujūm, V, 333; Kutubkhāna, I, 263; GAL, S, I, 623.
3. The title of his Arba'in is al-Arba'in fī Irshād as-Sā'irīn ilā Manāzil al-Muttaqīn.
4. Kashf, I, 56.
5. Aya Sofya, 512; Bayazid, 910; Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 179 (1-71); Berlin 1464, 1465.
6. Tahdhīb Asmā', I, 95; Ibar, IV, 133; Wafayāt, III, 359; Nujūm, V, 35; Shadharāt, IV, 101; he was one of the pupils of al-Ghazālī, Subkī, VII, 26.
7. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 22 (39-56).
8. A scholar of ḥadīth, he travelled to eastern centres of Islamic learning and studied in Damascus, Baghdad and Nisāpūr. He died in Aleppo: Dār al-Kutub, I, 88; Shuhba, 100; GAL, I, 457 (37)), S, I, 663.
9. Bibl. Nat. 722/3.

27. A new impetus was given to the Arba'in movement by al-Hāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir, Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, commonly known as Ibn 'Asākir ad-Dimashqī¹ (499-571/1105-1176). Having an aptitude for ḥadīth and history, he collected much material and gained immense experience through extensive travelling. He compiled four separate Arba'in based on different criteria. The following are the titles of his collections: (1) al-Arba'in at-Tiwāl²; (2) al-Arba'in fī al-Abdāl al-'Awāl; (3) al-Arba'in fī al-Ijtihād fī Iqāmat al-Jihād³; (4) al-Arba'in al-Buldāniyya.⁴ The latter work is considered to be of great importance by students and scholar of ḥadīth. Following his teacher, as-Silafī, he collected these traditions from forty different centres of the Islamic world and took care in selecting the ahādīth. In the introduction to his book he claims that he critically examined the chains of narration and checked the texts for defects. Furthermore, he says, "I have selected the sound traditions and checked the names and titles of the narrators so that there could be no hesitation in acquiring benefits through this collection."⁵ Giving great care to the isnād and the text he rendered it accurate and exact. His insistence on selecting only sound traditions gave the movement a more rigorous standard and validity.

28. Ibn 'Asākir's contemporary, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'id b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Zayd al-Andalusī⁶ (505-575/1111-1180)

-
1. Wafayāt, I, 335; Bidāya, XII, 294; Subkī, IV, 273; Mi'āt, VIII, 336; Miftāh, I, 216; GAL, I, 403.
 2. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 17 (199-215).
 3. Zāhiriyya, Lughā 54 (67-79).
 4. Şehid Ali Paşa, 360/I; Berlin, 1466.
 5. Arba'in, 1; his Arba'ins have been published by Dr. Munajjid in the Beirut magazine ad-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyya, XXXIV, 211.
 6. Mir'āt, III, 403 (he is called Ibn 'Ayyād); Takmila, 734; Ghāya, II, 397; Shadharāt, IV, 254.

also made a contribution to Arba'īn literature.¹ He collected forty traditions regarding the religious observances.

29. An important contribution was made by another great personality of the time, a renowned muḥaddith and Ibn 'Asākir's teacher, Abū Ṭāhir as-Silafī², Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (478-576/1085-1180). Having travelled extensively in search of knowledge he acquired much valuable information on the traditions and deep understanding of the traditionist sciences. It was he who introduced the new concept of forty traditions of forty shaykhs living in forty cities.³ His collections consist of traditions about legal rulings, permissibility, forbiddance, worship, exhortations, and moral excellencies. While collecting traditions for his Arba'īn, he examined the chains of narration and kept in mind the soundness and weakness of a tradition. The title of the book is Kitāb al-Arba'īn al-Mustaghni bi-Ta'yīn mā fīh 'an al-Mu'īn, of which copies are available in various libraries.⁴ The first page of one copy ascribes the authorship to al-Ḥāfiẓ as-Silafī and the narration to Abū al-Wafā' 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq.

30. The Shī'a scholar Shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Qummi⁵ (d. 580/1184) compiled an Arba'īn, of which copies are available in Mashhad and Berlin.⁶

1. Shadharāt, IV, 254.

2. Wafayāt, I, 31; Mir'āt, VIII, 361; Azhar, III, 167; Subkī, VI, 32; Lisān, I, 399; Mizān, I, 155; Bidāya, XII, 307; Tadhkira, IV, 1298.

3. It was used as a model by many scholars. His pupil Ibn 'Asākir followed him and later scholars like Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 749/1348) and Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. aẓ-Zāhiri (d. 696/1296) prepared their collections adopting the same method.

4. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 76 (1-25); Ḥadīth 532 (1-10), this copy is in the handwriting of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Maqdisī; Ḥadīth 537 (1-17); Majmū' 18 (36-43), an incomplete copy); Şehid Ali Paşa 540/I; Bibl. Nat., 722/I.

5. Najāshī, 184; Dhari'a, II, 341; Fihrist aṭ-Ṭūsī, 93.

6. Berlin 1549.

31. Ibn as-Subkī has mentioned an Arba'in compiled by al-Qazwīnī, 'Abd Allāh b. Haydar b. Abī l-Qāsim¹ (d. 582/1186).

32. A leading sūfi and scholar of ḥadīth in his time, al-Hāfiẓ Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm² (529-585/1135-1189) prepared his Arba'in for the benefit of his students and followers. Adh-Dhahabī has called this collection al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyya.³

33. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Naṣr al-Qushayrī, ash-Shāfi'ī, commonly known as Abū Sa'd aṣ-Ṣaffār⁴ (508-600/1114-1203), compiled an Arba'in following the pattern adopted by Ibn 'Asākir. Copies are available in several libraries.⁵

34. Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Alī b. Mufarraǰ⁶ (544-611/1150-1214) compiled a book of forty traditions, to each of which he devoted a chapter which contains a tradition narrated by a shaykh from a companion of the Prophet through his own chain. He also gives the biographical information about the companion in every chapter. Copies are available in several libraries.⁷ The author's own comments on the method he adopted are given in the introduction to this book.

35. Ar-Ruhāwī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd Allāh⁸ (536-612/1141-1215) collected forty traditions of different chains of narration from various towns.⁹ This Arba'in is known as al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyya.

1. Tabaqāt, VII, 123.

2. Tadhkirā, IV, 1356; Shuhba, 100.

3. Tadhkirā, IV, 1356.

4. Shadharāt, IV, 345; Ibar, IV, 312, 313; Nujūm, VI, 186; Subkī, VIII, 156.

5. Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 593 (this copy bears the testimony of the author to the person who heard it from him); Majmū' 94 (173-187); 95 (161-188).

6. Muḥādara, I, 200; A'lām, V, 175.

7. Berlin 146; B.M., Or 3061; Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 168 (1-95).

8. Dhayl Ṭ.H., II, 83; A'lām, IV, 165.

9. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 72 (10-29); Majmū' 8 (36-43).

36. Ibn 'Asākir, Abū Mansūr 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan¹ (500-620/1100-1223) compiled an Arba'in on the virtues and qualities of the wives of the Prophet.² Following the tradition of the early scholars he explains why he collected the forty traditions in the introduction to his book. He begins with the aḥādīth containing the virtues and qualities of the Prophet and then gives the aḥādīth about his wives, starting with Khadīja.³

37. Abū 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Baṭṭāl ar-Rukbī, commonly known as Baṭṭāl al-Yamanī⁴ (d. 630/1233) has been mentioned as one of the compilers of Arba'in.⁵

38. Adh-Dhahabī has mentioned an Arba'in⁶ compiled by al-Kalā'ī, Abū r-Rabī', Sulaymān b. Mūsā Sālim b. Ḥassān al-Ḥimyari⁷ (560-634/1170-1237).

39. Diyā' ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad⁸ (569-643/1173-1245), collected forty traditions, of which a copy is in the Zāhiriyya.⁹ He also has a collection of fifty traditions, but these aḥādīth contain no isnād.¹⁰

-
1. A nephew of the great historian and muhaddith Ibn 'Asākir, he himself was a reputed scholar of ḥadīth; Bidāya, XIII, 101; Shadharāt, V, 92; Wafayāt, I, 277; Fawāt, I, 261; Nujūm, VI, 256; Subkī, VIII, 177.
 2. Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 535 (1-53); Majmū' 72.
 3. Arba'in, 1.
 4. Thaḡhr 'Adan, 200; Bughya, 18.
 5. Kashf, I, 52.
 6. Tadhkira, IV, 1418.
 7. Qudāt al-Andalus, 119; Takmila, 708; Mustatrafā, 70; Tamhīdī, 325; adh-Dhahabī calls him a muhaddith of al-Andalus, Tadhkira, IV, 1418.
 8. Fawāt, II, 238; Dāris, II, 94; Shadharāt, V, 224; Dhayl Ṭ.H., II, 236-240.
 9. al-Muntaqā min al-Arba'in fī Shu'ab al-Īmān, Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 75 (44-51).
 10. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 52 (129-141).

40. Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī¹ (560-633/1165-1240) gave a new direction to Arba'in literature. He collected forty traditions directly narrated from Allāh, popularly called al-Aḥādīth al-Qudsiyya. The book starts with the khuṭba and provides the usual reason for compilation.²

41. Al-Munzirī, Abū Muḥammad, Zakī ad-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī b. 'Abd Allāh³ (581-665/1185-1256) compiled an Arba'in and gave the following lengthy title to his collection: Arba'ūn Ḥadīthā fī Fadl Iṣṭinā' al-Ma'rūf li-l-Muslimīn wa Qadā' Ḥawā'ij al-Malhūfīn. As stated by Yūsuf an-Nabhānī, the author collected these traditions without giving their sources. But some later scholar (perhaps al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Barzānī al-Ḥamawī) has traced their sources.⁴

42. An Arba'in on the merits of the ḥajj and other pilgrimage⁵ was compiled by Ibn Masdī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Azdī al-Andalusī, Jamāl ad-Dīn⁶ (559-663/1202-1290).

1. A great Muslim ṣūfī who had a great influence on the development of intellectual and mystical thought. Fawāt, II, 241; Mizān, III, 108; Lisān, V, 311; Nafḥ, I, 404; Shadharāt, V, 190; Mir'āt, IV, 10; Takmila, I, 356; Miftāḥ, I, 187.
2. Süleymaniye, crch 2070/1, 3; Berlin, 1469.
3. A famous muhaddith of his time, he was given the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ by his contemporaries: Bidāya, XIII, 212; Fawāt, I, 297; Subkī, V, 108.
4. Copies are available in various libraries: Aya Sofya, Süleymaniye, O, 517; Bayazit, 892; Berlin, 1470; it has been published in Egypt by an-Nabhānī along with some other Arba'ins. The present writer has used the 1951 edition.
5. The title of the book is al-Arba'in al-Mukhtāra fī Fadl al-Ḥajj wa-z-Ziyāra. Süleymaniye, Hefid Paşa 29 (author's handwritten copy); al-Maktabat al-Khidīwiyya 6489.
6. A ḥāfiẓ of ḥadīth and one of the leading scholars of the time. Though Ibn Ḥajar is all praise for his vast knowledge, he is yet critical of his vanity and Shī'ite inclination, Lisān, V, 151.

43. Another important contributor to Arba'in literature is Şadr ad-Dīn, Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Qunawī¹ (600-673/1130-1206).

44. An Arba'in narrated from forty trustworthy shaykhs was compiled by al-Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣābūnī² (604-680/1207-1282). In the introduction of his Arba'in he gives the title of the book along with the reasons for the compilation of this anthology.³ This collection deals with various aspects of a Muslim's life, such as trade, prayer, the importance of the Qur'ān, the signs of the day of resurrection, etc.

45. Another contemporary of an-Nawawī was Ibn Abī r-Rabī', Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Ma'āfirī⁴ (585-672/1189-1274). He compiled an Arba'in which is apparently lost.

46. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Qazwīnī⁵ (600-670/1213-1277) also compiled an Arba'in.⁶

-
1. Subkī, V, 19; Miftāh, I, 451; II, 211; Karāmāt, I, 133; Kashf, II, 1957; GAL, I, 585 (449). A ṣūfī scholar, he was trained by Ibn 'Arabī. He settled in Mecca where he spent all his life dedicated to learning. He collected forty traditions relating to various aspects of religious life. It was published in Egypt in 1321/1903. He wrote a short commentary on his Arba'in which exists in manuscript form, Berlin, 1471; Süleymaniye, 154.
 2. Mustatrafā, 88; Shadharāt, V, 369.
 3. Zāhiriyya, Majmū' 64.
 4. A faḥīh and muḥaddith of al-Andalus, he settled in Alexandria and died there. Nafh, I, 394; Nujūm, VII, 243; Wāfi, III, 128.
 5. A philosopher and logician, he was a pupil of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī. Fawāt, II, 266; Hadiyya, I, 713; GAL, S, I, 845; Kutubkhāna, II, 66.
 6. Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1387/I.

47. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, Abū Maṣṣūr Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Rasūl at-Turkumānī al-Yamanī¹ (619-694/1222-1290) was another contemporary of our author. He completed a collection of forty traditions in 660 A.H.²

Although there are other scholars mentioned as contributors to Arba‘īn literature, owing to inadequate information, they have been omitted from the above list.³

-
1. The second ruler of the Rasūlid dynasty, he was a scholarly person. He collected these traditions for his personal interest. Ibn al-Wardī, II, 240; Bidāya, XIII, 341; Nujūm, VIII, 71; ‘Uqūd, I, 50, 85, 88.
 2. Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa 95/I.
 3. The following authors have been described as Arba‘īn anthologists: (1) Abū ‘Umar Ibn Buhayr (d. 390/998); (2) ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Abū l-Ma‘ālī (d. 497/1103) (Bibl. Nat. 722/6); (3) Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn as-Sāmī (d. 567/1172); (4) al-Ḥawrānī, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad (d. 571/1176); (5) Badr ad-Dīn at-Tabrīzī (writing date, 605/1208); (6) Diyā’ ad-Dīn al-Harawī (writing date, 637/1234); (7) Diyā’ ad-Dīn al-Miyānjī (writing date, 637/1134) (Bibl. Nat. 722; 614 [author's handwritten copy]); (8) Najm ad-Dīn Abū Nu‘aym (d. 663/1265).

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE AND SCHOLARSHIP OF AN-NAWAWĪ

Muḥyī ad-Dīn¹ Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Abī Yaḥyā Sharaf b. Murri² b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Jamā'a b. Ḥizām al-Ḥizāmī³ an-Nawawī was born in the month of Muḥarram 631/1233⁴ in the village of Nawā⁵ in the Ḥawrān district, and spent his early childhood under the supervision and guidance of his father. Although his family was of humble origin and unconnected with the 'ulamā' class, his father was well known in the area for his piety, asceticism, honesty and simple living.⁶ According to adh-Dhahabī he was a blessed Shaykh⁷, and as-Sakhāwī reports that on his death, prayers were offered even by those who were not able to attend the funeral, clearly a mark of great respect.⁸ Perhaps it was the ascetic tendencies of his father and the mystic atmosphere of the home which influenced and shaped the personality of our author.

-
1. This title was given to him by the Muslim community of that time in appreciation of his services for the cause of Islam, although he always disapproved of it himself.
 2. Az-Zabīdī has voweled it with a kasra on mīm and single rā' (Tāj, X, 379). Ibrāhīm b. Mar'ī in his commentary on the Arba'in has written it with damma on mīm and kasra on rā' (Futuhāt, 2) but the majority of the scholars read it with damma on mīm and kasra on rā' with tashdīd.
 3. He was called Ḥizāmī after his great-grandfather and did not have any relation with Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, a companion of the Prophet, as he himself claimed.
 4. His biographers are not sure about the exact date of his birth. According to Ibn al-'Aṭṭār it was some date in the first or second third of Muḥarram 631 A.H.
 5. Tuhfa, 3a.
 6. Ibid., 2b.
 7. Tarjuma, 74.
 8. Ibid.

We are fortunate to have some account of an-Nawawī's early life recorded by his pupils and contemporaries. In particular Ibn al-'Aṭṭār lived with an-Nawawī for most of his life and returned to his village where he was able to collect information from those who knew him as a child. All the sources ascribe to him the sort of background one might expect in a great scholar.

As a child, an-Nawawī was sent to the village mosque to learn the Qur'ān, to which he applied himself diligently. Shaykh Sharaf, his father, had a small business and the child used to spend his free hours in the shop helping his father¹, but he did not take a great interest in the shop and his energy was devoted to his studies. His inclinations and activities in childhood seemed to show that he was destined for great achievement. His biographers recorded two incidents which convinced his teachers and father that he was a promising child. One night when he was sleeping with his family, he saw an extraordinary light. Awakening his father, an-Nawawī told him about the light which he saw but others could not. His father was convinced that this was the Blessed Night (Laylat al-Qadr) and his nine-year-old son had witnessed it. Ibn al-'Aṭṭār records another incident which changed the whole course of his life. At some period around the year 645 A.H., a Moroccan saint, Shaykh Yāsīn b. Yūsuf, passing by the village of Nawā, saw a ten-year-old boy crying, because the children of the village were forcing him to play with them while he wished instead to continue reciting the Qur'ān. Ibn al-'Aṭṭār reports the incident thus:

Shaykh Yāsīn said, "I felt an affection for the boy, took him to his Qur'ān teacher and advised him to take care of the boy. I told him that this boy was going

-
1. Tarjuma, 34; Subkī, VIII, 396; an-Nawawī started working in the shop when he was ten, Tuhfa, 3b; Suyūṭī, 4b.
 2. Tuhfa, 3b.

to be the most learned and pious man of his time and that people would seek guidance from him." The teacher said to the Shaykh, "Are you an astrologer?" "No," replied the Shaykh, "but Allāh has made me speak of the boy." The teacher narrated the whole story to an-Nawawī's father who was more concerned about the boy afterwards. 1

There is very little information about the years he spent in Nawā till he came to Damasucs in 649 A.H. He may have spent his time helping his father in the shop and studying with the 'ulamā' of the town, because no town in the Muslim world at that time was without a maktab or 'ālim and most children received their early education in their home towns.

All his biographers, except Ṭāshkūbrizāda², agree that it was the year 649 A.H. when his father brought an-Nawawī to Damas^{CU}cus to study, at which time he must have been eighteen or nineteen years old.³ Damascus was then a centre of religious and academic activities, to which students from all over the Islamic world came to study. It must, therefore, have been an extraordinary experience for a young villager, such as an-Nawawī was, to participate in that tradition of scholarship. It was customary for the new students to go to the mosques, especially al-Jāmi' al-Umawī, to look for a place to live and a teacher to begin one's studies with. Following this tradition, an-Nawawī went to the mosque and explained his plans and ambitions to the khaṭīb of the mosque, Shaykh Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Kāfī b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Kāfī ar-Rāfi'i ad-Dimashqī. The shaykh guided the young student to the circle of the muftī of Syria, Tāj ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm

-
1. Tuhfa, 3b; Suyūṭī, 4b; Sakhāwī, 4.
 2. Miftāḥ, I, 398. He mentions that an-Nawawī came to Damascus in 650 A.H. and was nineteen years old.
 3. Tuhfa, 3b; Tarjuma, 5; Dāris, I, 268; Bidāya, XIII, 278; Suyūṭī, 4b.

b. Diyā' al-Fazārī, known as Ibn Firkāh, who became the first teacher with whom an-Nawawī studied for any time.

During his stay with Shaykh Tāj ad-Dīn at the Rawāḥiyya¹ he was unable to find a room to live in as they had already been taken by his fellow students and the Madrasa aṣ-Ṣārimīyya, the college administered by his teacher had, unfortunately, no hostel attached. The problem was solved by his teacher, who sent him to Kamāl Ishāqī al-Maghribī (d. 650 A.H.), the administrator of the Madrasa ar-Rawāḥiyya. After seeing al-Maghribī he was allocated a room in this Madrasa.² According to as-Subkī the house possessed an extraordinarily spiritual atmosphere, having been occupied by a series of saintly men³, and it was perhaps for this reason that he occupied the house, settled there and remained there until his death, seeming to have preferred ar-Rawāḥiyya to all other places.⁴

Having settled in ar-Rawāḥiyya, he began his studies, and acquired a reputation for an ever-increasing desire for knowledge and was fully absorbed in academic pursuits. He is reported to have once said, "I have spent two years without stretching out to sleep for even a moment."⁵ Adh-Dhahabī says that he was cited as an example to his contemporaries because of his concentration on his studies day and night, his neglect of sleep except when he was overcome by it, for his punctuality in attending classes, for his diligence in taking notes and for his

-
1. A Madrasa situated on the eastern side of the Ibn 'Urwa Mosque, adjacent to al-Jāmi' al-Umawī on the side of its north-eastern door, Dāris, I, 278. Badrān says that he has seen the site of the Madrasa, which is now occupied by residential buildings, Musāmarāt, 53.
 2. Tarjuma, 5.
 3. Subkī, VIII, 397.
 4. Tarjuma, 5.
 5. Dāris, I, 268; Suyūṭī, 5.

perseverance in visiting his teachers.¹ Quṭb al-Yūnīnī² also attests to his habit of utilising every moment of the day and night in the pursuit of knowledge. He always kept himself busy memorising, repeating what he had memorised and thinking about academic problems even when he was "walking in the way". He continued thus for six years.³ Once when questioned by Badr b. Jamā'a⁴ about his disdain for sleep, he replied, "When I am overcome by sleep I lay my head upon the books for a moment and then wake up."⁵ In Ṭāshkūbrīzāda's words, "He took very little sleep, was whole-heartedly engaged in pursuing the cause of knowledge, and adhered to the injunctions of Sharī'a."⁶ He was so dedicated to his studies that he used to attend the extraordinary number of twelve classes every day, which covers almost all the subjects included in the syllabus at that time. An-Nawawī was to describe his education, enumerating all the books he studied and commenting, "I wrote everything relating to those subjects -- clarification of the ambiguous points, elucidation of the text and vocalisation of the words -- and Allāh blessed me with grace regarding my time and activities and helped to overcome these difficulties."⁷

* * * * *

One of the characteristics of classical Islamic education is that it emphasised the role of the teacher more than formal attendance at an institution of learning. In the early Islamic period the educational

-
1. Tarjuma, 7.
 2. Quṭb ad-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī al-Ba'labakkī died in Damascus in 726 A.H., Durar, IV, 382; Bidāya, XIV, 126; Fihrist Tamhīdī, 393.
 3. Tarjuma, 11-12; Suyūṭī, 7.
 4. Qāḍī al-Qudāt Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd Allāh b. Jamā'a al-Kinānī al-Ḥamawī died in 733 A.H., Fawāt, II, 174; Bidāya, XIV, 163; Nujūm, IX, 298; GAL, S, II, 280; Durar, III, 28.
 5. Tarjuma, 36; Suyūṭī, 8.
 6. Miftāḥ, I, 398.
 7. Tuhfa, 4b; Suyūṭī, 5b; Tarjuma, 6.

system pivoted around the personages of the teachers. In many cases there was no recognised school building, the classes assembling where-soever the teacher chose to offer them, be it the mosque, the teacher's home or in some cases a building set aside for instruction. This early tradition was to leave its mark on Islamic education to the present century, so that during the period in which the madrāsas provided a highly-structured system of education there remained a surprising fluidity among the student body and teachers. The zealous student usually sought out the best teacher in a given field and was prepared to follow him in his search for knowledge. Direct contact between the student and teacher was the most salient feature of Islamic education. No scholar was acknowledged unless he could prove that he had studied with reliable teachers of good reputation in a particular field of study. The practice of isnād (chain of narration in ḥadīth) was adopted to authenticate the student's relationship with the earliest authorities in the subject. The certificate (sanad) of a successful student traced the chain of his teachers in that field and thereby bestowed on him the authority to teach the subject or give his opinion thereon. It was an accepted practice among the scholars and students to establish their credentials as instructors through an unbroken line of authentic teachers spanning the centuries to the very birth of Islam. It was not enough that the scholars in this chain be of sound intelligence, it was also required that they be morally upstanding for it was held that knowledge was a Divine Light, the effectiveness of which is lost unless it be transmitted through the lips of pious teachers. In order to know the credentials of a scholar it was essential to know his teachers.

An-Nawawī, following a common practice, gives us his academic genealogy. He considered this practice highly desirable as can be observed in the following statement:

This, that is to say the mention of one's shaykhs, is a most desirable thing and a valuable principle. Its knowledge is essential for every jurist and student of fiqh, while ignorance of it is shameful, because one's teachers are the fathers in religion and a link between him and his Lord. It is as disgraceful to destroy one's link with his merciful Lord as to ignore one's lineage. A Muslim is commissioned to pray for his teachers, treat them gently, discuss their glorious deeds with a sense of appreciation and thanks. 1

An-Nawawī maintained a special attitude towards his teachers. He always praised them and mentioned them with reverence. Whenever he spoke about his academic achievements, he remembered with great respect his first shaykh, Tāj ad-Dīn al-Fazārī², with whom he studied for some time. He was, later, introduced to the study circle of Kamāl Ishāq al-Maghribī³ by his first teacher. An-Nawawī stayed with him for a longer period and benefitted from him the most. He describes his stay with Shaykh al-Maghribī, his attitude towards himself and the academic benefits thus:

I started commenting and textual criticism in the presence of Shaykh al-Maghribī, I followed him assiduously to his admiration. When he saw the dedication to my studies and my abstinence from social intercourse, he favoured me and made me his teaching assistant. 4

As it was customary that a student had to cover various subjects with the specialists in their fields, an-Nawawī studied ḥadīth, fiqh, language and theology with teachers of high repute. He provides the whole chain of his shaykhs in fiqh relating them to the Prophet through

-
1. Tahdhīb al-Asmā', I, 18; Tarjuma, 63.
 2. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Diyā'; better known as Ibn al-Firkāh, died in 690 A.H. Subkī, VIII, 162; Bidāya, XIII, 325; Dāris, I, 108, 109; Shadharāt, V, 413; Fawāt, I, 522-24; Janān, IV, 218, 219; Tarjuma, 8.
 3. Ibid., 6; Suyūṭī, 5; Tuḥfa, 6.
 4. Tuḥfa, 6; Tarjuma, 6; Dāris, I, 35; Suyūṭī, 5.

al-Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī.¹ The following extract from the lengthy chain will allow the reader to appreciate the importance an-Nawawī attached to his relationship with the early authorities:

I learned fiqh through reading, correcting, listening, explaining and writing notes from a group of scholars. One of them is Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. Ahmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Maghribī al-Maqdisī², whose knowledge, piety, asceticism and devotion to worship is commonly accepted. May Allāh place him, myself and my friends together with the chosen ones in the Honoured Place. Then our Shaykh Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Nūḥ b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Maqdisī³, who was an Imām, a devout worshipper, perfectly pious, and a muftī of Damascus in his time. Then our shaykh al-Imām Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. As‘ad b. Abī Ghālib ar-Rabī‘ī al-Irbilī⁴,...

He then gives the complete chain of his shaykhs through ash-Shāfi‘ī to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās and the Prophet.

As one of an-Nawawī's greatest contributions to the Muslim scholarly effort lies in the field of ḥadīth it is perhaps appropriate to examine his education in that field. His biographers record that he studied under no less than fourteen scholars. Because the reputation of an individual scholar is closely linked to the chain of authority whence he acquired his own training, an-Nawawī's teachers in ḥadīth are given below, with whatever information is offered by his biographers:

1. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Isā al-Murādī al-Andalusī al-Miṣrī ad-Dimashqī, d. 668/1296.⁵ An-Nawawī pays tribute to him in the following words, "A pious ascetic, he was an authority on ḥadīth. I have been with him

-
1. Tahdhīb al-Asmā’, I, 18; Tuhfa, 6.
 2. Subkī, VIII, 122; Muḥādara, I, 416; Shadharāt, V, 326.
 3. The most learned man of his time in religious studies and a prominent pupil of Ibn Ṣalāḥ, died in 654 A.H. Subkī, VIII, 188; Bidāya, XIII, 195; Shadharāt, V, 365; Ibar, V, 218; Nujūm, VII, 4.
 4. Subkī, VII, 308.
 5. Ibid., VIII, 122; Shadharāt, V, 316; Muḥādara, I, 416.



for ten years and have not witnessed a single undesirable action on his part.¹ My eyes have not seen so perfect a scholar in my life."²

2. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḍar al-Wāsiṭī (d. unknown). The author studied the complete text of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim with him. The author describes him as a pleasant, honest and trustworthy shaykh.³

3. Shaykh Zayn ad-Dīn Abū l-Baqā' Khālīd b. Yūsuf b. Sa'īd an-Nābulusī, d. 663/1264. Adh-Dhahabī praises him as an Imām, Hāfiẓ, and a traditionist. According to him he was trustworthy, and gifted with perfect perception, understanding and deep knowledge.⁴

4. Ar-Raḍī b. al-Burhān, Raḍī ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. Muḍar d. 664/1265.⁵

5. Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Anṣārī al-Ḥamawī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 662/1263.⁶ According to as-Subkī he was one of the most intelligent men of his time. He excelled in fiqh, poetry and narrated many traditions.⁷

6. Zayn ad-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd ad-Dā'im al-Maqdisī.⁸

7. Abū l-Faraj 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Umar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, d. 682/1283.⁹ He was one of the leading figures of his time in the field of ḥadīth. Ibn al-'Aṭṭār says, "He was one of his important teachers."¹⁰

1. Muḥaḍara, I, 416; Tarjuma, 10.

2. Tarjuma, 10.

3. Sharḥ Muslim, I, 8.

4. Tadhkira, IV, 1447; Dāris, I, 106.

5. Tarjuma, 10; Shadharāt, V, 315.

6. Subkī, VIII, 258; Tadhkira, IV, 1443; Shadharāt, V, 309; Fawāt, I, 598-607; Ibar, V, 268; Nujūm, VII, 214, 215, 218.

7. Ṭabaqāt, VIII, 258.

8. Tuhfa, 8.

9. Tadhkira, IV, 1493.

10. Tuhfa, 86.

8. Qādī al-Qudāt, 'Imād ad-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarastānī, Khaṭīb of Damascus, d. 682/1283.¹

9. Taqī ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismā'il b. Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abī l-Yusr at-Tanūkhī, d. 672/1273. Adh-Dhahabī has described him as a great traditionist and an authority.²

10. Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Abī l-Faṭḥ aṣ-Ṣayrafi al-Ḥarranī.³

11. Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, known as al-Ḥāfiẓ.⁴

12. Aḍ-Ḍiyā' b. Tamām al-Ḥanafī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The author of the Jawāhir praises him as a great muhaddith.⁵

13. The muftī Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sālim b. Yaḥyā al-Anbārī al-Ḥanbalī, d. 661/1262.⁶

As would be expected, we have somewhat less information on an-Nawawī's education in uṣūl, grammar and language. His pupil Ibn al-'Aṭṭār records that he studied uṣūl with a group of scholars, of whom the most famous is al-Qādī Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Umar b. Bundār b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad at-Taflīsī ash-Shāfi'ī, who died in 672/1273. With him he studied the Muntakhab of ar-Rāzī and a portion of al-Ghazālī's al-Mustaṣfā.⁷ He also read other works with other scholars.⁸ He

1. Tadhkira, IV, 1443.

2. Ibid., IV, 1490.

3. Jawāhir, 120; he does not mention the date of his death.

4. Tarjuma, 11.

5. Jawāhir, 120.

6. Tadhkira,

7. Tuḥfa, 76; Subkī, VIII, 309; Tarjuma, 10; Suyūṭī, 4; Bidāya, XIII, 267; Tadhkira, IV, 1391; Muhādara, I, 416; Shadharāt, V, 337; 'Ibar, V, 298.

8. Tarjuma, 10.

to Shams b. Khallikān¹ up to the end of 669 A.H.² He also taught in the madrasas al-Falakiyya and ar-Rukniyya.

The Dār al-Ḥadīth Ashrafiyya was the most famous of all the madrasas as far as the science of Ḥadīth was concerned. The conditions for the appointment of a shaykh, as laid down in the waqf document, stated that preference should be given to an applicant who had riwāya (traditional knowledge) over one who had dirāya (speculative knowledge). If anybody combined both he should be considered more suitable for the post. The reputation and traditions of the Dār al-Ḥadīth attracted scholars of great repute, among whom are numbered Shaykh Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Ṣalāḥ, Shaykh Jamāl ad-Dīn ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī ad-Dimashqī, and Shaykh Shihāb ad-Dīn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl al-Maqdisī. In their footsteps came Imām an-Nawawī who served there until he died in 676 A.H. Not only did he refuse to accept any salary from the madrasa but he used to help the students there financially.³ He taught all the subjects with special emphasis on ḥadīth and fiqh. According to Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, the books entitled al-Jāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ by Bukhārī and Muslim were the main texts studied there.⁴

His education, of course, was only a preparation for his later role as a teacher. Ultimately, as would be proper within the context of Islamic scholarship, an-Nawawī would take his place in the unbroken chain of authority which stretches from the Prophet himself to the present Muslim community. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to

-
1. Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khallikān, a reliable historian, great literary figure, learned jurist, the author of Wafayāt al-A‘yān, died in 681/1262. Fawāt, I, 55; Nujūm, VII, 353; Bidāya, XIII, 301; Dāris, I, 191-93; Muḥādara, I, 555; Janān, IV, 193-97; Subkī, VIII, 33.
 2. Bidāya, XIII, 297.
 3. Tarjuma, 29.
 4. Tuhfa, 8b.

studied grammar with Shaykh Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Miṣrī (d. 663/1264), of whom adh-Dhahabī was to write, "He was an expert on Arabic language and its grammar and a scholar of deep understanding."¹ Under Shaykh Aḥmad he also studied Ibn Sikkīt's Iṣlāḥ al-Mantiq through the medium of private discussion (baḥth) and also the Tasrīf. An-Nawawī took lessons with him on the Kitāb of Sībawayh², and also read some of Ibn Mālik's³ work with him and wrote a partial gloss to it. He also read Ibn Jinnī's Luma' with al-Fakhr al-Mālikī.⁴

* * * * *

Although the teaching profession was considered honourable both materially as well as spiritually, an-Nawawī however seems to have been oblivious of its material benefits. To him it provided a spiritual satisfaction and a service to the Muslim community. His attitude towards knowledge can be judged by his comment:

You should be aware of the fact that the merits of seeking knowledge which we have mentioned earlier, are only for those who pursue it for the sake of Allāh, without having any worldly motivation. A person doing it for a worldly purpose — be it money, government office, honour, reputation, fame or some other such motive — is frustrated. 5

After finishing his studies he started teaching, residing his whole academic life in ar-Rawāḥiyya. We are not, however, certain whether or not he taught in this college. He worked as an assistant

-
1. Tarjuma, 10; A ṣūfī scholar who taught at an-Nāṣiriyya, Shadharāt, V, 314.
 2. Tuḥfa, 7b; Tarjuma, 10; Suyūṭī, 5.
 3. Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik, d. 672/1273, leader of the grammarians and a great expert in Arabic language. Subkī, VIII, 67; Bidāya, XIII, 267; Shadharāt, V, 399; Fawāt, II, 452, 453; Ibar, V, 300; Mir'āt al-Janān, IV, 172.
 4. Tuḥfa, 7b; Tarjuma, 10; Suyūṭī, 5.
 5. Introduction to Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab, 5.

examine his education without, at the same time, noting his contribution as a teacher. It was a popular practice among the 'ulamā' to have open study circles, into which any aspiring student was free to join. Often these scholarly activities were conducted at two separate levels, discussion groups at which the standard of scholarship was high, the discussion being for the benefit of students aspiring to an academic career. At a lower level discussion groups were open to the general public, the aim of the class being to provide the layman with contact with scholars so that he might be inspired to a deeper understanding of his religion, and thus benefit spiritually.

An-Nawawī, like all great Muslim scholars, had a very wide circle of students. His most devoted pupil, Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, reports that a great number of people attended his classes, among whom were numbered 'ulamā', ḥuffāz, lay leaders and ministers. Many of his graduates became accepted fuqahā', his knowledge and formal legal opinions being accepted throughout the entire Muslim world.¹ As it would be difficult to give an exhaustive list of his pupils, only a few of them are given below:

1. 'Allāma 'Alā' ad-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Dā'ūd ad-Dimashqī, better known as Ibn al-'Aṭṭār², d. 724/1323. He was closely attached to him and showed great enthusiasm in his classes. He acquired the title "an-Nawawī aṣ-Ṣaghīr" for his attachment to and emulation of his teacher. He was to comment thus on their relationship:

My shaykh was friendly with and sympathetic to me. Knowing my keenness, he never allowed anybody, except me, to wait on him. Being always kind, he looked after my interests, habits and behaviour, advising and guiding

1. Tuhfa, 9.

2. Bidāya, XIV, 117; Dāris, I, 68-71; Durar, III, 73-74; Shadharāt, VI, 63, 64; Janān, IV, 272; Subkī, X, 130.

me to that best purpose...I have studied most of his books with him and he has allowed me to check his works with him, some of which I did in his presence. He has so much confidence in me that he handed over to me the paper containing the names of those sources which he used for the compilation of Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab and asked me to complete it after him. Unfortunately I could not do it.¹

Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār remained close to his teacher until the latter's death.²

Some of the other names of his pupils given by his biographers are as follows:

1. Aṣ-Ṣadr ar-Ra'is al-Fāḍil Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ‘ab.³ He read a portion of al-Minhāj with him.

2. Ash-Shams Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. an-Naqīb⁴, d. 745/1344. He was the last of the eminent pupils of an-Nawawī.

3. Al-Badr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d Allāh b. Jamā‘a⁵, d. 733/1332.

4. Ash-Shihāb Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. ‘Uthmān b. Maḥzar al-Anṣārī ad-Dimashqī al-Maqdisī⁶, d. 748/1347.

5. Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abbās b. Jawān⁷, d. 699/1299.

6. Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ad-Ḍarīr al-Wāsiṭī, called al-Khallāl.⁸

7. An-Najm Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim al-Khabbāz⁹ ad-Dimashqī, d. 703/1307.

1. Tuhfa, 5b.

2. Ibid.

3. Tarjuma, 20.

4. Subkī, IX, 306, 307; Dāris, I, 37; Durar, IX, 19; Shadharāt, VI, 144; Isnawī, II, 512; Miftāḥ, II, 113, 114.

5. Subkī, IX, 139; Bidāya, XIV, 163; Durar, III, 367; Shadharāt, VI, 105; Isnawī, I, 386; Fawāt, II, 353; Janān, IV, 287; Nujūm, IX, 298.

6. Durar, IV, 36.

7. Subkī, VIII, 35; Shadharāt, V, 444; Ibar, V, 394.

8. Tarjuma, 20.

9. Durar, I, 362.

8. Shaykh Jibrīl al-Kurđī¹, who was famous for his asceticism, d. 703/1307.
9. Amīn ad-Dīn Sālim b. Abī d-Durr², d. 726/1325.
10. Al-Qāđī Jamāl ad-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Umar b. Sālim ad-Dar‘ī (az-Zur‘ī)³, d. 734/1333.
11. Al-Qāđī Ṣadr ad-Dīn Sulaymān b. Hilāl al-Ja‘farī, Khaṭīb Dārayyā⁴, d. 725/1324.
12. Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī.⁵
13. Al-‘Alā’ ‘Alī b. Ayyūb b. Mansūr al-Maqdisī⁶, d. 748/1347. He made a fine copy of al-Minhāj with the necessary corrections. His handwritten copy was available in the Madrasa Maḥmūdiyya during the time of as-Sakhāwī.⁷
14. Muḥyī ad-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Fāđil Jamāl ad-Dīn Ishāq b. Khalīl.⁸
15. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf as-Samḥūdī⁹, d. 750/1349. A man of letters who, having studied fiqh on his own, came to Damascus and studied with an-Nawawī.¹⁰
16. Al-Qāđī Diyā’ ad-Dīn ‘Alī b. Salīm al-Adhru‘ī¹¹, d. 731/1330.

1. Durar, I, 533.

2. Subkī, X, 39; Bidāya, XIV, 124; Dāris, I, 306; Durar, II, 127.

3. Subkī, X, 39; Shadharāt, VI, 107; Bidāya, XIV, 168; Durar, II, 255; Nujūm, IX, 304; Muḥādara, II, 171.

4. Subkī, X, 40; Bidāya, XIV, 120-21; Dāris, I, 465, 466; Durar, II, 260, 261; Shadharāt, VI, 67; Janān, IV, 274.

5. Durar, II, 342.

6. Ibid., III, 26.

7. Tarjuma, 21.

8. Ibid.

9. Subkī, X, 81; Muḥādara, I, 428; Durar, II, 459; Shadharāt, VI, 167; Isnawī, I, 177-79; Janān, IV, 334; Nujūm, X, 248.

10. Tarjuma, 21.

11. Durar, III, 46.

17. Shams ad-Dīn al-Bayṭār al-Mu‘abbir.¹

18. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Irbidī.²

19. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī³, d. 722/1322. An-Nawawī

commented on him to the effect that he was one of his later students.⁴

20. Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. az-Zakī ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Mizzī,⁵ d. 742/1341.

* * * * *

It is generally held that the spirit of piety and asceticism in Islam consists of refraining from things forbidden (ḥarām), avoiding the luxuries of the world and contentment with the bare necessities of life. Although we have no consensus as to what these luxuries consist of, opinion varying from person to person, there is, however, unanimity on the basic principles of avoidance and contentedness. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī, a famous pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa, having been requested to compile a work on asceticism answered that he had a book on the law of sale⁶, indicating that real asceticism lay in avoidance of the forbidden and from the unlawful acquisition of the property of others. In the biographies of the great Muslim scholars we can observe that in many cases scholarship and asceticism are considered complementary virtues. The common conscience of the Muslim community has throughout its history of invasions and foreign domination, tyranny and crises, tended to accept the authority of those scholars who have manifested piety and selflessness. While knowledge in itself is of great merit, when combined with piety and sincerity of purpose it is held to be far more valuable and fruitful. Any evaluation of a scholar's worth will, therefore, inevitably be influenced by the degree of piety attached to his own personage.

1. Tarjuma, 21.

2. Ibid.

3. Durar, II, 300.

4. Tarjuma, 21.

5. Subkī, X, 395; Bidāya, XIV, 191-92; Tadhkira, 1498, 1500; Dāris, I, 35; Durar, V, 233-37; Shadharāt, VI, 136; Isnawī, II, 464, 465;

Nujūm, X, 76-77.

6. Nawawī, 121.

An-Nawawī has been noted by his biographers for both his great scholarship and his piety, and his contemporaries and pupils, without exception, attested to these twin virtues. Quṭb al-Yūnīnī records that the factor which made him more prominent and endowed him with a superiority over his contemporaries, even those who possessed more juristic knowledge than him, was his asceticism, high degree of honesty and piety.¹ At-Taḥ as-Subkī reports his father as having said that nobody had entered the Ashrafiyya more knowledgeable and having a greater memory than al-Mizzī, and more pious than Ibn Ṣalāḥ and an-Nawawī.³ His associates observed him as organised and regular in his habits and behaviour, spending most of his time offering prayers, reading the Qur'ān, studying, teaching and writing, to the extent that he often abandoned sleep to fill his time more usefully and fasted all year long.³ Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḥ al-Ḥanbalī saw him one night in the corner of the Umawī Mosque deep in prayer and devotion, repeating the following Qur'ānic verse:

And stop them they shall be questioned [37.24]

وَقِفُّهُمْ إِنَّهُمْ مَسْئُولُونَ

as if he were lost to the world.⁴

His asceticism and piety are attested not only by his passion for worship and prayer, and his strict observances of Islamic injunctions but also by his simple living and abstention from the luxuries of life and self-imposed restrictions regarding eating, drinking and clothing. It is reported that his garment was fashioned from rough cloth, his clothes were worn and his turban of the simplest style.⁵ His mother provided him with his shirts and other clothes⁶ and it seems that he preferred those to others obtainable in the marketplace, the lawfulness of which he would not have been able to vouch for with a sincerity of faith.⁷ In his eating habits, too, he was profoundly abstemious, contenting himself with the very minimum necessary,

1. Tarjuma, 29; Dhayl Mir'āt, III, 283.

2. Dāris, IV, 36.

3. Tuhfa, 2; Mir'āt, IV, 183; Bidāya, XIII, 279.

4. Tuhfa, 9b; Suyūṭī, 7b.

5. Tadhkira, IV, 1471.

6. Ibid.; Tarjuma, 39; Suyūṭī, 8.

7. Miftāḥ, I, 398.

which he ate but once a day. Likewise he drank once daily, shortly before dawn.¹ As with his clothing, he obtained food from his village, his father sending him a monthly consignment of provisions. This is supported by ash-Shams b. Fakhr, who noted that he used to abstain from delicious foods, contenting himself with dry cake and figs from Ḥawrān, sent by his father. He refused the local fruit and would not accept water which had been purposely cooled.²

While drawing his reader's attention to an-Nawawī's piety, as-Sakhāwī places the emphasis not on the rigid legalistic attitude of our author, but chooses to interpret his behaviour as that of a man totally divorced from the cares of a transient world. He reports a conversation which took place between an-Nawawī and al-Mu'allim al-Ḥanafī³, in which the latter reproached an-Nawawī for his poor standard of living and his restrictive attitude towards the God-given benefits of this world, telling him that he would fall ill and people would thus be deprived of his knowledge and guidance which was indeed more beneficial than inward contemplation. An-Nawawī replied that some had observed fasting and worship to such a degree that their bones were dried up. Hearing this the 'Allāma was convinced that the pious scholar wished to have nothing to do with this world and cared not for its attractions.⁴

While such abstemiousness may be regarded by some as the unwarranted suspicion of a man over-zealous in drawing too rigid a line between what was ḥarām and ḥalāl, it must be accepted that an-Nawawī represents an attitude prevalent among many ascetics. For him the true path lay in

1. Subkī, VIII, 397; Tuhfa, 10; Suyūṭī,

2. Tuhfa, 10; Tarjuma, 38-39; Suyūṭī, 7b.

3. 'Allāma Rashīd ad-Dīn Ismā'il, Shaykh of the Ḥanafites in his time, died in 714 A.H.

4. Tuhfa, 10; Tarjuma, 39; Suyūṭī,

the acceptance of only that which is permitted, the lawfulness of which, furthermore, must be certain beyond any shadow of doubt. His reliance on food and clothing from the village of his birth was motivated by his desire to establish in his own mind that they were completely lawful (ḥalāl). While merchants may have obtained stocks of doubtful provenance he could rely on clothing provided by his mother. The rulers had recently redistributed some of the orchards and thus cast doubts on the legality of the ownership and lawfulness of their fruit. Hence our author preferred to consume only that for which he could account to God.¹

Another aspect of his ascetic life is the fact that not only did he refuse any material gift, even hospitality to share in a meal, but would not even accept a salary for teaching.² Adh-Dhahabī tells us that he spent the money allocated for his teaching salary on books which he then presented to the Madrasa al-Ashrafiyya.³ Ibn Duqmāq⁴ adds that he used to leave his entire salary with the controller of the Dār al-Ḥadīth and at the end of the year bought some property or books which he donated to that institution of learning.⁵ It would seem that at first he accepted money but later refused all financial recompense for teaching, and managed to live on what his father sent to him from the village.⁶

The accounts of his asceticism meet with apparent contradiction in his own writings. It seems that he believed in the permissibility

1. This attitude is reflected in the choice of ḥadīth 6, 30, and 31 in his Arba'in (165, 358, 362).

2. Tarjuma, 39.

3. Shadharāt, VIII, 397; Suyūṭī, 8.

4. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aydamir, an Egyptian historian, died in 809/1406.

5. Tarjuma, 37.

6. Suyūṭī, 46.

of allowing himself delicious foods and did not consider it inappropriate to the ascetic. Commenting on a ḥadīth in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim: "The Prophet liked sweetmeats and honey", he noted that this ḥadīth permitted the enjoyment of delicious foods and of the best that life could offer, denying that it violated the spirit of asceticism and submission.¹ This apparent contradiction of belief and practice can be resolved in a statement of the author reported by Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, who wondered why he would not taste the fruits from the orchards of Damascus.² Asking our author about this matter, he received the following reply: "Most of the lands are either religious endowments or the properties of those who are under guardianship. It needs a careful administration to meet the requirements of the sharī‘a and implement them satisfactorily, but the people show little regard for this. I myself do not feel satisfied with the situation, thus I avoid it."³ This would indicate that the Shaykh's asceticism was not a kind of perverse self-denial but rather was based on a strict interpretation of the rules of permissibility, whereby he chose to eschew all except what was ḥalāl beyond a shadow of doubt. A teacher by vocation, a lawyer by profession and an ascetic in temperament, an-Nawawī held as axiomatic that there was no distinction to be drawn between the theory and the practice of the Holy Law.

* * * * *

-
1. Sharḥ Muslim, X, 77.
 2. Bidāya, XIII, 279; Tadhkira, IV, 250; Shadharāt, V, 255; Tarjuma, 38.
 3. Tuhfa, 4; Suyūṭī, 8; Tarjuma, 36.

* * * * *

Our author's high regard for the shari'a inevitably brought him into conflict with both the religious and secular authorities. Although in his personal life something of an ascetic, he renounced the luxuries of the world without abdicating from his duty as a Muslim to advise a proper course of action in accordance with the Holy Law. His readiness to challenge others, enjoining them to good actions and forbidding evils should not be viewed as the action of a person self-assured in his own righteousness and thus concerned with the conduct of others, but rather as a further manifestation of a lawyer's zealous concern for the rigid and strict observance of the Law.

It is accepted that one of the most salient precepts of the shari'a is that Muslims are required to enjoin others to good, and to forbid evil. It is not enough to avoid sin, the Muslim must also advise others to do so. This is based on numerous Qur'anic verses and a

hadith.¹ The Islamic political experience has tended to prefer the strong ruler and the stable state even if the individual is required to renounce some privileges. However, the power of the ruler is held in check by the sharī'a, which he ought to observe, and, indeed, protect. Any transgression in this respect should be criticised by the community, of whom the 'ulamā', by virtue of their training, are best placed to voice the indignation of the people at the violation of the Holy Law. As conscientious as an-Nawawī was in the avoidance of that which he held to be ḥarām, so too was he strict in the observance of this precept. Perhaps no scholar of the seventh century was to be so outspoken in criticising the laxity of contemporary morality.

Two incidents in particular will suffice to illustrate his deep commitment to the cause of justice. In his time the Muslim community in Syria had undergone a series of long and destructive wars. It was al-Malik az-Zāhir² who drove away the Mongols and brought peace and stability to the area. The populace was grateful and had begun to enjoy the fruits of peace after the bitter harvests of war. An-Nawawī observed that under the reign of peace and stability provided by the

-
1. There are Qur'ānic verses and ḥadīth which declare that enjoining of good and forbidding of evil is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. One of these verses states: "You are the best nation raised up for men; You enjoin good and forbid evil and You believe in Allāh" (3.109), and this theme is repeated in other places in the Qur'ān. It has been discussed as one of the qualities of a good Muslim and one of the foremost duties of an Islamic state to perform this function (3.113; 9.112; 22.14). According to Qur'ānic injunctions, society will be held responsible to Allāh if it neglects this duty. It is the verse 3.103 which provides a basis for jurists to hold this function as a common duty — fard al-kifāya. The theme has been explained and elaborated by the Prophet. He urged his followers to make sincere efforts in this respect, and to be knowledgeable of the consequences of failure therein.
 2. Rukn ad-Dīn, Abū l-Futūḥ Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, ruler of Egypt and Syria, died in 676/1277.

great hero certain gross irregularities were being committed. He identified these malpractices and raised his voice against official policy.

On one particular legal issue he entered into an open debate with one of the greater scholars of the seventh century, the mufti of Syria, Tāj al-Fazārī, better known as Ibn al-Firkāh. Ibn al-Firkāh had been his first teacher, for whom he held great respect, but despite this he criticised him vehemently for the issue was a matter of religion. The argument centered around the sultān's distribution of the booty without takhmīs.¹ According to Muslim legal theory everything taken in war is the property of the state and nobody may appropriate it without permission. The state must set aside one-fifth of whatever is acquired in war to be spent as prescribed by the Qur'ān and sunna. The ruler of that time had disregarded this principle and distributed some of the booty without separating the fifth as required by the shari'a. Ibn al-Firkāh wrote a treatise on the question of slave girls, permitting their distribution without the formality of takhmīs. As this occurred during the time of the conquests of al-Malik az-Zāhir, a period marked by general prosperity in the area, the action was popular, and an-Nawawī was dismayed that it would be given canonical justification. He saw it as being against Islamic principles and reacted to it sharply. He wrote a review on the fatwā, refuting each and every point with cogent arguments. In doing so, he did not refrain from criticising his respected teacher, the general public, and even al-Malik az-Zāhir. Although people did not accept his opinion, for it was against their interests, yet, for all this, his own minority opinion

1. A legal term signifying the separation of one-fifth of booty to be retained by the state.

was to withstand the test of time and was to prevail. Later scholars who examined this controversy accepted an-Nawawī's point of view, being of the opinion that he possessed a more profound knowledge of the Shāfi'ite rite and had a firmer grasp of the Islamic sciences than his teacher.¹

It was his outspokenness which ultimately took him to the court of al-Malik az-Zāhir. According to adh-Dhahabī his confrontation with az-Zāhir on the question of the Ghūṭa was very famous.² Qaṭb al-Yūnīnī relates that an-Nawawī was brought before az-Zāhir because of this issue.³ The point of conflict centred around the issue of its ownership which had been claimed by the sultan who had driven out the Mongols from that oasis and thereupon acquired the lands, claiming sole authority for their distribution, on the grounds that it was he who had conquered them. He wanted to redistribute these lands, abrogating the earlier titles to them, but hesitated to take the decision on his own. He tried to persuade the religious leaders to support him, seeking a fatwā from the 'ulamā' of whom many were to agree either due to fear or greed, while only a few stood firm in opposition, and according to as-Sakhāwī, our author was among their leaders. The sultan summoned them to his court and asked their opinion, and those who opposed him were either killed or imprisoned, or at least deprived of financial or social benefits. An-Nawawī led this opposition party, and thus engendered the sultan's displeasure. He did, however, avoid punishment for the sultan was at a loss to find some material benefit which he could deprive him of. The shaykh did

1. Tarjuma, 8; Shuhba, 100.

2. Name of the fertile oasis on the south side of Damascus.

3. Tarjuma, 35; Dhayl Mir'āt, 111, 283.

not receive any financial help from the government or from any amīrs, nor did he possess any property. It is said by his biographers that the sultan could not order his killing or imprisonment, because he was frightened by the latter's miraculous personality, the sultan later admitting that he was afraid of him.¹ He asked our author to leave the city, which he did accordingly. This was not the end of the matter, for the shaykh continued writing to the sultan advising him to follow the right course while he was ruling the country.

* * * * *

An-Nawawī, like other Muslim learned men, was well-versed in all aspects of scholarship, but it was in ḥadīth, fiqh, philology, linguistics and theology that he made a special contribution. A cursory glance over the list of his work suffices to show his vast knowledge of the various branches of Islamic learning. An attempt has been made, in the following pages, to present, in summary form, his contribution in the field of Islamic studies and to evaluate his skill in handling issues pertaining to ḥadīth and fiqh.

It is the accepted view of the Muslim community that ḥadīth is one of the two basic sources of Islamic belief and practice. It is ḥadīth which along with the Qur'ān provide the complete guidance for Muslims. This process was started by the Companions of the Prophet and reached its peak during the time of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The work started as simple compilation, and finally emerged as a voluminous collection of widely-accepted books. These were written on the basis of selection made from a huge number of traditions and critical examination. The basic work on ḥadīth was completed in the first three centuries. Abū

1. Tarjuma, 44.

Ḥanīfa's Kitāb al-Āthār, Mālik's Muwaṭṭa' and later Bukhārī's al-Jāmi' as-Sahīḥ mark the beginning of a new trend in ḥadīth literature, the classification and categorisation of aḥādīth. Following this pattern the traditionists compiled their own books and enriched ḥadīth literature. Fourth-century scholars perfected the method of selection and completed the process of compilation and classification and even laid down the fundamental principles of the science of criticism. The activity led to the development of a body of sciences of ḥadīth which included the discussion about various aspects of the texts of a ḥadīth, its grammatical and linguistic problems, the chains of transmission and other matters relating to it.

Although it was difficult for later scholars to make a truly original contribution to the sciences of ḥadīth, yet they found means of making their mark, in the field of correction, emendation and explanation, and this was no less important than the basic work of compilation and classification. If the scholars like an-Nawawī had not explained and discussed the various aspects of ḥadīth, it would have been very difficult for the Muslim community to interpret correctly the Qur'ān and ḥadīth. Although he prepared his own selections of ḥadīth, his main contribution lies in the field of explanation and the utilization of ḥadīth for legal and ethical purposes.

Studying all the basic sources in ḥadīth he acquired the position of a mujtahid in the field. His deep understanding of ḥadīth can be judged by his statement regarding the sciences of ḥadīth. He said,

The most important of all the categories of sciences is the understanding of the traditions of the Prophet. I mean the knowledge of the text, its soundness, fairness and weakness, its unbroken chain, its broken one, what is suspended, changed, famous, isolated, accepted, commonly transmitted, single, acknowledged, shādhah [anomalous],

doubtful, inserted, abrogating and abrogated, specific and general, ambiguous, clear, inconsistent, and other well known categories. 1

It is essential, in his opinion, for a mujtahid to have the knowledge of chains of transmission, that is to say

the knowledge of the narrators, their qualities of reliability, rendering their names, genealogy and their dates of birth and death, accurately. The knowledge of how defects may be concealed and those persons who conceal them, reliable and corroborating chains. [turuq al-i'tibār wa l-mutābi'āt], the nature of inconsistencies of the narrators in the chains and texts, continuity of the chain and its break at the level of the companions, successors or those at a level following the successors, and additions made by the authorities. The knowledge of the Companions of the Prophet, their successors, successors of the successors and the generations coming after them. 2

These are the categories of the science of ḥadīth which should be completely understood and mastered by a perfect muhaddith. No great scholar of ḥadīth could establish himself without proving his competence in this field. An-Nawawī had a perfect knowledge of all branches of sciences of ḥadīth. This can be judged by his accepted position among the scholars of his time and through his works on the subject. The works al-Irshād, at-Taqrīb and the introduction to Sharḥ Muslim, are an evident proof of his scholarship in the field.

The process of collection, compilation, classification and critical examination of the chains and texts had a great impact on the intellectual approach of the students of ḥadīth. Most of the traditionists endeavoured to master the above mentioned aspects of ḥadīth. Their whole efforts were concentrated on achieving the closest link with the Prophet through

-
1. Sharḥ Muslim, introduction, 3.
 2. Ibid., 4.

a "high chain" (al-isnād al-‘ālī). Thus, they had, unconsciously, departed from the juristic aspect of the ḥadīth. Ibn Ḥanbal, an accepted authority of ḥadīth, once said, "If it were not for ash-Shāfi‘ī we would not know the jurisprudence of ḥadīth." It had been rare among the scholars to combine ḥadīth and jurisprudence, an-Nawawī being a notable exception. He took special training from the accepted authorities on the subject, one of those being his teacher, Shaykh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Īsā al-Murādī al-Andalusī, with whom he studied the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim, most of Bukhārī's al-Jāmi‘ as-Ṣaḥīḥ and a portion of al-Ḥumaydī's al-Jam‘ bayna ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn.

Scholars of great repute praised him as a muhaddith and paid tribute to his scholarship in the field. Discussing the traditionists of his period adh-Dhahabī stated that an-Nawawī was the leader of this group. He combined the qualities of an ascetic with the qualities of a ḥāfiẓ of ḥadīth and its sciences. He knew the qualities of their narrators and was fully aware of their soundness and defectiveness.¹ His pupil and biographer Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār claims that he was the ḥāfiẓ of the traditions, who was most conversant with all their categories, their soundness and defectiveness, the uncommon words, correct meaning, legal deductions and implications.²

His contribution to ḥadīth literature can be judged through his works which are as follows:

1. al-Irshād fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth
2. at-Taqrīb wa t-Taysīr fī Ma‘rifat as-Sunan al-Bashīr wa n-Nadhīr
3. Riyād as-Ṣāliḥīn min Ḥadīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn
4. al-Adhkār al-Muntakhaba min Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār

1. Tadhkira, IV, 1472.

2. Tuḥfa, 9b.

5. al-Arba'īn
6. al-Khulāṣa fī Aḥādīth al-Aḥkām
7. al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj
8. Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī
9. Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dā'ūd
10. al-Imlā' 'alā Ḥadīth al-A'māl bi-n-Niyyāt

Ibn Ṣalāḥ's¹ book 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth² is accepted by students of ḥadīth as the third of three basic works on the subject, Rāmḥurmuzī's³ al-Muḥaddith al-Fāsil⁴ and Ḥākim's⁵ Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth⁶ being the first and second. An-Nawawī can be considered the successor to Ibn Ṣalāḥ and followed him in his teaching methodology. During his teaching period he developed his own technique of dealing with all subjects. 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth was one of his favourite classes, and he prepared an abridgement of Ibn Ṣalāḥ's 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth entitled al-Irshād, and further summarised it and wrote at-Taqrīb. These two books were later incorporated into the syllabus of the madrasa and at-Taqrīb is still read today. Al-Irshād has attracted at least three commentaries.⁷ Since the Taqrīb was more concise and better arranged it became more popular among academic circles, scholars of ḥadīth

-
1. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Mūsā b. Abī Naṣr al-Kurdī ash-Shahrazūrī (577-643). Bidāya, XIII, 168; Tadhkira, IV, 1430; Subkī, VIII, 326; Shadharāt, V, 221; Ibar, V, 177; Wafayāt, II, 408.
 2. Published in various eds. Edition used is that of Aleppo, 1386/1966.
 3. Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khallād ar-Rāmḥurmuzī (d. 360/970), a muḥaddith, and great scholar of his time. Yatīma, II, 233; Tadhkira, III, 113; Lubāb, I, 354; Shadharāt, III, 30; Ibar, III, 321.
 4. Published in Beirut, 1971.
 5. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh b. Nu'aym an-Nīsābūrī. Bidāya, XI, 355; Tārīkh Baghdād, V, 473; Tadhkira, III, 227; Mīzān, III, 608; Wafayāt, III, 408; Lisān, V, 232; Nujūm, IV, 238.
 6. Published in various eds. Edition used is that of Beirut, n.d.
 7. Kashf, I, 70.

accepting it as one of the basic books on the science of ḥadīth.

Ḥāfiẓ 'Irāqī¹, 'Allāma Suyūṭī² and Shaykh as-Sakhāwī³ have all written commentaries on it.⁴

As the basic works on ḥadīth had already been completed much earlier, it only remained for later scholars either to make further selections, or to promote the work of commentary and explanation. An-Nawawī contributed to the ḥadīth literature in both ways. In conformity with his temperament and inclination to asceticism, he showed himself to be interested in the ethical and moral aspects of the individual and society, and compiled two books which deal with the spiritual purification and day-to-day practices of religious life. These two works, the Riyād as-Ṣāliḥīn and al-Adhkār⁵, achieved the recognition of the Muslim community, and no other book on these subjects can claim such a great popularity among both scholars and students.

An-Nawawī explains the nature and purpose of these books in their introductions. In the mucaddima of Riyād as-Ṣāliḥīn, he wrote:

I thought that I should compile a small book consisting of sound traditions which lead the reader, by the best way, to the hereafter, and help him to attain external and internal refinement. It should also awaken in him desire and evoke fear, and it should comprehend all categories of ḥadīth concerning the manners of the followers, such as the traditions relating to asceticism,

-
1. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū l-Faḍl, known as al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Irāqī (725-806/1325-1404), a leading scholar of ḥadīth in his time. Daw', IV, 171; Ghāya, I, 382; Muḥādara, I, 204.
 2. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sābiq ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505), imām, ḥāfiẓ, and prolific writer. Shadharāt, VIII, 51; Daw', IV, 65; Muḥādara, I, 188.
 3. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Shams ad-Dīn as-Sakhāwī (831-902/1427-1497), muḥaddith, historian and a great literary figure of his time. Daw', VIII, 2; Kawākib, II, 53; Shadharāt, VIII, 15; Khiṭaṭ, XII, 15; GAL, II, 43 (34), S, II, 31.
 4. All of them have been published.
 5. Both published in various editions.

spiritual exercises, moral refinement and purification of the hearts. It should also contain remedy for their defects, the protection of the inner self from it, the maintenance of cure, and the prevention of deviation from them, besides other matters which are also part of the aims of the spiritual person. I made it a rule not to include any tradition in the book except when its soundness was conspicuously evident, having its origin in the sound and popular hadīth books. I begin every chapter with a verse from the Qur'ān. I provide vocalisation, where it is required, and explain the hidden meaning, adding valuable remarks about the tradition. 1

Writing about the need and importance of his book, al-Adhkār, he wrote:

The 'ulamā' have written many books about daily religious practices, prayers and remembrance, all are well known to the spiritual. The students have lost their zeal for them, because they were lengthy due to chains of narrations and repetition. I intended to make things easy for the desirous students, so I began to compile this short book to fulfil these aims for the people concerned, Instead of mentioning isnād, I shall explain the soundness of the traditions, their fairness, weakness and the nature of those that are ignored, which is more important, because everyone, except for a very few traditionists, needs more information about that. It was most important to take great care in this matter...I shall, by the Grace of God, add valuable information about the science of hadīth, the niceties of fiqh, important principles, spiritual exercises and good manners which are essential for the followers to know about. I shall mention all these matters explaining it by a tradition easily understood both by the common people and the students of fiqh. 2

These books always remained popular among the Muslims. An eleventh century A.H. Shāfi'ite scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Allān aṣ-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1050/1640) wrote detailed commentaries on these books.³ Ḥājji Khalīfa has mentioned names of other scholars, including as-Suyūṭī, who prepared a summary of and commentaries on the Adhkār, both of which have been translated into Persian⁴ and Urdu.

1. Riyād aṣ-Ṣālihīn, 2.

2. Adhkār, 4.

3. Kutubkhāna, II, 140, 241; Athar, IV, 184; Dhayl, I, 578; GAL, S, II, 533.

4. Kashf, I, 689.

al-Arba'in

This small book, the subject of this study, is a collection of forty-two traditions.¹ Following in the steps of earlier scholars, he collected traditions relating to almost all spheres of Islamic life. The comprehensive nature of his selection gave this work a popularity and currency among the Muslim community which has been achieved by no other book of this kind. It always remained part of the syllabus in the Muslim educational system, and has attracted numerous commentaries, many by the great scholars, among whom can be numbered al-Hāfiẓ Ibn Rajab, Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaythamī, 'Allāma Taftazānī, Maulānā Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn al-Lārī, the text of whose commentary is edited as part of this study, Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd and Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī.² The famous sūfī poet Jāmī translated it into Persian verse, and it was also translated into Turkish and was commented on in that language also³, which attests to its popularity in the Ottoman Empire.

His Commentaries

Although the above mentioned works show his command of the subject and skill in arranging the material, his real scholarship, vast knowledge and deep insight is manifested in his commentaries on the books of ḥadīth. As we have seen the Riyād aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn and al-Adhkār are not mere collections or selections of ḥadīth, but also contain useful marginal notes. He did not confine himself to writing marginal notes however, but wrote detailed commentaries on the books of ḥadīth.

-
1. For a more detailed description of this work, see below, p. 96
 2. Kashf, I, 59. Sakhāwī has given some of the names of those who wrote commentaries on it, p. 28.
 3. Kirk Hadis, 12-17.

Although he started writing commentaries on al-Bukhārī's al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ¹ and the Sunan of Abū Dā'ūd², he could not complete them. Writing about the Sharḥ Bukhārī, in the introduction of the Sharḥ Muslim, he says, "As far as the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī is concerned I have written quite a bit of its commentary consisting of the niceties of the different categories of sciences in a compact style."

al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (Sharḥ Muslim)

This is his only complete commentary on ḥadīth. Despite its brevity, students of ḥadīth have no better commentary on Muslim than an-Nawawī's Sharḥ. It does not leave any apparent question or ambiguity unsolved. It has appeal for all readers, whether learned 'ulamā' or aspiring students. In it one may find concise and succinct discussion of isnād, linguistic matters, obscure names, difficult meanings and legal deductions from ḥadīth, in which he summarises the arguments both of those who depend upon the most apparent sense of the text and of those who reject this method. In short it contains a wealth of information. The author gives the assessment of his work and explains it in the following words:

As far as the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim is concerned I pray to God for proper guidance regarding compilation of a commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim. This is to be a book of medium size as compared to the short and the elaborate commentaries. It is neither frustratingly short nor excessive in its length. Had it not been for the lack of determination and zeal of the students and their fewness, and the fear of the book's unpopularity on account of the fact that a very few students like lengthy books, I would have elaborated it in such a way that it would reach more than a hundred volumes without any repetition and useless additions. The reason for this could be the abundance of useful points and apparent and hidden meanings. The book deserves this treatment because it contains the

-
1. Sakhāwī,
 2. Şehid Ali Paşa 200, Süleymaniye.

words of a person who was the most eloquent of the whole of mankind. I restricted myself to a medium size and endeavoured to leave aside the details and preferred brevity in most of the cases. I shall, by the grace of God, mention the luminous sciences of ḥadīth like the rules regarding the fundamentals, branches and manners, symbolic expressions and asceticism. I shall explain the valuable principles of sharī'a, give the linguistic points, the names of the narrators, the vocalisation of different words and the descriptions of names which have kunyas. I shall point out the brilliant state of some narrators who were mentioned sometimes, derivation of the priceless secrets of the science of ḥadīth, the texts, the asānīd, and the vocalisation of synonyms and antonyms and reconciliation of the apparently contradictory traditions -- those who do not understand the principle and the system of ḥadīth and fiqh assume that they are contradictory. I will indicate, while describing a ḥadīth, the practical problems. I shall give hints about the arguments, except when more details are required. While committing all these matters to paper I shall try to be concise with an explicit style...I shall give in the beginning of the book, some introductory remarks which will be very useful for scholars and organise this well in the following chapters so that it will help them in their study and avoid any inconvenience. 1

This book is considered to be one of the classic works of Islamic scholarship. Had our author left us no books save the Sharḥ Muslim he would by virtue of this work alone, take his rightful place among the leading scholars of the Muslim community.

* * * * *

Fiqh, the Islamic science of law, encompasses the study of all aspects of religious, political and civil life. The science had, in the course of its evolvment, developed into various distinct rites, amongst which a certain amount of rivalry grew up so that the efforts of their exponents were not only directed towards the development of the subject itself but also to establishing arguments to justify a particular point of view peculiar to their own rite. This atmosphere

1. Sharḥ Muslim, I, 5-6.

was conducive to a rigorous and disciplined approach to the subject which has given it a position of importance within the Islamic sciences. As fiqh is not a theoretical science, but rather a body of legal decisions affecting the daily life of the Muslim community, it is essential that its practitioner, the faqīh, should be aware of the social conditions prevalent in his own period. As society is in a continuous state of change, fiqh must meet the requirement and demand of a new situation and provide means for their assessment.

Syria, an-Nawawī's own country, had experienced political and social crises, and within his life time was to witness the transfer of power from the Ayyūbids to the Mamlūks. The Ayyūbids patronised the Shāfi'ite rite and provided all facilities for the promotion of the Shāfi'ite cause. The efforts of scholars such as an-Nawawī helped to promote the adherence to Shāfi'ite fiqh, and made this rite more popular.

As a scholar of fiqh, an-Nawawī is held in great esteem by all his biographers, without exception. He is, therefore, as one would expect of such a highly-esteemed exponent of this science, credited with great erudition. In particular it was noted that he had studied fiqh with the great Shāfi'ite fuqahā' of his time¹ and had memorised the principal works and attained complete mastery of the subject by familiarising himself with its principles and bases, acquiring a deep understanding of their intricacies and subtleties.² In particular, he distinguished himself by a grasp of the basic arguments of the various schools and their application.³ His dedicated efforts in the field of Islamic law and jurisprudence elevated him, in the eyes of

1. Tuḥfa, 4b; Tarjuma, 10.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 9b.

the people, to the level of his great teachers and he was to be accepted as the most knowledgeable of all contemporary scholars. He acquired a prominent position in this field of study and was considered by many to be the greatest protector of the rite and the most conversant with the opinions of the most knowledgeable in questions of difference and divergence, and he acquired the credit for having liberated the rite from mediocre scholarship. His books seemed to have enjoyed a wide readership among the 'ulamā' who commented favourably on their usefulness.¹

Although he was committed to the Shāfi'ite school, he seems however to have been free from prejudice. In spite of his vast knowledge and his ability to provide strong arguments for his own position he assiduously avoided argumentative discussions. Whenever compelled to debate, he used moderate language and refrained from the personal invective common to this type of discussion. He held that the purpose of debate was to present one's point of view in moderate language and in a dignified manner.² For him fiqh was not the narrow approach to a particular interpretation, but rather a liberal attitude towards all interpretations and legal opinions. He was reluctant, however, to accept the interpretation of a jurist unless he could find support for it in the traditions of the Prophet.

His views sometimes contrasted with those of ar-Rāfi'ī, the great Shāfi'ite scholar whose works had dominated the study of this rite before an-Nawawī's time. The effect of these two scholars was so

1. Isnawī, II, 476; Bidāya, XIII, 278; Tuhfa, 9b; Tarjuma, 61-62.
 2. As-Sakhāwī has stated this on the authority of adh-Dhahabī, Tarjuma, 36.

great that Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid¹, a famous scholar of the eighth century A.H., was to complain that the people commonly termed themselves Rāfi'iyya² instead of Shāfi'iyya and an-Nawawīyya rather than an-Nabawīyya. Points of divergence between these two fuqahā' provided fertile ground for discussions among the Shāfi'ite scholars, some preferring the opinion of ar-Rāfi'i, because he was closer to the rite, many other Shāfi'ite fuqahā' giving greater weight to an-Nawawī's views, as he had based his opinion on sound tradition and was more learned in ḥadīth. A famous Shāfi'ite historian, al-Yāfi'i, while discussing this controversy writes:

In my opinion, an-Nawawī's view will be preferred whenever he draws support from a reliable ḥadīth for argument, because ash-Shāfi'i said, "If a sound ḥadīth is found, take it as my opinion." If, on the other hand, he does not base his view on ḥadīth and the arguments are equal on both sides, an-Nawawī's opinion will be preferred, because he is blessed and supported by Allāh's will, so he will be right; but when the arguments differ, the preference will be given to the one whose arguments are stronger. 3

As most of the basic works had been completed before the time of an-Nawawī, it was left to later scholars to write abridgements, commentaries and establish preference by providing sound arguments. An-Nawawī made a fundamental and substantial contribution to the studies of fiqh. His works are considered authentic sources of Shāfi'ite legal thought and are always cited as references for decisions. His contribution to this field can be judged from his works given below.

-
1. Known as Kamāl ad-Dīn Ibn az-Zamlakānī (667-727/1297-1326); Bidāya, XIV, 131; Dāris, I, 31-33; Durar, IV, 192; Nujūm, IX, 270; Wāfi, IV, 214, 221; Subkī, IX, 19.
 2. Attributed to the famous scholar Imām ar-Rāfi'i.
 3. Janān, IV, 185.

(1) Ar-Rawḍa

Ar-Rawḍa is one of the accepted sources of Shāfi'ite rite, being an abridgement of ar-Rāfi'ī's popular book ash-Sharḥ al-Kabīr, which had a wide acceptance among the 'ulamā' and the students of fiqh due to its practical utility. Al-Adhra'ī's¹ remarks about the book reflect the views of the academic and religious circles of the time. He writes,

Ar-Rawḍa is the main source of guidance for the followers of ash-Shāfi'ī in this region. Its reputation has reached to the farthest corners of the Muslim world, being an object of reliance and refuge. From it the clear-minded scholar will take information and on it the ruler will rely for his orders and the muftī for his decisions. And this, all due to the author's sincerity of purpose and good intentions. 2

The book remained the focus of attention of the scholars and students for many centuries. Realising its usefulness, the 'ulamā' of repute showed their enthusiasm by writing commentaries on and preparing abridgements of it. Some wrote critical evaluations of the work while others defended the author against these criticisms. As-Sakhāwī³ has given the list of all those who wrote about the book, of whom a few are given below, attesting the popularity of the work. The following are the names of those who prepared abridgements:

1. Al-Quṭb Muḥammad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad as-Sunbātī⁴, d. 772/1322.

-
1. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Aḥmad, Abū l-'Abbās Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Adhra'ī, d. 783/1381, the most erudite scholar of the Shāfi'ite fiqh of his time; Durar, I, 125; Hadiyya, I, 115; Badr, I, 35; A'lām an-Nubalā', V, 86.
 2. Tarjuma, 23.
 3. Ibid., 22-23; see also Kashf, I, 930.
 4. As-Sunbātī was a Shāfi'ite jurist, in whose works Egyptian 'ulamā' and students took great interest; Durar, IV, 134; Shadharāt, VI, 57; Isnawī, II, 72; Bidāya, XIV, 104; Subkī, IX, 164.

2. An-Najm 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Aṣḥūnī¹, d. 750/1349.
3. Al-Jamāl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ash-Sharīshī², d. 779/1377.
4. Faṭḥ ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Bustānī³.
5. Sharaf Ibn al-Muqri'⁴ and ash-Shihāb b. Arsalān al-Maqdisī⁵

also prepared summaries.⁶

As one would expect, an important work of this nature attracted many commentaries, of which the following are the most famous.

Shaykh Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Bulqīnī⁷ and his father al-Qāḍī Jalāl ad-Dīn wrote short commentaries on it. There are some scholars who wrote complete commentaries or partial commentaries such as Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī; some 'ulamā'', such as al-Isnawī, al-Adhra'ī and az-Zarkashī⁸, composed commentaries on it including its basic text, ash-Sharḥ al-Kabīr. From the later commentators we have the jurist of Tripoli, ash-Shams Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Zahra.⁹

-
1. Ibn Ḥajar while writing a biographical note remarked that Aṣḥūnī had prepared an abridgement and it was a valuable and excellent summary. He was an established scholar of fiqh and also knew the science of readings. Durar, II, 459; Shadharāt, VI, 167; Isnawī, I, 177; Janān, IV, 334; Subkī, X, 81.
 2. A renowned Shāfi'ite jurist, he was the governor of Damascus for one day. Durar, III, 351; Dāris, I, 117; Shadharāt, VI, 263.
 3. As-Sakhāwī says he is one of the most prominent Shāfi'ite fuqahā' of his time. He wrote a commentary on al-Ḥāwī and prepared a compendium of ar-Rawḍa; Badr, II, 225.
 4. Sharaf ad-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muqri', d. 836/1432; Kashf, I, 930.
 5. Shihāb ad-Dīn b. Arsalān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn ar-Ramlī, d. 844/1440; Kashf, I, 930.
 6. A longer list of summaries can be found in as-Sakhāwī, Tarjuma, 22-23; see also Kashf, I, 930.
 7. 'Umar b. Raslān b. Nāṣir b. Ṣāliḥ ash-Shāfi'ī, an Egyptian scholar, jurist and traditionist, died in 805/1402; Daw', VI, 85; Shadharāt, VII, 51; GAL, II, 114 (93); Kashf, I, 930.
 8. Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. 'Abd Allāh, a famous scholar of Shāfi'ite law and jurisprudence, died in 794/1391. Durar, III, 397; Shadharāt, VI, 335; GAL, S, II, 108.
 9. According to as-Sakhāwī, he is Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Daghra b. Zahra. He was a leader of the Shāfi'ite scholars in his city, and died in 848/1444. Badr, II, 276; Daw', X, 70; Tibr, 113.

This work has been evaluated critically both by scholars who found weaknesses, and by others who have defended the author on various points. Among the critics of ar-Rawḍa, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Abī l-Ḥazm¹ b. al-Katnānī² was highly critical of the book in his short commentary on it. Taqī as-Subkī examined these criticisms and answered some of the points. His son at-Tāj as-Subkī also took up the issue and dealt with the criticisms. Ibn Ḥajar considers Abū Ḥafṣ' criticism as superficial and his attitude to have stemmed from stubbornness and obduracy.³ Another critic was al-Adhra'ī, who implies his criticisms in the guise of an appreciation. After paying a tribute to our author, he comments,

He prepared the summary of ar-Rāfi'ī's book from a defective copy, relying on al-Badhrā'ī's copy which had faults, and the copies he used for comparison and correction were of similar type, so the flaws of the defective copy crept into the abridgement. Those flaws were imperceptible for the beginners and intricate for the advanced student. 4

Al-Adhra'ī attempts to justify himself by explaining his intentions in paying a tribute to the author.

By what I have pointed out, I intend no criticism of our shaykh, nor a fanciful and contemptuous investigation of the text. I seek refuge in Allāh from such an act. I have done it only out of sincerity and as a service to the Muslim community in general, and for the benefit of the students. I believe the author was the most eager of all to express his honest opinion. The reason for the omission was what I have stated earlier, moreover he used to spend most of his time in doing pious deeds, voluntary observances and special recitations. Taking this into consideration it becomes evident that our author was like a speedy race horse in an open field. 5

-
1. Durar, III, 142; Subkī, X, 377, Abī l-Ḥaram.
 2. Ash-Shaykh 'Umar b. Abī l-Ḥazm al-Katnānī, d. 738/1337; Subkī, X, 377; Durar, III, 142. In some of the biographical books he is mentioned as al-Kattānī, Shadharāt, VI, 117; Bidāya, XIV, 183; Isnawī, II, 358; Muḥādara, I, 425. Ḥājji Khalīfa mentions him as al-Kinnānī, Kashf, I, 930.
 3. Durar, III, 152.
 4. Tarjuma, 24.
 5. Ibid.

While no one can argue with al-Adhra'ī in his tribute, his explanation concerning the defective copy, however, is not convincing. Such an excuse can only have an adverse effect on an-Nawawī's reputation. It is most probable, from the biographical information of an-Nawawī's method of study that he had memorised his texts and had little reason to have recourse to written texts. Furthermore, the text was a fairly common work, and it is unlikely that a scholar of an-Nawawī's standing would have unwittingly relied on a faulty copy. The other explanation that our author worked rapidly seems more convincing; he might well have prepared a preliminary draft of the book and was unable to find an opportunity to revise it. It was accepted that he was very quick and efficient in preparing his notes but he would never hesitate to destroy them if he was dissatisfied with them. This in fact he did on several occasions¹, and there is every indication that he would have been reluctant to release a work with which he was unsatisfied.

(2) al-Minhāj²

This is also an abridgement of ar-Rāfi'ī's book, al-Muharrar. He completed this book on Thursday the 19th of Ramaḍān 669/1270. This of all his works, had the greatest currency among scholars and students. Ibn al-'Aṭṭār claims that many people, after the author's death, memorised it.³ At the beginning of his incomplete commentary, Taqī as-Subkī remarks, "In our time, this book is a reliable source for the understanding of the rite, both for the students and most of the jurists."⁴

1. Tarjuma, 24; Tuḥfa, 116.

2. GAL, II, 680; Kashf, II, 1874.

3. Tuḥfa, 11b.

4. Tarjuma, 16-17.

Ibn al-'Aṭṭār has reported Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jayḡānī¹ as saying, "By God, had I known al-Minhāj, I would have memorised it."² A large number of the scholars have expressed their appreciation of the book³, and its popularity and importance was to attract the 'ulamā' and students. Many scholars have commented upon the book.⁴ A few of them are listed below:

-- Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Arām as-Sikandarī⁵

-- Abū l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid ad-Dimashqī, died in 763/1361⁶

-- Al-Burhān Ibrāhīm b. at-Tāj 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Firkāh⁷, died 729/1328

-- Shaykh Nūr ad-Dīn al-Faraj b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ardabīlī⁸, died in 749/1348

-- Shaykh Taqī ad-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī as-Subkī⁹ started writing a commentary on it, but had only reached the chapter on divorce.

1. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik, a leading figure among the Arab grammarians and the author of the Alfiyya; Bughya, 53; Fawāt, II, 227; Subkī, V, 28; Wāfi, III, 35a; Nafḥ, I, 434-40.
2. Tuḥfa, 11.
3. For details see as-Sakhāwī, 16-17.
4. Ḥājjī Khalīfa has given the list of the commentators, Kashf, II, 1874, 1875.
5. One of the celebrated Shāfi'ite scholars of his time, died in 720/1320. Durar, I, 111.
6. A scholar of the science of readings and fich, he was an excellent preacher, jurist, grammarian and a poet. Durar, IV, 71; Shadharāt, VI, 198; Bughya, 78.
7. He was the grandson of an-Nawawī's teacher, Shaykh Ibn al-Firkāh al-Fazārī. He, like his father and grandfather, was a great Shāfi'ite scholar, Subkī, IX, 312; Bidāya, XII, 146; Durar, I, 35; Shadharāt, VI, 88.
8. He was a famous faqīh. According to Ibn Ḥajar, he wrote a detailed and comprehensive commentary on al-Minhāj in six volumes, which the latter held to be an unparalleled piece of research. Durar, III, 312; Subkī, X, 380; Ibar, 276; Isnawī, I, 175-76.
9. Ṭabaqāt, X, 139; GAL, II, 680; Bidāya, XIV, 252; Badr, I, 468; Bughya, II, 176.

His son al-Bahā' Aḥmad b. 'Alī¹ (d. 763/1361) began a commentary on the work but he too died before he could complete it. Later it was continued by Shaykh Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan al-Isnawī², and he reached the chapter on musāqāt.

It would be appropriate to mention Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Maḥallī³, whose commentary had been accepted in academic circles.⁴ There are many other commentaries whose names have been given by as-Sakhāwī.⁵ Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm, known as Ibn al-Mawṣilī.⁶

(3) al-Īdāh fī l-Manāsik

Ibn al-'Aṭṭār while enumerating his books⁷ has given some other names relating to the same subject, such as al-Ījāz fī l-Manāsik, al-Manāsik ath-Thālith, al-Manāsik ar-Rābi', wa l-Khāmis, wa s-Sādis. This book deals with the rituals and ceremonies of the pilgrimage (Hajj), covering almost every aspect of the subject, on which he provides much valuable information. In the introduction of the book an-Nawawī says,

The most important matter is to explain various kinds of pilgrimage, their regulations and rituals. It is appropriate to mention the things which make it sound or corrupt it, to discuss its obligations, decencies, prophetic recommendations, its obvious aspects and its delicacies. It is essential to describe the ḥaram [sacred place] of Mecca, the Mosque, the Ka'ba and the rules related to them and the qualities

-
1. GAL, II, 680; Kashf, II, 1874.
 2. GAL, II, 680.
 3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died in 864/1265, was a great scholar, theologian, commentator and outspoken person in religious matters. Muḥādara, I, 252; Shadharāt, VII, 303; Daw', VII, 39; GAL, II, 138 (114).
 4. GAL, II, 680.
 5. Tarjuma, 17-20; see also GAL, II, 680; Kashf,
 6. Man of letters, a scholar of Islamic law and jurisprudence, was educated in Damascus and died in Tripoli, 774/1372. Bughya, 98; Wāfi, I, 262; Kashf, II, 1875; GAL, II, 31 (25), S, II, 20.
 7. Tuhfa, 11.

which distinguish it from other Muslim places. I have compiled this book covering all the objectives, fulfilling all the needs related to its principal branches and important injunctions. I included some valuable points which cannot be ignored by a pilgrim.

‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī¹ (844-911/1440-1516) wrote a commentary on it and ash-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Makkī al-Ḥaythamī (d. 974/1566) wrote valuable marginal notes on it.²

(4) al-Majmū‘ Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab³

Although incomplete it is, nevertheless, considered to be the greatest work on Shāfi‘ite fiqh. Had it been completed and the quality sustained, it would have been the most important work on the subject, with the exception of the work of ash-Shāfi‘ī himself. This, in fact, is a commentary on Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī's famous book al-Muhadhdhab. Ash-Shīrāzī, keeping in view the overall attitude of the rite, provided arguments for every problem. A reader, while looking for a solution to a problem, will find therein profoundly researched arguments with an appreciation of their validity and weakness. He will also find the opinions of the other rites, their arguments and their criticism, so as to allow him to reach an unbiased conclusion which should satisfy him both rationally and ideologically. Moreover there is rare and valuable material relating to Arabic language, ḥadīth and theology, etc. A cursory glance at the introduction to the commentary reveals the comprehensiveness of the work and profoundness of the author's knowledge. Adh-Dhahabī remarks that this is the most excellent of books.⁴

-
1. GAL, II, 233 (173); Daw’, V, 245; an-Nūr as-Sāfir, 58.
 2. GAL, II, 684; Kashf, II, 1878.
 3. Published in Cairo.
 4. Tarjuma, 21.

Al-'Imād b. Kathīr, while offering some remarks on al-Majmū', comments:

In his book an-Nawawī has adopted a moderate tone which is excellent, refined and easy. It is a method which combines various qualities such as basic issues, agreed points of the earlier scholars, opinion of the fuqahā', vowelings of the words, policy of the leading huffāz, statements about the soundness of hadīth and its weakness, widely known hadīth and unknown; on the whole it is a book in its own class, and I have not seen the like of it from among the earlier scholars and none of the later scholars followed the example. 1

It is unfortunate that the author could not complete the book. He wrote up to the chapter on ar-ribā. A renowned Shāfi'ite scholar, at-Tāj as-Subkī, took up the task of completing it, but died before he could add more than three volumes. There is a marked difference between the contributions of the two authors. As-Subkī has explained his inadequacies and an-Nawawī's superiority in the introduction of his commentary.² Although the statement shows as-Subkī's modesty and his respect for his predecessor, it nevertheless indicates to some extent the uniqueness of an-Nawawī's work.

(5) Daqā'iq al-Minhāj wa r-Rawda³

This is a work consisting of selections from the Minhāj and the Rawda, with comments and notes on the more problematic words and phrases therein. As-Sakhāwī saw the four autograph volumes in al-Madrasa al-Mahmūdiyya, the last of which indicates that it was completed on 15th of Rabī' I 669/1270.⁴

1. Tarjuma, 21.

2. Ibid., 23.

3. Ibid.; GAL, II, 682; Kashf, II, 1874.

4. Tarjuma, 13.

(6) Sharḥ al-Wasīṭ

This is a partial commentary on al-Ghazālī's al-Wasīṭ, one of the sources of Shāfi'ite fiqh.¹

(7) al-Masā'il al-Manthūra²

This is a collection of some of his formal legal opinions (fatāwā) compiled by his most devoted pupil Ibn al-'Aṭṭār and was highly esteemed.³ Although Ibn al-'Aṭṭār reports that there were some other collections of his legal opinions, which an-Nawawī had compiled himself, no mention is made of them by his biographers.⁴

(8) Ādāb al-Muftī wa l-Mustaftī

This work, unfortunately, is not extant. It is reported by as-Sakhāwī⁵ to have been available, and was intended as a style book for legal enquiries (istiftā') and opinions (fatāwā), the format being based on Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ and before him Abū Qāsim aṣ-Ṣaymarī.⁶

(9) Masā'il Takhmīs al-Ghanā'im⁷

The author compiled this treatise on the controversial issue of the distribution of girls taken prisoner during the war, as part of the famous debate on this issue between the author and his teacher Ibn al-Firkāh.⁸

(10) Tuhfat aṭ-Ṭālib an-Nabīh⁹

One of his earliest works, it represents an attempt to provide a

1. Tuhfa, 11; Tarjuma, 13.

2. GAL, II, 682, 686.

3. Tuhfa, 11.

4. Tarjuma, 15.

5. Ibid.

6. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ḥusayn, one of the leading figures of the Shāfi'ite school, died in 386/996. Subkī, III, 339; Tahdhīb al-Asmā', II, 265; Ṭabaqāt ash-Shīrāzī, 104; Ibn Hidāyat, 23.

7. Tuhfa, 11; Tarjuma, 15.

8. Tarjuma, 9.

9. Ibid., 13.

commentary on ash-Shīrāzī's at-Tanbīh. This project was, however, uncompleted, and was only to reach the chapter on hayd.¹

(11) Muḥimmāt al-Aḥkām²

This is not, unfortunately, extant. In this work he provided simple descriptions of legal propositions. He apparently reached the chapter dealing with cleanliness of the body and clothes.

(12) al-Uṣūl wa d-Dawābiṭ³

This consists of a few pages, in which he summarises the principles and rules of obligatory contracts, explaining what is approximate and what is definite.⁴

(13) at-Taḥqīq fī l-Fiḥ⁵

This work was written as a supplement to ar-Rawḍa, in which he includes some legal propositions, rules and regulations, which are not dealt with in the latter. He reached the chapter entitled Ṣalāt al-Musāfir. As-Sakhāwī has quoted Ibn al-Mulaqqin's approval of the work where he commented favourably on its value.⁶

(14) Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'⁷

In this work an-Nawawī compiled biographical notes on the Shāfi'ite fuqahā', estimating their merit and subsequently classifying them according to this criteria. It is, in fact, an abridgement of Ibn Ṣalāḥ's Ṭabaqāt to which he incorporated the names found in the margin

1. Tarjuma, 13.

2. Ibid., 15.

3. GAL, II, 681.

4. Tarjuma, 15.

5. GAL, I, 395; Kashf, I, 379.

6. Tarjuma, 15.

7. GAL, II, 686; Tuhfa, 11; Tarjuma, 12.

thereof. The author left it as a rough draft and his pupil al-Mizzī was to prepare the fair copy.¹ Ibn al-'Aṭṭār has mentioned it among his incomplete books.²

Other Works

There are some risālas which he wrote on some specific problems only a few of which survived. In these works, entitled Mukhtaṣar Ādāb al-Istisqā', Ru'ūs al-Masā'il and Tuhfat Ṭullāb al-Fadā'il³, he took propositions from Sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab, elaborating them by explaining the points of exegesis, ḥadīth, fiqh and linguistics. In addition to that he discussed the rules and problems of Arabic language.⁴

* * * * *

As the Arab scholars created no great divide between the theological and linguistic sciences, seeing them as part of an organic unity, it was common for the students to master grammar as well as Law and Traditions. Although the linguistic sciences never attained the high status accorded to the study of Qur'ān and ḥadīth, their usefulness as ancillary disciplines was universally accepted. Accordingly an-Nawawī acquired a high reputation as a morphologist and philologist, and was considered a linguist of high merit. All his biographers recognised his competence in this field, a fact which is also attested by the introduction to his book entitled at-Taḥrīr. In particular the Qādī Ibn Shuhba was to comment that an-Nawawī was "a jurist, a ḥāfiẓ, a grammarian and a lexicographer; an Imām in the field of grammar and lexicography."⁵ It is sufficient to

1. Tarjuma, 12; Subkī, I, 217.

2. Tuhfa, 11.

3. Tarjuma, 15.

4. Ibid.

5. Ṭabaqāt an-Nuḥāt, 529.

note that although an-Nawawī is remembered primarily as a jurist and traditionist, an account of his life can also be found among the biographies of the famous grammarians.

(1) at-Taḥrīr fī Alfāz at-Tanbīh¹

This book was accepted as a standard work on linguistics, in which he explains the juristic terminologies and words used in at-Tanbīh of Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī. Although the book is similar to al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr fī Gharīb ash-Sharḥ al-Kabīr, in that both works explain the rare words used in the texts and commentaries of Shāfi'ite fiqh, at-Taḥrīr excels al-Miṣbāḥ in being more comprehensive in its approach to the problems therein. According to Ibn al-Mulaqqin², it was considered a work of immense utility³, and al-Qāḍī Ṣafad was to comment that no student could do without it.⁴ An-Nawawī himself explains the purpose of his book by noting that he had originally intended to explain only the words occurring in at-Tanbīh, but later incorporated most of the words used in all the major works on Shāfi'ite fiqh.

(2) Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa l-Lughāt⁵

This book was also compiled to explain matters pertaining to the linguistic sciences and to identify proper names appearing in the major works on Shāfi'ite fiqh, among which are included (1) Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī⁶,

1. Tuhfa, 11; Tarjuma, 12; GAL, II, 682.

2. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, one of the great Shāfi'ite 'ulamā', well versed in ḥadīth, fiqh and history, died in 804/1401. Dhayl Ṭabaqāt Ḥuffāz, 197; Daw', VI, 100; Khiṭaṭ, IV, 105; GAL, I, 164 (159).

3. Tarjuma, 12.

4. Ibid.

5. Tuhfa, 11; Tarjuma, 12; GAL, II, 684; published in Cairo.

6. Ismā'il b. Yaḥyā b. Ismā'il, Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī, pupil of ash-Shāfi'i; a mujtahid, gifted with the force of argumentation, died in 264/877. Wafayāt, I, 196; Shadharāt, II, 148; Subkī, II, 93; Lubāb, III, 133; 'Ibar, II, 28; Nujūm, III, 39.

(2) al-Muhadhdhab, (3) at-Tanbīh, (4) al-Wasīṭ, and (5) al-Wajīz, the latter two works having been written by al-Ghazālī, and (6) an-Nawawī's own work, ar-Rawḍa. An-Nawawī chose these six books believing that they contained most of the technical terms and idioms peculiar to the science of fiqh, supplementing them with some other phrases which he held to be in need of comment. Among those are Arabic, non-Arabic and Arabicized vocabulary, religious terminology and words and phrases peculiar to the language of the juristic sciences. He also dealt with the proper names of men, women, angels, jinn, etc.¹

The author, unfortunately, was not able to complete it, leaving the book in a rough draft form, the fair copy being prepared by his pupil Ḥāfiẓ al-Mizzī.² An-Nawawī saw this contribution as forming part of the central apparatus of a scholar and in later works such as al-Majmūʿ, he refers his reader to the Tahdhīb al-Asmāʾ.³

* * * * *

Although his main contribution was in the fields of ḥadīth, fiqh and luḡa, he also wrote works in other fields. Below are given some of his works which do not fall under the categories mentioned above.

(1) at-Tibyān fī Adāb Ḥamalāt al-Qurʾān⁴

An-Nawawī identified the need for a brief work on the basic requisites of religion which would be directed to the lay person, that is the common people of Damascus. Accordingly he wrote this work in the introduction of which he explains:

-
1. Tahdhīb, I, 2.
 2. Tarjuma, 12.
 3. al-Majmūʿ, I, 112.
 4. GAL, II, 685.

I saw the people of my city, Damascus, taking great interest in the Holy Qur'ān by reading and teaching it individually and collectively by studying and transmitting it. They exerted all their efforts both day and night to this purpose. May Allāh help them in their zeal for the Holy Book and other kinds of worship. It was their keen interest and efforts which made me inclined to compile this book, a work which would describe the appropriate manner and demeanour of those who memorised the book.

I have preferred brevity, avoided elaborateness and have confined myself to one aspect of the subject in each chapter. I have explained the difficult names and words occurring in the chapters with brief notes. 1

As-Sakhāwī² was to recommend this book of popular appeal to the student. It was later translated into Persian by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'īd al-Ījī under the title Ḥadīqat al-Bayān.³

(2) al-'Umdā fī Taṣḥīḥ at-Tanbīh⁴

One of the earliest books written by an-Nawawī, it deals with his observations on Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī's at-Tanbīh. Although a useful work, it is however well below the standard scholars were to expect from an-Nawawī's books. It has therefore been postulated that this may well have been the first work of a promising scholar embarking on a career, but not having yet reached maturity. Apart from occasional errors, the work manifests certain inconsistencies in the light of his later scholarship.⁵

(3) Bustān al-'Ārifīn⁶

As-Sakhāwī categorised it as a marvellous work on asceticism and mysticism.⁷ It has been published.

-
1. Tibyān, 2.
 2. Tarjuma, 12.
 3. Kashf, I, 341.
 4. GAL, II, 682; Tarjuma, 12.
 5. Tarjuma, 12.
 6. Ibid.; GAL, II, 685.
 7. Tarjuma, 12.

(4) Manāqib ash-Shāfi'ī¹

Not extant, this is an abridgement of al-Bayhaqī's Manāqib in one volume.²

(5) Mukhtaṣar Usd al-Ghāba

Not extant, mention of it is made by its author in at-Taqrīb.³

(6) Mukhtaṣar at-Tadhnīb⁴

Not extant, this is a partial summary of ar-Rāfi'ī's Tadhnīb.

(7) at-Tarkhīṣ fī l-Ikrām wa l-Qiyām⁵

It has been described as a treatise on manners, the principle issue discussed being the question of whether it was proper and fitting to rise to one's feet as a mark of respect when a person entered a room.

These are some of the works which survived in their entirety or partially, although others were destroyed by the author. His closest pupil, Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, reports that his teacher ordered him to destroy about one thousand fascicules enjoining him to obedience in this matter. Ibn al-'Aṭṭār remarked that he was extremely distressed over this duty.⁶

1. Tuhfa, 11.

2. Ibid.

3. Tarjuma, 14.

4. Ibid., 15.

5. GAL, II, 685; Tarjuma, 12; Kashf, I, 398.

6. Tuhfa, 116.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ARBA'ĪN AN-NAWAWĪ AND A REVIEW OF ITS COMMENTARIES

It has been shown in an earlier chapter that many scholars and ascetics of repute compiled Arba'īns according to their taste and choice. Although some of these achieved great popularity in academic circles, the recognition given by the Muslim community to the Arba'īn an-Nawawī is unparalleled in the history of literature. This book even took its place in the syllabus of Islamic education and is to this day offered for examination in some of the Muslim countries.¹ This fact attests to its usefulness and importance, for this work alone of all the numerous Arba'īns has been given official recognition as worthy of inclusion in the Islamic curriculum. Scholars have since written many commentaries on it, traced the sources of its ahādīth and translated it into several languages.² It is therefore appropriate to devote some attention to a work such as this, which although small in size, is great in its impact on the Muslim community. The following two points must clearly be considered: firstly, the reason for the compilation of the book, and secondly, his methodology in selecting ahādīth for this book.

The reasons for the compilation of this book are adequately explained by the author himself in the introduction to the book. He begins by discussing the common hadīth regarding memorising and the forty traditions in the hope of reward from Allāh and he gives a

1. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, etc.

2. For details, see Tarjuma, 28; Kashf, I, 53; Karahan, 12-17.

unanimous opinion of the scholars of hadīth about its weakness, and the reliance on a weak hadīth in religious matters.¹ He himself took the view that instead of considering this hadīth as a basis, one should also rely upon other sound traditions, which encourage the preservation and transmission of ahādīth. In this view he seems to follow the practice of earlier scholars who have contributed to this field.

The composition of an Arba'īn may be seen as the devotional work of a mystic seeking divine grace, or as a work of religious propagation in which the better guidance of the Muslim community is seen as the goal. However, it would not be proper, within an Islamic context, to attempt to distinguish between two motives, for they are merely two aspects of the same phenomenon. As we can observe from an-Nawawī's life, both these characteristics were prominent features of his personality: an ascetic who achieved great fame for his spirituality, but at the same time an outspoken moral leader of the community who did not hesitate to condemn the views of his political superiors.

The question of choice could be examined and analysed in several ways: either on the basis of the sources of the tradition, or by taking into account the personality of the first reciter in its isnād, or by analysis of its subject matter.

An examination of the traditions included in Arba'īn reveals that the author maintained a preference for the traditions found in the canonical books, in particular the Sahīhayn, Bukhārī and Muslim.² Twelve of his selections are common to both of them³, four are taken from Bukhārī⁴, and twelve from Muslim⁵, their traditions accounting

1. This issue has been discussed in detail in the first chapter.

2. Arba'īn, 3.

3. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 26 and 37.

4. 16, 20, 38, 40.

5. 2, 7, 10, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 34, 35, 36.

for two-thirds of his selection; the remaining third being divided among the other books. Tirmidhī has five¹, one is from Tirmidhī in conjunction with Nasā'ī², one from both Tirmidhī and Abū Dā'ūd³ and one jointly from Ibn Māja and Bayhaqī.⁴ An-Nawawī selected one each from Mālik, Bayhaqī, Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Ḥanbal, Dārimī and Kitāb al-Ḥujja.⁵ As he did not regard the collection of ad-Dārimī as canonical, he therefore admitted to his selection at least four traditions from sources he held as uncanonical. Since he had undertaken to select only sound traditions he justifies the choice when taking ahādīth from uncanonical sources. According to him, Nos. 27, 30, and 33 are good (ḥasan) and No. 41 is indubitably sound.

When we come to a discussion of the original transmitter of these forty-two traditions, we find that twenty-five different individuals have reported these traditions, two of the ahādīth, the eighteenth and twenty-first, being vouched for by two people together. The first two go back to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, endowing the beginning of the anthology with an air of respectability. 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, narrates a further three; while from the immediate circle of the Prophet he has one each from 'Ā'isha, and al-Ḥasan and five from the Prophet's cousin 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās. Nine are attributed to Abū Hurayra, two each to Anas b. Mālik, Mu'ādh b. Jabal and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, while Jundub b. Junāda al-Ghifārī is co-narrator of one with Mu'ādh who has a further two in his own right. Two traditions narrated by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī have also been included, and of the remainder each has a

1. 12, 18, 19, 29, 42.

2. 11.

3. 28.

4. 29.

5. 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41.

single originator, as a rule one of the companions, sometimes an Anṣārī. Among these are Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

As the science of hadīth was fully developed by the time of an-Nawawī, the importance of canonical books and the validity of isnād were established facts. It was therefore unlikely that a traditionist of his calibre would ignore it, but the fact that he chose ahādīth from the books of lesser importance and the traditions transmitted by the younger companions — whose authenticity as narrators has been the subject of discussion among the traditionists — indicates that these cannot be the basic reasons for an-Nawawī's choice of ahādīth. His insistence on the soundness of the select group of traditions, in particular on the Ṣaḥīḥayn as the major source, proves undoubtedly the importance of these factors, but falls short of establishing them as the primary reasons.

It seems obvious that the basic principle underlying the selection was the subject matter. There are internal and external evidences which indicate this. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that most of the major issues as far as Islam as a political and religious entity was concerned, were already settled before the age of selection and compilation. According to the agreed opinion of the Muslim scholars the main purpose of traditions is to supplement Qur'ānic legislation from the Prophet's practice² and provide a basis where none can be found in the Holy Book. The Muslim community had already passed through its formative period, so an-Nawawī was not faced with the problem of any fundamental change in the Islamic system of beliefs and practice.

1. Arba'in, 2.

2. Early Development of Muhammadanism, 71.

What he experienced was chaos and confusion in the religious and socio-political life of the Muslim community of his time. He witnessed moral and social disintegration which brought him face to face with the problems of the contemporary Muslim community. In particular he had to face the problems of faith, the narrow loyalties within the juristic schools, the worldliness and greed in the society, the disintegration of the social order, and the tyranny and corruption in the administration.

It is clear from an-Nawawī's conduct that he was not taken to avoiding confrontation with the corrupt and evil, and indeed all who condoned them. His selection of ahādīth relate, as one would expect, to the problems of his contemporary society and in particular those mentioned above. That he saw his Arba'īn as a comment on the low moral standards prevalent in his time need not be the subject of speculation. In his introduction to his work, he explains his motives thus:

Some of the 'ulamā' compiled Arba'īns covering the fundamental principles of Islam, others have concentrated on branches [furū']. There were a few who had their interest in jihād while the other collected traditions about asceticism. Some of them selected ahādīth concerning manners and others had chosen those relating to preaching and oratory. Each one of these are all right and desirable objectives — may Allāh bless them all!

I, however, thought of compiling an Arba'īn more important than all of these, an Arba'īn consisting of all these aspects. Every tradition in it consists of one of the fundamental principles of Islam. As described by the 'ulamā' a hadīth either explains the cardinal principle of Islam or contains half of the whole of Islam or one-third of it. 1

Going through this collection it is as if an-Nawawī was genuinely concerned to select a group of ahādīth which would not only take the readers back to the Qur'ān as the source of faith and morals, but quite

1. Arba'īn, 2.

deliberately help in the community life of the faithful everywhere.¹ It is clear that an-Nawawī was loyal first to the Qur'ān and only secondly to the needs of the Muslim community; analysis of the selection reveals that it is fairly evenly divided between traditions that are brought into play for supporting the basis of the Islamic system as contained in the Qur'ān² and those that might be generally described as "community rules". Another division of these traditions shows an equally evenly balanced division of traditions that refer to faith and practice, although naturally these are areas where these two concepts overlap. All the main features of Islamic systems of thought and practice are here. There are at least nine allusions to ṣalāt and hardly less to zakāt. There is due reference to fasting, usually Ramaḍān; less prominence being given to jihād, and still less to the pilgrimage. The ideas underlying shirk³ and the things that are forbidden⁴ come fairly often; references to qadar⁵ are found as well as injunctions against the sin of perversion⁶ or innovation.⁷ There is little mention however of khilāfa⁸, and few of the last day.⁹

A very definite service was rendered to the community by an-Nawawī. His choice of traditions seems to have been made on the basis of utility; and he seems to have succeeded in achieving his objective. A person who accepted them as genuine and ordered his life in accordance with them could hardly be led astray in his relationship within the community of the faithful.

1. E.g., 16, 22, 28.

2. There are two specific quotations from the Qur'ān, 10.

3. 3, 8, 42.

4. 9, 22.

5. 4.

6. 14.

7. 5, 28.

8. 28.

9. 15, 36.

It was the careful selection of ahādīth and the genuineness of the compiler which gave the book overall superiority to all other collections. Scholars and students of hadīth and Islam have not dared to ignore this Arba'in.

* * * * *

Although many Arba'ins were written by the great scholars of hadīth none was to arouse the enthusiasm of the 'ulamā'' as much as that of an-Nawawī. An-Nawawī initiated a new phase in Arba'in literature, in which we find a movement towards commentary, particularly on the Arba'in of an-Nawawī. The compilation of new Arba'ins did, however, continue, but much scholarly activity in this field was devoted to a process which the author began himself by appending to his collection a chapter in which he explained some of the major difficulties in the text.

This movement extended to the non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities, and this work attracted the translations, commentaries, supercommentaries, glosses and versifications which one associates with a major text-book of Islamic education.¹ No brief survey can encompass all the major contributions to the work of exegesis on this text. However it is pertinent to survey those Arabic commentaries on an-Nawawī's Arba'in written up to the time of al-Lārī. Although there existed some Turkish and Persian translations, no original work was written in these languages up to the time of al-Lārī. These commentaries can be divided into two categories, the short and the elaborate.

The authors of the short commentaries give brief explanatory notes without elaborating the details, while the longer commentaries attempt

1. The famous sūfī poet Jāmī's translation has always been popular, and Ottoman poets have also made their contributions. Karahan, 93ff.

to provide all relevant information, usually with special reference to the commentator's field of specialisation. The following are a few of the important commentaries:

1. Al-Ishbīlī, Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Farḥ b. Aḥmad¹ (625-699/1227-1300) wrote a commentary on Arba'in² which is available in manuscript.³

2. Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Wahb, Abū l-Faṭḥ, Taqī ad-Dīn⁴ (625-702/1228-1302), a qāḍī and renowned scholar of jurisprudence, wrote a short commentary on the Arba'in⁵ in which he provides brief explanatory notes on juristic and theological points. Because of its brevity it has been favoured by the students.

3. A Ḥanbalite scholar, Najm ad-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Qawī b. 'Abd al-Marīn at-Ṭūfī⁶ (659-716/1259-1316) also wrote a commentary on Arba'in⁷, copies of which are available in manuscript.⁸

4. Tāj ad-Dīn al-Fākihānī, 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Sālim b. Ṣadāqa al-Lakhmī⁹ (d. 731/1331) has commented upon the Arba'in under the title of al-Manhaj al-Mubīn fī Sharḥ al-Arba'in.¹⁰ Manuscript copies are available in several libraries.¹¹

-
1. A muḥaddith and one of the leading Shāfi'ite fucahā'; Mustaṭrafā, 162; Shadharāt, V, 443; Tadhkira, IV, 1486; Nujūm, VIII, 191-93; Subkī, VIII, 26.
 2. Tarjuma, 28; Kashf, I, 59; GAL, I, 683 (395).
 3. Paris 6498/2; Berlin, 1488.
 4. Durar, IV, 91; Miftāḥ, II, 219; Fawāt, II, 244; Shadharāt, VI, 5; Bidāya, XIV, 27; Badr, II, 229; Subkī, IX, 207.
 5. Taymūriyya 565; Azhar 2347; 27760; it has been published in Damascus, 1975.
 6. Shadharāt, VI, 39; Durar, II, 154; Kutubkhāna, I, 41; Kashf, I, 59, according to him he died in 710 A.H.
 7. Tarjuma, 28; Kashf, I, 59.
 8. Taymūriyya, 328; Halet Ef., 88/3, Süleymaniye.
 9. Bidāya, XIV, 168; Durar, III, 178; Bughya, 362; GAL, II, 26 (22), S, II, 15; basically a grammarian, he had a deep understanding of ḥadīth and fiqh.
 10. Tarjuma, 28; Kashf, I, 59; GAL, I, 683 (395).
 11. Taymūriyya, 444; Brill, 398, 401/2; Tunis, Zat, II, 205; Bayazid, 906.

5. Al-Lakhmī, 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Dar,¹ (d. 733/1332) completed a commentary in 725/1324; a defective manuscript copy survives.²

6. A voluminous commentary was written by Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Khafāja³ (d. 750/1350).

7. Ibn Ḥajar attributes a commentary to Abū Bakr al-Māliqī, Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Īsā (d. 750/1349) as one of the commentators.⁴

8. Ḥājji Khalīfa attributes to Shaykh Zayn ad-Dīn Sarija b. Muḥammad b. Sarija b. Aḥmad (d. 788/1386) a commentary entitled the Nathr Farā'id al-Murbi'in al-Manwiyya fī Nashr Fawā'id al-Arba'in an-Nawawiyya.⁵

9. As-Su'ūdī⁶ al-Ḥanafī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad (d. 788/1385) wrote a commentary entitled ad-Durr ar-Rasīn al-Mustakhraj min Baḥr al-Arba'in. Two copies have survived.⁷

10. The famous scholar, Sa'd ad-Dīn at-Taftazānī, Mas'ūd b. 'Umar⁸ (712-793/1312-1390) has also written a commentary.⁹

1. Ibn Ḥajar says that al-Lakhmī was a pious man and had a keen interest in hadīth; Durar, II, 343.
2. Azhar, 20465.
3. A great Shāfi'ite jurist who was remembered for earning his livelihood as a labourer. Durar, I, 322. As-Sakhāwī has mentioned him among the commentators, Tarjuma, 28; GAL, I, 683 (395).
4. Durar, IV, 156.
5. Kashf, I, 60; Durar, II, 225.
6. In some sources he has been mentioned as al-Mas'ūdī; Taymūriyya, II, 223.
7. Azhar, (229) 1600; Taymūriyya, 22833B.
8. Bughya, 391; Miftāḥ, I, 165; Durar, IV, 350; GAL, II, 278 (215), S, II, 301.
9. GAL, I, 683 (395); a handwritten copy of Muḥammad b. Rajab as-Sa'dī dated 850/1446 is in Ma'had al-Makḥṭūṭat (21594b); 22993b.

11. Badr ad-Dīn az-Zarkashī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bahādur (745-794/1344-1392) is listed by as-Sakhāwī as a commentator on this work.¹

12. A valuable addition was made by a Ḥanbalite scholar, al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Rajab, Zayn ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādī² (736-795/1335-1393). The commentary had been popular among the academic and religious circles.³ The author added eight aḥādīth to an-Nawawī's forty-two traditions and wrote a commentary on it under the title of Jāmi' al-'Ulūm wa l-Ḥikam fī Sharḥ Khamsīn Ḥadītha min Jawāmi' al-Kalim.

This is a unique book among the commentaries of Arba'in. The author explains various aspects of aḥādīth in a lucid style. Being himself a muḥaddith, he pays more attention to the traditionist matters. He discusses the narrators, critically examines their positions and gives the views of various scholars of the science of criticism in ḥadīth. He also evaluates the ḥadīth by judging it through its soundness and weakness. Quoting the opinions and explanations of various traditionists he succeeded in making his commentary more authentic and acceptable. The book is illustrated with the sayings of the saints, mystical stories and sūfī poetry. He exploits the juristic implications of the ḥadīth and gives the opinions of all the rites without showing any apparent bias. The book is a fine combination of traditionist and mystical methodologies. It is available in manuscript form in various libraries⁴ and has also been published in India, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia.⁵

1. Tarjuma, 28.

2. Shadharāt, VI, 339; Dhayl Ḥuffāẓ, 367; Durar, II, 322; Taymūriyya, II, 223; GAL, II, 129 (10).

3. Tarjuma, 28.

4. GAL, II, 683 (395).

5. Amritsar, 1940; Cairo, 1962.

13. Ash-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ash-Shīrāzī¹ wrote a commentary under the title al-Hādī li-l-Mustarshidīn. A copy has survived.²

14. Ibn Shaykh al-Yusr, Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī (d. 802/1302) wrote a comprehensive commentary bringing together three commentaries written by aṭ-Ṭūfī, Ibn al-Fākihānī and Ibn Farḥ.³

15. At-Tibrīzī, Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥalwā'i⁴ (730-804/1330-1402) is also reckoned among the commentators of Arba'in.⁵

16. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, Sirāj ad-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī, Abū Ḥafṣ ash-Shāfi'i⁶ (723-804/1323-1404) wrote al-Mu'in 'alā Tafhīm al-Arba'in.⁷

17. Al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Irāqī, Zayn ad-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (725-806/1325-1404) traced the sources of the forty traditions⁸, but his work has not come down to us.

18. As'ad b. Mas'ūd (d. 812/1409), commonly known as Zahir al-'Umari, wrote a short commentary on Arba'in.⁹ This commentary has been published, but unfortunately was attributed to another author.¹⁰

19. An important contributor to the commentaries is 'Izz ad-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ā, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd Allāh¹¹ (749-819/1348-1416). The title of his

-
1. Ibn Ḥajar makes mention of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Kāzarūnī (673-751/1274-1350), but without any reference to Arba'in. Durar, I, 303.
 2. Kashf, I, 70; Berlin, 800.
 3. Taymūriyya, 458.
 4. Bughya, 421; Hadiyya, II, 559; Daw', X, 309.
 5. Tarjuma, 28; Kashf, I, 59.
 6. Dhayl Ḥuffāẓ, 197; Daw', VI, 100; Khitaṭ, IV, 105; GAL, I, 164 (159).
 7. Tarjuma, 28; Kashf, I, 6.
 8. Tarjuma, 28.
 9. GAL, I, 683 (395); Taymūriyya, 83.
 10. Published in Tunis, 1295 A.H., and wrongly attributed to Sa'd ad-Dīn at-Taftazānī.
 11. Muḥādara, I, 236; Bughya, 25; Daw', VII, 171; Shadharāt, VII, 139; GAL, II, 116 (94).

commentary is at-Tabvīn fī Sharḥ al-Arba'īn¹, and copies are available in several libraries.²

20. Al-Khujandī, Abū Muḥammad Burḥān ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad³ (779-851/1377-1447) wrote a commentary on the Arba'īn, copies of which survive.⁴

21. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Hāfiẓ Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1448) traced the sources of the Arba'īn.⁵

22. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bilbaysī ash-Shāfi'ī, has a commentary entitled the Fayd al-Mu'īn.⁶

23. Mu'īn ad-Dīn b. Ṣafī ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (d. 905/1490) is also credited with writing a short commentary.⁷

24. Al-Anṣārī, Shaykh al-Islām, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ash-Shāfi'ī⁸ (823-926/1420-1520) wrote a concise commentary on the Arba'īn. Copies survive.⁹

25. A comprehensive sommentary was written by Ibn Kamāl Pasha, Shams ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaymān¹⁰ (d. 940/1534). Having special

1. Tarjuma, 28.

2. Taymūriyya, Majmū' 97; Azhar (2035)22410; Berlin 1508; this copy carries the following lines on the title page: Kitāb al-Arba'īn al-Wuṣṭā al-Mukhtaṣar min al-Arba'īn al-Kubrā, min Masmū'āt Sayyidnā wa Maulānā 'Izz ad-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ā.

3. 'Iqyān, 15; Badr, I, 24.

4. Taymūriyya, 322; GAL, I, 683 (395).

5. Tarjuma, 28; GAL, I, 683 (395); the Berlin copy (1489) carries the following title: Kitāb Sharḥ al-Arba'īn Ḥadīthā an-Nawawiyya.

6. Kashf, I, 59.

7. Ibid.

8. Traditionist, exegeisist, qādi and a respected scholar of his time; Kawākib, I, 196; Khitat (M), XII, 62; Sāfir, 120.

9. Azhar (2579)22991; GAL, I, 683 (395).

10. An Ottoman scholar, having great insight into all Islamic sciences of that time. He made his contribution to almost all the fields of Islamic studies; Fawā'id, 21; Shaa'iq, I, 420; Hadiyya, I, 411; Kawākib, III, 327; Taymūriyya, III, 258.

interest in ḥadīth and fiqh, he took note of this popular book and commented upon it. The work was greeted with appreciation and remained popular throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹ This commentary was published in Istanbul, 1316 A.H.

26. Al-Lārī's contemporary and a Shāfi'ite scholar of repute, Ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaythamī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar as-Sa'dī al-Anṣārī, Shihāb ad-Dīn² (909-974/1504-1567) wrote a commentary on the Arba'īn. Manuscript copies are available in various libraries.³ It has been published in Egypt.⁴ It is probably Ibn Ḥajar's lucid style, informative text and use of shorter explanations that has made this work so popular. Brief biographical notes are also given. Being a faqīh he occasionally hints at the faults of the mystics, and is violently opposed to the believers of Waḥdat al-Wujūd.⁵

27. Another contemporary scholar of our author is al-Fashnī, Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī, who compiled his book in the year 978/1570.⁶ The author used to have special meetings to discuss traditions, and this book contains his explanatory lectures on the forty traditions. It was published in Egypt under the title of al-Majālis as-Saniyya fī al-Kalām 'alā al-Arba'īn an-Nawawīyya.⁷ The explanation is simple and easy to understand, the author having been more concerned with appealing to the common man than to the scholar.

-
1. Taymūriyya, Majmū' 7; Berlin 1519; GAL, I, 683 (395).
 2. A prolific writer, traditionist and faqīh of great merit: Sāfir, 287; Āthār, II, 166; Ādāb, III, 334.
 3. Taymūriyya, Khat 1148 (176) 965 (208); (584); GAL, I, 683 (395).
 4. Cairo, 1307 A.H.
 5. Fath al-Mubīn, 77.
 6. GAL, I, 683 (395).
 7. Cairo, 1316 A.H.

THE LIFE AND SCHOLARSHIP OF AL-LĀRĪ

Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ b. Jalāl al-Maltawī as-Sa'dī al-'Ubādī¹, born about 919/1511, is commonly known as al-Lārī after his native city of Lār.

As the city of Lār and its province, Lāristān, is not among the better known Islamic centres, it is appropriate to identify the city before proceeding to the life of our author. Lār is the capital city of the district of Lāristān which lies in the south-east of Fārs². Some people have confused it with an island in the Persian Gulf³, which was visited by Greeks and mentioned by Arab geographers. The Greeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār.⁴ Ibn Khurdābeh calls the island Alār.⁵ Other variants in Arab geographers, according to Le Strange, are Allān and Lān.⁶ Yāqūt places it between the island of Qays and the port of Sīrāf⁷; designating both the island and the city, Persian sources have referred especially to the city of Lār.⁸ Very little is known about Lāristān and its early history. The country appears to correspond to the land of the dragon, Haftān Bakht, killed by Ardashīr Pāpakān.

-
1. Contesting the common spellings of 'Ibādī, Storey states, "al-'Ubādī, not al-'Ibādī is the correct transliteration, since by calling himself as-Sa'dī al-'Ubādī, he presumably claims descent from the well known Ṣaḥābī Sa'd b. 'Ubāda." Persian Literature, II, 16.
 2. Farhang-i Juḡhrāfiyā-ī Irān, VII, 208.
 3. Ṣaḥā'if, II, 666.
 4. E.I., III, 15.
 5. Masālik, 512.
 6. Fārs-Nāma, 241.
 7. Buldān, IV, 341.
 8. Munshī, II, 616; Hazīn, 206; Rawḍa, IX, 48, 466, X, 263, 533, 564.

According to Persian legend, Ardashīr's adversary lived in the village of Alār in the Rustāq of Khujrān, which was one of the maritime Rustāqs (Rasātiq as-Sif) of the province of Kurra.¹ According to a verse attributed to Firdawsī², but not found in known versions of the Shāh-Nāma, the town was originally called Lād and fell to Gurgīn Milād, one of the heroes of the cycle of the Kayānid Kay Khusraw. Prov. Minorsky says, "This would be a very curious case of the changing of D to R found especially in Armenian and in the Caspian Tātī dialects."³ The Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāsiri mentions another legend, according to which the people of Lār in Fārs came from Lār in the Damāwand⁴ region, where they were unable to endure the low temperatures.⁵ Because the older routes connecting the chief towns of Fārs with Sīrāf and Qays or Hurmuz (by Fasā and Furg), apparently avoided the town of Lār, Arab geographers do not mention the latter.⁶ In his description of Lār, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says, "Lār is a wilāyat near the sea."⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa alone talks of Lār as "a large town with springs, considerable rivers and gardens."⁸

Lār also had its own local dynasty. Basing their claims on the previously mentioned verse, relating to Kay Khusraw's presentation of the town of Lād to Gurgīn son of Milād, the princes of Lār traced their descent from the latter. Furthermore, they inherited the crown of their ancestors which was taken away by the Ṣafawids in 1010/1601.⁹ The first

1. Tabarī, I, 820.

2. Ṭālib, 283; the text of the verse is as follows:

صفایان بپورزرگشواد داد - بگرگین میلاد هم لاد داد

3. E.I., III, 15.

4. Ibid., III, 17.

5. Ṭālib, 28.

6. Nuzhat, 185.

7. Ibid., 38.

8. Travels in Asia and Africa, 120.

9. Munshī, XI, 616.

prince of Lār to be converted to Islam (about 100/718) was Jalāl ad-Dīn.¹ The chronology becomes more reliable from the time of Amīr Quṭb ad-Dīn Mu'ayyad Pāqūī (594-648/1197-1250). Although the order of their reigns is not certain, fourteen of his successors are known.² While Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions³ the name of Jalāl ad-Dīn (of Turkoman origins), as the ruler when he passed through Lār in 784/1385, the actual ruler according to Milāadian genealogy was Bakalinjār the second.⁴ Our author was contemporary with three rulers of Lār, namely, Muḥammad (about 939/1532), Nūshīrwān⁵ (940/1533) and Ibrāhīm Khān (949/1542), who was dethroned by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp in 973/1565.⁶

Although material about the early life and education of al-Lārī is scarce, one point, however, is very clear, that he belonged to a respectable, educated and religious family. His father worked in the town's bazaar and it is recorded that he held such a position in the community that he could even approach with impunity the Qizilbāsh in the street and trim their moustaches which he, together with many Sunnīs, believed to be in violation of the Prophet's proscriptions.⁷

1. Ṣaḥā'if, II, 616.

2. Ibid.

3. Travels in Asia and Africa, 20-21.

4. Some scholars hold the view that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa may have misunderstood the situation. He may have met an officer of Turkoman origin, concluding that the ruler was a Turkoman. There is no historical evidence to prove the existence of this ruler. Iqtidārī, 41.

5. Known to have been just, a patron of music and poetry, he was treacherously killed by his servant. The following verse is attributed to him:

کہن شاد قصہ مجنون حدیث دردمن بشنو - بہر افسانہ ضائع مکن خود را سخن بشنو

Tuhfa, 21.

6. Munshī, II, 616.

7. Hadā'id, I, 170.

A scholar, sūfī and pupil of Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawānī, his grandfather was well known in the circle of 'ulamā' and was greatly respected in his area.¹ Ismā'īl Pasha Baghdādī attributes a book, an-Nāsikh wa-l-Mansūkh to al-Lārī's grandfather. Having received his early education at his home and attained a certain proficiency, our author went to Shīrāz, a centre of learning at that time. We know two great scholars of the time who are mentioned in the sources as his teachers: Mīr Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Mansūr Shīrāzī b. Mullā Ṣadr ad-Dīn and Mīr Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Faṭḥ ad-Dīn al-Lārī, a fellow townsman of his.³

Son of a celebrated philosopher, Mīr Ṣadr ad-Dīn Muḥammad of Shīrāz, Mīr Ghiyāth ad-Dīn held the office of ṣadr under Shāh Ṭahmāsp. As a consequence of having been impugned by the mujtahid Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Alī, he resigned from the office and returned to Shīrāz where he died in 948/1541. He left numerous philosophical works⁴, of which Shustarī has enumerated about thirty.⁵

Mīr Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Lārī was also a famous scholar of the time. He was the favourite student of the great theologian Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawānī and the best commentator on his teacher's works.⁶ Unfortunately, most of his writings seem to have been lost. However we know one, the Sharḥ ar-Risāla al-Ḥawrā' wa z-Zawrā',⁷ which is mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfa.⁸ It is a commentary on ad-Dawānī's Risāla, completed in 918/1512.

1. Shadharāt, VIII, 350; 'Iqd, II, 248.

2. Dhayl, II, 615.

3. Ibid.

4. Munshī, I, 34; Rieu, II, 826; GAL, II, 218, 414, S, I, 534, 783, 515, 818, S, II, 306, 593.

5. Majālis, 35.

6. 'Iqd, II, 248; Ḥayāt-i Dawānī, 42.

7. Kashf, I, 862.

8. Ibid.

No detailed information is available concerning his stay in Shīrāz and little is known about the time he spent or the books he studied. He may have studied philosophy, science and medicine because the above mentioned scholars taught those subjects, and his own continuing interest in, and contribution to¹, philosophy, science and medicine, also indicates that he studied these subjects in Shīrāz. Having completed his education, he may have returned to his town and dedicated himself to learning and teaching, which he continued to do throughout his life.

Although al-Lārī studied with Shī'ite teachers, he received his formative religious education in the Shāfi'ite city of Lār.² Lār was an important centre of academic and mystic traditions. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa notes a curious custom of the local darwīshes in these words:

We reached the town of Lār, a large town with perennial streams and orchards and bazaars. We lodged in a convent inhabited by a group of darwīshes who have the following custom. They assemble in the convent every afternoon and then go around the houses in the town, at each house they are given one or two loaves and from these, they supply the needs of travellers. The householders are used to this practice and make provision for the extra loaves in order to assist the darwīshes in the distribution of food.³

This quote serves to illustrate the mystical ambience of the area, the religious attitudes of the population and the atmosphere in which he was brought up and educated. Historical records describe Nādir Shāh's massacre of the Shāfi'ite population of Lār, by which these traditions were brought to an end.⁴ Lārī lived during the reign of the Ṣafawid

-
1. GAL, II, 533 (420), S, I, 517, 840, S, II, 330, 620; 'Iqd, II, 239.
 2. Shadharāt, VIII, 350; Shadharāt and 'Iqd have mentioned him as a Shāfi'ite, while the authors of Hadā'iq and Nuzhat regard him as a Ḥanafite; Hadā'iq, I, 169; Nuzhat, IV, 354.
 3. Travels in Asia and Africa, 120.
 4. Hazīn, 210.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp¹, who followed the policy of his father Shāh Ismā'īl, in forcing conversion to the official faith of Shī'ism and the killing of those who refused to accept it. Al-Lārī found it difficult to live under these conditions, having, as he did, particular ideological and spiritual commitments. While concluding the eleventh chapter of his historical work, the Mir'āt al-Adwār, he made a brief mention of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, lamenting that all scholars of eminence, in which category he placed himself, had been driven out of the country because of the latter's fanaticism.² Shustarī describes with amusement how the Sunnī 'ulamā', frightened and bewildered by the Shāh's anger, had to flee from one place to another in search of shelter.³ According to Shustarī, Shāh Ismā'īl appointed in every city and town, teachers and government officials who educated people in the Shī'a faith, forced them to abuse the first three caliphs and punished those who refused to do so.⁴ It appears that the period of forced conversion and persecution made life intolerable for al-Lārī, and he consequently left his country for India.⁵

It is not clear why he was attracted by India rather than the Ottoman capital, to which he later had to go. Whatever his own reason may have been, the historical sources seem to suggest two points which have special significance. It may be that his attitude was due to the common tradition of Muslim India to bestow honour and respect on scholars and devout men of the Muslim world. When the sixth century Mongol attack

-
1. History of Persia, II, 511-30; Ṭahmāsp's attitude towards his guest, the Emperor Humāyūn, shows his keen interest in converting people to Shī'ism, Jawhar, 28.
 2. Mir'āt, 31.
 3. Majālis, 352.
 4. Ibid.
 5. 'Iqd, II, 248; Ḥadā'iq, I, 169; Nuzhat, IV, 354; Ādamiyyat, IV, 452.

on the Muslim world caused the destruction of most centres of learning, the 'ulamā', mashāyikh, philosophers and physicians took refuge in India. In his book, Barnī gives a detailed account of the situation and provides a list of the 'ulamā' who came to India.¹ Sources on Muslim India clearly indicate the establishment of this tradition. It has also been stated that Muslim rulers in India started patronizing and encouraging them to settle in the country. Shams ad-Dīn Altutmish was always humble and respectful to these people.² It has been noted in the biography of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh b. Ḥasan Bahmanī (d. 779/1377) that he provided the scholars of ḥadīth with good salaries and the necessary condition for promoting the study of ḥadīth.³ Laknawī has stated in the biography of Mawlānā 'Abd al-'Azīz Ardabīlī that he studied with such 'ulamā' as Ibn Taymiyya, Burhān ad-Dīn Barkaj, Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Mizzī and Shams ad-Dīn adh-Dhahabī. He came to India where his company was sought and he enjoyed high esteem and honour at the court of Muḥammad Shāh.⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reports the following incident in which the Sulṭān, having heard an excellent tradition of the Prophet related to him by Ardabīlī, ordered the servants to bring two thousand tinkas (gold coins) on a golden plate, and the Sulṭān personally "poured that money on him", asking him to keep it with the plate on which the money had been presented to him.⁵ Talking about the reign of Firūz Shāh Tugluq, al-Laknawī says that three and a half million tinkas were spent on salaries for the 'ulamā' and darwīshes.⁶ Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq

-
1. Barnī, 111.
 2. Ibid., 137.
 3. Nuzhat, I, 47.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid.

Muḥaddith Dehlavi describes the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodhī (d. 894/1488) as a period of reforms, piety, integrity and scholarly pursuits.¹ Furthermore, he states specifically that the Shāh had the closest relationship with the 'ulamā', pious men, great scholars and sūfīs. This attitude attracted scholars and men of letters, some of whom were invited by the Sultan while others came of their own accord from all over the Muslim world, often to settle permanently in India.⁴ It seems that, although scholars came to India before his time, they did not settle there, but returned to their homelands with their rewards. Sikandar Lodhī was the first Sultan to invite scholars to remain and sometimes he even insisted upon their settling in India³, and continued to act as their patron throughout his twenty-three year reign.⁴ In the beginning, the Mughal rule resulted only in a change of political sovereignty, while all the social and religious traditions continued to flourish. The first two Mughal emperors, Bābur and Humāyūn, were learned men, the former being the originator of a script known as Khatt-e-Bāburī.⁵ His autobiography, the Bābur-Nāma, is considered to be a classic of world literature and excels all other oriental works of its class.⁶ He advised his son, Humāyūn, to improve his careless handwriting⁷, advice which the latter accepted.⁸ Both these emperors were great admirers of the 'ulamā' and had great admiration and respect for them. This active cultural environment must have acted as a powerful attraction to al-Lārī.

1. Akhbar, 23.

2. Ibid., 247.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Badāyūnī, III, 273.

6. Prasad, 397.

7. Memoirs, 197.

8. Sām Mīrzā has mentioned his special style in handwriting; Tuḥfa, 17.

There may have also been personal reasons for al-Lārī's coming to India. He was a keen student of philosophy and science, and two persons with whom he was to become associated, Emperor Humāyūn and Sulṭān Ḥasan of Sind, were greatly interested in these disciplines: Humāyūn was a learned man and always enjoyed the company of scholars and pious people. Describing his character, Shaykh Muḥaddith states, "He had great interest in different branches of mathematical sciences and philosophy like geometry and astronomy."¹ Niẓām ad-Dīn has depicted his other qualities in his statement: "He had an unequalled talent for astronomy, mathematics, composed good poetry² and was always in the company of scholars, learned men and great personalities."³ Even more of Humāyūn's qualities are enumerated and his superiority is compared to that of other rulers in Mushtāqī's statement,

There have been very few rulers whose attitude towards life resembled that of Humāyūn, in that he was scholarly, pious, intelligent, generous and attained perfection in qualities like gentleness, generosity, kindness and bravery ...He was a friend of the saints, scholars and men of letters. Furnishing them with facilities of various types, he always received them with honour and respect. 4

His scholarly predictions are even illustrated by the circumstances of his death; one evening he called his astronomer to observe the appearance of Venus from the roof of his library and fell down the stairs as he descended.⁵

1. Haqqī, f. 36.

2. Writing about the Persian poets, Sām Mirzā expressed his opinion about the poetic talents of Humāyūn and records the following verses:

همایون خط او تویح خوبی راست طعرائی - که نوشته است فاشی قضا هرگز مثال او

آن نه سرو است که در باغ سرفراخته است - شمع سبز است که پروانه او داخته است

Tuhfa, 17.

3. Ṭabaqāt, 84.

4. Wāqī'āt, 46.

5. Erskine, II, 527.

The other ruler with whom al-Lārī was associated, was Shāh Ḥasan of Sind (d. 962/1554). Writing about the personal qualities of Shāh Ḥasan, Mīr Ma'ṣūmī states, "Since his early days he laboured to increase his knowledge and his greater aim was the acquisition of knowledge."¹ He was very accomplished in all the customary sciences and was an acknowledged poet, writing under the takhalluṣ of Sipāhī.² He always treated the scholars courteously, respected the descendants of the Prophet and the pious, facilitating their scholarship by every means available, taking care of them and honouring each one according to his status.³ Despite the rivalry between Shāh Ḥasan's father and Bābur, the former established good relations with the Mughal family. Humāyūn's younger brother married Shāh Ḥasan's daughter, who remained with him even during adverse circumstances.⁴

Both Humāyūn and Shāh Ḥasan were patrons of scholars; we find, therefore, al-Lārī with a position of honour in both countries, being sadr⁵ in Humāyūn's court and acting as tutor to both rulers.⁶

Details concerning al-Lārī's residence in India are not available. Arabic sources state that he left India for the pilgrimage to Mecca in 962/1554 when Humāyūn died⁷, but Ma'ṣūmī records that he was with Shāh

-
1. Ma'ṣūmī, 204; the editor points out that the name of the ruler has been recorded as Shāh Ḥasan in Bābur-Nāma, in a few places in Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī as Shāh Ḥusayn and both versions have been mentioned in Ma'ṣūmī. The editor prefers the Bābur-Nāma version.
 2. Sām Mirzā has reckoned him among the poets of his age and attributed to him the following verses:

دامن همیابرزده جانان ام امروز - من بنده آن طور به بیان ام امروز

3. Tuhfa, 29.
4. Ma'ṣūmī, 195.
5. Ibid.
6. 'Id, 248; Nuzhat, IV, 54.
7. Nuzhat, IV, 54; Ma'ṣūmī, 204.
8. 'Id, 248; Hadā'id, I, 169.

Ḥasan for some time and left of the hajj in 951/1544.¹ It may be assumed that al-Lārī went to Shāh Ḥasan following Humāyūn's expulsion from India, and returned to Humāyūn's court when the latter reconquered his dominion, and finally went to Mecca after the latter's death in 962/1554.

According to al-Ḥanbalī², he was in Aleppo in 964/1556. Thence he went to Mecca and stayed for some time. Passing a letter of recommendation from the qādī of Mecca to the Grand Vizier (al-Wazīr al-A'ẓam) of the Ottoman empire, he stopped again at Aleppo on his way back to Istanbul.³ Having had a discussion with the 'ulamā' there he even entered into a debate with the famous muftī Abū Su'ūd.⁴ Discussing their debate, 'Alī Mānik states that al-Lārī failed to create a good impression during the discussion.⁵ We cannot, however, accept this statement at face value, for as Abū Su'ūd was Shaykh al-Islām, it would not have been possible to other than acknowledge the Shaykh's success in public debate. In any case one would hardly expect a member of the Ottoman 'ulamā' to concede victory to an outsider over the chief member of his own class.⁶ Even as early as Qānūnī Sulaymān's reign the organisation of the Ottoman 'ulamā' had become rigid to such an extent that it became extremely difficult for an outsider to enter the system, unless he entered at the lower rungs of the promotional ladder, or in exceptional cases, if he belonged to the Arabic-speaking provincial 'ulamā'. Unlike other Islamic courts, in the Ottoman empire not even a letter of introduction to the Grand

1. Ma'ṣūmī, 192.

2. Shadharāt, VIII, 350.

3. Ibid.

4. 'Iqd', 248; Ḥanbalī does not mention this debate; according to him he was honoured by the state, Shadharāt, VIII, 350.

5. 'Iqd', 248.

6. The 'ulamā' were organised as a class--- though a loose type --- during the 'Abbāsīd period and remained influential throughout the Muslim rule. For the early development see Watt, Islamic Political Thought, 66.

Vizier could assure the aspiring scholar an income with a position of some status. Al-Lārī's elevated position in India would not have impressed the Ottoman 'ulamā' who maintained the integrity of their own class by making entry into it as difficult as possible for those outside. Al-Lārī was offered a position, but of such insignificant status that he could hardly have been expected to accept it, in view of the high nature of the position he had previously held. He therefore left the capital for the provincial area of Diyār Bakr, where he found a patron in the person of Sikandar Pasha, the governor of the province, who had very good relations with the capital. First he employed him as a tutor to his children, then gave him the responsibility of organising the madrasa built by Khusraw Pasha, where he taught. His later life was spent in Amid, serving as a teacher and writer until he died in Dhū l-Ḥijja, 979/1571.¹

The biographers attribute to al-Lārī all the qualities of a pious scholar; he was humble, gentle and helpful. In spite of having a high position in India and powerful patrons in the Ottoman empire, he always behaved modestly. An indication of this is that he entered Aleppo with his servants and slaves as a common business-man, without wearing the formal dress of the 'ulamā'; neither was he conceited, nor did he exaggerate his own abilities.²

It was after some discussions with the 'ulamā' that the people came to know about him.³ After discovering his great personality, they came to him to seek his opinion on different religious problems. The question

1. 'Iqd, 248; Nuzhat, IV, 54; Ḥadā'iq, I, 169.

2. Shadharāt, VIII, 350.

3. Ibid.

of permissibility of samā' (attendance at the recital of sūfi hymns) was perhaps that question most fervently discussed in the city. When asked whether the combined use of instruments like the flute and the tambourine in the assembly of audition (maḥfil as-samā') was permissible, al-Lārī replied that as each one of these was individually permissible, so too was their combination. He based his opinion on al-Ghazālī's view that single permissible things and their combination are equal except when there is some inconvenience in joining them.¹ Al-Lārī observed that some of the early scholars had given their verdict in favour of its prohibition but that his grandfather had declared it permissible and contemporary scholars of repute in Persia backed his position. He then read his grandfather's fatwā to the people. Explaining Bulqīnī's 'u quotation of an-Nawawī's opinion regarding the prohibition of audition he expressed his disagreement with an-Nawawī because the latter had not provided any valid argument. Having narrated ad-Dawānī's decision in favour of his grandfather's opinion, he quoted the following from his book, Sharḥ Hayākil an-Nūr, "Man is constituted in such a manner as to be subjected to bodily movements which are legally permitted by religion due to divinely inspired illuminations. The men of reality of the detached sūfi group (al-muḥaqqiqūn min Ahl at-Tajrīd)² sometimes witness a spirit of holy tenderness within themselves, which makes them restless. Hence they begin to move by dancing, clapping their hands and moving in circles. By those movements, they are capable of receiving another kind of divine illumination; and they continue these movements until it comes to an end in some way as can be seen in the experience of ascetics. This

1. Iḥyā', II, 241. Al-Ghazālī has devoted a long chapter of Iḥyā' to the problem of audition. Cf. Iḥyā', II, 236-61.

2. For the term tajrīd, cf. Hujwīrī, 45, 60, 121, 135, 165, 176, 222.

is believed to be the mystery of samā', and the approved basis which legalized it. Some of the prominent sūfīs considered it to be sometimes useful in their forty days' isolation (al-Arba'īniyyāt).¹ Quoting his earlier decision (fatwā) al-Ḥanbalī states that al-Lārī favoured the permissibility of samā', provided it was not accompanied by twisting of the body.²

* * * * *

Al-Lārī like most Islamic scholars was well acquainted with all the branches of Islamic knowledge. He had a deep understanding of all the subjects popular in his time, and possessed a facility for intuitive judgement in them.³ He remained a teacher throughout his life and produced original research in several fields. This was a time when the knowledge of philosophy, theology, jurisprudence and grammar was the basic requirement for a good scholar and teacher. Philosophy in particular was dominant throughout Iran and Muslim India. Al-Lārī took a special interest in philosophy along with the study of other sciences. Having the opportunity to study the method and thoughts of two great philosophers and theologians (Mullā Ṣadrā and ad-Dawānī) from their direct pupils, he enjoyed a unique position in academic circles. This characteristic is clear from his logical method and philosophical discussions. A cursory glance at his works would prove his deep understanding and vast knowledge. Amongst his original works and commentaries

1. Shadharāt, VIII, 350.

2. Ibid.

3. In spite of the laudatory style of the Muslim biographers, 'Alī Mānik's following statement about al-Lārī is worth considering: "He was a scholar and great researcher. Having acquired wide information and vast knowledge, he demonstrated his deep understanding of the traditional knowledge and a firm grasp of the rational sciences." Ibid., 249.

we have contributions in almost every branch of these sciences. The emperor Humāyūn and Shāh Ḥasan requested him to teach them astronomy and philosophy.¹ His reputation in these sciences is attested by his early biographers. His commentary on al-Arbaʿīn is not only a proof of his scholarship in ḥadīth but also serves as an illustration of his vast knowledge of Arabic literature, grammar, rhetoric and juristic details of different sects in Islam.

In addition, he had a scholarly taste for history and comparative Islamic law. His great contribution to Muslim scholarship is not yet fully appreciated as his works have been inadequately studied.

Some biographers mention him as a poet, attributing to him poetry in Persian and Arabic.² As material is insufficient, it is difficult to arrive with certainty at any conclusion. There is no trace of his Persian poetry.³ The only available material is a portion of his Arabic poem (al-Qasīda al-Mīmiyya), which he composed following his debate with the muftī Abū Suʿūd.⁴ It is quoted by ʿAlī Mānik, accompanied by a note of depreciation.⁵

As we have seen, al-Lārī was a complete scholar, having contributed to almost every branch of Islamic learning. Some of his works are not traceable because, compelled by circumstances, he had to move to different places. This made the preservation of all his works difficult. However, some of his books are to be found in Turkish libraries. The following works may be ascribed to him:

-
1. ʿIqd, 248.
 2. Iqtidārī, 196.
 3. ʿIqd, 248.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.

(1) Hāshiya 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī

This is a short commentary on selected portions of al-Bayḍāwī. The author himself refers to it in his commentary on the Arba'īn. His biographers mention it, but it finds no mention in the bibliographies.

(2) Sharḥ Arba'īn an-Nawawī

This is a detailed commentary on the Arba'īn. It is considered by the 'ulamā' to be the most important and useful of all the commentaries on this text¹ and copies are extant in Turkey, Medina and Pakistan.²

(3) Sharḥ ash-Shamā'il

A comprehensive commentary on at-Tirmidhī's Shamā'il in which al-Lārī discusses important issues regarding the moral and ethical viewpoint of Islam, as practised by the Prophet and manifested in his personality. Several copies of the manuscript exist in Istanbul.³ Ḥājjī Khalīfa mentions a commentary on the same book in Persian, but this work does not seem to have survived in Istanbul. An edition has, however, been published in India.⁴

These two books, the Arba'īn and the Shamā'il, show al-Lārī's special ability in ḥadīth literature. He did not write a commentary on any of the main sources of ḥadīth; rather he chose these two books because they were commonly read and had a particular validity not only for students of ḥadīth but also the general Muslim public.

1. Kashf, I, 60.

2. Four copies of the book are in the Süleymaniye, one in Nur Osmaniye and one in Bursa, all in Turkey. One copy is in Maktaba 'Arif Hikmat, Medina. Another copy is in Punjab University Library, Lahore, Pakistan.

3. Hacı Beşir Ağa 121; Şehid Ali Paşa 477, 476; Nur Osmaniye 1033. The present writer intends to edit this work.

4. Lucknow, 1910.

(4) Ta'wīn ar-Rashād wa Tabyīn al-Irshād

It is a commentary upon the work on the fiqh of ash-Shāfi'ī by Sharaf ad-Dīn Ismā'il b. Abī Bakr al-Muqri'. Our only reference to this work is the attribution by Ḥājjī Khalīfa.¹

(5) Sharḥ as-Sirājiyya is a work on the law of inheritance. Several copies are available in Istanbul.²

(6) Ḥāshiya 'alā l-Muṭawwal³

It is a commentary on a book on rhetoric by Taftazānī. The Muṭawwal became the standard textbook on rhetoric in the madrasa system, and attracted innumerable commentaries. It seems that al-Lārī's commentary was popular among students and scholars. A note written on the front page of one of the copies in Süleymaniye indicates its significance: "This is a popular Ḥāshiya, liked by the intelligent and committed students. Its qualities are apparent to those who look into the book."

(7) Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ al-Jāmī

This is a short commentary on Jāmī's commentary on Kāfiya by Ibn al-Ḥājib. This commentary has been confused by some authors with that of 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī, a great scholar of our author's city. The fact is that the author wrote this commentary to defend his countryman against Mullā 'Iṣām Bukhārī's objections. He always referred to 'Abd al-Ghafūr with respect and refuted every objection levelled against his explanations. This commentary has been very popular among students

1. Kashf, I, 69.

2. Şehid Ali Paşa 792, author's handwritten copy.

3. Kılıç Ali Paşa 867/886; Şehid Ali Paşa 2188.

and teachers of Arabic grammar.¹ A few copies of the book are available in Süleymaniye Library.²

(8) Murshid al-Ghinā' fī Sharḥ Amthilat al-Binā'

This is a treatise on grammar written in a simple style. The author has tried to explain the etymology of words and the changes which occur. The book was probably written for beginners, and indicates the author's keen interest in language and grammar.³

(9) Mir'āt al-Adwār wa Mirqāt al-Akḥbār

This is a chronology beginning, as was customary, with the beginning of the world and reaching the reign of Suleymān the Magnificent. The work, written in Persian, is divided into a short introduction on the creation of the world and ten chapters. Muftī Sa'd ad-Dīn b. Ḥasan, hailed by many as the greatest of Ottoman historians, translated it into Turkish and expanded the tenth chapter, which studies the Ottoman dynasty, into a separate work entitled Tāj at-Tawārīkh.⁴ Copies of this book are available in several libraries.⁵

(10) Ḥāshiyā 'alā Sharḥ Tawāli'

Ḥājji Khalīfa includes it in his bibliography.⁶ It is not extant.

1. Iqtidārī, 195.

2. Hacı Mehmed Ef. 6031/I; Calal Ökten 439; Şehid Ali Paşa 2374.

3. Yazma Bağışlar 1229.

4. Rieu, I, 116; Ḥājji Khalīfa states, "Since the translator himself wrote a book, Tāj at-Tawārīkh, on the Ottoman dynasty, he did not translate the tenth chapter of the book relating to the period"; Kashf, I, 1646.

5. Aya Sofya O.3-085; Hacı Beşir Ağa 470; Esir Ef. 245; Esad Ef. 2409, 2410; Hüsrev Paşa 345, 346, 347; B.M., Add. 765.

6. Kashf, II, 1116.

(11) Hāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Mawāqif¹

In the introduction to this work, al-Lārī explains the importance of faith in this world and in the life hereafter. According to him Sharḥ Mawāqif is the best book for explaining the deeper aspects of faith and theology. He therefore decided to write a commentary on it so that it might be more easily understood and in order to express his own ideas on various problems. The book is written in a lucid style and the author uses simple language while explaining the deep and difficult problems of theology.

(12) Risāla fī Taḥqīq al-Ma'ād wa l-Mabdā'

A small treatise, in which the author explains the important theological problem. A copy survives.²

(13) Risāla fī Ithbāt al-Ma'ād al-Jismānī

This treatise also deals with a theological problem. A copy survives.³

(14) Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-Mantiq

It is a commentary in Persian on Taftazānī's book on logic. No copy survives. There is another extant work on logic, in Persian, by our author. It is, however, a commentary on Mir Sayyid Shārīf's book entitled Tahdhīb.⁴

(15) Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Ḥikma

As is evident from the introduction, the author first wrote some short notes (Hāshiya 'alā Hidāyat al-Ḥikma) on Maybudhī, which immediately became very popular in academic circles. After that he wrote what is

1. Hacı Beşir Ağa 396.

2. R. Sd. 1041/5.

3. Damad İbrahim Paşa 79112.

4. Şehid Ali Paşa 1787, 1788/I; Hacı Beşir Ağa 105.

considered to be the best commentary on the Hidāyat al-Hikma. It was published twice in Istanbul. Scholars wrote notes and commentaries on it. There are at least forty-two manuscript copies¹ of this book in Istanbul — adequate proof of its popularity within the Madrasa. Many copies can also be found throughout Europe and the Islamic world.

The following seven short works have also survived:

- (16) Risāla fī Taḥqīq Sāliḥat al-Maḥmūl²
- (17) Baḥṭh Tamām al-Mushtarak³
- (18) Fī Baḥṭh al-Irāda⁴
- (19) Risāla Taqrīr Burhān Tamānu⁵
- (20) Risāla fī Mas'alat al-Ab'ād⁶
- (21) Fī Baḥṭh al-Ḥaraka⁷
- (22) Risāla fī Ḥall Muḡhālatat Ijtimā' an-Nacīdayn⁸
- (23) Risāla fī Taḥqīq Ḥiṣṣatay al-Fajr wa sh-Shafaq⁹

It deals with the issue of times for the morning and evening prayers.

- (24) Majmū' ar-Rasā'il¹⁰

This volume contains a few treatises dealing with different philosophical and logic problems. Al-Lārī gives a short account of his teachers and shaykhs in the introduction.

- (25) Sharḥ Hay'at¹¹

It is a commentary in Persian on a book on astronomy by Mullā 'Alī al-Qawshjī.

1. Some of the Ms. numbers are Celal Ökten 308; Damad Ibrahim Paşa 811/1.
2. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 791/4.
3. Gotha 87(2), 88(2); Esad Ef. 385/4.
4. Esad Ef. 385/6.
5. Esad Ef. 3790/11; Hüsrev Paşa 244/2.
6. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 791/3.
7. Lâleli 2575/2; Nariz Paşa 1220/2; Kılıç Ali Paşa 1040/17.
8. Damad Ibrahim 791/5.
9. Lâleli 2722.
10. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 791.
11. Esad Ef. 2057; Yusuf Aga 308/I.

The most cursory perusal of this list will suffice to convince the reader of al-Lārī's deep commitment to scholarship and his comprehension of almost all the sources of his time, in particular the philosophical sciences. He is justifiably acclaimed an authority on philosophy, astronomy and logic.

CHAPTER VI

A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF AL-LĀRĪ'S COMMENTARY

ON THE ARBA'IN AN-NAWAWĪ

Al-Lārī's commentary on the Arba'in an-Nawawī manifests the author's personality to a great extent. The non-Arab Muslim scholarship of the Middle Ages was predominantly of a theophilosophical nature; even juristic and traditionist issues being discussed and explained by the use of logical and philosophical methodology. Although al-Lārī was a representative of the type of scholarship he did, however, show a more comprehensive approach to the text. It is in part due to the comprehensiveness of this book which elevated it above all the previous commentaries. Al-Lārī seems to be justified in claiming:

By God, this commentary has taken a form which will delight the hearts of the people. It includes all that was omitted by other commentaries, so that, in truth, all other commentaries, as compared to this are like a body without a soul. And this is true despite the greatness of their authors and large numbers of their copyists. 1

An analysis of the work reveals the profoundness of the author's knowledge and unique nature of the book. In order to assess the value of the work and its place among the standard works of the Muslim scholars, it would be appropriate to study it in its various aspects. The problem could be approached by evaluating the material he employed for explanation. It may also be analysed by studying the methods he adopted while commenting upon the theological and traditionist issues. A further aspect which must be studied is the style employed by the author.

1. Sharh al-Arba'in, 1.

Since the evaluation of the material of the book and methods of explanation are interlinked, it seems appropriate to discuss them together. A cursory glance through the book reveals that our author has used his vast knowledge of the various branches of Islamic learning to elaborate different points. Almost two-thirds of the book is devoted to linguistic and grammatical discussions. While elaborating these points he utilised almost all the basic sources on the subjects including the Qāmūs, the Lisān al-‘Arab, al-Kashshāf, al-Bayḍāwī, an-Nihāya, Ibn Ḥājib, ar-Raḍī, etc. Explaining the word Qayyūm¹, for example, he refers to the Kashshāf, al-Bayḍāwī and Qāmūs. He not only gives the opinions of the leading grammarians and linguists but also evaluates them critically. He occasionally takes issue with them and gives his own assessment of the matter. His profound knowledge of Arabic language and grammar is manifested clearly in many instances such as when, for example, he critically examined the stand taken by al-Akhfash² while discussing the accusative. Writing about the word "Raḥmān" he discusses the opinion attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās and pointed out the mistake of those who classified it as a dual.³ One finds detailed and stimulating discussions on proper names such as "Ramadhān"⁴ and "Jibrīl".⁵ He usually offers the opinions of the leading grammarians and linguists and then expresses his own views. We have an excellent specimen of morphological discussion in hadīth 29⁶, when he elucidates Ibn Jinnī's stand on the use of the particle "bi".⁷ He stamps his own

-
1. Sharḥ, 7.
 2. Ibid., 264.
 3. Ibid., 10.
 4. Ibid., 94.
 5. Ibid., 124.
 6. Ibid., 354.
 7. Ibid.

mark on morphological discussions when he employs logic in the elaboration of linguistic points. His deliberations on the word an-Nās¹ may be cited as one of the many examples. He provides information about the vowelling, explains the linguistic subtleties and grammatical obscurities, resolves the complicated points and attests his viewpoints with examples drawn from suitable proverbs.

These detailed discussions serve to demonstrate the wide and profound grasp of the linguistic sciences on the part of our author, but they do, however, intrude into the main arguments of the book. By devoting so much space to grammatical and linguistic discussions he has changed the nature of the work from a book of hadīth into a detailed treatise on otherwise irrelevant philological and linguistic points. Even the useful nature of this information does not mitigate the effect of burdening the reader with unjustifiably complex discussions. These detailed philological excursions take the reader away from the spiritual realm of hadīth to the mundane and tedious domain of grammar. However, the author has arranged the material so skilfully that he has rendered it difficult to delete or edit out any one portion.

The second important aspect of the book is its theological discussions. Being an eloquent theologian he loses no opportunity to express his opinion. There are certain theological issues which have always been the centre of debate and discussion among theologians, and our author has devoted some of his energy to explaining them. One such issue is the definition of īmān (faith). The word īmān² occurs in hadīth 2, and he offers the different opinions of various leading theologians and sects. He not only gives the details of a large variety of the views but also expresses his own judgement. His Ash'arite views are quite

1. Sharh, 190.
2. Ibid., 97.

clear from the way he concludes the discussions and refers to famous Ash'arite scholars like Imām al-Ḥaramayn¹, al-Bāqillānī², Ibn 'Abd as-Salām³, al-Ghazālī and others, while discussing Qur'ān and Ṣalāt 'alā n-Nabī. He presents to the readers a systematic set of arguments and conclusions on revelation⁴, angels⁵ and human responsibility for sin and disobedience to God.⁶

The author is well aware of his own eloquence and skill in explanation. While explaining the nature of a believer's faith in the personality of the Prophet he postulates,

It is essential for a believer to attain the perception of the Prophet's personality embracing all the excellent qualities, the totality of which is nothing other than his personality. By this perception a believer establishes a spiritual relationship with the centre of spiritual light, the Prophet, through which he can attain the true perception of the personalities of other prophets.

He then adds to this insight a claim to originality: "This is a subtle point which, I believe, you will not find anywhere except in this book."⁷

On the whole, all his theological discussions are within the limits of the traditional Ash'arite view; but he takes liberal attitude towards other schools and while expressing his personal opinion he will occasionally differ with his own school.

Another salient feature of the book is its juristic discussions. The author, himself a distinguished Shāfi'ite jurist, devoted a good portion of the book to juristic issues. Although he is liberal in his

-
1. Sharḥ, 28.
 2. Ibid., 23.
 3. Ibid., 28.
 4. Ibid., 104.
 5. Ibid., 103.
 6. Ibid., 154.
 7. Ibid., 186.

approach, yet he is loyal to his own rite. Discussing an issue, he usually gives the opinions of the leading scholars of the other rite, examines them critically and explains the preferential position of his own rite. It appears from his method and approach that he is a mujtahid of the rite.

Looking into his commentary on the first tradition, one finds an elaborate discussion on the place and importance of intention (an-Niyya) in Islam.¹ His liberalism is evident from the fact that he openly appreciates the Ḥanafite position on the importance of intention in observances, disregarding the arguments of the Shāfi'ites. On other occasions he accepts views of the great scholars of his rite and presents the Shāfi'ite case in a more logical way. He made valuable comments while discussing salāt, zakāt, Hajj, Sawm² and Halāl wa-Ḥarām.³ There is an interesting discussion on the issue of the Bayt al-Māl.⁴ For legal points he mostly refers to an-Nawawī and ar-Rāfi'ī and for juristic problems refers to Taftazānī⁵, but there are occasional references also to al-Ghazālī.⁶

It appears that he follows an-Nawawī and ar-Rāfi'ī as far as the legal issues are concerned, but on the juristic points he is more influenced by at-Taftazānī.⁷ There are thought-provoking legal and juristic discussions in ḥadīths 30, 32, 33 and 37.⁸ The question of disobedience⁹ (ma'siya) has always been a focus of attention for the

-
1. Sharḥ, 59.
 2. Ibid., 89-96.
 3. Ibid., 166-68.
 4. Ibid., 169.
 5. Ibid., 357, 417.
 6. Ibid., 404.
 7. Ibid., 357, 416-19.
 8. Ibid., 366-70, 371-76, 416-19.
 9. Ibid., 404.

theologians; but it has legal implications also. His deliberation on the issue shows his skill in combining them both and his profound knowledge of theology and jurisprudence. He has also discussed the question of khilāfa¹ but does not offer anything new to the discussion. The book dwells on the importance of the heart² in religious matters.

Yet another absorbing aspect of the book is its mystic dimension. Although the legal framework is useful for protecting the social order and for the security of the individuals yet it is the mystic phenomenon of self-discipline and spiritual refinement in the individual and the excellent environment of the society which provides the healthy bases for the development of a sound personality. In fact mysticism is the beauty of the religion. Having grasped reality, Muslim sūfīs have made substantial contributions to the spiritual life of the Muslim community in spite of the fierce attack and ardent opposition of the orthodox theologians and fuqahā'.

Although al-Lārī is equipped with traditional scholarship, he is, nevertheless, a sūfī through and through. By including the finest mystical points and sūfī interpretations of ahādīth, he enhances the value of the book. He refers to Ibn 'Arabī's Futūhāt as a source.³ He is one of the few scholars of the later period of scholarship to dare to take issue with al-Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar's criticisms of sūfī interpretations of hadīth, and in doing so he draws support for his point of view from Taftazānī and Ibn 'Arabī.⁴ Commenting on the concept of intention (Niyya) he gave a mystical aspect to the discussion by referring to

-
1. Sharḥ, 340.
 2. Ibid., 178.
 3. Ibid., 44.
 4. Ibid., 111-12.

al-Ghazālī's view on remembrance.¹ To love God and attain His nearness are fundamental issues in Ṣūfism. His short but logical explanation of the problem indicates his vision and spiritual experience.² Spiritual experience is a delicate matter, and words themselves rarely have the capacity to convey the delight of the agony of the inner self; but our author seems to have the necessary skill to convert some of the most subtle feelings into logical expressions.³

Discussing the nature of asceticism in hadīth 31, he drew support from the Qur'ān and offers quotations from hadīth.⁴ While Jihād is usually explained as a physical phenomenon of fighting, he discusses it within the context of a purely personal and spiritual struggle. According to his mystical interpretation it is a contest with the evil elements within the person of human beings.⁵ He has given some points about the psychological aspect of human behaviour within the framework of religious morality.⁶ His treatment of the question of infallibility and purity of intention is also mystical rather than theological.⁷

It seems that his mystical vision never allows him to ignore a point where he could furnish useful spiritual information. He is as liberal in his ṣūfī views as he is in legal and theological opinions. Being faithful to the ṣūfī way he continually refers to the great ṣūfis. He quotes al-Qushayrī⁸ for the definition of a saint (walī), Fuḍayl b.

-
1. Sharḥ, 71.
 2. Ibid., 314-22.
 3. Ibid.,
 4. Ibid., 363.
 5. Ibid., 353.
 6. Ibid., 394.
 7. Ibid., 410.
 8. Ibid., 408.

‘Iyād¹, al-Khawāfī², as-Suhrawardī³ for faith and purity of inclination, ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn⁴ and Salmān al-Fārisī⁵ for sincerity of purpose.

Since the text on which al-Lārī wrote a commentary is a collection of ahādīth it seems appropriate to investigate the elements of hadīth in the book. The fact that the scholars of hadīth have a special approach to the commentary of hadīth make this investigation essential.

His method is simple and clear. It appears that he kept all the earlier authentic and scholarly commentaries before him while writing his own commentary. Looking at the work from a traditionist point of view the reader will find it rich in information. He gives the biographies of the first narrators as well as other personalities mentioned in the text, examining also the authority and acceptability of the narrator.⁶ There are many instances where he explains a hadīth he looks to other ahādīth for support.⁷ His comments on the question of permissibility and forbiddance (halāl wa -ḥarām)⁸ provide a good example of his traditionist approach. His individuality is manifested on the occasions where he gives his assessment of the views taken by the other commentators. While commenting on hadīth 3 he critically examines the explanation given by aṭ-Ṭibī, putting forward his own view on a rhetorical problem and quotes as-Sakkākī in his favour.⁹

He does however depend heavily on aṭ-Ṭibī al-Kirmānī, an-Nawawī, and Ibn Ḥajar. Although he disagrees with them occasionally and critically

-
1. Sharḥ, 279.
 2. Ibid., 413.
 3. Ibid., 414.
 4. Ibid., 349.
 5. Ibid., 280.
 6. Ibid., 40.
 7. Ibid., 120, 148.
 8. Ibid., 167-72.
 9. Ibid., 13-135.

evaluates their opinions, yet he relies on them for the basic material from them. Undoubtedly he was a great scholar of hadith, but it seems that theology and mysticism have dominated his thinking. The major part of the book is devoted to linguistic, juristic, theological and mystical discussions. On the one hand it shows the comprehensiveness of the book, while on the other hand it indicates the weakness of its traditionalist aspect. For many, particularly those interested primarily in hadith literature, these discussions will be deemed a fault.

After studying the various aspects of the work it will be useful to offer an overall appraisal. Although the book is full of valuable information, its utility is somewhat marred by the complicated style of the author. Had the style been lucid and clear it would have been an unparalleled work. He seems to have attempted to attract the reader's attention by introducing many separate points on various subjects, but unfortunately fails in his aim. He occasionally loses control of the structure of his sentences. He varies the style of his phrases, probably intentionally to show a mastery of the various forms of Arabic sentence, but unfortunately the result is a certain turgidity of style. Although he was well-versed in the theory of Arabic language, he was, nevertheless, a non-Arabic speaker. This may account for the failure of his style. However complexity of prose style was, in this period, considered the hallmark of a scholar. We must also bear in mind that he lived in the age of the commentary and supercommentary. Scholars capable of writing concise, compact and difficult texts were honoured the most. It seems that al-Lārī's theophilosophical background and mystical mind encouraged him to develop a complicated style.

Another noticeable fault is his occasional mistake in his quotation from the sources.¹ Sometimes the words or the sequence of a quoted ḥadīth is changed, an error which is somewhat surprising in a scholar of his calibre. Moreover to alter a ḥadīth is considered nothing less than a sin by muhaddithīn. One may attribute these faults to copyists, but it is difficult to determine where the error originated.

Another point worth mentioning is the great similarity between some of al-Lārī's materials and that of Ibn Rajab. They have either drawn their materials from the same sources or al-Lārī has depended heavily on this work.

In spite of these drawbacks the book as a whole is unique for its vast materials, comprehensiveness, liberal view, moderate approach and general usefulness.

1. Sharḥ, 373.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

General Manuscripts

- Abū l-Baqā' 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 616 A.H.). I'rāb al-Ḥadīth, Ms. 'Amm, 1752, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Abū th-Thana' Muḥammad b. al-Imām bi-l-Kāmiliyya (d. 874 A.H.). al-Manhal ar-Rawī fī Tarjumat Qutb al-Awliyā', Ms. British Museum, Or 4308.
- al-Baghawī, Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd (d. 516 A.H.). Sharḥ as-Sunna, Ms. Aḥmad III, A 645, Topkapı, Istanbul.
- al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 470 A.H.). Shu'ab al-Imān, Ms. Reisülküttab, 217, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- al-Hindī, Sirāj ad-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq (d. 773 A.H.). Sharḥ al-Badā'i', Ms. Hüsnü Paşa, 53, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- al-Ḥulaymī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan (d. 403 A.H.). Shu'ab al-Imān, Ms. Süleymaniye, 690, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī. Mu'jam Shuyūkh ash-Shāfi'iyya, Ms. 'Amm, 5451, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Ibn al-Ḥājjib, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Umar (d. 672 A.H.). Amālī al-Qur'ān, Ms. Crch, 1886, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 724 A.H.). Tuḥfat at-Tālibīn, photocopy of Ms. from Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 241 A.H.). 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth wa Madhammat ar-Rijāl, Majmū' 544 (98-106), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- , Min Kalām fī 'Ilal al-Ḥadīth wa Ma'rifat ar-Rijāl, Majmū' 40 (1-23), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Ibn Ḥibbān, Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān b. Aḥmad Abī Ḥātim al-Bustī (d. 354 A.H.). Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān, Ms. Kılıç Ali Paşa, 243, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- Ibn Shuhba, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad (d. 851 A.H.). Ṭabaqāt an-Nuḥāt wa-l-Lughawiyīn, Ms. 529, Zāhiriyya, Damascus; Ms. 437 Tārīkh.
- al-Jurjānī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 816 A.H.). Ḥawāshī 'alā l-Mishkāt, Ms. Fatih, 668, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.

- al-Lārī, Muşliḥ ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 797 A.H.). Hāshiya 'alā l-Muṭawwal, Ms. Kılıç Ali Paşa 867/886; Şehid Ali Paşa, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Hāshiya 'alā Sharḥ al-Jāmī, Ms. Hacı Mehmed Ef. 6031/I, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Hāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Mawāqif, Ms. Hacı Beşir Ağa 396, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Majmū' ar-Rasā'il, Ms. Damad Ibrahim 791, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Mir'āt al-Adwār wa Mirgāt al-Adwār, Ms. British Museum, Add. 7650; Ms. Hacı Beşir Ağa 470, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Murshid al-Ghinā' fī Sharḥ Amthilat al-Binā', Ms. Yazma Bağışlar 1229, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Risāla fī Ithbāt al-Ma'ād al-Jismānī, Ms. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 79112, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Risāla Mas'alat al-Ab'ād, Ms. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 791/3, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Risāla fī Taḥqīc al-Ma'ād wa-l-Mabda', Ms. R. Sd. 104115, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Risāla fī Taḥqīc Sālibat al-Maḥmūl, Ms. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 791/4, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Sharḥ Hay'a, Ms. Esad Ef. 2057, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Ḥikma, Ms. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 811/1, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Sharḥ ash-Shamā'il, Ms. Hacı Beşir Ağa 121; Şehid Ali Paşa 477, 476, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Sharḥ as-Sirājiyya, Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 792, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-Mantiq, Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 1787, 1788/I, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- an-Nawawī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf (d. 676 A.H.). al-Irshād, Ms. Lâleli 2148, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Mukhtaşar al-Irshād, Ms. Fatih 679, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , ar-Rawḍa, Ms. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 532, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- , Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, Ms. Kılıç Ali Paşa 243, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.

- al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Abū l-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544 A.H.). al-Ikmāl (Sharḥ Muslim), Ms. Crch 351, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- al-Qūnawī, Şadr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 671 A.H.). Sharḥ al-Arba'in, Ms. Nafiz Paşa 151, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- Şadr ash-Sharī'a, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (d. 748 A.H.). Tanqīḥ al-Uṣūl, Ms. Lâleli 3665, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- as-Sarakhsī, Shams al-A'imma, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 483 A.H.). Uṣūl as-Sarakhsī, Ms. Süleymaniye 947, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- as-Suyūṭī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr (d. 911 A.H.). al-Minhāj as-Sāmī fī Tarjumat al-Imām an-Nawawī, Ms. 6082, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- aṭ-Ṭibī, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 743 A.H.). Kitāb fī Asmā' ar-Rijāl, Ms. 'Amm 89 (6163), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- , Sharḥ al-Mishkāt, Ms. Damad Ibrahim Paşa 364, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.

Manuscripts of Arba'ins and commentaries thereon

- Abū l-Futūḥ aṭ-Ṭā'i, Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 555 A.H.). al-Arba'in fī Irshād as-Sā'irīn ilā Manāzil l-Mutta'īn, Ms. Aya Sofya 512, Süleymaniye, Istanbul; Ms. Ḥadīth 179, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Abū Nu'aym, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Asbahānī (d. 430 A.H.). Kitāb al-Arba'in 'alā Madhhab al-Muḥaqiqīn min aṣ-Ṣūfiyya, Ms. Majmū' 64 (50-63), Majmū' 79 (79-90), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Ājurri, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 330 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Majmū' 4 (49-80), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn (d. 458 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Kılıç Ali Paşa 1034/I (1-26), Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- al-Fākihānī, 'Umar b. 'Alī (d. 731 A.H.). al-Manhaj al-Mubīn fī Sharḥ al-Arba'in, Ms. Bayazid 906, Istanbul.
- al-Furāwī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 530 A.H.). Kitāb al-Arba'in, Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 539/I, Süleymaniye, Istanbul; Ms. Majmū' 22, 541/4, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Hāshimī, Zayd b. Rifā'a (d. ca. 400 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. 532, Zāhiriyya, Damascus; Lâleli 3667/2, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 633 A.H.). Mishkāt al-Anwār fī mā Ruwiya 'an Allāh Subḥānuhu min al-Akḥbār, Ms. Crch 2070/I,3, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 571 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Majmū' 17 (199-215), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.

- Ibn 'Asākīr, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (d. 620 A.H.). Kitāb al-Arba'in fī Manāqib Ummahāt al-Mu'minīn, Ms. Ḥadīth 535 (1-53), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Ibn Wad'ān, Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 494 A.H.). al-Arba'in al-Wad'āniyya, Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 540/I, 442/I, Süleymaniye, Istanbul; Ms. Ḥadīth 532 (4-14), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Mālīnī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 405 A.H.). Kitāb al-Arba'in fī Shuyūkh as-Sūfiyya, Ms. Majmū' 63 (33-49), 64 (50-65), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Maqdisī, Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm (d. 490 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Majmū' 67 (42-65), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Maqdisī, Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Mufaḍḍal (d. 611 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Ḥadīth 168 (1-95), Zāhiriyya, Damascus; Ms. British Museum Or 3061.
- al-Maqdisī, Diyā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhid (d. 643 A.H.). al-Muntaqā min al-Arba'in fī Shu'ab al-Īmān li-ş-Şaffār, Ms. Majmū' 52 (129-141), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- Muḥammad b. Abī 'Alī (d. 466 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. 116 (2-119), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- an-Nasawī, Abū l-'Abbās al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān (d. 303 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 54/3, Süleymaniye, Istanbul; Ḥadīth 348, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- an-Nawawī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf (d. 676 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Lāleli, 446, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- ar-Ruhāwī, 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 612 A.H.). al-Arba'in alā-l-Buldān, Ms. Majmū' 72 (10-29), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin (d. 365 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Majmū' 117, Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- as-Silafī, Abū Ṭāhir, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 576 A.H.). Kitāb al-Arba'in al-Mustaḡhnī bi Ta'yīn mā fih 'an al-Mu'in, Ms. Majmū' 76 (1-25), Zāhiriyya, Damascus; Ms. Şehid Ali Paşa 540/I, Süleymaniye, Istanbul.
- as-Sulamī, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn (d. 422 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Murad Buhari 318/6, Süleymaniye, Istanbul; Majmū' 124 (2-9), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- ath-Thaqafī, al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl (d. 489 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Ḥadīth 435/1 (602-); Zāhiriyya, Damascus.
- aṭ-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Aslam (d. 242 A.H.). al-Arba'in, Ms. Majmū' 101 (93-106), Zāhiriyya, Damascus.

Commentaries

- al-Anṣārī, Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad (d. 926 A.H.). Sharḥ al-Arba'in, photocopy of Ms. Azhar (2579)22991, Cairo.
- Ibn Jamā'a, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 819 A.H.), at-Tabyīn fī Sharḥ al-Arba'in, photocopy of Ms. Majmū' 97, Taymūriyya, Cairo.
- aṭ-Ṭūfī, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Qawī (d. 716 A.H.). Sharḥ Arba'in an-Nawawī, Ms. Halet Ef. 88/3, Süleymaniye, Istanbul; Taymūriyya 328, Cairo.

Persian Manuscripts

- Ḥaqqī Dihlawī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sayf ad-Dīn b. Sa'd Allāh (d. 1052 A.H.). Tārīkh-i Ḥaqqī, British Museum Ms. Add. 26,210.
- Jawhar, Aftābjī. Tadhkirat al-Wāqī'āt, British Museum Ms. Add 16,711.
- Mushtāqī, Rizq Allāh (d. 989 A.H.). Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī, British Museum Ms. Or 1929, Add. 11,6633.

Printed Works

- Abū Dā'ūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath (d. 275 A.H.). Sunan Abī Dā'ūd, ed. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., 2nd ed., Cairo, 1369-1370/1950-1951.
- Abū Nu'aym, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣbahānī (d. 430 A.H.). Hilyat al-Awliyā', 10 vols., Cairo, 1351-1357/1932-1938.
- Abū Sa'īd, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī b. al-Ḥajj Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm. Hādī al-Mustarshidīn ilā Ittiṣāl al-Musnidīn, Hyderabad, 1355 A.H.
- Abū Ya'lā, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 459 A.H.). al-Aḥkām as-Sultāniyya, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1386/1966.
- al-Afghānī, ash-Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥakīm (d. 1326 A.H.). Kashf al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Sharḥ Kanz ad-Dacā'iq, 4 vols., Cairo, Adabiyya, 1318 A.H.
- 'Alī b. Bālī ('Alī Mānik) (d. 992 A.H.). al-'Iqd al-Manzūm fī Afādil ar-Rūm (in the margin of second volume of Mafayāt al-A'yān), Cairo, 1310 A.H.
- al-Anṣārī, 'Abd al-'Alī Muḥammad b. Niẓām ad-Dīn. Fawātiḥ ar-Rahmūt fī Sharḥ Musallam ath-Thubūt, 1st ed., 2 vols., Būlāq, 1322 A.H.
- Anwar Shah, Sayyid Muḥammad. Fayḍ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li-l-Bukhārī, ed. Maulānā Badr 'Ālim, Damascus, n.d.

- al-Baghawī, Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd (d. 516 A.H.). Maṣābiḥ as-Sunna, 5 vols., Cairo, Maktabat al-'Arab, 1294 A.H.
- al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qāhir (d. 429 A.H.). Uṣūl ad-Dīn, Istanbul, 1928.
- al-Baghdādī, Ismā'il Pasha b. Muḥammad Amīn (d. 1339 A.H.). Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn fī Asmā' l-Mu'allifīn wa Athār al-Muṣannifīn, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1951.
- , Īdāḥ al-Maknūn fī dh-Dhayl 'alā Kashf az-Zunūn, 2 vols., n.d.
- al-Bakrī, 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 487 A.H.). Mu'jam mā Ṣta'jam min Asmā' al-Bilād wa l-Mawāḍi', ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqa, 1st ed., 4 vols. (in 2), Cairo, 1364/1945.
- al-Bāqillānī, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib (d. 403 A.H.). I'jāz al-Our'an, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣaqr, Cairo, Ma'ārif, n.d.
- al-Bayḍawī, Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (d. 685)A.H.). Anwār at-Tanzīl wa Asrār at-Ta'wīl, 5 vols., Cairo, n.d.
- al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 470 A.H.). as-Sunan al-Kubrā, 10 vols., Hyderabad, 1344-1356/1925-1937.
- al-Bukhārī, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 730 A.H.). Kashf al-Asrār 'alā Uṣūl al-Imām Fakhr al-Islām al-Bazdawī, 4 vols., Istanbul, Ṣanā'i', 1307 A.H.
- al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il (d. 256 A.H.). al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, ed. M. Ludolf Krehl and Th. W. Juynboll under the title Le Recueil des Traditions Mahometanes, 4 vols., Leiden, Brill, 1862-1908 A.D.
- ad-Dāraquṭnī, 'Alī b. 'Umar (d. 385 A.H.). Sunan ad-Dāraquṭnī bi-Sharḥ al-'Azīmābādī, ed. S. 'Abd Allāh Hāshim, 4 vols. (in 2), Cairo, 1386/1966.
- ad-Dārimī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān (d. 255 A.H.). Sunan ad-Dārimī, 2 vols., Cairo, Dar al-Fikr, 1398/1978.
- ad-Dawānī, Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad (d. 918 A.H.). Unmūdhaj al-'Ulūm, Delhi, Muṣṭafā'i, 1322 A.H.
- adh-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 748 A.H.). al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar, ed. F. as-Sayyid and Ṣ. al-Munajjid, Kuwayt, 1961 A.D.
- , Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā', vols. 1, 2, 3, ed. Ṣ. al-Munajjid and others, Cairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1956 A.D.
- , Mizān al-I'tidāl fī Naqd ar-Rijāl, ed. 'Alī M. al-Bajāwī, 4 vols., Cairo, 1963 A.D.
- , Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz, 4 vols., 3rd ed., Hyderabad, 1375/1955.

- (adh-Dhahabī) Manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabī, n.d.
- , Tārīkh al-Islām wa Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa l-A‘lām, vols. 1-6, ed. by al-Qudṣī, Cairo, 1948-1950 A.D.
- al-Fashnī, Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī (d. ca. 928 A.H.). al-Majālis as-Saniyya fī l-Kalām ‘alā l-Arba‘in an-Nawawiyya, Cairo, 1316 A.H.
- al-Fihris at-Tamhīdī li-l-Makhtuṭāt al-Musawwara fī Jāmi‘a ad-Duwal al-‘Arabiyya, Cairo, 1948.
- al-Firūzābādī, Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb (d. 817 A.H.). al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, 4 vols., Cairo, 1330 A.H.
- al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad (d. 505 A.H.). Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn, 4 vols., Cairo, 1929 A.D.
- , al-Mustaṣfā, 1st ed., 2 vols., Cairo, Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1356/1937.
- Ḥājji Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1068 A.H.). Kashf az-Zunūn ‘an Asmā’ al-Kutub wa l-Funūn, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1360-1362/1941-1943.
- al-Ḥākim an-Nisābūrī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 405 A.H.). al-Mustadrak ‘alā s-Sahīhayn, 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1341 A.H.
- , Ma‘rifat ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. S. Mu‘azzam Ḥusayn, Beirut, at-Tijāriyya, n.d.
- al-Haythamī, Nūr ad-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr (d. 807 A.H.). Majma‘ az-Zawā‘id wa Manba‘ al-Fawā‘id, 8 vols., Cairo, Qudṣī, 1352 A.H.
- al-Haythamī, Ibn Ḥajar (d. 974 A.H.). Faṭḥ al-Mubīn li-Sharḥ al-Arba‘in, Cairo, Maymaniyya, 1317 A.H.
- Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurṭubī (d. 463 A.H.). al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Ashāb, (in the margin of al-Iṣāba), 4 vols., Cairo, 1939; 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1336 A.H.
- , Jāmi‘ Bayān al-‘Ilm, 2 vols., ed. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad ‘Uthmān, Medina, as-Salafiyya, 2nd ed., 1388/1968.
- Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad. Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, 2 vols, Cairo, 1371/1952.
- Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, ‘Alī b. Abī l-Mukarram Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm (d. 630 A.H.). al-Kāmil fī t-Tārīkh, 12 vols., Cairo, Azhariyya, 1st ed., 1301 A.H.
- Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz ad-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 630 A.H.). al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb, 3 vols., Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muthannā, n.d.
- , Usd al-Ghāba fī Ma‘rifat as-Sahāba, 5 vols., Cairo, 1280-87 A.H.

- Ibn al-Athīr, Mubārak b. Muḥammad (d. 606 A.H.). an-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa l-Āthār, ed. Ṭāhir Aḥmad and Maḥmūd Muḥammad, 5 vols., Cairo, 1383/1963.
- Ibn al-Fāris, Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad (d. 395 A.H.). Aṣ-Ṣāḥibi fī Fiqh al-Lughā, Beirut, Bādṛān, 1964 A.D.
- Ibn al-Humām, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Waḥīd b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid (d. 861 A.H.). Fath al-Qadīr (Sharḥ al-Hidāya), 4 vols., Cairo, Būlāq, 1315 A.H.
- Ibn al-‘Imād al-Ḥanbalī, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy (d. 1089 A.H.). Shadharāt adh-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab, 8 vols., Cairo, 1350-51 A.H.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī (d. 597 A.H.). Sīfat aṣ-Ṣafwa, 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1355-57 A.H.
- , Talbīs Iblīs, Cairo, Sa‘āda, 1340 A.H.
- , al-Muntaẓam, Hyderabad, 1357 A.D.
- Ibn al-Jazarī, Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad (d. 833 A.H.). Ghāyāt an-Nihāya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā, ed. G. Bergstrasser, 2 vols., Cairo, 1352/1933.
- Ibn ‘Asākir, Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 571 A.H.). at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr (Tahdhīb at-Tārīkh), ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Bādṛān, Damascus, 1329-1349/1911-1930.
- , Tabyīn Kadhib al-Muftarī, Damascus, 1347 A.H.
- Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān (d. 643 A.H.). ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. Nūr ad-Dīn ‘Iṭr, Aleppo, al-Aṣīl, 1386/1966.
- Ibn Farḥūn, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 799 A.H.). ad-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma‘rifat A’yān ‘Ulamā’ al-Madhhab, Cairo, 1329 A.H.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (d. 852 A.H.). Fath al-Bārī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 20 vols., Cairo, 1348 A.H.
- , Hady as-Sārī fī Muqaddimat Fath al-Bārī, 2 vols., Cairo, 1383 A.H.
- , Nuzhat an-Nazar fī Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar, Medina, n.d.
- , al-Iṣāba fī Tamyiz aṣ-Ṣaḥāba, 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.; 4 vols., Cairo, Bahiyya, 1348 A.H.
- , Lisān al-Mizān, 6 vols., Hyderabad, 1329 A.H.
- , Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb, 12 vols., Hyderabad, 1325-1327 A.H.

- Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 241 A.H.). al-Musnad, 6 vols., Cairo, Maymaniyya, 1313 A.H.
- , Kitāb az-Zuhd, Beirut, 1396/1976.
- Ibn Ḥibbān, Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān b. Aḥmad Abī Ḥātim al-Bustī (d. 354 A.H.). Kitāb al-Majrūhīn min al-Muḥaddithīn, Aleppo, Dār al-Wa'y, 1396 A.H.
- Ibn Hishām, Jamāl ad-Dīn b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (d. 761 A.H.). Mughnī al-Labīb 'an Kutub al-A'arīb, 2 vols., ed. Muḥyī ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, n.d.
- Ibn Jinnī, Abū l-Faḥḥ 'Uthmān (d. 392 A.H.). Sirr Ṣinā'at al-I'rāb, ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā and others, vol. I, Cairo, 1st ed., 1374/1954.
- Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'il b. 'Umar (d. 774 A.H.). al-Bā'ith al-Ḥathīth, Sharḥ Ikhtisār 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr, Cairo.
- , al-Bidāya wa n-Nihāya, 14 vols., Beirut, 1966 A.D.
- Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 681 A.H.). Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abna' az-Zamān, 2 vols., Cairo, 1299 A.H.
- Ibn Māja, Muḥammad b. Yazīd (d. 273 A.H.). Sunan al-Muṣṭafā, 2 vols., Cairo, Tāziyya, 1349 A.H.; 2 vols., Cairo, 'Īsā al-Bābī.
- Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram (d. 711 A.H.). Lisān al-'Arab, 20 vols., Cairo, Būlāq, 1300-1307 A.H.
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad (d. 751 A.H.). I'lām al-Muwaqqi'in, 4 vols., Cairo, 1389/1969.
- Ibn Qutayba ad-Daynawarī, 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim (d. 276 A.H.). 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, 4 vols., Cairo, 1343/1925.
- Ibn Rajab, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (d. 795 A.H.). Jāmi' al-'Ulūm wa l-Ḥikam fī Sharḥ Khamsīn Ḥadīthā min Jawāmi' al-Kalīm, Cairo, 3rd ed., 1382/1962.
- , adh-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, 2 vols. (in 1), Cairo, Maḥmūdiyya, 1372/1953.
- Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad (d. 230 A.H.). Kitāb at-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr, ed. Sachau, and others, 9 vols., Leiden, 1905-1940 A.D.
- Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 763 A.H.). Fawāt al-Wafayāt, 2 vols., Cairo, Sa'āda, 1951 A.D.
- Ibn Sīnā, Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 428 A.H.). al-Qānūn fī t-Ṭibb, Cairo, 'Āmīra, 1294 A.H.
- Ibn Taghrī Bīrdī, Abū l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf (d. 874 A.H.). An-Mujūm az-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa l-Qāhira, 12 vols., Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, n.d.

- al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 386 A.H.). Qūṭ al-Qulūb, 2 vols., Cairo, 1381 A.H.
- al-Makkī, Muḥammad b. Faḥd (d. 890 A.H.). Laḥz al-Alḥāz Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz, in the margin of Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz, Cairo, Qudsī, 1327 A.H.
- Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 A.H.). al-Muwatta' (bi-Sharḥ az-Zurqānī), 4 vols., Cairo, 1355/1936.
- al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1041 A.H.). Nafḥ at-Tib min Ghusn al-Andalus ar-Raṭīb, ed. M. Muḥyī ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, Sa'āda, 1367/1949.
- al-Maqqarī, Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1041 A.H.). Azhār ar-Riyād fī Akhbār 'Iyād, ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā and others, 3 vols., Cairo, 1358/1939.
- al-Mas'ūdī, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 346 A.H.). Murūj adh-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4th ed., Cairo, 1384/1964.
- al-Maqrizī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d. 845 A.H.). Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa l-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa l-Āthār, 2 vols., Cairo, Būlāq, 1270 A.H.
- al-Marghaynānī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Bakr (d. 593 A.H.). al-Hidāya, 4 vols. (in 2), Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī, n.d.
- al-Muḥibbī, Muḥammad al-Amin b. Faḍl Allāh (d. 1061 A.H.). Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar, 4 vols., Cairo, 1284 A.H.
- al-Munāwī, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf (d. 1031 A.H.). Fayḍ al-Qadīr fī Sharḥ al-Jamī' as-Saghīr li-s-Suyūṭī, 2 vols., Cairo, 1356 A.H.
- , Kunūz al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Ḥadīth Khayr al-Khalā'iq, Cairo, n.d.
- al-Munzirī, 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī (d. 665 A.H.). al-Arba'in Ḥadīthā fī Faḍl Iṣṭinā' al-Ma'rūf li-l-Muslimīn wa Qadā' Hawā'ij al-Malḥūfīn, Cairo, 1951 A.D.
- Murtadā az-Zabīdī, Abū l-Fayḍ Muḥammad (d. 1205 A.H.). Tāj al-'Arūs, 10 vols., Cairo, 1285-1307 A.H.
- Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, Abū l-Ḥusayn (d. 261 A.H.). Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, ed. Muḥammad adh-Dhihnī, 4 vols., Cairo, 1377 A.H.
- al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, 'Alī b. Ḥusām ad-Dīn (d. 975 A.H.). Kanz al-'Ummāl, 10 vols., Hyderabad, 1364/1943.
- an-Nabhānī, Yūsuf b. Ismā'il (d. 1350 A.H.). Jāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā', 2 vols., Cairo, 1329 A.H.

- Ibn Taymiyya, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm (d. 728 A.H.). Minhāj as-Sunna an-Nabawiyya, 4 vols., Cairo, Būlāq, 1321 A.H.
- al-Isnawī, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan (d. 772 A.H.). Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Jibūrī, 2 vols., Baghdad, 1391/1971.
- al-'Irāqī, Zayn ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Ḥusayn (d. 806 A.H.). Sharḥ Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīth, Cairo, 1355 A.H.
- al-Jaṣṣāṣ, Ahmad b. 'Alī (d. 370 A.H.). Ankām al-Qur'ān, 3 vols., Cairo, 1347/1928.
- al-Jawharī, Abū Naṣr Ismā'il b. Muḥammad (d. 393 A.H.). Tāj al-Lughā, 2 vols., Cairo, 1292 A.H.
- al-Jurjānī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 816 A.H.). Sharḥ al-Mawācīf fī 'Ilm al-Kalām, 8 vols. (in 4), 1st ed., Cairo, Sa'āda, 1325 A.H.
- Kaḥḥāla, 'Umar Riḍā. Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, 15 vols., Damascus, 1376/1957.
- al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Ja'far (d. 1345 A.H.). ar-Risāla al-Mustatrafā, ed. M. al-Muntaṣir al-Kattānī, 3rd ed., Damascus, 1383/1964.
- al-Kawtharī, Muḥammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1371 A.H.). al-Maḡālāt, Cairo, Anwār, 1373 A.H.
- al-Khafājī, Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. 1069 A.H.). Nasīm ar-Riyād fī Sharḥ ash-Shifā' li-l-Qādī 'Iyād, 4 vols., Istanbul, Dār as-Sa'āda, 1312 A.H.
- al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ahmad b. 'Alī (d. 463 A.H.). al-Kifāya fī 'Ilm ar-Riwāya, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ḥasan, Cairo, as-Sa'āda, 1972 A.D.
- , Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth, ed. Mehmed Sa'id Hatıboğlu, Ankara, 1971 A.D.
- , Ṭaqyīd al-'Ilm, ed. Yūsuf al-'Ishsh, Damascus, 1949 A.D.
- , Tārīkh Baghdād, 14 vols., Cairo, 1349/1931.
- al-Khaṭīb at-Tabrīzī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 737 A.H.). Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ, ed. Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Albānī, 3 vols., Damascus, 1380/1961.
- al-Kutubkhāna, Fihrist al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya al-Maḥfūza bi l-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiyya, 7 vols., two published in Cairo, 1308-1310 A.H.
- al-Laknawī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Firangī Maḥallī (d. 1264 A.H.). al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya fī Tarājim al-Ḥanafiyya, Cairo, 1324 A.H.
- , al-Ajwiba al-Fādila li-l-As'ila al-Kāmila, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, Aleppo, n.d.
- al-Laknawī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. 'Abd al-'Alī (1341 A.H.). Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa-Bahjat al-Masāmi' wa n-Nawāzīr, 6 vols., Hyderabad, n.d.

- Najm ad-Dīn al-Ghazzī. al-Kawākib as-Sā'ira fī A'yān al-Mi'at al-'Ashira, 2 vols., Beirut, 1945-1949 A.D.
- an-Nasā'i, Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb (d. 303 A.H.). Sunan an-Nasā'i, ed. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Mas'ūdī, 8 vols., Cairo, 1348/1930.
- an-Nawawī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf (d. 676 A.H.). al-Adhkār al-Muntakhaba min Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār, Cairo, 1371 A.H.
- , al-Arba'in, Qaṭar, 1976 A.D.
- , al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, 1st ed. 18 vols., Cairo, Miṣriyya, 1347/1929; in the margin of al-Qaṣṭalānī, Cairo, 1327
- , al-Majmū' fī Sharḥ al-Muḥadhdhab, 8 vols., Cairo, Muniriyya, n.d.
- , Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa l-Lughāt, 2 vols., Cairo, 1923-1955 A.D.
- al-Qārī, Mullā 'Alī b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad (d. 1014 A.H.). al-Mawdū'āt, Hyderabad, n.d.
- , al-Mubīn al-Mu'in li-Fahm al-Arba'in, Cairo, Jamāliyya, 1328 A.H.
- al-Qāsimī, Muḥammad Jamāl ad-Dīn (1901 A.D.). Qawā'id at-Taḥdīth min Funūn Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadīth, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1380/1961.
- al-Qaṣṭalānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 922 A.H.). Irshād as-Sārī bi-Sharḥ Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 10 vols., Cairo, 1323-1327 A.H.
- al-Qummī, Niẓām ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (fl. 925 A.H.). Tafsīr Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa Raghā'ib al-Qur'ān ('alā hāmish Tafsīr at-Ṭabarī), Cairo, Būlāq, 1329 A.H.
- al-Qurashī, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 775 A.H.). al-Jawāhir al-Mudī'a fī Ṭabacāt al-Ḥanafīyya, 2 vols., Hyderabad, 1332 A.H.
- al-Qurṭubī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, 20 vols., Cairo, 1936-1950.
- al-Qushayrī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin (d. 465 A.H.). ar-Risāla al-Qushayriyya, Cairo, Būlāq, 1284 A.H.
- ar-Raḍī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 688 A.H.). Sharḥ al-Kāfiya li-Ibn al-Ḥājjib, Istanbul, Dār as-Sa'āda, n.d.
- , Sharḥ ash-Shāfiya li-Ibn al-Ḥājjib, 4 vols., Cairo, 1st ed., Ḥijāzi, 1358/1939.
- ar-Rāfi'i, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad (d. 623 A.H.). Fath al-'Aziz fī Sharḥ al-Wajīz, in the margin of al-Majmū', 8 vols., Cairo, Muniriyya, n.d.

- ar-Rāmahurmuzī, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khallād (d. 360 A.H.). al-Muḥaddith al-Fāsil bayn ar-Rāwī wa l-Nā‘ī, ed. Dr. ‘Ajjāj al-Khatīb, 1st ed., Beirut, 1391/1971.
- ar-Rāzī, Fakhr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (d. 606 A.H.). Mafātīh al-Ghayb (Tafsīr al-Kabīr), 8 vols., Cairo, Ḥusayniyya, n.d.
- Ṣadr ash-Sharī‘a, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd (d. 748 A.H.). Sharḥ al-Wiqāya ‘alā hāmish Kashf al-Ḥaqā’iq, 1st ed., 4 vols. (in 2), Cairo, Adabiyya, 1318 A.H.
- aṣ-Ṣadūq, Shaykh, Ibn Bābawayh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. al-Khiṣāl, Najaf, 1971.
- aṣ-Ṣafadī, Khalīl b. Aybak (d. 764 A.H.). al-Nāfi bi-l-Wafayāt, 4 vols., Cairo, n.d.
- Sa‘id al-Khūrī. Acrab al-Mawārid, Beirut, 1889 A.D.
- as-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān (d. 902 A.H.). Fath al-Mughīth bi-Sharḥ Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīth, Lucknow, 1282 A.H.
- , al-I‘lān bi-t-Tawbīkh li-man Dhamma at-Tārīkh, ed. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alī, Baghdad, 1382/1963.
- , ad-Daw’ al-Lāmi‘ li-Ahl al-Qarn at-Tāsi‘, 12 vols., Cairo, Qudsi, 1353 A.H.
- , at-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl as-Sulūk, Cairo, 1896 A.D.
- , al-Qawl al-Badī‘ fī aṣ-Ṣalāt ‘alā sh-Shafi‘, Lucknow, n.d.
- , Tarjumat Shaykh al-Islām, Quṭb al-Awliyā’ al-Kirām, an-Nawawī, Cairo, Azhar, 1354/1935.
- as-Sakkākī, Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad (d. 626 A.H.). Miftāh al-‘Ulūm, Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī, 1356/1937.
- as-Sam‘ānī, ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad (d. 562 A.H.). Kitāb al-Ansāb, Hyderabad, 1962 ———
- aṣ-Ṣan‘ānī, ‘Abd ar-Razzāq b. Hammām (d. 211 A.H.). al-Musannaf, ed. Ḥabīb ar-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, 11 vols., Beirut, 1390-1392/1970-1972.
- as-Subkī, Tāj ad-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Alī (d. 771 A.H.). Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā, 8 vols., Cairo, Ḥusayniyya, 1303 A.H.; ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad, Maḥmūd Muḥammad, 10 vols., Cairo, 1st ed., n.d.
- as-Suyūṭī, ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr (d. 911 A.H.). at-Ta‘accubāt ‘alā l-Mawdū‘āt, Lucknow, al-‘Alawī, 1303 A.H.
- , at-Tadrib ar-Rāwī fī Sharḥ Tacrib an-Nawawī, 2nd ed., Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1285/1966.

- (as-Suyūṭī) Bughyat al-Mu'āt, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1964 A.D.
- , Ham' al-Hawāmi' fī Sharḥ Jam' al-Jawāmi', 2 vols. (in 1), Cairo, Sa'āda, 1327 A.H.
- , Husn al-Muḥādara fī Akhbār Miṣr wa l-Qāhira, 2 vols. (in 1), Cairo, 1882 A.D.
- ash-Shawkānī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 1250 A.H.). al-Badr at-Ṭāli' bi-Maḥāsin man ba'd al-Qarn as-Sābi', 2 vols., 1st ed., Cairo, Sa'āda, 1348 A.H.
- ash-Shubrakhītī, ash-Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Mar'ī (d. 1106 A.H.). al-Futūḥāt al-Wahbiyya bi Sharḥ al-Arba'in Ḥadīthā an-Nawawiyya, Cairo, Khayriyya, 1304 A.H.
- aṭ-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr (d. 310 A.H.). Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, ed. Muḥammad az-Zuhri al-Ghamrāwī, Cairo, Maymaniyya, 1321 A.H.
- , Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa l-Mulūk, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed., 10 vols., Cairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1967-1969 A.D.
- at-Taftazānī, Mas'ūd b. 'Umar (d. 792 A.H.). Sharḥ 'Acā'id an-Nasafī, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, n.d.
- , at-Talwīḥ 'alā t-Tanoīḥ, Kazan, Ministry of Education, 1883 A.D.
- Ṭāshkūbrizāda, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā (d. 962 A.H.). Miftāḥ as-Sa'āda wa Miṣbāḥ as-Siyāda, 3 vols., Hyderabad, 1328-1356/1910-1937.
- , ash-Shaqā'ic an-Nu'māniyya fī Dawlat al-'Uthmāniyya (in the margin of Wafayāt al-A'yān), Cairo, 1310 A.H.
- aṭ-Ṭahrānī, Āghā Buzurg Muḥammad Muḥsin (d. 1359 A.H.). adh-Dhari'a ilā Taṣānīf ash-Shi'a, 21 vols., Najaf, Tehran, 1936-1972 A.D.
- aṭ-Ṭībī, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 743 A.H.). al-Khulāṣa fī Usūl al-Ḥadīth, ed. Ṣubḥī as-Sāmarrā'i, Baghdad, Irshād, 1391/1971.
- aṭ-Ṭibrānī, Sulaymān b. Aḥmad (d. 360 A.H.). al-Mu'jam aṣ-Ṣaḥīr, ed. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, Medina, Salafiyya, n.d.
- at-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. 'Isā (d. 279 A.H.). Ṣaḥīḥ at-Tirmidhī bi-Sharḥ Ibn al-'Arabī (al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ), 13 vols., Cairo, aṣ-Ṣāwī, 1350-1353/1931-1934; ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, 5 vols., Cairo, 1st ed., 1356/1937.
- al-Yāfi'i, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad (d. 768 A.H.). Mir'āt al-Janān wa 'Ibrat al-Yaqzān fī Ma'rifat ma Yu'tabar min Ḥawādith āz-Zamān, 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1339 A.H.

- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Shihāb ad-Dīn (d. 626 A.H.). Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb (Mu'jam al-Udabā'), ed. D. S. Margoliouth, 2nd ed., 7 vols., London, 1923.
- , Mu'jam al-Buldān, Cairo, as-Sa'āda, 1323/1906; Leipzig, 1868 A.D.
- al-Yūnīnī, Ṣuṭb ad-Dīn Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 726 A.H.). Dhayl Mir'āt az-Zamān, 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1374/1954.
- az-Zabīdī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā (d. 1145 A.H.). Tāj al-'Urūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs, 10 vols., Cairo, 1306-1307 A.H.
- az-Zamakhsharī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. 538 A.H.). al-Kashshāf, 4 vols., Cairo, 1354 A.H.
- , al-Fā'iq fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth, ed. 'Alī M. al-Bajāwī and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 3 vols., Cairo, 1945-1948 A.D.
- , al-Mufaṣṣal, Cairo, 1323 A.H.
- az-Ziriklī, Khayr ad-Dīn. Al-A'lām, Cairo, 1373/1954.
- az-Zurqānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī (d. 1122 A.H.). Sharḥ az-Zurqānī 'alā Muwaṭṭa' al-Imām Mālik, 4 vols., Cairo, 1355/1936.
- , Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyya, Cairo, Būlāq, 1291 A.H.

Persian Works

- Adamiyyat, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ruknzāda. Dānishmandān-u Sukhan Sarāyān-i Fārs, 4 vols., Tehran, 1378 A.H.
- Aḥmad, Niẓām ad-Dīn. Tabaqāt-i Akbarī, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1913, 1927, 1931.
- Badāyūnī, 'Abd al-Qādir. Muntakhab at-Tawārīkh, Calcutta, 1864-69 A.D.
- Barnī, Diyā' ad-Dīn. Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī, Calcutta, 1862 A.D.
- al-Bakkarī, Sayyid Muḥammad Ma'sūm. Tārīkh-i Sind, ed. U. M. Daudpota, Bombay, 1938 A.D.
- Ghifārī, Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 975 A.H.). Tārīkh-i Niğāristān, Tehran, n.d.
- Ḥaqqī Dihlawī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sayf ad-Dīn b. Sa'd Allāh (d. 1052 A.H.). Akhbār al-Akhyār, Cawnpore, n.d.
- Ḥazīn, Muḥammad 'Alī (d. 1779 A.D.). Tadhkira, ed. Belfour, London, 1831.
- Iqtidārī, Aḥmad. Lāristān-i Kuhan, Tehran, 1334 A.H.
- Khwāndamīr. Rawdat as-Safā, 7 vols. (in 6), Tehran, 1853 A.D.

- Munshī, Iskandar Beg. Tārīkh-i 'Ālam Ārā-vi 'Abbāsī, 2 vols., Isfahan, 1956.
- Mustawfī, Ḥamd Allāh al-Qazwīnī. Muzhat al-Qulūb, Tehran, n.d.;
trans., Le Strange, Gibb Memorial, London, 1919.
- al-Ḍurashī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Khālīd. aṣ-Ṣurāḥ (commentary 'Abd al-Mājid Khān), Lucknow, 1269/1852.
- Sām Mirzā, aṣ-Ṣafawī. Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī, Tehran, 1314 A.H.
- Shūshtarī, Nūr Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh (d. 1019 A.H.). Majālis al-Mu'minīn, Tehran, n.d.
- Ṭālib Shirāzī, Mirzā Ḥasan. Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣirī, Tehran, n.d.

Modern Turkish and Ottoman Turkish Works

- Karahan, Dr. Abdülkadir. İslām Türk Edebiyatında Kirk Hadīs toplama, tercüme ve şerhleri, Istanbul, 1954.
- Munajjim Bāsī. Ṣahā'if al-Akḥbār, trans. Nedīm Ef., 3 vols., Istanbul, n.d.
- Nav'izade 'Aṭā Allāh Amīn Yaḥyā (d. 1044 A.H.). Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Takmilat ash-Shacā'iq, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1851 A.D.
- Sāmī, Shams ad-Dīn. Qāmūs al-A'lām, 6 vols., Istanbul, 1314.

English Works

- Bābur, Zāhīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 937 A.H.). Bābur Nāma, trans. William Erskine, London, 1926.
- Bishop, Eric F.F. "Form criticism and the forty-two traditions of an-Nawawī", Moslem World, XXX (1940), 253-261.
- , "The forty (two) traditions of an-Nawawī", Moslem World, XXIX (1939), 163-177.
- Brockelmann, Carl. Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, 2 vols., 2nd ed., and 3 supplementary vols., Leiden, 1937-49.
- Erskine, William. History of India under Babur and Humāyūn, vol. II, London, 1854.
- Firishta, Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh. Tārīkh-i Firishta, 4 vols., trans. John Briggs, London, 1829.
- al-Hujwīrī, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān, al-Ghaznawī (d. 465 A.H.). Kashf al-Maḥjūb, trans. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911.
- Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Travels in Asia and Africa, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1939.

- Lane-Poole, Stanley. Babur, Oxford, 1909 A.D.
- Malcolm, Sir John. History of Persia, 2 vols., London, 1815 A.D.
- Margoliouth, D. Samuel. Early Development of Muhammadanism, London, 1914 A.D.
- Prasad, Ishwar. The life and times of Humāyūn, Calcutta, 1956 A.D.
- Rieu, Charles. Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in British Museum, 3 vols. and a supplement, London, 1879 A.D.
- Storey, C. A. Persian Literature, 2 vols., London, 1927-1953.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. Islamic Political Thought, Edinburgh, 1968.
- Wensinck, A.J. Concordance et indices de la traditions musulmane, 7 vols., Leiden, 1936-1969.