THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

STUDIES AND TEXTS

EDITED BY

WADAD KADI

VOLUME 42

THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

Qudāma b. Jaʿfar and his Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba

BY

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BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
2002

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Heck, Paul L.
The construction of knowledge in Islamic civilization : Qudāma b. Jaʿfar and his Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba / by Paul L. Heck.
p. cm. — (Islamic history and civilization. Studies and texts ; v. 42)
Revision of thesis (Ph. D.)—University of Chicago, 2000.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 9004123407(alk. paper)
1. Qudāma ibn Jaʿar, d. 922? Kitāb al-kharāj. 2. Encyclopedias and dictionaries, Arabic. 3. Classification. 4. Islam and state—History—To 1500. 5. Civilization, Islamic. I. Title. II. Series.

AE2.Q46 H43 2002
039'.927—dc21 2001043415
CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Heck, Paul L.:
The construction of knowledge in Islamic civilization : Qudāma b. Ja ʿfar and his Kitāb al-Kharājh wa-sinā ʿat al-kitāba / by Paul L. Heck – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2002
(Islamic history and civilization ; Vol. 42)
ISBN 90-04-12340-7

ISSN 0929-2403
ISBN 90 04 12340 7

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

A.M.D.G.

CONTENTS

Preface ix
Abbreviations xi

Chapter One: Introduction 1
Chapter Two: Language And Administration 26
Introduction 26
Epistles 39
The Grammatical Category 44
Ibn Qutayba 45
Qudāma and the Grammatical Category: I 48
al-Naḥḥās 51
Qudāma and the Grammatical Category: II 58
The Bureaucratic Category 60
al-Baghdādī 60
al-Ṣūlī 65
Qudāma and the Bureaucratic Category ... 72
The Linguistic Category 79
Qudāma and the Linguistic Category 85
Qudāma's Category 89
Conclusion 92
Chapter Three: Geography 94
Introduction 94
Preface to Section VI 101
The Ptolemaic Approach 103
The Administrative Approach 111
The Descriptive Approach 123
The Literary Approach 136
Conclusion 144
Chapter Four: Fiscal Jurisprudence 146
Introduction 146
Kitāba-consciousness 157
Sharīʿa-consciousness 179
Conclusion 191

Chapter Five: Political Thought 194
Introduction 194
The Philosophical Strand 205
The Administrative Strand 213
Fürstenspiegel 225
Conclusion 239
Chapter Six: Concluding Remarks 240

Appendix (Arabic Citations) 245

Bibliography 265

Index 277

PREFACE

This study is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation completed at the University of Chicago in May 2000; it will thus bear the marks of a first effort. Its primary purpose is to raise questions about the way we read the Islamic sources and to suggest a methodological horizon in which it is possible and fruitful to read them from their own point of view. What has been undertaken, in short, is an intense reading of the sources of a particular period through the prism of an encyclopedic work—an attempt to classify knowledge—by an employee of the state, Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (d. 337/948). It is not this figure that has been so revealing, but rather his work—well organized, if somewhat tedious—as a guide to reading the sources: an insider's look, as it were, at certain bodies of literature in early Islam. This reading of the sources has found them to represent a dialogue or a series of dialogues among the many groups making up the Islamic world in its late formative or early classical period (the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries). Some may find it odd that we draw upon sources which are already so familiar, but it has been our task to re-read them once again, but now from a contemporary's point of view. It is in that sense that the sources must be read and understood and their integrity defended. While the sources used in this study constitute branches of knowledge of interest to the state, it is equally possible to consider other bodies of literature—e.g. historical literature, ethical literature—as a dialogue in which different points of view and values are represented. Our hope, then, in presenting this study is to offer a small window into the world not only of a particular state official, but more so into the Islamic civilization of his day.

This study can be read either entirely from beginning to end or as separate units depending on the reader's interests. After the introductory chapter (chapter one), each of the following chapters (chapters two through five), although part of a single theme pursued throughout the study, can be read individually as independent studies.

I should like to thank Wadād al-Qāḍī, Fred Donner and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī for their supervision of this work in its dissertation form and their many helpful suggestions for its final refinement. I should

also like to thank Ken Garden and Clare Wilde for reading and commenting upon various chapters in their early stages. Any oversights are, of course, mine.

P.L.H.

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	*Ars Islamica*
AO	*Acta Orientalia*
AJSLL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
BEO	*Bulletin d'Études Orientales*
BGA	*Bibliotheca Geographica Arabicorum*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CHAL	*The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, 3 vols.
EI²	*Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition*
IC	*Islamic Culture*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IQ	*Islamic Quarterly*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
SI	*Studia Islamica*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
QJ	Qudāma b. Jaʿfar, *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*, Manuscript 1076 of the Köprülü Library, ed. F. Sezgin in Facsimile Editions, Series C, Volume 42, Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences, Frankfurt
AC	Arabic Citations (the Appendix, where all citations are given in the Arabic original, e.g. AC 1, AC2, AC 3...)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the first quarter of the fourth Islamic century (tenth CE), a work entitled "The Book of the Land-Tax and the Craft of Writing" (*Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*) was composed by Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (d. 337/948), a state official and scholar of some talent in the employ of the Abbasid dynasty (132-656 AH/750-1258 CE) in Baghdad. This work, a wide-ranging overview of those branches of knowledge which were of interest to the Islamic state, is the subject of this study. At a deeper level, however, analysis of this work raises fundamental questions about the role of the state in the formation of Islamic civilization. The work is not reducible to a training manual, i.e. the technical knowledge required of a government functionary for the performance of his daily bureaucratic tasks. Its audience consisted, rather, of officials of the highest rank in the political hierarchy of the day, i.e. an elite group with both tangible and ideological concerns about the nature and location of governance within the Islamic context in general—a context, it should be said, that was decidedly imperial. Qudāma's work must be understood, then, as an encyclopedia, an attempt to define and order particular branches of knowledge in the service of an Islam which was no longer the Islam of tribes, nor solely the Islam of religious specialists, but the Islam of empire.[1]

It is in that sense that this study hopes to break new ground in elucidating the relation of the Islamic state of this period to religion,

[1] Islam, to be sure, is a single, unified phenomenon, but is diversely incarnated according to context. What this study hopes to highlight is the different voices within the Islamic milieu which, taken together, form Islamic civilization. I highlight here the Islam of tribes and that of empire because it was the tribal context and then the imperial that gave shape at this time to statecraft, the subject of Qudāma's work. In other words, speaking very generally, statecraft in Islam was first organized tribally (see J. Chabbi, *Le seigneur des tribus. L'islam de Mahomet*, Paris 1997), even when it challenged tribal values and organization; then, through conquest, consolidation of that conquest and reformulation of Byzantine and Sasanian models of governance, it developed along imperial lines. The uprising of Ibn al-Ashʿath in 80-82/699-701—pitting Ibn al-Ashʿath, a tribal noble, against al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95/714), a loyal servant of an increasingly imperial Umayyad state—can be said to mark the passing of the predominance of a tribally organized state.

two entities often perceived to be on separate trajectories, one largely secular and promoted by the state's various ranks of officials (*ʿummāl, kuttāb, wulāt, wuzarāʾ*), the other confessional and managed by the religious scholars (*ʿulamāʾ, fuqahāʾ, muḥaddithūn*).[2] Certainly, distinct lines of interest can be drawn; but what held the state and religion together in a single point of reference was the Arabic language, the very area to which Qudāma devotes most attention.[3] While this is a vast topic only partially treated in this study, it is enough to say here that the grounding of both state and religion in the Arabic language renders it impossible to think of these two spheres of influence without reference to a single framework of civilization. In fact, the administrative science (*al-kitāba*), the main feature of Qudāma's encyclopedia, was consistently classified, along with the religious sciences, among the Arabo-Islamic sciences (e.g. law, grammar, poetry, etc.), in opposition to the non-Arabo-Islamic sciences (e.g. philosophy, astronomy, etc.), which, although integrated into the corpus of knowledge recognized as part of Islamic civilization, originated in cultures other than the Arabic. Since the identity of both state and religion were so thoroughly imbricated in the Arabic language, it makes little sense to separate them into such misleading categories as the sacred and the profane.[4] Unlike attempts to unite (Greek) philosophical and (Arabo-Muslim) religious discourse into a single framework of knowledge,[5] discourse on Islam as a state and

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[2] Such misperceptions have been partially addressed by M.Q. Zaman, *Religion and Politics under the Early Abbasids. The Emergence of the Proto-Sunnī Elite*, Leiden 1997.

[3] The cohesion of Islamic civilization—state, society and religion—through the Arabic language can help us to understand, for example, the inseparability of the concerns of literature (*adab*) from works composed by state officials. See, for example, J.E. Montgomery, "Serendipity, Resistance and Multivalency. Ibn Khurradādhbih and his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*," forthcoming in the proceedings of the NYU workshop on *adab* and fiction, April 2000.

[4] The Arabic language was thought to be superior to other languages by virtue of its purity and clarity of expression which made it logical, acccording to this perspective, that it should be the language destined to bear not only revelation but also the intellectual and literary (i.e. human) production of world civilization. See Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-zīna fī al-kalimāt al-islāmiyya*, ed. Ḥusayn b. Faḍlallāh, Cairo 1957. What encouraged translation of knowledge into Arabic was not, of course, the superiority of the language, but state patronage. See D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, London 1998.

[5] The difficulty of finding common epistemological ground for both Greek logic and Arabic grammar is evident in the celebrated debate of 320/932 in the presence of the Abbasid minister, Ibn al-Furāt, between Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. ca. 328/940) and Abu Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 369/979) on the relative merits of Greek

Islam as a religion occupied the same cultural and epistemological space, namely Islam as a civilization articulated in a single language.[6]

Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba is divided into eight secions,[7] of which only four have survived (sections V through VIII) in a unique manuscript.[8] The contents of the lost sections, however, can be ascertained on the basis of references made to them by other authors as well as by Qudāma in the extant sections of the work (see chapter two). After a section introducing the overall design of his work, Qudāma treats the following branches of knowledge: the art of writing (section II), both the tools involved therein and orthography;[9] the language itself (section III), especially rhetoric (*balāgha*, i.e. the art of composition), including examples of both good and bad usages of the language; the administrative system in terms of its bureaus and departments (sections IV and V); geography (section VI); fiscal jurisprudence (section VII); and finally political thought (section VIII), including a theory of both human and political community along with an exposé on the art of governance.[10]

logic and Arabic grammar. See M. Mahdi, "Language and Logic in Classical Islam," in G.E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 51-83. The debate itself is preserved in the eighth session of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's (d. 414/1023) *Kitāb al-imtāʿ wa-al-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, 3 vols., Cairo 1939-1944, vol. 1, pp. 104-143.

[6] That religion can only be properly studied—at least in the pre-modern context—in reference to culture, state and civilization is true for any religious tradition. See T. Ling, *The Buddha. Buddhist Civilization in India and Ceylon*, New York 1973, especially pp. 24f.

[7] It is unclear whether the original contained eight or nine sections. See S.A. Bonebakker, "Ḳudāma," *EI*², V, 318-322. The unique manuscript (see below) begins with section V and breaks off before the final part (part 12) of section VIII. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871-1872, vol. 1, p. 130, reports that a ninth section was added.

[8] Manuscript 1076 of the Köprülü Library, ed. F. Sezgin in Facsimile Editions, Series C, Volume 42, Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences, Frankfurt am Main 1986. For a description of the manuscript and the copies made from it (now in the national libraries of France and Egypt), see T.J. Rifāʿī, *al-Manzila al-khāmisa min Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣanʿat al-kitāba*, Mecca 1987 (cf. n. 50), pp. 107-116.

[9] It should be remembered that at this time writing required a certain number of instruments (pen or quill, penknife, straightedge, inkwell, eraser, paper) which made for a complex and costly craft. The ability to handle these tools and the rules of orthography constituted an exact science.

[10] There is no place, of course, for metaphysics in Qudāma's work, since it was of limited use to the state (cf. the medieval European encyclopedia of Brunetto Latini [d. 1295 CE], *Li livres dou trésor*). The sole domain of philosophy considered worthy of inclusion is practical philosophy, which is not, however, treated as a whole, in contrast to others such as Miskawayh who includes the ethics of the in-

While a full description of the complex literary and intellectual currents of the late third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note here that Qudāma's work, one of the first to classify and assess knowledge systematically, is not merely a compilation of information, as is sometimes the case in the literary anthologies and legal compendia of the period, in which the relation of the various parts of the work to one another is not always immediately clear. Rather, Qudāma has organized branches of knowledge according to their interrelated constituent parts, sub-branches and sub-categories, each, however, with its own concerns and perspectives. His work thus provides us not only with one individual's point of view, but also with a systematic analysis of the intellectual concerns of the day. In other words, his arrangement of his material indicates that he is in dialogue with the wider scholarly milieu. Because of that, it is necessary to read each section of Qudāma's work alongside the corpus of literature (i.e. the genre) to which it belongs.[11] By proceeding in such a fashion, we hope to achieve two things: 1) locate more precisely Qudāma's con-

dividual and the family as well as that of the polity in his "Refinement of Ethics" (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*), ed. Q. Zurayq, Beirut 1966. For Miskawayh's conception of knowledge, reference should be made to M. Arkoun, *L'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle: Miskawayh, philosophe et historien*, Paris 1982 (2nd edition), especially pp. 225-245, where Miskawayh's organization of knowledge is outlined. A member of the Aristotelian school of Baghdad, Miskawayh was heavily influenced by Aristotelian divisions of knowledge into theoretical and practical categories, but the privilege he awards to ethics over cognitive philosophy suggests the influence of the Islamic heritage and, perhaps as well, the Sasanian (for its exaltation of history as the locus of ethics). In any event, Miskawayh stands as a premier example of the profound synthesis of Arabo-Islamic, Greek and Persian systems of thought known in his day. He was, it should be remembered, an official of the state and seems to have been inspired by its broad-ranging epistemological point of view. See also M. Arkoun, "L'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle d'après le *Kitāb al-hawāmil wa-l-šawāmil*," *SI* 14 (1961), 73-108 and 15 (1962), 63-87; idem, "Éthique et histoire d'après les *Tağārib al-umam*," in M. Arkoun, *Essais sur la pensèe islamique*," Paris 1984, pp. 87-147.

[11] It should be emphasized that the project of reading the sources in light of a wider genre is not necessarily chronologically limited. Reading two works of a particular genre from different historical periods can show continuity within a corpus of literature as well as possible shifts in the social values and cultural attitudes played out across the genre. Here, however, while limiting ourselves to the literature of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, the dynamic of genre remains our methodological focus, while chronological concerns are secondary. It is less a question of which sources came first and influenced later ones and more a question of a shared world made manifest in the discourse of a genre of literature.

tribution to various genres as a state official and, through that, the particular nature of the state's involvement in that domain of knowledge;[12] and 2) understand the basic contours and dynamic of these genres as a whole insofar as they have been spelled out by Qudāma.

This is not the place to review the ongoing controversies over the use of the Islamic sources. The question we hope to raise in this study is the question of genre in sources that are not usually considered literary, a topic yet to receive full treatment.[13] A closer look at the dynamic of genre—namely reading a work within and in relation to a corpus of works of a similar kind—can help us to specify the point of view of an author vis-à-vis other works of the genre.[14] Genre, as used in this study, represents a body of works which form a single discourse. When it comes to non-fictional works in the early Islamic context, it is a branch of knowledge (*ʿilm*) which constitutes the genre or discourse. We can and do speak of the historical genre, the administrative genre, even the legal genre and political genre, each of which formed a specific discourse within Islamic society. A genre,

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[12] To be sure, Qudāma was not the only state official to apply his talents to questions of knowledge. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 139/756), in a letter addressed to al-Manṣūr (see chapters four and five), ventured into the domain of jurisprudence in his attempt to define legal knowledge as the prerogative of the caliph in those areas not treated by the Qurʾān and Sunna. Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. ca. 272/885), a high-ranking offical in the postal service (*al-barīd*), wrote a geographical work considered to be the first to part significantly from the Ptolemaic model (see chapter three), an achievement made possible by his own administrative experience and knowledge of imperial roadways. Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), an official in the employ of the Samanid dynasty and reportedly a student of the philosopher al-Kindī (d. 256/870), composed treatises on a wide range of subjects, including georgaphy and political thought, all lost save scattered citations. This involvement of state officials in diverse branches of knowledge was thus far-reaching and sustained. Qudāma's work, while unique in its treatment of a wide range of disciplines in a single work, represents only one of many efforts by intellectually talented members of the secretarial corps to mediate state interests to the wider intellectual milieu. For suggestions of the wide involvement of state officials in intellectual circles, see J. Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam. Abu Sulaymān al-Sijistānī and his Circle*, Leiden 1986 and *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam. The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age*, Leiden 1992 (2nd edition).

[13] For a summary of the topic, see my "Genre, Values and the Construction of Knowledge," *al-Uṣūr al-Wusṭā. The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists* 13(2001). There has been a noticeable trend towards applying literary categories to non-literary sources, e.g. S. Leder (ed.), *Story-telling in the framework of non-fictional Arabic literature*, Wiesbaden 1998.

[14] It should be noted that treating the sources through the lens of genre is not at odds with other methodological concerns, such as those which seek to reconstruct the facts of a particular historical moment to the extent that is possible, and it certainly does not imply that the sources were consciously composed as works of fiction.

thus, represents a shared world, a dialogue between various authors, each of whom displays some mastery of the field and its inherited tradition of ideas and terms in order to contribute to the discourse pertinent to it; in other words, there exists a certain dialogue between the authors of a certain field. Most importantly for our purposes, the works of a genre or branch of knowledge were neither uniform nor static, but show a plurality of values and priorities even when using common material. Each contributing author brought the interests and vision of his social group (e.g. state officials, religious scholars, littérateurs) to bear on the genre and its material, and it was through this spectrum of interests that different values and priorities were played out in the literature. Examining the multiplicity of a shared discourse, then, reveals the ways in which knowledge is constructed in light of a group's values and priorities. It is thus through a methodological focus on genre that we can locate the voice of a state official and thereby the point of view of the state in the formation of a particular branch of knowledge. When Qudāma summarizes for his audience the genre of political thought, tax literature or geography, he is doing so as a scholar who understands the received, shared tradition of the field, but also as an official with specific state interests in mind.

What is at stake in this study, then, is the impact that the state and its various organs had on the formation of Islamic civilization and its various branches of knowledge.[15] A cursory glance at the sources suggests that the development of the Islamic polity from a tribal to an imperial one, with the concomitant growth and elaboration of its ruling institutions, witnessed a corresponding development in concepts of knowledge. This is not to suggest that previous

[15] When speaking of the Islamic state (i.e. political authority) of this period, we mean a heterogeneous conglomerate in which, at least in theory, all powers were located in the person of the ruler (the caliph at the center, the governors in the provinces, and the emirs in the independent and semi-independent dynasties) and his agents. Moreover, the various organs of governance—bureaus, departments, state posts—also represented political authority, even without reference to the ruler. In other words, the growth and elaboration of the state and its administrative organs through the first three centuries of Islamic history led to another vision of state (political authority) alongside that of the ruler. The concept of state could exist apart from the person of the ruler who gradually became a figure, while still awe-inspiring (*muhīb*), increasingly distant from the day-to-day governance of public affairs. It is thus by virtue of the administration, an abstract concept in itself, that the men of the state, i.e. "people of the pen" (*ahl al-qalam*), were to incarnate the edifice of the state and ensure its cohesion.

approaches to knowledge, conceived within the matrix of tribal or confessional concerns, disappeared with the advent of the Umayyad and Abbasid states, but rather that imperial Islam brought with it an entirely new vision and set of values which at times blended, at other times competed, with already existing definitions of knowledge. Certainly, authors faced multiple social constraints when they composed their works, but certain trends can be noticed. The ways in which history, for example, were understood and produced by al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897),[16] al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942) and Miskawayh (d. 421/1030)—all state employees—are very different from those of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834), Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) or even al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), whose history is that of a community destined to bear the legacy of both prophets and kings.[17] Writers of history who were also in the employ of the state, then, apparently strove to articulate a vision of Islamic history which was not the history of a tribal culture or religious community, but rather the history of a state conscious of its prestige within the Islamic milieu as well as its place within imperial history universally (i.e. among the various nations).[18]

Much work, however, needs to be done to spell out the relation of this interplay between social values and knowledge. Qudāma's work, an encyclopedia produced within state circles, is particularly

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[16] Certainly, al-Yaʿqūbi's voice was marked by Shīʿī aspirations, and his treatment of Umayyad history is very "tribal" in character, but the point remains that unlike Ibn Hishām and Ibn Saʿd, his historical vision includes non-Arabo-Islamic history. It must be emphasized, of course, that each author or even each work needs to be carefully considered before conclusions about social values operative in the composition of a work can be made. For example, al-Balādhurī wrote a work on the Islamic conquests (*futūḥ*) and one on tribal genealogy (*ansāb*). These two works—one apparently imperial, the other tribal—may actually have more in common than first impressions would suggest. Written by a figure engaged by the Abbasid court, the work on the conquests is designed to serve the Abbasid tax program and does not venture into histories of lands which were never incorporated into the Islamic realm, while the genealogical work may actually serve to bolster the ethnic claims of the Abbasid rulers. Together then, both works can be said to be imperial in orientation, but limited to intra-communal concerns, whether administrative or genealogical.

[17] al-Ṭabarī's historical vision is perhaps unique for its period in its synthesis of both confessional and imperial concerns. Much work, of course, needs to be done in order to comprehend al-Ṭabarī's goals. Certainly, his history bears an important relation to law which, as a concern to both the religion and the state, may have allowed him to conceive of Islamic history in such broad lines.

[18] For a similar dynamic in the Ottoman historiographical tradition, see C.H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa ʿĀlī (1541-1600)*, Princeton 1986, pp. 235-252.

well-suited to contribute to that task. His period, too, lends itself to our study, for the great cultural consolidation that took place within the Islamic scholarly world,[19] as well as in the wider cultural and religious dimensions of Islamic civilization, e.g. the relation of religious authority to the exercise of political power and the relation of religious committment to cultural identity, exemplified, respectively, in the *miḥna* and *shuʿūbiyya* controversies of the third/ninth century. Many questions were still to appear in Islamic society, to be sure, and old ones never disappeared entirely. Nevertheless, issues of extraordinary significance for the identity of Islamic civilization, such as the two just mentioned, that had loomed larged with no clear and inevitable outcome through the third/ninth century, were by the fourth/tenth at least articulated along clearer lines. This, too, was the case as far as the nature of the Islamic state was concerned and its place within Islamic civilization.

Before turning to the nature of the state at this time, it should be kept in mind, when speaking of Islamic civilization as a dialogue of voices and values, that the dialogue is renewed with every generation. The construction of civilization, however elusive a satisfactory definition of that term may be, involves a struggle—the arena of which can be said to be language—among the competing values and visions represented at a particular historical moment. The identity of Islam is always a question, in the first few centuries of Islamic history no less than in the last few. To offer some examples from the first three Islamic centuries: Was Islam to mean fealty to a state as much as fidelity to prayer? The first apostates did not think so, while Abū Bakr, the first successor of the prophet Muḥammad, did. What kind of personal piety was to be expected of one proclaiming to be a Muslim? The Khārijites struggled for an Islam where piety was absolute and sin a reason for disqualification from the bound-

[19] It was in this period that intense efforts were exerted to order and systematize the diverse sciences and to find, formulate and apply rules to them. This can be seen in Islamic philosophy (al-Fārābī, d. 339/950), theology (al-Ashʿarī, d. 324/936), law (al-Ṭaḥāwī, d. 321/933), the science of the prophetic tradition (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, d. 327/938), jurisprudence (al-Jaṣṣāṣ, d. 370/981), grammar (Ibn al-Sarrāj, d. 316/929 and al-Zajjājī, d. 337/949), literary criticism (Qudāma himself with his *Kitāb naqd al-shiʿr*), history and qur'ānic exegesis (al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923), etc. Such consolidation, partly the result of three centuries of dialogue and debate among Muslims themselves, also reflects the influence of the translation of the works of the Greek philosophers during the third/ninth century. In such a context, how could it not have been possible to envision as well a work which took stock of the administrative science?

aries of Islamic identity, while others saw less of a necessary connection between piety and socio-political membership, in the case of either ruler or subject. Could Islam accommodate cultural norms of non-Arabic provenance? The Abbasid revolution suggested it could, in opposition to Umayyad resistance to incorporate conquered peoples into Islamic urban and political life.[20] What were acceptable conditions for slavery within Islam? The Zanj rebellion affirmed that slave-farming had no place in Islam, while the domestic and military use of slaves was abandoned only reluctantly in the recent past.[21] Finally, the Carmathians challenged the very legal order of Islamic civilization in their call for the abrogation of Islamic law (*al-sharīʿa*) and hesitated not at all to use violence as a means to eradicate the existing Islamic order and establish their admittedly syncretistic vision of Islamic society.

Within this context of struggle and dialogue, the state, the constituted authority and political power, was one voice among many seeking to impress upon society a particular vision of Islamic civilization. What exactly was the tone of that voice? Alongside perduring concepts of authority defined by a ruler's personal charisma and claims to religious and genealogical legitimacy, an increasingly administrative structure emerged. Served and maintained by a cadre of administrative servitors, this administrative structure possessed an authority—for example, to collect taxes, oversee public works, organize the military and administer justice—that was not merely an extension of the power, real or perceived, of the caliph as leader of the Islamic community; more profoundly, governance, its norms and structures as well as its authority, was a function of skill in writing. In other words, the craft of writing (*ṣināʿat al-kitāba*) stood at the foundation of the Islamic state (see chapter two), while specialists in writing (*al-kuttāb*), the so-called state secretaries, oversaw the documents, registers and correspondence which formed the substance of governance and, indeed, the state. This model of state existed in the regional principalities (such as the Samanid) and various provinces as much as at the caliphal center, even amidst the increasing involvement of the military in political rule at this time, not to mention the corruption and nepotism among the ranks of government officials themselves. The state's grounding in writing meant a correspond-

[20] See M. Sharon, *Revolt. The Social and Military Aspects of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution. Black Banners from the East II*, Jerusalem 1990.

[21] See A. Popovic, *Le révolte des esclaves en Iraq au IIIe/IXe siècle*, Paris 1976.

ing grounding in language (see chapter two). Its governance required the control of certain corpuses of knowledge (see chapters three through five). The fact, then, that the nature of the state, as described above, had reached a recognizable form meant that Qudāma's assessment of its literary and intellectual needs was indeed a function of its structure, its relation to society and its place in Islamic civilization.

The chronological and historical study of Islamic state administration in early Abbasid times has largely been completed.[22] Further scholarship has indicated ways in which the secretarial corps contributed as a group to cultural life in such areas as calligraphy and the development of literature, both poetry and prose.[23] Here, by using Qudāma's work to look at the involvement of the Islamic state in the domain of knowledge, we hope to contribute to the historical project by broadening the cultural one. This does not mean that we plan to specify the relation of historical events to cultural development—a difficult, if not elusive, task. Rather, the focus on culture, although impossible of reduction to a series of facts arranged chronologically, will inevitably shed light on our historical understanding of this period.

Approaching Qudāma's work as a single integrated vision originating in the administrative interests of the Abbasid state, rather than

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[22] For example, W. Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, "Dīwān," *EI*², II, 323-327; idem, *al-Nuẓum al-islāmiyya*, Baghdad 1950; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 749 à 936*, Damascus 1959; Ḥ. al-Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Muʾassasāt al-idāriyya fī al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya (247-334/861-945)*, Damascus 1971; and I.I. Blay-Abramski, "From Damascus to Baghdad. The Abbasid Administrative System as a Product of the Umayyad Heritage", Ph.D. diss., Princeton 1982.

[23] For contributions to calligraphy, see N. Abbott, "Arabic Paleography. The Development of Early Islamic Scripts," *AI* 8 (1941), 65-104, especially pp. 83f. For contributions to poetry, see J.E. Bencheikh, "Les secrétaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux IIe et IIIe siècles de l'Hégire. Contribution à l'analyse d'une production poétique," *JA* 263 (1975), 265-316. For contributions to prose, see I. ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib wa-mā tabaqqā min rasāʾilihi wa-rasāʾil Sālim Abī al-ʿAlāʾ*, Amman 1988; W. al-Qāḍī, *Bishr ibn Abī Kubār al-Balawī. Numūdhaj min al-nathr al-fannī al-mubakkir fī al-Yaman*, Beirut 1985; idem, "Early Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity," in A. Cameron and L. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I. Problems in the Literary Source Material*, Princeton 1992, pp. 215-275. For evidence that the state secretaries were involved in the definition of literary genres, especially the distinction between poetry (*shiʿr*) and prose composition (*tarassul*), see A. Arazi, "Une épître d'Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ sur les genres littéraires," in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Leiden 1986, pp. 473-503.

as a collection of facts and figures, is essential for understanding the dialogue between state and society. Dissecting the work limits such insight. *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*, which is both a presentation of the interests of a particular social group and a summary of several branches of knowledge, has the potential to offer us a glimpse into entire bodies of literature according to their own epistemological categories and assumptions and not those prevailing today.

Our methodology, as outlined above, uses as its basis the plan of the work itself. This plan commences with a treatment of language, especially its written forms (the art of writing in section II and the art of composition in section III), followed by a survey of the bureaucratic structure and process (sections IV and V). Such a plan, which treats in a single block the sciences of language and those of administration, maintains the close connection envisioned by state secretaries between the language and the functions and organs of government. It is in this manner that Qudāma has attempted to sum up the basic contours of the administrative genre. Following his lead, we shall offer a presentation of the administrative literature of the period in chapter two; this is a genre which can be divided into four categories: the grammatical, the bureaucratic, the linguistic and the historical. Qudāma, it should be noted, does not refer to authors of the genre; but it is only by surveying the genre as a whole that we will be able to understand Qudāma's consolidation of it.

The grammatical category, represented by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950), drew upon all existing traditions of the language, an approach hardly different from that of the grammarians and lexicographers; they, too, make reference to the sources of the language (poetry, the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, legal treatises, the tales of the Arabs [*ayyām*], the discourses and orations of distinguished figures of the past, etc.) to demonstrate the correct employ and sense of a word. The grammatical category thus sought to instill high standards of language and composition in the administrative corps in general as a way to bind the state more closely to the Arabo-Islamic heritage and, at the same time, to preserve the socio-administrative order which was itself dependent on the proper use of language.

The bureaucratic category, represented by ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī (d. first half of the fourth/tenth) and al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), drew its inspiration and material from the usage of language prevailing among the state secretaries themselves, i.e. the technical terms of the ad-

ministrative science. This professional skill in writing required a mastery of the terminology used to describe and define the tools of writing (e.g. pen, inkwell), the procedures specific to bureaucratic practice (e.g. the manner of sealing a document) and the formulae used in the production of administrative documents (e.g. tax registers, state letters).

The linguistic category, represented by Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb (d. early fourth/tenth),[24] sought to locate the bureaucratic use of language within a larger theory of communication. This desire of the administrative corps to understand their bureaucratic work in terms of linguistic concepts shows their attachment to language. At another level, it is clear evidence for their own appreciation of the linguistic foundation of their work and, indeed, the entire system of governance, for this category does not limit its identification of the bureaucratic craft of writing to one form of written communication, but reverses things, as it were, and equates writing in its entirety with the bureaucratic practice. This reduction of the concept of writing to governance might seem naive, especially in light of other, more inclusive treatments of writing, such as that by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), but it does highlight the intimate connection that those who were professionally trained in writing, the state secretaries, drew between the rules governing the craft of writing and the work of the government.

Finally, the historical category, represented by al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942), seeks to portray the institutions of the state, specifically the offices of minister (*wazīr*) and state secretary (*kātib*), as a familiar and thus legitimate, even vital, part of Islamic history. By weaving such offices into the folds of Islamic history, and even going so far as to define Islamic history as the growth and development of these offices, the historical category aims to vest in Islamic clothing an administration and its institutions that were mainly Sasanian in origin, while at the same time constructing an image of Islamic history in which the members of the administrative corps play the leading role. This category, while used sparingly by Qudāma, is not absent from his work.

In brief, it is Qudāma's particular organization of the administrative genre that highlights its fundamental inspiration in the craft of writing as the *sine qua non* of the state's administrative system and

[24] For ease of reference, I refer to him as Ibn Wahb.

the *raison d'être* of the secretarial corps as a distinct group in society. Behind this heavy emphasis on the craft of writing, however, lurk important questions about the state's involvement in the definition of cultural categories, especially concepts of language. Considered from the point of view of its diverse bureaus and departments, the state could be said to exist only as a function of the language and its auxiliary sciences (grammar, lexicography, rhetoric, the arts of speech and composition, etc.). Indeed, the administrative order corresponded to and depended upon the linguistic order.[25] Its operation was maintained by a common training of state employees in the rules of the language and writing, in both stylistics (*bayān*) and orthography (*khaṭṭ*). The state secretaries, at least in theory, tried to coordinate all state affairs through language: Their work demanded that they master the art of drawing up an adminstrative document (e.g. a contract or tax assessment) which carried the weight of law; of recording the judgments of a court such that no doubt existed as to the execution of justice; of registering the financial accounts in the minute details of revenues and expenses; of describing—with precise vocabulary—the distinctive physical traits of the soldiers (not only their names) in the salary registers in order to ensure the proper distribution of state funds; of composing an official epistle destined for the governors of the provinces or a letter of nomination to a post of high rank, such as that of judge, army commander or leader of the ritual prayer, including a description of the post, its duties and functions. Had the state secretaries failed to master the language, the result would have been administrative chaos of the kind evoked in the legend of the Tower of Babel. It is in that sense that it can be said that the commitment to the Arabic language in Islamic civilization did not arise solely out of the need to understand and interpret the sources of revelation (both Qur'ān and Ḥadīth) or the values of an elite class (*al-khāṣṣa*) who understood literature and literary expression (*adab*) to be the means for the moral education and cultural refinement (*ta'addub*) of Islamic society. The state can now be recognized as an influential factor in the special status awarded to

[25] In a similar fashion, language was essential to the authority and order of law. In point of fact, the relation between grammar and law in the medieval Arabo-Islamic context is clear. See M. Carter, "Language Control as People Control in Medieval Islam: The Aim of the Grammarians in their Cultural Context," *al-Abḥāth* 31 (1983), 65-84. For an important study of the use of language and texts as a tool of social order, see B. Messick, *The Calligraphic State. Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*, Berkeley 1993.

the Arabic language and its ancillary sciences in the Arabo-Islamic classification of knowledge, a topic we shall discuss more precisely below.

While Qudāma's work as a whole represents the state and its administrative interests, it is his treatment of language and administration as a whole in sections II through V that belong to the administrative genre proper, as surveyed in chapter two. Chapters three through five analyze the last three sections of Qudāma's work which treat branches of knowledge of less fundamental importance to the existence of the state than those of sections II though V. They nevertheless form a concern to the state and Qudāma's presentation of them helps us to understand the specific definitions that state interests brought to bear on these branches of knowledge in contrast to the values of other social and cultural interests also at work in the formation of knowledge. The Islamic state, not unlike the British empire, can be seen as a receptacle of vast quantities of information essential to the governance of its subjects: information on taxation, roadways, water sources, tribes, the enemy as well as information of a political and legal nature. Control of the realm thus required the ability to control and organize this information, in other words the classification of knowledge.[26] Qudāma's work is nothing, then, if not a classification of knowledge for the purposes of administering the state. Seen in this light, the last three sections of his work are not merely a collection of neutral facts, but represent distinct, state-influenced approaches to knowledge.

In section VI, analyzed in chapter three, Qudāma disentangles three separate sub-branches of geographical knowledge: the Ptolemaic, the administrative and the universal. The debate over the nature of geographical knowledge led Qudāma to isolate the administrative sub-branch, which limits geographical knowledge to those regions which lay under the administrative hegemony of the Islamic state and were thus liable to be taxed by it. This innovation was to play a significant role in defining Islamic geography as an independent discipline: Later geographers, who were not state officials, adhered to the administrative conception of geographical knowledge, largely synomous with the domain of Islam, and adopted it as the basic matrix for Islamic geography without, however, adhering to its administrative orientation.

[26] See T. Richards, *The Imperial Archive. Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*, London 1993.

In section VII, analyzed in chapter four, Qudāma distinguishes the administrative and confessional concerns related to the laws of taxation, recognizes the potential dissonance between them and proceeds to construct a theory of tax law in the framework of a single, Islamically acceptable legal vision. Though not a jurist, his success in capturing the trend within both the administrative and religious circles of his day towards an integrated legal vision laid the groundwork necessary for the acceptance and incorporation of administrative practice within the parameters of Islamic law, as seen in al-Māwardī's (d. 450/1058) classic work, "The Rules of Governance" (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*). More fundamentally, this section, although treating a technical area of Islamic civilization, speaks to broader issues of state formation and communal identity. Broadly speaking, the formation of Islamic civilization took place amidst two great challenges: the creation and preservation of a unique communal and religious identity and the integration of peoples of diverse cultural and religious origins into a single Islamically defined framework. Those challenges are both reflected in the tax sources, the first represented in more religiously oriented works, the second in works produced under state patronage. Existing scholarship has tended to emphasize one or the other of these two trends, assuming the two to be mutually exclusive and even hostile to one another. Now, in the light of this analysis of section VII, it can be seen that the two trends were closely connected and actually understood as part of a single framework, both specifically Islamic and potentially universal, an achievement accomplished under the patronage of an Islamic state—the Abbasids—itself in search of some reconciliation of its own dual dispensation (i.e. Islamic and Sasanian).

Finally, in section VIII, analyzed in chapter five, Qudāma marks out three sub-branches of political science: the philosophical, the administrative and *Fürstenspiegel* (i.e. literature intended as instructive advice for rulers). Here again, it is the state, not the religion, that forms the point of departure in Qudāma's construction of an Islamic theory of state. He focuses on the ruler as the formative agent of political community (i.e. that which makes political community possible) by virtue of his enforcement of a single law for all (i.e. Islamic law). This emphasis on law as a constitutive element of political community reflects the development of the Islamic state through its first three centuries—from a political community assembled around charismatic leaders ruling through a network of personal

relations to one in which a developed state institutional structure, more or less responsive to, if not integrated with, Islamic law, shaped the assumptions and rules of political power, the role of the state within society and the general expectations of the socio-political order. The concept of law as the basis of the polity, Islamically acceptable, stills stands apart from the Islamic political-theological (i.e. sectarian) debates over legitimate succession to the Prophet, which focus on the legitimacy of authority to lead and rule the Muslim community religiously, legally and politically. The state, in following its own logic, made an essential contribution to the development of Islamic political thought. Qudāma's synthesis was later picked up—perhaps even used directly—by such later well-known figures of Islamic political thought as al-Māwardī in his "Facilitating Thought and Expediting Success regarding the Ethics of the Ruler and Governance of the Realm" (*Tashīl al-naẓar wa-taʿjīl al-ẓafar fī akhlāq al-malik wa-siyāsat al-mulk*) and Ibn Khaldūn in his "Introduction" (*al-Muqaddima*).

By treating several branches of knowledge, Qudāma has produced an encyclopedia, and his work, as such, can be situated within the wider body of encyclopedic works of the period. The phenomenon of encyclopedism in Islam still awaits full treatment,[27] and we intend to touch upon it here only insofar as it concerns Qudāma's work. First, it is necessary to define what is meant by encyclopedism. The history of al-Ṭabarī, the geography of Ibn Khurdādhbih and the Ḥadīth collections are all marked by a tendency towards universalism, but they are not encyclopedic since they remain within the boundaries of a single branch of knowledge: history, geography and the prophetic tradition, respectively. Literary anthologies designed to serve the purposes of an Arabo-Islamic pedagogy collected a wide range of what were considered exemplary literary models in prose

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[27] See R. Paret, "Contribution à l'étude des milieux culturels dans le Proche-Orient médiéval: L'"encyclopédisme" arabo-musulman de 850 à 950 de l'ère chrétienne," *Revue historique* 235 (1966), 47-100; C. Pellat, "Les encyclopédies dans le monde arabe," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 3 (1966), 631-658; and M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "L'Encyclopédie arabe au Xe siècle," in A. Becq (ed.), *L'Encyclopédisme*, Paris 1991, pp. 37-47. F. Rosenthal notes the encyclopedic tendency in Islam and contrasts it with specialization in *The Technique and Approach of Modern Scholarship*, Rome 1947, pp. 60-63, and also discusses the place of history in various encyclopedias in *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden 1968, pp. 30f. See also the limited discussion of Islamic encyclopedism in M. Bergé, "Épître sur les sciences d'Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī," *BEO* 18 (1963-64), 241-298, especially pp. 248-254. Mention should also be made of O. Bakar, *The Classification of Knowledge in Islam*, Cambridge 1998.

and poetry as well as anecdotes, proverbs and stories from Arabic literature and grouped them according to subject. Among these works the most celebrated are Ibn Qutayba's "Choice Reports" (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's (d. 328/940) "Unique Necklace" (*al-ʿIqd al-farīd*). These works, too, cannot be considered encyclopedic since the subjects they include do not correspond to branches of knowledge, but rather to diverse experiences of life, especially the social and moral (e.g. rules of conduct in the presence of a sovereign, choice of friends, table manners, retorts, jokes, etc.). The concept of knowledge here is not a question of science (*ʿilm*), but rather of behavior (*adab*), which could be refined through training oneself in the proper use of language since ethics, from this point of view, was a function of eloquence, i.e. mastery of the language and expressions to be used in response to the various social and moral situations of life.

Encyclopedism in the early Islamic context is a question of the classification of knowledge into sciences.[28] The most significant feature of Islamic encyclopedism is its attempt to evaluate and rank the sciences, in other words to establish a hierarchy of knowledge, according to cultural provenance: Those sciences dependent upon the Arabic language were given preference, while those of other origins were ranked in second place.[29] This hierarchy cannot, however, be explained in terms of cultural pride, since Islamic civilization at this time embraced many peoples of diverse cultural origins, but must be seen in the light of social interests. The framework in which knowledge is classified reflects the values of a society, above all its sources of social power, which in pre-modern societies meant political and religious authority. The reason for the predilection for the Arabic language in ranking the sciences, then, was not only a matter of the relation of the language to the Islamic revelation, above all the Qurʾān as divine word, managed and maintained by the religious specialists and their myriad of language-based sciences,[30] but equally

[28] By science is meant a branch of knowledge, including those which today would be considered to belong to the humanities, such as literature.

[29] See my article, "The Hierarchy of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization," *Arabica* 48 (2002).

[30] Although composed not by a religious specialist but a copyist and book seller (*warrāq*), Ibn al-Nadīm's bibliographical encyclopedia was inspired by a belief in the purity and unparalleled clarity of the Arabic language, which rendered it worthy to bear both revelation and the intellectual and literary production of world civilization (see article cited in previous footnote).

a function of the intimate association of the state with the Arabic language. The sources, beginning with Qudāma, show a marked emphasis on language in encyclopedias composed by state officials.[31] Qudāma's work, as mentioned above, gives priority to the sciences of language, which include the administrative science, before proceeding to treat other fields. The encyclopedia of Ibn Farīghūn, disciple of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) and himself a state servitor under the Chaghāniyān dynasty,[32] follows this division of the sciences into Arabo-Islamic and non-Arabo-Islamic.[33] The former, of which the administrative and its ancillary sciences occupy a prominent place, are ranked ahead of the latter. Finally, the encyclopedia of al-Khwārazmī (d. 375/985), a state official under the Samanid dynasty who apparently was aware of Qudāma's work,[34] also separates the sciences into two divisions: first the Arabo-Islamic and then the Greek.[35] The work was actually meant as a sourcebook for technical terms (*iṣṭilāḥāt*) used by the various sciences to which easy access could be had by state secretaries for undertaking the many writing tasks assigned to them.[36]

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[31] Qudāma's work received its greatest praise for its treatment of language. See Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, vol. 2, p. 145.

[32] See C.E. Bosworth, "Ibn Farīghūn," *EI*[2], suppl., 386-387. The fact that state officials were involved in the production of encyclopedias has not escaped scholarly notice. See Z. Visel, *Les encyclopédies persanes. Essai de typologie et de classification des sciences*, Paris 1986, who devotes a chapter (pp. 21-25) to encyclopedias composed by members of the government. What has not been thoroughly examined, however, is the tendency of the state secretaries to give priority to the Arabo-Islamic sciences.

[33] *Jawāmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, ms. 2768 of the Ahmet III Collection of the Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul, ed. F. Sezgin, in Facsimile Editions, Series C, Volume 14, Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences, Frankfurt am Main 1985. For analysis of the work, see H.-H. Biesterfeldt, *Die Zweige des Wissens: Theorie und Klassification der Wissenschaften im mittelalterlichen Islam in der Darstellung des Ibn Farīghūn*, Bochum 1985.

[34] See C.E. Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," *JESHO* 12 (1969), 113-164; and idem, "The Terminology of the History of the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya according to al-Khwārazmī's 'Keys of the Sciences,'" in S. Morag et al. (eds.), *Studies in Judaism and Islam*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 27-43.

[35] *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1898.

[36] The following citation, from a letter attributed to Ibrahīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (d. 384/994), is illustrative of the many uses which secretarial writing served in the governance of society. See Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1167), *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 10 vols., Beirut 1996, vol. 6, p.359 (for the Arabic, see the Appendix = Arabic citations [henceforth AC], 1): "... writers of prose [i.e. official correspondence] compose letters/documents (*yatarassalūn*) related to levying taxes,

Certainly, there were figures other than state secretaries whose position in society was also dependent upon skill in the language, such as the littérateur (*adīb*), who contributed to an Islamic hierarchy of knowledge, the summit of which was occupied by the language. It is not clear whether littérateurs existed as a distinct social group, although belles-lettrists were also heavily patronized by the state and belles-lettres were cultivated by its secretaries;[37] but the interests of the cultivated elite in literature and the prestige that their cultural refinement won for them—the overlapping interest of the state in literature notwithstanding—also contributed to the importance given to the sciences of the language in the Arabo-Islamic classification of knowledge.[38] That being said, with Qudāma's work, it is now possible to see the way in which the interests of the state and its representatives coincided with those of the religious specialists and the cultural elite in working towards the construction of the two-tiered epistemological framework of Islamic civilization. Even the great Muslim philosopher of this period, al-Fārābī, who set himself to the task of uniting philosophy and religion, was not able to escape the demands of this epistemological framework. Language and all that concerns it forms the opening chapter of his famous treatise, "The Enumeration of the Sciences" (*Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*). He is, to be sure, a philosopher, not a state secretary, and includes all the branches of philosophy in this overview of the sciences: logic, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, politics. However, it is curious that

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defending the frontier, the cultivation of the country, reforming corruption, inciting [people to undertake] the holy war, argumentation against a sect, debating a religion, invoking [people] to reconciliation in time of civil strife, proscribing heresy, [sending] congratulations for a gift (*ʿaṭiyya*), condolences for tragedy and such similar things, [i.e.] significant matters and great affairs in which there is need for those [skilled in the use] of the many instruments [of the craft of writing] and [possessing] diverse knowledge (*maʿrifa muftanna*). The craft of writing has marked them [i.e. state secretaries] with its honor and its occupation of the rank of rulers, for theirs is a towering importance in accordance with the lofty stature which they attain."

[37] The administrative work of ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī (see chapter two) calls for the study of belles-lettres, contained in books (*kutub al-ādāb*), to be included in the education of state secretaries. Also, in the introduction to "Choice Reports" (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*), Ibn Qutayba comes close to directing his program of literary, cultural and moral refinement to the secretarial corps, but ends by addressing it to society at large.

[38] See W. Heinrichs, "The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam," in J.M. Drijvers and A.A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, Leiden 1995, pp. 119-139.

he classifies the sciences of language (*'ulūm al-lisān*) apart from and prior to those of philosophy,[39] i.e. two epistemological spaces which do not cross, first the Arabic and then the Greek.[40] It is only with political philosophy (the fifth and last chapter of the treatise) that al-Fārābī is able to unite the Greek tradition and that of Islam in a single framework,[41] and even there the synthesis remains incomplete.[42] The fact that the primacy of the language marks the work of the philospher al-Fārābī suggests that the epistemological point of view which crystallized in no small measure among the administrative corps exercised a considerable influence on the matrix of Islamic civilization as a whole. Indeed, the first section of al-Fārābī's treatise, treating the sciences of the language, corresponds more or

[39] al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, ed. 'U. Amīn, Cairo 1968 (2nd edition).

[40] It seems that al-Kindī (d. towards the middle of the third/ninth) is the first to observe this epistemological duality in his letter on the works of Aristotle. For him, the fundamental difference between the two domains of knowledge is a question of effort. The sciences of philosophy are acquired by the effort of human intelligence, whereas the sciences of religion are conferred upon humans freely by the grace of revelation. See *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. M. 'Abd al-Hādī Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, pp. 372-373. It should be noted that the linguistic element plays a role in this duality. He says, p. 373, that the prophetic message is expressed so much more succinctly and eloquently than that of philosophy and attributes this distinction to the unique poetic instinct of the Arabs that allows them to express themselves with unparalleled economy (pp. 375-376). Logic cannot attain such precision, p. 376: *kallat 'an dhālika al-alsunu al-manṭiqiyya al-mutaḥayyila.*

[41] Qudāma also unites diverse cultural elements in his treatment of political philosphy. See M. al-Ḥiyārī, "Qudāma b. Ǧa'fars Behandlung der Politik: Das Kapitel *al-Siyāsa* aus seinem Vademecum für Sekretäre, *Kitāb al-kharāǧ wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba*," *Der Islam* 60 (1983), 91-104. In fact, one could say that Qudāma's cultural synthesis is more integrated than al-Fārābī's.

[42] For al-Fārābī, political philosophy remains a universal science, whereas the sciences of jurisprudence and theology, no less than those of the language, are limited to a particular culture, its religions and its laws. See M. Mahdi, "Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Alfarabi's Enumeration of the Sciences," in J.E. Murdoch and E.D. Sylla (eds.), *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning*, Dordrecht and Boston 1973, pp. 113-147, especially pp. 139-140: "On the surface at least, Alfarabi seems to be resigned to the multiplicty of lawgivers and religions and juridical disciplines and theologies... jurisprudence and theology are not parts of political science... [and] do not investigate the truths or falsehood of the opinions given in any religion about God, his attributes, and the universe. This is the function of the theoretical sciences enumerated earlier, especially the third part of divine science. Nor do they investigate the nobility or baseness of the actions demanded in any religion, distinguish the kind of happiness achieved by performing these actions, or judge the purpose or end the lawgiver had in view in giving this religion. All this is the function of political science, which has been completed already."

less to the diverse parts of the education of the state secretaries.[43]

Since its introduction to western scholarship in 1862,[44] Qudāma's work has been used mainly as a source of information on aspects of Abbasid administration. De Slane used it to calculate Abbasid finances, Mez to describe the bureaucratic structure,[45] and Sprenger to describe the postal system.[46] The work's geographical material was published first, as an addendum by De Goeje to his edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih's geographical work.[47] A complete edition appeared in 1981,[48] but its many mistakes necessitate a return to the manuscript for the establishment of the text. Ben Shemesh translated the section on fiscal jurisprudence (section VII),[49] while al-Ḥiyārī edited the sections on the bureaucratic structure (section V) and political science (section VIII).[50] Little attention has been paid to Qudāma's compendium of verbal expressions, "The Jewels of Expression" (*Jawāhir al-alfāẓ*) which, like Ibn Qutayba's "Education of the State Secretary" (*Adab al-kātib*), offers lists of lexicographical and morphological material for the training and work of secretaries.[51]

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[43] It should be mentioned that there were attempts to treat all branches of knowledge, regardless of cultural origin, in a single framework. Such scholars did not define knowledge in strictly cultural terms, but more so in philosophical. This is a topic I plan to treat in a future study. Among scholars falling into this category are Ibn Rustah (wrote ca. 300/913), al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), al-Maqdisī (wrote ca. 355/966), the anonymous author of the "Letters of the Brethren of Purity" (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, available ca. 371/981; see al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, vol. 1) as well as later encyclopedists writing in Persian, such as Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311). See O Bakar, *op. cit.*, on Shīrāzī, pp. 227-262.

[44] M. de Slane, "Notice sur Codama et ses écrits," *JA* 20 (1862), 155-181.

[45] A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, pp. 68-74.

[46] A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864.

[47] *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1889.

[48] *al-Kharāj wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba*, ed. M. Zubaydī, Baghdad 1981.

[49] A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam, Volume II. Qudāma b. Ja'far's* Kitāb al-kharāj, *Part Seven*, Leiden 1965.

[50] M. al-Ḥiyārī (ed.), *al-Dawāwīn min Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba*, Amman 1986 and *al-Siyāsa min Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba*, Amman 1989. For section V, there is also the edition and translation into Persian by Ḥusayn Khadīv Jam, *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣan'at al-kitāba*, Tehran 1974. For a detailed administrative study and edition of section V, see T.J. Rifā'ī, *al-Manzila al-khāmisa min Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣan'at al-kitāba*, Mecca 1987; this last work is divided into a study of Qudāma's life and work (pp. 23-125) and an edition of section V, including explanation of all technical administrative details (pp. 127-457). Perhaps its most valuable contribution is its very exact study of part 11 of section V on the postal roads between the various cities of the Abbasid state (pp. 255-457).

[51] *Jawāhir al-alfāẓ*, ed. M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1932. See W.P. Heinrichs, "Qudāma ibn Ja'far," in J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 2 vols., London and New York 1998, vol. 2, pp. 639-640.

Qudāma's other work to have reached us, on literary criticism (*Naqd al-shi'r*), has drawn more interest since it has long been available in published form.[52] An entire study was devoted to its contribution to Arabic literary criticism,[53] and it received the lion's share of attention in a 1955 dissertation devoted to Qudāma's life and works.[54] In short, existing scholarship has made use of Qudāma's administrative work for wider historical projects, making its contents available to the scholarly public and contributing limited insights into isolated aspects of the work, but without any attempt to offer a comprehensive statement of the nature of the work as a whole.

Finally, some mention must be made of the life of Qudāma.[55] It should be said first of all that the sources offer limited information.[56]

[52] The most useful edition is that of S. A. Bonebakker, *The* Kitāb naqd al-shi'r *of Qudāma b. Ǧa'far al-Kātib al-Baghdādī*, Leiden 1956. The work was apparently the first systematic treatise on the subject of literary criticism. See W. Ouyang, *Literary Criticism in the Medieval Arabic-Islamic Culture. The Making of a Tradition*, Edinburgh 1997, p. 115. While bearing no apparent relation to state interests, the work could have been of some use to secretaries employed in the chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'/al-rasā'il*): While its focus is poetry and standards of poetic expression, it does also offer a more generally useful theory of the relation between a verbal expression (*lafẓ*) and sense or meaning (*ma'nā*), especially concerning literary forms. It is not difficult to see the potential use which could be made of such a work as a systematic overview of the art of composition (i.e. the art of writing well), which was the work of the chancery.

[53] B. Ṭabāna, *Qudāma b. Ja'far wa-al-naqd al-adabī*, Cairo 1958.

[54] A. Makki, "Qudāma b. Ǧa'far et son oeuvre," Ph.D. diss., Paris 1955, pp. 189-250 (apparently not used by Bonebakker). Makki also offers a cursory overview of Qudāma's administrative work, pp. 251-295, thereby making its contents available mainly to a French audience.

[55] Some may find it disturbing that we devote so little attention to the details of Qudāma's life. First of all, there is so little we know of his life with certainty. More significantly, details of his life add little to the method and goals of this study. For example, some might find it interesting that a Christian convert to Islam (or at least a member of a family with Christian origins) should have such a strong interest in the Arabic language. Qudāma was not, however, writing as a Christian or former Christian, but as a state employee and was accordingly limited by the discourse of state and its values and aims. It is for this reason that we have exalted the question of genre over the person of the author. Of course, there was a significant Christian presence in Islamic administration. See L. Cheikho, *Wuzarā' al-Naṣārā wa-kuttābuhā fī al-islām*, Beirut 1987 (revised edition by C. Hechaïme).

[56] Despite this, Makki devotes the first half of his dissertation, pp. 73-188, to a study of Qudāma's family, education and activities. Rifā'ī, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-98. also offers a study of Qudāma's life and the relevant biographical material on his life. Ibn al-Nadīm (vol. 1, p. 130) is the primary source of information on Qudāma. The following translation is adapted from B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 2 vols., New York 1970, vol. 1, p. 285 (AC 2): "He was Qudāma b. Ja'far b. Qudāma. He was a Christian, becoming a Muslim under the auspices of al-Muktafī bi-Allāh.

Apparently, Qudāma came from a family of state officials: His great-grandfather, Yazīd, served a Turkish commander; his grandfather, Qudāma, served the same commander and was thrown into prison, later to be released, along with another state official, Sulaymān b. Wahb (d. 272/885) when al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-247/847-861) had their patron executed;[57] and his father, Jaʿfar, was involved in scientific and literary circles of all kinds, associating with scholars and intellectuals of all fields.[58]

It is important to note the possibility that Qudāma's father played a central role in his education and that Qudāma's works may have actually developed out of his father's literary and intellectual projects. According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070),[59] Jaʿfar was one of the leading figures among the state secretaries and numbered among their own scholarly elite (*aḥad mashāyikh al-kuttāb wa-ʿulamāʾihim*). He even composed works on the administrative craft of writing (*lahu muṣannafāt fī ṣināʿat al-kitāba*). He was known for his literary talents, and al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) transmitted reports on his authority (*rawā ʿanhu Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī*), a fact confirmed by the 137 reports attributed to Jaʿfar in "The Book of Songs" (*Kitāb al-aghānī*).[60] Al-Khaṭib's report, if trustworthy, supports a scenario wherein father and son alike were employed as state officials, had wide-ranging intellectual interests, including literature and poetry, and composed works in the administrative genre.

Considerable confusion, however, exists over the dates of the lives of father and son. The details are not worth spelling out here,[61] but the problem led Ben Shemesh to conclude that Jaʿfar and Qudāma

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Qudāma was one of the eloquent masters of composition and distinguished philosophers. He was noted in connection with the science of logic, although his father Jaʿfar was one of those who were neither interested in nor had any knowledge of it. Among his books were: The Land-Tax (*al-Kharāj*), eight sections, to which he added a ninth; The Critical Analysis of Poetry (*Naqd al-shiʿr*); The Cleanser of Grief; Dismissal of Anxiety; The Exile of Sorrow; The Antidote for Thought, in which he denounced Abū Tamām; Politics (*al-Siyāsa*); Refutation of Ibn al-Muʿtazz; The Stuffing of the Entrails of the Social Companion; his letter about Abū ʿAlī b. Muqla (Muḥammad b. ʿAlī), known as The Brilliant Star; The Craft of Dialectics; The Recreation of Hearts and the Provision of the Traveler."

[57] See al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, ed. M. Houtsma, 2 vols., Leiden 1883, vol. 2, p. 593.

[58] See Makki, pp. 92f.

[59] *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols., Cairo 1931, vol. 7, p. 205.

[60] See Makki, pp. 98-99.

[61] One can refer to Makki and to the introductions to both Bonebakker's edition of *Naqd al-shiʿr* and al-Ḥiyārī's edition of *al-Siyāsa* (section VIII).

were one person since no bibliographical source includes entries on both father and son.[62] He overlooked, however, the presence of Ja'far's name in Ibn al-Nadīm's work, which is found there not as an entry of its own, but in a list of poet secretaries, where one-hundred folios (*waraqa*) of poetry is attributed to him.[63] Moreover, it is a bit much to assume that the 137 references to Jaʿfar in al-Iṣfahānī's work are all scribal errors, unless Ben Shemesh considered him to be a figure entirely unrelated to Qudāma. Also, al-Tawḥīdī mentions that Qudāma b. Jaʿfar, whose patronymic he gives as Abū ʿAmr (instead of Abū al-Faraj), was present at the famous debate in 320/932 between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus on the relative merits of Greek logic and Arabic grammar.[64] If this is indeed our Qudāma, it becomes more reasonable to dismiss the claims of Ben Shemesh and accept instead the death date of 337/948 given by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201),[65] although vigorously contested by Yāqūt (d. 626/1228), who insists that Qudāma lived at an earlier period and associated with Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904).[66] The possibility of an association with such figures does not seem far-fetched, even if one accepts the death date of 337/948, provided that Qudāma lived a relatively long life. Qudāma does seem to have been a student of Thaʿlab as Ibn al-Jawzī attests and as Qudāma himself suggests in his work on poetry.

In the end, very little can be said about Qudāma's life with certainty. The important point for our purposes is the nature of his work, which was, for its time, striking,[67] for its success in bringing the ad-

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[62] Ben Shemesh, *op. cit.*, p. 3: "The failure of Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī to include in their books the two names is good proof that both names represent only one and the same scholar... Qudāma b. Jaʿfar al-Kātib, who flourished in the days of Thaʿlab (d. 291/904), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and their generation. We may assume that he was born in or about 250/864 and died in 320/932."

[63] Ibn al-Nadīm, vol. 1., p. 168.

[64] al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, vol. 1, p. 108, where the date 326/938 is given. The correct date, 320/932, is given by al-Tawḥīdī in his *al-Muqābasāt*, ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1929, p. 68.

[65] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-muntaẓam*, 10 vols., Haydarabad 1938, vol. 6, p. 363.

[66] Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 7 vols., Beirut 1993, vol. 5, pp. 2235-2236.

[67] The merits of the work were praised by al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. C. Pellat, 7 vols., Beirut 1966-1979, vol. 1, p. 16. For his part, al-Tawḥīdī claimed that he had never seen a better treatment of the art of good composition

ministrative and related sciences to a hitherto unknown level in its systematic presentation of the genre. Indeed, it is the contents of the work, more so than the biographical sources and their contradictory claims, that reveal the character and orientation of his life and even something of his personality. He was a state official in the Abbasid administration, active in the late third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries. Like other high-ranking officials, he was interested in questions of knowledge and frequented intellectual and literary circles. This connection between administrative and scholarly circles is not only a common feature of the social group to which he belonged, but is also reflected in his work, to which we now turn. It is our hope that this study will add to the understanding of this connection in Islamic civilization between governance and knowledge.

(*balāgha*) than that of the third section of Qudāma's work: See his *Imtāʿ*, vol. 2, p. 14. Finally, the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (d. second half of the fourth/tenth century) informs us that he never let the work of Qudāma from his side during his long voyages: See *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers, Leiden 1939 (2nd edition), p. 236. As late as the sixth/twelfth century, we find a voice, that of Samarqandī, insisting that those who plan to enter the bureaucratic ranks must study the work of Qudāma: See *Chahār maqāla*, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1954, p. 22. In time, however, the work of Qudāma seems to have fallen out of favor. Ibn Khaldūn finds it obsolete in comparison to the work of al-Sakkākī (d. 629/1299): See *al-Muqaddima*, Beirut 1987, pp. 1066-1067.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE AND ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

A body of literature devoted to the concerns of state officials and functionaries emerged in the late third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries. Works bearing titles such as "The Education of the State Secretary" (*Adab al-kātib*), "The Craft of Writing" (*Ṣināʿat al-kitāba*) and "The Book of Ministers and State Secretaries (*Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa-al-kuttāb*) represent the consolidation of a genre of literature corresponding to a particular class in Islamic society in its early and classical periods: the administrative corps or, more precisely, those professionally skilled in writing (*al-kuttāb*, sing. *kātib*).[1] In other words, such works collectively embody a distinct discourse pursued by members of the administrative corps themselves, an attempt to demarcate their own space in the Islamic milieu by the creation of a particular branch of knowledge, which at the same time bore significance to Islamic society as a whole for its importance both to the governance of the polity and the cultural and religious identity of the community. This literature, then, can be seen as a discussion about the *kuttāb* in Islamic society: Who were they, and what were the distinguishing features of their place and role in society, their relation to the Arabic language and the Islamic religion as well as the nature of their work? Our goal in this chapter is to introduce this genre and to examine its main contours in light of Qudāma's attempt to bring it to a new level of systematization.

Two factors in particular contributed to the development of this genre: 1) the growth of the Abbasid bureaucracy in both size and

[1] The *kuttāb* as a group are called by various names in this study: state secretaries, the bureaucratic corps, administrative personnel, state officials, government functionaries and the like. While this group formed the central axis of governance and administration, there were other groups that also served the state: the police and military, those employed in the postal service, guards and chamberlains, magistrates, judges and the like. The *kuttāb*, however, are unique among all such groups of state servitors for their extensive involvement in all aspects and domains of state administration. See R. Sellheim-D. Sourdel, "Kātib," *EI*[2], IV, 755-757.

complexity during the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, the increasingly diverse involvement of its members in affairs of state and the subsequent need for a body of literature—manuals—for training aspiring bureaucrats in the norms of the bureaucratic practice; and 2) the emergence of a bureaucratic sub-culture, distinct and recognizable, with its own codes of conduct and social ethos and a corpus of literature that conveyed the values of this group and served to initiate new members into it. Moreover, this period can be said to represent a bureaucratic high-point in early Abbasid history, a time when state secretaries represented not merely one significant political element in Islamic society, but the dominant one.[2] Specifically, the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid (r. 279-289/892-902) marks the first stage in an attempt to restore administrative order under the supervision and authority of state officials after the so-called Samarra period (221-276/836-889) and its political turmoil.[3] A common response of bureaucratic groups to social uncertainty and political instability is the assertion of their own norms of order and administrative regularity.[4] Thus, the production of a body of literature spelling out norms of governance and bureaucratic practice can be understood as a response by members of the Abbasid secretarial corps to the turmoil of the third/ninth century and the threat it represented to their status and prestige in society.

As government functionaries, the *kuttāb* were involved in the administration of state in its various forms and requirements: as supervising agents, tax-collectors, legal assistants, writers of official correspondence, custodians of state records and sometimes even as commanders of military campaigns.[5] It should be noted that the understanding of the state secretary was not static through the course of early Islamic history, and dimensions of secretarial identity, prominent at one time, ceased to be so at another. The sources indicate

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[2] See D. Sourdel, *op. cit.* (1959), pp. 699-706.

[3] For the instability of the third/ninth century in general, see D. Waines, "The Third Century Internal Crisis of the Abbasids," *JESHO* 20 (1977), 282-306. For a survey of Abbasid bureaucratic growth and development and its culmination in the reigns of al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muktafī (r. 289-295/902-908) and al-Muqtadir (r. 295-320/908-932), see I.I. Blay-Abramski, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-296.

[4] For a discussion of the political role of bureaucratic personnel in state and society in general, see M. Heper, "Theoretical Backdrop," in M. Heper (ed.), *The State and Public Bureaucracies. A Comparative Perspective*, New York 1987, pp. 3-23.

[5] For a list of military campaigns led by administrators, see F. Amabe, *The Emergence of ʿAbbāsid Autocracy*, Kyoto 1995, pp. 234-237.

that the task of those skilled in writing during the time of the Prophet was twofold: recording revelation together with the composition of state letters.[6] Under late Umayyad and early Abbasid rule, secretaries were prominent as translators of Greek, Persian and Indian works into Arabic, a movement that apparently served a political agenda.[7] By Qudāma's day, jurisdiction over the religious sources had been ceded to religious specialists (*'ulamā', fuqahā', muḥaddithūn*), and the *kuttāb* were no longer considered purveyors of non-Arabic culture. Rather, although still involved in religious and cultural discourse, the secretary became largely defined in bureaucratic terms: a government functionary, a state servitor.[8] This understanding of the state secretary largely parelleled the Sasanian model. Certainly, the general contours of Islamic administration had been established under the Umayyads, where the Byzantine and Sasanian heritage—adapted to Islamic needs (e.g. the introduction of the Arabic language under 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, r. 65-86/685-705)—served as material for the formation of Islamic administrative institutions. The Abbasids, once in power, assumed these structures of governance and further developed them.[9] However, authors of administrative works, in search of an image representative of the identity of the *kātib* as state servitor, consciously associated themselves with the Sasanian model.[10] It is not, then, a simple question of the historical development of an institution, but the values and identity of a social group and the need to create for themselves an aetiological and thus legitimating past.

The one consistent element in the character of the state secre-

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[6] One tradition refers to the secretary as the "record" (*sijill*) of the Prophet. See Abū Da'ūd, *Sunan*, ed. M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., Cairo 1935, entry 2935.

[7] See D. Gutas, *op. cit.* (1998).

[8] The role of a parallel institution in Hebraic society, that of the scribe (*sōfer*), varied in character, at times more religiously defined, at others more administratively. See C. Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period*, Sheffield 1998, p. 327: "According to the proposed model, scribes will have functioned as officials and professional writers during the entire period under consideration, but some scribes will also have been known as scholars, intellectuals, sages, and expert interpreters of the scriptures and the law."

[9] See D. Sourdel, *op. cit.* (1959), pp. 580-605; and al-Dūrī, *op. cit.* (1950), pp. 139-172. See also A. El'ad, "Aspects of the Transition from the Umayyad to the Abbasid Caliphate," *JSAI* 19 (1995), 89-132.

[10] The introduction to al-Jahshiyārī's administrative history is evidence enough for the identification of Abbasid state secretaries with the Sasanian past. See al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, eds. M.al-Saqqā, I. al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, Cairo 1938, pp. 1-11.

tary throughout the first four Islamic centuries (and beyond) was expertise in writing. This simple fact is what distinguished the *kuttāb* within Islamic society: Regardless of sphere of employment, writing formed the basis of the state secretaries' identity and existence, and it is in this sense that the administrative corps cultivated an image closely connected to skill in writing alongside other distinguishing characteristics, such as dress and certain ethical expectations. It is this self-understanding that stands out in the administrative literature. The genre, however, exists not only to praise the virtues of writing, but more specifically to underscore a vision of writing which is tantamount to the governance of the state, the ultimate source of secretarial authority and prestige.

This is not to say that writing was the exclusive domain of the administrative corps. Writing had a much larger role and was appreciated as an important element in the service of both knowledge (as an *aide-mémoire*) and society (as a repository of sacred and secular wisdom and a means of communication).[11] Moreover, writing was prominent in religious circles, although not without some controversy, as a means of recording Ḥadīth from as early as the first/seventh century.[12] Additionally, state secretaries themselves showed an interest in non-administrative forms of writing, including poetry,

[11] For an early exposé on the role of writing in society and its relation to knowledge, see al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn, 8 vols., Cairo 1938, vol. 1, pp. 38-54.

[12] See M.M. al-Azami, *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, New York 1985; H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge des islamischen Jurisprudenz: ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1991; and M. Cook, "The Opponents of the Writing of Tradition in Early Islam," *Arabica* 64 (1997), 437-530.

[13] For the production of poetry by state secretaries, see Bencheikh, *op. cit.*; of geography, see chapter three. Though there is little evidence of direct state patronage of history, al-Yaʿqūbī is one example of a state secretary writing history. Was there such a concept as a court historian in the Abbasid period (even informally, e.g. al-Balādhurī) as there was, for a brief period, in the Ottoman? See C. Woodhead, "An Experiment in Official Historiography: The Post of *Shehnameci* in the Ottoman Empire, ca. 1555-1605," *WZKM* 75 (1983), 157-182. For the importance of state and court officials in the rise and development of history writing in Persian, see J.S. Meisami, "Why write history in Persian? Historical writing in the Samanid period," in C. Hillenbrand (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, 2 vols., Leiden 2000, vol. 2, pp. 348-374. For the introduction of admionistrative themes into poetry, see B. Gruendler, "Verse and Taxes: The Function of Poetry in Selected Literary *Akhbār* of the 9th century, forthcoming in P. Kennedy (ed.), *Fictionality, Adab, and the Creation of Meaning in Medieval Arabic Literature. Studies in Arabic Language and Literature.* For the presence of the land-tax in Persian poetry, see Ḥusayn Khadīv Jam, *op. cit.*, pp. 21f.

history and geography.[13]

Such non-governmental uses of writing notwithstanding, works addressed to administrative circles (i.e. the administrative genre) insist on a necessary connection between norms of written composition—themselves based upon established standards of language usage—and the bureaucratic practice. The assumption seems to be that without skill in writing, governance would cease to function properly, if at all. Although the notion that the bureaucratic practice was based in writing was current from at least the Umayyad period (see below), it is only with the appearance of works constituting a recognizable genre that the connection is decisively made and framed in theoretical terms as a science, the administrative science (*al-kitāba*). This awareness need not, then, reflect a shift in cultural categories or actual changes in the practice of administration. The point is not necessarily transformation, but rather the appearance of a particular genre of literature and its increasingly refined attempts to embody the identity of the group for which the genre was produced.

Ever since Adam Mez based his description of Abbasid administration on section V of Qudāma's work,[14] scholars have used it as a source of information on the details of early Islamic bureaucracy. The predominance of this approach to the administrative sources may partly explain the fact that no effort has been made to locate individual works within the wider genre,[15] let alone to survey the genre itself. These sources, actually a rich and yet to be fully ex-

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[14] See chapter one, n. 45.

[15] G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba. L'homme, son oeuvre, ses idées*, Damascus 1965, pp. 421-477, does discuss the "Education of the State Secretary" (*Adab al-kātib*), but as part of Ibn Qutayba's literary and cultural project and not within the framework of the administrative genre. A study of al-Ṣūlī's (d. 335/916) life and works exists, but its analysis of his "Education of the State Secretaries" (*Adab al-kuttāb*) is largely limited to summary. See A.J. ʿUmarī, *Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī. Ḥayātuhu wa-adabuhu*, Cairo 1984, pp. 305-335.

[16] It should also be mentioned that the systematic study of early state letters has yet to be undertaken. See A. Arazi and ʿA. El'ad, "'L'Épître à l'Armée.' Al-Ma'mūn et la seconde Da'wa," *SI* 66 (1987), 27-70 and 67 (1988), 29-74. These letters can be found in such collections as Ibn Ṭayfur's (d. 280/893) "Prose and Poetry" (*al-Manthūr wa-al-manẓūm*) and scattered throughout such works as al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) "History of the Prophets and Kings" (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*), Ibn Ḥamdūn's (d. 562/1167) "Anthology" (*al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya*) and al-Qalqashandī's "Dawn of the Dim-Sighted" (*Subḥ al-Aʿshā*). Many of these letters have been collected and edited by A.Z. Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā'il al-ʿarab fī ʿuṣūr al-ʿarabiyya al-zāhira*, 4 vols., Cairo 1971 (reprint). Questions of authenticity notwithstanding, such letters have preserved models of composition used by state

plored dimension of early Islamic history,[16] constitute an essential element in our study of section V as the context in which to understand Qudāma's consolidation of and contribution to the genre. Qudāma's work moves into other branches of knowledge, and it is in that sense especially that we cannot reduce his concerns to administrative ones alone. Still, his work is addressed to the administrative personnel and its first half is devoted to the administrative science. Thus, the work does bear a close relation to the administrative genre, and section V belongs to that genre and can only be understood in the context of the genre as a whole.

Previous study of section V has treated it in isolation from other works, indeed in isolation from the other sections of Qudāma's own work. Sourdel was thus led to dismiss it as too theoretical when it actually represents some very real and concrete concerns of the administrative corps.[17] For his part, al-Ḥiyārī took section V to reflect the growth of the Abbasid bureaucracy in size and sophistication up to Qudāma's day.[18] While that is true, it is not enough to say that the Abbasid bureaucracy grew and then Qudāma wrote about it. Rather, it is more profitable to allow the literature, the discourse of the genre itself, to shape our approach to Qudāma's work. Although sections II, III and IV are lost to us, tracing developments within the genre as a whole will help us to understand Qudāma's intentions in section V more precisely (see below). His goal of drawing out the dependency of administration on writing is already implicit in the title of the work: "The Book of (Administering) the Land-Tax and the Craft of Writing (as a State Secretary)." This necessary connection between good writing and good administration is the theme of the seventh session of "The Book of Delight and Conviviality" (*Kitāb al-imtāʿ wa-al-mu'ānasa*) of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), where the conclusion is made that skill in accounting necessary for the administration of tax collection cannot

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secretaries in the chancery. Evidence for the practice of using previous letters or parts of them can be found in the accusations of plagiarism made by functionaries who were not employed in the chancery. See J. Sadan, "La littérature vue par un administrateur frustré," *SI* 71 (1990), 29-36.

[17] D. Sourdel, *op. cit.* (1959), p. 589: "Chroniques et récits d'*adab* se contentent en effet de les citer dans où ils intéressent tel événement particulier, mais ne présentent point de listes systématique en dehors de celle qu'a laissée Qudāma b. Ǧaʿfar. Encore cette dernière apparaît un peu trop théorique à notre gré et ne nous est-elle pas parvenue complète."

[18] M. al-Ḥiyārī, *op. cit.* (1986), pp. 1-45.

be separated from excellence in the craft of writing. The two are too closely intertwined to be viewed separately. This is Qudāma's intention, too. Indeed, understanding Qudāma's vision clarifies the gist of al-Tawḥīdī's argument.[19]

Section V of Qudāma's work, an overview of the Abbasid bureaucratic structure, exhibits a strong appreciation for the use of writing as the tool of state administration: military registers, financial records, official correspondence, legal documents, postal missives, etc. It is in that sense, then, that section V should not be read in isolation, as the first comprehensive and systematic account of the Abbasid bureaucratic structure, an innovation which has long been noted,[20] but, more fundamentally, as a paradigmatic summation of the administrative genre as a whole, namely that language in written form is the substance of adminstration. So, while it is possible to understand the full import of Qudāma's work only by reading it alongside other administrative literature of the time, section V, the last of four devoted to the administrative science (see chapter one), can thus help us, in turn, to understand the goals of the genre as a whole.

As we shall see, other administrative works treat the administrative science only partially: As such, the genre can be classified into four sub-genres or categories according to the particular project of the author: 1) The grammatical category expresses a concern over the failure of the administrative corps in general to master the Arabic language. This failure on the part of the state and its representatives posed a threat not only to standards of language (in terms of both grammar and stylistics), but also to the prestige of the religion, i.e. Islam, incarnated exclusively, as believed, in the Arabic language. 2) The bureaucratic category, while assuming standards of language, focuses on the specific terms, concepts, principles and formulae used in the composition of administrative documents of various kinds. The concern here was not cultural or religious, but the design of an authoritative administrative document, an achievement that required a precise knowledge of the language specific to the bureaucratic craft of writing, "bureaucratese" in modern parlance. 3) The linguistic

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[19] al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā*, vol. 1, p. 96-104. See G.J. van Gelder, "Man of Letters vs. Man of Figures. The Seventh Night from al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Imtāʿ wa-al-muʾānasa*," in H.L.J. Vanstiphout et al. (eds.), *Scripta Signa Vocis. Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the Middle East*, Groningen 1986, pp. 53-63.

[20] W. Hoenerbach, "Zur Heeresverwaltung der ʿAbbasiden. Studie über Abulfarağ Qudāma: *Dīwān al-ğaish*," *Der Islam* 29 (1950), 257-290, especially p. 267; and A. Makki, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

category attempts to formulate a theory of communication that can account for the close identification of state administration with the craft of writing. The attempt to demonstrate the close dependency of bureaucracy upon writing led to a theory which goes so far as to equate written communication wholly with the bureaucratic practice. 4) The last of these categories, the historical, while representative of the bureaucratic *Weltanschauung* and an important means for defining secretarial identity, remains tangential to our study, since its does not treat the bureaucratic craft of writing *per se*, but seeks rather to legitimize the state offices of minister and secretary through a description of their place in and contribution to Islamic history.[21]

While aspects of all these categories can be found in section V, Qudāma organizes the material of the genre according to the administrative bureau (*dīwān*): its task, the rules governing that task, and the specific aspects of language and writing required to perform that task. It is in this sense that his work is able to express precisely the fundamental connection between the craft of writing and the business of administration. The bureau, the main protagonist in the administrative process, is a function of writing. Such a notion fails to emerge so clearly in the other categories with more limited focus on grammar and morphology (the grammatical category), the technical terms of the trade (the bureaucratic category) or the construc-

[21] The attempt to garner legitimacy for administrative institutions by locating them in the Islamic past coincided with a rise in the historical consciousness of the Muslim community in general in the third/ninth century. It seems that this sub-genre of administrative literature was first promoted by the Jarrāḥid family. Ibn al-Nadīm lists three works of this kind, all composed by members of the Banū Jarrāḥ: *Akhbār al-kuttāb* by Da'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ, *Kitāb al-wuzarā'* by his son Muḥammad and *Kitāb al-kuttāb* by 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Da'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ. Another work of this kind, *Kitāb al-wuzarā'* by al-Muṭawwiq 'Alī b. al-Fatḥ, continues the work of Muḥammad b. Da'ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ until the time of Abū al-Qāsim al-Kalwadhānī. See Ibn al-Nadīm, pp. 128-129. It is, however, al-Jahshiyārī's work that is later appreciated as the model of the historical category: Al-Ṣābi' consciously sets out to write his administrative history as a development of al-Jahshiyārī's work. It should be added that the historical category is also marked by a didactic aspect, conveyed through anecdotes and stories of prominent state officials of the past as a way to demonstrate values and codes of conduct expected of administrative personnel. See D. Sourdel, "La valeur littéraire et documentaire du 'Livre des Vizirs' d'al-Ǧahshiyārī," *Arabica* 2 (1955), 193-210; idem, "L'originalité du *Kitāb al-wuzarā'* de Hilāl al-Ṣābi'," *Arabica* 5 (1958), 272-292; and idem, "Fragments d'al-Ṣūlī sur l'histoire des vizirs 'abbāsides," *BEO* 15 (1955-1957), 99-108. For further suggestion of the socio-literary concerns of al-Jahshiyārī's history, see A. Hamori, "Exemplum, Anecdote, and the Gentle Heart in a Text by al-Jahshiyārī," *Asiatische Studien* 2 (1996), 363-370.

tion of a legitimizing past (the historical category). Only the linguistic category comes close to Qudāma's achievement. It is actually on the basis of the theoretical framework of the linguistic category—where writing equals the bureaucratic practice—that Qudāma can actually consolidate the field and state its fundamental program with clarity. His innovation upon the linguistic category, as we shall see, rests in his presentation of the genre as anonymous administrative units (i.e. a de-personalized vision of governance) dependent for the completion of their task on the craft of writing.

This achievement is a matter of organization. Section V and its description of eleven administrative bureaus originally formed a single unit with the now lost section IV, which treats the two most important bureaus of the state: the bureau of the land-tax (*dīwān al-kharāj*) and the bureau of state land-holdings (*dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*). The two sections together survey the entire bureaucratic complex, described throughout as a system of adminstration dependent on writing—governance by writing. As such, these two sections actually represent the fruit of the previous two, also lost: section II on orthography, including the tools of the trade (*ālāt al-kitāba*);[22] and section IV, a treatment of the norms of good composition (*al-balāgha*).[23] Qudāma, however, is not writing as a grammarian or linguist, nor does his audience encompass the entire range of bureaucratic functionaries. Rather, his work is addressed to those holding the highest administrative posts of state (*al-riʾāsa al-ʿāliyya*),[24] who would have welcomed an overall account of the bureaucratic structure and its internal

[22] Qudāma refers to the content of section IV in his introduction to section V (QJ, p. 3) and to the content of section III in the opening sentence of part 4 of section V (QJ, p. 19). The contents of sections I and II remain unknown. It has been suggested by al-Ḥiyārī, *op. cit.* (1986), p. 39, n. 2, that section I was an introduction to the work as a whole and section II an account of the tools of the bureaucratic trade. For potential confirmation of this, see our discussion of al-Naḥḥās below.

[23] This word essentially means good expression or eloquence of language, but in the administrative literature, it usually implies writing and can be taken to mean excellence of literary expression or composition. Still, notions of language in general are always implicit in and actually underpin the craft of writing. For an example of the relation of literary and socio-political concerns, see J.E. Montgomery, "Al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-Tabyīn*," forthcoming in J. Bray (ed.), *Muslim Studies. Curzon Studies in Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies*, Richmond.

[24] QJ, p. 96. For the expectation that those holding high office should possess a wide-ranging knowledge of the administrative process, see al-Naḥḥās, *Ṣināʿat al-kitāba*, ed. B.A. Ḍayf, Beirut 1990, who mentions (p. 34) the knowledge required of the ruling elite (*al-riʾāsa al-ʿāliyya*); and Ibn Wahb, *al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān*, ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. Ḥadīthī, Baghdad 1967, who speaks (p. 418) of a wide-

workings. Works designed for the lower ranks of functionaries at large were limited to descriptions of the tools and terminology of the bureaucratic trade, set norms for composing official correspondence, formulae for drafting tax documents, etc. Qudāma himself seems to have held a high-ranking position in the Abbasid administration as chief of one of the bureaus of central control (*dīwān al-zamān*),[25] a post established during the reign of al-Mahdī (r. 158-167/775-785) as a means of establishing centralized control over the circulation of government documents between the provinces and the caliphal center in Baghdad. This position would have offered Qudāma the vantage point from which to grasp the workings of the bureaucratic system as a whole.

To highlight the bureaucratic structure, he separates his account of its various units (sections IV and V) from his treatment of the tools and language of writing (sections II and III), while assuming a necessary connection between the two. In other words, section II on orthography and section III on good composition establish certain standards and norms—orthographical, lexicographical, grammatical and stylistic—which, in turn, lend themselves to, indeed allow for, bureaucratic regularity and efficiency: administrative order as the fruit of a linguistic order expressed in writing. Section V, the one piece of the puzzle actually in our possession, can thus be seen as the first attempt to explain the component parts of an institution, both descriptively and prescriptively.

As an aside, it is worth noting the Weberian coloring of section V, i.e. its conception of a bureaucratic structure based on writing, organized by administrative bureau and regulated by clearly defined tasks and rules. While the reality may have been different,[26] Qudāma's attempt to establish a normative bureaucratic practice stands as evidence against Weber's dismissal of Islamic society along with the rest of the medieval world as patrimonial in style and devoid of bureaucratic ideals.[27]

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ranging knowledge required of the secretary to the minister (*kātib al-wazīr*). For this notion in the slightly later Buyid period, see J. Sadan, "A New Source of the Būyid Period," *IOS* 9 (1979), 355-376, especially pp. 364f.

[25] See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 2236.

[26] For nepotism, corruption and private interests in the ranks of the administrative corps, see H. Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā, The Good Vizier*, Cambridge 1928 and M. Carter, "The Kātib in Fact and Fiction," *Abr-Nahrain* (11) 1971, 42-55.

[27] M. Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills,

Weber's understanding of ideal types lies in the abstract rules and impersonal order of a structure of offices hierarchically arranged.[28] Bureaucratic order depends on the office, not the persons holding the office. The personnel should be appointed, not elected, and trained to conduct their work according to set rules regulating their particular office, which itself consists of documents and records—written information which actually is the office itself since it removes the possibility of any personal imprint being given to the work. The central element in the Weberian vision is the administrative bureau, along with its clearly defined area of authority and the set of rules according to which it functions.

The unit of bureaucratic definition in Qudāma's work is also the bureau (*dīwān*), for which he has defined a particular manner of proceeding, dependent on and strictly bound to writing and therefore defined by the office itself and its function, not the person holding it. No other work from the period defines the Abbasid adminstration so anonymously. Only Qudāma's isolates the bureau as the organizing principle of Abbasid state administration. Even the caliphal office is largely secondary to the complex of bureaucratic offices in the governance of the state.

It can thus be said that section V represents a significant shift in attitudes about governance from those found in the well-known letter of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 139/756) to the Abbasid al-Manṣūr (r. 136-158/754-775), a shift partly to be explained by the two centuries separating the two authors, during which the Abbasid administrative structure underwent considerable development. In his letter, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, serving as secretary to a brother of al-Manṣūr, assumes a place analagous to that of the caliph's close companions and counselors (*ṣaḥāba*) and takes it upon himself to offer an overview of the general state of affairs under early Abbasid rule and a solution for unresolved problems in the polity, namely a well-defined system of administration.[29]

Oxford 1958, pp. 196-244. Weber's dismissal of Islamic forms of governance shows the influence of European attitudes towards Islamic politics, attitudes which reached Weber through Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*. See M. Curtis, "The Oriental Despotic Universe of Montesquieu," *Princeton Papers in Near East Studies* 3 (1994), 1-38.

[28] M. Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, ed. and trans. A.M. Henderson and T. Parson, Oxford 1947, pp. 329-340.

[29] The letter of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ discusses many aspects of society, but its main aim is to alert the caliph to the need for uniformity of administration. The legal authority (*ra'y*) invested in the caliph, as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ sees it, places him in a

While this letter shares with section V the goal of identifying and defining the state's role in administering its realm and norms by which it might operate, the nature of this governance, as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ understood it, depends upon a personal relation of service to the ruler, whereas Qudāma's conception of governance tends towards a system of administrative bureaus, each occupied with the execution of a particular sphere of bureaucratic writing. For Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, authority resided in a person; for Qudāma, in a system of impersonal rules defining the various tasks of governance.[30]

It is possible to attribute this shift in attitude to the growing integration of the craft of writing with the business of governance: Writing in theory removes the personal nature of administering the polity, and it can be argued that the increasingly refined use of writing in administration contributed to new ideas of governance alongside the old ones. Again, the notion of an administrative basis in writing was not unknown to Islamic society at the time when Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ composed his letter, but existed at least in embryonic form in epistles composed within and for administrative circles. Our task is not to prove that writing had such a direct effect on socio-cultural attitudes,

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position to establish order—through clearly defined administrative norms—in a society where order was threatened by the mismanagement of officials whose ill-will, in the absence of such norms, had led to the exploitation of the realm's subjects and political unrest in general. The intended result of this letter is social stability, prosperity for the subjects and regular tax revenue for the state. The letter's goals are epitomized in the following passage of *al-Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba*. See *Conseilleur du Calife*, ed. and trans. C. Pellat, Paris 1976, p. 59 (AC 3): "Given the fact that the sources of the taxes imposed upon the administrative districts are not fixed or known, and there is not a district which has not had its tax amount changed several times, and the taxes of some districts are removed, while those of others remain—if the commander of the faithful would use his judgment (*ra'y*) to establish and promulgate taxes [i.e. tax assessments] for the villages, towns and lands, creating administrative registers (*dīwān*) for that and confirming the sources [of taxation] so that a man is assigned only the tax which he had known [at the time of the original assessment] and guaranteed and expends effort in cultivating only that of which he receives the surplus and benefit—we would hope that there would be in that a common good [lit. a good for the subjects], prosperity in the land and an end to the treachery and oppression of the tax agents."

[30] Certainly, socio-cultural transformation is difficult to locate precisely, but the different assumptions of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and Qudāma do suggest some kind of shift. For a discussion of different conceptions of authority, see M. Weber, *Economy and Society*, 3 vols., Berkeley 1978, vol. 1, pp. 215f. While Weber seems inclined to associate conceptions of authority with specific cultural moments, early Islamic society suggests that different notions of authority—personal and charismatic, religious and traditional, impersonal and bureaucratic—could and did exist at the same time and even blend in certain ways with one another.

but rather to suggest it by tracing the developing conception of administration by writing across the administrative genre.

Before beginning our survey of the sources, it should be noted that the theme of writing and administration, though increasingly the subject of historical study,[31] has not yet been introduced into the early Islamic context. Although it is tempting to apply the insights of previous scholarship to the Islamic scenario, it will be important for us to look at early Islam as a specific case, with its own particular circumstances and dynamic. Certainly, existing studies can provide a background for points of comparison. In the end, however, Islam came to its own conception of the connection between writing and governance. Many questions are open for research: the interest of the Islamic state in writing and its impact on the rise of a culture in which writing and books became prevalent in the extreme—creating a culture of the book at least among the elite; the relation of bureaucratic writing to other kinds of writing and to the rise of literature in general; the interest of the state in the establishment of the Qurʾān in written form alongside and sometimes in contrast to the versions known to those entrusted with its oral recitation (*al-qurrāʾ*); the positions generally taken by members of the administrative corps towards theories of language and literary criticism in light of their own interests in language and its written expression; and the impact of writing, especially its bureaucratic forms, on approaches to knowledge.[32] The possibilities for treating the relation of the state to language and writing in early Islam are many and varied,[33] and our intention here is to introduce only one of many

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[31] For example, M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307*, Oxford 1979; J. Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Management of Society*, Cambridge 1986; A.K. Bowman and G. Wolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1994; and K. Fianu and D.J. Guth (eds.), *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace français, espace anglais*, Louvain-La-Neuve 1997.

[32] Can it be said, for example, that the growth of state archives rendered them a source of historical information, i.e. the place to find reliable, documented information, such that the oral transmission of knowledge, validated by a chain of transmitters (*isnād*), ceased to be the only source of historical knowledge, as the works of al-Balādhurī and al-Yaʿqūbī seem to suggest?

[33] The enormous role of writing in early Islamic social and scholarly life is epitomized in a quote from al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, ed. M.B. al-Atharī, Cairo 1923, p. 24 (AC 4): "And by writing, the Qurʾān was put together, oral reports and the vestiges of the past have been preserved, treaties affirmed, rights confirmed, dates cited, records maintained, the human is saved from forgetfulness and testimonies are brought forth..."

areas: the administrative genre and its attempt to construct a vision of adminstration based on language through writing.

Epistles

Before examining the works of the administrative genre proper, mention should be made of administrative epistles, letters of exhortation addressed to state officials and functionaries, since they demonstrate that the notion of governance by writing was appreciated well before Qudāma's time, albeit much less clearly articulated. These letters, the earliest vehicle for articulating administrative character and norms, did not cease to be used with the emergence of the book, but continued to serve as an appropriate means by which to encourage officials and functionaries to higher standards of competence and conduct.[34] The earliest example is ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's (d. 132/750) letter to the cadre of state secretaries;[35] a later one, within Qudāma's lifetime, is "The Virgin Letter" of al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911).[36] These letters, however, differ from the works of the administrative genre proper, which are not mere exhortation, but full-length treatment of a branch of knowledge, the administrative science, which was counted as one of the Arabo-Islamic sciences. This essential difference notwithstanding, it will be important to look at these letters briefly since they do represent the first gestation of the conceptual foundations of the bureaucratic identity and as such indicate that Abbasid ideas about the relation of governance to writing do have lines of continuity with the late Umayyad period when ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wrote his famous letter to the state secretaries.

Written as a general exhortation to the bureaucratic class to cul-

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[34] Epistles were counted as part of the literary production of state officials, sometimes even being collected into a book of letters (*kitāb rasā'il*). See Ibn al-Nadīm, vol. 1, pp. 115-140, *passim.*

[35] See I. ʿAbbās (ed.), *op. cit.* (1988), pp. 281-288. A translation of the letter can be found in Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, trans. F. Rosenthal (abridged by N.J. Dawood), Princeton 1967, pp. 203-206.

[36] Originally attributed to Ibn al-Mudabbir, first by M. Kurd ʿAlī in the 1912 edition of his *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'* and then by Z. Mubarak, *Étude critique sur 'La lettre vierge' d'Ibn al-Mudabbir*, Cairo 1931. The attribution to Ibn al-Mudabbir was first questioned by D. Sourdel, "Le 'Livre des Secrétaires' d'ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī," *BEO* 14 (1952-1954), p. 116, n.2. Sourdel's suggestion of al-Shaybānī was eventually confirmed by the unique manuscript. See M.M. Labidi, "al-Shaybānī," *EI*², IX, 396. Ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 279/892) was the addressee.

tivate standards of professional competence and moral excellence,[37] the letter begins with praise of the cadre of secretaries (*maʿshar al-kuttāb*) for their work in managing the affairs of state. By their good graces, the affairs of state are set in order, its dominion is established, its taxes collected, and its lands made prosperous (p. 281). This represents a significant development from pre-Islamic Arabia and the first century of Islam, a period in which the interests of state were not primarily represented by a group of administrative assistants skilled in the craft of writing, but rather in tribal and religious concepts of orally based authority.[38] Those known for expertise in oral communication—poets (*shāʿir*), preachers (*qāṣṣ*), homilists (*khaṭīb*), and traditionists (*muḥaddith*)—played a leading role in representing the interests of various groups in society: tribal, political, religious.[39] While such figures never lost their role and status within the Islamic milieu (even to this day), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's letters can be seen to represent the assimilation of written communication and, hence, state secretaries as a group into this circle of power.[40]

The moral exhortation, which forms the bulk of the letter, touches upon the secretaries' relation not only to their own sovereign (p. 282), but to people at large (pp. 284f.), even to other secretaries (pp. 283-284), who apparently expected certain standards of behavior from one another, an *esprit de corps*, especially when one of them fell on hard times. The message, then, is clear: The cadre of state secretaries are a distinct group within society for the standards of conduct expected of them. Though a far cry from the system of administrative bureaus spelled out by Qudāma, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd has taken the first step in outlining a vision of normative behavior expected of administrative personnel.[41]

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[37] Behind this call to a certain code of ethical conduct may lie the reason for the close association of the administrative corps with the production of *Fürstenspiegel* literature (see chapter five). Is it possible that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's moral exhortation spurred on the likes of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to compose (translate?) *Fürstenspiegel* material?

[38] See R. al-Sayyid, "al-Kātib wa-al-sulṭān," *al-Ijtihād* 4 (1989), 13-51.

[39] See Kh. ʿAthamina, "*al-Qaṣaṣ*: its emergence, religious origin, and its socio-political impact on early Muslim society," *SI* 76 (1992), 53-74.

[40] For a discussion of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's letters as a vehicle of Umayyad political ideology, see W. al-Qāḍī, "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice," in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid 1994, pp. 231-273.

[41] The Umayyad model of state was defined by the personal relation of state officials to the ruler, i.e. a loyal retinue devoted to the person of the ruler, not a

Aside from moral exhortation and encouragement to excellence, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in a famous passage, lists the educational requirements expected of the administrative corps. He insists that they know something from all branches of knowledge, but specifically names religion (i.e. the holy book), tax law *(farāʾiḍ)*,[42] the Arabic language, penmanship, poetry, the history of both the Arabs and the Persians, along with their traditions and customs, and, for those secretaries responsible for the assessment and collection of taxes, accounting (p. 283). The most striking feature of this list is its emphasis on language and study of material considered to represent the Arabic language at its finest: the science of the language itself, poetry (including its unusual forms and their meanings) and study of the Qurʾān. The interest in pre-Islamic poetry was not merely cultural, nor can the interest in the Qurʾān be understood through the lens of faith. Such literature was important as a depository of the linguistic heritage, training in which was the essential requisite for skill in composition. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd considered study of these sources of language, along with penmanship, to be the basic building block of the administrative craft: a linguistic order in the service of an administrative one. Even the study of historical literature (*al-ayyām*), also a receptacle of the literary heritage, can serve this purpose as well as a didactic one. Finally, in the same list, knowledge of tax law and competence in the use of figures (i.e. for purposes of tax assessment) are mentioned. Although no clear connection is made between the craft of writing and administration of the affairs of state in general, the list of educational requirements suggests that they were already somehow associated in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's day, the first signal of what would later become commonplace.

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bureaucratic structure with its own rules and procedure. This was true not only of caliphal rule in Damascus, but also in the provinces where Umayyad governors such as Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥajjāj appointed their own retainers or tribal associates to administrative posts (judges, secretaries, chamberlains, police officers). This retinue existed only by virtue of its personal relation to and dependence upon the ruler (very much unlike the existence of later officials and functionaries which increasingly was thought to depend upon the craft of writing). For lists of those who occupied administrative posts in this sense, see Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), *al-Taʾrīkh*, ed. A. al-ʿUmarī, Baghdad 1977. According to Weber, *op. cit.* (1958), p. 196, administration has historically been defined more commonly in terms of a personal relation: "... the ruler executes important measures through personal trustees, table companions, or court servants."

[42] This term, eventually associated with the norms of inheritance law, is widely used throughout the early legal sources in reference to taxes paid by Muslims (see chapter four).

Emphasis on language, i.e. good composition (*balāgha*), as the essential criterion for work as a state secretary is further developed in "The Virgin Letter" of al-Shaybānī,[43] so-called, it has been claimed, because its author believed himself to be treating topics that no one had hitherto addressed.[44] This letter is also marked by frequent exhortation, but here the exhortation is not so much a call to moral excellence as to excellent composition, which forms the focus of the first section of the letter. No concrete details are given, but the emphasis is on order: literary order, by which is meant putting everything in its proper place.[45] Indeed, only he who puts content (*maʿnā*) in its proper place (*mawḍiʿ*, p. 234), like the properly arranged beads of a necklace (p. 242), can be said to write well. The first section of the letter concludes with the golden rule of literary expression:

> And choose from the expressions the metrically superior,
> the fullest in meaning, and the most appropriately placed (AC 5).[46]

This emphasis on proper order is set alongside description of the very specific standards of the bureaucratic sub-culture related to clothing, appearance, rank, proper form of address and so on (pp. 229f.). The letter has tried to capture the ordered world of a particular social class and bind it closely to a sense of literary order. This world is obedient to the craft from which it arose, its social and literary order exist in parallel, a point al-Shaybānī tries to express by combining terminology of bureaucratic provenance with concepts of moral excellence:

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[43] In M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1946 (third edition), pp. 227-253.

[44] Z. Mubarak, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911), an associate, it is alleged, of al-Jāḥiẓ, Ibn Qutayba and al-Mubarrad, eventually found employment in the Aghlabid state of North Africa and, after its fall to the Fatimids, composed panegyrics in honor of al-Mahdī (r. 297-332/910-934). See M.M. Labidi, "La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Aghlabides," Ph.D. diss., Tunis 1994.

[45] For the influence of the science of grammar here, see M.G. Carter, "Sībawayhi," *EI²*, IX, 524-531, especially p. 527: "*Mawḍiʿ* 'place,' more fully *mawḍiʿ fī 'l-kalām* 'place in speech,' is Sībawayhi's term for the position in which a speech element is used... In this sense, *mawḍiʿ* is simply taken over from ethical terminology, where it commonly denotes the 'place' of an act as determining its goodness or badness."

[46] p. 245. Such words raise the question of an administrative policy towards literary forms: Did the specific use of language for governance also lead to specific positions vis-à-vis the relation of literary expression to content? For a discussion of this question in the legal context, see W. Heinrichs, "Contacts between Scriptural Hermeneutics and Literary Theory in Islam: The Case of Majāz," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 7 (1991-1992), 253-284.

> Know, may Allāh support you, that the tools of the repository (*dīwān*) of all the good qualities and the utensils of noble traits (lie in) obedience to this craft which I mentioned, following it and not revolting in denial of its rules... (AC 6).[47]

While the letter recognizes standards of composition necessary to the craft of writing, no reference is made to the administration of the Abbasid state—the collection of taxes, the management of state lands, the application of law or the registration of soldiery. The letter is not meant to treat all interests of state,[48] but limits its audience to the chancery (*dīwān al-rasāʾil*), not to the administrative corps at large. Examples are offered of appropriate forms of address and opening statements to be used in official letters as known from bureaucratic precedence (pp. 231-232). Detailed information is given on the tools (*adawāt*) used in the craft of writing (pp. 236f.), the range of scripts (p. 237), the various customs followed in official letter-writing, such as dating (p. 238), and advice on the use of steam for separating papers that have become stuck together or for opening sealed letters (p. 239). Different authorities are quoted in support of the significance of writing as a means of human expression.[49] The letter ends with definitions of good composition according to different cultures and well-known personalities, including famous secretaries (pp. 250f.).

Despite the marked stress on good composition, the letter succeeds in drawing the attention of the administrative corps, or at least those employed in the chancery, to the necessary role of writing, good writing, as the formal element of governance and administration. Evidence for this lies in the list of items that the author exhorts his audience to include as part of their course of study. In addition to the usual elements of language and literature (speeches, proverbs, grammar, verses of the Qurʾān, etc.), the list (pp. 228-229) also includes literature of a purely administrative nature, such as legal documents (*wathāʾiq*) and stipulations (*shurūṭ*), records (*sijillāt*) and

[47] p. 228.

[48] At one point, p. 248, al-Shaybānī describes one of the virtues of writing as "the register of affairs" (*diwān al-umūr*), presumably state affairs, a phrase reminiscent of the often quoted description of poetry as the repository of the knowledge of the Arabs. It is a terse but significant statement of the concept of writing as the register and thus authority of governance.

[49] There is even a bit of linguistic theory, p. 247, where four categories are given for classifying communication: speech (*lafẓ*), signal (*ishāra*), thought (*ʿaqd*) and writing (*khaṭṭ*). Ibn Wahb uses this fourfold classification for his work (see below).

pledges of security (*amānāt*). This list of educational requirements is much expanded from what was seen in the letter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. No mention of bureau is made, but the list stands as a succinct statement of the conception of language in the service of affairs of state.

To summarize, administrative letters, designed largely for exhortation (i.e. not systematic presentation of a branch of knowledge) are precursors to the administrative genre.

Full treatment of the administrative science is left to the more mature works of the genre. Still, the assumption is made by these letters that good composition is a mark of the administrative corps. There is a hint of this in the letter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, whereas the letter of al-Shaybānī represents a significant development in terms of its dual emphasis on good composition (*balāgha*) and the craft of bureaucratic writing (*al-kitāba*). Writing is, as it were, everything. This perspective, it would seem, was at least partially influenced by a developed sense of identity of a social group whose place in state and society was defined by their skill in the craft of writing. As mentioned before, this group had passed through stages that inserted them into questions of the religious and cultural identity of the Arabo-Islamic community. The persistance of questions of religious and cultural identity notwithstanding, the essential location of this group in the Islamic context was now decisively framed in terms of language, writing and governance.

The Grammatical Category

Given its intimate association with the Arabic language, the administrative science, i.e. the secretarial craft of writing, could not be elaborated without reference to already existing traditions of language. In point of fact, the state secretaries, often of non-Arab origin, were sometimes ridiculed by the great masters of the language, such as al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) and Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), who, as proponents of the Arabo-Islamic heritage, directed a twofold accusation at them: failure to handle the language correctly and disdain for the Arabo-Islamic sciences in preference for those of non-Arabo-Islamic origin such as Aristotelian philosophy and Manichaean thought.[50] It is in this sense that the question of the relation between

[50] See al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risāla fī dhamm akhlāq al-kuttāb," in *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd

language and knowledge, posed most seriously in view of bureaucratic practice, was a question of concern to the state: The failure of the state and its representatives to maintain certain standards of the language in their work of governing the realm through writing cast doubts on the relation of the state to and role in the venture of Islam. Indeed, al-Jāḥiẓ accuses the state secretaries of deception, abuse of power and, above all, hostility to Islam, especially the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, the proper interpretation of which could only be maintained through a commitment to the Arabic language. Speaking very broadly, it can be said that Islam interprets its religious sources not in light of reason, but in light of language, and any indication of misuse of language on the part of the state inevitably raised questions about its commitment to Islamic identity. This potential threat was enough to encourage the production of works designed to bind the administrative corps more closely to the Arabo-Islamic heritage, such as those by Ibn Qutayba and al-Naḥḥās.

Ibn Qutayba

"The Education of the State Secretary" (*Adab al-kātib*) by Ibn Qutayba is an attempt to impress upon state secretaries an appreciation for the lexicographical and grammatical tradition of the Arabo-Islamic heritage. By inserting standards of language from already existing traditions of language, themselves derived from the Arabic literary heritage, Ibn Qutayba hoped to bring the secretarial identity more closely in line with that of the Arabo-Islamic. His life-work was devoted to the defense and increasingly refined promulgation of Arabic literary and cultural standards and, as a consequence, Islamic religious standards, and that in the face of those who would prefer Persian and Sasanian values (*al-shuʿūbiyya*).[51] His strong attack on the secretarial class for its misuse of language is sufficient evidence for

al-Salām M. Hārūn, 4 vols. in 2, vol. 2, pp. 183-209; and Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Egypt 1963, especially the author's introduction.

[51] Ibn Qutayba and his predecessor, al-Jāḥiẓ, were the two most prominent representatives of the movement to defend and develop the Arabo-Islamic heritage in response to those disparaging it. It should be said, however, that Ibn Qutayba was not against Persian ideas and values *per se*, but rather sought to formulate them anew in Arabo-Islamic forms of the highest literary standards. See G. Lecomte, *op. cit.* (1965), pp. 343-376. For his part, al-Jāḥiẓ sought to do the same with Greek values and ideas, especially logic in the service of argumentation (*jadal*).

the significant role played by that class in shaping the norms and discourse of Abbasid cultural life. Ibn Qutayba had been himself employed as an official in the Abbasid administration, as a magistrate (lit. judge, *qāḍī*) in Dīnawar and inspector of appeals (*maẓālim*) in al-Baṣra.[52] His life, embracing both the arena of culture and the administration of state, made him a suitable candidate to consider the problem of administrative identity and led him to formulate a solution which represented the first systematic attempt to establish standards of language as an indispensable part of governance.

Ibn Qutayba's goals are clearly framed in his introductory observations. He ridicules the secretaries for their inadequate understanding of knowledge, a deficiency which, he believes, originates in their fascination with cultures and civilizations other than the Arabo-Islamic.[53] Similarly to al-Jāḥiẓ, Ibn Qutayba claims that such a fascination leads to impiety, its root cause being a poor understanding of Arabic, a shortcoming which prevents the secretaries from correctly interpreting the Islamic scriptural sources, i.e. Qur'ān and Ḥadīth (pp. 3-4). He had already tried to address this problem, he claims, in a previous work (pp. 8-9), in reference, most likely, to one of his two anthologies: either "Choice Reports" (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*) or "The Book of Know-How" (*Kitāb al-maʿārif*). That work, he notes, had been intended for the refinement (*ta'dīb*) of a more general audience, covering all the arts (*fann*).[54] This work (i.e. *Adab al-kātib*), however, has a more specific, more advanced audience in mind, one with some background in Arabic grammar, vocabulary and morphology (p. 9). The work is thus dominated by grammatical, lexicographical and morphological concerns, showing the influence of Ibn Qutayba's own education under leading grammarians, such as al-Riyāshī (d. 257/871) who transmitted the works of al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Abu Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 224/838)

[52] G. Lecomte, "Ibn Qutayba," *EI*², II, 844-847.

[53] See Lecomte, "L'introduction du 'Kitāb adab al-kātib' d'Ibn Qutayba," in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* III, Damascus 1957, pp. 44-64.

[54] Such goals seem to describe "Choice Reports," which was not addressed to the secretarial class alone, but was intended for the refinement of a wider audience and was organized according to categories (*fann*) of human experience. See Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Y. ʿAlī Ṭawīl, 4 vols. in 2, Beirut 1973 (reprint), vol. 1, p. 43. "The Book of Know-How" was addressed to the highest classes, especially those who shared the company of rulers and nobility and would have had need of a certain body of knowledge at their disposal for participation in courtly sessions and seances. See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, ed. T. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960 (2nd edition), pp. 1-3.

and other pioneers in the science of language and grammar.[55] It is this Arabic grammatical tradition that Ibn Qutayba wants to insert into the education of state officials and functionaries. His agenda is part of a wider program of defending the Arabo-Islamic cultural matrix, but his more specific goal is to convince the administrative corps of the practical advantages of good writing, which for him means not merely beauty of penmanship, but precision and sophistication in the usage of the language, its vocabulary and different forms.

In contrast to al-Shaybānī, Ibn Qutayba did not address his words only to those employed in the chancery, but to the entire cadre of state secretaries. Evidence for this lies in four passages from the introduction of his work which attack state secretaries for misunderstanding and therefore misuse of the language. Only the first relates to the art of official letter-writing (pp. 6-7). The second speaks to the practice of recording parts of the body, which was used for identifying ownership of slaves and registering soldiers in the state's pay schedules (pp. 7-8); the third to technical terminology used in the assessment of taxes (pp. 9-10);[56] and the fourth to the vocabulary of legal formulae (pp. 10-11).[57] By ridiculing the existence of officials and functionaries who lack the expertise in language necessary for the proper performance of their task, these passages, taken together, emphasize that the ability to express oneself correctly and to do so in writing is the marks of a good bureaucrat. Instructing state secretaries in the standards of language would not only deal with the problem of cultural and religious identity, but also create order in the work of administering the state. Ibn Qutayba's vision, then, although motivated primarily by cultural and religious concerns, also assumes an intimate link between good composition (i.e. language in written form) and good administration—orderly administration

[55] Lecomte, *op. cit.* (*EI*[2]), p. 844.

[56] While the emphasis of this passage is experience over book-learning, such experience is only profitable to the extent it familiarizes one with the terminology used in surveying land, thereby enhancing one's competence in drawing up tax assessments. In point of fact, this passage underscores the precise lexicographical knowledge needed for managing taxation.

[57] This passage suggests a close bureaucratic involvement in the administration of law. Bureaucrats did not, of course, create the law, but as the adminstrative arm of the state, itself responsible for the application of the law, they did create and regulate an enormous corpus of legal formulae that rendered the law accessible to state administration (see below).

as a function of orderly writing. The regular use of recognized standards of language, according to this line of thought, translates into bureaucratic uniformity and efficiency.

The body of the work, the contents of which seem at times little different from the tradition of grammar upon which the author drew, is divided into three sections: 1) a lexicographical section on the meanings of terms (*Kitāb al-maʿārif*), especially obscure and technical terms; 2) a section on the correct pronunciation of words (*Kitāb taqwīm al-lisān*);[58] and 3) a section on different forms of words and their variant meanings (*Kitāb al-abniya*). This material consists of hundreds of citations from grammarians (from both the Kufan and Basran schools), along with citations—from the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth and poetry—in illustration of various points of grammar, lexicography and morphology.

While its presentation may appear at first glance to be haphazardly collected lists of words and phrases, Ibn Qutayba's work does address some of the specific linguistic needs of bureaucratic writing as noted, by way of ridicule, in the introduction. Among the many carefully defined categories according to which the work and its three main sections are arranged, at least three are directly concerned with the substance of documents and registers: 1) a lexicography for describing the horse (pp. 87f.); 2) a lexicography for describing the human body and its various parts, with particular terms for describing defects of the body (pp. 135f.); and 3) a lexicography for describing provisions, such as food, animals and weapons (pp. 136f.). Such categories of technical terminology were vital for the work of those secretaries assigned the task of managing military registers and records of expenditures.

Qudāma and the Grammatical Category: I

Two parts (parts 1 and 2) of section V assume a close dependency of bureaucratic practice on language as initially formulated by Ibn Qutayba. Part 1, which treats the bureau of the army (*dīwān al-jaysh*), includes catalogues of terminology used to identify soldiery and their animals for the

[58] The work of Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/957), "The Book (Writing?) of Secretaries" (*Kitāb al-kuttāb*), ed. I. al-Sāmarrāʾī, Beirut 1992 (2nd edition), is exclusively devoted to the topic of orthography, which suggests that the project initiated by Ibn Qutayba was not only developed by later authors, but also divided into areas of specialization.

sake of military registers (QJ, pp. 3-15). Part 2, on the bureau of expenditures (*dīwān al-nafaqāt*), makes reference to the broad lexicographical knowledge required for managing expense accounts for general provisions, animals and construction (pp. 15-17).

Qudāma's explanation of the system of identifying soldiers and their animals is detailed and exact (pp. 5f.), a system of technical vocabulary which recalls Ibn Qutayba's work, only now presented not as lists of words, but as the basic building-blocks of bureaucratic writing, military registers in this case. Qudāma is himself aware of the existing tradition of language and grammar (*madhhab al-lugha*), and his intention to follow the bureaucratic usage of language is not problematic, he argues, since it differs little from established usage (p. 5).

Qudāma thus draws upon a long tradition of scholarship and literature devoted to documenting particular areas of language (e.g. the parts of the body). He has, of course, fashioned that tradition to serve the craft of bureaucratic writing by cataloging the vocabulary as it would appear on military registers. His goal is a uniform system of bureaucratic practice based on recognized usage of language; his bureaucratic appropriation of language is made possible by Ibn Qutayba's earlier effort to introduce standards of language into the work of the bureaucracy.

Qudāma's catalogue begins with language used to identify a soldier by age (pp. 5-6): pre-pubescence, the appearance of facial hair, the ability to grow a full moustache, the appearance of grey hair, mid-life and old age. After that comes skin color (pp. 6-7), including its various shades; facial features, such as the shape of the forehead; the existence of wrinkles; the shape, length and thickness of the eyebrows; the size and shape of the nostrils and the tip of the nose; the shape of the cheeks; the lips, the teeth, the beard and the moustache; and the existence of pierced ears. Such precise terminology was, in point of fact, the bureaucratic tool for state management of the military.[59] Terminology is even given for recording a

[59] Bureaucratic writing for purposes of state control over society and its various groups was known in the Near East long before the rise of Islam. See T.A.H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, London 1999, pp. 115-116: "At the most basic level, all officials employed by the administration would have required a certain degree of literacy. The use of writing as a means of political control has been described as 'the key factor in the administration of Early Dynastic Egypt.' Moreover, the very origins of writing in Egypt can be linked to a nascent national administration. Supervision and control of the economy on a national scale required detailed

man's teeth: cracked or whole; long or small; packed; missing; and the exact location of removed teeth. Although impossible to determine direct influence, the section on teeth makes it seem as if Qudāma has taken up the challenge of Ibn Qutayba, who, in one passage from the introduction to his work, ridicules a secretary who began to drool all over himself when forced to put his fingers in his own mouth in order to ascertain how many molars a human has (Ibn Qutayba, pp. 7-8).

Having dealt with human features subject to change, Qudāma turns to permanent or irreversible features (QJ, pp. 7-8): the loss of an eye; a cut ear; moles and birthmarks, their location and color; and tattoos, their position and color, and their wording, if any, including the extent to which they may have worn away. This detailed application of language to the craft of bureaucratic writing continues in the account of terminology used for identifying riding animals (pp. 8-11).

In his account of the bureau of expenditures in part 2 (pp. 15-17), Qudāma offers a succinct overview of the tasks for which this bureau's various departments (*majlis*) are responsible: the department of pay (*majlis al-jārī*), responsible for salaried personnel (*murtaziq*) other than the military, such as court attendants (*ḥasham*); the department of food provisions (*majlis al-anzāl*); the department of riding animals and beasts of burden (*majlis al-kurāʿ*), responsible for the expenses of fodder, clothing for the animals, their training, medical care and general welfare as well as the salaries of their keepers; the department of building and renovations (*majlis al-bināʾ wa-al-maramma*), a particularly difficult department in which to be employed on account of the need to know the terminology of the sciences of architecture, engineering and the like, as well as high-level mathematics; the department of the treasury (*majlis bayt al-māl*), entrusted with the management of the bureau's monthly accounts (*khatma*) and inventories of pay lists (*ṣakk*); the department of overall accounts (*majlis al-ḥawādith*), essentially a registry responsible for recording the estimates of expenditures, the actual amounts and the difference between the two; and the departments of drafting documents (*majlis al-inshāʾ*),

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accounting, which could only be achieved by means of the written record. Hence, all administrators were scribes, and the designation 'scribe'... seems to have been borne by certain individuals whose low rank in the government did not permit them the use of a grander title but who were, none the less, members of the literate elite."

editing them (*majlis al-taḥrīr*) and making copies of them for state archives (*majlis al-naskh*).

In his description of the bureau of expenditures, Qudāma alludes to the wide range of terminology used in the composition of records of expenditures: the language of commerce, such as the names of different kinds of bread and their prices; zoological terminology; terms used for construction and its related crafts. The *sine qua non* of this bureau is mastery of a wide range of vocabulary used in the composition of bureaucratic documents (*jarā'id*).

Though located within a general overview of the Abbasid bureaucratic structure, parts 1 and 2 of section V show the success of Ibn Qutayba's project of requiring the craft of bureaucratic writing to be more accountable to standards of language. Qudāma shares this vision, as does the entire bureaucratic class, but he presents it more clearly by molding the material of Ibn Qutayba's work—language—into administrative bureaus, thereby demonstrating very precisely the dependence of administrative efficiency on standards of language as used in the craft of bureaucratic writing.

al-Naḥḥās

Another work that fits well with the goals and values of the grammatical category is "The Craft of Writing" (*Ṣināʿat al-kitāba*) by al-Naḥḥās. The extant works of this scholar are almost entirely devoted to grammar (*naḥū*) and study of the language of the Qur'ān. He does not seem to have been employed by the state, but was a religious scholar with a serious concern for the language that underlay the religion: It was most likely this concern that led him to address a work to the other institution in society also closely invested in the Arabic language, namely the state. It is in that sense that his work consciously draws upon the Arabo-Islamic tradition of grammar without, however, limiting himself to the format of Ibn Qutayba's work—long lists of words, their different forms and variant meanings.[60] Rather, al-Naḥḥās includes important sections on good com-

[60] Such material does appear in al-Naḥḥās' work, but in abridged form and confined to the last two of the work's eleven sections, addended as something of a lexicographical reference. It should be said that the presence of an eleventh section is at odds with the author's initially stated plan of ten sections (p. 45). Its apparently organic connection to the rest of the work, however, suggests that it was part of the original, added as an after-thought or add-on. See the editor's introduction, p. 14.

position (*balāgha*) and rhetoric (*khiṭāba*), which indicates that his concern includes the stylistic dimension of the language as well as the grammatical. The concrete examples of good composition and rhetoric which he gives—both prose and poetry—draw heavily upon the religious sources: sentences and phrases from the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, speeches and letters of the Prophet, his Companions and members of his House or Family, material which secretaries could imitate for training purposes and also for official letter-writing. Thus, al-Naḥḥās' aim is more specifically defined than Ibn Qutayba's project of general cultural and religious refinement. Here, by drawing upon the earliest and most prestigious period of Islamic history for his material, the author seeks to encourage state officials and functionaries to identify more closely with the community's predecessors in the faith (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). In other words, such material is reworked and made available for secretarial needs,[61] as the author says:

> Abū Ja'far said: And we are composing a book in which we collect that which a bureaucrat needs, trying to make it easily accessible, and in which we mention the essentials by which one might benefit from penmanship, lampooning, Arabic, the language, correspondence to men and women with proper decorum, choice selections of letters, and other things (AC 7).[62]

The focus on the art of letter-writing notwithstanding, al-Naḥḥās apparently had in mind all branches of administration,[63] as can be

[61] A similar attempt to rework a cultural heritage for state needs can be seen in the scribal art (*ars dictaminis*) of twelfth-century Italy. See C.H. Haskins, "The Early *Artes Dictandi* in Italy," in his *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, Oxford 1929, p. 170: "Of course the ancient rhetoricians were not at once abandoned by the teachers and writers of this period. Cicero and Quintilian were still copied and pondered by advanced students, but we shall find them dropping gradually into the background before the more immediately practical manuals of letter-writing. In the desire to be directly useful, these newer treatises concentrated their attention upon the letter and its several parts, and gave little space to general questions of rhetorical form and ornament. They were regularly accompanied by examples and often by elaborate collections of letters public and private, suited to the principal classes in society and the principal occasions of life."

[62] p. 45. Ibn Ṭayfūr's (d. 280/893) collection of good prose and poetry seems to share this goal of collecting exemplary speeches and letters as well as poetry for secretarial consumption. See the introduction to the twelfth section of his work (only sections 11, 12 and 13 remain of the original 14), which states the goals of his work as a whole: Ibn Ṭayfūr, *al-Manthūr wa-al-manẓūm, al-qaṣā'id allatī lā mithla lahā*, ed. M. Ghayyāḍ, Beirut 1977, p. 35. While also a collection of prose and poetry to be studied and imitated, Ibn Qutayba's "Choice Reports" is not tailored to the art of letter-writing, but has in mind a wider audience and purpose.

[63] At Oxford in the late medieval period, the art of writing was never divorced

discerned from the author's introduction, with a quote from section VII of Qudāma's work, where the office of state secretary (*al-kitāba*) is defined as a branch of Islamic law (*al-sharī'a*).[64] Although his work has no overt interest in the niceties of Islamic jurisprudence, al-Naḥḥās uses the quote as a suitable announcement of the fact that his work on the secretarial craft of writing is not addressed exclusively to the chancery, as he says:

> Abū Ja'far said: The craft of writing [i.e. the bureaucratic practice] is a kind [i.e. branch] of knowledge. And he who claims that the rules of the bureaucratic practice contradict the rules of Islamic law is mistaken, because that is in opposition to what both religion and reason dictate, since the bureaucratic practice is one of the branches of Islamic law, and Islamic law is the source, and the bureaucratic practice is the governance of the realm, and the realm has no foundation except in religion. And it is clear that the bureaucratic practice is one of the branches of religion, and whatever is a branch of something does not contradict it. And the rules of the bureaucratic practice correspond to the rules of Islamic law. And evidence for that lies in the fact that, in the case of a Muslim who cultivates wasteland, the ruling of the jurist and the bureaucrat is the same. And likewise in that which is taken for the alms-tax as a tithe and half tithe, and also the ruling for the tax on Muslims on camels, cows, and sheep and goats, and also the ruling for buried treasures of the earth, conquered lands and booty... (AC 8).[65]

Further evidence that the work was meant for the administrative corps at large is the list of skills deemed necessary for government employment. This list, which immediately follows the passage quoted above, covers a wide range of bureaucratic concerns: 1) penman-

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from other administrative matters, and it is in that sense that al-Naḥḥās' work seems to be a training manual for aspiring bureaucrats of all kinds with a focus on the art of writing. See T.A.R. Evans, "The Number, Origins and Careers of Scholars," in J.I. Catto and R. Evans (eds.), *Late Medieval Oxford*, Oxford 1992, pp. 524-525: "*Dictamen* or *ars dictandi*, 'dictation,' the art of correctly composing letters, was a branch of rhetoric and thus of the liberal arts, but it had very clear practical applications. These studies were firmly established in the arts faculties of Italian universities, where they provided a professional training for notaries. In England *dictamen* was associated not so much with the *ars notaria* of southern Europe as with such basic clerical skills as accountancy, conveyancing, the holding of courts, the drafting of legal documents and a knowledge of French, which remained the language of English law even though it ceased in the fourteenth century to be widely spoken in England."

[64] While possible that the passage originated in a source shared by the two authors, its import seems more appropriate to the legal context of section VII than it does to al-Naḥḥās' grammatical and literary concerns.

[65] p. 26. The same quote is used later in the work, pp. 269-270.

ship (*khaṭṭ*); 2) good composition (*balāgha*); 3) the structure of the bureaucracy (*tartīb aʿmāl al-dawāwīn*); 4) the (geographical?) contours of administrative districts (*majārī al-aʿmāl*); and 5) norms for collecting taxes (*wujūh istikhrāj al-amwāl*). Assuming that the lost section II of Qudāma's work did treat the technical aspects of penmanship and its tools, this list parallels the contents of Qudāma's work exactly, apart from the last section on politics (section VIII). The fact that this list immediately follows a quote from Qudāma's work argues in favor of this claim. Moreover, this overlap of material and ideas is a good illustration of the nature of the discourse between the different voices constituting the administrative genre: a dialogue based upon a shared heritage but colored according to the values and point of view of the particular author.

Al-Naḥḥās uses this summary-list of Qudāma's work to emphasize further the relation that the topic of his work, the craft of writing, bears to all branches of administration. Skill in writing is a kind of knowledge, the pursuit of which is praised at length (pp. 26f.). Like Ibn Qutayba, he laments the decline in standards among state secretaries (pp. 30-31), especially in light of their prominence in society. As a prelude to a story of a bureaucrat who lacks competence in the use of language, he lists the five areas of bureaucracy in which a state secretary might be employed.[66] The hapless soul tries out each of the five areas of bureaucratic life, but his lack of competence in language prevents him from confidently pursuing any of them (pp. 32-34). The point is clear: The work of al-Naḥḥās, a collection of points of grammar and examples of good composition, is meant for all bureaucrats, even those holding the highest rank (p. 34). Perhaps more significant is the author's use of religious sources in a work addressed to all officials and functionaries, as a way to bind all organs of state to the Arabic language in its specifically religious incarnation. At this point, al-Naḥḥās affirms that standards of language are essential to the work of state administration in its entirety, an association first made systematically by Ibn Qutayba; thus, those upon whom the caliph relies for the management of his affairs, i.e. all officials and functionaries, must be well trained in language (pp. 35-37). In illustration of this point, al-Naḥḥās narrates a story about al-Ma'mūn's (r. 198-218/813-833) habit of testing the

[66] These five areas parallel those mentioned in an earlier administrative work by al-Baghdādī (see below).

linguistic competence of his administrative personnel: The conclusion to be drawn is that the greatest concern of the caliphal office, the highest element in the political and administrative order, is standards of language. The introduction then closes with several pages devoted to the glory of grammarians, their field and stories about the most prominent of them (pp. 37-45).

The material used by al-Naḥḥās comes from diverse sources, much of it markedly religious in character, but the plan of his work, much more so than Ibn Qutayba's, bespeaks the bureaucratic sub-culture, especially its own sense of its close connection to the craft of writing.[67] It will be useful, first of all, to provide a brief summary of the work, excluding the last two sections which, as mentioned above, resemble the format of Ibn Qutayba's work:

1. A section (pp. 63f.) on the origins of the Islamic invocation (*basmala*), the history of writing and calendrical expressions.[68]
2. A section (pp. 95f.) on the etymology of the word for writing (*kitāba*), along with excursuses on the origins of the words for secretary (*kātib*), caliph (*khalīfa*), minister (*wazīr*), judge (*qāḍī*), military commander (*amīr*) and police (*shurṭa*); on the word for political power (*sulṭān*); on the different holy books (*kutub allāh*); on the tools of the craft of writing;[69] and, finally, on the good and bad qualities associated with the secretarial craft.[70]

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[67] Many of the themes of the work can be found in a chapter devoted to the secretarial craft (*al-kitāba*) in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. M.M. Qamīḥa et al., 9 vols., Beirut 1983, vol. 4, pp. 27f.

[68] For an explanation of state interest in calendrical definitions, see J. Goody, *op. cit.*, p. 95: "One is used to thinking of a political system controlling space, a territory. But the control of time enters into the same frame. Whoever controls the calendar, the mode of reckoning time—whether the priesthood in Egypt or the court in Central America—acquires a power that extends throughout the social system, reaching into the domains of politics, religion, law and the economy." This exact point is made by al-Ṣūlī (see below).

[69] Writing was a much more complex undertaking in early Islamic society than it is today. The required tools—pen, nib, sharpening instruments, paper, copy book, seal, and so on—represent a specialized profession in a manuscript culture, a particular technology which only the properly trained might wield with competence. By way of comparison, see Clanchy, *op. cit.*, p. 47: "The fact that many—perhaps most—people in thirteenth century England had to read from time to time does not mean that they also wrote. In manuscript culture reading and writing were separate skills. Writing documents required clerical training and special equipment; parchment, ink and quill pens were not on sale at the village shop. Reeves and bailiffs employed clerks to draw up accounts and send letters to their superiors...."

[70] This section includes reference to al-Jāḥiẓ' criticism of the secretarial class

3. A section (pp. 134f.) on orthography.
4. A section (pp. 160f.) on the appropriate forms of address to be used in letter-writing, with detailed attention paid to rank, including standard and variant examples; on titles, again with detailed attention to rank (e.g. p. 173: *tuʿanwanu kutubuhum ʿalā ḥasab manāzilihim wa-taqārubihim*, "Letters are addressed according to rank and mutual relation..."); on the use of the formulaic phrase linking the address and title to the body of the letter, "now then" (*amā baʿd*).
5. A section on grammar (pp. 182f.), presented not in the fashion of grammatical works, but specifically designed, as the author clearly states, to meet the needs of the secretary. In other words, this section is devoted to facilitating the use of the grammatical tradition for bureaucratic purposes.[71]
6. A section (pp. 202f.) on composition (*balāgha*), different ways it has been defined, its qualities and many examples for imitation, taken from a wide variety of sources, such as invocations (*duʿāʾ*) attributed to the members of the Family of the Prophet, especially ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, but also expressions deemed good among the secretaries themselves (*yastaḥsinu al-kuttāb*...).
7. A section (pp. 237f.) on shameful and weak examples of writing (*fahāha*) from the time of the Prophet onwards.[72]
8. A section (pp. 253f.) on rhetoric (*khiṭāba*), which, as the author claims in the introduction to this section, is the surest (lit. most certain, *awkad*) of things of which the secretarial class has need, again with examples of good speeches given by the Prophet,

(as does al-Baghdādī's work; see below), which suggests that the secretarial class took such criticism seriously.

[71] As is stated in the introduction to section 5, p. 182 (AC 9): "And, regarding grammar, I dictated books according to chapters, and by that I dispensed with the plan of chapters of grammar [i.e. works on grammar] here, although dictating something of that which is needed by those using this book... Then, I dictate a chapter in illustration of the Arabic forms [i.e. formulae] occuring at the beginning and end of epistles, some of which are difficult for many bureaucrats...."

[72] Throughout the work, al-Naḥḥās draws upon material attributed to the Companions of the Prophet as models of excellence in language, as though his intention is to attribute standards of language to the practice of the pious predecessors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) in order to give such standards an air of Islamically legitimate authority, much like the jurists did with legal material. The resemblance may be more than coincidental, since the author was a jurist and grammarian (see the editor's introduction) and it has been shown that the science of language and grammar emerged in close association with the science of law (*fiqh*). See M.J. Carter, *op. cit.* (*EI*[2]), p. 525.

members of his House or Family, his Companions, and so on.
9. A section (pp. 269f.) in praise of writing (*faḍl al-kitāba*), the prestige enjoyed by secretaries, especially the learned and leaders among them (with long lists of those who excelled in the secretarial craft), along with examples of economy of writing and eloquent letters.

As previously mentioned, al-Naḥḥās shares Ibn Qutayba's ideological vision in awarding considerable weight to standards of language, grammar and composition as central elements of the Arabo-Islamic heritage. At the same time, he has shaped his material to reflect the precise concerns of the bureaucracy. Sections 1 and 2 set the social and historical stage for the importance of writing to the bureaucracy. Sections 3 through 6 offer relatively clear guidelines for writing an official letter with correct spelling, proper form and recognized standards of grammar and composition (e.g. p. 62). Sections 7 and 8 emphasize, with both positive and negative examples, the importance of proper expression,[73] while section 9 exalts the secretarial craft for its significant role in shaping society and directly connects writing to governance, describing it as the foundation of the realm (*uss al-mulk*) and the source of political authority and order (p. 270). Certainly, there are different social dimensions to writing, and the author is aware of them, but one that he singles out is the importance of bureaucratic writing to good governance:

> And by writing [i.e. the bureaucratic craft], governance and leadership arose, and rulers took recourse to it for their want and need, and the reins and halters [i.e. supervision] were given to them [i.e. the administrative corps], and they [i.e. the rulers] were protected by them during misfortune and calamity and entrusted them with their family, children, treasures, contracts, crown regents, administration of the realm, struggle against the enemy, raising of the land-tax, the care of their wives, the keeping of their secrets, the organization of their ranks and the management of wars on the right flank, the left flank, the heart, the ambush, the rear guard and the wings (AC 10).

[73] The author illustrates at various points how the failure to express oneself properly can lead to breakdown in the administrative process.

Qudāma and the Grammatical Category:II

Qudāma builds upon this kind of administrative literature in part 4 of section V (QJ, pp. 19-35) which treats the bureau of the chancery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*). His goal in part 4, reminiscent of al-Naḥḥās' work, is to offer examples of good composition for bureaucratic consumption. Qudāma's examples are limited to letters of appointment which could presumably serve not only training purposes but also as material for letter-writing in the service of government: appointment of a judge to a particular jurisdiction (pp. 20-25); appointment of a member of the Hashimite House as leader of the ritual prayer in a particular region (pp. 25-26); appointment to military command (pp. 26-29); appointment to naval command (pp. 29-32); and appointment to the postal service (pp. 32-35). The contents of the letters reflect the wide range of language that a secretary would need at his disposal for the composition of official correspondence: terminology specific to legal, ritual and military spheres, as well as language used to describe the desirable qualities and assigned tasks of those appointed to direct the state postal system. It is in this sense that these model letters underline the involvement of language in the control of the polity in all its administrative aspects.

Thus, like al-Naḥḥās, Qudāma is keenly aware of the close involvement of standards of language in the work of the bureaucracy, and not only in terms of letter-writing, but in other branches of the bureaucracy as well. He begins part 4 with the reminder that he has already treated the art of good composition (*balāgha*) in section III, both praiseworthy and blameworthy qualities (*al-wujūh al-maḥmūda fīhā wa-al-wujūh al-madhmūma minhā*), a statement recalling sections 7 and 8 of al-Naḥḥās' work. As he reminds his audience (p. 19), he has already offered models of bureaucratic writing related to tax documents in his discussion of the department responsible for drafting documents (*majlis al-inshā'*) in the bureau of the land-tax (section IV). Thus, the one area of official correspondence which has yet to be treated is letters of appointment, which become the topic of part 4 of section V. The important conclusion to be drawn is that good composition, as far as state secretaries are concerned, embraces language and terminology used in all aspects of state administration. State secretaries must be competent in all aspects of bureaucratic writing (*funūn al-mukātabāt*), capable of placing all elements in their proper position (*mawḍi'*), since any kind of writing, familiar or not, could be demanded of them by the minister (pp. 19-20). In illustra-

tion of the high level of skill in language and composition required of the state secretary, Qudāma narrates a story in which the secretary to al-Ma'mūn, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim b. Subayḥ, has a dream which inspires him to persevere in the demanding work of bureaucratic writing.

To summarize our remarks on the grammatical category, al-Naḥḥās refined Ibn Qutayba's project and oriented it more closely to the specific needs of the bureaucrats. His work is still strongly rooted in the tradition of language and grammar, so much so that at times it seems as much a work of the grammatical tradition as the administrative. This stands in contrast to the following category, the bureaucratic category, which is defined largely by the use of language as it emerged and was used in bureaucratic circles alone (see below). Still, the format of al-Naḥḥās' work is designed to meet the needs of state secretaries by offering concrete examples of good composition (not merely lists of words grouped together only by virtue of a shared aspect of grammar, as in the case of Ibn Qutayba), as well as actual guidelines in the craft of bureaucratic writing. As such, al-Naḥḥās' work could be called a bureaucratically oriented grammar. Al-Naḥḥās' work, no less than Ibn Qutayba's, is thoroughly rooted in the wider Arabo-Islamic tradition of language and grammar which had developed long before the emergence of the administrative genre. Perhaps most significantly, this tradition of language bore a close connection to the religious heritage as well and, as such, appropriately served to bolster the dynamic of language which linked together state and religion. Finally, it must be said that the grammatical category of administrative literature is marked by a strong connection to that tradition, a connection which suggests that the original inspiration of the administrative genre lies at least partially in this tradition of language and grammar. This connection, first seen in Ibn Qutayba, is never lost, as the works of al-Naḥḥās and Qudāma demonstrate. Both saw the importance of initiating aspiring officials and functionaries into the stylistic dimension of the language by offering examples of good compositon as a means for them to acquire the expertise required of them, as Qudāma says:

> And in this place we will make mention of what the eminent personalities write in their correspondence and what is known as custom and familiar as practice, as an example for those who do not know it and a means for becoming experienced in it (AC 11).[74]

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[74] QJ, p. 20.

The Bureaucratic Category

The bureaucratic category of administrative literature, while assuming standards of language and grammar, does not, in contrast to the grammatical category, draw as intensely upon the tradition of language, grammar and stylistics. Rather, the goal here is more precise: to illuminate bureaucratic custom and procedure, especially technical language specific to the craft of bureaucratic writing, i.e. terminology related to the tools and the steps required for composing a document or letter. Additionally, this branch of the genre is manifestly concerned with the principles upon which the craft of bureaucratic writing is based—certain concepts and definitions, and, above all, set formulae which make up the linguistic building blocks of administrative writing and thus the rubrics of governance. Used for the production of official correspondence, tax records and legal documents, these formulae identify bureaucratic writing as bureaucratic and, therefore, as a recognizable, valid, authoritative and effective vehicle for the conduct of state business: "bureaucratese" in modern parlance. In our period, the craft of writing used for the work of state administration was directly dependent on the use of such formulae, and the bureaucratic category, much more so than the grammatical category, reflects the essential place of these formulae in the bureaucratic *modus operandi*. Two works which can be placed in this category are "The Book of State Secretaries and the Description of the Inkwell and Pen and their Use" by al-Baghdādī and "The Education of State Secretaries" by al-Ṣūlī.

al-Baghdādī

Some time in the early fourth/tenth century, a work was composed with the goal of offering, apparently for the first time, a comprehensive account of the professional and cultural character of the administrative corps and their work, "The Book of State Secretaries and the Description of the Inkwell and Pen and their Use" (*Kitāb al-kuttāb wa-ṣifat al-dawāt wa-al-qalam wa-taṣrīfuhā*) by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghdādī.[75] Sourdel takes it as a guidebook for bureaucrats,[76] and while that is correct, the inclusion of historical

[75] ed. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, *BEO* (1952-1954).

[76] ibid., p. 116: "... un aide-mémoire résumant l'essentiel de ce que les Secré-

material (the invention of writing, the appearance of various scripts, lists of famous secretaries from the time of the Prophet) underscores the author's intention not only to present useful professional information, but also to create an identity for secretaries by locating them within an historical framework.[77]

The work can be divided into the following sections:[78] 1) a history of writing and its different scripts; 2) a study of terminology specific to the secretarial profession, its meanings, and the ways it is used; 3) lists of famous secretaries from the time of the Prophet;[79] 4) examples of sentences attributed to the best secretaries; 5) a list of female secretaries along with examples of their styles;[80] 6) an explanation of bureaucratic training and educational requirements; 7) traditions and colorful anecdotes about former secretaries, with an account of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd as the pivotal figure in the development of bureaucratic writing and the subsequent emergence of the administrative corps as a noteworthy group in the Islamic state;[81] 8) cita-

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taires devaient savoir sur leur métier et donnant quelques exemples célèbres de 'beau style.'"

[77] As such, the works stands as a potential precursor to al-Jahshiyārī's full treatment of Islamic administrative history.

[78] The division is borrowed from Sourdel (1952-1954), p. 117.

[79] al-Baghdādī was not the first to compile such lists: They are also found in the work of al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (d. 207/822). In point of fact, early authors display a strong tendency to draw up lists of prominent personalities who are most likely believed to embody the community's history. See S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haytham b. ʿAdī*, Frankfurt am Main 1991, pp. 197-284. Al-Haytham's list of prominent secretaries include only those of noble lineage (*ashrāf al-kuttāb*), and al-Baghdādī too is careful to draw a distinction (p. 139) between those secretaries with noble lineage and those who attained secretarial rank without noble lineage (*sharaf*) or previous social position (*nabāha*).

[80] It should be kept in mind that sections on women were often included in early Arabo-Islamic sources, regardless of genre. Ibn Ṭayfūr devotes a section to examples of good composition by women (*balāghāt al-nisā'*) in his "Prose and Poetry"; Ibn Saʿd to female traditionists (*muḥadditha*); and Ibn Qutayba to women in general in his "Choice Reports."

[81] The expression of appreciation for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's role in raising the status of the bureaucracy and its personnel is important for the connection it makes between his reform of literary standards and the emergence of the bureaucracy as a culturally and politically significant element in the Islamic state. The passage is worth quoting in full, p. 149 (AC 12): "And when the affairs in that matter [i.e. composition] fell to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, he made the difficult words tractable and easy, mounted their humps and brought them low, then connected [speech] together with more visible adornment [than had been the case] and composed it by clothing it in its finery. He fully opened up the faculty of judgment, made a complete and clear investigation of meanings in their [different] aspects, expedited proofs, classified the affairs, tore off their sleeves [i.e. exposed them], disclosed the argu-

tions in support of the moral character of secretaries; and 9) extracts from al-Jāḥiẓ' letter criticizing the secretaries.[82]

Section 2, the longest section (pp. 130-138) of al-Baghdādī's work, is emblematic of the fundamental inspiration of the work as a whole for its focus on particular features of the bureaucracy and the terminology used to describe them, terminology which would have originated within bureaucratic circles for the bureaucratic practices they named, not the previously exisiting traditions of language and grammar. The treatment of this terminology and the variant forms in which it is used consists of detailed and exact entries; inkwell (*dawāt*), pen (*qalam*), paper (*qirṭās*), document (*kitāb*), eraser (*siḥā'a*), seal (*khātam*), address (*'unwān*), date (*tā'rīkh*), record (*askudār*), financial inventory (*awārij*) and registry (*dīwān*). The author defines these terms, comments on their etymology and offers an overview of their forms (i.e. morphology). This is not only a technical exercise or display of erudition, but an attempt to define a field of terminology ("a lingo") by which the secretarial profession is identified—a use of language as a vehicle for identity.[83]

Moreover, writing is depicted in terms which demonstrate its essential role in state administration. For example, in the list of famous secretaries (pp. 138-141), occasional reference is made to the bureaucratic registries (*dīwān*) assigned to them, the implication being that such personages, known for their knowledge, piety and ascetism, along with skill in the craft of writing, were entrusted with

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ments of hearts, had people listen to what would benefit them, organized the speech of the prattlers, the discourse of the obstinate, the poetry of the predecessors, the exhortations of the admonishers, and made that a method surpassing previous methods, distinct in its taste, reaching its summit, well-known for its superiority, confirmed in its leadership. And for that, the people of his craft owe him his due and thanks, [since] they attained through him a rank of honor which had been above them, and pursued a path of superiority of which they had fallen short. The office of minister fell to them, and indeed competence [for such an office] was theirs, as were the virtues of a refined life. His [i.e. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's] letters became masterly, permanent, eternal, conquering; those who succeeded [i.e. came later] imitated them, the obstinate took them as models, those closest to perfection eventually found their way to them, and the first generations, the people of his time, knew their superiority, as did later generations...."

[82] See n. 70.

[83] For a useful comparison, see Clanchy, *op. cit.*, p. 117: "Since one of the functions of a lexicon like the *De Nominibus Utensilium* ["The Names of Tools," a work written by Alexander Neckham at the end of the twelfth century CE] was to enlarge the reader's vocabulary, it tends to exaggerate the amount of equipment the scribe requires in order to present as many unfamiliar words as possible."

the administration of the registries of al-Baṣra, of Medina, of the seal (*al-khātam*), of the land-tax and state lands and of the chancery (*al-rasā'il wa-al-'arḍ*). Some are said to have become ministers (*wazīr*)—in other words, administrative officers of the highest rank, whose task it was to work in cooperation with the caliphal authority in the administration of state. The reference here to administrative posts is essentially different from that found in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ's history, where the goal is the aggrandizement of ruling families, whether Umayyad or Abbasid, on the basis of the retinue at their service.[84] Here, the concern is not personal entourage, but writing in the form of particular personalities known for their skill in writing (*asmā' al-kuttāb alladhīna taqaddamū bi-al-balāgha wa-al-'ilm bi-al-kitāba*) who also undertook the administration of state affairs.

Indeed, this close identification of administrative posts with skill in bureaucratic writing is much more clearly made in this work than in the grammatical category, where the chief concern was standards of language, admittedly for bureaucratic consumption, but in view of good composition in general, not the specific, professional lingo of the secretarial corps. Here, al-Baghdādī classifies the *kuttāb* into five groups, each marked by particular areas of expertise:

> One of the bureaucrats said: "The bureaucrats (*al-kuttāb*) are five:[85] secretary of the land-tax who must be knowledgeable in the system of taxes and the land survey and experienced in accounting and calculating the [system of] proportional taxation; secretary of correspondence who must be knowledgeable in the art of connecting and separating [the parts of speech] and skilled in [composing] headings [of letters], opening statements and letters of appointment; secretary to the governor who must be knowledgeable in the statutes, versed in the conditions of contracts and skilled in the disputes [i.e. differing opinions] of people in finances and the applications [of the law]; and secretary to the army who must be knowledgeable in [recording] the distinguishing marks of riding animals and the particular features of men; and secretary to the police who must be knowledgeable in the rules of retaliation [*lex talionis*], injuries, sanctions, the subtleties of discretionary punishment, the aspects of precaution to be used with those who have committed crimes and serious infractions (AC 13).[86]

This classification, with its emphasis on the areas of expertise required of each group, should be read in conjunction with the sec-

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[84] See n. 41.
[85] See al-Naḥḥās (above).
[86] pp. 149-150.

tion on the education of the bureaucrat (pp. 146-147), which begins with al-Shaybānī's description of excellent penmanship (*ḥusn al-khaṭṭ*) as the most desirable of secretarial skills, without distinguishing any particular sphere of bureaucratic employment. Moreover, he adds, writing is significant as the registry (or deposit) of (administrative) affairs.[87]

After this initial emphasis on writing, al-Baghdādī turns to two major areas of knowledge required of the bureaucrat: 1) knowledge of correspondence (*maʿrifat al-rasāʾil*), the goal being excellence of composition as a vehicle for intelligent and effective communication; and 2) knowledge of accounting (*maʿrifat al-ḥisāb*), its technical aspects, including the method of assessing taxes and any information tangential to it. Both areas are vital to the well-being of administration, the first ensuring against incomprehensibility (*ʿiyy al-lafẓ*), the second against the possibility of mistake in financial transactions (*al-maʿarra fī al-muʿāmala*). Additionally, the secretary ought to have a general education through the study of belles-lettres (*kutub al-ādāb*) and the arts and sciences (*mulāḥaẓāt funūn al-ādāb wa-al-iṭṭilāʿ ʿalā ḥudūdihi*), including the study of Arabic (its unusual words and its poetry), astronomy, medicine, horsemanship, the literature of non-Arabo-Islamic civilizations translated into Arabic and, finally, commerce.[88]

Moral refinement also forms a necessary part of the secretary's education, and al-Baghdādī includes a story which speaks to the moral character, especially discretion, required of the secretary in his dealings with the ruler. Two quotes follow: one in reference to high-ranking officials, namely the administrator (*mudabbir*) who is the equivalent of the minister (*wazīr*) to the ruler; and the other on the prestige of secretaries, who possess the refinement of kings and the humble status (*tawāḍuʿ*) of the common people. Such moral expectations notwithstanding, it is writing that is most fundamental to the secretary's character. In emphasis of that point, the section closes with a quote from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd on penmanship. With this reminder of the basis of the bureaucratic craft, the education of the bureaucrat has come full circle: What began with excellence in the scribal

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[87] See n. 48 and al-Shaybānī, p. 248.

[88] The comprehensive education required of the secretarial corps resembles in many ways the knowledge required of the mandarin scholar-official in Chinese society. See E. Balazs, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy*, trans. H.M. Wright, ed. A.F. Wright, New Haven 1964, pp. 13-19.

craft ends on the same note. This persistent focus on writing is appropriate in a work which aims to depict a secretarial sub-culture marked by a defined professional skill in the craft of writing.

al-Ṣūlī

By initiating a direction in the administrative genre which we have named the bureaucratic category, al-Baghdādī set the stage for al-Ṣūlī and "The Education of the State Secretaries" (*Adab al-kuttāb*), a work which is very conscious of its genre and the need to enlarge it and organize it more systematically.[89] Moreover, while not completely neglecting material from the non-bureaucratic traditions of language and grammar,[90] little space is reserved for it. The importance of this material for the secretarial craft was well established by the fourth/tenth century, and al-Ṣūlī can dispense with it quite consciously,[91] in order to concentrate more exclusively on the specific goals of the bureaucracy. The work of al-Ṣūlī, then, stands as evidence of two important achievements for the genre: 1) a certain maturity of its own apart from, although not completely independent of, other branches of knowledge; and 2) the implicit recognition that the secretaries were now in full possession of a science that stood in harmony with the other Arabo-Islamic sciences and thus had succeeded in seamlessly weaving their identity into the Islamic tapestry.

At the same time, the work's interest in defining customs particular to the bureaucratic craft suggests that secretarial membership had become something of an exclusive affair, a club of sorts, initiation into which required mastery of specific principles, conventions and formulae which regulated the craft and bestowed a certain authority and even aura upon it. More importantly, the work of al-Ṣūlī exhibits a desire for predictability in the production of documents and a concern to prevent capricious use of bureaucratic writing and

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[89] See al-Ṣūlī's introductory comments, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. He first criticizes the many who have tried their hand at the genre without getting to the heart of the matter (a reference to Ibn Qutayba and the grammatical category?) and then says, as if in reference to al-Baghdādī, that some did meet the requirements of the genre, but did not treat the topic thoroughly.

[90] For example, p. 124, where a story of the Prophet's use of language is recounted.

[91] For example, in his discussion of the name of Allāh, he says, p. 33 (AC 14): "And I do not want to mention what the grammarians said about it since it would be a burden, and there is no harm in omitting it."

thus unwarranted assumption of administrative authority, the implicit goal being the consolidation of such authority through the definition and control of written forms which defined to a large extent the administrative, legal and financial life of the state.

The work is divided into three sections, as follows:

1. A section (pp. 20-90) on the glory of writing and its origins; on the art of official letter-writing, particularly the opening formulae, but also on such features of letter-writing as the general layout of an official letter (p. 36); on penmanship proper to bureaucratic writing and its special characteristics in distinction from the writing of non-bureaucratic copyists (*warrāq*, pp. 49-50); and on descriptions of the pen cited from both prose and poetry.
2. A section (pp. 92-196) on the tools of the secretarial trade—inkwell, ink, paper, etc.—including explanation of terminology related to the use of such tools; and on the technical terms related to the production of bureaucratic writing, with precise definition of these terms (such as composing, dictating, sealing, unsealing, addressing, editing, and so on). This section can be taken as an expanded and considerably refined version of section 2 of al-Baghdādī's work; here, al-Ṣūlī has mapped out the exact procedure and specific steps by which bureaucratic writing is produced—the entire culture, with its various accoutrement, which gives rise to bureaucratic writing and claims bureaucratic writing as its exclusive domain.
3. A section (pp. 198-259) on tax law (*wujūh al-amwāl*), with a focus on terminology particular to the law and the words, forms and conventions by which the law is articulated; on formulae for addressing various ranks of officials; on accounting; and on orthography.

The work, written during the reign of al-Rāḍī (r. 322-329/934-940),[92] is addressed to the entire administrative corps, regardless of rank (p. 20), an indication, again, that all administrators were somehow considered scribes. Its distinction lies in its exclusive focus on the bureaucratic craft and the particular social group spawned by it, which suggests that the need to demonstrate the legitimate relation of the administrative corps to the literary, cultural and religious

[92] See A.J. al-ʿUmarī, *op. cit.*, p. 314. His analysis of the work (pp. 305f.) understands it to mirror the breadth of Abbasid culture and learning.

concerns of Arabo-Islamic society was not as urgent as it had once been. No longer constrained by the crisis of state legitimacy in terms of its relation to the Arabic language and the Islamic religion, al-Ṣūlī could give full attention to the discourse specific to the social group which the *kuttāb* comprised, to their own conception of their sphere of activity and to the definitions regulating it.[93]

Even the extensive use of poetry to illustrate various bureaucratic terms or points of view seems to have been produced largely within bureaucratic circles. The poetry is of the new kind of its day and reflects a world removed from the tribal life of Arabia, located rather in the urban milieu of Baghdad, including affairs of court and state. The inclusion of this poetry speaks to al-Ṣūlī's association with the caliphal court and his own lifelong interest in poetry, especially the new poetry.[94] Still, his choice of poetry does not seem to have been indiscriminate. Much of it is the work of *kuttāb*, and some almost smacks of schoolboy rhymes—poetic jingles composed by candidates in training for a bureaucratic career.[95]

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[93] Thus, definitions come not from grammarians or pious predecessors (as we saw in the case of al-Naḥḥās), but bureaucratic usage itself, indicated in such commonly used phrases as "one of the secretaries said" (*qāla baʿḍ al-kuttāb*) or "according to the nomenclature of the secretaries" (*kadhā fī tasmiyyat al-kuttāb*).

[94] For his role in the critical reception of the new poetry, see S.P. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age*, Leiden 1991, pp. 38-48. It should be remembered that al-Ṣūlī's contribution to poetry and literary criticism greatly influenced future generations, perhaps more so than his administative work. See S. Leder, "al-Ṣūlī," *EI²*, IX, 846-848.

[95] For example, pp. 94-95 (AC 15): "And one of them said: Indeed, ink (*ḥibr*) is called ink because by it reports are composed elegantly (*tuḥabbaru*). Al-Ḥamdūnī recited for me one of his poems:

> Two of the tools of knowledge diverted my ambitions from the desire of my designs.
> Carrying the inkwell destroyed my body. The craft of the pen clipped me of money.
> The inkwell on sheets of words prevented me from savoring fortune and bounty.

And one like it, though not what we intended in our work (*Kitāb al-kuttāb*), but it presented itself, and I have produced what I remember [of this poem] by someone other than al-Ḥamdūnī:

> I gathered all the letters of the word in the ink,
> And were it not for my misfortune, I would not have known inkwells.
> My failure multiplies in every place,
> On account of my carrying notebooks in my sleeve.
> And my pursuits recorded (*saṭara*) a defect on the folds of my heart,
> For what I have known of straightedges (*masāṭir*).

Since there is no longer need to make reference to other branches of knowledge, this work marks a major shift within the genre towards a more explicit understanding of the adminstrative corps' *raison d'être*. While the grammatical category seeks to inculcate general standards of language, al-Ṣūlī, following al-Baghdādī, shifts the attention, almost exclusively, to bureaucratic writing and its administrative product. Hence, the craft of writing, not just language, emerges as the essential element for the performance of bureaucratic tasks. The orientation of the work towards terminology, however, prevents al-Ṣūlī from spelling out the exact nature of those tasks in the manner of Qudāma. Still, it is this focus on bureaucratic terminology that is necessarily preliminary to (i.e. forms the basis of) the actual work of administration and governance, and al-Sūlī's compilation of the various elements of bureaucratic writing embodies the concepts and terms, conventions and formulae by which bureaucratic writing was recognized as the arm of state administration.[96]

This is expressed in many ways: for example, by recognizing the failure in the administrative process resulting from deficiency in the craft of writing (e.g. pp. 42-44 and 58-59). Writing is not merely the tool of government, but, as this work envisions, its essential component.[97] Several passages throughout the work are included to remind

[96] A similar phenomenon can be found in late medieval England, where norms of bureaucratic writing became more recognizable and distinct as a result of the growing number of complaints brought to the court. See T.S. Haskett, "The Juridical Role of the English Chancery," in K. Fianu and D.J. Guth (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 313-332, especially p. 325: "... most of the documents that the Chancery produced were legal instruments. As the legal profession began to see the acceptability of English as a language for such writing, pressure was put on the Chancery clerks to develop some type of precise standard for English usage. It cannot be denied that the regularity of the language used in such documents is of great importance, but the clerks were also familiar with the established forms of the instruments. These being set, their maintenance, regardless of the qualities of the language employed, was of paramount importance: the Chancery bills written in English are in fact the product of a newly acceptable language to an old documentary form." Also ibid., p. 328: "As administrative offices and courts they [i.e. the royal and princely chanceries] made demands, and often rigorous demands, upon those who had business with them. As the written approach to authority they represented replaced the oral plea, as the chanceries developed standards of language and forms for that approach, as they demarcated the substantive boundaries of their competence, they exerted a tremendous influence upon the modes of literacy that now governed the interaction between ruler and ruled."

[97] For this reason, al-Sūlī occasionally cites material supporting the notion of the superiority of the pen over the sword (e.g. p. 45 and p. 83). In other words, the bureaucracy is more essential to the well-being of the state than the military.

the reader that the fundamental vision of the administrative corps is writing as a craft which has come to dominate the life of the state and replace former notions of status and prestige, such as lineage.[98]

While al-Ṣūlī's use of grand slogans to illustrate the concept of writing as the medium of governance does reveal the fundamental inspiration of his work, it is in his detailing of the bureaucratic process itself that his conception of governance as writing is actually explained. The writing to which al-Ṣūlī attends is varied and complex: by and for officials and bureaucrats of all ranks, including treaties, contracts, tax and other financial documents, records of land distribution and investiture of governors; and embraces the work of a wide array of state servitors, such as military commanders, tax administrators and magistrates. In other words, this is the writing of governance. How is such writing constructed? First of all, each letter must be appropriately addressed with the proper heading:

> And a heading is not used in correspondence to the leader, his crown regent or his minister. As for the leader, a heading is used in correspondence to those who address him, such as his military commander, tax agent and judge, in letters archived in the registry which are concerned with appointments to administrative posts, contracts, the collection of the land-tax, revenues, expenditures, land grants, appointments to command, conquests, and the like. He begins with himself. The leader does not address any one from these classes with an invo-

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98 The following examples illustrate this appreciation for writing (AC 16):

(1) The poet said:

Writing is the beginning of every craft; by it all works (*a'māl*) are perfected (p. 28).

(2) Al-Ma'mūn said: For Allāh the pen flows copiously, knitting together the fabric of the realm (p. 67).

(3) [A copy of a letter from 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm]:

In the name of Allāh, the most merciful, the most compassionate: Now then, I have long pursued this craft of writing which has attained fame, attended to the necessity of the fabric [of the realm], taken the place of noble lineage and reached the same weight [i.e. prestige] as titles... (p. 69).

(4) And I wrote an ode (*qasīda*) to Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Alī in the first term of Ibn al-Furāt [as minister], a part of which describes the pen:

Near to judgment, far-sighted, if the face of judgment is ambiguous and concealed.

In its hand, sharp, its ways gentle, it masters us by enticement or intimidation.

Sword and spear are its servant always, nor reach its [virtue in] gravity or jest. (p. 80).

(5) ... above all a utensil, on which depends the likes of this lofty craft which has taken possession of the administration of the kingdom... (p. 96).

> cation of good wishes in the heading except his crown regent, for he invokes good wishes for him, after the heading, that he be preserved and protected [by Allāh] (AC 17).[99]

Secondly, it is noted that different kinds of documents are to be distinguished by different scripts according to purpose and audience:

> Abū Bakr [al-Ṣūlī] said: I heard the secretary Aḥmad b Ismāʿīl b. al-Khaḍīb say: The leaders sign the records, and the leader writes to the kings of the realm and his governors in the *thulthayn* script, and the governors write to him with the same, and his minister corresponds with him in the *nisf* regarding the administrative affairs of the common people [i.e. information about their affairs in the bureaucratic registries]. As for the elite who write to him in his own script or write in his presence by dictating it, that is with *khumsayn*, they use the same when corresponding with him about the elite and the commoners, except those who are in the lowest of classes, for he does not correspond about [something which concerns] both stations [i.e. the elite and common] except in the *nisf*. And peers correspond with *athlāth* and *arbāʿ*, and the affection between them endures everything with indulgence, and *asdās* for edicts (AC 18).[100]

In other words, every act of governance is marked by a specific form of writing. This is signified not only by the script used (as cited above) but also by the overall form of the letter (exact and detailed formulae of address, closure, etc.), as follows:

> As for letters of the people to the leader, the crown regent, or the minister, one writes, "To ʿAbd Allāh so-and-so son of so-and-so to a certain so-and-so Commander of the Faithful, the peace of Allāh, his mercy and his blessing be upon the Commander of the Faithful. For indeed, I praise Allāh, other than whom there is no god, for the Commander of the Faithful, and I ask him to bless Muḥammad, his servant and messenger, Allāh's peace and blessings upon him." That occupies two lines and part of another. Then, one says, "Now then, may Allāh lengthen the life of the Commander of the Faithful...." That occupies two lines. Then, one says after that, "And it was such and such," because corresponding to "Now then" (*amā baʿd*) is "And" (*fa-*): "And it was such and such." And having passed through all the substance about which it was necessary to write and reaching the invocation, he says, "May Allāh perfect his graces for the Commander of the Faithful..." and writes, "So-and-so son of so-and-so, on the day

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[99] p. 41.

[100] p. 148. A shorthand script was used, apparently for rapid dictation. Although al-Ṣūlī recognizes its utility (p. 55), he disapproved of its use: It was too vaguely defined and thus posed a potential threat to the clear lines of governance by writing, which he seeks to spell out.

> of such and such in the month of such and such." And to the crown regent and minister the same, with the difference being... (AC 19).[101]

These formulae include the recording of the date, without which no writing can be considered valid, since it is the date which verifies the authenticity of a document:

> One of the bureaucrats said: The date is the pillar of certainty and the dispeller of doubt, by it rights are known and appointments to posts are preserved.
>
> And he said: The date in any of the governmental letters from superior or subordinate falls only on the back of the letter. And the equal or subordinate might date a finished letter next to its heading.
>
> And it is said: A letter without a date is an unknown without any information [of it] and anonymous without any mark (AC 20).[102]

The upshot of all this is a bureaucratic vision where conventions and formulae related to the craft of writing shape, define and regulate the activity of administration. This is further confirmed by the section on taxation, the material of which is presented not so much as legal rulings to be obeyed as precise definitions of terminology involved in composing a valid tax document, a task of the utmost importance to the state. Al-Ṣūlī is not writing to an audience concerned with problems of jurisprudence and the potential discrepancies between bureaucratic practice and Islamic law.[103] His audience wants to know how to compose a tax document with the force of law, with the correct legal formulae so that taxes might be collected effectively and ambiguity and dispute be avoided. The point is not the content of the law, although that is assumed, but its form, i.e. the way in which it might be properly and therefore legitimately applied by government functionaries in their administration of tax-collection. The jurists may have established the law, but legal theory is not the concern here, and their contributions, while not totally neglected, receive scant attention. Rather, the focus is terminology and formulae which represent the "stuff" of the law, bring it to life and render it pliable to those interested in its application. Al-Ṣūlī's presentation, then, offers important insights into the bureaucratic interest in and appropriation of the law. Specific terminology and formulae constitute the material of bureaucratic writing which, in

[101] p. 164.

[102] p. 184.

[103] This, we shall see, is Qudāma's concern in section VII of his work (see chapter four).

turn, guides the administration of state—in this case, the collection of taxes.

The importance of formulae to bureaucratic writing is most significantly represented in the seal (*khātam*), the bureaucratic formula par excellence by which all other written formulae (i.e. documents) are validated. As the author indicates, the seal is understood within bureaucratic circles not merely as a means of safeguarding the contents of a document against forgery or fraud or preserving the secrecy of its contents, but as the symbol of the highest administrative authority (i.e. the minister), which renders all bureaucratic writing authoritative or, as he puts it, "alive":

> And one of the secretaries said: The office of minister is the seal and signet ring, because those with competence attend to all the administative affairs, save the seal, for it is necessary that records reach the minister and be shown to him, for him to seal with the signet ring of the ruler.
>
> And Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī said: The documents are dead so long as they are not signed with the seal and sealed, and if that is done, they come to life (AC 21).

Qudāma and the Bureaucratic Category

Given the theme of section V, an overview of the state's bureaucratic structure, it is to be expected that the bureaucratic category would have featured more prominently than the grammatical category in both material and inspiration. Qudāma does not, however, appropriate material from the bureaucratic category blindly, but shapes it to fit his goal of describing the bureaucratic structure as a whole, including its internal workings. While the notion of administration as writing that emerges from al-Ṣūlī's focus on bureaucratic terminology and conventions does bear a close association to the fundamental thrust of Qudāma's project, the two authors do not share the same framework: Qudāma understands such terminology and conventions not on their own, but in view of the task assigned to each bureau.

A simple example of this is the following: The bureaucratic category (both al-Baghdādī and al-Ṣūlī) includes material on edicts (*tawqīʿ*), the seal (*khātam*) and breaking the seal (*faḍḍ*): terms to be defined—both their meaning and morphological possibilities, with occasional historical material about the origins and development of such terminology. In contrast, Qudāma treats these three areas not as concepts alone, but draws out the logical conclusion that, as im-

portant organs of state authority, they should be described according to their task as separate arms of that authority, namely as bureaus. The growth of the state as a complex of administrative institutions, each with a life of its own, did not, to be sure, render the caliphal office any less significant an emblem of the political community (see chapter five), but it cannot be denied that it become distant and increasingly ceremonial as a result: The caliphal office was important, but the person occupying it was not, since caliphal involvement in the administration of the state was no longer assumed or necessary. As Qudāma says quite explicitly (p. 39), at one time the caliph would have been personally involved in reading the letters sent to his court. Now, handling letters of state was the task of a particular bureau. In other words, the growth of the state had transformed rule by the caliph into a carefully defined bureaucratic process.[104] To illustrate how exactly Qudāma conveys this conception of state, it will be helpful to show his organization of specific bureaucratic concepts—terminology to be defined in the bureaucratic category—into a bureaucratic process. The terminology, the essential building blocks of the process, is still present, but now transformed into bureaus.

The bureau of edicts and the court (*dīwān al-tawqīʿ wa-al-dār*),[105] part 5 of section V (pp. 35-36), is assigned the task of composing caliphal edicts to deal with state matters of various kinds. The minister himself oversees this work along with the secretaries charged with drafting the edicts. If signed, the edict is sent to the bureau of

[104] See Weber (1947), p. 333: "In the modern state, the only 'offices' for which no technical qualifications are required are those of ministers and presidents. This only goes to prove that they are 'officials' only in a formal sense, and not substantively, as is true of the managing director or president of a large business corporation. There is no question but that the 'position' of the capitalistic entrepreneur is as definitely appropriated as is that of monarch. Thus at the top of a bureaucratic organization, there is necessarily an element which is at least not purely bureaucratic. The category of bureaucracy is one applying only to the exercise of control by means of a particular kind of administrative staff."

[105] The bureau of the court (*dīwān al-dār*) here refers to the caliphal court and has nothing to do with the bureau of the same name created by Ibn al-Furāt under al-Muʿtaḍid (r. 279-289/892-902) to oversee the collection of the land-tax throughout the realm. See D. Sourdel, *op. cit.*, (1959), p. 598. The bureau created by Ibn al-Furāt was divided into three units: the bureau of the East (*dīwān al-mashriq*), the bureau of the West (*dīwān al-maghrib*), and the bureau of the Sawād (*dīwān al-sawād*). See Blay-Abramski, *op. cit.*, p. 309. Since the work of these bureaus is the management of the land-tax, Qudāma presumably treated them in his account of the bureau of the land-tax in section IV.

edicts where two copies are made: one for the official records of the state, the other for the chief of the particular bureau responsible for the edict. Qudāma explains this process with detailed examples: If the affair involves inalienable property (*īghār*), a remittance (*ḥaṭīṭa*), taxable land leasable on an annual basis (*taswīgh*) or inheritance (*tarika*), the copy will be sent to the bureau of the land-tax; if it involves land grants (*iqṭāʿ*) or lands which return to the state after the death of the beneficiary of the usufruct (*ṭuʿma*), to the bureau of state lands; if it involves hired attendants (*ḥasham*), to the bureau of expenditures; if it involves the pay of irregular soldiers (*awliyāʾ*), to the bureau of the army (p. 35).

By way of example, Qudāma produces a form letter responding to a matter involving the protection of state property (pp. 35-36). He concludes part 5 with the remark that the skills of drafting (*inshāʾ*), editing (*taḥrir*), and copying (*naskh*) are necessary to the work of this bureau. He had previously mentioned the importance of these skills to the bureau of the army, and reminds his reader that their role in the bureaucratic process had been sufficiently explicated in section IV (pp. 3-4).

Qudāma's account of the bureau of the seal in part 6 (pp. 36-38) also illustrates this adaptation of the bureauratic category. Both Qudāma and the works of the bureaucratic category draw attention to the history of the seal, its inscription from the time of the Prophet (which read "Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh"; p. 37) and its disappearance midway into the caliphate of ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-656). Qudāma, however, adds material on the Persian origin of the seal as a symbol of authority, its role in Persian bureaucratic practice (pp. 36-37) and its introduction into the Islamic world by Ziyād b. Abīhi, the Umayyad governor of Iraq (r. 44-53/664-673). Certainly, the bureaucratic category understood the paramount authority represented by the seal, as previously mentioned, but Qudāma, even though refering to the Sasanian past, describes the bureaucratic process which such authority serves;[106] apparently, there was no ideological objection to the suggestion of at least a partly Sasanian dispensation for an Islamic state. This description immediately follows the opening sentence of part 6, which summarily explains the role of the seal in the bureaucratic process.

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[106] Again, the Sasanian had become the model par excellence for the state official. See n. 10.

More historical material, now of a didactic nature, is added by Qudāma, suggesting his undertstanding of the import of the historical category for the genre.[107] To impress upon his reader the seriousness with which the seal was held by the bureaucracy, he narrates a story (pp. 37-38) depicting the unlawful use of the seal during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-644). A certain Maʿan b. Zāʾida forged the seal and used it to embezzle the land-tax of al-Kūfa.[108] Apprehended and imprisoned, he then escaped and returned penitently to ʿUmar who had him brought before the people. When consulted, all responded that the transgressor's punishment must be corporal—cutting off his hand or crucifying him. ʿUmar then turned to Abū al-Ḥasan (i.e. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), a figure of authority, who confirmed that the punishment must be corporal. After several beatings and imprisonment, Maʿan was brought back to ʿUmar who bound him by oath not to repeat his offense and then released him.

The story highlights the bureaucratic fear of the unlawful use of the seal. It leads not only to bureaucratic chaos, but also, as the story indicates, to injustice, a threat to the social order as understood in courtly and administrative circles (i.e. the circle of justice). The seal validates the collection of taxes, which support the order of state and society. Tampering with the seal could potentially destroy the very fabric of society, as the state and its representatives understood it, and deserved the most severe form of punishment.[109]

This use of the historical category notwithstanding, the new orientation of the bureaucratic category continues with the account of the bureau of breaking the seal (*dīwān al-faḍḍ*) in part 7 (pp. 38-39). Here again, the difference is subtle but important: a task to be accomplished, not a term to be defined, as suggested by Qudāma's comparison of the function of this bureau with the department of accounts (*majlis al-askudār*) in the bureau of the land-tax, responsible

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[107] Again, the historical category had very strong didactic goals. See n. 21.

[108] This figure has nothing to do with the famous Umayyad governor Maʿan b. Zāʾida al-Shaybānī. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 8 vols., Beirut 1968, vol. 5, pp. 244-254.

[109] This crime continued to be punished corporally into Ottoman times, again as a severe warning against those who would threaten the bureaucratic order as epitomized in the authority of the seal. See U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford 1973, p. 183 where the *kaziasker* (one of the highest Ottoman legal authorities) suggests banishment to Cyprus as fitting punishment for forging the imperial signature (*tuğra*), whereupon the *shaykhülislam*, religious authority in the service of Ottoman rule, intervenes and insists that the transgressor's hand be cut off in the name of imperial (i.e. administrative) law (*qānūn*).

for receiving, examining and reproducing (for state archives) all incoming letters. The task assigned to this bureau requires three secretaries: one to manage files of letters received according to bureau and administrative region of origin; another to manage collections of letters which need to be reviewed; and still another to make copies of the letters.

What is perhaps most illustrative of Qudāma's use of the bureaucratic category is the importance he gives to formulae as the constitutive and authoritative element in bureaucratic writing and thus governance itself. In his account of the soldiers' pay schedule (part 1; pp. 11f.), he underlines the importance of using established formulae, lest the administrative order somehow fail. Keenly aware of the relation between language and order, between formulae (*alfāẓ*) and rules (*aḥkām*), he underscores one of the central goals of the bureaucratic category, that those to be initiated into the administrative corps must be skilled in the use of bureaucratic formulae. Failing to impress upon secretaries in training the importance of such formulae will produce not merely bureaucratic chaos, but injustice, as he says:

> The bureaucrats of the army have regulations which [can] lead to injustice, and expressions which [can] lead to ambiguity for those not accustomed to them, and there is no harm in mentioning what the [administrative] apprentice is to do regarding the administration of the army, so that he possess knowledge of it (AC 22).[110]

Qudāma, it should be said, treats tax law separately in section VII, but there the concern is the construction of an Islamic theory of law in harmony with administrative practice and not the practical use of legal formulae in the work of governance, as we saw in al-Ṣūlī's treatment of tax law. Qudāma, however, does not neglect this im-

[110] QJ, pp. 11-12. Qudāma is quite conscious of the damage to the political order that results from failure to manage military registers and pay schedules with precision. He plans, as he says (p. 12), to treat this and related questions in their proper place, namely section VIII (on political science). His aim in section V being the bureaucratic order, he thus turns to the rules governing the payment of the military (pp. 12-15), where he insists upon the principle of fixed salaries. For him, there is little difference between bureaucratic regularity and justice. He closes part 1 of section V with consideration of the fiscal year (*al-sana al-kharājiyya*): Salaries cannot be distributed until taxes have been collected, making it essential that soldiers receive their salaries at different intervals (some three times a year, others four, still others five). Qudāma concludes this topic with the reminder that such matters had been previously treated in section IV.

portant "nuts and bolts" dimension of the bureaucratic category, but speaks to it in his treatment of legal formulae in part 10 (pp. 43-53), his account of the role of bureaucratic writing in criminal law (*ʿuqūbāt*), or as he calls it, the bureaucratic writing for the police and militia (*kitābat al-shurṭa wa-al-aḥdāth*). Qudāma is quick to point out the connection between the arts of writing (*funūn al-kitāba*) as he previously treated it (in section III) and the rules of law (*ḥukm*), and his own words (p. 43) speak significantly to the bureaucratic interest in the law as a body of well-defined formulae with no room for the unusual (*al-gharīb*) in the use of language.

Aware that criminal law is essentially the domain of law, not bureaucracy, he admits (p. 53) that the secretary assigned to the police may at times need the assistance of jurists (*fuqahāʾ*).[111] Still, he cannot ignore the bureaucratic role—as spelled out in the bureaucratic category—in the production of legal documents.[112]

Qudāma begins with the different categories of murder according to degree of intent, the status of murderer and murdered (e.g. free or slave) and the mental capacity of the murderer (pp. 43-45). He draws freely upon the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth to support his definitions. He classifies murders in two categories: those punishable by death and those for which blood money (*arsh*) is an acceptable remedy.

He proceeds to bodily injury which does not lead to the death of the victim (pp. 45-49), such as various kinds of head wounds (*shijāj*). Again, definitions are given for fitting punishment, either corporal punishment in proportion to the victim's injury or blood money (*diya*). The blood money to be paid in the case of the loss of an eye is given (a thousand dinars or the equivalent in dirhams or livestock, p. 48), as a standard by which other parts of the body can be evaluated. Other definitions are given, such as the parties responsible for paying the blood money (*al-ʿāqila*) as well as formulae with very precise

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[111] Perhaps it is this recognition which keeps him from actually defining this sphere of bureaucratic activity as a bureau.

[112] For a helpful comparison from late medieval England, see Clanchy. *op. cit.*, *passim*. It should be noted that this interest in law is not merely technical. While they may not have created the principles of law, the state and its administrative personnel did shape the application of such principles and doubtlessly produced legal documents tantamount to an *ad hoc* administrative "production" of law. In other words, the law was to a large extent in bureaucratic hands (i.e. applied in bureaucratic terms).

terminology, such as the list defining the different kinds of head wounds (p. 47) and the corresponding amounts to be paid in blood money. Part 10, then, is a careful survey of the terminology and legal remedies, i.e. very exact formulae, used by the bureaucrat in the production of legal documents.

After a brief overview (pp. 48-49) of the principles for acceptable testimony (*shahāda*), Qudāma turns to the rules applicable to a case where the murderer is unknown (p. 49). Finally, he considers crimes which do not belong to the categories of murder or bodily injury (pp. 49-53): theft, brigandry, adultery, sodomy, bestiality, perjury and slander. Various possibilities are given along with appropriate punishments, leaving room for the discretion of the judge (*taʿzīr*) and the possibility of reform (*tawba*).[113]

To summarize, the bureaucratic category played an important role in establishing the administrative genre on its own terms by focusing not on language in general, but language specific to bureaucratic work and needs. One important result was a much more precise sense of the relation between bureaucracy and the craft of writing, since the terminology and formulae which occupy the attention of the bureaucratic category are all specifically related to the production of bureaucratic writing. Qudāma draws on the material of the bureaucratic category, its interest in terminology and formulae, but adapts it in order to reflect more fully his goal of describing the bureaucracy not as a collection of terms, but a task, and it is in that sense that he captures the essential nature of bureaucratic writing. In order to bring the bureaucratic category to its logical conclusion, however, he was in need of a new theoretical framework, happily provided by the linguistic category.

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[113] Secretaries apparently composed legal documents in such a way so as to give as much room as possible to the discretion of the judge, thereby mitigating the force of the "letter" of the law. For this point in the context of the law of sale (*bayʿ*), see J. Watkins, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law*, Albany 1972.

The Linguistic Category[114]

The work of Ibn Wahb,[115] "The Proof concerning the Means of Communication" (*al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān*), is inspired largely by linguistic theory,[116] and its author acknowledges his debt to al-Jāḥiẓ, whose work on rhetoric and communication (*Kitāb al-bayān wa-tabyīn*) Ibn Wahb intended not only to build upon, but also to surpass in terms of organization (pp. 51-52). This is the first attempt, as far as we know, to revise al-Jāḥiẓ' work, preceding even "The Book of the Two Crafts, Writing and Poetry" (*Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn, al-kitāba wa-al-shiʿr*) by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005), which also took up the great littérateur's work on language.[117] Significant for our purposes, however, is the fact that Ibn Wahb constructs a theory of communication which includes the bureaucratic craft of writing as a form of communication. He treats communication at length: speech and other forms of communication, in both prose and poetry. When he comes to writing as a form of communication, however, he identifies it, almost wholly, with bureaucratic practice.[118]

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[114] Our use of "linguistic" here refers to the theory of language and is different from our previous use of the word in reference to standards of language in the grammatical category. While Ibn Wahb's work does contain grammatical material, it cannot be classified as a treatise on grammar, but is rather a theory of communication.

[115] His full name, as it appears ar the beginning of the fourth and final section of the work, is Abū al-Ḥusayn Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib. He was a member of the administrative corps and lived into the fourth/tenth century, a fact supported by his own reference to his teacher (*shaykh*), Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Baghdādī (d. 334/946), who served as minister to both al-Muqtadir (r. 295-320/908-932) and al-Qāhir (r. 320-322/932-934). See Ibn Wahb, *op. cit.*, p. 343. His religious loyalties were clearly Shīʿī as several passages with a Shīʿī coloring (e.g. p. 118) witness, along with the numerous citations from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (eg. p. 55, where he is called by his patronymic, Abū ʿAbd Allāh).

[116] The work was once attributed to Qudāma as a work on literary criticism and understood as the prose counterpart (*Naqd al-nathr*) to his treatise on poetry (*Naqd al-shiʿr*). The authorship of Ibn Wahb was finally confirmed with the publication of the Chester Beatty manuscript (no. 3658), the only manuscript to include the important fourth section and its identification of the author. For a discussion of the work's authorship, see the editor's introduction, pp. 9-28.

[117] See Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn. al-Kitāba wa-al-shiʿr*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Bajāwī and M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1952, pp. 4-5; and G.J. Kanazi, *Studies in the Kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī*, Leiden 1989, pp. 38-41.

[118] Analysis of the linguistic category within the administrative genre could be expanded to include the work of Ibn Khalaf (d. second half of the fifth/eleventh century), "The Elements of Communication" (*Mawādd al-bayān*), which also clas-

The influence of philosophical discourse on Ibn Wahb's presentation is obvious from the outset in a section devoted to praise of the rational intellect (*'aql*) and the faculty of discernment (*tamyīz*, pp. 54f.), in which reason, both innate and acquired, is depicted as the defining element of human existence (pp. 56-59).[119] The theories of communication contained in the work fall into four categories:[120] 1) things which by their essence "communicate" themselves (*i'tibār*, pp. 71-98); 2) thought (*i'tiqād*), a type of internal communication which arises in response to external stimuli (pp. 99-108); 3) speech or oral communication (*'ibāra*, pp. 109-309); and 4) written forms of communication (*kitāb*, pp. 311-428).

The work contains many interesting conclusions about language which lie outside the scope of this study.[121] In terms of our interests

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sifies bureaucratic practice as a branch of communication. See 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, ed. F. Sezgin, in Facsimile Editions, Series C, Volume 39, Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences, Frankfurt am Main 1986.

[119] While the work displays a distinct philosophical character, the author is very sensitive to the Arabo-Islamic heritage which appears repeatedly alongside the elements of the Greek heritage (e.g. p. 60). It is worth noting that use is made of the terminology of Islamic law, such as the notion of "frequency" *(tawātur)*, to explain how things communicate their essential nature: the frequent encounter of a thing leaves an impression of certain knowledge (*yaqīn*) on the mind (pp. 88-90). For a discussion of "frequency" in Islamic thought, see B. Weiss, "Knowledge of the Past: The Theory of *Tawātur* according to al-Ghazālī," *SI* 61 (1985), 81-105.

[120] This organization is Aristotelian in origin. See al-Ṣūlī, *op. cit.*, p. 42. For Ibn Wahb's own words, see p. 60 (AC 23): "Communication is divided into four aspects: the communication of things in themselves, although they do not communicate by words; the communication which happens in the heart upon engaging thought and the mind; and the communication by the tongue; and the communication by writing, which reaches those who are far and absent."

[121] For example, the attempt (p. 104-106) to use the theory of language as a bridge between religion and philosophy, scripture (i.e. revelation) and the rational intellect: Signs and symbols, the material of communication, translate into categories of knowledge: truth (*ḥaqq*), ambiguity (*mushtabah*), conjecture (*ẓann*) and falsehood (*bāṭil*). By defining revelation as religious communication, he can view it as signs and symbols and classify it as true knowledge according to the above-mentioned schema, vindicating traditional notions of scripture and Islamic law (and, as a Shī'ī, the sayings of the Imāms, p. 170) in terms of their semiotic value. Additionally, Ibn Wahb considers knowledge, conveyed in speech, to be specific to language, the Arabic language in this case (p. 122). At the same time, he does not want to define knowledge in cultural terms (i.e. a language), as many of his counterparts did (see Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [d. 322/933], *op. cit.*), but in terms of semiotic units of speech (i.e. words), which are used in recognized ways and forms (e.g. the metaphor) between people, making it possible to treat both "sacred" and "profane" knowledge within one epistemological framework, since both are equally communicated through language. It should be remembered also that it was at this

here, writing, the subject of section 4, receives a passing reference in section 3 (on speech), where the author classifies correspondence (*tarassul*) under the heading of prosaic (*manthūr*), as opposed to poetic (*manẓūm*), expression (pp. 191f.). This is not necessarily at odds with his identification of writing with bureaucracy in section 4, since the writing here (*tarassul*, correspondence) refers to the activity of those employed in the chancery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*). He mentions correspondence in this section on speech only in reference to the two sides of prosaic expression (speech): the oral, rhetoric (*khiṭāba*); and the written, correspondence (*tarassul*). For its part, poetry need not be so divided, but includes both the oral and the written medium (p. 192).

The section on writing (section 4) is taken up almost entirely with an account of the bureaucratic practice. Exceptions to this kind of writing are mentioned in passing, such as the importance of writing to the transmission of religious knowledge (holy books and the sayings of the prophets) and to commerce (pp. 313-314). Moreover, Ibn Wahb understands the value of writing for the accumulation and transmission of knowledge, which he considers preferable to memory (*ḥifẓ*) as a presumably more reliable mode of transmitting knowledge; in support of his claim, he quotes a verse from the Qur'ān (p. 314; Q 2:282, see below). Such are only passing references, however, in the introductory material to section 4, which concludes with mention of the topic that will form the heart of the section: the status of secretaries in society and the need for their skills, which he will treat according to five kinds of secretaries.[122] Taken together, these two passages show that the author, although aware of other kinds of writing, wants to steer the discussion about writing as a form of communication in a direction which parallels the bureaucratic vision:

> Allāh, the powerful and majestic, honored the station of the bureaucrats (*kuttāb*), rendered people in need of them and commanded them to help those who sought their help, saying: "A writer did not refuse to write as Allāh taught him, so let him write and dictate that which

time that the theory of the inimitability of the Qur'ān, communicated in the Arabic language, was beginning to crystallize. See C. Audebert, *al-Ḫaṭṭābī et l'inimitabilité du Coran*, Damascus 1982. Seen in this light, Ibn Wahb's ideas can be taken as a very unique contribution to an ongoing debate over the relation of knowledge to language. His philosophical interests lead him to a conclusion which can embrace both Arabo-Islamic and non-Arabo-Islamic conceptions of knowledge. His, then, is as much a universalist as an Arabo-Islamic vision.

[122] These five kinds of secretaries do not exactly match those given by al-Baghdādī and al-Naḥḥās (see above).

> is true" (Q 2:282, *sūrat al-baqara*). And [even] if there were no evidence of the superiority of the craft of writing, still, Allāh praised his angels for it, saying: "Indeed, they are mindful of you. Noble recorders [of deeds] in writing. They know what you do" (Q 72:10-12, *sūrat al-infiṭār*). And the bureaucrats are five: secretary of calligraphy; secretary of expression [i.e. letter-writing]; secretary of financial affairs; secretary of governance; and secretary of administration. Each one of these has a particular practice in the craft of writing which differs from others. We will mention them as we have been informed of them (AC 24).[123]

His account of writing as a form of communication, presented according to the five kinds of secretaries, is summarized below. It can be said that, in general, secretaries 1 and 4 represent the bureaucratic category of the administrative genre; secretary 2 the grammatical category; secretary 3 has elements of both; and secretary 5 is described with material drawn from the *Fürstenspiegel* genre:

1.) The penman (*kātib al-khaṭṭ*, pp. 316-349), a secretary of two types: the copyist (*warrāq*), whose work requires knowledge of grammar and orthography; and the editor (*muḥarrir*), who needs to know the ranks of officials and proper forms of address. Ibn Wahb offers remarks on different kinds of scripts and terminology specific to the bureaucratic craft of writing as known from the bureaucratic category.
2.) The letter-composer (*kātib al-lafẓ*, i.e. specialist in stylistics; pp. 350-351), the equivalent of the secretary of correspondence (*mutarassil*). Ibn Wahb dispenses with lengthy treatment of this kind of secretary, since the knowledge required of him—standards of good composition (*balāgha*)—can be found in section 3 (where he had referred to the art of correspondence) and its collection of definitions and examples of good prose and poetry. Ibn Wahb has thus defined this kind of secretary according to the grammatical category.
3.) The financial secretary (*kātib al-ʿaqd*, pp. 352-368), who has no need of knowledge of language and grammar, but rather expertise in accounting and the assessment of taxes (p. 354). The writing here is the writing of numbers, which Ibn Wahb understands as another form of letters. There are three types of financial secretary: a) the secretary of "the department" (*kātib al-majlis*, i.e. of accounts), who is to be trained in accounting (Ibn Wahb ac-

[123] p. 315.

tually provides an overview of arithmetics) and must also know the rules of taxation and be fair in their application, since bureaucratic arbitrariness would corrupt the secretarial profession (*al-ṣināʿa*) and cause disorder in society (p. 358); b) the secretary to the tax administrator (*kātib al-ʿāmil*), who must be well-versed in agricultural terminology and the science of surveying land, both of which are necessary for establishing tax rates (while also being on his guard against tricks used by farmers to distort the amount of their taxable produce); c) the secretary of the army (*kātib al-jaysh*), who must have expertise in recording the identities of soldiers, their riding animals and provisions, as well as the schedules according to which they receive their pay.[124] This work is essential for the management of the army, which would become unruly and disrupt the order of state and society if not treated in a regular fashion (pp. 364-365). Ibn Wahb overviews the process of composing military registers, including layout and terminology. Merely recording names was not enough to maintain control over the soldiery, though it was enough for identifying the leaders (*qāʾid*) and commanders (*amīr*) of the army (p. 368).

4.) The secretary of governance (*kātib al-ḥukm*, pp. 369-400), whose work embraces four areas: the judiciary and judicature (*qaḍāʾ*); the redress of grievances and complaints (*maẓālim*); collection of the land-tax (*kharāj*); and criminal law under the administration of the police (*shurṭa*). This section suggests the extent to which the bureaucracy was involved in the administration of law and the wide range of skills in bureaucratic writing required for law, particularly legal formulae as seen in the bureaucratic category.[125]

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[124] The content of this section closely resembles that of part 1 of section V of Qudāma's work, as noted by al-Ḥiyārī, *op. cit.* (1986), pp. 13-15.

[125] Bureaucratic writing for the administration of law was, again, significant in the extreme. Bureaucrats managed, if they did not actually create, the formulae by which law was promulgated, regulated and validated. A deficiency in bureaucratic writing could invalidate the authority of a legal document, just as the use of alternate formulate could change its legal value. Law was thus understood to be closely connected to standards of language managed partly by state servitors alongside the teaching and rulings of the jurists. For example, p. 374 (AC 25): "And repetition of these expressions render the contract of sale devoid of all the conditions of choice and require that it be corrected. And he was, along with his knowledge of the ways of jurists and their differing opinions, knowledgeable in the elements of speech, distinguished in [the knowledge of] the import of the expressions of the elite and the common people, so as [to be able] to produce

The secretary assigned to the judiciary was to know how to compose legal stipulations (*shurūṭ*) for contracts of sale, admissions (*iqrārāt*), court proceedings (*maḥāḍir*), and records (*sijillāt*). There is no significant difference according to Ibn Wahb between the secretary of the judiciary and the secretary charged with recording the decisions related to the redress of grievances and complaints. He does mention, however, that the latter's work is not as dependent on bureaucratic writing as the former's. Rather, his responsibility is limited to brokering a written agreement between the contending parties, signing it and sending it back to the judge for a final decision. The secretary of the land-tax must be knowledgeable in the rules of taxation, which Ibn Wahb summarizes at length. His goal here is to demonstrate the role of rules of taxation in writing as a form of communication. He feels no compulsion to reconcile bureaucratic practice and Islamic law, and even notes discrepancies between the two (pp. 390-391; see chapter four).

Finally, the secretary to the chief of police must be well-informed in criminal law, especially the principles and formulae by which the law is administered. The description of the records in his care approaches the concept of an administrative bureau distinct from the secretary himself, with the focus of attention on the records themselves, which the secretary gathers and collects in one place, i.e. a bureau (*dīwān al-shurṭa*). Although the administrative bureau is not the principle of organization of Ibn Wahb's work, he is clearly approaching a framework close to Qudāma's.

5.) The secretary of administration (*kātib al-tadbīr*, pp. 401-425), who assists those working at the highest level of administration: the minister himself (*wazīr al-sulṭān*) and his own retinue of secretaries. The topic is not writing, but courtly and political advice, *Fürstenspiegel*, a necessary body of knowledge for the secretary working at the highest level of government, including advice on the conduct expected of the minister, his governors (*al-ḥukkām*), military personnel (*al-jund*) and assistants and administrators (*al-aʿwān wa-al-ʿummāl*). In short, the focus—the ethical conduct (*adab*) expected of high-ranking officials, not writing—is out of place

[proper] expression and [construct] his wording masterfully by guarding against the conditions of ambiguity and [faulty] association of meanings."

in a theory of language. However, since he has defined writing in terms of the state, Ibn Wahb is drawn to include this kind of political advice in his account of writing on account of its relevance to the overall ethos of the administration.

The same can be said for the account of the chief of intelligence (*ṣāḥib al-khabar*) and the chamberlain (*al-ḥājib*), who stand in adjunct relation to the administration of state. The work of the chief of intelligence, communication of state information by post, involved writing, but there is no mention of that fact. As for the chamberlain, his work involved, among other things, the conveyance of letters between those outside the court and those inside, but Ibn Wahb chooses to dwell instead on ethical conduct and political theory. Qudāma, too, includes this kind of material in his work, but he adheres even more strictly than Ibn Wahb to the theory of bureaucracy as writing and thus locates ethical material of the *Fürstenspiegel* kind in his section on political thought (section VIII).

Section 4 of Ibn Wahb's work ends with an account of "hidden" writing (*bāṭin*) in contrast to "apparent" writing (*ẓāhir*), i.e. everything the author has hitherto mentioned about writing, especially bureaucracy. Hidden writing amounts to codes, and many examples are given (pp. 425f.).

Qudāma and the Linguistic Category

While Qudāma's work shares certain material with that of Ibn Wahb, his most important use of the linguistic category is its theoretical framework, which identifies the bureaucratic practice as a distinct form of communication, namely writing. In Ibn Wahb's work, writing is classified after other forms of communication, directly after speech with its emphasis on standards of language, including correspondence and good composition, the implication being the dependence of writing, i.e. the bureaucratic craft, on language. It seems that it was this theoretical framework of the linguistic category that offered Qudāma a model by which to organize the genre and its component parts, i.e. material of the grammatical and bureaucratic categories. Seen in this light, it can be said that the relation governing section 3 on speech and section 4 on writing in Ibn Wahb's work parallels that between section III on good composition and sections IV and V on the bureaucratic structure in Qudāma's work. Qudā-

ma's organization of the genre clearly implies a theory of language, one apparently developed by the linguistic category.

Qudāma, however, gives the theory a new spin. Whereas Ibn Wahb had structured his treatment of writing according to the different kinds of secretary (*kātib*) and the skills in writing required of each, Qudāma shifts the attention away from the person of the secretary (and is thereby able to avoid reflection on the ethical behavior expected of that person) and towards the activity itself, the task to be carried out in each impersonal bureau (*dīwān*). The secretary, of course, is never entirely absent, but with his focus on the bureau instead of the person of the secretary, Qudāma is able to highlight more effectively what is at stake in such a theory of writing, namely that it is the writing itself that is the embodiment of governance, not the persons. Ibn Wahb may assume this, but cannot articulate it as precisely within the constraints of the genre in which he is writing, linguistic theory, which requires him to think of communication in broad terms and not only for the sake of governance. As such, section 4 of Ibn Wahb's work, his account of the five kinds of state secretaries, seems out of place in a work on communication, an add-on at best, whereas Qudāma's work, intended to be a full-blown treatment of the administrative genre itself, is able to draw out more precisely the essential connection between writing and governance that Ibn Wahb had hoped to incorporate into his theory of communication. In other words, Qudāma's is both a more compelling account of the theory Ibn Wahb has tried to articulate regarding writing and a more cogent presentation of the fundamental vision of the administrative genre itself.

Evidence of this new orientation can be seen in parts 9 and 11 of section V. Part 9 (pp. 42-43), an account of the bureau of complaints (*dīwān al-maẓālim*), covers an area which Ibn Wahb presents as knowledge required of the secretary employed in this area, including expectations of the manner in which he is to carry out the work assigned to him. In contrast, Qudāma mentions the secretary himself hardly at all. Only a line is given to the high moral character expected of the chief (not the secretary) of the bureau; the remainder of part 9 is devoted to a description of the task by which the bureau of the court of complaints is defined, i.e. its role of bureaucratic support to the court of complaints. The storage of information, recorded by writing, is vital to the work of this bureau: If the plaintiff should return more than once, the details of his case can be easily

retrieved from government archives (i.e. bureaucratic records) which thus become the very factor that ensures against ambiguity in the future and the possibility of injustice. The exclusive attention given to the task, such that the secretary himself almost disappears from view, can be noticed in the following passage:

> ... so that, if the session over which the caliph or his deputy presided ends, he is to gather all the petitions [divided into] groupings, record the groupings in the bureau, mention the names of those who submitted the petitions, record the edicts given [in response] to the petitions; then the petitions are [to be] returned to them [i.e. those who submitted them] after that so that no trick or falsification enter into the notes of petition. For if the plaintiff returns one, two, three times or more, his entire affair is recorded in one place, so that, if a request is made to summon his case from the bureau of complaints, his entire affair will be found in proper order and collected in one place, and the chief of the bureau might summon it without trouble (AC 26).[126]

Only at the end of part 9 does Qudāma finally mention the technical expertise in writing required of those employed in this bureau, expertise, he says, similar to that used in financial transactions (*muʿāmala*), as well as the usual competence in drafting, editing and preparing copies of the documents which record the details of cases brought before the court of complaints.

The bureau of the post (*dīwān al-barīd*) is also handled differently in Qudāma's discussion of it in part 11 (pp. 53-94). Ibn Wahb describes this aspect of state administration according to the moral character required of the chief of intelligence (*ṣāḥib al-khabar*), who must possess the highest credibility, the greatest reliability and a respectability known to all, for he is the eyes of the minister, who relies upon him in things involving life and money (Ibn Wahb, p. 417). He then mentions the disastrous results of employing a man who does not meet these qualities as the chief of intelligence. Finally, he describes the personal qualities expected of the secretary to the chief of intelligence: comely, well-educated, likeable, intelligent in the craft of writing, patient, discrete, and so on; he is not, however, to issue a document or write a letter in the minister's name without permission (p. 418).

Qudāma looks at the institution of the post and intelligence as a part of state administration which is defined not by the moral char-

[126] QJ, pp. 42-43.

acter of those employed in it, but by the task assigned to it.[127] The composition of missives, a kind of writing sent by post, required a detailed knowledge of the system of imperial roadways (*ṭuruq*), of particular importance for the movements of the caliph and the dispatch of the army (QJ, p. 54). This knowledge, however, is presented only after the task of the bureau is carefully set forth in the opening sentence of part 11, namely the gathering of intelligence through letters sent and received:

> And Abū al-Faraj said: The post needs its own bureau, and the letters sent from all regions are to be directed to its head [i.e. of the bureau], so that he [can] expedite the arrival of all of them to their destination. He is entrusted with the task of presenting to the caliph the letters of the heads of the post and agents of information in all regions or the task of summarizing them. And he is to look into the [affairs of the] spies, the bureaucrats [assigned to the post] and the coordinators [located] at the different relay points, [ensure] that their salaries are granted and the appointment of those who carry the mail in all the cities (AC 27).[128]

This aspect of state governance, since it includes information which had to be documented and stored in writing, also needed to be framed in terms of a bureau, i.e. another repository of bureaucratic writing, which was, like other bureaus, understood as an integrated part of the state structure itself. To carry out such a task, it was necessary to have knowledge of the system of imperial roadways, and Qudāma attaches a lengthy and detailed description of it (pp. 54-94), including various locations (*mawḍiʿ*), stopping places (*manzil*), distances (*masāfa*), water sources, way stations (*marḥala*) and roads (*sikka*).

[127] Strictly speaking, the bureau of the post and the office of intelligence were two separate domains. Those employed in intelligence were officials who had won the confidence of the caliph and kept an eye on the activities of other officials in the capital, even the minister when necessary. See D. Sourdel, "al-Barīd," *EI*², I, 1045-1046.

[128] QJ, p. 53.

Qudāma's Category

Although closest to the bureaucratic category in terms of inspiration and goals, section V actually stands apart as a separate category for the new orientation it gives to the genre through its focus on the bureau, an orientation Qudāma was able to develop partially by adopting the theoretical framework of the linguistic category and bringing it to bear upon the material of the grammatical and bureaucratic categories. While nothing of the existing forms and material of the administrative genre is neglected, Qudāma's work is able to present its essential meaning more directly than other categories as a result of his focus on the bureau. The other categories, with their more exclusive focus on standards of language, bureaucratic terminology, linguistic theory or administrative history, tend to lose sight of the forest for the trees. With Qudāma's category, the bureau is both the craft of writing and the agency of governance; thus, as the organizing principle of sections IV and V (thirteen bureaus together), the bureau (and its ancillary departments) is able to state very precisely the fundamental conception of the genre: tasks of administration and governance that are executed through writing.

This can be seen at the beginning of part 1 of section V (on the bureau of the army) where administration is depicted as a collection of bureaus and departments, each with its defining names (*asmā'*) and functions (*ma'ānī*):

> Qudāma said: The first thing with which we ought to begin regarding the task of this bureau is its departments and an explanation of its names and functions. Then we will follow that with the adminstrative tasks which the bureau is called [to perform]... (AC 28).[129]

It is with such words that a new category begins to take shape within the genre according to the task (*amr*) for which each bureau and department is responsible, a vision which leads naturally to a focus on the bureau and its supporting departments. The outlines of this category are evinced thoughout section V: For example, in describing the department of salaries and expenditures (*majlis al-taqrīr*) in the bureau of the army (p. 4), he mentions its responsibilities: supervision of the salaries (*a'ṭayāt*) of the soldiers, their schedule of pay, their provisions (*arzāq*) and the registration of expenditures (*tajrīd al-nafaqāt*), as well as examination of the affairs of those to whom sup-

[129] QJ, p. 3.

plies have been given, presumably as a safeguard against abuse. This list of tasks is actually the department itself, a point further confirmed by Qudāma's comparison of the work of this department to that of the department of accounting (*majlis al-ḥisāb*) in the bureau of the land-tax.

Further signs of Qudāma's category are evident in part 2, a summary of the bureau of expenditures, where the account is carefully constructed in a way that makes it clear that it is the bureau that forms the basic unit of the administrative matrix:

> Qudāma said: This bureau is divided into departments according to the administrative tasks which take place in it... including the department of pay... the department of food provisions... the department of riding animals and beasts of burden... the department of building and renovations... the department of the treasury... and the department known for its supervision of overall accounts....
> A department is assigned especially for drafting documents and editing them, and another department for making copies [of documents for official records], according to what has already been described and explained regarding that (AC 29).[130]

The contours of Qudāma's category also emerge in his account of the bureau of the treasury (*dīwān bayt al-māl*) in part 3 (pp. 17-19). Significantly, the terminology used for executing the work of the treasury—financial in nature—is not specific to the bureau of the treasury, but is known throughout the bureaucracy at large. No other works of the genre devoted material specifically to the treasury. Qudāma, however, with his focus on the bureau, is led to treat it separately. It is the bureau that shapes the category, not terminology. Here again, the focus is on the task, even purpose (*gharaḍ*), for which the bureau exists, namely the management of the treasury's accounts (*khatma*) such that they conform to income and expenditures (p. 18). Those employed in this bureau must be capable of eliminating discrepancies in the accounts, a task which requires a high level of proficiency in managing bureaucratic documents:

> And to strengthen this bureau, such that its administrative affairs be correct, its situation organized and its issuances sound, it is necessary that the documents of revenue coming from all directions [i.e. regions of the realm] be issued—before their issuance to the [relevant] bureaus—to the bureau of the treasury in order that they be confirmed there, and likewise [for] the letters sent to the head of the treasury

[130] QJ, pp. 15-17.

> from all the bureaus concerning what has been ordered to be demanded [from the various regions] as financial sources [i.e. tax revenue] (AC 30).

Similarly, the need to account for the various bureaus leads Qudāma to include part 8 (pp. 39-42) on the bureau of the mints (*dīwān dūr al-ḍarb*) and the bureau of financial affairs (*dīwān al-jahbadha*), although they are not featured in other works of the genre up to this time. Part 8 consists mainly of a brief numismatic history of Islamic currency and its trend towards uniformity in standards of fineness (*ʿiyār*) and weight (*wazn*). The recourse to the historical category to describe this bureau may be partially explained by the absence of any material related to it in the bureaucratic category of the genre. Qudāma does, however, try to convey something of his fundamental vision by associating the work of these two bureaus with that of others: He does not, he says (p. 41), describe the two bureaus in any detail since their tasks resemble the management of records and accounts in other bureaus. He ends part 8 with a reference to the potential for abuse of the subjects when financial officers of ill-will tamper with the standards of currency (pp. 41-42), a comment meant to indicate the importance of administrative regularity to the prosperity of society.

Qudāma's category, while shaped by the concept of the bureau, is not an account of the bureau in any abstract sense, but the bureau as the specific locus of the craft of writing: The bureau, as the receptacle of bureaucratic writing, can be described only in terms of such writing, i.e. documents, records, registries, correspondence, and the like. One is left with the impression that administration is impossible without the craft of writing, a vision quite different from the institutions used by the first Muslims to govern society, such as the "House of Meeting" (*dār al-nadwa*), the "Assembly" (*al-malaʾ*) and "Advisory Council" (*al-shūrā*). Such institutions, either borrowed or adapted from pre-Islamic Arabia, were characterized by their personal nature—the people involved, the prestige they held and the decisions they made. Such institutions of governance are orally structured with little dependence on writing. In contrast, it is the bureaucratic craft of writing characterizing Qudāma's system that makes it highly impersonal, a structure of governance which, in theory at least, functioned anonymously. Such a vision of state administration surely emerged as a result of the elaboration of the Islamic state as a collection of agencies and organs whose governance of state affairs was intimately connected to writing; additionally, it was a vi-

sion which challenged previous conceptions of authority. Qudāma captures this vision, while other categories succeeded only partially to spell out the essential nature of this bureaucratic vision of state administration

Thus, to highlight the bureaucratic task, it was necessary for Qudāma to isolate the account of the bureaucratic structure in sections IV and V, even though assuming the dependency of that structure on language and writing as described in sections II and III. Apparently his account of good composition in section III was outstanding in itself,[131] but the real innovation lies in the separation of the bureaucratic structure from the treatment of language and writing themselves. Although a connection between the two is assumed, the bureaucracy can be seen to have not only a distinct structure, but even a life of its own as defined by its task, an order on its own terms, independent, at least in theory, from the political whims and particular personages of the day.

Conclusion

Qudāma is a figure of central importance for understanding the development of the administrative genre in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, since he aims to organize the genre and consolidate its parts in a systematic fashion. His work is thoroughly enmeshed with the wider currents and categories of the genre, and he builds his work directly upon the specific features of the genre as a whole.

At the same time, he has given a new orientation to the genre, a new protagonist, the bureau, which gives a clearer focus to the genre, "tightens up" the genre, as it were, by drawing its various elements together under this one concept; in turn, this new orientation discloses the dynamic of writing more fully, the craft of writing which the administrative corps understood to be at the heart of state ad-

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[131] See al-Ṭawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, vol. 2, p. 145 (AC 31): "I have not seen anyone who, in describing prose and all that concerns it, approaches Qudāma b. Jaʿfar in the third section of his book. The minister ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā said to us, 'Qudāma presented me with his book in the year 320, and I examined it and found it to be complete, well-done, and unparalleled in its description of the arts of composition in the third section, in the method of [the relation] of expression and meaning, in which no one is parallel to him, including evidence for the best choice and the flaws to be avoided.'"

ministration. The bureau—a collection of bureaucratic writing of various kinds—is the very concept by which the bureaucratic vision of writing is best articulated, and Qudāma has identified that. His understanding of the bureau as the defining element of the bureaucracy—rather than exclusive attention to standards of language and grammar, particular terminology and formulae or linguistic theory—leads him to the crux of the bureaucratic identity: writing. He has paved the way to this vision in sections II and III, but it is his separate account of the bureaucratic structure in sections IV and V that demonstrate the connection clearly. His choice of the bureau as the organizing principle for his contribution to the bureaucratic genre underscores the fundamental dynamic inherent in the genre as a whole.

Though the work primarily reflects the consolidation of a genre of literature, not changes in administrative practice or political order, its goal of spelling out the relation of writing to administration is significant for the particular notion of authority it represents, one that recognizes the rules of administration as the final authority, not charismatic figures or religious traditions. Qudāma may be thinking only of administrative efficiency, but a distinct notion of authority is present throughout his discussion. Moreover, his consolidation of the genre strongly suggests that the defining character of the administrative corps, along with their place and role in the socio-political order, was closely connected to a particular vision of writing shared by that group and perhaps to a lesser extent by society at large. Had orally based institutions of governance continued to predominate in Islamic society, the identity of the *kuttāb* may have remained one related to recording revelation or translation of the heritage of other cultures. It was rather new forms and thus new notions of governance that gave the *kuttāb* the identity they had in Qudāma's day as articulated in his work.

Finally, it is only by reading Qudāma's work in light of the genre as a whole that it has been possible to understand the genre. It can also be said that reading the genre in light of his work has disclosed much about other works of the genre and the goals of the genre as a whole. Qudāma, a discerning state official, has captured the basic components and essential features of a particular branch of literature and consolidated them in a profitable fashion for his audience. As we shall see in the following chapters, the same goals inspire his approach to three other branches of knowledge.

CHAPTER THREE

GEOGRAPHY

Introduction

When Qudāma put pen to paper, Islamic geography, although in gestation for some time, was only beginning to coalesce as a recognizable discipline. While geographical material was available from the early days of the Abbasid caliphate (e.g. translation of Ptolemy), it was only towards the middle of the third/ninth century that geographical works began to appear with such titles as "The Book of the Surface of the Earth" (*Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*), "The Book of the Routes and Domains" (*Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*) and "The Book of the Countries" (*Kitāb al-buldān*). While the discipline was heavily influenced at first by translation of Indian, Persian and finally Greek geographical and astronomical literature, it became more distinctly Islamic during the late third/ninth century and through the fourth/tenth centuries, as a result of the experience of Muslims, individually and collectively: voyage, pilgrimage, trade and, above all, the administration of a far-flung empire. The geography of al-Muqaddasī (d. late fourth/tenth century), who limited his range to lands where the Islamic religion was represented and Muslims held the reins of power, can be taken as the climax of this trend towards a conception of geography defined by a distinctly Islamic point of view.

That trend notwithstanding, the geographical discipline was marked by a conspicuous diversity of approaches to knowledge. While often mixed together indiscriminately, four epistemological categories in particular can be identified as informing the study of geography in Qudāma's day. The Ptolemaic approach understood geography mathematically as a set of geographical coordinates locating cities and points of topographical note on the surface of the earth.[1] The administrative approach was inspired by concerns related to control of lands under Islamic hegemony, particularly taxation and

[1] We have described this approach as Ptolemaic since its existence in early Islamic geography was largely due to an awareness, if not direct use, of Ptolemy's geographical material.

the system of imperial roadways—geography in the service of state. The descriptive approach, the fruit of eye-witness reports, sought to describe the various peoples of the world, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, their characteristics and customs, crafts, produce and the natural resources known in their lands.[2] Finally, the literary approach understood geography, as it viewed all branches of knowledge, to be at the service of literary expression (*adab*), thereby making of geography another means of transmitting a certain kind of moral education and cultural refinement (*ta'addub*) based in the Arabo-Islamic literary heritage.

It is with such epistemological diversity that we step into the second phase of Qudāma's encyclopedic project. As we saw in chapter two, the administrative science was situated within the Arabo-Islamic epistemology by virtue of its intimate association with the Arabic language, an epistemology shared by other Arabo-Islamic sciences, including the religious. The remaining three branches, as we will see, are pulled in several directions by different goals and parameters, different expectations, in short different epistemologies that were not always ready to be reconciled. The state, however, at once Arabo-Islamic and ruler of diverse peoples, offered a framework not for the resolution of this epistemological diversity, but the inclusion of such varied approaches to knowledge on one Islamic platform.

This process is discernible in section VI, which organizes the entire geographical discipline into its epistemological components by alloting separate sections to each. Qudāma found himself faced with significant questions about the nature of geographical knowledge: Is it only a description of the earth's physical features, i.e. a science in the strict sense of the term, or is it more accurately defined by the concerns of governance? Is it designed to serve a program of education, whether moral or cultural, or is it an independent branch of knowledge in its own right? Does geographical knowledge depend on observation and eye-witness reports, or is it to be restricted to the use of mathematics to calculate the surface of the earth and locate points on it against the movements of the stars above?

[2] Such an approach, while useful to merchants, also possessed entertainment value in its account of the oddities and wonders (*'ajā'ib*) of the world. See al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-al-Muttaqī*, ed. J. Dunne, Cairo 1935, p. 6, where it is reported that al-Rāḍī (r. 322-329/934-940), when still a youth and under the tutelage of al-Ṣūlī, used to enjoy such entertaining literature as "The Wonders of the Sea," "The Story of Sindbād" and "The Cat and the Mouse."

In the end, Qudāma accepts the essential place of the Ptolemaic and administrative approaches in the geographical tradition, revises the descriptive approach in order to bring it into conformity with the administrative and rejects any attempt to subordinate the geographical discipline to the literary goals of a cultural elite. It is in this sense that his is not an exhaustive account of geographical detail, but a definition of the parameters of geographical knowledge. Most significantly, his revision of the descriptive approach, by understanding geographical description in terms of a land's relation to Islamic hegemony, resulted in establishing the domain of Islam as the fundamental element in Islamic geography. In other words, the state's particular interests in taxation and imperial roadways, combined with its broader interest in its imperial counterparts (e.g. India and China) or enemies (e.g. Byzantine), contributed to Qudāma's formulation of the geographical genre in both particular and universal, but decidedly administrative terms: those regions which fell under Islamic governance and those which did not. Finally, his rejection of the literary approach apparently acted as a powerful challenge, even warning, to the field against the tendency to understand the discipline as a sub-branch of literature.

It is our goal here to understand the way in which Qudāma, state servitor, appropriated the geographical discipline. His assessment of the field will demonstrate the specific ways in which the state worked to shape the discipline—insight which is only possible by reading section VI in light of the entire genre as we know it from the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. New directions did certainly emerge in subsequent periods, but Qudāma's contribution is all the more apparent when seen from the purview of its own time when Islamic geography was in its formative phase. Since his focus is largely the epistemological parameters of the field, our study here will be limited to those works which treat geography as a branch of knowledge and not merely a report of one's travels. While travelogues did offer important material for descriptive geography, they cannot be said to be part of the science of geography save in an ancillary fashion.[3] Travelogues did appear as early as the third/ninth century,[4] com-

[3] The most famous of Muslim travelogues are those of Ibn Jubayr (d. 578/1183) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377).

[4] For example, Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-al-Hind*, ed. and trans. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948. This is actually an expanded version of an anonymous account of a voyage, reportedly undertaken in 237/851. The concern is mainly trade, but Chinese and Indian customs are enumerated at length.

posed mainly of reports of merchants, travelers and ambassadors such as Ibn Faḍlān who set off in 309/921 to the Volga region in the company of an embassy sent by al-Muqtadir (r. 295-320/908-932) to spread Islam to the Slavs.[5] The genre of voyage also had religious significance: the search for knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), by which is meant religious knowledge and, above all, prophetic reports (*ḥadīth*).[6] These travelogues did encourage early Muslim geographers to widen the scope of their geographical descriptions, and in that sense are to be seen as an aid to descriptive geography;[7] they do not, however, offer an approach to Islamic geography as a discipline and thus lie outside the goals of Qudāma's program.

What is the best way to approach the corpus of geographical literature? Contemporary scholarship has offered various models by which to understand and classify the geographers of this period. The most basic model organizes the discipline according to the emphasis given to the domain of Islam and the priority awarded to the Arabian peninsula as the center of the Islamic geographical vision. The designation of two schools, the ʿIrāqī and the Balkhī, has shaped the dimensions of this model.[8] The ʿIrāqī school, the earlier of the two, includes those works which describe the known world with an emphasis on the domain of Islam. Assigned to this school are Ibn Khurdādhbih (wrote between 232/846 and 272/885), al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897), Ibn al-Faqīh (wrote ca. 290/903), Ibn Rustah (wrote ca. 290-300/903-913), Qudāma and al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), along with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Jayhānī, Samanid minister from 302/915, whose work, though lost to us, is known to have exerted considerable influence upon later geographers.[9] This school is further divided according to a twofold classification: those who took Iraq as their geo-

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[5] Ibn Faḍlān, *Risāla fī waṣf al-riḥla ilā bilād al-Turk*, ed. S. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1959. Another figure, Abū Dulaf (d. fourth/tenth century), left accounts of his two voyages: one among the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, China and India; the other in western and northern Iran. See *Abū Dulaf's Travels in Iran*, ed. and trans. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955. The motivation for his voyages remains unknown. See Minorsky's introduction, pp. 1-30.

[6] For example: the travel accounts of al-Abdarī (who undertook his voyage in 688/1289) and al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 1037/1628), both of whom express their enthusiasm for travel in terms of the acquisition of religious knowledge.

[7] See Sauvaget (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-xxix.

[8] For example, S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Djughrāfiyā," *EI*², II, 575-587.

[9] See J.-C. Ducène,"Al-Ǧayhānī: fragments (Extraits du *K. al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* d'al-Bakrī)," *Der Islam* 75 (1998), 258-282. See also V. Minorsky, "A False Jayhānī," *Iranica* 75 (1964), 216-223.

graphical center, namely Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdi; and those who gave precedence to Mecca and the Arabian peninsula, namely Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn Rustah and Qudāma.

In contrast stands the Balkhī school, named for Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), a scholar of several sciences who reportedly studied under the philosopher al-Kindī (d. 256/870) in Baghdad and later returned to his own region to serve as a state official (*kātib*) for the Samanid regime.[10] This is the school of al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. first half of the fourth/tenth century), Ibn Ḥawqal (wrote ca. 378/988), and al-Muqaddasī (wrote ca. 375-380/985-990), who all confine their attention to the domain of Islam in a system of twenty regions (al-Muqaddasī limits it to fourteen) to the exclusion of the rest of the inhabited world. These authors make only cursory reference to non-Islamic lands, largely confined to introductory comments, while identifying Mecca and the Arabian peninsula as the proper center of Islamic geography. In this framework, the assumption is made that the ʿIrāqī school represents Islamic geography in its embryonic stage, still influenced to a large extent by non-Islamic geographical material, whether Indian, Persian or Greek, while it was left to the later writers of the Balkhī school to bring Islamic geography to a certain maturity and control in its own right.

This model is sound as far as its own parameters are concerned, useful in terms of its basic categories of classification, but woefully inadequate in its inability to shed light on the epistemological diversity played out in the genre. Its shortcomings are most glaring in its classification of Qudāma and Ibn al-Faqīh in the same category; in point of fact, their intellectual projects have little in common. Although both give a certain priority to Mecca and Arabia as a geographical center, the setting in which they do so reflects completely different epistemological emphases. With Qudāma, the priority given to Mecca and Arabia falls within his account of the imperial roadways, which he does not locate within his geographical section at all, but attaches to his discussion of the postal service in part 11 of section V (see above, chapter two). For his part, Ibn al-Faqīh attends to specifically religious traditions associated with the Kaʿba in Mecca and the Prophet's mosque in Medina as part of his program of educating his readers in certain cultural and religious values.[11]

[10] D.M. Dunlop, "al-Balkhī," *EI*[2], I, 1003.

[11] See Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1889, pp. 16-27.

The two conceptions of the function and import of geographical knowledge are different in the extreme, and it is misleading to classify them together.

André Miquel's study of Islamic geography has considerably advanced contemporary reflection on Islamic geography by identifying intellectual trends in the development of Islamic geography more subtle and significant than those uncovered within the "two-school" framework.[12] Deficiencies in his model, however, are discernible: His conviction that Islamic geography was ultimately inspired by humanistic impulses leads to some untenable conclusions about early Islamic geography as a whole.[13] His division of the discipline into three trends (p. ix)—the mathematical, the physical, and the humanistic—is not unwarranted, but his assumption that the field is inevitably drawn towards a humanistic end is quite tendentious.[14] His framework is thus conspicuously teleological, making it necessary to cut corners when it comes to classification. By way of example, Qudāma and the administrative approach to geographical knowledge fit into such a framework only forcibly: Within Miquel's framework, the administrative approach represents a step backwards, away from the humanistic impulse. His solution is to locate administrative geography within the mathematical and physical trends of the discipline as opposed to the humanistic (pp. 69-112). Here again, the framework leads to misleading conclusions, since the mathematical and physical approaches to knowledge originate in the Ptolemaic influence, while the administrative approach was wholly Islamic in inspiration insofar as it arose from the needs of the Islamic state. The weak link is the assumption that literature in early Islam was used only for humanistic ends, while it was, in point of fact, essential for the goals of the state. This oversight leads to the classification of al-

[12] A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu de 11e siècle*, Paris 1967.

[13] For example, p. 2: "... en concevant ce term au sense large, on peut dire qu'au moins à ses débuts, la géographie arabe est tout entière géographie humaine dans la mesure où, non contente de faire des hommes l'objet de son étude, elle a tendance à considérer le milieu où ils vivent comme leur posant un certain nombre de problèmes."

[14] One need cast only a glance at his flow-chart, p. 6., to comprehend the central place he gives to humanism (his rendition of *adab*) as the point of reference for early Islamic geography as a whole. It is clear that Miquel's *adab*-biased approach has influenced J.F.R. Hopkins, "Geographical and Navigational Literature," in M.J.L. Young et al. (eds.), *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period (CHAL* III*)*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 301-327, especially pp. 307-312.

Yaʿqūbī, a state official (*kātib)* who exhibits a conscious attention to the needs of governance in his geography, alongside the religiously inspired approach of al-Muqaddasī (p. 267).

Discarding the framework of the two schools as well as the teleological humanism of Miquel will facilitate our understanding of Qudāma's work and the genre as a whole. Instead, we will trace the contours of the genre more profitably by following Qudāma's lead and turning our attention to epistemological concerns. Qudāma's program is not one of geographical detail and technical information, but the organization of approaches to geographical knowledge. Section VI suggests that it is more accurate to understand the formative period of Islamic geography in terms of a debate over the nature of knowledge, a debate which was larger than the geographical discipline alone, but still informed its internal developments.

The development of the French school of geography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has also been characterized as a debate over the nature of geographical knowledge;[15] it can thus serve as a useful comparison. Modern French geography, like the early Islamic, was initially the product of largely imperial interests, most vividly represented in the creation of the Société de Géographie de Paris in 1821 and the inauguration of the *Annales de géographie* in 1891. Later attempts to give geography an autonomy of its own sparked intense debate over the nature of geographical knowledge; eventually led to the establishment of the French school of geography as an independent discipline in France's universities; but never fully succeeded in extricating the history of French geography from its imperial origins. A similar process, it can be claimed, occurred in the formation of Islamic geography. Although heavily influenced by the translation of non-Islamic sources into Arabic, early Islamic geography came into an Islamic definition of itself largely as a result of the administrative interests of the state in the production of geographical literature, beginning with the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih in the first half of the third/ninth century. The debate over the nature of geographical knowledge through almost two centuries resulted in the work of al-Muqaddasī in the late fourth/tenth century, which can be seen, in light of his zeal for geographical knowledge in and of itself, as a high point in the efforts to create a geographical disci-

[15] See O. Soubeyran, "Imperialism and Colonialism versus Disciplinarity in French Geography," in A. Godlewska and N. Smith (eds.), *Geography and Empire*, Oxford 1994, pp. 244-264.

pline on its own terms. Still, as in the French school, the discipline was never able to dispense with its administrative origins, as we will see.

Preface to Section VI

Section VI begins (as do sections VII and VIII) with a table of contents describing its internal divisions and then presents its readers with a preface to orient them to the goals of the section (this is also true for section VII, not so for section VIII). The table of contents lists seven parts. The first is devoted to mathematical geography and the art of determining latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates by astronomical methods; the second to the major divisions of the (habitable) world;[16] the third to the seas of the world; the fourth to its mountains; the fifth to its rivers, springs and swamps; the sixth to the domain of Islam (*mamlakat al-islām*), its administrative divisions and an account of its tax revenue; and, finally, the seventh to the frontiers or marches (*al-thughūr*), which, for Qudāma, embraces not only the peoples situated on the borders of the Islamic world, but all the known peoples of the world. The geographical foci of section VI thus coalesce around two major categories: mathematical and physical geography in parts 1-5; and descriptive geography, i.e. a description of the inhabited world, in parts 6-7, albeit with a strongly administrative coloring.

This potential diversity of approaches to geographical knowledge was brought together by the breadth of vision which a state the size of the Islamic one brought to bear upon the discipline. Although pious-minded scholars may have had some interest in non-Muslims in terms of the legal status of protected (*dhimmī*) peoples living in the abode of Islam (*dār al-islām*), it was a limited interest and one born from specifically confessional concerns. In contrast, it was the dynamic of the state which cast the Islamic nets sufficiently wide to capture many peoples, both Muslim and non-Muslim, thereby necessitating access to geographical information in ways which were not confessionally defined. Qudāma's preface indicates in strong

[16] The use of "habitable world" (*al-maʿmūr*) here includes places which may not actually be inhabited, but which can support human civilization (*al-ʿimāra*). The goal here is not description of the various conditions of human life, but an account of the divisions of the entire world.

terms that it is the wide-ranging interests of the state which offers a potential basis for such diversity:

> Qudāma b. Jaʿfar said: It is not appropriate for those holding the office of state secretary who are candidates for the highest rank of administrative leadership to be ignorant of the lands of the earth and their location and [unable to] envision their regions and [ignorant of] the knowledge of their desolate area where civilization does not reach and the knowledge of the marches of Islam and the circumstances of the peoples and nations surrounding the domain [of Islam] which he intends to administer. We promised at the beginning of our book to speak about these affairs and to mention what is necessary in them for those who have grasped the arrangement by which we have organized the means of [conducting] the office of state secretary [lit. the affairs of the administrative science (*al-kitāba*)] (AC 32).[17]

Thus, while other approaches are at play in section VI, it is the administrative point of departure which sets the tone and actually offers Qudāma the space in which to pursue his interest in knowledge broadly without confessional constraints. It should be said that while state officials before Qudāma had written geographical works, notably Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Yaʿqūbī,[18] Qudāma was the only one who addressed his geographical material so directly to state officials, and it was in this way that section VI resulted in the isolation of the domain of Islam, i.e. Islamic hegemony as the organizing principle of geography.[19]

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[17] QJ, p. 96.

[18] In the preface to his work, al-Yaʿqūbī mentions his interest in composing an abridgment (*mukhtaṣar*) of the geographical discipline (*akhbār al-buldān*) on the model of abridgements made in the fields of law (*fiqh*) and belles-lettres (*ādāb*). This suggests that he had a specific audience in mind, and the extensive material he devotes to administrative concerns makes it likely that his intended audience was the administrative corps, i.e the social group to which he himself belonged. See his *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, Leiden 1892, p. 233.

[19] Another scholar and state official, Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), who served the Ayyubid state, wrote an administrative work with a geographical section. His administrative point of departure led him, much like Qudāma, to isolate the geography of the state: Egyptian townships under Ayyubid hegemony with a record of their taxable acreage. His goals differ from Qudāma's, however, in his lack of interest in other non-administrative approaches to geography; as a result, his geographical material includes only the inhabited parts of Egypt, including their bridges, canals and adjacent gulfs. See his *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. ʿA.S. ʿAṭiyya, Cairo 1943, pp. 70-296.

The Ptolemaic Approach

A geographical impulse existed in Islam as early as the Qur'ān, which exhibits, like other sacred scriptures, a particular geographical and cosmographical vision, including not only a general understanding of creation and the cosmos,[20] but also the earth and its agricultural life.[21] Moreover, the ritual requirements of Islam, such as the establishment of the time of prayer and the need to know the direction of Mecca, along with the ambiguities of the lunar calendar (especially those related to the requirements for fasting during the holy month of Ramadan), encouraged early Islamic attention to geography and astronomy.[22] This attention continues in the Islamic world today: one's location is essential to the direction one faces when praying and is a factor in the validity of one's prayer. This religiously motivated geographical impulse existed alongside, and eventually was joined to, mathematical approaches to geography, to the benefit of the religion, as seen in the alignment of the earliest mosques, which show that astronomers were not always consulted.[23]

The translation movement, especially under the second Abbasid

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[20] See R. Arnaldez, "Khalḳ," *EI*[2], IV, 980-988; and H. Toelle, *Le Coran revisité. Le feu, l'eau, l'air et la terre*, Damascus 1999.

[21] See Ibn Waḥshiyya, *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, ed. T. Fahd, 2 vols., Damascus, 1993-1995. This work, apparently a translation from "ancient Syriac" made in the late third/ninth century, treats agronomic and botanical material in a fashion reminiscent of Alexandrian Hellenism. As a result, the work is more philosophically than scripturally oriented, but it still can be seen to represent the longstanding Islamic interest in agriculture and vegetation. Indeed, the Qur'ān abounds with terminology in reference to such things. See also M. Ulmann, *Die Natur- and Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972.

[22] A particularly Islamic cosmology also developed out of the exegetical need to explain qur'ānic reference to God's throne and the like. See A.M. Heinen, *Islamic Cosmology*, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 61f.

[23] See D.A. King, "Science in the service of religion: The Case of Islam," in UNESCO (ed.), *Impact of Science on Society*, Paris 1990, p. 259, "In the case of Cairo, various parts of the city and its suburbs are oriented in three different qiblas [i.e. the direction of prayer]. The new Fatimid city of al-Qāhira, founded in the tenth century [CE], faces winter sunrise, which was the qibla of the Companions of the Prophet who erected the first mosque in nearby Fusṭāṭ some three centuries previosuly. The later Mamlūk 'City of the Dead' faces the qibla of the astronomers. The predominant orientation in the suburb of al-Qarāfa is towards the south, another popular qibla [i.e. towards Medina where lies the Prophet's grave]." It should be noted that this last direction may reflect the Syrian orientation to the south as established by the first Muslim settlers, which means that the focus was not the Prophet's grave. Whatever the case may be, the early non-Ptolemaic understanding of geographical direction is clear.

caliph, al-Manṣūr (r. 136-158/754-775), introduced the scientific heritage of the Indians, Persians and Greeks, including a mathematical approach to the study of geography.[24] The introduction of non-Islamic approaches to the related fields of astronomy and geography did not happen willy-nilly. Indian, Persian and Greek approaches to astronomy were compared, integrated and finally reached a level of control with al-Battānī (d. 287/900).[25] In geography too, the geographical coordinates established by Claudius Ptolemy (d. ca.170 CE) were not blindly accepted,[26] but were examined and corrected by Muslim geographers,[27] such as Abū Jaʿfar al-Khwārazmī (d. ca. 232/847),[28] who worked at the court of al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-833) and his "House of Wisdom" (*bayt al-ḥikma*) and was a member of a team of geographers assembled at the order of the caliph to construct a map of the surface of the earth (*ṣūrat al-arḍ*).[29]

Although Muslim scholars did much to refine the work of Ptolemy (e.g. correcting his excessive length of the Mediterranean), the Ptolemaic model—in terms of mathematical and physical geography—was a major element in the appearance of geography as a discipline (i.e. science).[30] Judging from the earliest geographical literature, such

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[24] See Gutas, *op. cit.* (1998), who argues that the origins of the translation movement were ideologically motivated, designed, above all, to serve the political aspirations of the Abbasid family. According to Gutas, al-Manṣūr sought to base his claim to rule upon the Sasanian heritage, alongside claims to Islamic legitimacy, while al-Maʾmūn used the Greek heritage for the propagation of his claims to rule, claims which became increasingly based upon the Muʿtazilite conception of reason as arbiter of religious discourse and piety.

[25] See D. Pingree, "The Greek Influence on Early Islamic Mathematical Astronomy," *JAOS* 93 (1973), 32-43.

[26] While the contents of Ptolemy's *Geography* were widely known, it is not clear that a complete translation of the work in Arabic existed. See Hopkins, *op. cit.* (1990). It should be noted, however, that Ibn Khurdādhbih claims to have made a translation of it (see below).

[27] See F.I. Haddad and E.S. Kennedy, "Geographical Tables of Medieval Islam," in E.S. Kennedy et al. (eds.), *Studies in the Islamic Exact Sciences*, Beirut 1983, pp. 636-651.

[28] This al-Khwārazmī is not to be confused with Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī al-Kātib, author of "The Keys of the Sciences" (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*).

[29] See A.I. Sabra, "al-Khwārazmī," *EI²*, IV, 1068-1069.

[30] Ptolemy's astronomy, *Almagest*, once translated, was equally significant for the rise of Islamic astronomy. Eventually, the Ptolemaic model was challenged by Muslim astronomers who privileged Aristotelian physics together with their own observations. For example, Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039) called into question the entire Ptolemaic system in his "Doubts about Ptolemy" (*Shukūk ʿalā Baṭalīmūs*). See the editor's introduction to *An Islamic Response to Greek Astronomy. Kitāb taʿdīl hayʾat al-aflāk of Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa*, ed. and trans. A.S. Dallal, Leiden 1995.

as al-Khwārazmī's *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*,[31] the Muslims adhered closely, at least initially, to the Ptolemaic understanding of geographical knowledge as mathematical and physical: That author, in imitation of Ptolemy, limits his geography to lists of coordinates locating the cities of the world and the basic physical features of the surface of the earth (mountains, seas, islands, springs and rivers). Other scholars, such as Suhrāb (late third/ninth century), began to expand the Ptolemaic model through personal observation.[32]

The efforts of such scholars resulted in the establishment of the Ptolemaic approach as a prevailing epistemology in the formative period of Islamic geography. The work of al-Khwārazmī and his successors closely follows Ptolemy, whereas later works, though modelled on other approaches to geography, still draw upon the Ptolemaic tradition, strains of which can be found in the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Ibn Rustah, Ibn al-Faqīh, al-Masʿūdī, and al-Hamdānī (d. 334/946).[33]

The Ptolemaic approach is well represented in Qudāma's work, though limited to parts 1-5; in fact, Qudāma seems to have had direct knowledge of the *Geography* (QJ, p. 99), and is certainly influenced by the Ptolemaic predilection for the power of the mind and its faculty of discernment (*tamyīz*) over and above the value of direct observation (*mushāhada*) and eye-witness accounts (*muʿāyana*) for the acquisition of geographical knowledge (pp. 96-97).[34]

Throughout parts 1-5 Qudāma only rarely ventures outside the

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[31] *Das Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ des Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā al-Ḫuwārizmī*, ed. Hans von Mžik, Leipzig 1926.

[32] *Das Kitāb ʿAǧāʾib al-akālīm al-sabʿa des Suhrāb*, ed. Hans von Mžik, Leipzig 1930. This work, while based upon the Ptolemaic model, goes beyond its parameters in its description of the rivers and water sources of Iraq in general and of the Baghdad area in particular.

[33] With its focus on the Arabian peninsula, the work of al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*, is unique as the only regional geography of its time. While much of his material involves lengthy reports on Yemen, including the region of the Hamdān tribe as well as reports of pilgrims and poetry, the author knew Ptolemy and incorporated much of the Ptolemaic model into his work.

[34] There is also emphasis on discernment in section VIII on political thought, where it is understood as an essential element for the emergence of human and thus political community, insofar as it is the distinguishing mark of human character (QJ, pp. 376-378; see chapter five). The use of the term in two sections may be coincidental since its presence in section VI is probably due to Qudāma's dependence on Ptolemy, who himself gave more weight to the mind than to the eye in both the confirmation of geographical knowledge and the discovery of information inaccessible, at the time, to the human eye, such as the position of the North Pole.

Ptolemaic parameters of geographical knowledge, which indicates the respect awarded to the Ptolemaic model by Islamic geography. This inclusion of the Ptolemaic approach, however, is not imitation of Ptolemy's lists of cities and geographical coordinates, as one sees in the works of al-Khwārazmī and Suhrāb. Qudāma takes it into account not for its specific details, but rather to represent an epistemological category in the geographical discipline, one apparently appreciated by the state.

The close adherence to the Ptolemaic understanding of geographical knowledge as mathematical and physical seems out of place in an administrative work and suggests that his geography, like his work as a whole, is not reducible to one dimension. Section VI offers evidence of a figure who is keenly aware of the diversity of approaches within the geographical discipline and feels compelled to acknowledge what was perhaps the most prominent one of the day. He isolates it, however, and uses it as an introduction to his paramount concern, the geography of the state, as we shall see. Other geographers who include the Ptolemaic strain do not isolate it as decisively as Qudāma. His desire for classification, combined with his own acumen, results in a thorough organization of the discipline.

Part One (pp. 96-102): Although he does not mention Ptolemy's name initially, Qudāma begins with the Ptolemaic interest in the shape (*shakl*) of the earth, its extent (*miqdār*), its surface (*misāḥa*), the positions (*awḍā'*) of places on it and its habitable part (*al-ma'mūr*),[35] all of which can be known by the power of intellectual discernment (*quwwat al-tamyīz*) and the craft of astronomy (*ṣinā'at al-nujūm*, pp. 97-98). In point of fact, such knowledge can only be acquired in this way and cannot be known by direct observation due to the limitations of the human life-span and the impossibility of traversing the entire surface of the earth (p. 97). The science of astronomy is useful, he continues, for determining distance: This is done by observing the difference in time of a lunar eclipse (*kusūf qamarī*, or perhaps more generally the setting of the moon) in two places; in turn, this difference is applied to the rotation of the earth between the two positions, which leads finally to the calculation of the correct distance between them (p. 98).

Qudāma proceeds to outline the system of geographical coordinates according to latitude (*'arḍ*), which is determined, he says, by a

[35] See n. 16.

position's distance from the equator (*khaṭṭ al-istiwāʾ*), and longitude (*ṭūl*) from east to west. Examples are provided to illustrate the mathematical process used to determine the coordinates by distance in miles (*mīl*) and degrees (*daraja*), including the necessary steps of multiplication (*ḍarb*, pp. 98-99).

Little credence is given to direct observation when it comes to the divisions of the habitable earth. The reports of merchants are unreliable since they lie and boast about the extent of their travels (p. 99); Ptolemy himself, it is claimed, considered the work of his predecessors unreliable because of their acceptance of the tales of merchants (p. 99). Rather, Ptolemy sent off his own messengers who employed only their faculties of inspection and perception (*al-naẓar wa-al-fahm*). Ptolemy studied their reports, comparing them with what he knew from astronomical evidence (*al-adilla al-nujūmiyya*), namely the path of the sun in relation to the other planets and the rotation of the entire cosmos (*idārat falak al-kull*, p. 99). Those parts of the earth to which the sun draws appropriately near are moderate in climate (*bi-al-iʿtidāl fī al-hawāʾ*), can support agriculture and stock farming (*al-zarʿ wa-al-ḍarʿ*) and are thus capable of supporting human civilization (*ʿāmir*). Those which are far from the sun are afflicted by severe cold and snow and cannot support the necessary elements for human life and prosperity (*ʿimāra*, p. 100).

Qudāma closes part 1 with further information concerning the location of the habitable region of the earth between the Tropic of Cancer (*al-munqalab al-ṣayfī*) and the Tropic of Capricorn (*al-munqalab al-shatawī*) and the relation of the movement of the sun to them (pp. 100-101). He recognizes that in certain places lying beyond these two demarcations, the days are short and the nights long (*qiṣar nahārihi wa-ṭūl laylihi*), making life in those places unbearable (p. 101). All of this accords, Qudāma claims, with Ptolemy (p. 102).

PART TWO (pp. 102-109): The focus here, the methods of dividing the earth, ventures out of the Ptolemaic framework to include other, non-Greco-Hellenistic divisions of the earth. The first comes from a pseudo-Biblical account of the ethnic divisions of the earth according to the lots awarded by two angels of God to the three sons of Noah (Nūḥ): Sām, Ḥām and Yāfith. Noah was reportedly satisfied with the division, since three holy places fell within Sām's domain (Mecca, Jerusalem [*bayt al-maqdis*] and Mount Sinai [*ṭūr sīnāʾ*]) and gave his blessing to Sām in recognition that Allāh would always be worshipped in his domain. Sām's lot corresponds to the Arabo-

Semitic region of the world, Ḥām's to the Iranian and Yāfith's to the rest of the known peoples of the world (the African, Indian and Chinese). Finally, Noah invoked God with the request that prophecy be awarded to the line of Sām (pp. 103-104).

The next division, the Persian, is introduced by reference to "the kings" (*al-mulūk*), who understood the world to be divided according to the four cardinal points: East, West, North and South. Significant here is the idea of the influence of climate on civilization, an idea most fully expressed by Ibn Khaldūn many centuries later. Whereas Qudāma had discussed the relation of climate to the viability of life in part 1, here he adds further thoughts on the influence of climate on human character. This Persian division of the world identifies the lands of the Persians (*bilād al-furs*) as the navel and middle of the earth (*surrat al-arḍ wa-wasaṭuhā*), a position which makes those living there balanced in complexion and strong in body, without the fairness of the Byzantines, the darkness of the Ethiopians, the coarseness (*ghilaẓ*) of the Turks and the Khazars or the tenderness (*damātha*) of the Chinese (p. 104).

The final two systems of dividing the earth are Greek in provenance. The first, known from Ptolemy, is threefold: Europe, Libya (i.e. Africa) and Asia (pp. 105-107). The importance of including this division pertains to its recognition of natural boundaries, namely seas. The goal here is to demonstrate the possibility of dividing the earth according to land masses. This consideration of the earth's contiguous land masses concludes with an analysis of the possibility of traversing the earth from one end to the other (pp. 107-108), where Qudāma decides, quite perceptively, that it is impossible to do so from north to south, since the habitable region of the earth ends in the extreme cold in the north and extreme heat in the south. In contrast, the journey from east to west is possible, at least in theory, since no natural barrier or inhospitable climate prevents one from doing so. However, no one, as far as he knows, has done so, which brings him to conclude that conditions of travel render the challenge too difficult: the several seas to pass over; the towering mountains to ascend; the valleys which are impossible to descend and the deserts where water to drink is difficult to find.

Part 2 ends with a discussion of the second of the Greek systems (pp. 108-109), which divides the earth into seven regions (*iqlīm*). Although not a division found in Ptolemy's *Geography*, it was Greek

in origin,[36] and believed by the Arabs to be Ptolemaic.[37] This system is mathematical and astronomical (i.e. its divisions reflect astral configurations) without regard for natural boundaries: A region's coordinates are given in minutes and degrees and, for reference, its longest day in hours.

In his account of the mountains in part 4 and the rivers, springs and swamps in part 5, Qudāma adheres to this sevenfold division. Only part 3 does not follow this pattern, since it deals with the seas, which do not, of course, follow the divisions of the earth. In general, then, Qudāma has chosen to base his physical description of the world upon the Ptolemaic system throughout parts 1-5, without, however, excluding knowledge of non-Ptolemaic systems of dividing the earth.

Part Three (pp. 109-113): Here, Qudāma continues to pursue the general format of Ptolemy's *Geography* which addends a brief account of the seas, gulfs and islands of the world to its lists of places and their geographical coordinates.[38] Again, Qudāma's concern is not lists of geographical coordinates, but, very much in the manner of Ptolemy, he offers a description of the seas, gulfs (*khalīj*) and islands of the world.

He begins with the greatest sea (*al-baḥr al-aʿẓam*), namely the Green Sea (*al-baḥr al-akhḍar*), also known as the all-encompassing ocean (*al-muḥīṭ*) or "Ūqyānūs" in Greek (p. 110). Its measurements are given, as they are with subsequent seas, gulfs and islands, but, Qudāma admits, its source is not known; it encircles everything else, beginning opposite Andalus (i.e. where the Mediterranean ends) and has two major gulfs (the first is what is today known as the Red Sea and the second the Gulf of Aden) and several islands, among them the Canary Isles (*al-jazāʾir al-musammāt bi-al-khāliyyāt*).[39]

The Mediterranean follows, literally the Sea of Byzantium and Egypt (*baḥr al-rūm wa-miṣr*), with an account of its measurements and gulfs and mention of its 172 islands, most of which had at one time been inhabited but were destroyed at the hands of Muslim invad-

[36] See A. Miquel, "iḳlīm," *EI*², III, 1076-1078. A sevenfold division was also known to the Persian heritage. Unlike the Greek, it was based on administrative units.

[37] For example, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*, ed. M. b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥawālī, Riyadh 1974, pp. 11-15.

[38] See *The Geography of Ptolemy*, ed. and trans. E.L. Stevenson, New York 1932.

[39] Although often named "al-Khālidāt" by Muslim geographers, the Canary Isles were also known as "al-Khāliyyāt."

ers, as Qudāma reports (pp. 110-111). Of these islands, there are five large ones: Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia, and an island called "Banis."[40] Next comes description of the Black Sea (*baḥr bunṭūs)* and its relation to the Mediterranean, where special reference is made to Constantinople and the fact that ships passing by it are subject to search (p. 111).

Part 3 concludes with a description of the Eastern Sea (*al-baḥr al-mashriqī*), meaning the Indian Ocean, which, it is noted, is the same as the Green Sea, only now in reference to its eastern flank. Its measurements are given, as well as its gulfs to which, along with the two already named, two more are added: the Persian Gulf and the Bay of Bengal (called the Green Gulf) in which there are many islands, some of which are inhabited and others not. The largest island in this gulf is Sarandīb (Sri Lanka) which has great mountains, many rivers and cities and a sapphire mine (p. 112). Part 3 ends with a quick reference to the Caspian Sea and two of its islands (p. 113).

Part Four (pp. 113-114): Here a very brief enumeration of the mountains of the world is given, largely limited to the number of mountains in each of the seven regions. No details are given, except in the case of the mountains of the fourth and fifth regions (the area including the central Islamic lands), where some of the mountains are named. Qudāma makes a mistake in his addition, claiming a total of 158 mountains in the world, although he numbers 198 separately in the seven regions.

Part Five (pp. 115-122): The Ptolemaic branch of Islamic geography in section VI comes to a close with a description of the sources of fresh water in the world: the rivers, the springs and the swamps (*baṭā'iḥ*). Qudāma picks up the Ptolemaic strand as developed by al-Khwārazmī who ends his work with a treatment of the springs and rivers of the seven regions of the world. Qudāma too is very concise and straightforward in his account of the sources of fresh water in the seven regions, without, initially, any reference to names of particular rivers.

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[40] Perhaps Cape Verde. See the geographical dictionary of al-Ḥimyarī (fl. eighth-ninth/fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī al-aqṭār*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1975, p. 75 where mention is made of a city called al-Bānis, located at the end of the African world (*'imārat al-zanj*) and known either for being at the extremity of the lands with gold (*arḍ sufālat al-dhahab*) or a region with gold of a low quality (*arḍ safālat al-dhahab*). According to the report, opposite this coastal city are large, inhabited islands.

He begins with the first of the springs, located opposite the equator, from which the entire system of rivers and waterways derives (p. 115). His first task, then, is to establish this single system: ten rivers spring from this first source; two groups of these rivers, five each, pour into one of the two swamps located south of the equator; three rivers, in turn, spring from these two swamps; and so on (p. 115). The concern here is limited to the rivers of the seven regions; the springs and swamps are included only to illustrate the idea of a universal system of rivers and waterways. The course of the Nile is described in detail, and other springs are identified (pp. 115-116). The remainder of the discussion consists of a description of the rivers of the seven regions. This account differs from that of the mountains in part 4, which gives only the number of mountains in the world. Here, in contrast, Qudāma seems to be influenced by Suhrāb and describes in some detail the course of the larger rivers (pp. 118-122). Indeed, throughout the presentation of the Ptolemaic system, Qudāma cannot escape the developments in the discipline which have challenged the Ptolemaic approach, especially those based on observation. His description of the rivers is one such example. In line with the contribution of Suhrāb, Qudāma decides to include something more than a mathematical description of the rivers, giving a detailed summary of the course of the major rivers known to the Islamic world and its surrounding nations, among them the Nile in Egypt, the Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq, the Jayḥān in the Byzantine Empire (the ancient Pyramus) and the Oxus in Central Asia.

The Administrative Approach

Virtually all serious study of early Islamic geography notes the importance of state interests, especially fiscal and military ones, to the development of the discipline, but no significant analysis specifying that process has been undertaken. In point of fact, it was the administrative approach that was vital for the formation of a specifically Islamic geography. It could be asked why it was left to the Islamic state, rather than specialists in religion or the Arabo-Islamic literary heritage, to define Islamic geography. Certainly, those groups did leave their unique imprint, as we shall see. Still, in the pre-modern period, it is a mistake to reduce Islam to the interests of one social group, a mistake which has resulted in the imposition of modern

religious and secular categories on a civilization that did not itself conceive of such division. The state was part and parcel of what was definable as Islam, as the geographical discipline bears out.

This approach was not, however, the product of religious impulse, nor a scientific bent of mind, but the exigencies of managing an empire considered to be Islamic and thus the abode of a community which undersood itself as destined to inherit the legacy of both prophets and kings. This administrative approach was, in certain works, amalgamated with other concerns—religious, cultural and scientific. Its interest in state administration led naturally to a focus on Islamic lands (i.e. lands under Islamic hegemony), but it was sometimes found alongside description of non-Islamic lands. Finally, its isolation of the domain of Islam (*mamlakat al-islām*) was taken up by later geographers and became the predominant template for Islamic geography in its classical period. Even when the fundamental inspiration of the administrative approach to geography was lost, at least in terms of the geography of the entire Islamic world,[41] administrative material continued to form a conspicuous element of the discipline. Much like the development of modern French geography, which was never able to ignore its imperial origins completely, Islamic geography continued to admit administrative material wherever description of Islamic lands was found. Even al-Muqaddasī, who claims to be thoroughly committed to geographical knowledge for its own sake, still found room for information on taxation and imperial roadways. The administrative element within the discipline was too strong, too intricately woven into its fabric, to be neglected even when no longer forming the primary matrix.

Thus, though eventually reduced in significance, the administrative approach actually can claim to have contributed the Islamic framework to Islamic geography. Qudāma played a central, perhaps even decisive, role in isolating that framework by classifying the administrative approach in its own category (part 6 of section VI) and thereby suggesting it as a distinct area of geographical inquiry. By defining the domain of Islam in administrative terms, he also captured the essential basis of Islamic geography.[42]

[41] It seems that the interest in describing the entire Islamic world according to the administrative approach was no longer tenable after the decline of the caliphate as a state and the emergence of several Islamic states. While the administrative approach did continue to shape local geographical works (e.g. Ibn Mammātī, see n. 19), Qudāma's was the last geography to apply it to the entire Islamic world.

[42] al-Muqaddasī, who is taken as the consummate example of Islamic geogra-

Qudāma, of course, did not bring about this achievement singlehandedly, as we will see in our discussion of al-Balkhī and al-Yaʿqūbī. Moreover, the administrative approach was not limited to internal affairs, but also cast its glance to the counterparts and enemies of the state beyond the domain of Islam. His interest in organizing knowledge, however, led him to distinguish the Islamic and universal perspectives of the administrative approach, classifying them seperately in parts 6 and 7, respectively. It is no less accurate to understand parts 6 and 7 as a description of the entire world, the Islamic and non-Islamic,[43] and in that sense the two parts together are representative of the descriptive approach (see below), albeit fashioned in an administrative image. We will look at the universal perspective of part 7 in the following section and here focus on the scholarly trends that led to Qudāma's isolation of the domain of Islam in part 6.

The most important background (and perhaps direct source) for the material of part VI was Ibn Khurdādhbih's al-*Masālik wa-al-mamālik*,[44] the first work to part ways with the Ptolemaic model, an achievement which earned its author the title of "father" of Islamic geography.[45] His geographical vision is marked by specific administrative concerns—imperial roadways (*al-ṭuruq*) and tax revenue (*al-kharāj/al-waẓīfa*).[46] Such material reflects the author's own career as director of the post and intelligence (*ṣāḥib al-barīd wa-al-khabar*) in the province of Jibāl, eventually being promoted to the office of gen-

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phy in its classical period, knew the work of Qudāma. See his *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1906, p. 212.

[43] It should be said that Qudāma's conception of the domain of Islam is really tantamount to the Abbasid state, since it locates North Africa and Andalus outside the range of *mamlakat al-islām*. Still, Qudāma always refers to his project as Islamic, never as Abbasid. Apparently, the Abbasid state was still very much equated in a certain fashion with the entire Islamic world in Qudāma's day.

[44] This title was apparently common for works composed under the influence of the administrative approach, such as those of Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Iṣṭakhrī. The student of al-Kindī, al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/889), began his geography with the subject of state routes and domains. See al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1894, p. 75. A work by al-Muhallabī (d. 388/990), state secretary for the Fatimids, also bears this title. The extant portion of the work discusses Jerusalem, Damascus and the governors of Egypt. See Ṣ. Munajjid, "Qiṭʿā min kitāb mafqūd, al-masālik wa-al-mamālik li-al-Muhallabī," *Majallat maʿhad al-makhṭūṭat al-ʿarabiyya* 4 (1958), 43-72.

[45] See Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

[46] Even pre-Islamic tax information is given, mostly Sasanian (e.g. p. 14), but also Egyptian (p. 83).

eral director of the same department in Baghdad, later in Sāmarrā, during the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid (r. 256-279/870-892).[47]

The work, however, is a hodgepodge of geographical interests and approaches. In his introduction, which he begins with a dedication to a member of the caliphal household, he refers to his own translation of Ptolemy into Arabic and proceeds to a discussion of the shape of the world along Ptolemaic lines (p. 4). His introductory comments also include discussion of the centrality of the Black Stone in Mecca to Islamic geography and cosmography (p. 5). Finally, throughout the work, he draws heavily upon literary sources:[48] First of all, a liberal use of poetry, in order to give a more specifically Arabic color to his geographical descriptions; but also many reports of marvels (*ʿajāʾib*) associated with the lands beyond the domain of Islam, the reports of merchants and travelers, used by the author as a way to incorporate into his geography the state's interest in its place in the universal community of nations and states. The use of literature (*adab)* is not only an Arabicizing element in the work, but also universalizing in the reference to and use of non-Arabo-Islamic literature, such as Sasanian chronicles (*khudāynameh*) in the account of the history of kings (p. 15).

The inclusion of Ptolemaic, religious and literary elements notwithstanding, the principal thrust of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work is imperial administration. He begins with a lengthy treatment of the Sawād, the highly fertile region in southern Iraq and the major source of the state's tax revenue. Apart from the concern for roadways and tax revenues (including its various sources and amounts), there are two other major aspects of the work, which indicate the dual character of the administrative approach: 1) lists of the administrative divisions of the empire (*ustān, ṭassūj, kūra, rustāq, ʿamal*); and 2) accounts of non-Islamic lands, including reports of marvels and sometimes very detailed information on natural resources (knowledge of which would have come from and occupied the interest of Arab merchants) as well as an overview of the Byzantine empire (considered Islam's foremost enemy) with lengthy description of its administrative structure (pp. 103-112).

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[47] See M. Hadj-Sadok, "Ibn Khurdādhbih," *EI*[2], III, 839-840.

[48] For the formative role of *adab* in Ibn Khurdādhbih's geography, see J. E. Montgomery, "Serendipity, Resistance and Multivalency. Ibn Khurradādhbih and his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*," forthcoming in the proceedings of the NYU workshop on *adab* and fiction, April 2000.

Another noteworthy feature of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work is its use of Persian terminology to describe the administrative divisions of the Abbasid state, as listed above. This apparently formed a potential problem for his readers, since he provides Arabic translations of the Persian terms (pp. 5-6). His reliance on Sasanian administrative sources and terminology can be said to indicate something of the administrative corps' identification with the Sasanian past (see chapter one), but this does not mean that the administrative contours of the Islamic state paralleled those of the Sasanian.[49] The use of Persian terminology should be understood to reflect a prevailing opinion among state secretaries that Islam had inherited and built upon a Sasanian past. Such was certainly Qudāma's opinion, as we shall see.

Qudāma's use of Ibn Khurdādhbih as a source does not come out on the level of organization. As duly noted by orientalist scholarship, Ibn Khurdādhbih's work is markedly disorganized.[50] While such a judgement is more a function of orientalist predilections than those of the first Muslim geographers, it can be safely said that Ibn Khurdādhbih did not possess Qudāma's organizational skill. After his account of the Sawād, Ibn Khurdādhbih divides his work according to the Persian system of the four cardinal points: East, West, North (*al-jarbī*) and South (*al-tayman*). This structure, however, does not always fit his goals, since it fails to separate cleanly his account of Islamic lands and their administrative features from the reports about non-Islamic lands. Islamic and non-Islamic lands are lumped together in the same divisions.

Qudāma's decision to treat Ibn Khurdādhbih's administrative material separately from his description of the rest of the world resulted in a new geographical template centered on the domain of Islam alone. What is at stake is an approach to geographical knowledge, namely geography in the service of the state apart from descriptive geography and its potentially universal scope. While this universal scope did bespeak something of the state's perspective,

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[49] See M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquests*, Princeton 1984, especially p. 163: "The shape of major configurations in early Islamic administration in Iraq was determined by accidents of conquest, such as the direction from which Sasanian provinces were conquered, and the extent of territory occupied by separate Muslim forces."

[50] See I.J. Kratchkovsky, *Arabskaïa Geografitcheskaïa Literatura*, Moscow 1957, p. 150.

Qudāma's isolation of the strictly administrative material of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work affirms the validity of geographical knowledge, the defining element of which is the administration of the domain of Islam.[51]

While it is possible that Qudāma's innovation came solely from his reworking of Ibn Khurdādhbih's material, two other developments—one initiated by al-Balkhī, the other by al-Yaʿqūbī—suggest that the geographical discipline was already moving towards a more defined focus on the domain of Islam, and that as a result of the influence of the administrative approach.

Since we do not possess his work, it cannot be said with certainty that al-Balkhī, who composed his geography in 308/920 while in the employ of the Samanid dynasty, limited his work to the domain of Islam. He did apparently divide his geographical system into twenty parts, a division assumed directly from him by al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal, whose works are largely confined to the domain of Islam.[52] The closeness with which these two geographers based their work on al-Balkhī suggests that he and Qudāma, two scholar-officials, were equally sensitive to the trend that worked to isolate the domain of Islam as a distinct area of geographical inquiry for the sake of goals of administration.

This focus on the domain of Islam may actually indicate a reliance on administrative documents as a source of geographical information. It is thus the source of information that partly shapes the approach to knowledge, a process suggested at times in al-Iṣṭakhrī's work.[53] While nothing is known of his life and career, al-Iṣṭakhrī begins his geography on a decidedly administrative note by admitting his use of administrative units (*aʿmāl*) as the basis of his work's organization and divisions. It seems to be this that leads him to emphasize the boundaries of his study as the lands of Islam (*bilād*

[51] Miquel has noted Qudāma's innovation, but his humanistic model fails to comprehend its epistemolgoical import fully. See Miquel, *op. cit.*, p. 99: "C'est à dire que l'empire, cette *mamlaka* que Qudāma est, à ma connaissance, le premier à designer sous ce nom, est définitivement intégré à l'oeucoumène et qu'avec Qudāma s'achève en conséquence le processus déjà entamé du côté et de la *ṣūra* [i.e. the Ptolemaic strand] et de la littérature administrative: puisque la relation des terres d'Islam au rest de l'oeucoumène fait apparaître le caractère privilègié de leur position, c'est donc à elles, meilleure part de leur curiosité."

[52] See J.H. Kramers, "La question Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī-Ibn Ḥawqal et l'Atlas de l'Islam," *AO* 10 (1932), 9-30.

[53] al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, ed. De Goeje, Leiden 1927.

al-islām), the domain of Islam (*mamlakat al-islām*) and the abode of Islam (*dār al-islām*). While al-Iṣṭakhrī's geography is less tightly organized than Qudāma's, his geographical ventures into non-Islamic domains are meant only as reference to the kingdoms (i.e. domains, *mamālik*) neighboring the Islamic world and thus actually serve to highlight the boundaries of the Islamic domain.[54] The author's real interest is the Islamic world, the boundaries of its provinces, the cultivation (*ʿimāra*) of its lands, its water sources and the distances between its cities and towns; related but less major aspects of the work include language, location of fortresses and castles, peoples and tribes, commerical interests, produce, crafts and natural resources.

The strongest evidence that al-Iṣṭakhrī did not travel far and wide for his geographical material, but found it in one archive or another comes from the chapter on the lands of Fārs (pp. 96-158), by far the longest and replete with administrative material: detailed administrative divisions (p. 114); problems related to administrative control of tribes (p. 115); the style of dress among administrative personnel (p. 137); the amount of the land-tax (p. 142); names of those employed in state administration (p. 145) and of families of rank and status in the administrative hierarchy (p. 147); the importance of the Persian heritage to administration (p. 146); and finally, at the end of the chapter, precise advice and guidance for state officials and functionaries (pp. 156-158). Most striking, however, is the author's own admission of his dependence on administrative documents for information used in constructing his geography (e.g. pp. 99, 100, 116). Clearly, then, administration in all its aspects helped shape an approach to geographical knowledge.

Al-Yaʿqūbī, a state official like al-Balkhī, also composed a geography dominated by administrative concerns. He begins with a detailed description of the foundation and plan (*al-khiṭṭa*) of Baghdad and Samarra (al-Yaʿqūbī, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-268), the two administrative centers of the Abbasid state at one time or another during the author's lifetime.[55] The interest in urban survey predates al-Yaʿqūbī and is also found, among many places, in al-Balādhurī's (d. 279/

[54] al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.* (1894), also uses the concept of domain (*mamlaka*) in his description of the various nations and peoples of the world, past and present.

[55] He died in 284/897. Samarra, founded by al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-227/833-842), served as capital 221-276/836-889. Baghdad was then restored to its status as capital, a position it had previously enjoyed since its founding by al-Manṣūr.

892) accounts of the foundation of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra.[56] It is worth noting that al-Yaʿqūbī describes not only the plan of the two cities, their neighborhoods, streets and buildings, but also tribal and ethnic blocks, professional guilds as well as the estates (*qaṭāʾiʿ/arbāḍ*) distributed to members of the Abbasid family, court and administration. Clearly, al-Yaʿqūbī has described the two cities with the eye of a state servitor.

Administrative concerns predominate throughout the rest of the work: administrative units; postal stations (*marāḥil*) from one city to another; the land-tax and its amounts; lists of the governors of the provinces of Khurāsān and Sijistān; the dates of the conquest of the cities and regions, the *sine qua non* of tax legitimacy (see chapter four); and, occasionally, the method by which a region was irrigated, itself a factor in the assessment of taxes. The domain of Islam is not identified as such, but the administrative orientation of the work led al-Yaʿqūbī to focus his attention almost exclusively on the territories falling under the rule of Islam, [57] like the geographers who belonged to the so-called Balkhī school of the fourth/tenth century, as Kratchkovsky has noted.[58] This is the case even though the work is divided, like Ibn Khurdādhbih's, according to the four cardinal points, not the Islamic provinces. In the western regions of the Islamic world, he dwells less on administrative issues and more on tribal elements and religio-political loyalties, as well as topographical features.[59]

The work of al-Yaʿqūbī, then, also seems to have belonged to a trend towards a geographical focus on the Islamic world for administrative ends. It is noteworthy that reports of marvels, associated

[56] See his *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. ʿA.A. and ʿU.A. al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut 1987, pp. 387f. and pp. 483f. The genre of urban survey was conspicuous in literature on Egypt and is found in the works of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871); al-Kindī (d. 350/961, i.e. Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad, the historian), who was a source for al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441); Ibn Zūlāq (d. 387/997); al-Quḍāʿī (d. 454/1062); and Abū al-Ṣalt b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 529/1135).

[57] Of course, there are significant portions of al-Yaʿqūbī's work which have not reached us. Still, it is unlikely that they would alter our conclusions since the fundamental vision of the work is at once so thoroughly administrative and Islamic.

[58] Kratchkovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[59] It is no surprise that the account of these regions includes little administrative material since they had slipped from Abbasid control by al-Yaʿqūbī's time into Idrisid (172-314/789-926), Rustamid (160-296/777-909) and Aghlabid (184-296/800-909) hands. The first two were completely independent of Abbasid rule; the third, though nominally loyal, was administratively autonomous.

with lands beyond the pale of Islam, are conspicuously absent from his work, as they are from Qudāma's geography. The administrative background and interests of these two scholar-officals may have contributed to a more sober approach to geography, disinclined to entertaining tales and limited to the domain of Islam.

Thus, all evidence suggests that the trend towards a specifically Islamic geographical purview began within the ranks of the administration as a result of its specific interests in and use of geographical literature, as represented by al-Balkhī (and his successor, al-Iṣṭakhrī), al-Yaʿqūbī and Qudāma. Starting with Ibn Khurdādhbih and culminating in Qudāma, then, geographers in the employ of the state took the essential step towards the definition of the domain of Islam as a distinct area of geographical inquiry.

Part Six (pp. 122-139): Qudāma's goal is to outline the administrative map of the domain of Islam and provide information on the sources and amounts of its tax revenue; hence he entitles this part "Concerning the domain of Islam (*mamlakat al-islām*), its administrative units (*aʿmāluhā*), and its tax revenue (*irtifāʿuhā*)." He begins with an introduction in which he discusses two points. First, he calls for a geographical point of reference. For example, Egypt is to the west for those in Iraq, whereas it is to the east for those in Andalus. Such a situation requires one geographical center for the sake of uniformity of reference. In the case of the domain of Islam, this geographical center, or capital (*qaṣaba*), is the administrative center, the seat of Iraq (*balad al-ʿirāq*), by which is meant Baghdad (p. 122). Secondly, he dwells briefly upon the etymology of the original Sasanian name of the region, "the heart of Iran" (*del-i īrānshahr*), a term used with considerable frequency in Islamic geography.

Qudāma proceeds immediately to the Sawād, the most important source of tax revenue for the Abbasid state (pp. 123-125). His approach is concise: lists of administrative units according to Persian terminology (*kūra, ṭassūj, ustān*). Oddly, he does not mention the Sawād until after naming all its administrative divisions, which, he claims, total ten districts (*kūra*) and sixty towns (*ṭassūj*). While clearly drawing upon Ibn Khurdādhbih for his material, he discards that author's approach and its repetition of district and town along with tax revenue, and instead simply offers an overview of tax revenue in four columns (pp. 125-128): one listing the tax regions (*nāḥiyya*), which are not always identical to the administrative units; two listing the amount received in kind, namely wheat and barley; and one

listing the amount received in cash (*waraq*). The numbers are, of course, different from those in Ibn Khurdādhbih's work, as are many of the regions. He then gives the total for the Sawād's tax revenue in kind and cash, reminding his reader that these numbers are based on the average expected prices (*yakūn thaman al-ghallāt bi-awsaṭ al-asʿār*, p. 128).

At this point, Qudāma presents a historical overview of the efforts spent in managing the swamps (*baṭā'iḥ*) in the vicinity of the Sawād (pp. 128-130). After a period of neglect of its waterways, the Tigris began to overflow into inhabited areas. Finally, the Sasanian King Khusrau I Anūshirvān (r. 531-579 CE) increased the use of dams (*musannayāt*) and was able to restore things to their original state. However, in the sixth year of the Hijra, the level of both the Euphrates and the Tigris increased dramatically, making the irrigation system unmanageable. Shortly thereafter, the Sasanian state disappeared in the face of the Islamic conquests; things became completely neglected, the rivers overflowed and the swamps greatly expanded. The attempt to manage the waterways continued under the Umayyads, until again, during the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj (r. 72-95/692-714), the system burst, at which point the Umayyad Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 121/738) offered to finance the administration of the waterways in exchange for the tax revenue of the lower lands of the region (p. 130). He succeeded in the task and benefitted greatly from the resulting increase in the region's tax revenue. Additionally, Maslama entered into many agreements with plowmen (*akara*) and share-croppers (*muzāriʿūn*). Also, many people saw the sense of entrusting their land to the protection of this powerful man and capable administrator. Subsequently, the Abbasid state came to power and confiscated the Umayyad holdings (p. 130). The region was distributed as estates to Da'ūd b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, and most of it was eventually purchased by his heirs, thus becoming the estates of the ruling household (*al-ḍiyāʿ al-sulṭāniyya*). This historical overview of the Sawād and its waterways illustrates the understanding of geographical knowledge in part 6—not merely the description of land, but the description of its administration—and the type of geographical lore circulating among the administrative corps in Qudāma's day.

In line with the administrative account of the Sawād, Qudāma presents an account of the entire domain of Islam in terms of its administrative units (pp. 131-138), beginning with al-Aḥwāz. Each

administrative unit is mentioned along with its tax revenue in contrast to the account of the Sawād, where tax revenue is listed separately only after a review of its administrative units. Following this administrative overview of the domain of Islam, Qudāma offers, by way of facilitating reference to tax information, a summary list (pp. 138-139). His overview includes the central Islamic lands from Iran and Afghanistan to Egypt, which did not fall into Fatimid hands until 358/969.[60] He does, however, omit North Africa (*al-maghrib*) which had come under Fatimid control, beginning in 297/909. All along, directions—north, south, east, and west—are made in reference to Baghdad, as stated initially, not the four cardinal points found in Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Yaʿqūbī. He knows when he has reached the limits of Islām (*ḥadd al-islām*), even more precisely than al-Iṣṭakhrī, at which point he consciously returns to the domain of Islam (p. 132). He mentions any special circumstances regarding the tax assessment of a region and gives only the sum total of the tax revenue in dirhams or dinars without separate accounts for taxes raised in cash and kind. The tax revenue for Khurāsān is given for the year 221 when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir was its governor (p. 132). His terminology, apparently reflecting local usage, is not uniform: districts (*kūra*), administrative units (*aʿmāl*), townships (*balad*), villages (*rustāq*), even tribal domains (*aʿrāḍ*) in the case of Medina, but not towns (*ṭassūj*).

Part 6 concludes with a list of the locations within the domain of Islam, including tax revenue, duly recorded next to each entry (pp. 138-139). This list, while it may have served as a means of making such information more readily accessible, also reflects Qudāma's habit of organizing the various elements of his survey in an orderly fashion. Here, this list acts to draw a line between the strictly administrative knowledge of his survey, namely tax information, and the various regions within the domain of Islam itself. This type of organization would become a model for the likes of al-Muqaddasī, who himself separates the administrative information from his description of the regions of Islam, locating it separately at the end of each chapter of his work. This is true not only in the case of tax revenue, but also in his treatment of the imperial roadways. Though drawing heavily upon Ibn Khurdādhbid for his material, Qudāma actually removes the entire topic of roadways from his geography, lo-

[60] He does include Qayrawān, although North Africa had fallen into Fatimid hands in 297/909.

cating it in his account of the postal service in part 11 of section V (QJ, pp. 53-94). It is Qudāma's organization, then, that has transformed the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, with its focus on the system of imperial roadways, into something new, even radically different. The decision to separate bald tax amounts from the account of the territories, along with the removal of the imperial roadways from the geographical section altogether, creates an intellectual horizon in which the treatment of the territories within the domain of Islam apart from administrative concerns becomes a distinct possibility.

Part 6 ends, finally, on two notes (p. 139): first, a quick reference to the amount of the poll-tax (*jizya*) levied on non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) living in Baghdad; and secondly, the statement that the administrative survey of part 6 is not without precedent, but generally corresponds to the territories of the Sasanian empire, except for the regions to the west of Iraq which had been in Byzantine hands. The discussion has come full circle, in the sense not only of awareness of the Sasanian past, but also of a conscious attempt to identify with and build upon it. For Qudāma, the administrative order which gave shape to the dimensions of Sasanian geography does so again, only now the resulting geographical vision is the domain of Islam, a concept decisively identified by the organizational talents of Qudāma and destined to play a fundamental role in the formation of a uniquely Islamic geographical vision.

This role played by Qudāma in the development of an Islamic geography would argue for a much closer relation of his work to the so-called Balkhī school. In support of such a conclusion, other evidence exists as well. We have already mentioned al-Muqaddasī's familiarity with Qudāma's work. Another figure from that school, Ibn Ḥawqal, attests to his appreciation of Qudāma's work, claiming that it never left his side, along with the works of al-Jayhānī and Ibn Khurdādhbih.[61] Although Ibn Ḥawqal contributes in his own way to the framework of the Balkhī school, by insisting upon the importance of eye-witness observation (*ʿiyān*), his decision to limit his range to the domain of Islam may have come not only from the tradition of the Balkhī school itself, but also from the influence of Qudāma's organization of geographical material: The other two works which never left Ibn Ḥawqal's side did not have such a fo-

[61] See chapter one, n. 67

cus, but mixed descriptive accounts of non-Muslim peoples alongside material on the Islamic world.

The Descriptive Approach

Descriptive geography—the study of the affairs of the various peoples of the world—need not include all peoples, but can, as seen in the work of al-Muqaddasī, be limited to a particular region of the world, the Islamic one in his case. However, while differing from Ptolemaic geography in its essential dependence on observation (either eye-witness or second-hand), it shares with the Ptolemaic approach the potential to embrace all known regions of the world. While it is true that some who emphasized eye-witness observation, such as Ibn Ḥawqal, did not seek to describe the affairs of non-Muslims in general, there was a distinct strain within Islamic geography that sought to describe the peoples of the world universally. Why was it that certain Muslim geographers took into account non-Muslim peoples and considered non-Muslim regions legitimate objects of Islamic geographical inquiry?

It can be said that a universal interest cannot be attributed merely to the nature and extent of the geographical material one has at hand, but more fundamentally involves one's epistemological disposition, i.e. the intellectual project inspiring the author of a particular geography. As we have seen, Qudāma's aim is not merely to present knowledge, but to organize it, provided it does not stand at odds with his primarily administrative approach. What came to Qudāma's mind when he found himself faced with geographical material beyond the domain of Islam? Did he think to describe their administrative units and tax revenues as he did with the domain of Islam in part 6? Where did the pressure come from to include an account of the non-Islamic world, i.e. the challenge of incorporating a universalist approach into his descriptive geography, rather than limiting himself to the domain of Islam? The specific contours of part 7 suggest an answer. There, Qudāma bases his account of the non-Islamic world on the concept of the frontiers or marches (*al-thughūr*). Under such rubric, he seeks to define the regions of the world which stand in ambiguous relation to the Islamic state. Such a point of departure sets the tone for a description of the rest of the world in terms of its opposition to Islamic hegemony. It is in this sense that it is

necessary to understand the universalist approach to descriptive geography as a product, at least in part, of the state's interests in its enemies and imperial counterparts. Such a motivation is not immediately clear in other works of a universalist scope, such as Ibn Khurdādhbih's and Ibn Rustah's, but becomes apparent in light of part 7 of Qudāma's work. Certainly, there were other concerns as well, such as commercial and purely scholarly ones, which led to an interest in non-Muslim lands, but the Islamic state, now in light of part 7, must be counted as a significant, if not the central, factor in the universal dimension of Islamic geography.

The work of Ibn Khurdādhbih represents an early illustration of this trend for its inclusion of material on the domain of China, where certain Muslims had decided to settle permanently (p. 70); the caste system of India (p. 71); non-Muslim Berber tribes (p. 90); Constantinople, with an historical overview of the Byzantine capital (pp. 103f.), its final location and walls as well as its administrative structure and military order (p. 112); information addressed specifically to those traveling outside the domain of Islam for purposes of trade, to Byzantium, Europe and the Slavic lands (pp. 153f.). Throughout his work, he mentions the customs and oddities of the peoples beyond the pale of Islam, their beliefs, their wares and produce as well as their monetary currency; their mineral and natural resources, and the tales of wonders reported from these lands, including China, Tibet and even the legendary Yaʾjūj and Maʾjūj (Gog and Magog). In the work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, a state servitor, we encounter a bridge of sorts, an early attempt to be Islamic and universal simultaneously: in other words, a concept of the Islamic which could include the non-Islamic, and that by the pen of a state official.

This pattern continues with increasing sophistication in the work of Ibn Rustah, apparently an encyclopedia of which only the seventh book has been preserved.[62] Its contents are mostly geographical, but concludes with subjects of a literary nature, such as the genre of "firsts" in Islam (*awāʾil*, pp. 191f.) and a section on the handicapped or malformed (*dhawū al-ʿāhāt*, pp. 221f.). The author begins with lengthy Qurʾānic citations describing the earth and heavens (pp. 3-4), but then shifts immediately to geographical and astronomical information of the Ptolemaic kind, with an overview of the seven regions and their major cities (pp. 8-24). The focus then turns to

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[62] Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq al-nafīsa*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1892.

mathematical and architectural description of the Kaʿba in Mecca and the mosque of the Prophet in Medina, including exact details of their dimensions and contents (pp. 24-78). Noteworthy are the long sections on non-Muslim lands and peoples: Constantinople and a description of the Byzantine empire, including royal and popular customs and priestly ritual (pp. 119-132); India (pp. 132-139), various Turkic and Slavic peoples (pp. 139-145), including Russians (pp. 145-147, probably meaning Scandanavian Vikings) who, he reports, make raids on the Slavs by boat, subsist on trade to the exclusion of agriculture and bury a dead man's beloved, alive, alongside him. His report of the temple dedicated to Aditya along the Indus river is striking for its detail (pp. 135-137): a description of the idol, the priestly custodians of the temple (who do not marry, eat meat, slaughter any animal or wear sullied robes), pilgrimage to the temple (including details on the state of ritual purity, circumambulation and sacrificial offerings), the practice of self-mutilation at the temple (even self-sacrificial offering), the food offered to the idol, musical processions around the temple (including women whose role it was to please the idol by dancing before it), distribution of alms and the bathing of the idol with milk and butter, by washing in which the sick hope to be cured.[63]

While Ibn Rustah does include sections on imperial roadways (pp. 163f.), pre-Islamic Arab religion (p. 217) and the various Islamic schools and sects (pp. 217-221), his work does not leave the impression of being motivated by particularly Islamic concerns. Certainly his encyclopedic goals, shared to some extent with al-Masʿūdī (see below), are partly responsible.[64] While his work is in no way reducible to Arabo-Islamic goals alone,[65] whether administrative, religious or cultural, his inclusion of material on non-Muslim lands does seem to come directly from the state interest in its enemies and imperial counterparts. Miquel has suggested that Ibn Rustah's universal scope

[63] For Muslim interest in Indian ritual and India in general, see B.B. Lawrence, *Shahrastānī on the Indian Religions*, The Hague 1976; idem, "Shahrastānī on Indian idol worship," *SI* 38 (1973), 61-73; and idem, "al-Bīrūnī's Approach to the Comparative Study of Indian Culture," *Studies in Islam* 11 (1978), 1-13.

[64] For a study of Ibn Rustah's work and the influence of the Samanid heritage upon it, see J.E. Montgomery, "Ibn Rusta's Lack of 'Eloquence,' the Rūs and Samanid Cosmography," *Edebiyat* 12 (2001), 73-93.

[65] There is even potential evidence for sympathy towards non-Muslim religions in his description of a syncretizing king who follows three religions in order to comprehend "the truth of religions" (pp. 147-148), praying with the Muslims on Friday, the Jews on Saturday and the Christians on Sunday.

was due to his Muʿtazilite response to the hardening of orthodox lines in his native Isfahan in the late third/ninth century.[66] No evidence, however, exists to confirm such an affiliation. Rather, what is undeniable is the close parallel between Ibn Rustah's material on non-Muslim lands and peoples and that of al-Jayhānī, a state official of the Samanid realm.[67] While difficult to ascertain which author influenced the other, it is clear that al-Jayhānī's approach was significantly formed by state interests.[68] It is here, in the life and work of this Samanid official, serving a state interested in embracing non-Muslim conceptions of knowledge,[69] that we can better understand Ibn Rustah's, not to mention Qudāma's, inclusion of both Ptolemaic and universal dimensions in their geography. While a shadowy figure, al-Jayhānī and his work stand squarely within the epistemological domain of the state and form a link between the universal dimension of geography in Ibn Khurdādhbih and later in Qudāma.[70]

Before turning to a discussion of part 7, it should be mentioned that other forces were at work in the formation of Ibn Rustah's universal range. Working alongside state interests to develop the Arabo-Islamic scope into a universal Islamic one was the element of reason which, it can be said, acts as a bridge between cultures and peoples. There was in Islam a strong interest, partly under state patronage, in reason-driven, scientific inquiry apart from ideological concerns, i.e. a desire to comprehend the world and all its parts. This was not an attack on Islam, but rather an Islamic perspective which shunned the limitation of knowledge to sources of revelation. Such a tendency can be found in the works of al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) and al-Maqdisī (fl. ca. 355/966), as well as that of Ibn Rustah, and seems to have exerted a certain influence on Qudāma's work.

This universal scope to which reason tends can be best illustrated

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[66] Miquel, *op. cit.*, (1967), pp. 192-202.

[67] See J.-C. Ducène, *op. cit.* (1998), p. 274.

[68] Ibid., p. 273: "... al-Ǧayhānī avait réuni son matérial avec une grande ouverture d'esprit, une curiosité certaine pour les faits culturels des peuples étrangers à l'Islam. Il est certain, à l'instar des ouvrages du même genre du Xeme siècle, qu'il a dû donner un aperçu de géographie physique: forme de la terre, nombre de mers.... Mais son rôle de *wazīr* lui fit porter son attention sur des éléments de nature politique, ce qui transparait dans les éléments qu'il a ici notés."

[69] See my article, "The Hierarchy of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization," (cf. chapter one, n. 29).

[70] The work of al-Jayhānī apparently was a development of Ibn Khurdādhbih's. See J.C. Ducène, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263.

by its opposite. A self-avowed enthusiast for geographical knowledge itself, al-Muqaddasī claims to have undertaken travel to collect geographical reports unobtainable, he believes, by any rational (i.e. philosophical) process. In this sense, his work recalls the vision of those who undertook travel in search of knowledge of the prophetic tradition. He shows a propensity for religious definitions of knowledge, exemplified in his use of chains of transmission (*isnād*), a method he announces at the outset of his work in language reminiscent of the scholar of the prophetic tradition (*muḥaddith*, p. 3), and his preference for qur'ānic geographical reports over other sources.[71] He disavows even analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), the very tool which grants al-Masʿūdī, as we shall see, an Islamic appreciation for the intellectual and cultural achievements of other peoples.[72] He goes so far as to distinguish himself from philosophers and astronomers (i.e. advocates of reason-driven inquiry) who composed geographies (pp. 3-4). The scholars with whom he conferred on his travels were largely religious and certainly not philosophers (p. 2). While such an approach is valid in terms of its interest in framing knowledge within the parameters of a particular confessional identity and certainly not hostile to the life of the mind in general, it denies epistemological authority and thus autonomy to reason and thus loses the universal scope which reason and rational inquiry can offer.[73] The consequence is a lack of appreciation for the non-Islamic: A place, al-Muqaddasī claims, must have an Islamic pulpit (*minbar*) for it to be worthy of admission into his geographical survey (p. 193), and reference to a Jewish or Christian presence in a city is almost invariably described as a negative quality.[74]

In contrast, while state interests as inherited from al-Jayhānī were

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[71] He defends the qur'ānic allegation (Q 25:53) of two seas (pp. 10-24).

[72] The one case, p. 156, where al-Muqaddasī allows a kind of analogical reason (*istiḥsān*, legal discretion), is deemed permissible on the basis of legal precedent, not philosophical concerns.

[73] The summary list of all places covered in the work, offered for the sake of easy reference for jurists (pp. 47-57), indicates that the work was addressed to religious scholars, perhaps for their interests in verifying chains of transmission, a study which required a certain knowledge of geography (i.e. the places where scholars of Ḥadīth studied and taught).

[74] For example, p. 167 (the distasteful behavior of Jews and Christians in public places), pp. 179 and 202 (the association of Christians with lepers), p. 193 (the coincidence of Coptic Christians and calamities), p. 201 (the identification of Coptic Christians with filthy places), and p. 211 (the Byzantine dog). See especially p. 9, where al-Muqaddasī states that information about non-Muslims brings no benefit.

a factor in Ibn Rustah's geography (see above), we also find there a distinct affinity for Greco-Hellenistic conceptions of knowledge. In point of fact, his work was not inspired by Islamic administrative divisions, but Greek geographical categories (e.g. pp. 8f.). Interestingly, the author tries to place scriptural sources and philosophical investigation on one epistemological footing by his inclusion of both, side by side, in his introductory material: Woven together with qur'ānic citation and the claim that the earth and heavens are ordered according to "the wisdom of Allāh" (p. 3) is a decidedly Greco-Hellenistic discourse on the nature of the cosmos, where Alexander the Great, a significant figure in part 7 of Qudāma's geography, is depicted in contemplation of the universe, "built in accord with wisdom" (p. 5), a realization which inspires Alexander to sing a hymn to the cosmos. One is thus left with the sense of an Islamic framework capable of embracing both human and divine wisdom.[75] For example, human differences are not described in religious terms, but are attributed to climate, the motion of the sun and planets and the different forms of urban life (p. 103), much like Qudāma's words on the relation of ethnic particularities to climate and distance from the sun in part 2.[76]

The most committed of all scholars of geography of this period to the universalist approach is al-Mas'ūdī, a sophisticated thinker whose approach to knowledge seems to have been inspired by his Shī'ī and Mu'tazilī affiliations, which allow considerable room for reason as a source of knowledge, even religious knowledge.[77] Although not limited to geographical knowledge, "The Book of Instruction and Supervision" (*Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*), the final abridgment of his life's research, exhibits a certain delight in the often irreconcilable disputes of philosophers and the learned, while making liberal use of a wide range of diverse sources: the Qur'ān (e.g. p. 7), Greek philosophers (e.g. p. 8), the Avesta (p. 91), Persian chronicles (p. 97), the translation of Galen, poetry and even the author's own works. He is thoroughly familiar with the Judaeo-Christian scrip-

[75] Ibn Rustah cites both qur'ānic material and specific philosophical works, such as "The Book of the Pillars of Philosophy and the Confirmation of the Rules of Astronomy" by al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/889).

[76] Such a view was evidently well-known in philosophical circles. See al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-siyāsāt al-madaniyya*, Hyderabad 1926, p. 40.

[77] For a discussion of al-Mas'ūdī's approach to knowledge, see T. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography. The Histories of al-Mas'ūdī*, Albany 1975.

tural tradition (e.g. p. 125, where he gives the Hebrew form of the name of Jesus), including the existence of the Babylonian Targum (p. 79); he knows the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs (pp. 81-82), while able to offer a long exposé on the transmission of philosophy from its Greek origins to its assumption by the Arabs (pp. 115-122). His greatest attachment is the Persian cultural heritage (e.g. pp. 42-43), and, like Qudāma, expresses a fondness for Baghdad, his homeland, and a focus on the fourth of the seven regions of the world with its center in Iran, "the best place of all human geography" (pp. 35f.). His universal scope is also played out in the historical section of the work, where a universal history of the world precedes the account of Islamic history: the Persians, the Chaldaeans (along with the Semite peoples), the Greeks (before and after Christianity, including reference to the Slavs and Europeans, the Africans (identified in Ptolemaic terms as the people of Libya), the Turks, the Indians and the Chinese.

Qudāma's geography, although dominated by an administrative outlook, does not ignore the universal dimension of the Islamic geographical discipline. As mentioned, this dimension partly emerged from the interests of the state. It is this strain that he assumes and actually identifies by isolating it in part 7. While it is not easy to ascertain the import of the non-Islamic material in the works of Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-Jayhānī, Qudāma's addition of part 7 to his descriptive geography, in which the concept of the frontiers or marches becomes the principle for describing lands beyond the domain of Islam, makes it clear that the motivation in this inclusion of non-Islamic lands and peoples is the state. The marches, though not constituting a province, were still an object of administrative concern. They offered a tax revenue, and their location on the edge of the Islamic world, mostly along the Byzantine frontier, required a military presence, together with its finance and administration. It is in this sense that the concept of the marches offers an administrative orientation to the description of the lands adjacent to the domain of Islam,[78] while the story of Alexander the Great, who

[78] Qudāma seems to have been the first to treat the marches as an independent unit of geographical inquiry (Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, d. 487/1094, did so later). The Syrian and Mesopotamian marches were generally treated by geographers under the adjacent province of al-Shām or al-Jazīra. See M. Bonner, "The Emergence of the Thughūr: The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Easly Abbasid Age," Ph.D. diss., Princeton 1987, pp. 3f. Separate treatment of the marches can

brought the "whole" world under his administrative authority, maintains this orientation in the account of lands remote from Islamic lands, thus allowing Qudāma to give a truly universal treatment to descriptive geography. In administrative terms, the marches are ambiguously related to the domain of Islam, while the remote areas of the world have no relation, but are still obliged to recognize the importance of administrative authority as represented in the figure of Alexander the Great. The administrative nature of the marches and the administrative character of Alexander the Great's conquests demonstrate the unity of parts 6-7; the goal of both parts is descriptive geography, though dominated by an administrative orientation, just as parts 1-5 formed a single unit devoted to Ptolemaic approaches to geographical knowledge. This allows us to read section VI as two coherent units: the mathematical and physical geography of the entire world; and the descriptive geography of the entire world. The distinction between part 6 and part 7 is connected to the nature of administration in the different regions of the world: Some recognize the administrative hegemony of the Islamic state, others do not.

This is confirmed by the brief account of North Africa and Andalus at the end of part 7. Though Islamic, these territories are included in part 7 rather than part 6 because they do not form part of the Abbasid administrative sphere and are therefore defined as frontiers or marches in their own right. Religion, then, is not the organizing principle of Qudāma's descriptive geography, as it is with al-Muqaddasī, but rather the relation of the regions of the world to Abbasid administration. Still, Qudāma's approach is that of an Islamic state which has both particular (part 6) and universal (part 7) concerns and in that sense helped to meld both specifically Islamic and potentially universal points of view into one Islamic geographical framework. Such universalism, while consonant with state interests, was no doubt encouraged by the study of peoples and regions beyond the domain of Islam pursued by the likes of Ibn Rustah and al-Mas'ūdī as part of their larger, reason-driven scholarly projects.

Part Seven (pp. 140-154): Qudāma begins with a statement of his goal, a description of the nations and peoples opposite Islam (*al-*

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be found in non-geographical literature, e.g. Ibn Sa'd's chapter on the traditionists of the frontier regions (*muḥaddithū al-'awāṣim wa-al-thughūr*) and al-Balādhurī's sections on the marches in his history of the Islamic conquests. See Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau et al. 9 vols., Leiden 1904-1921, vol. 7, pp. 185-188; and al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-236 and pp. 259-271.

umam wa-al-ajyāl al-mukhālifa li-al-islām), namely the regions of the world which do not fall into the domain of Islam as described in part 6, including both the regions immediately surrounding Islam (*muktanifa lahu*) and those distant (*mutabāʿid*) from the domain of Islam (*dār mamlakatihi*). The fact that the Byzantines are the worst (*ashadd*) of Islam's enemies makes it fitting to start with the marches opposite their land (*al-thugūr al-muqābila li-baladihim*), including the military forays (*al-maghāzī*) conducted against the Byzantines by sea and by land. The coasts of Syria and Egypt comprise the sea marches (*al-thughūr al-baḥriyya*).

Attention is given first to the land marches, beginning with the Syrian marches (*al-thughūr al-shāmiyya*), their cities and towns, their tax revenue (*irtifāʿuhā*) and the expenditure necessary to maintain their military readiness, including observation posts (*marāqib*), guards (*ḥaras*), spies (*fawāthīr*), couriers (*rakkāḍa*), the overseers (*al-muwakkalūn*) of roads (*durūb*), fords (*makhāyiḍ*), fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*) and other things (*wa-ghayru dhalika*). Those conducting the forays, both the summer and winter expeditions (*al-ṣawāʾif wa-al-shawātī*) by sea and by land, require a salary (*rātib*), this personnel consisting of a police force (*shiḥna*), soldiery (*jund*) and irregular troops (*ṣaʿālīk*). Finally, there is the matter of the protective cities (*al-ʿawāṣim*) just short of the frontiers, which form the real barrier between Islam and the rest of the world and need to be properly fortified (pp. 140-141). In all this, Qudāma highlights the administrative needs of these regions.

Next is the account of the Mesopotamian marches (*al-thughūr al-jazariyya*), their cities, towns and fortresses, mention being made of the extension of these marches in the days of al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-227/833-842). Within this category, description of more specific marches is given, such as those of Sumaysāt and Malaṭya (p. 141). He mentions a people (*al-sāliqa*) who had once dwelt in the vicinity of Malaṭya.[79] Although Byzantine, they differed from the state in their religious sentiment. They were known for their assistance to the Muslims, but eventually dispersed due to the ill-treatment they received at the hands of the people of the marches and the disrespect shown them by the administrators there. In turn, the Armenians settled in the region, where their presence became well established (p. 142).

The treatment of the marches is extensive, even defining marches

[79] De Goeje identifies them as the Nicolaean sect, *op. cit.* (1889), p. 194.

not previously treated in the geographical corpus, beginning with the Bakrian Marches (*al-thughūr al-bakriyya*), named after Diyār Bakr. Mention is made of the region's area, its cities and towns and the amounts of tax revenue and expenditure (p. 143). After these marches, he returns to the sea marches (pp. 143-144) to treat them in detail: the coastal cities and towns in both Syria and Egypt; the number of ships (*marākib)*; the practice of recording the expeditions by sea in the administrative units (*ʿamal*) of their respective provinces, Syria and Egypt; the name of these sea forces, the navy (*usṭūl*), which corresponds to the name of the land forces, the army camp (*muʿaskar*). The administrator (*mudabbir*) of the navy and the sea marches is the commander of the Syrian marches. Once again, the administrative orientation is clear.

At this point, Qudāma leaves the world of Islam entirely, even its marches, and begins a description of the Byzantine state (p. 144-148),[80] an account which draws upon Ibn Khurdādhbih's treatment of the subject: the administrative divisions of the army, which are given in their Greek terminology—from the patriarch, who has the command of ten thousand, to the dekarchs, who are in charge of ten; an account of their military resources in terms of calvary and infantry (again using Greek terminology) in both Constantinople and the fourteen administrative units of which the Byzantine state is composed, from Thrace and Macedonia in the west to the frontiers bordering the Khazars in the east (pp. 144-147).

This account of the Byzantine state is still very much articulated according to the concept of the marches. For example, he mentions that the people of Adana are not jingoistic (*aṣḥābu ḥarb*), since no military expedition has reached them, neither by Muslims nor by others (p. 145). In that vein, his description of the Byzantine state is followed by an overview of the annual schedule of the military expeditions (p. 147), in order that such knowledge (*ʿilm dhalika*) be well-known (*muḥassal wa-maḥfūẓ*). Knowledgeable people (*ahl al-khibra*) relate that the expeditions begin in the spring, in May (*ayyār*), once the animals have finished their vernal grazing and become strong again. This expedition lasts for thirty days, the last twenty days of

[80] To maintain the administrative tone, Qudāma takes up the subject of Byzantium as a function of its marches (*al-thughūr al-rūmiyya*), p. 144 (AC 33): "And since we have mentioned the Byzantine marches and the means of [managing] them, there is no objection to mentioning what is useful to know of the conditions of the Byzantines."

May and the first ten of June. This expedition is supported by the grazing lands available within the boundaries of the Byzantine state itself, so that the animals enjoy, as it were, a second spring for twenty-five days, from June until early July. At this time, once the animals have grown strong and sturdy, the summer campaign begins, lasting sixty days. Qudāma continues with an account of the winter campaign. In this campaign, grazing is possible outside a period of twenty days towards the end of February, when each man must carry the needs of his animal with him until some time in March, when grazing lands become abundant again.

Qudāma now sets himself to the task of describing territories outside the domain of Islam which are not traditionally defined as marches, although he sometimes refers to them as such (p. 148-153). He proceeds from the Byzantine state towards the east, towards the regions of Armenia and the lands of the Khazar people until Khwārazm. The name of a certain city, called "Gate" (*al-bāb*),[81] offers an opportunity to emphasize the principle theme of part 7, namely non-Islamic lands insofar as they can be defined by their relation, primarily hostile, to the domain of Islam. Here, the name of this city leads, aetiologically, to an historical account of the Sasanian King Anūshirvān, son of Qubādh, and his attempts to control the Khazar people through alliance and trickery, which ended in the construction of a wall between Sasanian and Khazar territories. Passage between the two kingdoms was possible only through a gate, whence the name of the city. The story's primary purpose is to explain Khazar attacks (*ghāra*) which have continued from that time to Qudāma's own day. The concept of the marches as well as recourse to historical stories, such as that of the Khazar, allows Qudāma to maintain his description of non-Islamic lands in terms of opposition.

This method, whereby Qudāma can both isolate the domain of Islam and still describe the entire inhabited world, continues with the marches of Daylam (pp. 140-150), where social conditions are described as unsettled. This description of Daylam as a place wholly devoid of legal order characterizes his interest in asserting the need for administrative conformity, apparently to the law of Islam. Rejection of administrative conformity, it would seem, is equal to blasphemy and leads inevitably to moral chaos:

[81] This is Bāb al-abwāb or Darband, a port on the Caspian amidst the Caucasus, which controlled the pass from the Khazar region to the south. See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, New York 1966, p. 180.

> And the circumstances of Daylam have always been unstable [and continue to be] since they have no law in effect at this time, nor is obedience deep-seated in them, because after their conquest [by Islam] they violated [the treaty] and left Islam [lit. became infidels] more than once, and at this time there are among them abominable acts: killing children, sexual misconduct in the mosques and abandoning prayer and the ritual requirements of Islam (AC 34).[82]

Qudāma does strike a positive chord in the description of the marches of the Turks (pp. 150-151). This region includes Jurjān and Transoxania, in which Manicheanism (*zandaqa*) is reported to be rife. Nevertheless, a certain respect is shown for the fighting prowess of the Turks, some of whom belong to the Muslim army located on these marches. Perhaps for this reason, Qudāma claims that the Muslims rarely campaign against the Turks, a fact which he bases on a prophetic tradition: "Leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone."[83] Still, he says that he has included them in his description of non-Islamic lands for the sake of adhering to his organizational principles, i.e. his stated intention of describing the nations surrounding Islam and the nations in opposition to it (p. 151).

Description now shifts to those lands which do not border Islam directly and are actually quite remote (pp. 151-153). His assertion of administrative conformity continues, only now represented in the person of Alexander the Great, not the Abbasid state.[84] Use is made of the story of Alexander's conquests as a model by which to affirm the benefits of submission to the just administrator, as if Alexander's conquests and subsequent relations with the conquered peoples are meant to conjure up the ideal image of the Islamic conquests. He first conquers the peoples of Persia, India, Tibet and China, all of whom submit obediently (*tā'a*) and pay tribute (*itāwa*), upon hearing of his justice (*'adl*), good conduct (*ḥusn al-sīra*) and fidelity (*wafā'*, p. 151). This account is accompanied by moral statements meant to justify obedience to Alexander's authority, as the king of Tibet is made to say to Alexander: "Whoever battles you and tries to defeat

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[82] QJ, p. 150.

[83] See Abū Da'ūd, *Sunan*, entry 4302 (AC 35): "'Īsā b. Muḥammad al-Ramlī--Ḍamra--al-Shaybānī--Abū Sukayna, a freed slave—one of the Companions of the Prophet: The Prophet said: 'Leave the Ethiopians alone as long as they leave you alone, and leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone.'"

[84] Qudāma's use of the model of Alexander is also prominent in section VIII (see chapter five).

you, tries to defeat the will of Allāh, and whoever tries to defeat the will of Allāh is helpless" (p. 152).

After spending some time in China, where he builds a city called the Tower of the Stone (*burj al-ḥijāra*, p. 153), Alexander heads northwards, in the company of the Chinese king, where he conquers Shūl, building there the two cities of Shūl and Khumdān. Finally, he turns his attention to the nomadic Turks (*turk al-barriyya*), in distinction from the settled Turks (*turk al-mudun*), who had already submitted to his authority (p. 152). The nomadic Turks live on the edge of the world, in its northern reaches near the Green Sea. Their region is bound by towering mountains, and access is limited to one narrow path. According to the Chinese king, the closure of this path would rid the world of these terrible people and their evil ways. Alexander sees the sense of this opinion and has the path to the valley of these Turks closed permanently, as God has described, Qudāma attests, in the Qurʾān (pp. 153-154).[85] Alexander then begins his return, passing through the region of Sughd, where he builds Samarqand, Bukhārā, Merv, Herāt and Zaranj. He passes through Jurjān on the final leg of his journey back to Babel, and along the way he builds Rayy, Isfahān and Hamadhān (p. 154).

Alexander has been portrayed as the consummate administrator: just, tirelessly expansive and productive. The nations of the world submit to his authority and pay tribute, or fall to his power. The story of Alexander becomes the vehicle by which Qudāma can extend his descriptive biography to remote lands and at the same time maintain the tone of the marches: conformity to administrative authority and opposition to it. He has effectively carried this vision, vicariously through the figure of Alexander, to lands which do not immediately border Islam.

The theme of the marches is constant throughout, and Qudāma closes part 7 with the southern marches of Buja and Nubia, where the people have submitted peacefully (*muṣāliḥūn*) and pay tribute. From there, attention turns to the western marches, which begin with North Africa (*ifrīqiyya*), also called Qairawān, where a governor had been appointed by the Abbasids (*malik al-ʿirāq*) beginning from the defeat of the Umayyads until the arrival of the Fatimids (*ṣāḥib al-maghrib*), who took possession of it, extending their rule as far as Barqa.

[85] Q 18 (*sūrat al-kahf*). The story refers to the legendary land of Yaʾjūj and Maʾjūj (Q 18:94). The same story is related in Ibn Khurdādhbih, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-129.

Beyond Africa lie three regions defined according to political control: the Khārijite Rustamids in Tāhart; a "Muʿtazilite" kingdom, based in Fez and governed by a just ruler, currently from the ʿAlid house (i.e. the Idrisids); and the Umayyads of Andalus, based in Cordoba. Beyond this lies the place where the two seas meet, as described previously. Qudāma's description of the whole world is now complete.

The Literary Approach

Of the four major epistemologies current in early Islamic geography, it is only the literary approach which is not included in Qudāma's evaluation of the discipline. Still, in order to comprehend the complex epistemological terrain in which Qudāma composed his work, it will be necessary to outline the significance of this approach to geography, which in turn will offer us insight into Qudāma's decision to leave it aside when he composed his survey of the genre. The literary approach understood geography—as it did all branches of knowledge—as a repository for the Arabo-Islamic cultural and religious heritage and a means by which the Arabo-Islamic identity might be affirmed. Two works fall into this category: "The Book of the Nations and Countries" (*Kitāb al-awṭān wa-al-buldān*) of al-Jāḥiẓ and "The Book of the Countries" (*Kitāb al-buldān*) of Ibn al-Faqīh. In these works, while concrete geographical information is certainly to be found, the assumption remains that the science of geography exists at the service of a particular communal identity expressed in either cultural or religious terms and often both. It is thus Arabic literary expression and the Arabo-Islamic literary corpus in general that forms the substance of these works. It is for this reason that both al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn al-Faqīh are criticized by al-Muqaddasī.[86] Although that author's geography, as previously seen, was constructed in light of strongly communitarian goals, for him, geography means actually setting out into the world to collect geographical information. The cultural specialist (*adīb*, littérateur), in contrast, turns to a literary heritage as source of geographical references, in prose and poetry, a pursuit which can be undertaken, indeed has to be, without leaving one's library.

[86] al-Muqaddasī, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

Moreover, Qudāma's rejection of the definition of geography as a literary category seems to have occured at a critical juncture, since no geography after his day used the literary approach as its dominant conception of geographical knowledge. In other words, geography, like other fields, had found itself drawn into the battle over cultural privilege in Islamic civilization, a battle which raged particularly fiercely through the third/ninth century when Muslims of Persian origin sought to bring their own cultural heritage to bear on Islamic civilization, particularly its literary and cultural norms. This struggle, known by the term *shuʿūbiyya*,[87] pitted those who took pride in Arabic literary expression as the distinguishing element of the Islamic tradition against those who denigrated it as inferior and backwards, while preferring the norms of the Persian heritage. This was as much a debate over the nature of knowledge as it was a cultural battle. The defenders of the Arabic side sought to show the excellence of Arabic literary expression by demonstrating that all knowledge, regardless of origin, could be best expressed in Arabic. Such knowledge might have originated in other cultures, they argued, but it could only be called true knowledge once expressed in Arabic and integrated into the Arabo-Islamic literary heritage.

To this end, efforts were made to show that the Arabic language was not merely a language of the desert and its poetry, but could actually serve as a vehicle for knowledge of all kinds and actually express such knowledge better than its cultures of origin, whether Persian, Greek, Chinese, etc.[88] It is possible to view al-Jāḥiẓ' "The Book of Quadrangulation and Circulation" (*Kitāb al-tarbīʿ wa-al-tadwīr*) in this sense.[89] There, the author transforms his dispute with the apparently hapless and ignorant Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Kātib into a treatise which refers to many branches of knowledge, including the geographical. As littérateur, al-Jāḥiẓ' goal is to present knoweldge in the form of Arabic literature: The content of the knowledge is itself almost secondary to its epistemological form, namely the Arabic language and Arabic literary expression. Another example is a treatise on the science of acronychal settings and helical risings of the stars and constellations by Ibn Qutayba,[90] who, along with

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[87] See S. Enderwitz, "Shuʿūbiyya," *EI*², IX, 513-516.

[88] See Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

[89] al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-tarbīʿ wa-al-tadwīr*, ed. C. Pellat, Damascus 1955.

[90] Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ fī mawāsīm al-ʿarab*, ed. Iraqi Ministry of Culture and Information, Baghdad 1988 and C. Pellat, Haydarabad 1956.

al-Jāḥiẓ, was the foremost defender of Arabic literary expression against the attacks of the *shuʿūbiyya* movement. This science originated among the Bedouin of the Arabian peninsula, who estimated the passage of time and the shifts in the weather on the basis of astral movements. Astronomers showed interest in this science, at least from the beginning of the third/ninth century, as did lexicographers concerned with the meaning of obscure terms used by the Arabs.[91] The complex background of this science notwithstanding, Ibn Qutayba's presentation suggests that he saw it as fodder for the wider project of expressing all knowledge in a literary fashion and thus subordinating it to the identifying mark of the Arabo-Islamic heritage.

The connection between cultural expression and knowledge has been discussed by Ouyang, who draws attention to the epistemological clash between Arabic grammar and Greek logic throughout the early and classical period as a defining example of the epistemological dimension of language.[92] Seen in this light, the defense of Arabic culture would also contain a certain understanding of knowledge linked to the Arabic language and Arabic literary expression. Moreover, the status of the Qurʾān as the ultimate source of knowledge enforced the link between knowledge and Arabic as the language of the Qurʾān and various qurʾānic sciences. Ibn Qutayba's introduction to "The Education of the State Secretary" is a classic statement of the intense involvement of knowledge in the arena of cultural hierarchies, as he states:

> And if this self-admirer, who disparages Islam with his opinion, were to perceive with [the eyes of] perception, Allāh would vivify him with the light of guidance and the delight of certainty, but it took a long time before he looked into the knowledge of the book [i.e. the Qurʾān] and the reports of the Messenger [i.e. the Prophet]—may God's blessing and peace be upon him and his Companions—and in the sciences of the Arabs, and their linguistic expressions and belles-lettres, but he declared war on that and treated it as his enemy and turned away from it towards a knowledge which [mere] transmitters had passed on to him and his kind, which rarely has a disputant, which is pleasing in its interpretation but without substance, and which has an impressive name but no body... (AC 36).[93]

[91] C. Pellat, "Anwāʾ," *EI*², I, 523-524.
[92] Ouyang, *op. cit.* (1997).
[93] Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, p. 3.

Underlying such concerns over the relation of knowledge to language and cultural tradition was the interest in the moral formation of Arabo-Islamic society. In other words, knowledge was intimately linked to culture since the primary end of knowledge was didactic; it was therefore meant to serve not as an exercise in scientific inquiry, but as a cultural formation, i.e. *paideia*, not *Wissenschaft*. Thus, *adab* was not only a question of literature for its own sake, but for the sake of the moral goals (*ta'addub*) of the community. Literary expression (*adab*) was the uniquely effective way to attain such didactic ends, and it is in that sense that this approach sought to harness all fields of inquiry to the values of a culture and, indeed, its formation.

The literary approach first appears in the geographical discipline with al-Jāḥiẓ' geographical treatise.[94] The extant portion of the work contains a variety of geographical material, but seems more concerned to glorify the Hashimite branch of the Quraysh tribe. There is some discussion of different cities: Mecca (pp. 128f.) and Egypt (pp. 131f.) and of the relative merits of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra (pp. 138f.). Also, traditional geographical themes are included: agriculture, rivers, the quality of their water, bridges, currency and trade, reports of the Byzantines and Turks (e.g. pp. 126-127), marvels and even an administrative theme, the land-tax (p. 134). Nevertheless, this geographical project is designed to serve as a forum of literary expression and thus as a means of asserting a cultural identity. Geography, though a science in itself, became, in the hands of this littérateur, a way to demonstrate the excellence of the Arabs, especially the Hashimites, through a survey of their distinguishing qualities.

In the same vein, al-Jāḥiẓ consciously chose the Arabian peninsula as his geographical center, the first to have done so. Despite the wishes of his anonymous correspondent who had requested that he start with Syria and Egypt, he begins his geographical survey with Mecca and Medina. This, of course, reflects the identity that he hopes to exalt. More subtly, but in service of that same goal, he introduces a principle into the geographical discipline which defines it in terms of cultural formation. As the towering literary figure of his day, it was natural that he would contribute to the question of geographi-

[94] al-Jāḥiẓ, "Kitāb al-awṭān wa-al-buldān," in 'A.S.M. Hārūn (ed.), *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, 4 vols., Cairo 1964, vol. 4, pp. 109-147.

cal knowledge by stressing the literary approach and its didactic ends: Geography exists, he claims, for the sake of a moral education:

> And you have forgotten—may Allāh preserve you—the course of the countries and the flow of the ages and their effects on image and character, on good qualities and conduct, on linguistic expressions and the appetites, and on aspiration and position, on earnings and industries, in the manner in which Allāh, most high, has designed that with his kindly wisdom and wondrous arrangements (AC 37).[95]

Thus was the discipline of geography introduced into the battle over knowledge and cultural expression. Ibn al-Faqīh, following al-Jāḥiẓ' lead, sought to elaborate the way in which geography could be put to the service of the Arabo-Islamic identity. The work, which still exists only partially,[96] is a collection of various kinds of Arabic literature which together act as a cultural and moral education. The sources upon which the author drew show him to have been keenly aware and appreciative of the Arabo-Islamic heritage,[97] while the organization of the material follows the regions of the Islamic world from Morocco to Khurāsān. The author emphasizes two dimensions of the Arabo-Islamic heritage: literature (*adab*) and reports transmitted by outstanding figures of the Muslim past, religious figures as well as literary. The literary range is vast: poetry; citations from historians, such as Wahab b. Munabbih (d. 110/729), al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), al-Madā'inī (d. 225/840) and al-Balādhurī; popular stories; myths of non-Islamic origin now in Arabic form; the genre of "firsts" in Islam; and tales of the wonders of the world and its oddities. This literary presentation of the geographical discipline contains 500 citations of poetry, occasionally digresses into the literary genre of praise (*madḥ*) and blame (*dhamm*) as celebrated by al-Jāḥiẓ,[98] and delights in the narration of social customs, moral virtues, the spe-

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[95] Ibid., p. 109.

[96] Our citations are based on the abridgement, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. De Goeje, Leiden 1889. This abridgment was made in 413/1022 by al-Shayzarī. The original work consisted of five volumes, of which a partial manuscript was found in Mashhad, Iran and published as *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. Yūsuf al-Hādī, Beirut 1996. It should be said that this discovery, while offering information not known in the abridgement, confirms that the fundamental inspiration of the original was the literary approach. For a discussion of the manuscript and an edition of its material on Baghdad, see Ṣ.A. al-ʿĀlī, *Baghdād. Madīnat al-Salām*, Baghad 1977.

[97] Ibn al-Nadīm, *ad loc.*, labels him a littérateur (*min ahl al-adab*). For a survey of Ibn al-Faqīh's sources, see the introduction to al-Hādī's edition, pp. 13f.

[98] For example, pp. 151-161, where two excursuses argue opposite points of view on the merits of building.

cial characteristics of the peoples of the world as well as marvellous reports and the entertaining tales of merchants and travellers. Ibn al-Faqīh is, it should be noted, thoroughly conscious of his epistemological approach, stating as much in his explicit intention to follow in the footsteps of the great littérateurs, such as ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and al-Jāḥiẓ (pp. 195-196).

The work parts ways with al-Jāḥiẓ in its inclusion of traditions of the Prophet and reports of his Companions and other early Muslim figures of noted prestige. These reports strongly color, along with literary concerns, the work's epistemological character. This development reflects something of the life of Ibn al-Faqīh who was himself a jurist (*faqīh*) and a scholar of prophetic traditions (*muḥaddith*).[99] This personal experience may explain his incorporation of religious sources into the geographical framework established by al-Jāḥiẓ, whose Muʿtazilite affiliation, in contrast, would have led him to shy away from recourse to the Ḥadīth.[100] It can be said, then, that Ibn al-Faqīh's geography reflects the spirit of the late third/ninth century as represented by Ibn Qutayba, whose various works collectively sought to affirm an epistemological hierarchy built upon the twin pillars of Arabic literature and the Ḥadīth. Taking his "Choice Reports" as model, one could easily imagine Ibn Qutayba composing a geographical work similar to Ibn al-Faqīh's. That work, like Ibn al-Faqīh's geography, uses various branches of knowledge—political material being prominent among them—as a vehicle to assert standards of literary expression and to promote the Arabo-Islamic heritage as an appropriate receptacle for knowledge, regardless of its provenance. At the same time, this knowledge is understood to serve the education and refinement of society as a whole and the elite in particular.[101]

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[99] H. Massé, "Ibn al-Faḳīh," *EI²*, III, 761-762.

[100] The Muʿtazila, a theological sect which rose to prominence under the Caliph al-Maʾmūn, based their doctrine of divine unity and justice on a reconciliation between reason and the sources of revelation. This use of reason as the primary criterion of religious discourse led them to downplay the importance of the prophetic tradition.

[101] It should be said that both works include material from the Indian, Persian and Greco-Hellenistic traditions, though now expressed in Arabic. Significantly, the two works brook no room for Greek philosophy (the Greco-Hellenistic material included is limited to maxims and wise sayings, not systematic philosophical thought): The only references in both works to Aristotle have nothing to do with his philosophy, but illustrate his relation to Alexander the Great as a source of advice and wisdom. Thus, both Ibn Qutayba and Ibn al-Faqīh reflect the inte

In brief, Ibn al-Faqīh saw the geographical discipline as part of and subservient to a greater didactic end, the education of the elite (*al-khāṣṣa*).[102] As such, his geography is comparable to that of Strabo (d. after 24 CE), a native of Amasia in Pontus (Asia Minor), who composed his geography with the educational needs of the elite in mind (*tous 'en tais 'uperoxais*).[103] In his introduction, he seems to see geography as a way to affirm a cultural heritage and identifies the poet Homer (eighth century BCE) as the first and greatest of geographers. This work, a descriptive geography of the Roman world from Spain to India, was not known to the Arabs,[104] but his combination of geographical knowledge and entertaining description for the sake of the social and moral education of the upper class closely mirrors Ibn al-Faqīh's intentions, as stated in his introduction, which we quote here in full:

> It was said that al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā said: Men are divided into four classes: sovereigns whose merit has given them first place; ministers whose wisdom and judgement have given them precedence; the prominent whose wealth has raised them; and the middle classes whose education (*ta'addub*) has attached them to the previous classes; and the people after them who are scum, loathsome, a torrent of debris, base and disgraceful, a package of vulgarity whose [only concern] is eating and sleeping. And Mu'āwiya said to al-Aḥnaf: Describe people for me. And he said [in response]: Heads which fortune has elevated, shoulders which management has exalted, rumps which wealth has made famous, and littérateurs (*udabā'*) whom refinement (*ta'addub*) has attached to the previous classes. The people after them are like beasts. If they are hungry, they go out to pasture; if satiated, they sleep. And Buzurgmehr said to someone: If you desire to attain the most prestigious degree of culture and education (*ādāb*) and those who know it, then be the com-

gration of the Indo-Iranian and Greco-Hellenistic gnomological traditions into the Arabo-Islamic cultural and moral program. Greek philosophy, on the other hand, remained a potential threat to that program.

[102] Interestingly, Ibn al-Faqīh's geography, the one work which most aptly fits Miquel's humanistic model of early Islamic geography, causes him the most difficulty (pp. 153-189). He understands its literary inspiration, but, as a result, is unsure whether to call it humanistic geography or geographical humanism, and his assumption of an inevitable trend towards "humanism" seem to blind him to the various epistemological approaches operative simultaneously, all equally involved in the debate over geographical knowledge. As a result, when confronted with a strongly "humanistic" geography, he is no longer able to ascertain its specific identity which, in fact, is one and the same as his framework.

[103] Strabo, *Geography*, ed. H.L. Jones, Cambridge, 1917-1932, vol. 1, I.I.1f.

[104] See A. Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography*, Amsterdam 1975.

panion of a king or minister, since both of them—with their desire to know the annals of the kings and their history, culture and those who know it, the division of the cosmos and its stars—will send you forth to seek it. And he said: What is my means of access to them? And he said: To attain that is the mark of comprehension, [while] to seek is the matter of existence (*māddat al-wujūd*), and culture (*ādāb*) is [found] with aspiration. Usāma b. Maʿqil said: [The Caliph] al-Saffāḥ was fond of speeches and epistles [i.e. good rhetorical expression], patronized their authors and rewarded them for [composing] them. And I memorized a thousand epistles and a thousand letters in the hope of obtaining his good graces, and I obtained them. And after him, al-Manṣūr was interested in nightly conversations, [historical] reports and the annals of the Arabs (*ayyām al-ʿarab*), and would grant access to those who knew them and would reward them. And there was nothing of nightly conversations and reports which I did not memorize in the hope of drawing close to him. And I was successful in that. And Mūsā [al-Hādī] was passionate for poetry and would select those who knew it. And I did not leave a rare line [of poetry], a brilliant piece of poetry, nor a love poem in circulation without memorizing it. And I was assisted in pursuing my aspiration, namely loftiness of station, and I did not see anything more conducive to learning belles-lettres (i.e. the literary sciences, *al-ādāb*) than the desire of sovereigns for those who know it and the gifts [they bestow] for it. Then Hārūn al-Rashīd abstained from these four things, and I forgot them as if I had never memorized anything of them. Al-Shaʿbī entered upon al-Ḥajjāj [i.e. Umayyad governor of Iraq] who said: O Shaʿbī, you are rich in culture, hasty in judgment. And he said: You are right, O governor. Judgment is innate, culture is [acquired with] effort, and were it not for you, you assemblage of sovereigns, we would not acquire education. And he said: The grace in that is ours, not yours. And he said, you are right, (for) the poet has said regarding ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād:

> Your generosity has taught me excellence of poetry which I had not mastered.
> And I became wealthy and eminent and of rank.

And he recited [the poem] of another:

> I was dumbfound a while, but your gift made me eloquent.
> And I am grateful to no one as much as to those whose hands let loose my tongue.

And [Ibn al-Faqīh] said:

> This book of mine contains all sorts of information of the countries and wonders of the provinces and of building, and whoever of the educated looks into it, let him consider it with the eye of equity, and lend us in its regard his goodly presence and his fine judgment, for most advantageous in this process is your penetration (*shāʾuka*), close relation, blood-relations and close union. And may [the reader] grant my fault [i.e. any slip] to my confession and my negligence to my admission, that I have enclosed in this

> book reports, poetry, citations and exemplary lessons which my memory has grasped and which I had been present to hear (AC 38).[105]

It is difficult to surmise why Qudāma did not include the literary approach in his section on geography. Certainly, the first part of his work, on the secretarial science, shows a deep concern for literary standards. Were his philosophical committments enough to lead him to drop the literary approach, since it subordinated knowledge to cultural concerns? Or was it due to the fact that his social group, the *kuttāb,* were often the party pushing the Persian side of the *shuʿūbiyya* struggle? What we do know about Qudāma's work is its intense effort to put everything in its proper place. There is a place for moral education (*adab*) in his work: not, however, in the geographical section, but in the *Fürstenspiegel* material of section VIII, itself an overview of political science. Thus, Qudāma classifies ethics as a branch of political thought (i.e. a kind of practical philosophy). This organization fits well with the period, in which Greek concepts were not as threatening: The Arabo-Islamic identity had survived the worst of the *shuʿūbiyya* controversy, and it was thus no longer urgent to defend that identity by demanding conformity of all knowledge to specifically Arabo-Islamic epistemological concerns. Rather, Qudāma can limit himself to the proper classification of knowledge, geographical knowledge in this case. The moral program of *adab* (again, the equivalent of the Greek *paideia*) could now take its proper place within the branch of knowledge devoted to human and political community. The literary approach would henceforth never again play the lead epistemological role in the geographical discipline.

Conclusion

Qudāma has a thorough familiarity with the geographical tradition. His level of awareness and appropriation of virtually all the major strands of early Islamic geography stand in stark contrast to his humbly stated intention of offering something for the education of the bureaucrats. It is his organizational talents, above all, that distinguish him within the geographical discipline and allow him to disentangle the various strands with which the geographical tradi-

[105] Ibn al-Faqīh, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3.

tion was woven. He accepts both the Ptolemaic strand of mathematical and physical geography and the administrative strand; revises the universalist strand of descriptive geography in order to align it with the administrative template of his descriptive geography and its specifically Islamic focus; and, finally, rejects the literary strand. While not creating new material, Qudāma displays his mastery over a particular body of knowledge, including a keen understanding of its separate elements and the significance of each to the still emerging discipline of Islamic geography. The administrative point of departure cannot hide his epistemological sensitivities.

At the same time, our study of section VI has contributed to a more accurate understanding of early Islamic geography as a whole. Qudāma's project and its particularly epistemological stamp, when considered in light of the entire geographical tradition, provide a new and apparently more accurate framework in which to understand the development of Islamic geography in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

Most revealing, however, has been our review, through the prism of section VI, of the various epistemological currents that worked to shape the contours of Islamic geography in its formative phase. This raises important questions about the way we read not only georgraphical works, but the early Islamic sources in general. Are the sources to be read as a compilation of data of various kinds, to be used to reconstruct one historical aspect or another of early Islamic civilization, or do they represent an arena in which a certain dialogue of social values took place? Can a literary approach to the sources fruitfully complement an historical approach, such that one not only collect and arrange the facts conveyed in the sources or identify different themes, but also actually read them from their own point of view? Finally, what does a reading of the sources that identifies social values tell us about Islamic civilization? Can we not look at Islamic civilization as a dialogue (and sometimes clash) of voices and values, represented by different social groups each of which sought to impress their image of knowledge upon the civilization? It is our hope that the final two chapters will bear out what has been suggested in this one.[106]

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[106] Such questions are outlined more fully in my "Genre, Values and the Construction of Knowledge," (see chapter one, n. 13).

CHAPTER FOUR

FISCAL JURISPRUDENCE

Introduction

Section VII is devoted to the laws of taxation or, more exactly, the jurisprudence of revenue (*wujūh al-amwāl*). The literature of taxation already had a long history by Qudāma's day, and although not himself in any sense a legal authority (e.g. *faqīh, mujtahid, muftī, qāḍī*), he nevertheless aims in this section, as he does in his others, to summarize a genre, here a genre with origins in the second/eighth century, or at least as early as the work of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798). Although often grouped together with other works on the land-tax (*al-kharāj*),[1] section VII is not limited to that topic, but covers all areas of taxation and state revenue. In that sense, it is more appropriate to understand section VII not as the direct legacy of the work of Abū Yūsuf or Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 203/819), but of Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839, henceforth Ibn Sallām) whom Qudāma frequently cites and whose work (*kitāb al-amwāl*) bears the same name as section VII. Indeed, both works are marked by a comprehensive approach to Islamic tax law. This development towards comprehension within a branch of Islamic law is indicative not only of an increasing systematization of Islamic law, but also of a growing perception of Islamic law (from the second/eighth century) as a universally valid set of legal principles. On the one hand, these principles aimed to embody the complex nature of the Abbasid state; on the other, this "universalization" was still able to preserve the specific legal demands of local custom or, in the case of Islam, the particular demands which confessional identity made on the laws of taxation, as they did on

[1] For example, Ben Shemesh's three-volume series, *Taxation in Islam*: Volume I, *Yaḥyā b. Ādam's Kitāb al-kharāj*, Leiden 1958; Volume II, *Qudāma b. Jaʿfar's Kitāb al-kharāj*, Leiden 1965; and Volume III, *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Leiden 1969. Such a grouping is problematic for its assumption that Qudāma's work, since its title bears the word "land-tax," can be classified as a whole with the works of Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā b. Ādam. Another problem is its insinuation that section VII of Qudāma's work deals primarily with the land-tax.

other branches of Islamic law.[2] It should be remembered that Abbasid legitimacy was constructed partially on the basis of the claim to rule in the name of Islamic revelation (the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth). Section VII, the work of a state servitor, does not introduce any new material to Ibn Sallām's collection, but rather can be understood as an attempt to organize and integrate the somewhat jumbled and repetitive material of that work—itself a comprehensive collection of previous material—into a clear and concise summary.

Qudāma treats Islamic taxation according to two broad trends. The first involves tax law, such as the land-tax, with universal applicability as a result of its connection to the legal status of land, not the person. This law became identified as Islamic only in the wake of the Islamic conquests (*al-futūḥ*), Islamic political hegemony throughout the Middle East and beyond, and the administrative measures adopted by the first Muslim rulers from their Byzantine and Sasanian predecessors. By this process, the first Muslims gradually integrated themselves with and arrived at a certain political and legal harmony with new groups of people. The primary concern here is the authority of state administration (*al-kitāba*) or, as Qudāma defines it in the introduction to section VII, "the collection of revenue and the governance of the realm" (*jibāyat al-amwāl wa-siyāsat al-mulk*, QJ, p. 157). It is in this sense that we will refer to the presence of the Islamic state in the formation of Islamic law as "kitāba-consciousness."[3]

The second trend involves tax law, such as the alms-tax (*al-zakāt*), recognized as specifically Islamic in inspiration for its origin either in qur'ānic injunction or the practice of the Prophet (*al-sunna*).[4] This

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[2] Useful comparison can be made to Roman law as *ius civile* (local law applicable to Romans) and *ius gentium* (the law of nations, i.e. those conquered by Rome, eventually understood as universally applicable law). The *ius civile*, like confessionally oriented forms of Islamic taxation, preceded the *ius gentium*. Eventually, the *ius civile* came to be located within the wider framework of *ius gentium* without, however, sacrificing essential features of *ius civile* particular to Roman custom. Similarly, confessionally oriented material of Islamic taxation was incorporated, as we will see, into a wider context of Islamic state administration of diverse lands and peoples, while still maintaining its confessional character.

[3] Although the notion comes from Qudāma's own words, I have modelled this idea of a particular "consciousness" after the interpretation of C.H. Fleischer, *op. cit.* (1986), who speaks of a "qānūn-consciousness" in the Ottoman empire of the sixteenth century CE in terms of the interests of the administrative corps and the neglect, as they perceived it, of established administrative norms and practices.

[4] Of course, Islam, like any dynamic civilization, understood the idea of authoritative precedent (*sunna*) in different ways and did not always strictly limit its association to prophetic practice. See G.H.A. Juynboll, "Some New Ideas on the

trend is primarily a function of the demands of a particular communal and confessional identity as embodied in the authority of Islamic law (*al-sharīʿa*),[5] and we will refer to the element of religion in the formation of Islamic law as "sharīʿa-consciousness."[6] The concern for Islamic identity and authority seems to have been a particularly pressing concern of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, especially in the wake of al-Maʾmūn's (r. 198-218/813-833) attempt to define religious and legal authority as the prerogative of the state in his institution of the so-called "Inquisition" (*al-miḥna*),[7] and the counter-attempt in certain legal circles, most prominently by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) and Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 240/855), to assert an Islamic identity and authority rooted primarily in scripture (both Qurʾān and Ḥadīth).[8]

As we examine Qudāma's appropriation of this twofold dynamic in the literature of taxation, it is important to emphasize that these two kinds of "consciousness" never existed in isolation from each other, but rather represent two identifiable orientations within early Abbasid society which sometimes worked together to achieve the goals of state and society and sometimes clashed. This dynamic can be said to represent the dual dispensation—Islamic and Sasanian—of the Abbasid state, a coupling which sometimes created tensions in Islamic legal theory. On the one hand, the sources are quite aware of the non-Islamic origins of Abbasid state administration.[9] On the

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Development of *Sunna* as a Technical Term in Early Islam," *JSAI* 10 (1987), 97-118.

[5] In associating a communal and confessional identity with Islamic law, we are not ignoring the fact that the state did use Islamic law. It is rather in the jurisprudential sense of Islamic law, i.e. its connection to the texts of revelation, that we are associating Islamic law to a certain religious point of view.

[6] Again, while the notion comes from Qudāma's own words, I have in mind the idea of "sharīʿa-mindedness" as advanced by M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols., Chicago 1974, vol. 1, pp. 315-358.

[7] For a cogent discussion of the *miḥna*, see J.A. Nawas, *al-Maʾmūn: Miḥna and Caliphate*, Nijmegen 1992.

[8] See M. Zaman, *op. cit.*, p. 54: "The *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* were thus not only adherents of the *ahl al-sunna*'s doctrinal viewpoints; in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, they seem also, if not primarily, to have defined their identity in terms of their espousal of *ḥadīth*. They saw it as their vocation to gather and sift the growing materials attributed to the Prophet, to identify the reliable and the unreliable among them and among the tradents of those materials. In doing so, they not only made the methods of studying *ḥadīth* and its *rijāl* progressively more sophisticated, they also articulated their own group identity, and of the proto-Sunnīs in general, in increasingly precise terms."

[9] See M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," *AJSLL* 56 (1939), 175-224 and

other, Abbasid rule was based on claims to leadership of a specifically Islamic community.[10] Such claims came in different forms: genealogy (descent from the Family of the Prophet or one of its branches), credible Islamic rule (in the name of the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Prophet) and a call for justice (social and economic balance between the different regions and social groups comprising the Muslim community). Although Abbasid hegemony actually began as a revolt against Umayyad rule with a conspicuously 'Alid and a certain messianic dimension,[11] patronage of the legal establishment eventually formed an important pillar of the Abbasids' cultivation of an Islamically legitimate claim to rule.[12] One noteworthy part of this patronage involved the legitimacy of the land-tax and the administration responsible for its collection. Qudāma was keenly aware of these tensions in legal theory and made it his central goal to bridge the theoretical gaps which resulted from the dual dispensation of the Abbasid state, as he indicates in his introduction to section VII by declaring state administration *(al-kitāba)* to be a branch of Islamic law *(al-sharīʿa)*.

Along with his concern to reconcile the twofold dynamic within the theory of tax law, Qudāma also aimed to consolidate the two major spheres of influence in the tax literature (kitāba- and sharīʿa-consciousness) into one single branch of law. His succinct and systematic summary of the genre distinguishes these two major spheres while combining them in one treatise on tax law. His work thus offers evidence that the formation of Islamic law cannot be reduced to one set of interests, whether those of the state (i.e. governance and administration) or those of the religion (harmony between the law and scriptural sources); he constructs this consolidating framework by classifying his material according to the respective concerns of kitāba- and sharīʿa-consciousness. The first emphasized the author-

325-336. Again, the adoption of Sasanian administrative forms had taken place at least as early as the Umayyad period and had been thoroughly integrated into an Arabo-Islamic matrix at least since the time of 'Abd al-Malik. What is at stake here is the self-perception of the Islamic state in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and its apparent readiness to identify itself with the Sasanian heritage as well as the Islamic.

[10] For a discussion of Abbasid claims, see F. 'Umar, *al-'Abbāsiyūn al-awā'il*, Beirut 1970; and J. Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule*, Princeton 1980.

[11] See, for example, M. Sharon, *Revolt. The Social and Military Aspects of the 'Abbāsid Revolution*, Jerusalem 1990.

[12] See M. Zaman, *op. cit., passim.*

ity of the state and its norms apart from questions of communal identity.[13] Such an emphasis was primarily expressed by defining taxation not according to communal identity, but rather the legal status of land (i.e. conquered land, state land, private property). The second (sharīʿa-consciousness) was drawn to tax law for its role in shaping a particularly confessional identity at essentially two levels: 1) communal identity—in other words, different taxes for different religious groups (e.g. Muslim, Jew, Christian, polytheist); and 2) the correction of socio-economic disparity (i.e. distributive justice) among Muslims, thereby encouraging communal solidarity and identity. This second level included distribution of revenue to the relatives of the Prophet (*dhū al-qurbā*), a portion of the fifth (*al-khums*) of all spoils taken by conquest, including revenue eventually generated by such conquest.[14]

By organizing his work according to these two points of view, Qudāma is able to address the concerns of both without forcing one into the framework of the other. The general outline of his work reflects this: He first treats issues of taxation related to the question of land status; then communal identity. Again, he is not a legal authority, but he is able to delineate these two dimensions of tax law more precisely than those before him, perhaps for the simple reason that he sought to compose a summary of tax law. In this sense, his work represents the spirit of his day when scholars of law (*faqīh*)

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[13] It should be noted that state authority was conceived in terms of the authority of the ruler (*al-imām*), and in that sense kitāba-consciousness must be associated to a certain extent with the status of the ruler: hence, a corresponding "imām-consciousness." Such an imām-consciousness in no way implies a justification of arbitrary rule, but rather highlights the central role played by the ruler in the establishment of law, particularly by virtue of his own faculty of judgment (*raʾy*). At the same time, the ruler was limited by the law. This imām-consciousness forms, as we will see, an important aspect of Abū Yūsuf's work. Finally, it should be added that the role of Islamic leadership (*al-imāma*) in the creation of law was never unanimously defined. See P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph. Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge 1986. This "imām-consciousness" should not, however, be understood in the Shīʿī credal sense of the Imām as basis and guarantor of the religion.

[14] Initially, relatives of the Prophet received the whole of this portion regardless of financial need, but eventually received only what was needed to keep them from falling into penury (e.g. to pay off debts), with the rest going to help finance the Islamic cause in general. See for example, Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1985, pp. 101-105. Although we use this edition, it is important to draw attention to an unpublished edition of Abū Yūsuf's work, ed. M. Darwīsh al-Manāṣīr, M.A. diss., Amman 1992. Unlike ʿAbbās' edition, this one uses a full range of manuscripts.

and tradition (*muḥaddith*), such as al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) and Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938), undertook to refine the achievements of the various branches of the science of law through the first three Islamic centuries or, as one scholar puts it, "to tidy up" the legal corpus as it had developed in its formative period.[15]

Qudāma is also in tune with the methodological concerns of his day. His focus on the law itself led him to appropriate and summarize only the substance of the legal heritage, dispensing with the technical aspects of authoritative transmission (*al-isnād*), which actually occupy a considerable part of previous works on taxation. In that sense, his preference for legal principles over concerns of transmission echoes something of the thought of al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), who mentions the benefits to be gained from summarizing the principles of a particular branch of knowledge.[16] Qudāma's approach yielded a treatise on tax law which was without equal in its day for its organization and the absence of the repetition of material that inevitably accompanies a concern to record all sound transmissions of a tradition (*ḥadīth*) or report (*khabar*). It was thus his approach, not his material, that set his work apart and worked to draw the line between the early period of Islamic law and the classical period. For example, the classical work of al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), "The Rules of Governance," suggests little ambiguity in the legal bases of the Islamic polity (*al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*), including tax law. Al-Māwardī's presentation, although reflecting the social, cultural and political concerns of his own day, is based on the legal frameworks established by the likes of Qudāma in the early fourth/tenth century.[17] Moreover, Qudāma's appropriation of the legal heritage up to his day offers insights into the continuity of legal theory which recent scholarship of the revisionist type has called into question.[18]

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[15] N. Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993, p. 52.

[16] See al-Fārābī, *op. cit.*, (1968), p. 58 (AC 39): "And the abridged books which turn the reports of long books into principles, since few things can contain many things: Our learning them and committing them to memory, when few, [means] that we have learned many things."

[17] For an example of the process of systematization of law and legal literature through the classical period, see Y. Meron, "The Development of Legal Thought in Ḥanafī Texts," *SI* 30 (1969), 73-118.

[18] For example, Calder, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-160, where revisionist interpretation of Abū Yūsuf's work leads to the suggestion that it was actually authored by al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/875) who, Calder claims, represented the Abbasid interest in justifying the land-tax, especially the practice of collecting it according to a proportional system (*al-muqāsama*), through the creation of a "myth" of conquest (p. 158),

This treatment of tax law is therefore primarily directed towards issues of law and legal theory, while technical bureaucratic interests appear only when they bear upon the conceptual foundations of tax law. Here again, his high-ranking audience plays a potential role in turning the attention to legal theory. Legal theory most likely did not form a concern for bureaucrats of a lower rank, whose interest in tax law was limited to legal formulae used in the producation of tax-related bureaucratic documents, such as we saw in al-Ṣūlī's "Education of the State Secretaries" (see chapter two). Besides, Qudāma has already addressed the specifically bureaucratic interest in the language and formulae of tax documents, as he mentions in section V (QJ, p. 19), in his discussion of the department responsible for drafting documents (*majlis al-inshā'*) for the bureau of the land-tax, treated in the lost section IV.

In section VII, the treatment of taxation from the point of view of Islamic jurisprudence is further confirmed by his presentation of variants (*ikhtilāf*) for particular points of law, as well as consensus (*ijmā'*). Section VII, then, does not represent one school of law, but the law as a whole. By Qudāma's day, it was clear that Islamic law was not reducible to a single code; indeed, it had shown itself quite resistant to attempts to employ it for a particular political agenda (e.g. al-Ma'mūn's attempt to attribute legal authority to the person

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by which is meant 'Umar I's decision to immobilize the conquered lands for the sake of the entire Muslim community instead of dividing them up as booty among the Muslim warriors in imitation of the Prophet's example. It should be said that Qudāma, although he mentions al-Khaṣṣāf once in passing, refers many times to Abū Yūsuf (as well as to Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shaybānī, the other two figures around whom the Ḥanafī school coalesced). In view of Calder's argument, it is noteworthy that Qudāma actually dwells at length on proportional taxation, which, he says in part 7 of section VII, was first introduced by Abū 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abd Allāh, secretary to al-Mahdī (r. 158-169/775-785). If we assume that Qudāma decided to disregard al-Khaṣṣāf, the real author of Abū Yūsuf's work, as Calder claims, while tracing the origins of proportional taxation to Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, is it not then necessary to conclude that Qudāma too played a part in the conspiracy to mythologize the origins of the land-tax and the use of proportional taxation? Certainly, the legal genre indicates change and development in law in response to historical circumstances. Still, while the legal works of the second/eighth century may have only been finally redacted in the third/ninth century, it is a bit much to suggest that legal theory, in a traditional society as that of the early Islamic, suddenly materialized without reference to the experiences of the past. Change does happen, but usually in the context of continuity. Qudāma's treatment of tax law indicates, against revisionist theories, that Islamic theories of tax law, while only finally systematized in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, were not disconnected from an earlier heritage of legal rulings.

of the caliph). The strength of sharīʿa-consciousness lay partially in such legal variants, since they represent claims to authority (*taqlīd*) not only for various leading jurists of early Islam, such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) and al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), but also for the schools of law (*madhhab*) which looked to them as founders.[19] This interest in legal variants spawned a sub-genre within the corpus of legal literature devoted to documenting the points of dispute and consensus among the leading jurists upon whose authority later generations based their legal claims.[20] It is the considerable attention Qudāma pays to legal variants that suggests the strength of sharīʿa-consciousness in his day.[21]

It should be noted that the sources—both legal and historical—pay considerable attention to issues of taxation and state revenue in early Islam: the division of the booty of conquest according to qurʾānic injunction and the practice of the Prophet; the decision of ʿUmar I to treat the lands of conquest collectively for the benefit of all Muslims, instead of dividing it among the Muslim warriors (*al-muqātila*), and to use it as a source of revenue for financing the salaries and provisions of the soldiers, the various pensions of those eligible and other needs of the Muslim community; the establishment of a registry to manage the finances of revenue and expenditure, especially for military affairs; ʿUmar II's attempt to solve the financial crisis resulting from the conversion of conquered peoples to Islam and, as a consequence, their exemption from certain taxes; as well as further developments in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. At first glance, it would seem that issues of taxation and finance receive inordinate attention, but it is no exaggeration to say that such

[19] The desire to affirm the authority of the founders of the legal schools can be seen throughout Islamic history, a later example being al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 554/1149), whose biographical dictionary of the Mālikī school (*Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik*) elevates Mālik b. Anas to such a height that he virtually becomes the school's ultimate source of authoritative precedent (*sunna*).

[20] This kind of legal literature (*ikhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ*) can be found in the legal compendium attributed to al-Shāfiʿī (*Kitāb al-umm*), but also exists as independent works, e.g. by al-Ṭabarī and al-Ṭaḥāwī. The work of al-Ṭabarī actually contains extensive material on variants in tax law and represents the kind of literature upon which section VII draws.

[21] This use of variants to resist the reduction of Islamic law to a state legal code is also found in later periods. In the Mamluk period, the legal establishment resisted state attempts to subordinate Islamic law to the political authority by working to strengthen all schools of law. See S. Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State. The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī*, Leiden 1996.

issues defined much of the Islamic venture throughout its early stage: conquest, the formation of the state, relations with non-Arab and non-Muslim peoples, conversion to Islam, prestige within the Muslim community and the occurrence of revolt and rebellion.

The modern study of Islamic taxation in the early period has generally sought to describe the technical details of taxation, its regional variation and its development in relation to the growth of the Islamic state in size and complexity. Given the apparent inconsistencies of the sources themselves, this work has proven difficult in the extreme, and attempts to map out the contours of early Islamic taxation have met with only partial success in determining the historical reality. Moreover, revisionist challenges suggest that many issues are not yet fully settled.

Of the many studies on taxation, three stand out for their full use of the sources, all appearing in the same year, 1950. Dennett's critical assessment of orientalist scholarship on early Islamic taxation took to task the unreasonable demand for uniformity by demonstrating the need to read the sources according to regional variation.[22] In other words, the sources suggest that Muslims used different methods of taxation in different regions according to local, pre-Islamic practice which informed the settlements made between Muslims and the conquered peoples. Dennett also shows that such settlements were not assumed to be fixed once and for all, but included the possibility of later adjustment and alteration; a brief glance at al-Balādhurī's (d. 279/892) history of the Islamic conquests is evidence enough that authors of the earliest sources were themselves aware of diversity and development in the application of the laws of taxation. Also approaching the early history of Islamic taxation from the point of view of diversity and development is the work of al-Dūrī, who offers a vision of early attempts by Muslims to work out a system of taxation through the Abbasid period according to particular historical conditions and social, political and administrative needs.[23] Finally, Løkkegaard offers a complementary study with his focus on the social background and technical terminology that defined Islamic taxation.[24]

The work of Simonsen, the first to apply revisionist approaches to early Islamic taxation, claims that the generally accepted under-

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[22] D.C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, Cambridge 1950.
[23] al-Dūrī, *op. cit.* (1950), pp. 68f.
[24] F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period*, Copenhagen 1950.

standing of early Islamic taxation bears little resemblance to the actual practice followed by the Prophet and the first caliphs, but rather was produced by jurists of a much later period.[25] Revisionist approaches, while offering helpful challenges, tend to ignore the notion of historical continuity on two levels: 1) by conflating the concepts of practice and theory by attributing to theory (i.e. attempts to explain and systematize the precedents of practice) a historical reality of its own apart from the precedents themselves;[26] and 2) partial use of the sources. The first is exemplified in the argument that the early practice of allowing conquered peoples to remain on their lands in exchange for tax and tribute was tantamount to a confirmation of the principle of private property in general, since the definition of conquered lands as state property was not established until much later.[27] While later interests do give new direction to law (and pri-

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[25] J.D. Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System*, Copenhagen 1988.

[26] The history of English law offers a useful illustration of the relation between legal principles and earlier practice in the consolidation of legal theory. See A.B. Morrison, *Fundamentals of American Law*, Oxford 1996, p. 21: "The common law's fidelity is to principle and not to the isolated decision. The examples given earlier from the law of torts again serve to demonstrate this point. When the common law courts introduced the broad concept of a general duty of care in negligence, they did not present this as a novel intellectual construct. Rather, they canvassed earlier case law in the area, and then declared that these prior decisions, when analazyed as a field of law, pointed irresistibly to a movement, the next step of which must rationally be the generalization of a duty of care in broad terms. Thus, the common law is best understood as a movement of particular decisions towards a general set of principles that are equipped to do justice in changing conditions. This notion is beautifully expressed in the famous observation of an eighteenth-century Scottish judge, Lord Mansfield, who wrote that 'the common law works itself pure' from case to case."

[27] For example, B. Johansen, *The Islamic Law of Land Tax and Rent*, London 1988, especially pp. 7-24. There, the practice of share-cropping (p. 9) is used as evidence that the land was considered private property. In point of fact, share-cropping agreements (*muzāraʿa*)—between tenants and the state—actually signify the state's claim on and authority over the land and a means by which to collect a percentage of its revenue. See C. Cahen, "Kharādj," *EI*[2], IV, 1030-1034, especially p. 1031. A useful example for comparison is modern China, where private use does not mean private property. See A. Hunter and J. Sexton, *Contemporary China*, New York 1999, p. 64: "Land, agricultural building, machinery, and draught animals, which had formerly been managed by the People's Communes, were contracted to individual households. The terms of the contract provided for a fixed amount of output to be delivered to state procurement agencies at controlled prices; the remainder could be sold on the free market. Although contracts were initially of short duration, fairly soon some localities were leasing land for periods of up to thirty years. In 1982, the People's Communes were officially abolished and were replaced by township

vate property seems indeed to have been an issue with ever-changing stakes), it is a lot to assume that legal principles are not in some way informed by the practice, not to mention the heritage. The second ambiguous mark of the revisionist approach, limited use of the sources, is behind the recent assessment of Abū Yūsuf's "Book of the Land-Tax" which Calder reads in isolation from the other works of the genre, thus making it impossible to appreciate the integrity of the Islamic sources. His evaluation of Abū Yūsuf's work might have been further nuanced in light of section VII of Qudāma's work, which refers not only to early jurists, but also to the authors of the first works on taxation: Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam and Ibn Sallām,[28] while he makes only passing reference to al-Khaṣṣāf (see n. 18).

Since it it our aim to read section VII as part of a developing genre—limited by it and, at the same time, attempting to consolidate it, we will not take up the various technical details of the laws of taxation.[29] Reading section VII in light of the wider genre will show it to be the culmination of a process which worked towards the establishment of theoretical harmony between administrative practice and Islamic law. With this as his stated goal, Qudāma cannot afford to cloud the picture with the transmission-related concerns of the science of the prophetic tradition (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*), which would have worked against his goal of systematization. Instead, he takes up a particular aspect of the tax law in each of the eighteen parts of section VII and summarizes it. To this he addends part 19 (QJ, pp. 207-373), an abridged version of al-Balādhurī's work, again dispensing with chains of transmission and focusing only on the essential facts of the Islamic conquests. His account of the law is thus comprehensive, not only presenting the law itself, but also the literature of conquest, which functioned to legitimize the authority of the state over the land and its right to tax, even with the local variation in

governments. By the end of 1983, in terms of management, Chinese agriculture had effectively been decollectivized. Land remained state or collective property, however."

[28] It should be mentioned that Qudāma does not refer to Ibn Zinjawayh (d. 251/864), author of an early work on taxation. That author, however, as a student of Ibn Sallām, diverges only minimally from the work of his teacher and even repeats large sections verbatim. Perhaps for this reason, Qudāma thought it superfluous to refer to him. See Ibn Zinjawayh, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. S.D. Fayyāḍ, 3 vols., Riyadh 1986, especially the editor's introduction.

[29] That work has been accomplished by previous scholarship on Islamic taxation. Also, Ben Shemesh, *op. cit.* (1965), notes material which section VII shares with the works of Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā b. Ādam.

tax law according to the settlements made at the time of the conquest.[30]

It is therefore the goal of this chapter to outline the way Qudāma approaches the task of summarizing the different elements of tax law while achieving some harmony between administrative practice and Islamic law. To highlight this accomplishment, we will trace the general contours of kitāba- and sharīʿa-consciousness as discernible in the literature of taxation. These competing aspects within the corpus of tax law had two very different sources of inspiration, as mentioned above, and their joint treatment began only long after the new social realities ushered in by the expansion of Islam, the incorporation of conquered lands and peoples of diverse identities into the Islamic domain and the gradual formation of the Islamic state. Although the process by which the first Muslims integrated themselves with a diversity of peoples and even civilizations began with the advent of the conquests, the attempt to construct a picture of theoretical harmony between Islamic law and its new civilizational matrix was initiated much later, only clearly with the Abbasid production of legal literature devoted to taxation. Certainly, the legitimacy of the land-tax was a pressing issue, the hook on which the possibility of amalgamating kitāba-consciousness with sharīʿa-consciousness hung. A credible integration of these two aspects of tax law—the achievement of certain jurists of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries—reflects the challenge faced by the state of incorporating the land-tax into the wider body of literature on tax law. Qudāma, it will be shown, epitomizes that movement towards an integrated theory of tax law.

Kitāba-consciousness

Qudāma's introduction to section VII (QJ, pp. 156-159), with its insistence that administrative practice does not contradict Islamic law, suggests that the legitimacy of all state-administered taxation was not

[30] Conquest does not necessarily mean imposition of the conqueror's will and way of doing things. Pre-conquest custom is often confirmed, only oriented anew to the authority and control of the conqueror. For parallels, see H. Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *SI* 2 (1954), 103-130; and H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *Law and Legislation from Aethelberht to Magna Carta*, Edinburgh 1966, especially pp. 30-53 which treat the legal consequences of the Norman conquest.

beyond question. Qudāma himself mentions the persistent claim that state administration stood at odds with Islamic law (p. 157). This criticism was thus a challenge to the Islamic identity of the state and its administrative arm, the implication being that state administration and its kitāba-consciousness, late arrivals to the venture of Islam, did not possess an undisputed Islamic identity. Qudāma's goal, then, is to construct a framework for legal theory which might address lingering controversies over the nature of the Islamic state itself and the legitimacy of the Abbasid one in particular.

The underlying issue was the absence of a clear precedent for the land-tax in the Qur'ān or Ḥadīth. These scriptural sources are not at all ambiguous about other kinds of taxation, namely those relevant to the confessional and communal identity: the alms-tax on Muslims and the tribute required of those who stood in a subordinate relation to Islam—vassals, allies and subject peoples.[31] The land-tax, however, was considered the innovation of 'Umar I (r. 13-23/634-644), and the suggestion is made in the sources that much effort was expended to locate qur'ānic verses to justify his action.[32] It is true that the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-rāshidūn*) were eventually considered beyond reproach (*'udūl*) and their decisions tantamount to law,[33] and thus, even before Qudāma's day, works by such au-

[31] Tribute (*jizya*) only later became associated with the poll-tax (i.e. a tax per capita (*'alā al-ra's*) on the so-called people of the book (*ahl al-kitāb*) through adaptation of a Sasanian practice. See Løkkegaard, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-143 and C. Cahen, "Djizya (i)," *EI²*, II, 559-562. Although primarily serving as a tax of obeisance (*wa-hum ṣāghirūn*, Q 9:29 [*sūrat al-tawba*]) or tribute levied on various tribal and other groups within reach of Medinan hegemony, it did also serve—from its institution—the goal of defining the confessional identity and socio-political membership of Muslims vis-à-vis other non-Muslim groups. See P. Heck, "Poll Tax," in J.D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, Leiden, forthcoming in vol. 4. For a discussion of the relation of the original conception of Q 9:29 and later exegesis, see U. Rubin, "Qur'ān and *tafsīr*. The case of *'an yadin*," *Der Islam* 70 (1993), 132-144.

[32] The admission is made by 'Umar himself that his decision to introduce the land-tax came from his own personal judgment (*ra'y*). See Abū Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, p. 114. The sources in general report that the institution of the land-tax was controversial from the time of the conquests and divided Muslims into two camps: those who favored division of the conquered lands as booty, in imitation of the Prophet's action at Khaybar; and those who supported 'Umar's decision to immobilize the land and leave it in the hands of the conquered peoples from whom the land-tax would be collected as a source of revenue to meet the increasing financial needs of a growing state, especially the salaries and provisions of the army.

[33] This point is stressed by Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī in *al-Taqdima*. See E.N. Dickinson, "The Development of Early Muslim Ḥadīth Criticism. The Taqdima of Ibn Abī Ḥatim al-Rāzī," Ph.D. diss., Yale 1992.

thors as Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) included reports of the early Companions with the assumption that their behavior and decisions were normative and thus a potential source of law by virtue of their close association with the Prophet. Still, certain circles, especially Shīʿī, were apparently not so willing to acknowledge the legal authority of the first three caliphs, especially when used to support a state which, in their eyes, was illegitimate.

The land-tax never attained the prestige of divine command, but was considered human interpretation (*ijtihād*) at best,[34] and its existence in Islam was largely associated with administrative practice, not revelation.[35] Qudāma also faced very specific criticism, apparently from Shīʿī circles, directed not at the land-tax as a whole, but at aspects of it.[36] Ibn Wahb, a Shīʿī who worked in the Abbasid administration around the same time as Qudāma (see chapter two), was very frank in his admission that the administration of the land-tax sometimes contradicted Islamic law. At the beginning of his summary of tax law, he claims that the land-tax originated in Sasanian practice (*rasm fī ayyām al-aʿjām*) which was then confirmed by ʿUmar I.[37] Ibn Wahb thus shows a keen sense for the very point Qudāma is at pains to reconcile with Islamic law: the Sasanian dispensation and its role in shaping state administration. Moreover, Ibn Wahb reminds his audience of the controversy regarding the origins of the land-tax, that the original practice of dividing the proceeds of conquests among the warriors, their progeny and Muslims at large, both young and old, was reversed in favor of the land-tax which, as he

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[34] See al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiqī, Cairo 1966, p. 153 (AC 40): "As for the elements in which [the poll-tax and land-tax differ], one of them is that the poll-tax is [based upon] scripture and the land-tax on interpretation, and the second is that the minimum for the poll-tax is determined by revelation and its maximum by interpretation and that the minimum and maximum for the land-tax are determined by interpretation."

[35] See H. Modarressi, *Kharāj in Islamic Law*, London 1983, p. 101.

[36] Modarressi posits (pp. 77f.) that the early Shīʿīs called into question the legitimacy of the land-tax as a whole, but concedes that such general condemnation is the result of later polemic. In fact, it seems that Shīʿī Imāms and their representatives undertook to administer Islamic taxation to their own benefit, even the land-tax. The collection of taxation, then, became the issue around which Shīʿī-Abbasid controversy coalesced. See H. Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿite Islam*, Princeton 1993, especially pp. 11-15.

[37] Ibn Wahb, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-385. It should be noted that the quoted citation is corrupt, the original reading being "in the days of the Imām" (*fī ayyām al-imām*). The editors' emendation seems sound, given a parallel to this unusual plural (*aʿjām*) in al-Jāḥiẓ, as they indicate.

emphasizes, was used to support the army and those holding positions of governance and administration (p. 388). In other words, he associates the land-tax with governing and administrative circles against the Muslim community at large. Furthermore, he records his shock at the decision of ʿUmar I to exclude the Family of the Prophet from their share of the booty as recognized in the Qurʾān; to Ibn Wahb, this is tantamount to playing with the Qurʾān, which specifically calls for a share of the booty to be distributed among the relations of the Prophet (p. 390; cf. Q 8:41 [*sūrat al-anfāl*]). In short, Ibn Wahb understands legitimate Islamic taxation to be that administered in accord with the Shīʿī point of view and thus in support of Shīʿī political institutions.

More specifically, Ibn Wahb concludes his discussion of tax law with a list of administrative practices involved in the collection of the land-tax that are at odds with Islamic law, such as the assessment of the land-tax before the harvest and the pricing and sale of produce before it has ripened and is actually saleable. Such things, Ibn Wahb claims, were expressly forbidden by the Prophet. In his opinion, the rules governing the land-tax are sometimes contrary to the commands of the Prophet.

Qudāma responds to this type of criticism, first, by admitting that some believe the rules of administration (*aḥkām al-kitāba*) to contradict the rules of Islamic law (*mubāyina li-aḥkām al-sharīʿa*, QJ, p. 157). His attempt to incorporate kitāba-consciousness into the domain of Islamic law thus represents a concrete contribution to an ongoing and apparently lively debate about the legitimacy of the land-tax and perhaps even state administration as a whole, a debate which coalesced around Shīʿī/Abbasid (Sunnī) polemic. Though difficult to grasp the details of the dialogue in Qudāma's day, it can be said that the legality of the land-tax was still being debated in Safavid times and was directly related to the legitimacy of the state.[38] In other words, Shīʿī dissatisfaction at being kept from political power encouraged them to focus their criticism on the one area where the state was most vulnerable in terms of Islamic legitimacy, namely the land-tax. When Shīʿīs came to power, as they did in Safavid times, such criticism lost some of its relevance. In Qudāma's day and certainly

[38] See W. Madelung, "Shīʿite discussions on the legality of the *kharāj*," in R. Peters (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Union Européenes des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Leiden 1981, pp. 193-202.

throughout the fourth/tenth century, the dividing lines of such polemic were becoming more sharply drawn with Shīʿīs on the rise politically in Fatimid Egypt, Hamdanid Syria, and Buyid Iran and Iraq.[39]

Qudāma's attempt to challenge this criticism by presenting a legal framework inclusive of all kinds of taxes requires his attention to the fine points of jurisprudence related to taxation. He speaks of three categories of rulings. The first shows perfect harmony between administration and Islamic law, and he mentions: 1) the alms-tax or tithe paid by Muslims on wasteland which has been brought under cultivation; and 2) the payment of the fifth (*al-khums*) on minerals extracted from the lands of conquest, which would be considered, like the proceeds of the original conquest, as (movable) booty (*ghanīma*), to be divided among those extracting such minerals, with a share (the fifth) going to the Islamic community as specified by the Qurʾān (p. 157). There is no dispute here at all (*lā ikhtilāf fī hadhihi al-aḥkām bayna al-kātib wa-al-faqīh*). The third category of ruling involves purely administrative concerns, there being no rules in Islamic law addressing such issues as the decision of bureaucrats (*kātib*) to determine the source of their salaries and those of the agents responsible for guarding the produce (p. 158). However, the second category of ruling, described as a "mixture" of administrative and Islamic elements, is much more complex and represents the heart of the controversy.

Qudāma's solution goes to the heart of his integrative vision of taxation and discloses the basic aim of section VII. Most prominent among the examples of these so-called mixed rulings is the land-tax itself. First, Qudāma begins with the assumption that land conquered by force (*ʿunwatan*) falls to the authority of the state and its administrative arm, rendering it subject to an administrative ruling (*ḥukm kitābī*). Conquest is thus essential to his vision of state authority over land, a point later confirmed by his addendum (part 19 of section VII) of the history of the conquests. In order to integrate it with Islamic legal theory, he claims that such an administrative ruling actually originates in Islamic law or, more specifically, the science of jurisprudence (*ḥukm kitābī mardūd ilā uṣūl al-fiqh*). His opening declaration that administration is a branch of law informs the particulars of his argument in favor of the legitimacy of the land-tax and se-

[39] It is, of course, impossible to say whether Qudāma would have faced such criticism had he written after the Shīʿī Daylamites of the Buyid dynasty had come to power.

cures a place for kitāba-consciousness itself in the Islamic panorama.

He demonstrates his point very ingeniously, even craftily, by mathematical means. The administrative ruling (i.e. the land-tax; Qudāma uses its Sasanian name, *ṭasq al-astān*) is assessed at a rate of half of the produce of the land. Qudāma proceeds to invite his readers to consider the scenario of the Muslim leader (*al-imām*) changing the status of the land to tithe-land (recognized as legitimate by sharīʿa-consciousness), as, for example, cultivated wasteland would be classified. The results, he claims, would be the same. He explains: Conquered land is considered booty (in line with the practice of the Prophet) and liable to the fifth (as the Qurʾān decrees). A fifth of the land-tax (i.e. a fifth of half) is ten percent, exactly the rate of taxation (i.e. the tithe) if the land had not been immobilized, but distributed among the Muslim warriors as their share of the booty. At first glance, it would seem Qudāma has overlooked the additional forty percent paid by the tenants of the land, but he is not addressing their concerns, but rather the concerns of the sharīʿa-consciousness of his day which would have demanded an account of taxation in line with the dictates of scripture. The point, then, is not the additional forty percent, but rather accounting for the "hidden" presence of the Islamic tithe on land administered according to the norms of the land-tax. The Islamic tithe (*ṣadaqa*), assessed on the produce of Muslim-owned land, is often conflated with the alms-tax (*zakāt*), which was obligatory on all Muslims and served as a sign of communal solidarity (see above), hence a fundamental element in the confessional and communal identity of Muslims and, as such, a concern to sharīʿa-consciousness.[40]

In short, Qudāma has formulated a theory of taxation in which

[40] The sources claim that the issue which led Abū Bakr (r. 11-13/632-634) to fight the "apostates" (*ahl al-ridda*) after the death of the Prophet was not doctrinal difference but failure to pay the tithe, an important symbol of political loyalty. For a contemporary example, see M.C. Wilson, "The Hashemites, the Arab Revolt, and Arab Nationalism," in R. Khalidi et al (eds.), *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, New York 1991, pp. 204-221, especially p. 216: "In the spring of 1918 the tribes centered around the Khurma oasis, to the east of Ta'if, refused to pay taxes to the Sharif's tax collector. Instead they began paying taxes to Ibn Saʿud. Khalid b. Luwaʾy, the Sharifian agent installed there, went over to Ibn Saʿud as well, reportedly because ʿAbdallah had previously insulted him. The refusal to pay taxes, which was the customary expression of tribal fealty, was tantamount to a declaration of war. From that time on, up to half of ʿAbdallah's troops were diverted to Khurma."

the state and its administrative arm have a legitimate place in Islamic legal theory. By doing so, he has prepared the way for his account of taxation as a function of the legal status of land (parts 2 through 6), a definition which rests upon a sophisticated understanding of the authority of the state over the land. From early on, the rights of Muslims over the lands of conquest were challenged by the growth of the Umayyad state and its intrusion into the arena of land ownership.[41] It has also been suggested that the land-tax in the early Islamic period was paid in order to affirm rights of private property over the land and only later was understood to indicate the authority of the state over the land (see n. 27). Our methodology, defined by the dynamic of genre, requires us first to consider how this kitāba-consciousness as exemplified in section VII had come to be assimilated into the legal sources of the day, especially its positions on the land-tax. From that perspective, a better sense of the importance of land ownership to legal theory will emerge.

The letter of ʿUmar II (r. 99-101/717-720) to his administrative agents (*ʿummāl*) is an early example of the state's interest in the question of its Islamic identity, one which illustrates state interest in both the particularly Muslim and non-Muslim (i.e. potentially universal) dimensions of its Islamic identity. In other words, it is the nature of the state, since it embraces Muslim (both Arab and non-Arab) and non-Muslim (i.e. conquered) peoples, that works to developed a universal, rather than tribal, conception of the Islamic identity and mission. It is in this sense that the letter, which appears in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's (d. 214/829) work on the life of ʿUmar II,[42] can actually be taken as an attempt by the state to construct a definition of itself in Islamic terms—in other words, an Islamically inspired constitution of its power, privileges and limitations. The letter starts with qur'ānic citations in reference to the divine mission of Islam, an indication of the Islamic context in which the author wants to present his version of the state's constitution. Moreover, the body of the letter and the legal issues which it addresses betray a state concerned

[41] See ʿA. al-Dūrī, "Notes on Taxation in Early Islam," *JESHO* 17 (1975), 135-144, especially pp. 138-140 where it is mentioned that the struggle for ownership of land—between tribes who had participated in the conquest and the Umayyad state—was a factor in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (82/701).

[42] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, ed. A. ʿUbayd, Damascus 1966, pp. 92f.; H.A.R. Gibb, "The Fiscal Receipt of ʿUmar II," *Arabica* 2 (1955), 1-16; and A. Guessous, "Le rescrit fiscal de ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: Une nouvelle appreciation," *Der Islam* 73 (1996), 113-137.

to maintain an Islamically acceptable claim to political legitimacy in the face of accusation and suspicion: 1) non-Muslims who convert to Islam will enjoy all the privileges of Muslims, but their land will still be treated according to its conquered status (*fay'*);[43] 2) adherence to an Islamically defined conduct in war, including the summons to Islam; 3) equal treatment of those who emigrate to Islamic centers (*dūr al-hijra*) and take up the Islamic cause; 4) taxation of Muslims (*al-ṣadaqa*) and distribution of the revenue as specified by the Qur'ān; 5) the legitimacy of 'Umar I's decision to immobilize conquered land (*fay'*), annex the fifth to it and use this revenue to finance salaries and provisions, and that in the face of blame and suspicion; 6) the sanctity of public lands (*ḥimā*), which are not to be used even by the Imām, so as to avoid suspicion; 7) a ruling against a kind of intoxicating beverage (*ṭilā'*); 8) the assertion that the domain of Islam extends to the sea, meaning that sea routes, like land routes, should be open to trade without obstruction; 9) the importance of uniform standards of measure and weight; 10) the abolishment of all taxes (*'ushūr*) other than those assessed on peasants cultivating the land;[44] 11) other kinds of taxes paid by peasants, artisans and merchants; 12) a decision against permitting government officials to engage in trade; 13) prohibition of selling cultivated land (i.e. land subject to the land-tax), the implication being loss of the land-tax when conquered land is purchased by Muslims; 14) confirmation of the authority of government agents to collect appropriate

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[43] This word, often understood as booty, is usually associated with the proceeds of conquest, either by force or by treaty; it was eventually used to describe conquered lands in general and in that sense equated with the land-tax. See Abū Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[44] The meaning of this tax (*'ushūr*) is difficult to specify. It is not the tithe, which includes cattle as well as crops. The sources use it to refer to a variety of taxes. It seems to have originally derived from a pre-Islamic land-tax adopted by Muslims and imposed on non-Muslim peasants (*nabat*) cultivating the land. See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, ed. A.R. 'Armūsh, Beirut 1977, p. 190, where it is called, interestingly, the tithe of protected peoples (*'ushr ahl al-dhimma*, i.e. the conquered peoples). It seems to have been conceived, at least initially, as a non-Muslim equivalent of the Muslim tithe on land. It is in that sense that it may have formed the basis for introducing what was to become the land-tax (*kharāj*) on conquered peoples. The initial use of the same term (*'ushr*) for taxes imposed on Muslim and non-Muslim land may have contributed to the eventual confusion over the tax obligations of both converts to Islam and Muslims who purchased conquered land. For this ambiguity, see Ibn Māja, *Sunan Ibn Māja*, ed. M.F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 2 vols., Cairo 1952, vol. 2, p. 586, in the chapter on the alms-tax (*Kitāb al-zakāt*), entry 1831 (*Bāb al-'ushr wa-al-kharāj*).

taxes, even from those who abandon their land; if someone does abandon their land and pays the land-tax, however, they are not required to do anything else; otherwise, the government agent is best qualified to deal with the issue; 15) the abolishment of corvées; 16) the requirement that land be cultivated, the reference being to arable lands in those regions conquered by Islam, since it is a source of revenue for Muslims; and 17) the inheritance of the peasants (i.e. non-Muslim, conquered peoples), which can only go to their relatives, so as to preserve the tax status of the land.

Other than item 7, the list indicates the letter's goal of addressing affairs of state and questions of authority. Item 7, however, is concerned with an important part of the Islamic identity, the prohibition of intoxicating beverages, and all items together, including item 7, speak to the question of an Islamically defined public order. In particular, item 5 indicates the delicate nature of the formation of the state in an Islamic context which did not initially call for the establishment of a state. Considerable resentment accompanied 'Umar I's decision not only to immobilize the land instead of distributing it among the conquering Muslims, but also to attach the fifth—a portion of which was assigned to the Family of the Prophet—to the immobilized proceeds of conquest.[45] It should not be surprising that the issue of the status of land emerges in this early attempt to justify the state, for the two were closely linked. At this time, the state had become well established, but lacked a religiously based theory by which to justify its existence and its administrative practice in acceptably Islamic terms.[46] Apparently, 'Umar II's decision to assign al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) the task of writing down Islamic precedent (*al-sunna*) for taxation and the use of tax revenue was inspired by a twofold state interest: establishing a tax law on Islamically acceptable grounds and cultivating an image of Islamic authority and identity.[47]

[45] Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but especially the latter, are both credited with the decision to drop the Family of the Prophet from the list of those assigned a share of the fifth and to use it instead for the cause of Islam, on the grounds that the Prophet had appointed no heirs. Such reports suggest that the political controversy over succession to the Prophet—among leading Companions of the Prophet and members of his Family—included a strong financial element. See n. 14.

[46] There were other ways, of course, in which the Umayyads defended state ideology, as can be seen in the orations of al-Ḥajjāj, the reforms of 'Abd al-Malik, state epistles and the construction of such ideologically charged buildings as the Dome of the Rock.

[47] See Ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fiqī, Cairo 1934, p. 578, entry

The attempt to garner legitimacy for state administration continued with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 139/756). His attempt differed from the Umayyad in its orientation towards the Sasanian element of the Abbasid dispensation. The concern, however, was the same: the Islamic legitimacy of the state, particularly its tax administration. As a solution, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ suggested a legal framework in which the holder of the caliphal office—the emblem of state authority—was not only responsible for enforcing the law, but also invested with the privilege of complementing it in those areas not specifically addressed by scripture. In other words, the caliph was to be considered, along with the specifically Islamic heritage, a source of law. This framework, apparently influenced by Sasanian notions of the ruler as lawgiver,[48] resembles Qudāma's attempt to define state administration as a branch of Islamic law, with the resulting conclusion that the one could not contradict the other. Qudāma, however, is more limited by the development of legal theory in general, particularly that relevant to taxation. Writing before the significant advances in legal theory of the second/eighth and third/ninth century, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ could give the caliph considerable freedom of movement to use his own judgment in determining the rules of taxation.

Qudāma thus offers important evidence against suggestions of an increasingly "secular" administration during the Abbasid period.[49] Recent scholarship suggests a model of dialogue between the legal establishment and the Abbasid state from the point of view of the jurists, their interest in state patronage and their tolerance of a state role in the management of the law.[50] Qudāma's work highlights the other side: the interest of the state and, more specifically, the ad-

1848 (AC 41): "He said: ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ-al-Layth-ʿUqayl-Ibn Shuhayb who said: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered him to write down the law (*al-sunna*) for the schedule [lit., the positions] of the tax on Muslims (*al-ṣadaqa*), and he wrote: These are the ranks [i.e. categories] and positions of the taxes, Allāh willing...."

[48] See S.D. Goitein, "A Turning Point in the History of the Muslim State," *IC* 22 (1949), 120-135. It should be noted, however, that in the same letter Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ acknowledges the entry of the Umayyad caliphs (ʿAbd al-Malik and Hishām) into the arena of law.

[49] Of the many examples of scholars who posit an increasingly secular administration through the Abbasid period, we cite Ben Shemesh, *op. cit.* (1969), p. 27: "... the whole system of taxation which prevailed during the existence of the Muslim empire was a secular one, and that the early Muslim scholars had little success in their efforts to islamicize the pre-Islamic systems of taxation or imbue them with some Muslim religious colour."

[50] Zaman, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

ministration in Islamic law. This interest did not begin with Qudāma, but very early in Abbasid rule as one means to assert the legitimacy of the Abbasid state. Abbasid caliphs, such as al-Rashīd (r. 170-193/786-809), reportedly tried to have Mālik's legal work (*al-Muwaṭṭa'*) declared the official law of the state.[51] Later, the creation of the office of Chief Judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*), first held by Abū Yūsuf, represents another attempt to clarify the relation between the state and Islamic law. Finally, the "Inquisition" (*al-miḥna*), instituted late in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (r. 198-218/813-833) and lasting until al-Mutawakkil's (r. 232-247/847-861) decision to overturn it, can be seen as a largely Abbasid attempt to subordinate the arena of Islamic identity to state authority. Qudāma's work suggests that state interest in the law did not wane after the Inquisition. By his day, however, the strength of sharī'a-consciousness could not be ignored or disregarded, as it had been by the Inquisition, and Qudāma is obliged to work within its parameters. In short, no legal system existed at the time other than Islamic law, and a legitimate state without some theoretical relation to law is impossible, an obvious point but apparently neglected in much of the study of the post-*miḥna* Islamic state. Many attempts were made during the Abbasid period, Qudāma's being but one, to hammer out some type of understanding of the relation of the state to the law.

This goal is reflected in the production of legal literature which aimed to define, along the lines of 'Umar II's letter, the nature of the state. This literature, which we will refer to as state literature, focuses largely on issues related to conquest: the ethics of war, division of booty, relations with peoples in areas not under Islamic hegemony (*dār al-ḥarb*), early raids conducted by the Prophet and his Companions (narratives which formed a model for later conquest literature), and so forth. This genre, which includes works on the land-tax, originates in and maintains a close association with the arena of conquest—again, the defining element in the emergence of the state. This legal literature devoted to state concerns had the effect of gradually incorporating kitāba-consciousness into Islamic law. One important aspect of that process was the articulation of a framework in which state concerns (i.e. those related to the dynamic of conquest),

[51] Sometimes also attributed to al-Manṣūr. For the association of these two figures, see pseudo-Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa-al-siyāsa*, ed. Mu'assat al-Wafā', 2 vols. in 1, Beirut 1981, vol. 2, pp. 178-180.

including the land-tax, could enjoy a legitimate place in Islamic law. The founding jurists of the Ḥanafī school, known for their close relation to Abbasid rule, seem to have been among the first to compose works within this genre of state literature;[52] such works, then, can be said to represent an Abbasid political authority recognized by virtue of conquest and maintained by the cultivation of a twofold image of justice in its treatment of its subjects and its adherence to Islamic principles.

The so-called "Law of Nations" (*Kitāb al-siyar*)—actually one section of the original material (*Kitāb al-aṣl*) of the Ḥanafī school of law as collected by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805)—takes up the direction set by ʿUmar II's letter in its treatment of affairs of state under the aegis off Islamic law and identity.[53] The main interest of this work is the jurisdiction of Islamic law in relation to non-Muslims, who fall into two categories: 1) those outside the domain of Islam (*dār al-islām*), living in the so-called domain of war (*dār al-ḥarb*), with whom Muslims might come in contact in war or trade; and 2) those living within the domain of Islam (i.e. under the hegemony of Islamic rule). The second category includes non-Muslims (*ahl al-kitāb*), apostates, slaves, brigands, rebels and dissenters,[54] essentially all those whose relation with the domain of Islam, the authority of the state, and, above all, the social organization of Islamic law was partial, disrupted or potentially ambiguous—in short, less than regular.

This is not the place to discuss all the niceties of law discussed in this work and those like it.[55] Since the interests of this literature in-

[52] There were other jurists, independent of the state, who also composed literature related to the conquest: Their focus, however, was much more the earliest period before the conquests under ʿUmar I. See al-Fazārī (d. 180/802), *Kitāb al-siyar*, ed. F. Ḥamāda, Ribat 1987. It should be noted that no attention is given to the land-tax in this work. See below, n. 55.

[53] See al-Shaybānī, *The Islamic Law of Nations*, trans. M. Khadduri, Baltimore 1966. In relation to the *Kitāb al-aṣl*, it should be remembered that the earliest works of jurisprudence, once considered the effort of single individuals, are now thought to be the result of many hands, a school of jurists and scholars who refined, developed and perhaps even added to the original teachings of the eponymous founder of their school (see Calder, *op. cit.*). That feature of such works notwithstanding, it should be stated again that these works are not disruptive breaks with an unknown past, but do display continuity with earlier teachings as well as development.

[54] For a study of the Islamic laws of rebellion, see Kh. M. Abou El Fadl, "The Islamic Law of Rebellion: The Rise and Development of the Juristic Discourse on Insurrection, Insurgency and Brigandage," Ph.d. diss., Princeton 1999.

[55] Others who treated the topic include al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), in al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-umm*, 7 vols., Cairo 1903, vol. 7, pp. 303f.; al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), also in

volved legal matters faced by the state in its conduct with non-Muslims (i.e. those outside the confessional and communal group), it offered an excellent opportunity in which the land-tax—the tax imposed upon the lands of the conquered (i.e. the non-Muslim, at least initially)—might be integrated into legal theory. Al-Shaybānī deals with the land-tax in two chapters: "On Peace Treaties" (pp. 142f.); and the "Book of Taxation" (pp. 269f.). The first treats the tax on lands whose peoples had entered into a subordinate relation with Islamic rule by treaty, the second those which had been appropriated through conquest. It is clear from these two chapters that ideas about the land-tax were already well developed by the second half of the second/eighth century. The important issue of immobilizing the land is considered permissible (i.e. at the discretion of the Imām) on the basis of the precedent established by ʿUmar I (p. 256). The understanding of the land-tax as a function of the status of the land, rather than the personal status of those working it (p. 273), is clearly articulated and represents a significant development from the letters of ʿUmar II and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ; issues of authorship notwithstanding, the point of view in al-Shaybānī's collected material indicates an important shift in legal theory in its use of the legal status of land as a defining element in state authority. In an earlier period, the land-tax might be removed from conquered lands as a result of either the conversion of its tenants or its purchase by Muslims as their private property. This practice led to a serious financial crisis for the Umayyad state during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) and a concerted effort (in both Iraq and Egypt) to discourage conversion by requiring converts to pay the poll-tax and Muslims to pay the land-tax on conquered land which had come into their possession.[56]

Such state literature continued to be produced with increasing sophistication, but never lost its connection to the dynamic of conquest—even at a time when conquest had largely subsided—due to the fact that the legitimacy of state administration of land was so closely associated with the dynamic of conquest. The work of al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ al-buldān*), who was himself closely associated with the Abbasid court, can be considered an attempt to justify the vi-

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al-Shāfiʿī, vol. 4, pp. 176f.; Muslim (d. 261/875), *Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim*, 8 vols., Cairo 1963, vol. 5, pp. 139f.; and al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, 5 vols., Medina 1965, vol. 3, pp. 52f.

[56] See al-Dūrī, *op. cit.* (1950), pp. 107-108 and pp. 115-116.

sion of state authority over land by virtue of conquest. Taxation concerns, it should be remembered, form a central, even predominant, part of his work. His work thus represents one form of the genre of state literature; other potential forms included state letters and the so-called law of nations, as we have already seen, as well as works known by the title, "The Book of the Land-Tax" (*Kitāb al-kharāj*).

The first of these works, now lost, by Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 170/786), the secretary to al-Mahdī (r. 158-169/775-785), is reported to have met with criticism, which Ben Shemesh attributes to suspicion of his Jewish roots.[57] A more plausible explanation lies in the strongly administrative character or kitāba-consciousness which, one might surmise, marked the treatise, to the neglect of Islamic concerns. Such a focus is not surprising at a time when the formation of Islamic legal literature was still in its initial stages. Moreover, the aim of the work was the introduction of an administrative system, proportional taxation, designed to secure the collection of taxes against market instability.[58] Religious concerns were not high on such an agenda. It would not be long, however, before a more thoroughly Islamic version of state administration would be demanded.

In the period when the author of the second of the works on the land-tax, Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), put pen to paper, the concerns of sharīʿa-consciousness were much more apparent. A prominent feature of this consolidation was the growing interest in binding the law more closely to Islam's original sources (namely the Prophet and his Companions), a connection which marks not only the works of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) and Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), but also Abū Daʾūd al-Ṭayālasī (d. 204/820), who composed a work designed to demonstrate the relation of legal reports to the first Muslims (*Kitāb al-musnad*), and Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), whose work on the life of the Prophet which, in the form we have it as revised by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), actually aims to document not merely the life of the Prophet, but the growth of the Muslim community as a whole from its prophetic origins.

Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj*, though largely involved with state administration, does not neglect this developing sharīʿa-consciousness, and it is in that sense that the work actually forms an impor-

[57] Ben Shemesh, *op. cit.* (1969), pp. 11-12.

[58] Ibid., pp. 10-12. For other references, see S. Moscati, "Abū ʿUbayd Allāh," *EI*[2], I, pp. 157-158.

tant first step towards the amalgamation of the kitāba-consciousness of state administration and the sharīʿa- and related ḥadīth-consciousness of religious circles. Despite its name, the work is not limited to the legal theory of the land-tax, but can be more accurately viewed as a development within the sub-genre of state literature, i.e. the law of nations, for its attention to issues of state administration in general and those related to non-Muslims in particular.[59]

Abū Yūsuf's work, while lacking organization, is marked throughout with a concern for principles favorable to the authority of the state, especially as embodied in the Abbasid Hārūn al-Rashīd. This interest in authority is operative on many levels, in its incorporation of material on the Islamic conquests, but most strikingly in its focus on the caliph himself as law-maker. The work is actually presented as a conversation in which the jurist responds to the caliph's questions on matters of administration, thus affirming a caliphal role in establishing the law and maintaining justice.[60] This feature of the work is meant not to grant license to the caliph to act arbitrarily, but rather to draw upon the legal authority of the caliph as Imām of the Muslim community (*al-umma*) in order to give an air of legitimacy to state administration, especially tax administration.[61] Evidence for this exists in the author's introduction, where emphasis is placed on the imām-status of the Abbasid caliphs, and throughout the work in the tendency to attribute legal decision-making to caliphal judgement (*ra'y*) and authority (*muwassaʿ ʿalayka*) in a way which recalls the letter of

[59] See Calder, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108: "Broadly, discussion of the tax termed *kharāj* precedes discussion of the tax termed *ʿushr*, *zakāt* or *ṣadaqa*—though much of the detail is inextricably interwoven, even confused. This is followed by discussion of the poll-tax of *jizya*, applicable only to non-Muslims, together with discussion of the social status, rights and obligations of non-Muslim citizens in Islamic territory. The last sections of the book relate to such topics as how to deal with thieves, how to implement the prescribed penalties (*ḥudūd*), how to pay government officials, administer border crossings, organize warfare with non-Muslim neighbours, etc. The whole is recognizable as selected and presented with the immediate aim of elucidating administrative practice and as exhibiting a more particular concern for modes of taxation and land-holding. The title *Kitāb al-kharāj* is justified by the expansive nature of material relating to this topic (in its broadest sense—taxation), but it hardly describes the nature of the book as a whole, which clearly aspires to cover all major areas of government administration."

[60] The fact that it is a jurist who responds to questions of state administration demonstrates the gradual integration of kitāba- and sharīʿa-consciousness. Abū Yūsuf thus represents a significant development in that sense from Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, who was not a jurist, but a state official.

[61] That is, an imām-consciousness. See above, n. 13.

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to al-Manṣūr. At the same time, this definition of the Imām's role in establishing law led to an image of the Imām as the source of justice for his subjects. Again, this was not to justify arbitrary administrative practices, as has been suggested,[62] but may actually have been the result of complaints (*maẓālim*) against a lack of restraint shown by tax agents in the absence of a legal uniformity enforced by the central authority. The systematization of law and political centralization, then, can and does develop jointly.[63]

More than his predecessors in the genre, Abū Yūsuf shows a concern for Islamic identity in his presentation of his material as reports (often with chains of transmission) describing the measures undertaken by the first Muslims (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). This inclusion of ḥadīth-consciousness was one way to associate principles of administration (and explanation of them) more directly with the Islamic heritage. This effort to bring state administration into the arena of Islamic law apparently succeeded in attracting the attention of those engaged in the formation of the legal corpus. More general works of law, legal compendia (see below), began to address matters of state administration, in limited ways, as a response to the amalgamating work of the first Ḥanafī jurists. For example, Abū Da'ūd (d. 275/889), in his collection of reports on the practice of the Prophet (*Sunan Abī Da'ūd*), includes a chapter entitled "The Book of the Land-Tax, (State) Governance, and the Proceeds of Conquest" (*Kitāb al-kharāj wa-al-imāra wa-al-fay'*).[64] While there is actually very little in this chapter on the land-tax, Abū Da'ūd includes reports on state offices such as state secretary and minister, associating their origin in some way to the practice of the Prophet. Living in a period when authoritative

[62] See Calder, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-160.

[63] The simultaneous development of law and consolidation of central state authority should not be seen as contradictory, as is evident from the history of English law. See A.B. Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 9: "The earliest idea of the common law was advanced by the English kings' judges some 900 years ago in an attempt to create a national legal system and to consolidate royal power through the centralization of the administration of justice. The national, royal courts proved very attractive to litigants because of their relative freedom from corruption and their ability to enforce judgements on a national basis through the executive power of royal officials. The law they applied was said to be 'common,' because it allegedly represented customs common to the whole kingdom, in contrast with rules applied only locally, or with the law in ecclesiastical courts that were applying a foreign system. The common law thus had a unifying, state-building aspect which has both a practical and an ideological aspect."

[64] Abū Da'ūd, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 130f.

precedent had become more strictly limited to the practice of the Prophet, Abū Da'ūd saw fit to attribute aspects of state formation to the Prophet as a way to legitimize them. The nature of his work, of course, is a function of prophetic precedent, but his inclusion of state material, highly dubious in terms of its relation to the Prophet, speaks to the spirit of his day. For example, the use of record-keeping (*tadwīn*) in the organization of the state is widely recognized as a practice initiated by ʿUmar I, but in Abū Da'ūd's collection, it is sanctioned, in terms of Islamic legitimacy, by a statement attributed to the Prophet.[65]

In many ways, section VII of Qudāma's work is a direct successor to the state literature exemplified by the work of al-Shaybānī and Abū Yūsuf. His appropriation of that genre, however, is limited to material on state revenue (especially taxation) and leaves aside its other topics (e.g. warfare, treatment of rebels and bandits). While this focus on state revenue includes material of interest to both kitāba- and sharīʿa-consciousness, the primary concern is kitāba-consciousness, and this is most clear in Qudāma's decision to treat categories of taxation according to the legal status of land before attending to the concern of sharīʿa-consciousness in communal identity. Classification of land according to its legal status was not new;[66] Qudāma, however, is able to highlight its significance for kitāba-consciousness by explaining, more cogently than others had before him, its relation to different categories of taxation in parts 2 through 6 of section VII.

After a brief outline (part 1) of the sources of state revenue (*fī majmūʿ wujūh al-amwāl*) in the order in which they are addressed in section VII, Qudāma turns immediately to the concept of land status as the defining element of taxation: part 2—land which the Muslims conquered by force (*arḍ al-ʿunwa*); part 3—land conquered peacefully by treaty (*arḍ al-ṣulḥ*); part 4—land owned by Muslims (*arḍ al-ʿushr*); part 5—wasteland which, when cultivated, becomes private property (*iḥyā' al-arḍ*); part 6—state lands distributed by the Muslim Imām as grants to leading figures (*al-qaṭā'iʿ wa-al-ṣafāyā*).

The last three categories (parts 4 through 6) pose no problem since they can be traced to the practice of the Prophet. The first two (parts 2 and 3)—the lands of conquest—create a tension in legal theory,

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[65] Ibid., entry 2962. The response of jurists to state literature will be examined in the following section on sharīʿa-consciousness.

[66] See Ibn Sallām, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-513, entries 1560-1565.

given their appearance in Islamic history after the period of revelation. Conquest itself could be said to have prophetic precedent on the basis of the "raids" (*maghāzī*) conducted by the Prophet, but the conquests differed from the Prophet's raids not only in terms of scale, but in terms of the relation of the conquests to the formation of the state and its authority over conquered territory, a relation spelled out by particular terminology.[67] This is not to suggest a lack of flexibility in Islamic law, which has long shown its ability to integrate practices and customs of non-Islamic provenance through various legal tools, such as consensus (*ijmā*ʿ), analogy (*qiyās*), even the more nebulous concepts of custom (*ʿurf*), the common good (*al-maṣlaḥa al-mursala*) and preferential discretion (*istiḥsān*). That notwithstanding, Qudāma, as we have seen, faced very real criticism in terms of the legitimacy of the land-tax (see above, on Ibn Wahb and Shīʿī claims), and his attempt to organize his work according to the concept of land status within a treatise on taxation and state revenue that was oriented towards Islamic legal theory was one way to meet this criticism. The concept of the legal status of land is itself defined primarily as a function of the land's relation to the authority of the state (e.g. alienable property, inalienable property, private property, state property) in contrast to personal status in Islam which is defined either according to confessional and communal identity (e.g. Muslim, Jew, Christian, polytheist) or capacity before the law (e.g. free, slave, male, female, adult, minor). Thus, Qudāma's initial classification of tax law reflects a kitāba-consciousness in its orientation towards the authority of the state.

Qudāma begins his account of lands conquered by force in part 2 (pp. 162-165) by admitting the extent of the controversy (*ikhtalafa al-muslimūn fī arḍ al-ʿunwa*) while limiting his treatment of the subject to its most essential points: the Mālikī position in support of division of the land among the Muslim warriors and the Ḥanafī position in

[67] It would be wrong, for example, to conclude that part 3 (land conquered by treaty) had prophetic precedent by virtue of the treaties made between the Prophet and delegations (*wufūd*) representing different groups and tribes of the Arabian peninsula. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, *passim.* The specific nomenclature used to classify lands—those conquered by force (*ʿunwatan*) and those conquered by treaty (*ṣulhan*)—refers exclusively to the Islamic conquests after the death of the Prophet. The land of the Arabian peninsula occupied a special category (part 4) and was not counted as conquered land (i.e. cultivated by non-Muslims), since all Arabs (i.e. inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula) were required to be Muslim or face "the sword" (i.e. coercion to convert).

support of immobilization of the land. Both positions, he claims, are legitimate, the precedent of the Prophet supporting the first, that of ʿUmar I the second. He also cites the two qurʾānic verses used as evidence for the legitimacy of the two positions: Q 8:40 (*sūrat al-anfāl*) in support of division; and Q 59:7-9 (*sūrat al-ḥashr*) in support of immobilization.[68]

Qudāma then explains the importance of land status to taxation: If the land is treated as booty and divided, its tax obligation is the tithe; if immobilized, the poll-tax and land-tax are levied upon it. In line with his introductory statements (where he demonstrated the Islamic legitimacy of the land-tax by mathematical means), Qudāma continues to defend the legality of the land-tax by portraying it in the Islamically authoritative context of legal variants. He first states that the land-tax (*al-kharāj*) is linguistically (and therefore legally) equivalent to "rent" (*kirāʾ*);[69] he then affirms the priority of land status over personal status by claiming that the land-tax does not change with the conversion of the tenants or the renting of the land to Muslims; and, finally, he marshals forth a long list of names of leading jurists who all concur that lands conquered by force are not to be left idle, but must be cultivated, so that the land-tax can be collected.

Section VII shows awareness, on many levels, of the relation of taxation defined by land status to the authority of the state. For example, the authority of the state actually defines personal status, albeit indirectly, since the personal status (slave or free) of the occupants of the land depends on the Imām's decision to divide or immobilize the land:

> And if the Imām divides the land among those who conquered it, it is tithe-land and its people slaves. And if he does not divide it, but leaves it for all Muslims, then its people pay the tribute, by which they are emancipated, and their land, which is left to them, is subject to the land-tax (AC 42).[70]

Also, he notes that the possibility of increasing taxes on land, the ownership of land and the acquisition of land as private property all depend on the status of the land, as he says in part 3 (pp. 165-

[68] It should be remembered that this verse does not explicitly refer to land-tax of immobilization of land, but its reference to later generations of Muslims was used to justify land-immobilization only after the fact.

[69] Cf. Ibn Sallām, *op. cit.*, p. 69, entry 175.

[70] QJ, p. 163.

167) where he distinguishes the legal consequences of conquest by force from that by treaty. While he constructs his argument as a function of Islamic precedent, the principle at stake is clearly the status of land:

> And some jurists allow for an increase [in taxes] on those who can bear an increase, [which applies to] the people who submitted peacefully who have a surplus, and in that they follow the custom and ancient ways of the predecessors, except that the consensus, as I have it, [acknowledges] a difference between those who submitted peacefully and those who submitted by force, even though they all pay the land-tax. The difference applies to those who submitted by force and concerns their ownership of their land [i.e. whether or not they have the legal capacity of ownership]. This disagreement does not exist in the case of those who submitted peacefully regarding their ownership of their land. And some of those who consider [the matter] disapprove of the selling of land conquered by force, and all agree on the permissibility of selling land acquired peacefully, since these people made a treaty before they were overcome; thus, their land is their property (AC 43).[71]

This attention to the manner of conquest, which in some cases happened three centuries before Qudāma composed his work, may seem rather academic. All the more striking, then, is the fact that jurists continued to write about early Islamic conquests in relation to taxation centuries after Qudāma, as seen in the work of Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393). The relevance, however, is not only historical, but involves the connected issues of the legal status of land, the legitimacy of the state and the nature of state authority in a polity which claimed to belong to the Islamic heritage. It should be added that the actual collection of taxes was not at stake in this use of the literature of conquest: Legal niceties were not going to prevent the state from collecting taxes as long as it had the power to do so. The point here is rather legal theory: the justification of tax administration in the context of Islamic law.

Once he has dealt with the status of the lands of conquest, all important in terms of state authority, Qudāma proceeds to incorporate Muslim-held land into his framework, also treating it in terms of land status, not personal. Part 4 (p. 167) treats land subject to the tithe (*arḍ al-ʿushr*), wherein no dispute exists. The six sub-categories of tithe-land had already received cursory mention in part 1: 1) the Arabian peninsula, all of which is considered Muslim-held; 2) waste-

[71] QJ, p. 166.

land brought under cultivation by Muslims; 3) land-grants made by the Imām to Muslims; 4) conquered land which was not immobilized, but divided among the Muslim warriors; 5) lands once the private property of the ruling elite (i.e. the Sasanians) before the Islamic conquests, like the Sawād, which 'Umar 'selected' to be state lands (*al-ṣafāyā allatī aṣfāhā 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb min arāḍī al-sawād wa-hiya mā kāna li-kisrā wa-ahlihi wa-khāṣṣatihi*); and 6) lands abandoned by the enemy which Muslims eventually occupied, such as lands within the marches (*al-thughūr*) between the domain of Islam and that of the enemy. Thus, since he has already given sufficient attention to the categories of tithe-land, he limits discussion in part 4 to one minor point not mentioned previously: the distinction in the treatment of Arabs who converted to Islam willingly and those who did so under coercion. Although this one point involves the question of the movable property of converts, it is actually set against the more fundamental assumption related to the status of land, explicitly stated, that there is no difference in the treatment of the land of those who convert willingly and those who do so under conversion, since all such land is considered tithe-land.

Parts 5 (pp. 168-170) and 6 (p. 170-174) treat two sub-categories of tithe-land which are important for the role of the Imām in determining their status: 1) wasteland brought under cultivation (*iḥyā' al-arḍ*), including lands granted by the Imām to Muslims who fail to meet the condition of bringing them under cultivation (*iḥtijār al-arḍ*); and 2) land-grants (*al-qaṭā'i'*) and state-lands (*al-ṣafāyā*). Part 5 begins by citing the Prophet's declaration that wasteland belongs to the Muslim who expends the effort and resources to bring it under cultivation; and also the variant form of the report which denies "transgressors" (*'irq ẓālim*) the right to work the land once it has been brought under cultivation. Qudāma includes a discussion of property rights which have been transgressed in a way that recalls the Roman law of *accessio*.[72] Also, he mentions the requirement of irrigation for the legal status of wasteland brought under cultivation; the differences of opinion over the necessity of seeking the Imām's permission before cultivating wasteland; and the possibility of such land, normally considered tithe, becoming subject to the land-tax if the water used to irrigate it comes from land subject to the land-tax. Part 5 closes with the conclusion—on the basis of the story of

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[72] See B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, Oxford 1962, p. 135.

Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith, who was granted land by the Prophet, but was unable to cultivate it fully—that land-grants must be put to use; if not, they should be assigned to another, since this kind of land should not be kept from use.

Part 6 begins by citing the Prophet's declaration of Islamic dominion over uninhabited land (*ʿādī al-arḍ li-llāh wa-li-rasūlihi thumma lakum*). Authority over its use, however, is the privilege of the Imām (*fa-ḥukmuhā ilā al-imām*). There are some Islamic principles which must be kept in mind, and Qudāma cites several examples from the practice of the Prophet to illustrate them, such as the principle that land-grants, while bestowing upon the grantee the right to cultivate the land for his individual benefit, do not allow him to keep others from enjoying the natural resources of the land, such as water sources, pasture and wood for fire. Such examples, though originating in pre-Islamic Bedouin custom, serve here to confirm that authority over the land, indeed its ownership, is still in the hands of the state, the source of the grants. This point is further supported by a list of lands which qualify as state-lands, classified in ten categories, all of which are found in the Sawād. Attention is paid to political unrest arising from the state's ownership of land, illustrated in the burning of the land-register during the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (82/701), an act attributed to the desire of people to encroach upon the state-holdings of the Sawād and add them to their own property. It was ʿUthmān, Qudāma notes, who had established the custom of making land-grants from the state-holdings of the Sawād, one result of which was confusion over ownership. Part 6 closes with a definition of a land-grant, including etymological information, and also definition of the different kinds of land-grants.

To summarize: By focusing on the legal status of land, Qudāma has created a framework for Islamic taxation oriented to the authority of state. There are certainly limitations to this, but he uses this framework to achieve his goal of harmony between state administration and Islamic law. His account of the different categories of land pays close attention to Islamically appropriate precedent, especially the practice of the Prophet. He is also careful to draw upon the legal literature for his definitions, summary and explanation. The dynamic of parts 2 through 6 may reflect the kitāba-consciousness, but the material he uses originates in Islamic law.

Sharīʿa-consciousness

The concerns of sharīʿa-consciousness regarding tax law (see above), while not a source of controversy in terms of Islamic authority and identity, still posed a challenge. The understanding of Islamic law as universally applicable—a point of view which naturally followed the expansion of Islam from a small polity in the Hijaz to a far-flung empire—faced the difficult task of locating points of law specific to Islam within a universal vision. The challenge facing the Abbasids, then, was not only the integration of the land-tax into an Islamically legitimate framework, but also the integration of Islamically defined taxes, such as the alms-tax, into a more comprehensive framework of taxation. Qudāma established such a framework by emphasizing the legal status of the land initially while leaving issues related to communal identity to later parts of section VII. While the tensions in early Islamic tax law between the universal and the local (i.e. communal) were never fully resolved (as they never were in Roman law), Qudāma's framework does allude to an interest in harmonizing the two.

Such an interest had begun early in Abbasid rule as a result of the multiple dispensations to which the Abbasid state was heir. We have already seen the Abbasid attempt to win Islamic respectability for an administrative practice largely identified with the Sasanian heritage. At the same time, in response to the assimilation of diverse peoples into the Islamic social and political matrix, an interest developed in expressing Islamic law more universally, not necessarily in terms of its content, but its form. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ pointed out this dilemma in his famous letter by drawing the caliph's attention to the disparate legal rulings followed in the various cities and regions of the empire. The process by which Islamic law was "located" in a universal framework is evident in the development of the theory of tax law. Briefly stated, Islamically defined taxes, such as the alms-tax, are treated in separate chapters on their own (i.e. Islamic) terms in the legal compendia by such authors as Mālik b. Anas and even al-Shaybānī.[73] At the same time, another trend worked to integrate

[73] While there is a brief section in his "Law of Nations" on the Islamic tithe (pp. 288-292), al-Shaybānī treats the alms-tax in a separate chapter of his legal compendium, *Kitāb al-aṣl*, ed. Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Afghānī, 4 vols., Haydarabad 1966, vol. 2, pp. 1-185.

Islamic taxation into the more universal vision found in the genre of state literature. Abū Yūsuf's work, for example, includes a relatively brief section on the alms-tax.[74] The task of locating Islamic concerns in a more universal framework of taxation finally reached its end in the works of Yaḥyā b. Ādam and Ibn Sallām (two representatives of sharīʿa-consciousness) and Qudāma (a representative of kitāba-consciousness).

Certainly, a concern for the acquisition and use of revenue occupied the Muslim community from its earliest period, as witnessed by qur'ānic verses on the alms-tax (*zakāt*), the division of booty (*fay'* or *ghanīma*) and tribute (*jizya*) paid by subject peoples. The legal sources clearly understand that this revenue played a role in the formation of the Islamic state,[75] as well as in the formation of a communal identity vis-à-vis non-Muslim groups.[76] For example, a common sentiment is the following: He who pays the alms-tax does so for the sake of purifying his soul (*taṭhīr*), an action appropriate only for a Muslim, while payment of tribute can never be asked of a Muslim since it involves some degree of humiliation (see Q 9:29). Tribute is thus the obligation of non-Muslims living under Islamic hegemony. In a similar vein, the legal sources (i.e. legal compendia) approach the distribution of booty (*qism al-fay'*) largely from a concern for the fifth and award it a central place in Islamic identity since it exists for the sake of the Muslim community, not particular Muslims.[77] The

[74] Abū Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-211.

[75] For an example of the role of revenue in the definition of a group's relation to the nascent Islamic polity, see al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, ed. Ḥ.M. al-Masʿūdī, 8 vols., Cairo 1930, vol. 7, p. 134 (AC 44): "ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā-Maḥbūb-Abū Isḥāq-Saʿīd al-Jurayrī--Yazīd b. al-Shiḥḥīr who said: While I was with Muṭarrif at al-Mirbad, a man entered with a piece of animal skin [i.e. a letter] and said, "The Messenger of Allāh, Allāh's peace and blessings upon him, wrote this to me. Is there anyone among you who can read? I said, 'I can read.' And in it was written: From Muḥammad the Prophet, Allāh's peace and blessing upon him, to Banū Zuhayr b. Uqaysh, if they attest that there is no god but Allāh and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh and leave the polytheists and agree to [pay] the fifth of their booty and the share and selection of the Prophet, God's peace and blessing upon him, then they are protected by the protection of Allāh and his Messenger."

[76] For example, see ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥ.R. al-ʿAzmī, 11 vols., Beirut 1970, vol. 6, p. 95, entry 10112, where the "alms-tax" of the Muslim is assessed at two and one-half percent, that of the non-Muslim in a state of treaty with the Muslims (*min ahl al-dhimma*) at five percent and that of the non-Muslim without such a defined relation with Muslims at ten percent.

[77] For example, see ibid., vol. 7, pp. 128f. (*Kitāb qism al-fay'*).

point is made in a frequently narrated story about the wives of the Prophet who seek to acquire the Prophet's share of the fifth ("the fifth of the fifth") as their rightful inheritance after his death. Abū Bakr and 'Umar I deny this request on the basis of the Prophet's own words that his goods were not to be inherited, but to be considered alms for the sake of the Muslim community (*lā nūrathu, mā taraknā ṣadaqa*).[78]

The main interest in the legal compendia, then, is Islamic taxation of a specifically confessional and communal kind. By legal compendia is meant that corpus of literature which aimed above all to define and document Islamic identity through an articulation of the legal practice, especially as it became more closely associated with the example of the first Muslims and, eventually, the life of the Prophet.[79] These works pay understandably little attention to the land-tax, while including lengthy material on the details of the alms-tax, booty and tribute.

These compendia fall into two broad categories: 1) jurisprudential works (*fiqh*) representing the teachings of particular schools of law (*madhhab*) as attributed to eponymous founders (Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik b. Anas, and al-Shāfi'ī); and 2) collections of reports narrating the sayings, deeds and decisions of the Prophet, his Companions and their Followers—in other words, collections designed to establish a definition of legal precedent oriented towards the example of the first Muslims especially and, eventually, the practice of the Prophet exclusively. This second category includes: compilations (*muṣannafāt*) of various reports about the first Muslims arranged by subject, by such authors as 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/826)

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[78] This point is further affirmed in the frequently narrated story about al-'Abbās and 'Alī who sought to acquire the Prophet's share of the booty as his relatives with a claim to be his rightful heirs. This attempt too was denied. See al-Nasā'ī, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 135-136.

[79] It can be said that the predominant understanding of religious identity in Islam, throughout its history, has been defined by the concept of adherence to the command of Allāh (*amr allāh*) as known through the Law (*al-sharī'a*). Religious discourse other than the legal does, of course, exist in Islamic history (mystical, messianic, theological, etc.), but the sense of religious identity in terms of the Law has not only persisted, but forms the primary matrix within which all religiosity and piety has had to define itself—often in conflict with, sometimes with the approval of the designated representatives of the Law. The functional equivalent of Islamic law in the Christian context is the Church which, like Islamic Law, claims to be the final authority in questions of religious identity and forms the primary matrix within which all religiosity and piety has had to define itself—often in conflict with, sometimes with the approval of the designated representatives of the Church.

and Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/850); collections of such reports organized into a historical framework according to the generations (*ṭabaqāt*) of the first Muslims with a focus on the community's relation to the Prophet, by such authors as Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) and Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845); collections of prophetic reports (*ḥadīth*) deemed sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and therefore worthy of authoritative status as legal precedent (*sunna*), by such authors as al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), Ibn Māja (d. 273/886), Abū Daʾūd (d. 275/889), al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/916), and arranged, like the compilations, according to legal subject.[80]

Each of these works, despite its own particular goals and vision, pays attention to confessional and communal themes of Islamic taxation, either as an independant chapter, such as the alms-tax, or integrated into other chapters, such as the chapter on war for the sake of the Islamic cause (*bāb al-jihād*) in which the themes of booty and the fifth are normally found. This material on taxation is subordinate to the wider goals of the compendia, which aimed to define the Islamic identity by collecting, recording and organizing precedents deemed normative—in other words, the law (*sharʿ*) regulating the life of Muslims both as individuals and as a community.

The growth of this legal corpus especially in the third/ninth century represents an increasingly exact location of Islamic identity in relation to the life of the Prophet, the definitive element of Muslim confessional and communal identity. It can be said that this consolidation of the legal material for the sake of an identity was itself a reaction against the growth and formation of the state, its claim to authority and conception of an Islamic identity that was imperial as much as it was communal (see chapter one). Even though Qudāma does not draw explicitly on the legal compendia of the second category (compilations and collections), this development did create certain parameters limiting his approach in section VII, especially the following two: 1) the orientation of Islamic law towards the precedent-setting behavior of the first Muslims (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) to have gathered around the Prophet; and 2) a concept of authority (*sunna*) closely connected to the revelation of Allāh conveyed by and embodied in the life of the Prophet.[81]

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[80] The works of these six authors—known collectively as the authors of the six books (*aṣḥāb al-kutub al-sitta*)—have a special status in the history of Islamic law as the definitive collections, i.e. the canon, of reliable prophetic tradition.

[81] See J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1959.

The growing influence of this legal corpus on the production of state literature notwithstanding, a trend towards integrating the concerns of sharīʿa-consciousness into the framework of state literature is clearly discernible. In other words, the jurists and traditionists began to see that the vitality, if not survival, of Islamic law depended in some measure on its ability to "universalize" and thus conform to some extent to the realities of Abbasid society.

The work of Mālik is highly local (i.e. communal) in its vision and character. Although classified as jurisprudence, the work is presented as a collection of precedent-setting reports originating either in the practice of the Prophet or that of the Medinan community. This provincial perspective is reflected in its interest in sources of revenue, which is limited to two chapters: 1) on the alms-tax assessed on Muslims, including material on the tribute paid by non-Muslims (Mālik, *op. cit.*, pp. 162f.); and 2) on the conduct of war for the sake of the Islamic cause (pp. 293f.). Despite some repetition, the work is not merely lists of reports, but includes explanation in the name of Mālik, often by means of comparison;[82] there is thus a trend towards a certain system of law as defined by the Mālikī school. Still, the law is one dominated by the local perspective of the Medinan community (*al-sunna allatī lā ikhtilāf fīhā ʿindanā*), where matters of revenue are hardly an administrative phenomenon (see n. 40), but rather a religious duty (*farāʾiḍ allāh*, p. 180).

The compilers of the legal compendia after Mālik did work to broaden the perspective of the law on matters of revenue by attempting in different ways to locate the concerns of sharīʿa-consciousness alongside those of kitāba-consciousness. We have already seen Abū Daʾūd's version of this "synthesis." ʿAbd al-Razzāq's compendium has two chapters related to revenue: 1) a chapter on the alms-tax (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 3-152); and 2) a chapter on the people of the book, including material on the land-tax (vol. 6, pp. 3-132). This represents a significant development from Mālik's work and thus an important step towards constructing a comprehensive (i.e. more universally applicable) framework for tax law. Reports in the chapter on the alms-tax imply the increasingly involved role of

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[82] For example, p. 166 (AC 45): "Mālik said: Minerals have the same rank as crops, and what is taken from crops is taken from them, and the [tax] amount to be taken from minerals is taken immediately, without waiting for the [new tax] year, just as the tithe is taken from crops when harvested, without waiting for the year to pass."

the state in matters of revenue. One report, as if intended to explain later administrative development, mentions the lack of government agents (*ʿummāl*) in the time of the Prophet as the motivating factor in the decision to allow the Jews of Khaybar to manage the collection of the tribute imposed upon them (half their produce)—the assumption being that if there had been Muslim agents, they would have overseen this administrative work (vol. 4, p. 123, entry 7203). Another report describes ʿUmar I's decision to immobilize the land as a source of revenue for all Muslims, present and future (vol. 4, p. 151, entry 7287), while the two immediately subsequent reports try to explain the ideas of immobilization and a tax on land regardless of ownership (vol. 4, p. 152, entries 7288 and 7289). ʿAbd al-Razzāq broadens the perspective on tax law even further in his chapter on the people of the book by including reports on the land-tax itself (vol. 6, pp. 91-104, *passim*), which is sometimes considered the equivalent of tribute (vol. 6, p. 93, entry 10107), but in general is perceived as a function of the land regardless of the religion of those working on it (vol. 6, p. 102, entry 10133). Still, while ʿAbd al-Razzāq's compilation reveals something of the broadening of sharīʿa-consciousness, its inclusion of material on the land-tax alongside more traditional material does not lead to a comprehensive theory relating sharīʿa-consciousness to kitāba-consciousness.[83]

The first attempt to create theoretical harmony between the two perspectives can be found in the compendium attributed to al-Shāfiʿī. It is clear from his words that a bit of growing pain accompanied the attempt to broaden Islamic law. He is obviously uncomfortable with the legitimacy of the land-tax on account of its absence from the Qurʾān and Sunna, and yet he (or one of his students) dilutes his position to allow for the possibility of immobilization while still awarding ownership of the land to Muslims as their property (*milk*), not to the state as represented by the Imām. This position represents another important step forward, despite the growing pains, in the willingness of sharīʿa-consciousness to allow its point of view to be broadened such that one Islamic framework comprehending all points of view on tax law might emerge. His words are worth quoting in full:

[83] The absence of any theory which systematically integrated the two perspectives is clear from two consecutive reports, one assuming immobilization, the other division. See vol. 6, pp. 103-104, entries 10135 and 10136.

That was not his [i.e. the enemy's] because it [i.e. the land] became the countries of the Muslims and their property, and it is only permissible to divide it among them [the Muslim conquerors] as the Messenger of Allāh, Allāh's peace and blessings upon him, did at Khaybar... [al-Shāfiʿī]—may Allāh, the exalted, have mercy on him—[said]: All that I described must be divided, for if the Imām leaves it [in the possession of the conquered] and does not divide it, but the Muslims immobilize it or leave it to its people [as tenants], the ruling of the Imām on it is to be rejected because it is in opposition to both the book [i.e. the Qur'ān] and the practice of the Prophet (*al-sunna*). And if it is asked where that is mentioned in the book, it can be said that Allāh, the powerful and majestic, said: "Know that if you have taken booty, a fifth is for Allāh and his Messenger"—the verse. And the Messenger of Allāh, Allāh's peace and blessings upon him, divided four fifths to those who struggled [for booty] with horse or camel, including all which was taken in terms of land, produce or possessions. If he left it to its people, its people would bring forth all their produce, and he would extract a tax, giving them an adequate wage in compensation for what they had done [to cultivate and harvest the produce].... He said: If the Imām took control of the countries conquered by force and divided them into fifths, then asked the people [with a right to] the four fifths to give up their right to the land, and if they gave it up gladly, it is the Imām's right to accept it if they hand over [the right to the land] to him, and dispose of it as he sees fit: If they leave it immobilized for the Muslims, there is no objection to his [i.e. the Imām's] accepting it from its people and others in exchange for what is permissible for the man to accept willingly; and I believe that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, if he had done this in any of the lands conquered by force, would have shown its people a gesture of goodwill [i.e. offered them the chance to keep their possessions and reside on their land], and he did with it what I described, [just] as the Prophet, Allāh's peace and blessings upon him, showed a gesture of goodwill to those of the Hawāzin who fell into his hands as captives at [the battle of] Ḥunayn, and [those given the option to give up] what had been given as a gesture of goodwill, willingly returned it [i.e. as the rightful possession of the Muslim conquerors], and those who were not, [the Prophet] did not force them to take what had come into his hands (AC 46).[84]

The tendency to broaden the perspective of sharīʿa-consciousness, on the theoretical level above all, as a response to the reality of land-oriented forms of Islamic taxation led eventually to the production of works on taxation by proponents of sharīʿa-consciousness which accepted the combination of Islamic (i.e. confessional and commu-

[84] al-Shāfiʿī, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 103 (*Bilād al-ʿunwa wa-bilād ahl al-ṣulḥ*).

nal) and administrative conceptions of taxation in one "universal" framework. For example, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, whom Qudāma frequently cites, offers a presentation of tax law in a context strongly colored by the science of the prophetic tradition (*ʿilm al-ḥadīth*).[85] Indeed, the work, as we have it, was transmitted, either orally or in writing, by subsequent generations of scholars of tradition (*muḥaddithūn*), not members of the administrative corps. The possession of the traditionists, this work, which bears the same name as Abū Yūsuf's work, can be understood as a response of sorts to that author: an attempt to counter the treatment of taxation within the genre of state literature and to absorb the topic, in all its aspects, into one theoretical framework rooted in an appropriately Islamic notion of authority. First of all, Yaḥyā's work is much more inclusive in its treatment of Islamic themes of taxation alongside the land-tax. Secondly, his focus, unlike the work of Abū Yūsuf, is taxation alone. Finally, he presents his work in the style of the legal compendia, especially the collections of reports on the practice of the Prophet and the first Muslims. As a result, the work exhibits a marked concern for the transmission of reports, which creates considerable repetition of material. In such a fashion, Yaḥyā's work stands as an example of the growing trend within sharīʿa-consciousness to absorb all aspects of life, including state administration, into its point of view and methodology, in contrast to the work of Mālik.

Finally, this movement reached its end in the work of Ibn Sallām, a figure particularly well-suited to negotiate a more thorough integration between administrative practice and Islamic law. He was, first and foremost, a scholar, both a jurist and traditionist, and is considered to have been a teacher of considerable influence for the formation of sharīʿa-consciousness. At the same time, he is reported to have worked as judge or magistrate in Tarsus and state secretary in Egypt and enjoyed a long association with the Tahirids, the ruling family in Khurāsān beginning from the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn. His life itself, then, bridges the two spheres of influence in the production of tax literature.

His work, while exhibiting some concern for the legitimacy of the land-tax,[86] is, on the whole, both thoroughly universal in its range

[85] Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1964.

[86] Ibn Sallām, *op. cit.*, p. 63, entry 156 (AC 47): "The affair, as I know it, conforms to what Sufyān said: The Imām, regarding land conquered by force, is at

and thoroughly representative of sharīʿa-consciousness. Indeed, his collection of reports appears to construct an historical picture in which both perspectives can be elaborated. Thus, Ibn Sallām aims to treat all aspects of taxation (i.e. *wujūh al-amwāl*—the land-tax as well as alms, the tithe on Muslim-owned land, the distribution of booty and tribute, etc.) as legitimate parts of Islamic law insofar as they are located within an historical trajectory beginning from the Prophet. A similar dynamic can be found in the work of his contemporary, Ibn Saʿd, who includes material on administration and even the land-tax, especially in the entries for ʿUmar I and ʿUmar II.

Still, while administrative concerns regarding the land-tax are included, his work does not represent kitāba-consciousness, but approaches the material of taxation from the point of view of sharīʿa-consciousness and its interest in the authority of Islamic law. In other words, questions of jurisprudence, including the science of the prophetic tradition, shape Ibn Sallām's presentation and explanation of the material. His work is comprehensive, but proceeds according to the concerns of jurists and traditionists, including chains of transmission and the inevitable repetition of material. Moreover, although exhaustive in its treatment of taxation and full of explanatory notes and commentary, Ibn Sallām's work does not display the organization of section VII of Qudāma's work. Rather, the work of Ibn Sallām, whom Qudāma frequently cites, forms the material which was to become synthesized, organized and presented in abridged form without chains of transmission and repetition of material in section VII.

With Yaḥyā b. Ādam and Ibn Sallām as his predecessors, Qudāma could approach the arena of taxation with the confidence that specifically Islamic forms of taxation need no longer be treated only in separate chapters in legal compendia, but also within the broader

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liberty to make a choice between rendering it booty or conquered land [i.e. immobilized], taking into account the [good of the] Muslims and care for them. And evidence for that [lies in the fact] that ʿUmar himself transmitted from the Prophet, Allāh's peace and blessing upon him, that he [i.e. the Prophet] divided Khaybar. Then he [i.e. ʿUmar] said, 'Were it not for the last of the people [i.e. Muslims still to come], I would have done that [i.e. division of the land as booty].' And this is evidence that the two rulings are both at his [i.e. the Imām's] discretion. Were it not for that, he [i.e. ʿUmar] would not have gone beyond the practice of the Messenger of Allāh, Allāh's peace and blessing upon him, to another practice, since he was aware of it [i.e. the practice of the Prophet]."

purview of state literature. While the controversy over the land-tax had not subsided (as exemplified, above, in the figure of Ibn Wahb), leading Muslim jurists had given it greater credence by taking up the genre of state literature themselves and thus consolidating a horizon in which all forms of taxation might be fully treated.

Qudāma's approach is comprehensive and includes the concerns of communal identity embodied in tax law. Part 7 (QJ, pp. 174-179) serves as a transition between his classification of taxes according to the legal status of the land to one reflective of communal identity. There, he introduces three kinds of taxes, different in origin (the tithe, the land-tax and the alms-tax), and his inclusion of all three under one heading shows the extent to which the communal identity of Islam had become contextualized in a universal framework. He begins part 7 by reminding his audience that he had already discussed the tithe as a function of the legal status of land, both in his outline of section VII in part 1 and in part 4. Now, he wants to discuss the tithe not as an aspect of the status of land, but as a tax, especially in terms of the two rates of assessment: the full tithe if irrigation occurs without effort (e.g. by rain); and the half tithe if effort is involved (e.g. by bucket). The real point behind Qudāma's discussion of the two rates, however, is the integration of the tithe, a tax specific to Islam, into the universal framework of the land-tax. He does this by claiming that the rate of assessment is the same for the tithe as for the land-tax (*wa-sabīl arḍ al-ʿunwa fī al-muqāsama sabīl arḍ al-ʿushr*): the full land-tax is also assessed on agriculture irrigated without effort, half if effort is involved (pp. 175-176).

This attempt to bring technical formality to the integrative development of tax law continues with Qudāma's mathematical "proof" that the Islamic fifth is implicit in the land-tax (p. 176). This (mathematical) location of the Islamic tithe within the non-Islamic land-tax is particularly relevant evidence for the tendency, as we have described it, towards a "universalization" of Islamic law through a process of contextualization within the genre of state literature. Again, it is the dynamic of state which acts to introduce a universal perspective to Islam.

Qudāma offers a brief history of the land-tax, perhaps in order to show its legitimate place in Islamic history, a strategy found also in the work of Ibn Sallām. He notes that the land-tax had first been assessed according to a survey of the land (*misāḥat al-arḍ*), which was later adjusted by the Abbasid Imāms who, it is claimed, saw the sense

and justice of a flexible system which took into account the actual amount of agricultural production, the distance required to transport the produce to the market and the expenses of cultivation (p. 176) After this historical interlude, Qudāma returns to his goal of wedding all forms of taxation into one universal theory. Now, he tackles the alms-tax, again specific to Islam. He mentions the differences of opinion among jurists (pp. 176-177)—not over the legitimacy of the alms-tax, but its rate of assessment and the type of produce subject to it. He achieves his goal by brushing aside the ambiguity surrounding the relation of the alms-tax to the tithe by simply equating the two, with the claim that the tithe was the tax assessed on produce in the time of the Prophet. This equation allows him to return to his mathematical approach of integrating Islamic forms of taxation into the dynamic of the land-tax. Finally, he summarizes the system of proportional taxation (*al-muqāsama*) introduced by Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd Allāh, the secretary to al-Mahdī, who sought to address both the injustice suffered by those cultivating the land when prices fluctuated and the harm to "Islam" if such a situation arose, since people would be unable to pay their taxes and the state would fail to meet its various expenses (pp. 178-179).

While he has tried to locate communally defined forms of taxation within the context of the non-confessionally defined land-tax, Qudāma is not able to ignore the differences. He devotes part 8 (pp. 179-182) to the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and part 9 (pp. 182-189) to the alms-tax on cattle. The material is straightforward, taken directly from the legal compendia (part 9 begins, *ajmaʿat al-aḥādīth wa-al-sunan wa-ārāʾ al-fuqahāʾ*...), and the explanations are quite helpful. For example, in part 8, he mentions the different rates of the poll-tax according to three social classes (rates which themselves differ according to geographical region), all payable in cash; and the expectation of provisions (payment in kind) as well as a readiness to host Muslims (i.e. soldiers) for up to three days (p. 181). He goes on to explain how this tax in kind was eventually separated from the poll-tax and identified with the land-tax (see n. 44). Qudāma ends part 9 with the conclusion that the poll-tax is thus a function of personal status alone and cannot be transferred to heirs in the event of death or to progeny in the event of exile (p. 182).

Qudāma is quite aware of the tradition, as his account of the alms-

tax in part 9 indicates: the different schools of law (*ahl al-ʿirāq wa-ahl al-ḥijāz*); the existence of a sharīʿa- and its related ḥadīth-consciousness (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*); and the idea that certain taxes are considered to be a religious obligation, while others were not and thus liable to disapproval (*wa-kariha Mālik an yu'khadha ghairu al-farḍ*). This continues in his account of the fifth in part 10 (pp. 189-193), where he notes the controversy surrounding the portion of the fifth assigned to the relatives of the Prophet. Part 11 (pp. 193-194), which treats minerals extracted from the lands of conquest, forms an attachment to part 10, since the issue at hand is the fifth to be taken from these minerals extracted from the lands of conquest. The same is true for part 12 (p. 194), which treats such things as pearls extracted from the sea; here again, some jurists recognize the fifth in analogy to minerals extracted from the earth. Parts 10 through 12 all stand in relation to the interest in the appropriate use of booty (*ghanīma*) acquired by Muslims through conquest, an interest which occupied the attention of early jurists, thus forming part of sharīʿa-consciousness.

The broadening of the legal theory behind Islamic taxation continues in part 13 (pp. 194-197), which treats taxes imposed on merchants—Muslims, protected peoples or enemies. These taxes and their collectors (*aṣḥāb al-maks*) had apparently been the object of criticism for their pre-Islamic origins.[87] Qudāma's response to this criticism involves a two-step process. On the one hand, he admits that this pre-Islamic tax was abolished by the Prophet (p. 195), but claims that in its place, the alms-tax was established. On the other, he broadens the scope of the Islamically defined alms-tax to embrace the commerce not only of Muslims, but also of non-Muslims. Qudāma has thus ingeniously combined elements of Islamic law with a topic (commerce with non-Muslims) that had originally formed a part of the literature on the "law of nations." In other words, the concern is to fit taxation known to be non-Islamic in origin into the context of Islamic law and identity:

> And Allāh abrogated that with Islam [by introducing] the custom of the Muslim tax (*zakāt*), which [says] that nothing is taken from cash below twenty dinars or two-hundred dirhams. If these amounts are reached, the tax is a fourth of the tithe. As for non-Muslims, those

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[87] QJ, pp. 194-195 (AC 48): "And that is disapproved since the kings of the Arabs and Persians were collecting it from the taxes (*ʿushūr*) on the revenue of the merchants."

> with the status of protected people are taxed at half of the tithe.... As for the people from the domain of war [i.e. outside the domain of Islam], their commerce is taxed at the tithe if they enter the land of Islam, in accord with their practice with Muslim merchants who enter their land (AC 49).[88]

Qudāma has thus accomplished his second goal in parts 7 through 13: an account of state revenue not according to land, but according to the different forms of taxation, with particular attention to communal identity. With his summary of tax law now complete, he adds, for the sake of completeness, parts 14 through 18 which, although related to matters of state revenue, do not involve taxation. Part 14 (p. 197) treats things found or lost, which, if the rightful owner is not determined, are to be used for the common good of the Muslim community. Part 15 (pp. 197-198) discusses the inheritance of a man who has no heirs, with the conclusion that his inheritance is placed at the disposal of the Imām. Part 16 (pp. 198-201), the one part in which Qudāma does seem to offer new material, discusses water rights and rules of irrigation (*al-shurb*), such as the construction of canals, dams, bridges and wells, some of which is undertaken at public expense—a policy initially suggested, Qudāma reports, in the treatise of Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd Allāh. Part 17 (pp. 201-203), like part 16, does not treat state revenue, but the related issue of private domain (*al-ḥarīm*) vis-à-vis public domain—for example, the extent to which one can claim a spring or well as one's right of possession and use. Qudāma concludes, not unlike the Roman law of praedial urban servitude (i.e. easements),[89] that such things cannot be liable to private domain in urban areas, since they are used by all. Finally, part 18 (pp. 203-208) lists the legitimate recipients of the Islamic tithe, a final nod to sharīʿa-consciousness before Qudāma concludes section VII with his addendum on the history of the conquests (part 19).

Conclusion

Qudāma captures the two major developments in the literature of taxation up to his period: the attempt to find a legitimate place for

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[88] QJ, p. 195.
[89] See Gaius, *Institutes*, Book II, parts 14f.

the land-tax in Islamic law; and the trend within Islamic law towards greater comprehension of all aspects of a particular area of law. The first had been a point of controversy since ʿUmar I's decision to immobilize the conquered lands instead of dividing them among the Muslim conquerors as their rightful booty. The tension with Islamic law that this decision created did not escape notice, but actually continued to fester up to Qudāma's day when the Sasanian element in the Abbasid dispensation posed an added challenge to Islamic law on the level of legal theory.[90] The question was not whether the state could operate its administration in Sasanian style and still be Muslim; it was doing just that. Rather, the challenge was harmonizing these two heritages in one theoretical framework. While the genre of tax literature illustrates that much integration had already taken place, Qudāma elaborates this theoretical framework much more systematically than any of his predecessors.

The second issue, the universalization of Islamic law, was not so clearly apparent. One wonders whether the authors of tax literature, including Qudāma, were actually aware of it. It is perhaps accurate to say that the gradual broadening of the horizons of Islamic tax law was a natural consequence to the expansion of Islam and the corresponding need to bring Islamic law into some relation with the new reality. Could Islamic law become a universally applicable system? Qudāma's solution, much of which rests on his mathematical talents, suggests that he very consciously worked to universalize specifically Islamic elements of tax law, or at least to incorporate them into a universal framework.

Section VII, then, like the preceding sections, reveals an author with interests tied to the state and its administration, who at the same time is keenly aware of a particular body of knowledge, including its theoretical challenges, and has the intellectual ability to attempt a reconciliation. Moreover, section VII, perhaps more than any other section of the work, defies any attempt to reduce Qudāma's work to a mere bureaucratic manual, since it is so involved with questions

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[90] The Ottomans also faced the challenge of constructing a theoretical framework for law which acknowledged their dual dispensation (Islamic and Ghengiskhanid), also in relation to the land-tax. See H. Inalcik, "Islamicization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land-Tax," in C. Fragner and K. Schwarz (eds.), *Festgabe an Josef Matuz. Osmanistik-Turkologie-Diplomatik*, Berlin 1992, pp. 101-118; and C. Imber, *Ebu 's-suʿud. The Islamic Legal Tradition*, Stanford 1997, especially pp. 115-138.

of theory. Indeed, it has shown us how closely kitāba-consciousness and sharīʿa-consciousness, as though engaged in a kind of dance, developed together by responding to one another until they almost became one in Qudāma's synthesis.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduction

In section VIII, the final section, Qudāma aims, as he has elsewhere, to summarize a genre—here, political thought—according to its various branches. The prevailing concern is the question of governance (*siyāsa*) of a human community and body politic.[1] In other words, his main interest is the state. What is its origin? Its nature? Its end? How does it give political order to the life of the community? And what is its relation to other elements in society? Qudāma answered these questions, as many had before him, by locating the effective agent of political community in the ruler whose task it was to govern society by enforcing its laws, punishing its rebellious members and training himself in the various virtues and norms of conduct which would allow him, along with his supporting cast of attendants and officials, to carry out the task of governance.[2]

[1] For Qudāma, *siyāsa* means governance, both actual governance or management (*tadbīr*) of the body politic and the science of governance (*ʿilm al-siyāsa*), i.e. the knowledge necessary for effective rule. *Siyāsa* is not, then, a theoretical discipline, but a practical one, the end of which is to bring political community and order into being. As such, Qudāma's conception of politics resembles a craft (*sināʿa*) in the sense used by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) in his treatise on politics. See F. Rosenthal, "Abū Zayd al-Balkhī on Politics," in C.E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times. Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton 1989, pp. 287-301. It should be remembered that *siyāsa* has meant various things at different times, e.g. horse-training in pre-Islamic Arabia and corporal punishment in the Ottoman period. See F.E. Vogel, "Siyāsa," *EI²*, IX, 693-696; F.M. Najjār, "*Siyāsa* in Islamic Political Philosophy," in M.E. Marmura (ed.), *Islamic Theology and Philosophy. Studies in Honor of George Hourani*, Albany 1984; and B. Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*, Chicago 1988.

[2] It goes without saying that the pre-modern world in general understood the ruler to be the embodiment of rule, order and law. Such a notion was found among pre-Islamic polities in the Near East, such as the Byzantine and Sasanian, and seems to have been assumed by Muslim thinkers, as the letters of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and Abū Yūsuf's introduction to his legal treatise (*Kitāb al-kharāj*) suggest; it was most likely such a notion which led early Muslim thinkers to conceive of the Islamic ruler as God's authoritative representative on earth, i.e. God's caliph. This notion continued through the Ottoman period, although challenged on occasion, most notably by jurists, who sought to orient Islamic society towards Islamic law, not

The state, embodied in the ruler, is thus a desirable arrangement, working for the common good of society by facilitating effective cooperation between its members, who are all subject to one system of law. At the same time, it acts to form the human community in light of its common goals of survival and prosperity, and it is in this sense of political formation that early Islamic political thought is to be understood. Conceptions of state in the pre-modern period do not generally envision a political formation from "below" in the sense of the will of the people or even a polity which exists as a function of the competing interests of various social groups. Political formation was understood in an ideal sense, originating from "above," in clearly established lines of hierarchy—whether intellectual, religious or administrative, and it is in terms of the formation of human and political community that we will examine early Islamic political thought of relevance to section VIII. In Qudāma's day, several theories were offered for the proper formation of the polity. For philosophers, formation of the political community involved ennobling souls—the ruler's above all—through the study of philosophy, which would accustom them to the dictates of reason—universal reason—and thereby enable them to live together in a rationally ordered political harmony, which was ultimately a reflection of a rationally ordered cosmic harmony. For religious scholars, this formation started with Islamic law, the polity's *raison d'être*, which, when properly implemented, would habituate society to live in accord with the will of Allāh as revealed in his book and the life of his Prophet above all, with supplementary guidelines exemplified by the customary behavior of the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers (i.e. the first Muslims). Thus, according to religious scholars, the leader of the Islamic community had to be capable of deriving law from its sources through his own personal effort (*mujtahid*), to ensure true leadership of the community in accord with the divine will.

Qudāma was neither philosopher nor religious scholar, but a member of the administrative corps. For him, the transformation of a human community into a political community was contingent upon the ruler's ability to inspire dread (*hayba*) in his subjects,[3] a concept

the person of the ruler, as the embodiment of rule and order, the most celebrated example being Ibn Taymiyya's concept of legal governance or governance by Islamic law (*siyāsa shar'iyya*).

[3] While we will explore Qudāma's understanding of the term in depth below, it should be noted that *hayba* has various meanings in the sources, including dread

akin to *gravitas*, but with the sense of rule and order through power. His view of human nature is quite pessimistic, not completely dissimilar from Augustine's, whose neo-Platonic interpretation of Christianity concluded that humans, as "fallen," were primarily ordered towards sin and thus must be coerced to live in harmony. For Qudāma, the rebellious nature of the subjects and their inclination to idleness (*farāgh*) justified the ruler's use of dread as the primary means for ordering the polity.

This political vision, while found elsewhere in the history of human civilization, is given an Islamic orientation by Qudāma, a scholar in the employ of an Islamic state. After an outline of his overall political philosophy in part 1, he arranges the genre of political thought into three branches, each of which builds upon the previous. The first (parts 2 through 6) draws upon political philosophy, especially its theory of human community, a theory which dates at least to Plato and Aristotle and which had become well-known in Qudāma's day through translations of Greek philosophy and Islamicized adaptations of them, such as the works of al-Fārābī (d. 339/950). The second (parts 7 and 8), building upon the theory of human community established by the first, articulates a line of political thought in Islam which represents the interests of state officials: Its focus is the power (*sulṭān*) and sovereignty or dominion (*mulk*) of the ruler who embodies the state, forms it by virtue of his governance of his diverse subjects through a single system of law and thereby becomes the basis of the claims of state officials to carry out their tasks of administration with authority.[4] While this line of political thought—marked by its "utilitarian tendency" and "political realism"[5]—is not unknown in political literature produced by state officials prior to Qudāma, he is the first to articulate it fully within the context of a theoretical framework.[6] Finally, the third (parts 9 through

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and, more positively, awe, but it is even associated with humility by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 35.

[4] Such terms (e.g. *sulṭān*) are found in the Qur'ān. For the qur'ānic conception of authority, see W. al-Qāḍī, "Authority," in J.D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 1, Leiden.

[5] E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam. An Introductory Outline*, Cambridge 1958, pp. 62f.

[6] This line of political thought—one could call it an early Islamic *raison d'état*—is most prominently represented prior to Qudāma in the letter of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to al-Manṣūr. It could be said that this line of political thought, with its focus on the ruler, is equally well-represented in the literature on the nature of Islamic leadership (*al-imāma*) composed by jurists. While this literature does have a significant

12),[7] building upon this theory of state, focuses on the ruler and his attendants and officials, the moral qualities and virtues expected of them and the norms of conduct essential to their task of governing the state and its subjects. This last branch corresponds to the body of early Islamic political literature known as *Fürstenspiegel*, which drew heavily upon material of Persian provenance, but also used Indian and, especially in Qudāma's case, Greco-Hellenistic sources. There is no question that by Qudāma's day, this sub-genre of political thought had been thoroughly integrated into the Arabo-Islamic context.[8]

The Islamic character of Qudāma's political thought appears most fully in parts 7 and 8, which represent what we shall call the administrative strand of Islamic political thought. Our analysis of the geographical section (section VI) demonstrated that the definition of geographical knowledge which emerged within administrative circles was vital for the formation of a specifically Islamic geographical point of view. Here too, the interests of state officials effectively shape an Islamic theory of state. By virtue of the Islamic identity of the state in which they were employed, these officials—among them Qudāma—were inevitably led to articulate an Islamic vision of state which included an essential role for at least the concept of the Islamic religion (*dīn*) and law (*sharīʿa*) as the basis of political community. This shows that state discourse was never separate from religious discourse even in Umayyad days, not only in terms of the claim to a certain divine right to rule, expressed theologically in terms of free will and predeterminism (*qadariyya* vs. *jabriyya*), but more significantly in legal terms: The purpose of the state was to ensure the application of Islamic law.[9] Moreover, while the details of the Islamic

place in the history of Islamic political thought, especially for its insistence on the relation of Islamic political thought to the sources and concepts of Islamic law (*al-fiqh*), it is not classified by early Muslims themselves as political philosophy in the strict sense, but as part of that branch of knowledge known as the science of the sects or apologetic theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*). Our goal here is to trace the political vision promoted by state officials, its similarities to "theological" literature on Islamic leadership notwithstanding, and to demonstrate that it represented a distinct branch of political thought in early Islamic literature. For the theological discussion of Muslim rule, see W. Madelung, "Imāma," *EI*[2], III, 1163-1169.

[7] Although mentioned in section VIII's table of contents, part 12 is missing from the manuscript (see below).

[8] See G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1968.

[9] See for example, the letter of al-Walīd II (r. 125/743-126/744) designating his sons as heirs, in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M.J. De Goeje et

religion and law were hammered out by religious scholars, the place of religion and law in Islamic political thought was definitively developed by state officials. As we will see, Qudāma's political thought, in line with his work as a whole, highlights an essential point of Islamic civilization—that the state and its officials were its shapers as much as the religious scholars.[10] The state played an essential role in integrating into one Islamic matrix the different cultures over which it eventually came to rule. These cultures—Arabic, Persian, Greco-Hellenistic, and Indian—provided the material out of which Islamic civilization emerged, and they are all variously represented in section VIII, but the vision transforming this diverse cultural material into a particular civilization was an Islamic vision represented as much by the Islamic state as by the Islamic religion.[11]

Section VIII, then, represents an administrative treatment of political thought, a combination of Greek philosophy and Persian and Greco-Hellenistic *Fürstenspiegel*, but now with a new approach and organization inspired by the rise and experience of the Islamic state. Up to Qudāma's day, much of the political literature, as we have it, originated either in the court or the politico-theological debates over legitimate leadership of the Muslim community. *Fürstenspiegel*, a kind of courtly literature, reflects a system of power based on personal relations and counsel, not a theory of rule and certainly not a clear

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al., 15 vols., Leiden 1879-1901, series 2, vol. 3 (ed. I. Guidi, D.H. Müller and M.J. De Goeje), pp. 1756f., trans. C. Hillenbrand, *The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate*, in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. E. Yarshater, 38 vols., vol. 2, pp. 106f., especially p. 112.

[10] It should be said that state officials and religious scholars were often of one mind in their attempts to shape Islamic thought in their own image. See, for example, L. Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought*, Cambridge 1997, where the pious egalitarianism of early Islam is shown to have been "tamed" in similar ways by both scholars and rulers.

[11] It could be argued that an Arabo-Islamic culture took shape through the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods and that Indo-Persian and Greco-Hellenistic elements were grafted onto this Arabo-Islamic trunk as they appeared in the Islamic milieu. While true that Arabic cultural norms had a leading role in Islamic civilization, it is difficult to identify in distinct categories a civilization's cultural sources. Indeed, this section of Qudāma's work would suggest that state circles understood cultural categories in relative terms and drew on various cultural sources without privileging one over another. Certainly, the Arabic language held a special rank in the state's hierarchy of knowledge (see chapters one and two), but this was not the result of cultural preference or piety, but rather for the sake of power and effective administration. When it came to political concepts, one cultural heritage was as good as another, so long as it served to articulate a vision convenient to state interests.

concept of the role of law in the formation of state. Politico-theological debates, also, did not attend to a theory of rule, but rather to the criteria by which one might identify the individual most worthy (*al-afḍal*) to lead the Muslim community, or at least one who was acceptable (*al-mafḍūl ʿalayhi*), when circumstances did not allow for the ascension of the most worthy. Administrative growth and development (i.e.the experience of governance and rule), then, is to be given credit for inspiring a more precise articulation of Islamic political thought beyond courtly concerns or even theological and genealogical criteria for determining a legitimate leader of Muslims. Section VIII is thus extremely important for our understanding of the development of early Islamic political thought. Its articulation of a theory of rule demonstrates the increasing influence of administrative developments upon Islamic political thought, while not neglecting, but rather giving a new emphasis to *Füstenspiegel* material and its primary interest in regulating power through defining the relations of a ruler to his servitors and subjects—a network of personal rights and responsibilities.[12] It is in this sense that section VIII can be said to correspond to the concept of rule in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury (d. 1180 CE), a cleric and intellectual born in England who became bishop of Chartres. Much of his work fits into the *Fürstenspiegel* genre, with illustrations of good rule from the Israelite (i.e. biblical), Greek and Roman heritages; at the same time, the author, in stating law to be the basis of the political community, captures something of the administrative growth and increasingly sophisticated use of law in the formation of the state in Europe beginning from the Carolingian period, over and against feudal and manorial (i.e. *Fürstenspiegel*) notions of political association.[13]

Qudāma's framework for his Islamic version of political thought did not appear without precedent. Indeed, he models section VIII after an Arabic translation of Themistius' (d. ca. 388 CE) letter to the Byzantine Emperor Julian.[14] As we will see, parts 1 through 8

[12] The notion of political community as a function of personal relations is underlined by R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society*, Princeton 1980. Thus, it can be said that governance through a network of personal relations and codes never disappeared even with the growth of the state bureaucracy.

[13] See R. van Caenegem, "Government, law and society," (= chapter nine) in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350 - c. 1450*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 174-210, especially pp. 207-210.

[14] See L. Cheikho (ed.), "Risālat Dāmasṭiūs fī al-siyāsa," *al-Mashriq* 18 (1920), pp. 882-889; and I. Shahīd (ed.), "Epistula de re publica gerenda," in H. Schenkl

are an expanded version of Themistius' letter and form one unit within section VIII, while the *Fürstenspiegel* material of parts 9 through 12 forms a second unit. Themistius' letter does mention, in brief and towards the end, qualities of character desired in a ruler and his servitors, but hardly offers enough material for Qudāma to construct the second unit of section VIII. Thus, while closely imitating Themistius' letter in parts 1 through 8, Qudāma turns to other *Fürstenspiegel* sources for parts 9 through 12.

Significant for Qudāma's purpose is Themistius' use of Greek philosophy (mainly Platonic and neo-Platonic) to outline a vision of human and political community which does not, however, fully merge with philosophical hierarchies of being or knowledge. Rather, this theory of human community was based upon basic human needs of survival and prosperity and the necessity of human association to meet those needs. It is in this sense that the letter begins with a "realistic" point of departure, not a treatment of the first principles of philosophy or the place of the active intellect in the cosmic order, as found in the works of al-Fārābī. In other words, Qudāma uses Themistius' letter, the product of the Byzantine world, to base his theory of state on a theoretical framework that would not have challenged Islamic assumptions of the priority of revelation to reason. At the same time, the letter emphasizes the role of the ruler as the effective agent of political order, especially his enforcement of the law, a concept shared by the Muslim jurists. This feature of Themistius' letter is particularly suited to Qudāma's interests as a state official without, however, doing injustice to the Islamic identity of the state: It can be said that Qudāma's adaptation of the framework of Themistius' letter to the Islamic context was decisive in moving Islamic political thought beyond the sphere of *Fürstenspiegel* alone, i.e. advice literature without a theory of political community. This was the first step towards the articulation of a fundamental dimension of Islamic political thought, developed by later figures such as al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) and, eventually, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), in their treatment of human and political community.[15] While these

(ed.), *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1974, vol. 3, pp. 73-119. For the life of Themistius, a philosopher, orator and imperial servitor, see J. Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court*, Ann Arbor 1995.

[15] The parallels between the opening parts of section VIII and those of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* (*al-Bāb al-awwal min al-kitāb al-awwal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-71) are close enough to confirm that the latter's notions of civilization (*'imrān*) are not

authors advance theories of political community in directions which surpass the achievement of Qudāma, they do share with him a single framework in which universal (i.e. philosophical) notions of human community are combined with specifically Islamic notions of political community. Though impossible to determine the direct debt of these authors to Qudāma, section VIII is the earliest known version of an Islamic theory of state adapted from the Greco-Hellenistic tradition.[16] This section thus offers a vital insight into the gradual process by which material of Byzantine provenance became fully Islamic in the classical works of such figures as al-Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn. Qudāma was the link and perhaps the first to nudge Islamic political thought beyond the limitations of both political philosophy and *Fürstenspiegel* literature.

Qudāma's greatest achievement in section VIII, then, was the establishment of a Islamically acceptable framework of political thought that stood apart from that of the religious scholars. Qudāma's framework is rooted in the ruler and awards the lion's share of attention to the exercise of power (*sulṭān*) and royal sovereignty (*mulk*). This focus forms the trunk to which can be grafted a certain philosophical point of view as well as notions of law and governance and *Fürstenspiegel* material into one Islamic theory of political power. This stands in marked contrast to the one branch of Islamic political thought which Qudāma does not include: that devoted to leadership of the Islamic community (*al-imāma*), especially the question of legitimate succesion (*al-khilāfa*) to the Prophet. This branch of political thought, the occupation of religious scholars, belongs more properly to the

without precedent, but stand within a tradition which goes back at least to Qudāma. It should be noted that the philosopher Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) followed the train of thought established by Themistius' letter and developed by Qudāma: He also bases his theory of human and political community on the premises of basic human needs, in contrast to al-Fārābī's ontological premises. As a result, Ibn Sīnā can subordinate political philosophy to prophecy, whereas al-Fārābī cannot, since he makes philosophy the *sine qua non* of human happiness while relegating prophecy to something of a side-show. See C.E. Butterworth, "Medieval Islamic Philosophy and the Virtue of Ethics," *Arabica* 34 (1987), 221-250, especially pp. 238f.

[16] Another early example is the work of al-Balkhī. See F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.* (1989), p. 298: "The goal was to produce a political philosophy that did not do violence either to accepted earlier Muslim thought on politics or to the powerful Greek ideas then becoming generally known, but that would do justice to both." It should be noted that the framework of al-Balkhī's political vision is more a product of purely Greek political philosophy (i.e. Aristotelian), whereas Qudāma's reformulated Byzantine material which had itself already reshaped the political philosophy of Plato and Aristotle in light of Byzantine imperial experience.

science of sects (*firaq*).[17] The debate over the question of leadership was a function not only of competing claims to lead by different tribal groups (represented religiously in the persons of particular Companions of the Prophet) and religio-political movements (e.g. the Khārijites), but more profoundly in different notions of revelation and religious authority espoused by the Sunnī, Shīʿī and Khārijī branches of Islam and the various sects derived from them.[18] Who was worthy to lead the Islamic community, speak authoritatively in its name and determine its religious constitution? On what grounds was this leadership to be considered legitimate: the moral stature of the leader, his membership in a particular branch of the Family of the Prophet, the alleged testimony of the Prophet in his favor or the efforts and resources he devoted to the Islamic cause? Was leadership a sign of religious charisma, a right to enjoin and forbid in the name of the divine will, or did it entrust the leader only with the duty of preserving the religious tradition as handed down by the pious predecessors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*)? These and other questions were debated in various forms, apparently since the crisis of leadership sparked by the death of the Prophet: state epistles; literary treatises, such as those of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868); quasi-historical works, such as those of pseudo-Ibn Qutayba (*al-Imāma wa-al-siyāsa*) and the anonymous author of "Reports of the Abbasid State" (*Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*); in theological tracts by al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1038) and in the section on Islamic leadership in the celebrated "Rules of Governance" of al-Māwardī, a work in which the author combines discussion of leadership of the Muslim community with a description of the Islamic state, its structure and

[17] See n. 6. The fact that the line of political thought devoted to leadership of the Islamic community was more properly viewed as part of the theological domain is confirmed by al-Ashʿarī's decision to open his most significant theological work with notice to that effect. See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālat al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, p. 2: *wa-awwalu mā ḥadath fī al-ikhtilāf bayna al-muslimīn baʿda nabiyy-ihim, ṣallā allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam, ikhtilāfuhum fī al-imāma*. This is not to deny the political significance of such theological treatises (see following note), but rather to observe that they do not belong to the genre or discipline of political thought. Similarly, historical works (such as al-Ṭabari's), while containing important information on Islamic political and legal thought, do not belong to the genre of political thought as treated by Qudāma.

[18] What was of political significance in the goals of the theologians and jurists was that the *raison d'être* of Islamic society, namely the application of Islamic law, was inconceivable without legitimate Islamic rule. In early Islamic society as in any society, law is suspended in the absence of political rule.

various institutions. While such a list of works represents a great diversity of material and purposes, they all share some element of theological reflection on legitimate leadership of Muslims; such is the mark of the theological line of Islamic political thought. In contrast, effective rule of an Islamic state is the mark of an administrative line, a line barely discernible in a genre dominated by philosophers and jurists, but which section VIII demonstrates to have been as significant for the development of Islamic political thought as any other line, and perhaps its most perduring.

Despite the considerable study of Islamic political thought, Qudāma's contribution was largely unknown until the edition of section VIII and accompanying study by al-Ḥiyārī.[19] This gap resulted in certain distortions in our understanding of the development of early Islamic political thought. Knowledge of section VIII, for example, may have led E.I.J. Rosenthal to reconsider his claim that "Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā is the first to think of the state as an entity in its own right, yet not independent of the ruler, who at that period of Islamic history was still an essential part of the state."[20] Only recently, in the wake of al-Ḥiyārī's edition and study, has a scholar of Islamic political thought, Daiber, noted the significant contribution of section VIII, with the terse statement that "the treatment of politics by Qudāma b. Jaʿfar presupposes an advanced stage of discussion."[21]

While al-Ḥiyārī has undertaken the necessary groundwork for an analysis of Qudāma's political vision, a study of his place in the development of early Islamic political thought, as al-Ḥiyārī himself notes,[22] remains a desideratum. It is hoped that this chapter, in

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[19] al-Ḥiyārī, *op. cit.* (1981).

[20] E.I.J. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 67. In point of fact, Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā (d. first half of eighth/fourteenth century) may have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by Qudāma's political vision, e.g. the use of dread (*hayba*) to discipline the subjects' rebellious nature and thereby maintain law and order. See *al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895, p. 30.

[21] H. Daiber, "Political Philosophy," in S.H. Near and O. Leamann (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 2 vols., London 1996, vol. 2, pp. 841-885. F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.* (1989), also notes the place of Qudāma's work in the tradition and contrasts it with al-Balkhī's political thought, pp. 296-297. Rosenthal claims that the two authors have nothing in common, and yet both take a "realistic" view of politics as opposed to a theoretical and both draw upon Greek and Persian sources, sometimes the same ones (e.g. *The Testimony of Ardashīr*), although using them in different ways. The essential difference, as Rosenthal notes, is that al-Balkhī's vision more closely resembles that of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, while Qudāma follows the *realpolitik* of the Persian state tradition.

[22] M. al-Ḥiyārī, *op. cit.* (1981), p. 21.

addition to its role in our larger project, will serve to locate Qudāma on the map of early Islamic political thought and thereby provide a suitable framework for reading section VIII, while at the same time serving to fill in some gaps in our understanding of early Islamic political thought.

The main thesis advanced by al-Ḥiyārī is the claim that section VIII is an amalgam of the prevailing currents in the political thought of Qudāma's day, currents which he defines, however, in cultural terms: Greek, Arabo-Islamic, Persian, along with notice of the particular influence of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, specifically "The Large Ethic" (*al-Adab al-kabīr*).[23] Moreover, he gives a sense of the cultural mosaic of section VIII by citing parallels from the corpus of ethical and political literature known to early Islam. While certainly helpful in identifying the material upon which Qudāma drew in constructing his political vision, this approach is limited to the assumption that Qudāma's greatest contribution to the genre was his amalgamation of diverse cultural elements into a single whole. While the work does show signs of cultural diversity, Persian thought, including the work of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, had been thoroughly integrated into the Arabo-Islamic context by Qudāma's day, as the "Choice Reports" of Ibn Qutayba amply demonstrates. Qudāma's cultural contribution was thus not as dramatic as al-Ḥiyārī seems to suggest, but was limited more specifically to the single step of grafting Greco-Hellenistic thought onto an already existing synthesis of the Indo-Persian and Arabo-Islamic traditions.

A more significant difficulty with this approach is its potential to conceal the fundamental vision inspiring the work, represented by the administrative line of political thought. Qudāma did not organize his work according to cultural categories; in point of fact, they are mixed together throughout the section. Rather, he organized his work according to a branch of knowledge and its various approaches or sub-branches: political philosophy, administrative governance and *Fürstenspiegel* literature. Only by reading section VIII in light of this attempt to consolidate a genre is it possible to understand fully his plan and purposes. Qudāma is interested primarily in thought

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[23] The fact that citation of "The Large Ethic" and not "The Small Ethic" (also attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ), appears in section VIII bolsters the claim that the latter is a product of a later period. For this claim, see I. ʿAbbās, "Naẓra jadīda fī baʿḍ al-kutub al-mansūba li-Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ," *Majallat majmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya bi-Dimashq* 52 (1977), 538-580.

and only secondarily in culture. This is consistent with his work as a whole. Bonebakker, who, on the basis of one source, claimed that section VIII did not belong to the original work, apparently failed to see how closely its inspiration corresponds with the rest of the work.[24] Certainly, the sources record sufficient confusion regarding the location of the political section in the sequence of the book: Was it the eighth or ninth section?[25] Such confusion, at one time enough to cast suspicion on the authenticity of section VIII, now seems less significant in light of its harmony with the dynamic of the work's other sections. As we have seen all along, genre holds the key for understanding the fundamental vision of section VIII, as it does also for understanding the insights section VIII offers into the development of early Islamic political thought as a whole.

The Philosophical Strand

The Greek heritage of ethical and political philosophy was integrated into the Islamic intellectual milieu at an early stage, first through translation of Hellenistic material in the second/eighth century,[26] and then through the translation of the works of Plato and Aristotle, among others, in the third/ninth century, especially by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873) and his so-called school of translation.[27] Indeed, it was no mystery to Muslims themselves that the transmission of Greek philosophy had fallen to them,[28] and that it continued to exert an important influence on the development of Islamic philosophy through its maturity at all levels (i.e. the physical, metaphysical

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[24] S.A. Bonebakker, *op. cit.*, *EI*².

[25] Such confusion originated in Ibn al-Nadīm's statement that Qudāma composed his work in eight sections, then added a ninth. See chapter one, n. 56.

[26] See M. Grignaschi, "Les 'Rasā'il Arisṭāṭālisa ilā al-Iskandar' de Sālim Abū al-ʿAlā' et l'activité culturelle à l'époque Omayyade," *BEO* 19 (1965-1966), 7-83.

[27] In addition to the works of Plato and Aristotle, Ḥunayn also translated a considerable portion of the medical corpus of Hippocrates and Galen, as well as composing works himself, which were mainly adaptations of Greco-Hellenistic ethical and gnomological literature, such as his *Nawādir al-falāsifa*. See G. Strohmaier, "Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq," *EI*², III, 578-581; and K. Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifa*, Leipzig 1921. Ḥunayn's son, Isḥāq, was also an important figure in the translation of Greek works and adaptation of Greco-Hellenistic material. See, for example, F. Rosenthal, "Isḥaq b. Ḥunayn's *Ta'rīkh al-aṭibbā'*," *Oriens* 7 (1954), 55-80.

[28] See al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, pp. 115-122.

and practical/ethical) and across the various circles of society, including state officials as well as philosophers: from al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) and Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) to Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and Ibn Rushd (d. 594/1198).

In the arena of political philosophy, the influence of the Greek heritage is most visible in the work of Qudāma's contemporary, the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 339/950).[29] It is, in point of fact, throughout the period of Qudāma's life that the philosophical strand of political thought seems to have gathered momentum, especially its insistence on a philosophical framework for political thought. This does not mean that al-Fārābī's work bears a direct relation to Qudāma's, but rather that the strand of political thought represented by the former was being seriously considered by Muslim intellectuals, especially those, like Qudāma, with an affinity for the Greek heritage. A work on political thought produced within circles such as those Qudāma frequented could hardly ignore the challenge of the philosophical strand, its questions about the origin and nature of human community and its concern for a systematic presentation of reflection on such questions. Qudāma accommodates this growing sense of a need for a philosophical framework in Islamic political thought (i.e something more structured than collections of political anecdotes and advice) in parts 2 through 6. There, he presents a theory, as old as Plato and Aristotle and mediated through Themistius, that basic human needs give rise to community. Since no one individual is able to meet all such needs alone, some type of human association and community is necessary. Since this line of thought originated in philosophical reflection, it will be necessary to consider the philosophical strand of Islamic political thought, specifically al-Fārābī's contribution; it is next to that program that we will see the importance of Qudāma's particular choice of a theoretical framework of philosophical weight which nevertheless diverged in important ways from the philosophical strand.

The Platonic dialogues, which were almost entirely available in Arabic translation in the third/ninth century, had the greatest influence on al-Fārābī's political thought. It was his mediation of the

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[29] It is impossible to know the extent to which al-Kindī's lost political works were inspired by or imitations of Greek philosophy. See C.E. Butterworth, "Al-Kindī and the Beginnings of Islamic Political Philosophy," in C.E. Butterworth (ed.), *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy*, Cambridge 1992. For a list of al-Kindī's political works, see Ibn al-Nadīm, vol. 1, p. 260.

Platonic approach to political philosophy that assured it a significant and perduring place in Islamic political thought through Ibn Sīnā', Ibn Rushd and Ibn Khaldūn, whereas Aristotle, whose *Politics* was not translated in the early period,[30] played a more significant role in physics, metaphysics and ethics.[31]

According to Platonic and neo-Platonic approaches to political philosophy,[32] political community is ordered to the goal of ultimate happiness (*al-saʿāda al-quṣwā*, a term widely used by al-Fārābī), which is most easily attainable in the ideal polity (*al-madīna al-fāḍila*), which is that polity ruled according to reason embodied either in a ruler who is a master of philosophy or in laws which themselves reflect the rational order of the universe. Ultimate happiness is the mark of a human community which lives in order and harmony, and the ideal ruler and the laws he lays down are essential for the existence of ultimate happiness which is dependent upon the ruler's knowledge of and adherence to philosophical principles, especially the dictates of the active intellect (*al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl*), which produces all order and all harmony. For al-Fārābī, the Muslim philosopher, this rule could be identified with prophecy, its ruler as Imām and its laws as

[30] Also not translated were Aristotle's *Eudemian Ethics* and *Magna Moralia*. See R. Walzer, "Arisṭūṭālīs," *EI*², I, 630-633. The *Nichomachean Ethics* was translated and further expanded with the addition of a book, the seventh in the Arabic translation. See A.J. Arberry, "The *Nichomachean Ethics* in Arabic," *BSOAS* 17 (1955), 1-9; L.V. Berman, "A Note on the Added Seventh Book of the *Nichomachean Ethics* in Arabic," *JAOS* 82 (1962), 555-556; and D.M. Dunlop, "The *Nichomachean Ethics* in Arabic, Books I-VI," *Oriens* 14 (1962), 18-34. It should be noted that Aristotle's political philosophy was known to al-Fārābī through Hellenistic commentaries, such as those by Porphyry, Ammonius, John Philoponus (known as Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī in Arabic) and Simplicius. A close associate of the Baghdad school of Christian Aristotelians (whose members, heirs to the Alexandrian school of Greco-Hellenistic philosophy, included Yuḥannā b. Ḥaylān, d. early fourth/tenth century; Mattā b. Yūnus, d. 329/940; and Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, d. 362/972), al-Fārābī himself wrote commentaries on Aristotle: In other words, the Islamic study of Aristotle followed the Hellenistic without a gap. See R. Walzer, "al-Fārābī," *EI*², II, 778-781. For al-Fārābī's thought in general, its dual nature (Aristotelian and Platonic) and its influence on the major intellectual figures and schools of Islam through the fifth/eleventh century, see I.R. Netton, *al-Fārābī and his School*, London 1992.

[31] See M. Mahdi, "The *Editio Princeps* of al-Fārābī's *Compendium Legum Platonis*," *JNES* 20 (1961), 1-24.

[32] Works of a neo-Platonic character were available in the early Islamic period, e.g. translation of Plotinus (known as al-shaykh al-yūnānī in Arabic) and Proclus. Both Plotinus' *Enneads* and Proclus' *Elements of Theology* were translated into Arabic, the former known as the *Theology of Aristotle*. It is thus important to keep in mind that Greek philosophy in the form in which it reached the Muslims had undergone considerable neo-Platonic development.

divine, by equating the active intellect with the will of Allāh. This particular combination of Greek political philosophy and Islam, which seems to have originated with al-Fārābī,[33] not only served the philosopher's approach to political thought, but also was apparently designed as a theoretical framework for increasingly sophisticated Shīʿī notions of the role of the Imām in the order of the universe as well as in the system of religious belief and salvation, including his role as source and guarantor of divine knowledge.[34] The esoteric side of Shīʿism allowed for a reconciliation of philosophy and religion in its mingling of human and divine wisdom in the person of the Imām.[35] From the point of view of al-Fārābī, the Platonic and neo-Platonic tradition offered a suitable framework for the equation of political philosophy and the Islamic religion in its Shīʿī version.[36] In that sense, the state could be considered ideally and thus need not be limited by geographical boundaries and institutional forms; at the same time, the ideal state is understood to possess political authority—even when political power is in the hands of others—on the basis of the ruling philosopher's union with the active intellect or, in Islamic terms, the Imām's union with the divine will. Such a framework was suitable for both philosophy and the emerging self-understanding of Shīʿism, and al-Fārābī apparently sought to construct such a framework as a bridge between the Greek and Islamic traditions.

It should be remembered that much ambiguity continues to surround al-Fārābī's thought. Is there variation in his philosophical vision or development? Did he consciously choose to write in a dialectical style, as opposed to rhetorical, in the conviction that doing so would keep his works from being understood by the populace at large? Did he insist that human happiness was possible only with the governance of an ideal ruler, or could happiness be had in a political community where no such ruler was to be found?[37] Such ambi-

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[33] See E.I.J. Rosenthal, "The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of al-Fārābī," *IC* 29 (1955), 157-178.

[34] See F.M. Najjār, "Fārābī's Political Philosophy and Shīʿism," *SI* 14 (1961), 57-72; and the editor's introduction to al-Fārābī, *Mabādi' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. R. Walzer, Oxford 1984, pp. 1-18.

[35] This seems to have been a fairly current notion at the time, e.g in Carmathian thought.

[36] See H. Daiber, *The Ruler as Philosopher. A New Interpretation of al-Fārābī's View*, Amsterdam 1986.

[37] These and other questions are discussed in M. Galston, *Politics and Excellence. The Political Philosophy of al-Fārābī*, Princeton 1990.

guity notwithstanding, al-Fārābī's program is decidedly philosophical in its preference for ontological categories as the basis of human and political community. Thus, while he includes notions of human community based on mutual need, in line with the theory espoused by Qudāma, for al-Fārābī, political community does not grow out of the dictates of human community alone, but the dictates of reason above all. Thus, in contrast to Qudāma, the grounding and formative element of the state is a metaphysical and epistemological hierarchy: Governance, which al-Fārābī equates with practical philosophy, is very much a function of theoretical philosophy, its end being human happiness.[38] With theoretical philosophy as his guide (ibid., pp. 60f.), the ruler is able to comprehend the hierarchy of knowledge, which ends in one perfect being (p. 62). Thus, the ideal political order, in which human happiness is to be found, is formed as a mirror of a metaphysical and epistemological hierarchy. As a Muslim, al-Fārābī adapts this Platonic system of ideal forms to Islam, identifying the universal form, the perfect being, with Allāh, who actually rules al-Fārābī's ideal Islamic state to the extent to which its ruler knows philosophy (p. 64). This framework makes sense of al-Fārābī's claim that the first ruler enjoys a certain divine knowledge (*waḥī*) and even prophetic status (*nubuwwa*, pp. 44f.).

The emphasis on the ideal does not ignore human shortcomings; this admission, reflecting Plato's position in his *Laws*, opened another avenue for the identification of Greek political thought with the Islamic point of view. Heirs of the first ruler (*al-ra'īs al-awwal*, i.e the founder of the ideal state) who fall short of the philosophical knowledge required of the true ruler,[39] need not bring ruin to the state's philosophically established order. Law can order the state by virtue of the craft of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), which acts to disclose the intentions of the author of the law (*wāḍiʿ al-sharīʿa*, i.e. the first ruler and prophet) to the extent to which the jurist is familiar with the laws and the terms used to express them by the author of the law.[40] This

[38] al-Fārābī, *Kitāb al-milla wa-nuṣūṣ ukhrā*, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut 1968, p. 59. See also Galston, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[39] For example, ibid., p. 46, where the true ruler is prophet, best king, righteous leader, rightly-guided Imām, all in one person; this is possible because al-Fārābī has treated theoretical and practical philosophy on the same level.

[40] It is here that one can see the assumption behind al-Fārābī's grouping of Greek political thought and Islamic jurisprudence in one category in the fifth chapter of his "Enumeration of the Sciences" (*Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*), i.e. that universally applicable principles of political philosophy (*ʿilm madanī*) should be embodied in the particular laws of the community.

point is significant for Qudāma, since it offers him the possibility of adopting a philosophical framework for political community which is based on law, while allowing him, at the same time, to discard the ontological assumptions relevant to al-Fārābī's understanding of law and its understanding of theoretical philosophy as the formative element of political community. In other words, the connection between philosophy and law made in the *Laws* of Plato, offered a potential link between Greek philosophy and the Islamic insistence on law as the basis of the polity.[41] Al-Fārābī, as a philosopher, wants to maintain the connection between theoretical philosophy and law, but other solutions could be offered to the discussion set in motion by the introduction of Platonic philosophy into the early Islamic world. A framework for explaining the state in terms of human community and law need not depend on ontological premises to make sense, and Qudāma, a state official, chose an alternative framework—still philosophically respectable—for his vision of state.

It should be noted that the ontological hierarchy informing al-Fārābī's reflections on ethical and political order is understood not only in macrocosmic terms (i.e. the active intellect guiding the cosmos), but also microcosmic: the rational faculty *(al-quwwa al-nāṭiqa)* which guides the individual. This is so since the rational faculty is of one kind with the active intellect and thus has access to it.[42] The rational faculty is meant to rule the life of the individual, ennoble the soul and enable it to overcome the baser faculties shared with the animals, i.e. the appetite and the passions. A similar point is made in Part 1 of section VIII, where Qudāma emphasizes the importance of the faculty of discernment (*tamyīz*), the purpose of which is mastery of the baser "beastly" faculties of the human constitution. That discussion, however, does not turn to first principles of philosophy and ontological premises as the touchstone of human and political formation, whereas for al-Fārābī, the rational faculty comes into actuality through the study of the various principles of philosophy. Thus, once again, philosophy forms the ideal state, the effective agent of a rational order managed by a hierarchy of leaders, at the top of which stands the philosopher. Law does have its place, since the possibility of finding the ideal ruler is not very realistic,[43] but the

[41] See M. Mahdi, *op. cit.* (1961), p. 9.

[42] See al-Fārābī, *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, ed. F.M. Najjār, Beirut 1964.

[43] For example, ibid., p. 81, where the ruler who orders his society according to law is called "ruler by customary law" (*malik al-sunna*). Is this an admission of

measure against which all political forms are judged is that of the ideal state ruled by the philosopher, whose knowledge, the equivalent of Islamic revelation (ibid., pp. 79-80), brings about a rationally ordered society in which all members find their place and value according to their philosophical formation (p. 83).

Hence, for al-Fārābī, the state and its laws—political community—only make sense in light of a metaphysical order, in whose image the ideal state ought to be formed. This theme is featured prominently in his most celebrated work, "The Ideal State" (*al-Madīna al-fāḍila*). There, before considering political questions, he sketches an epistemological hierarchy in which knowledge of the first cause occupies the peak, and it is against this background that he offers an overview of the macrocosmic order of the cosmos and its various bodies and the microcosmic order of the individual soul and its various faculties. The attainment of happiness, which is both efficient and final cause in this highly teleological system, is possible through philosophy and comprehension of the first cause. Only an ideal state, a human and political community ordered to the first cause, identified with Allāh, can offer this happiness. Other states, ordered to other ends, fall short of a perfectly rational order.

Qudāma is not interested in a metaphysical order, i.e. a political order formed in the image of a philosophical construct. As a state official, he understood the state to be an end in itself. While he shares some points with al-Fārābī, he constructs no hierarchy of being or knowledge. Instead, he opens part 1 with the matter-of-fact statement that Allāh is the creator of all things, each according to its nature (QJ, p. 376). In light of this assumption of a world ordered to its divine creator, no metaphysical explanation is necessary, and Qudāma can proceed directly to consideration of the human condition. Indeed, a metaphysical order would have militated against both the Islamic and the administrative perspectives of section VIII. As a state official, Qudāma is interested in the real, not the ideal. Thus, a new door, the real within the philosophical as starting point, was opened to Islamic political thought, a door which Qudāma opened a crack, but which was to swing wide open in the hands of Ibn Khaldūn.

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the political reality of the day, i.e. Islamic rule without the true Imām (in the Shīʿī sense of the term): Abbasid caliphs, Turkish and Buyid commanders and others in the increasingly diverse Islamic political context of al-Fārābī's day?

While he shuns a metaphysical order, Qudāma can offer no theory of state without a preliminary philosophical framework of some kind in the face of the intense philosophical climate of his day. He can do without a hierarchy of being and knowledge, but given the philosophical currents and pressure of his day, he needs to ground political community in some theoretical basis if the concept of state (i.e. the body politic) is to make any sense at all. Hence, a theory of human community is still a necessary point of departure. In the introduction to his overall political vision in part 1 (QJ, pp. 376-378), Qudāma links together philosophical assumptions of a rational order, Islamic notions of human responsibility and the need for humans to congregate. In Farabian fashion, he links philosophy with religion, but, as his own perspective demands, without any ontological premises. In other words, the human, under the burden of the divine command to behave properly, must live according to his faculty of discernment (*quwwat al-tamyīz*), the faculty shared with the angels, in contrast to other human faculties which are shared with the animals. However, since no one individual can accomplish all which discernment informs him is necessary for life, human community is needed, so that all can benefit from the activities of one another.[44] On the basis of this theory of human community, Qudāma is able to make the claim, as already foreshadowed in part 1, that governance, i.e. the direction of the subjects by the ruler, necessarily inheres in human community and its different activities, ordering it and leading it to its true goals of survival and prosperity.[45]

The theory of human community, sketched briefly in part 1, is developed in parts 2 through 6. The theory is a function of humans needs: the need for nourishment (part 2; pp. 378-379); the need for clothing (part 3; pp. 379-380); and the need to reproduce to ensure

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[44] QJ, p. 377 (AC 50): "And since his condition is a mixture [of the angelic and the beastly], Allāh made the human responsible, commanded [to do the good], forbidden [to do the wrong]. He needed to master, with what he possessed of the faculty of discernment, the beastly part of him, and given the multitude of dispositions in the faculty of discernment [which all call] for activities beyond which one person can accomplish, a need arose for congregating and settling in cities, in order that there be many people in the cities living in pursuit of these many mixed [i.e. varied] activities."

[45] QJ, pp. 377-378 (AC 51): "Given the difference in the types of the multitude and their congregation in cities, there continuously appeared opposing activities, which need to be led to the good way of life and the correct path, and thereupon, for the sake of that, the need arose for governance which occurs when the rulers and leaders guide their subjects."

the survival of the species (part 4; pp. 380-381). Throughout, Qudāma repeats the point that all these needs originate in the manner in which Allāh created the human order. Finally, in part 5 (pp. 382-384), his theory of human community reaches its crux with his discussion of human crafts and professions, which meet the various needs of human kind: the farmer who produces food, the tailor who makes and mends clothes, the carpenter who builds houses, the physician who treats illness, and so on. Since no one individual can master all crafts and professions, humans are necessarily dependent on one another for meeting their basic needs, and in such a manner were they created.[46] Standing in an adjunct relation to this theory of human community is the need for currency (part 6; pp. 384-386) to facilitate the exchange of goods and enable the members of the human community to benefit effectively from one another's skills and talents.

The Administrative Strand

Qudāma shifts from a theory of human community in parts 2 through 6 to a theory of political community in parts 7 and 8, including the fundamental elements by which the state is formed. This strand represents the interests of administrative circles, the representatives of the governing institutions and organs of the state. Here, like the philosophical strand, political community originates in the ruler; in contrast, however, it is not the result of philosophical knowledge, but the exercise of power or governance, which, though neglecting neither reason nor religion, is nevertheless primarily interested in rule as the effective agent of administrative order. This line of thinking first appears in the letter of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to al-Manṣūr, where the suggestion is made that a strong administrative order, rooted in the law-making role of the ruler, is necessary to rectify the disarray of the newly emerging Abbasid state and society and thus bring about a properly formed political community.

Were there others who articulated similar visions of political community? Did Sahl b. Hārūn (d. 215/830, *Kitāb tadbīr al-mulk wa-al-*

[46] QJ, pp. 384-385 (AC 52): "And when the matter was such regarding the multitude of people and congregation in cities, and Allāh, may he be praised, had foreknowledge of that, he created the human with a disposition to sociability and a preference for congregating with his own kind, and the people took to cities and towns and congregated in them for mutual support and help, as we mentioned."

siyāsa), Abū Dulaf (d. 222/837, *Kitāb al-siyāsa wa-al-mulūk*) or al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899, *Kitāb al-siyāsa al-kabīr* and *Kitāb al-siyāsa al-ṣaghīr*) take up the notion of political formation through administrative order and strong rule?[47] It is likely that they did, since such a notion is already implicit in the *Fürstenspiegel* literature available to the Islamic world at least from the first half of the second/eighth century; the administrative strand can be understood as a development of *Fürstenspiegel* themes in light of early Islamic administrative experience. Such seems to have been the prevailing point of view in al-Balkhī's (d. 322/934) political works (*Kitāb al-siyāsa al-kabīr* and *Kitāb al-siyāsa al-ṣaghīr*).[48] Daiber characterizes al-Balkhī's thought as a "realistic attitude" which, in contrast to the philosophical strand, adds the concept of the common good (*al-maṣlaḥa*) to Persian *Fürstenspiegel* material.[49] While far from certain that the administrative strand introduced the concept of the common good to Islamic political thought, all these authors, including al-Balkhī, were state officials. Although familiar with the philosophical and religious sciences, they promoted a decidedly administrative point of view, their primary concern being the exercise of power, which was represented most distinctly in the concept of "dread."[50] This concept was central to

[47] See Ibn al-Nadīm, vol. 1, p. 120 for Sahl b. Hārūn; p. 116 for Abū Dulaf; and p. 262 for al-Sarakhsī.

[48] Ibid., p. 138.

[49] H. Daiber, *op. cit.* (1996), pp. 844-845. The only material of al-Balkhī's political work known to us is found in al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa-al-dhakhā'ir*, ed. W. al-Qāḍī, 10 vols. with index, Beirut 1988, vol. 9, pp. 146-147, where the guiding element of the body politic is neither philosophical nor religious, but the common good brought about through a combination of enticement (*targhīb*) and intimidation (*tarhīb*). F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.* (1989), pp. 294-295, attributes the *tarhīb/targhīb* complex to "political literature supposedly of Persian origin." Qudāma also speaks of enticement and intimidation, but prefers the latter as a tool for ordering society, encouraging the use of dread (*hayba*) above all. Reference to al-Balkhī's work can also be found in al-Tha'ālibī, *Adab al-mulūk*, ed. J. al-'Aṭiyya, Beirut 1990, pp. 85 and 197.

[50] The importance of this concept is noted by R. Mottahedeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-190, where it is generally understood in the terms of his thesis of political community through personal relations. That, however, is only part of the story: More precisely, it is the decisive element in the formation of political community according to the administrative strand of political thought. References to the concept, as we shall see, are almost invariably found in a context where political order is at risk, e.g. Mottahedeh, p. 184: "This salutary 'awe' or 'dread,' which surrounded kingly authority by virtue of its threat of coercion, was often called *haiba*. It was the *haiba* of the Ḥasanwaihid king, Badr, which... prevented the factions from 'overstepping the bounds' (*tajāwuz al-ḥadd*) in his lifetime. In 306, when the caliph hesitated to accept Ḥāmid b. al-'Abbās as vizier, since he had little training in the technical

the political vision of state officials as the primary tool for the formation of political community. A passage exists in al-Thaʿālibī's compendium of *Fürstenspiegel* material which speaks to this close connection between the concept of "dread" and administrative notions of political order. There, mention is made of the summary of political science made for the Samanid ruler, Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (r. 350/961-365/976), by his minister (until 348/959), Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUtbī. The image cultivated is decidedly administrative order, while the point of departure is "dread":

> And he [Abū Jaʿfar] gathered the venerable elders of the palace and the intelligent of the court, and they discussed this matter until their judgment concurred in the opinion that the prop of governance, the basis of sovereignty, and the splendor of power is [achieved] when dread is made severe, affection increased, the subjects made to tremble, the army is in control, honor is manifest, the triumphant are restrained, roadways are safe, tax agents are able to conduct their business, revenues flow copiously, income is abundant, the treasuries are full, gifts and robes of honor appear continuously, delegations and messengers are frequent, the crafts persist and good deeds excel (AC 53).[51]

The importance of this concept notwithstanding, it is Qudāma's connection of the administrative notion of political formation to a theory of human community that separates him from other administratively inspired political literature of his day. As far as we know, he is the first to make this connection, which is picked up later by al-Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn.[52] Here again, this connection pro-

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skills of the office, the caliph was persuaded to accept Ḥāmid because of, among other things, 'the awe (*haiba*) of Ḥāmid felt by the financial governors.' In contrast, in 416, when the *ʿayyārūn* went to horrible excesses in their abuse of the Baghdādīs, and the government could not restrain them, we are told that the *haiba* of the government was destroyed."

[51] al-Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[52] Qudāma was the first, unless one accepts the authenticity of the political treatise of Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ (d. 272/885), *Sulūk al-malik fī tadbīr al-mamālik*, ed. N. al-Takrītī, Beirut 1983. For a discussion of the date of the work, which current scholarly consensus takes to be the seventh/thirteenth century, see the editor's introduction. It should be mentioned that the administrative strand after Qudāma is not always found in works by state officials. This was due to its integration into Islamic political thought as a whole by the classical period. Still, those who draw upon elements of the administrative strand, if not state officials, are interested in the preservation of the Islamic state qua state, embodied in the ruler as guarantor of Islamic political community. For example, al-Māwardī, a religious scholar who combined questions of governance, power and sovereignty with the more properly theological theme of leadership (*al-imāma*), integrates political thought, jurispru-

vides evidence that Qudāma, unlike others, is not interested only in the representation of administrative interests, but also has some important intellectual, especially philosophical, concerns, related to an entire genre of literature.

Part 7 opens the discussion of political community. Rule, Qudāma claims, originates in the need for a single set of laws to regulate the affairs of the community and a ruler to enforce them. Hardly innovative, this idea seems to imitate notions of rule found in Plato's *Laws*. However, Qudāma's theory, again, is not at the mercy of any philosophical construct, but rather the command of Allāh. The divine law is thus a mercy since it alone can ensure the unity and health of the Islamic polity; in its absence, all would follow their own customary laws and notions of justice. Islamic law provides one system of law, which is necessary for uniting a community of diverse peoples, and thus becomes the basis of political community in cities and towns as the one force capable of establishing a common political destiny for socio-political forms (i.e. cities and towns) of greater complexity than clans and tribes. Qudāma shares this important concept with Themistius and Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ. Citing all three will illustrate their single vision:

> Qudāma:
> And when there arose a need for people to congregate in cities and towns, and they congregated in them, had dealings with one another, and traded with one another [lit. took and gave from one another], and [since] their ways were different in terms of [the expectations of] justice and injustice, and Allāh, may he be praised, instituted laws for them and established divine sanctions, [then] there arose a need for someone to conduct the people by means of the precepts of the established laws and to install the divine sanctions, in order that the people might all adhere to them and that no one transgress them without receiving a punishment to lead him back to the law and established custom. For the word [of the people] will be united, the defense of faith and country will be in harmony, all affairs will be conducted according to equity and justice, and no oppression or injustice will happen in their mutual dealings (AC 54).[53]

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dence and the institutional elements of state administration, an achievement which goes well beyond Qudāma's attempt to construct a political vision on the basis of the experience of governance. Still, al-Māwardī, like Qudāma, lived in a world where Islamic political life was understood to depend on the person of the ruler. Only with Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), in the wake of the Mongol conquests, does a theory of Islamic political community appear which dispenses with the necessity of a Muslim ruler. Instead, it is Islamic law which is held to ensure Islamic political community.

[53] QJ, p. 386.

> Themistius:
> And when the people congregated in cities and had dealings with one another, and their ways were different in terms of [the expectations of] justice and injustice, Allāh, the powerful and majestic, established laws and duties to which they might have recourse and which they might regard as a final authority [lit. at which they might stop], and he raised up rulers for them to preserve the laws and conduct the people through the use of them [i.e. the laws], so that their affairs might be put in order, they be united, injustice part from them and the causes of division and corruption be far from them (AC 55).[54]
>
> Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ:
> And when the people congregated in cities and had dealings with one another, and their ways were different in terms of [the expectations of] justice and injustice, Allāh established laws and duties to which they might have recourse and which they might regard as a final authority, and he raised up rulers for them to preserve the laws and conduct them [i.e. the people] by means of them [i.e. the laws], so that their affairs might be put in order, they be united and injustice and transgression, which is the cause of division and corruption, part from them (AC 56).[55]

The administrative point of view of section VIII comes out most clearly in this concern for legal unity. It is the very point that inspired the letter of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, namely that the state is not able to establish and excercise its power fully in the absence of a single legal code. In such a situation, local legal practice would become the real authority, a point which strongly pervades Qudāma's opening statement to part 7 (p. 386). The two authors address the scenario of local custom by rooting the law in the person of the ruler, but with one important difference: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ gives the ruler a role in making the law, whereas, for Qudāma, he only enforces it. This is a significant development and indicates something of the advances made in Islamic jurisprudence during the period separating the two authors, especially the weight given to the Ḥadīth in compari-

[54] Themistius, *op. cit.* (1920), p. 883. It should be noted that there is nothing in Themistius' letter about Islamic sanctions (*ḥudūd*), apparently an addition by Qudāma.

[55] Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ, *op. cit.*, p. 137. This passage and others show that Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ based parts of his fourth chapter, which deals with politics (*fī aqsām al-siyāsāt*), on Themistius' letter. A large part of the argument against attributing the work to the third/ninth century rests on the claim that its sophisticated political vision could not have existed so early in the course of Islamic civilization. The existence of Themistius' letter and its use by both Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ and Qudāma suggest that it could have.

son to the ruler's judgment (*ra'y*). Still, Qudāma's theory is not primarily a religious theory, but a theory of state, an Islamic state in his case; his position is both administrative and Islamic by virtue of his identification of Islamic law, established by Allāh, with the demands of governance.[56]

In illustration of this point, Qudāma follows his opening statement with the famous passage from the *Testimony of Ardashīr*, cited directly, which describes sovereignty or rule (*mulk*) and religion (*dīn*) as twin brothers. In Qudāma's version, however, there are two important additions: Law (*shar'*), presumably an Islamic vision of law, is inserted alongside religion; and control (*ḍabṭ*), meaning administrative control or governance, alongside sovereignty.[57] Here again, such words represent a significant development from earlier notions of state and reflect the Islamic point of view more accurately, especially its legal concerns. Important steps had already been taken, prior to Qudāma's day, to imbue Persian forms of political literature with a more Islamic character, especially in the political sub-genre of testimony, i.e. a final letter by a ruler to his heir. Examples of this include the letter of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, written for the last Umayyad, Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. 127/744-132/750) as a testimony to his son;[58] and the letter of the Abbasid governor of Khurāsān, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn to his son, 'Abd Allāh (d. 230/844), on the latter's appointment to govern parts of Mesopotamia.[59] Such letters of testimony were adaptations of Persian and Hellenistic models,[60] such as the testimonial letter of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, Ardashīr (r. 216-242 CE), to the Sasanian kings who ruled after him and the putative letter of Aristotle as a last testimony to Alexander in the art of governing (*Risālat al-tadbīr*). Even in their Islamicized versions, however, they remain at the level of *Fürstenspiegel* and include neither a theory of state nor a clear sense of the place of Islamic law in

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[56] This seems to be both a natural development and marked change from earlier Abbasid attempts to appropriate Islamic law and define it in state terms. See chapter four.

[57] QJ, p. 386 (AC 57): "For there is no sovereignty except with religion and law, and no religion except with sovereignty and control...."

[58] For the letter, see I. 'Abbās, *op. cit.* (1988), pp. 215-265.

[59] See Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, Cairo 1949, pp. 26-35. For a discussion of the letter, see C.E. Bosworth, "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnain's Epistle to his son 'Abd Allāh (206/821)," *JNES* 29 (1970), 25-41.

[60] For a Fatimid version of this literary form, see W. al-Qāḍī, "An early Fāṭimid political document," *SI* 48 (1978), 71-108.

the context of political sovereignty.[61] Qudāma's work represents an Islamicization not of *Fürstenpiegel*, a task accomplished long before him, but rather of a theory of state.

Qudāma's Islamic theory of state, an extension of his preliminary theory of community, became an important point of departure for subsequent developments in Islamic political thought. A pioneering effort commonly overlooked,[62] section VIII offers the earliest Islamic example of this kind of political thought, the importance of which we can only see from the vantage point of later works. This does not mean later works were directly influenced by it, but rather that it consolidated a train of political thought picked up by later authors. The first piece of evidence is al-Māwardī's theory of state as formulated in his work on the ethics of rule and the art of governance (*Tashīl al-naẓar wa-taʿjīl al-ẓafar fī akhlāq al-malik wa-siyāsat al-mulk*).[63] In contrast to his more celebrated work, "The Rules of Governance," this work starts from a theory of community, inspired ultimately by Greco-Hellenistic thought. His theory corresponds to that of Qudāma: Human community is the natural result of human differences and the need for cooperation such that these differences might be fully exploited for the benefit of all. Like Qudāma's conclusion, al-Māwardī claims that a ruler is the *sine qua non* of political cohesion

[61] Abū Yūsuf's introduction to his well-known treatise on tax law (*op. cit.*, pp. 67-95) can also be considered Islamicized or Islamic advice literature, for its encouragement of al-Rashīd to be pious and just in his excercise of power, encouragement which is expressed through reports attributed to the Prophet (see also the introduction to Ibn Sallām's treatise on tax law and Abū Da'ūd's chapter on governance). Moreover, the assertion is made that Allāh has chosen the caliphs as agents of divine guidance so as to ensure the welfare (*al-iṣlāh*) of the community: The author wishes to demonstrate that obedience to rulers is a divine injunction, disobedience a sign of godless ingratitude (*al-ʿamal bi-al-maʿāṣī kufr al-niʿam*). While Qudāma's presentation is not marked with such a strongly religious coloring, he did know Abū Yūsuf's work (see chapter four) and would have been aware of the Islamic contours of its political vision, a vision which he shared for its definition of political disobedience as sedition and thus as a grave threat to the life of the Islamic political community. Although Abū Yūsuf's work does not offer a fully developed theory of state, there is language which shows a certain commonality with section VIII's aims, e.g. p. 71 (AC 58): "And indeed Allāh, by his favor, mercy and clemency made rulers his successors on his earth and graced them with a light with which to cast away the darkness which had fallen upon the subjects in their mutual affairs."

[62] For example, attention to Qudāma's work would have offered much to the insightful article of R. al-Sayyid, "al-Madīna wa-al-dawla fī al-Islām. Dirāsa fī ru'yatay al-Māwardī wa-Ibn Khaldūn," *al-Abḥāth* 34 (1986), 67-85.

[63] ed. R. al-Sayyid, Beirut 1987.

and unity, which is brought about through his representation of Islamic law (*al-sharīʿa*) and the craft of governance (*al-siyāsa*, pp. 97-98). While Qudāma outlines the moral qualities and virtues defining the behavior and identity of the ruler only after his theory of state, al-Māwardī summarizes his version of the theory of human and political community in his introductory remarks, proceeds first to an overview of the ruler's moral qualities and virtues and then ends with a discussion of governance. The influence of Qudāma's work, while not explicitly mentioned, is strongly suggested in the section on governance. For example, in his prelude to this section, al-Māwardī emphasizes that the political rule capable of ensuring political community is that informed by religion and its power to unite human differences that would naturally tend to political disorder (p. 199).[64] Al-Māwardī illustrates this idea with two quotes used by Qudāma in part 7: the first, of Hellenistic origin, that political sovereignty truly arises when a ruler puts his rule at the service of religion, rather than the opposite (p. 200);[65] and the second, from Ardashīr's testimonial letter, that sovereignty and religion are twins, the one supporting the other (p. 201). Moreover, al-Māwardī's work, while fully Islamic, draws upon material from diverse cultural provenance in the manner of section VIII. Qudāma, an early pioneer in integrating the various cultural elements of Islamic civilization into a single framework, seems to have been a model for the likes of al-Māwardī, at least in this particular work. In his "Rules of Goverance," he limits himself much more strictly to Islamic sources apart from Perso-Indian and Greco-Hellenistic.[66]

It has been suggested, rightly so, that the Arabo-Islamic experience, captured in the works of al-Māwardī, made important contri-

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[64] Is this not the premise behind the opening words to part 7 of section VIII? Is it not also the essential idea, albeit greatly enlarged, behind Ibn Khaldūn's claim that religion strenghthens royal authority?

[65] See QJ, p. 387, where it is attributed to Aristotle's testimony to Alexander (*Siyāsat al-malik wa-tadbīr al-mulk*), a work which greatly influenced section VIII and is also known as "The Secret of Secrets" (*Sirr al-asrār*). As al-Ḥiyārī has noted, this is the earliest reference to this work, against Badawī's claim that the first to mention it was Ibn Juljul in his work on physicians (*Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*). See al-Ḥiyārī (1981), p. 28, n. 58.

[66] Reading al-Māwardī's works as a whole gives us a much more complex picture of this towering figure of the classical Islamic period than the familiar one in Western scholarship which is often limited to a reading of his "Rules of Governance." For one study which attempts to broaden the picture, see H. Mikhail, *Politics and Revelation, al-Māwardī and After*, Edinburgh 1995.

butions to Greco-Hellenistic theories of state, particularly its development of tribal forms of political community into much more expansive, sophisticated and more broadly encompassing forms, ultimately shaped and held together by religion and its capacity to unite diverse peoples.[67] The initial step, however, was taken by Qudāma, and thus section VIII is vital background to a reading of al-Māwardī for its articulation of a theory of state consonant with the Islamic political experience. Moreover, as section VIII shows, this step was not taken within religious circles interested in bringing prevailing political thought in line with the religious vision of Islam. Certainly, religion and the state were inextricably joined on many levels, but the primary inspiration, as we have seen, came from administrative circles interested in the exercise of power and the construction of a theory to justify a state which happened to be Islamic and also embraced diverse peoples. Qudāma took this step from a starting point which was neither theology nor jurisprudence. As a state official, he forms the link between Hellenistic political thought and more fully developed Islamic theories of state as found in al-Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn. This affiliation with the state steered him away from the philosophical constructs of al-Fārābī, while inspiring him to a vision which corresponded to the sentiments of the Sunnī religious establishment and which was eventually taken up by its exponents.

Part 7 closes with an argument in favor of one ruler, a response to those who consider it possible to have multiple rulers in a single polity. Other state officials are needed, of course, but they occupy subordinate positions to the ruler and participate in the administration of state as the ruler's servitors (p. 387). Does this insistence on a single ruler speak to the growing political fragmentation of the Abbasid state? Perhaps, but it is equally likely that Qudāma aimed to remain consistent with his theory of state, namely that a single political ruler is needed to bring unity to human differences. The insistence on one ruler, then, is necessary for the harmony of his political vision as a whole, rather than as reflection of historical reality. This is supported by his claim that the establishment of multiple rulers is incompatible with truth, which is one. In support of this, he compares political rule to divine unity, quoting Q 21:22 (*sūrat al-anbiyā'*), where corruption and demise are attributed to the worship

[67] See R. al-Sayyid, "Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī. Dirāsa fī ru'yatihi al-ijtimā'iyya," *al-Abḥāth* 33 (1985), 55-97.

of gods other than Allāh. Like the divine ruler, the political ruler also should have no partner (QJ, p. 387-388).

Building upon this theory of state, part 8 (pp. 388-392) turns to the science of governance (*'ilm al-siyāsa*), the knowledge which rulers must possess since the welfare of the polity depends upon them. Political welfare varies with the quality of the rulers' management of the polity (*tadbīr*), his judgment (*ra'y*), and action (*fi'l*). Here, the formation and order of the state (*niẓām al-mulk*) depend on neither the study of philosophy nor a mastery of Islamic jurisprudence, but a certain *realpolitik* (p. 389): strong will (*shiddat al-nafs)*, power (*quwwat al-shakīma*) and the ability to inspire fear (*rahba*), not the rational faculty (*al-quwwat al-nāṭiqa*) of the philosophers or the ability to interpret the law (*al-ijtihād)* of the religious scholars. The term which captures this *realpolitik*, awe or dread (*hayba*), is mentioned repeatedly in part 8 and forms the centerpiece of Qudāma's vision of political science. *Hayba* can be considered a kind of charisma, emblematic of the true leader,[68] but it also has a terrifying side.[69] Its use is based on the example of the Prophet.[70] It is able to inspire an effective policy towards both subjects and enemies.[71] Most importantly, it is a realistic policy, corresponding to the rebellious nature of the subjects and their inclination to idleness (*farāgh*) and misguided behavior (*ghayy*).[72] The idea of a citzenry idle by nature comes from

[68] QJ, p. 379 (AC 59): "And the love of a ruler for his subjects brings no benefit unless accompanied by dread...."

[69] QJ, p. 390 (AC 60): "And the ruler who aims to direct the people through justice and lead them towards what is right, is compelled, as we mentioned before, to inspire dread and fear and to use intimidation with the people more than enticement, and to be severe with them more than gentle, and considerably more harsh with them than compassionate."

[70] QJ, p. 391 (AC 61): "Indeed, in the words of the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh's blessing be upon him, is clear evidence for what we said, and that is where he said: 'I was made victorious through dread above all else.'"

[71] QJ, p. 391. A political vision which accounts for concerns both internal and external to the community tended to elude the philosophical strand, beginning with Plato. Philosophy, which seeks to base the craft of governance in reason, cannot easily account for both the formation of the political community and the reality of external threat. Reason of the Platonic kind may be able to speak eloquently to the formation of souls, but is speechless in the face of enemy attack. See R.F. Stalley, *An Introduction to Plato's Laws*, Oxford 1983.

[72] Human depravity is also recognized by the philosophical strand. See Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, Beirut 1978, ed. N. al-Takrītī, p. 72, who recognizes the need for law and a ruler to correct and control human depravity. Significantly, however, he never introduces the concept of dread as formative agent of political community since doing so would require him to table the predominant role of the

the *Testimony of Ardashīr*,[73] as Qudāma notes, while that of misguided behavior, even the inclination to seduction, may reflect the experience of the Abbasid state, which faced numerous rebellions and attempts to seize power among the ranks of governors, military commanders, tribal leaders, Alid claimants and others. The concern for a strong central authority is certainly an administrative concern and is rooted, in Qudāma's case, in a pessimistic view of the subjects which is not without historical grounds. The souls of such people in the state's experience could never be ennobled by the study of philosophy, nor converted through mercy, but must be coerced into one polity through the use of dread.[74]

The idea of dread is to the administrative strand of political thought what the active intellect is to the philosophical: Both represent the effective agent of political formation. This, of course, does not mean that the concept of dread (*hayba*) has no existence apart from administrative circles; it is found with different connotations throughout the sources. Rather, it came to epitomize what administrative interests saw to be essential to political order in light of their experience. According to the administrative vision, political harmony comes into being when *hayba* is there, political chaos when it is not. This idea is present in Themistius' letter, but is not presented as the main element of its political vision,[75] as in section VIII. It is much more significant in the Hellenized version of Aristotle's political thought as found in his putative testimony to Alexander.[76] There, it is used in both senses, charisma and fear.[77] While not as dominant there as in section VIII, this "dread" is called "the splendor of the kingdom" (*bahjat al-mamlaka*, p. 80). While the idea of "dread" had already become part and parcel of the administrative vision of

rational faculty in his vision of political formation, which stands in line with al-Fārābī's.

[73] ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1968, p. 61.

[74] QJ, pp. 390-391 (AC 62): "Because there are more of those whom the ruler finds worthy of harsh treatment on account of their deviant ways than those who deserve compassion on account of their good endeavors, since few people possess guidance and uprightness, most being swindlers and given to allurements."

[75] Themistius, *op. cit.* (1920), p. 886.

[76] For a discussion of this work and its various versions in Arabic, see M. Manzalaoui, "The pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb sirr al-asrār*. Facts and Problems," *Oriens* 23 (1974), 147-257.

[77] ed. ʿA.R. Badawī, in *al-Uṣūl al-yūnāniyya li-al-naẓariyyāt al-siyāsiyya fī al-Islām*, Cairo 1954, especially pp. 79-80.

political community,[78] the fruit of actual experience, Qudāma may have been aware of its intellectual origins, adapting it, like so much of section VIII, from its Hellenistic source to his own administrative vision of Islamic rule,[79] and, in turn, securing for it a recognized place in the panorama of Islamic political thought, especially in the political literature associated with administrative circles. For example, it is prominent in al-Māwardī's *Fürstenspiegel* work (*Qawānīn al-wizāra wa-siyāsat al-mulk*), a decidedly administrative work addressed to the Seljuk minister, Ibn al-Maslama. That work is a greatly expanded and more thoroughly Islamicized version of earlier *Fürstenspiegel* literature,[80] and yet, like *Fürstenspiegel* material throughout the early and classical periods, there is a tendency to draw upon a wide variety of sources: Persian, Arabo-Islamic, Greco-Hellenistic and Indian. In line

[78] For the concept of dread as the cohesive element of political community and especially administrative order, see Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*, ed. H. Amedroz, 7 vols., Oxford 1920, vol. 2, p. 314. The following translation is adapted from Amedroz, vol. 5, pp. 337-338 (AC 63): "He made constant demands on Abū al-Faḍl and his dependents, such as his representatives, chamberlains, retainers and all who were connected with him or with the Dīzūyah of the marshal. until he had confiscated their whole property. For a time, he took liberty with what he had acquired, and matters proceeded as he wished; he boasted of that and claimed influence. Things reached such a point that al-Muṭī' called him by his patronymic and bestowed upon him the title, The Advisor (*al-nāṣiḥ*). At Bakhtiyār's command and leave, the royal robes of honor were put upon him. He constantly found fault with Abū al-Faḍl and defamed him, making pretensions himself to justice and equity. Not many days had passed before he committed injustice and oppression and incited civil strife, which made the days of Abū al-Faḍl seem like the days of the two 'Umars in comparison. All this was due to the improvidence of Bakhtiyār, his neglect of affairs, his devotion to pleasures and his repugnance at attending to the business of administration, with the result that any sense of dread (*hayba*) was lost, the common people broke restraint and plundered one another, opposing passions and mutually hostile intentions were openly proclaimed, murder became so common that not a day passed without a number of victims, whose murderers were unknown, and if they were known, they could not be apprehended. So, revenues were cut off, and the distant provinces reduced to ruin due to the collapse of the capital. In every village there appeared a local leader who assumed control; [as a result] they sought to limit one another. Political power came away empty-handed, the subjects were ruined, the house destroyed, food provisions failed and the army fell into disorder."

[79] Qudāma seems to have been one of the foremost representatives of the Greco-Hellenistic side of the cultural struggle within administrative circles over Sasanian and Byzantine models of governance. For a discussion of this struggle, see Badawī, *op. cit.* p. 5f.

[80] It could be said that this fully Islamic *Fürstenspiegel* work built upon earlier attemts to adapt *Fürstenspiegel* material with the Arabo-Islamic experience, such as the testimonial letters mentioned previously and the sections on political power (*sulṭān*) in the anthologies of Ibn Qutayba and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi.

with the administrative strand, to which this work belongs, al-Māwardī ascribes the origin of human community to the diversity of crafts and professions and the inability of one individual to pursue them all,[81] while also noting that the state's foundation rests in religion and law (ibid., p. 122.). Such brief excursuses on the theory of community aside, the work takes up as its major theme the administrative exercise of power. Thus, in the introduction to the work, al-Māwardī emphasizes the element of dread as the effective agent in the formation of the polity, even as an order in its own right and the very basis of political power, with a dual nature and dual function, as seen in pseudo-Aristotle: fear and charisma.[82] In this, Qudāma can be said to have played an important role in the Islamicization of Hellenistic political thought, not only Sasanian *Fürstenspiegel.* He is drawing upon both traditions. More significantly, he identifies the concept of dread as the effective agent of political community according to the administrative strand, casting light on the import of this term as it appears in the other works related to the administrative strand of early Islamic political thought. It is thus with Qudāma's decisive identification of the concept in a work treating politics as a branch of knowledge that we can more precisely understand its significance throughout the sources which bear some connection to the administrative sub-genre of political thought.

Fürstenspiegel

Parts 9 through 12 of section VIII belong to the corpus of advice literature known as *Fürstenspiegel.* Part 9 discusses the qualities required of a ruler; part 10, those required of his servitors; part 11, the demeanor expected of a ruler in his dealings with his servants and subjects; and part 12, the appointment of ministers, the ruler's need for and obligations to them.[83] This material, then, represents a line

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[81] al-Māwardī, *Qawānīn al-wizāra wa-siyāsat al-mulk*, ed. R. al-Sayyid, Beirut 1979, p. 142.

[82] Ibid., p. 128 (AC 64): "But it is right that some pretext accompany the relaxation of threats in order that your threats not be treated lightly, for they preserve the system of dread and maintain the principle of governance." And p. 133: "And rarely is the dread of the serious-minded discredited and rarely is the dread of the frivilous fulfilled, and dread is the basis of power."

[83] Although section VIII's table of contents (QJ, p. 376) mentions part 12, the manuscript ends after part 11.

of political thought which envisions the state as a function of personal relations, where decision-making does not occur according to the rules of a legal code or administrative practice, but according to a code of conduct defining norms of behavior between ruler and ruled that includes the practice of taking counsel (*mashwara*). The suggestion has been made that this literature speaks to the art of government, as opposed to the theory of government,[84] and that would be true in the case of parts 9 though 12 if considered alone. The fact remains, however, that they form part of a work which aims to construct a theory of governance. For Qudāma, the ruler is the embodiment of the state, gives it life and holds it in balance. There is thus no room for arbitrary rule; the role of the ruler is thus a precarious one, a threat to the survival and prosperity of society if not carefully defined, regulated and even limited. In short, there were social expectations of rule in Islamic society as elsewhere. Medieval Europe, as is well known, appealed to a system of natural law to define and limit the exercise of political power and identify the norms expected of rule. Traditional African society regulates political power through the creation of a concept of sacred rule which stands aside from and thus transcends the interests of tribal factions.[85] The early Islamic world, once it had moved beyond the tribal dynamic of its original context, began to look to an inherited tradition of wisdom, preserved in books in the form of anecdote, aphorism and story,[86] which represented a recognized body of knowledge deemed essential for the maintenance of effective and prosperous rule. It was in this sense that *Fürstenspiegel* literature served to define and limit political rule without calling into question its position at the summit of the political hierarchy. Qudāma could not neglect this branch of political thought, given its preponderance in the early Islamic world and its close association with administrative circles. However, he shifts its focus slightly, still using it for the definition of political rule, but now in the service of his theory of governance.

It should be mentioned that debate continues on the aims of

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[84] E.I.J. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[85] See M. Abélès, "Sacred Kingship and the Formation of State," in H.J.M. Claessan and P. Skalník (eds.), *The Study of the State*, The Hague 1981, pp. 1-13.

[86] *Fürstenspiegel* authors often point out that their works come from the inherited wisdom of their forefathers as it has been preserved in writing. See, for example, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *al-Adab al-kabīr*, in M. Kurd ʿAlī, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 4.

Fürstenspiegel literature in Islamic civilization.[87] Was it truly meant merely as advice? Does it represent a decline in the state, real or perceived, to which *Fürstenspiegel* authors, usually state officials themselves, attempt to call attention through emphasis on the norms of conduct expected of rulers? Or is it rather a foil for legitimacy, a vehicle for the construction of an image of justice and right rule, when, in reality, the state was a bundle of political interests in competition with one another? Qudāma offers another answer, one which may be of use to the study of *Fürstenspiegel* literature throughout Islamic civilization, namely that such literature functions primarily as a theory of state. This possibility fits well with pre-modern ideas of the state's embodiment in the ruler. The ease with which Qudāma attaches *Fürstenspiegel* material on the art of governance to his theory of governance (i.e. the state) suggests that, indeed, there should be no dividing line between the two; material on the art of governance actually represents a kind of theory of governance, albeit one based on personal relations. This *Fürstenspiegel* theory of governance prevailed at a time prior to the appearance of administrative institutional life and its norms of governance and continued to serve as a complement to other theories of governance once notions of governance based on personal relations melded with theories of state based on the rule of law. In section VIII, other forms of political thought—philosophical and administrative—represent the consequences of state growth and the translation of Greco-Hellenistic works and capably served the goal of explaining the existence of the state, but the codes of conduct, personal and ethical, by which *Fürstenspiegel* defined political rule, still remained important to the theory of rule in the pre-modern world. Indeed, Qudāma says as much at the end of part 8, that the virtues expected of the ruler follow naturally upon his discussion of the formation of political community.[88]

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[87] This question has been prominent in Ottoman studies. See P. Fodor, "State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarium Hung.* 40 (1986), 217-240; D. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988), 52-77; and R. Murphey, "Mustafa 'Ālī and the Politics of Cultural Despair," *IJMES* 21 (1989), 243-255.

[88] QJ, p. 392 (AC 65): "And since we said what we said, let the first thing which follows be mention of the morals and qualities of the ruler, as well as the proper state of his own soul, since that is the beginning of administration and governance and the origin of public affairs. Then, that will be followed by what should follow."

On still another level, *Fürstenspiegel* can be classified as part of a wider body of literature devoted to the "science" of ethics (*adab*), which was meant to govern both the personal and public spheres of life.[89] Such literature was usually produced in the form of anthologies of inherited lore often in the form of maxims, although treatises on moral refinement (*tahdhīb al-akhlāq*), influenced by Greek systems of thought, were composed in a more systematic fashion, such as the works bearing this title by Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 362/972) and Miskawayh (d. 421/1030). The anthologies, repositories of wisdom to be used for moral education, drew upon Indo-Persian and Greco-Hellenistic traditions as well as the received Arabo-Islamic lore. While such diverse elements were collected together alongside one another and eventually integrated into one Islamic tradition,[90] certain alignments can be noticed, especially in the early period. For example, Persian lore is prominent in the anthologies of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (*al-Adab al-kabīr*), pseudo-al-Jāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk*),[91] Ibn Qutayba (*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (*al-ʿIqd al-farīd*). The Greco-Hellenistic tradition is more prominent in the anthologies—often classified as gnomologia[92]—by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (*Nawādir al-falāsifa*), al-Sijistānī (d. ca. 372/982; *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*),[93] al-Mubashshir b. Fātik (d. fifth/eleventh century; *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*), and Ibn Hindū (d. 410/1019; *al-Kalim al-ruḥāniyya*). The influence of these two cultural traditions began, of course, with translation. Leading the way on the Persian side was Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ,[94] with his translation of Persian

[89] al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.* (1894), pp. 3-4, implies this in his reference to politics as an education in leadership (*ādāb al-riyāsa*).

[90] See F. Rosenthal, "Political Justice and the Just Ruler," *IOS* 10 (1980), 92-102, especially p. 100: "After the tenth century, the religiously conditioned Muslim views and the secular Helleno-Persian ideas of political justice tend to be seen and treated as one amalgam." One example of this is the ethical treatise of al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992), which contains Greek philosophy, Sasanian royal wisdom and material from the Arabo-Islamic experience, including the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth. See A.J. Arberry, "An Arabic Treatise on Politics," *IQ* 2 (1955), 9-22.

[91] This work is now known to have been authored by a certain Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaʿlabī, who wrote around 247/861. See F. Rosenthal, "as-Sarakhsī (?) on the Appropriate Behavior of Kings," *JAOS* 115 (1995), 105-109.

[92] See D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Greco-Arabic Gnomologia*, New Haven 1975.

[93] For a discussion of this work, see W. al-Qāḍī, "Kitāb Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma: Structure, Composition, Authorship, and Sources," *Der Islam* 58 (1981), 87-124.

[94] ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was also an early proponent of Persian sentiment, e.g. the testimonial letter he composed for Marwān II to his son. See I. ʿAbbās, *Malāmiḥ yūnāniyya fī al-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1993.

wisdom literature, particularly that related to the art of governance, which left an enormous impact on Islamic ethical and political literature. On the Greek side, two phases of translation are noticeable:[95] the first in the Umayyad period, represented by the figure of Sālim Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, the secretary to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105-125/724-743), where translation of Greco-Hellenistic material was largely limited to epistles, particularly those of the Alexander cycle;[96] the second is represented by the work of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq and his students, who translated both philosophical works and gnomological material.

Within these cultural categories, there is development and overlap. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, for example, offers nothing of explicitly Greco-Hellenistic origin and only barely discernible references to the Arabo-Islamic tradition. The work of pseudo-al-Jāḥiẓ—devoted to court etiquette, not the art of governance—also has nothing of Greco-Hellenistic origin, but rather is based on a Sasanian framework into which the author incorporates Arabo-Islamic historical material from the reigns of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs. Ibn Qutayba and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi both composed their works on the basis of a largely Perso-Islamic synthesis, while including limited references to Greco-Hellenistic material.

Qudāma composed his work at an important juncture in this development towards cultural integration, and was thus in a position to draw upon a wide range of *Fürstenspiegel* sources, especially the Alexander cycle. Parts 9 through 11 thus stand squarely within the domain of gnomologia, a point overlooked until now by those who have examined that tradition. Briefly stated, Qudāma's work is an early attempt to incorporate the Greco-Hellenistic tradition into the Islamic world, and especially into the corpus of Islamic *Fürstenspiegel*. His material is heavily weighted in favor of the Greco-Hellenistic, but he includes Persian sources, especially the contributions of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, which had become so fully familiar to the Islamic world by Qudāma's day that he can cite them without attribution, as he does with other Persian sources (*wa-qāla baʿḍ al-ḥukamāʾ min al-furs*); and Arabic-Islamic material from poetry, the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth, along with material from the history of the caliphs. Never

[95] See Gutas (1974 and 1998).

[96] See M. Grignaschi, "Le roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū al-ʿAlāʾ," *Le Muséon* 80 (1967), 211-264.

before was there such an amalgamation, as al-Ḥiyārī has noted, of the various cultural traditions to which Islam was heir—an early example of what would later become the norm, as seen in al-Māwardī's *Fürstenspiegel* work (see above).

Finally, it should be noted that Qudāma only uses *Fürstenspiegel* material relevant to the goals of his political thought. For example, he includes no material on courtly etiquette, such as behavior expected of the ruler and his attendants when the ruler is eating, drinking or being entertained by his boon-companions, material which forms a significant feature of pseudo-al-Jāḥiẓ, for example. Or, when borrowing from Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, he draws only on the material related to his sections on the art of governance, not his section on friendship. Indeed, Qudāma's use of the work of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is an important indication of his purposes: His ultimate aim is not amalgamation of diverse cultural material, but the appropriation of such material to the extent it serves his administrative presentation of the craft of politics and a theory of governance. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ explicitly states that he writes for all those in search of refinement (*ṭālib al-adab*),[97] and his work encompasses a broader spectrum of practical wisdom than the political sphere, aiming at a general program of refinement for the socio-political elite, among them the ruler in particular. For Qudāma, *Fürstenspiegel* material is relevant to his purposes only as it speaks to the definition of political rule. This is a subtle, but significant shift in the use of *Fürstenspiegel* material, which flows from the overall project of section VIII.

Part 9 (QJ, pp. 392-420) speaks to the education of a ruler, *paideia basilike* in the Byzantine tradition[98] and the first step in defining society's expectations of political rule. Qudāma begins with emphasis on the ruler's mastery of himself: If he is to rule others, he must rule himself. Ten virtues in particular embody that goal:[99] 1) intelligence (*ʿaql*), both natural and acquired, possession of which leads to complete happiness (*al-saʿāda al-tāmma*);[100] political order, the good,

[97] See M. Kurd ʿAlī, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[98] See D.M. Nichol, "Byzantine political thought," (= chapter four) in J.H. Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-79, especially pp. 56-57.

[99] Ibn al-Ṭiqṭiqā also associates ten virtues with the education of the ruler, *op. cit.*, pp. 20f. While his list of ten virtues differs from Qudāma's, both start with intelligence (*ʿaql*).

[100] This recalls the final end of political philosophy as we saw with al-Fārābī. Qudāma adds that the greatest enemy of intelligence is caprice (*hawā*), the "arts" of which the ruler can combat through the cultivation of knowledge where he is

can only be achieved with an intelligent ruler;[101] 2) modesty (*ʿiffa*); 3) liberality (*sakhāʾ*) and generosity (*karam*),[102] with supporting citations from Aristotle, Homer and "others" (p. 394); 4) lofty ambitions (*ʿiẓam al-himma*); 5) courage (*shujāʿ*), a quality including both patience (*ṣabr*) and boldness (*jurʾa*), the first being more important if both are not present (pp. 394-395); 6) far-sightedness (*buʿd al-fikr*) and resolve in judgment (*shakīma fī raʾyihi*); 7) forebearance (*ḥilm*), which prevents the ruler from rash decisions regarding the punishment of criminals, who may have been accused falsely (p. 395); 8) honesty (*ṣidq*) in making only the promises and threats which he can carry out (pp. 395-396); 9) justice (*ʿadl*), the most complete of all the qualities expected of a ruler, since it bestows a sense of equity to all his acts; after a brief interlude on avarice (*shuḥḥ*), against which a ruler must be on his guard, Qudāma completes his thoughts on justice by stating that a truly just ruler has no need to be compassionate (p. 396); and 10) a knowledge of the ways (*siyar*) of past rulers, positive examples serving as models to imitate and negative ones as models to avoid (p. 396).[103]

Vices come next, playing as important a role as virtues in defining effective and prosperous political rule. In other words, political rule was not free of constraints, which were defined both positively and negatively. Qudāma mentions three such vices: 1) obstinancy (*lajāja*); 2) carelessness (*tahāwun*) in affairs of state, illustrated by the example of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad (p. 397), who had taken over a rule which had fallen into such neglect that it was impossible to restore, the inevitable result being loss of the right of rule to the Abbasids (*al-musawwida*); 3) pride (*kibr*), which results only in lowliness and hatred (p. 398). A discussion follows on pride and its opposite, humility, with the conclusion that pride starts with self-admiration (*iʿjāb al-marʾ bi-nafsihi*), which leads one to exaggerate his position; such self-admiration is actually considered the

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ignorant, understanding where lacking in comprehension (QJ, p. 93).

[101] QJ, pp. 393-394 (AC 66): "And it was said: He whose mind does not see to the good of his relations is not fit to use it to seek the good of people in general."

[102] Qudāma adds that the two are close to, but should not be confused with, one's sense of honor (*murūʾa*, or moral character in general as in the sense of the Latin *pietas*).

[103] This last virtue, knowledge of the history of past rulers, was considered essential to the education of rulers throughout Islamic history. Such knowledge was often treated in literature produced by state servitors, e.g. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā in the Mongol period (cf. his introduction to *al-Fakhrī*) and Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī in the Ottoman period (see his introduction to *Fuṣūl-i ḥall wa-ʿaqd*).

fourth and highest level of prevarication, the first three being the lie in word (about something which has no existence), the lie in deed (hypocrisy) and the lie in thought (about one's inner beliefs); self-admiration combines all these degrees of prevarication (pp. 398-399). Moreover, since the ruler should be free of all prevarication, he should also be free of self-admiration and should work to rid himself of it through the practice of humility, in imitation of the qualities of the Prophet, whom Qudāma recognizes as the highest moral example, above the stature even of rulers.

The rest of part 9 is occupied with the theme of counsel. Counsel, i.e the expectation that a ruler consult his attendants and officials, also acts to define the nature of rule and limit the possibility of arbitary rule. Qudāma says himself (p. 399) that it is not for the sake of counsel in itself, but for the edification of the ruler who, by associating with the wise and judicious, will avoid bringing harm to his rule, since such harm would surely result if he followed the ways of the common people. He insists that this is particularly important for those holding high office (*dhāwu al-aqdār al-ʿāliyya*, p. 399).[104] He illustrates this with the example of the Sasanian Khusrau I (r. 531-579 CE), referred to as Anūshirvān (pp. 399-400) and Alexander the Great, who enjoyed wide dominion, ruling over east and west (p. 400), while never failing to seek out the company of the wise.

Continuing the theme of counsel, Qudāma turns to the life of Alexander, whom he considers the epitome of political rule.[105] He claims that he uses the stories of Alexander only in illustration of the fact that great rule is based in wisdom (p. 401), since Alexander had been educated by Aristotle in the knowledge of philosophy—again, an acknowledgement of the philosophical strand. While drawing heavily upon the Greco-Hellenistic heritage, Qudāma is careful to maintain an Islamic matrix, or rather to associate the Greco-Hellenistic heritage with it. The connection of knowledge to good rule, as he sees it, is not necessarily Greco-Hellenistic; rather, the Greco-Hellenistic heritage should be seen in light of Islam, with reference to history and, above all, the Qurʾān, Q 35:28 (*sūrat fāṭir*). Those skilled in knowledge—and here, the reference to knowledge is Islamic

[104] Another indication of his intended audience.

[105] It is worth remembering that Alexander also features prominently in the geographical section (section VI), where his campaigns in the east are depicted as models of justice. The use of Alexander in both sections is further evidence, against Bonnebaker's claim, that section VIII does actually belong to the original work.

(i.e. jurisprudence)—are essential to good rule, since they are able to understand Allāh's intentions regarding political rule and the exercise of power.[106] Indeed, Allāh is the final source of all guidance and good fortune (p. 401). This statement, the divine connection to true rule, represents the ultimate constraint on political rule. The ruler's ways must reflect Allāh's.

Before returning to the now Islamic model of Alexander, Qudāma explains the importance of knowledge to good rule by the fact that the ruler's behavior is not a personal affair, but affects all, society at large. While others may need expertise in only one area of knowledge, the ruler—again, the embodiment of political community—must have knowledge of all affairs of state (pp. 402-403); such a goal is attained only through the employment of good counselors: the judicious, experienced, educated and cultured.[107] The counsel of the educated is thus essential to the welfare of political community, and a lengthy discussion of good counsel follows (p. 404). Supporting material from Persian lore and Arabic poetry is given (p. 405), with the conclusion that the ruler who employs his servitors according to their capacity and talent enjoys a rule distinguished by its intelligence (pp. 405-406).

Qudāma now returns to the life of Alexander, the model of intelligent rule, who always sought the counsel of his philosopher-tutor, Aristotle. Now, however, this paradigm of political rule, Greco-Hellenistic in origin and content, appears anew in Islamic form.[108] Educated in the company of the wise (p. 406), Alexander's innate wis-

[106] QJ, p. 401 (AC 67): "The learned who knows the command of Allāh in its essence and has reached the limit of knowledge as laid down by Allāh for his kingdom and sovereignty...."

[107] QJ, p. 403 (AC 68): "Those with judgment and worldly wisdom and those whose judgment has been refined by correct knowledge and whose heart has been educated by true knowledge...."

[108] Alexander appears in the Qur'ān in a favorably light (Q 18, *sūrat al-kahf*), making it easy to present the Greco-Hellenistic figure in Islamic terms, especially in the italicized language in the following citation, QJ, 406 (AC 69): "And among the things which we ought to mention are the moral traits of Alexander the Great, so that rulers might imitate that, comport themselves in accord with it and not despair of attaining the likes of his position, for people are the same in character, and *the best in the sight of Allāh is the pious* whom he, the powerful and majestic, finds doing what is right and pleasing, by which he attains the ultimate goal and ascends to the highest rank, and if there were a ruler who attained what he [i.e. Alexander] attained as recorded in the reports which rulers hear, he would not shrink from pursuing the likes of his command. Allāh gives success through his omnipotence."

dom is recognized early by Aristotle. Returning to Macedonia, the seat of Greek rule at the time (not Constantinople, Qudāma adds), he reforms his own kingdom according to just laws and virtuous practices (*al-sunan al-ʿādila wa-al-siyar al-fāḍila*). From there, he sets his sight on conquering the world and combating misguided (i.e. as if non-Islamic) kings (p. 407), prominent among them Darius son of Darius, King of the Persians in Alexander's day. Inspired only by the interest of spreading monotheism, eradicating infidelity (*al-kufr*), and bringing the world to submission to the will of Allāh (p. 408), Alexander inflicts defeat upon Darius, after which the rest of the ruling class in Persia compliantly surrender, while receiving fair treatment from their conqueror.

With such background, Qudāma now offers examples of letters, in which Alexander sought counsel from Aristotle, to demarcate the limits of rule. Counsel played an essential role in Alexander's administrative exercise of power over the lands of conquest (again, an echo of the Islamic conquests) and thus in the emergence of political community in those lands. In one letter between the philosopher-tutor and ruler-pupil, Alexander recognizes the worth of Aristotle's counsel, despite his own achievements, and asks specifically what he should do with the ruling class of Persia (p. 409). Aristotle responds with words which, Qudāma claims, every ruler should take to heart, by encouraging him to spare their lives, since they are royalty (pp. 409-411). There is a social order which must be preserved even after conquest. Killing the conquered Persian kings would upset this order, resulting in a political community (de)formed by the riffraff. Governance of kings is easier than that of riffraff, and Alexander should thus rule through them, since they are, by nature, more compliant to governance. By sparing them and confirming them in their rule, Alexander will win their good will. Thus, he should imprison those he has conquered and set up in their place their children, dividing the kingdom (of Persia) among them, rendering them factions, each the equal of the other and thereby preventing the possibility of ambition and encouraging obedience, since no one will possess enough power to challenge the status quo. Alexander sees the rightness of this opinion (p. 411) and accepts it, with the result, Qudāma claims, that these kings paid tribute to the Greek kings for 511 years and were obedient to them until the time of Ardashīr.[109]

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[109] A version of this letter exists in al-Jahshiyārī's introduction to his administrative history.

Correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle continues during the rest of his campaigns in India, China and the farthest east (p. 411), with Aristotle communicating to him the art of judgement and governance (*wujūh al-ra'y wa-al-tadbīr*), encouraging him in wisdom and theoretical knowledge (*al-ḥikma wa-al-ʿulūm al-naẓariyya*) and apprising him of noble qualities and sublime action (*al-akhlāq al-sharīfa wa-al-afʿāl al-jalīla*). Finally, Qudāma quotes directly from pseudeo-Aristotle's famous letter on governance (*Risālat al-tadbīr*). Thus, we have a treatise within a treatise (pp. 411-414), a *Fürstenspiegel*, advice given by Aristotle to Alexander, which acts as Qudāma's *Fürstenspiegel*, although now as a model of governance which keeps political rule healthy and prosperous. In other words, a piece of Greco-Hellenistic literature, with its emphasis on wisdom as the basis of political prosperity, is inserted into the currents of Islamic civilization. The translation of Greek material into Arabic becomes, with Qudāma, something much more than translation, but rather a feature of an early Islamic political treatise, representing a stage subsequent to translation in which translated material was woven into the fabric of Islamic civilization. To confirm this grafting of the Greco-Hellenistic tradition onto the already existing Perso-Islamic synthesis, Qudāma finishes part 9 with several citations on good counsel from leading figures of Arabo-Islamic history and the Persian tradition: 1) Muʿāwiya (p. 414); 2) al-Muʿtaḍid, who, it is claimed, would have succeeded in raising the might of Islam over all nations, had he lived to complete his plans for al-Shammāsiyya; his example of administrative order, however, can still serve rulers as a model for strengthening their rule and protecting it against the enemy (p. 415);[110] 3) Anūshirvān, who took counsel and reviewed orders to his officals three times a week to ensure the maintenance of political order and common good (*al-siyāsa wa-al-maṣlaḥa al-ʿāmma*); 4) al-Muʿtamid (p. 415); 5) those skilled in eloquence (*al-bulaghā'*, p. 416); 6) Anūshirvān again; 7) Alexander again, with a reference to al-Manṣūr and his correspondence with the rebel Ibn Hubayra (pp. 416-417);[111] 8) the

[110] The language used here recalls section VI, part 7 (AC 70): "And the rest of the peoples and nations in opposition to Islam...."

[111] This association of al-Manṣūr with Alexander may not have been cavalier, but part of a project of creating an image of al-Manṣūr, considered the real founder of the Abbasid regime, as a paragon of strong rule and administration. Although difficult to connect image to history, al-Manṣūr does seem to have ushered in new concepts of legitimate rule that centered no longer merely on genealogical and religious considerations, but on good administration of the polity and the idea of

wise and philosophers; 9) ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbd al-Malik, who are said to have ruled with knowledge, humility and justice (p. 417); 10) al-Maʾmūn's wisdom in cleverly disarming a rebel (*khārijī*) with the claim, against the Khārijite position, that communal consensus, if valid for accepting the text as divinely revealed, is valid for interpreting it; 11) ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān (p. 418); 12) Aktham b. Ṣayfī; 13) Alexander again and his treatment of rebellious elements in his own camp in accord with Aristotle's advice; and 14) sayings of Persian wise men.

Part 10 (pp. 420-427) formalizes the place of the ruler's servitors (*khudām al-malik*) in the panoply of political rule, since they play an adjunct role in the rule of the polity as extensions of the ruler. It is thus necessary to define the character expected of them. Here again, the image is that of a formation from above. The political community takes its shape from the character of its ruling elite: Proper political community is only possible when this elite cultivates certain virtues. With that as his end, Qudāma offers two lists of virtues, both summarizing the expectations of courtly and official conduct: one of a general type, listing twenty virtues expected of the ruler's servitors (pp. 420-423); a second, supplementing the first, attributed to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (pp. 423-427).

Part 11 describes the image the ruler should cultivate in dealings with his subjects. In many respects, the guidelines offered reflect the concept of awe or dread, i.e. the effective agent of political community according to the administrative strand. The ruler should show no interest in praise, lest others deceive him with it. When he takes counsel, there should be no room for discussion or debate; he is the one who gives judgment, and it is not beneficial to his authority over the state if it were to seem that judgments were made by his advisors. This feature of rule, judgment (*raʾy*), is actually part of law-making. We have already seen the idea of the ruler as law-maker in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who affirmed the ruler's capacity to make law where scriptural sources are not explicit. Qudāma, however, cannot ignore the developments in jurisprudence since the second/eighth century

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ruler as the embodiment of justice (*ʿadl*), i.e. the one who balances the various parts of the community and thereby ensures its cohesion and unity. The description of al-Manṣūr's life, his conduct and his wills in al-Ṭabarī's history also reflects this partly Sasanian image of just rule and strong administration. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M.J. De Goeje et al., 15 vols., Leiden 1879-1901, series 3, vol. 1 (ed. M. Houtsma and S. Guyard), pp. 392f., trans. H. Kennedy, *al-Manṣur and al-Mahdī*, in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. E. Yarshater, 38 vols., vol. 29, pp. 93f.

which worked to locate legal authority in scriptural sources apart from the caliphal ruler. In order to maintain the legal authority of the ruler, Qudāma attributes it to the words of the Prophet, who, it is alleged, took counsel when giving judgment. The example given amounts to the same claim made by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ—judgement where scripture is not explicit—although stated more ingeniously, by associating judgment with counsel and locating the authority for it in the imitation of the practice of the Prophet and even in the Qur'ān.[112]

The idea of counsel recalls Alexander and the advice he consistently sought from Aristotle. While Qudāma boasts that no rule reached the extent of Alexander's, he is careful to subordinate his rank to that of the prophets. More examples are given of the correspondence between Alexander and the philosopher.[113] The first letter was written by Alexander when he first entered Persia. Expressing his desire for counsel, he mentions three things necessary for rulers: true leadership (*ḥaqīqat al-riʾāsa*), exercise of governance (*ṣarf al-tadbīr*), and its proper use (*istiʿmāl dhalika ʿalā jihatihi wa-waḍʿihi fī kunhihi*). Essential to that is counsel, in the absence of which the ignorant would have no need of the wise. While such words echo the concept of political formation operative in the philosophical strand, there is a significant difference: Here, the common good is a function of counsel;[114] in the philosophical strand, it was the ruler' knowledge of first principles. All rulers need counsel, even the wisest of the Greeks, and various figures from Greek lore are marshalled forth

[112] QJ, pp. 428-429 (AC 71): "And it is not right that the ruler fail to take counsel, since the Messenger of Allāh, Allāh's blessings upon him, did not, except in cases where revelation was given, [i.e.] a decisive command of Allāh; and the [capacity for] judgment is bestowed upon humans and exists for the sake of deliberation. And if he [i.e the Prophet], upon him be peace, wanted to give a command, his Companions would say: Is this revelation from Allāh or something you are doing? And he would say: If it were revelation, I would not need to consider it [i.e with you], but it is a [matter for] judgment. And then everyone would say what he thought. And if any human could do without taking counsel, the Messenger of Allāh, Allāh's blessing upon him, could do without it. And along with the fact that he did not spurn it, he was also commanded by the Qur'ān to do it, and thus no one is above it, and no one is to consider himself in a position to do without it."

[113] Although beyond the scope of this study, it would be of interest to examine the relation of these and previous letters in section VIII to the Arabo-Islamic gnomological tradition in general and its Greco-Hellenistic heritage.

[114] Cf. QJ. p. 431, where Alexander's words to Aristotle draw the connection between good counsel and good rule (AC 72): "And I needed you to show me how I might procure the good in my affairs with the subjects and their improvement in my view."

as evidence. Finally, Alexander implores Aristotle to outline for him a complete program of good rule, to which future generations can always refer. This Aristotle does, composing the letter (*Risālat al-tadbīr*) which medieval Europe attributed to him as *Secretum Secretorum* (*Sirr al-asrār*).

Part 11 closes with more advice for the cultivation of an awe-inspiring image of rule. Since he cannot please all, the ruler should make sure to please the elite. He should know the affairs of his subjects, and let it be known that he does, so that criminal elements are subdued by their own fear, the good encouraged by the hope of reward. Additionally, he should not be hasty to reward or punish, so as to keep hope and fear alive, garnering in the process grandeur for his rule. He should govern well, such that he not become the object of disdain and scorn, and should be careful not to be petty in his speech or less than royal in his greeting. He should never take an oath, since it would detract from the authority of his words; those who take oaths do so because their words are not considered credible in their own right. The ruler should cultivate the knowledge possessed by people of piety, good intention and honor. He should take such people into his entourage, to represent his image and form his personal retinue. He should never show his emotions, since they disclose, involuntarily and shamefully, his will and conscience, which can be used to slander him or divulge his intentions. Still, as long as he remains within the customs of the religious law (*huwa ʿalā sunan al-sharīʿa*), those who try to shame him will seem to be trying to shame all of society. Thus, it is vital to effective rule that he cultivate religion (*fa-yalzama al-dīn alladhī huwa uss li-mulkihi wa-ʿimāra li-sulṭānihi*). He should care for the needs of the noble and take guard against the wanton ways of the riffraff. If not, the base will rise, while the noble fall, throwing political order into chaos, since the riffraff lack knowledge, stature and noble lineage—things necessary for good rule. With the base and lowly in power, ignorance will spread and the socio-political hierarchy become upset, with a corresponding loss of talent, intelligence and ethical character. With ignorance, order is lost; with intelligence, rank and order are restored. Thus, order depends on the faculty of discernment, emphasized by Qudāma in part 1. Conquest comes not from bodily strength, thick skin or weapons, but from intelligence and wisdom (*maʿa al-ʿaql wa-al-ḥikma al-ghalaba*). Part 11 ends with citations on the importance of an ordered hierarchy from different sources: Persian, Indian, Arab and poetry.

In summary, the *Fürstenspiegel* material has worked, in line with the goals of the administrative strand, to define political rule. It is a decidedly moral vision, based not on strictly religious material alone (i.e. Qurʾān and Ḥadīth), but on the entire body of wisdom literature—of varied cultural provenance—that had been integrated into the matrix of Islamic civilization.

Conclusion

Section VIII, like the rest of the work, is inspired by both administrative and intellectual interests. It is a political theory that reflects the growth and development of the Islamic state and its administrative institutions. This is evident most significantly in the concept of law as the basis of state. This concept differs essentially in its vision of state and state formation from the concept of political community formed through the personal relations of the ruling elite with one another and with their subjects. Certainly, such relations, which embodied a kind of political rule, had a complex array of political norms and expectations, as known from *Fürstenspiegel* literature. Qudāma still makes use of this literature, not primarily as a description of personal relations, but as a further component of his theory of state.

Additionally, Qudāma's intellectual concerns appear distinctly in his use of a philosophical framework as background to his theory of state. His own affinity for the Greco-Hellenistic heritage and its prominence in the political thought of his day pushed him in the direction of a treatise, a philosophical treatise, rather than a collection of maxims in anthological form. Underscoring that pressure is his use of a certain theory of human community, which is philosophical without bowing to ontological and epistemological assumptions at odds with the administrative experience of governance and its *realpolitik*.

Thus, section VIII draws widely upon the various types of political thought and cultural material available in Qudāma's day. The product is, at once, a theory of state (i.e. governance, *siyāsa*) and a body of knowledge (*ʿilm al-siyāsa*), defined by the perspective of state officials, capable of including both philosophical and religious concerns in a single vision and influential, perhaps decisively so, in the development of Islamic political thought through its classical period.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Qudāma's work, *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*, offers a fascinating perspective into the formation of Islamic civilization at a period which, although by no means unique, was still outstanding in terms of the synthesis and consolidation that took place in terms of culture and knowledge (see chapter one, n.19). The construction of knowledge pertinent to Islamic civilization—indeed the formation of the civilization itself—cannot be seen as the work only of religious scholars or a cultural elite, however important their role may have been. In light of our analysis of Qudāma's administrative work, it must now be seen that the knowledge harnessed for the goals of Islamic civilization was fashioned out of competing social interests, not merely religious, intellectual and cultural concerns, and that the state played as decisive a role in that process as any social group in Islamic civilization.

To that end, the state was willing and able to bring its interests to bear on knowledge in diverse forms, and that at a time when Islamic civilization was still itself in its formative period. The recognition that Islam was heir to many traditions and histories, philosophies and cultures, points of view—in short, universal—was due to the Islamic state as much as, and in some dimensions more than—the Islamic religion. While Islamic religiosity displayed a certain universality from its inception, the religious scholars, generally speaking, were pressured to look beyond their concern for the preservation of the Arabo-Islamic religio-cultural synthesis primarily as a result of the expansion and growth of the Islamic polity. Certainly, one must be careful not to fall into too strict a schema of the rise and venture of Islam and its various component parts. Still, the dispensation to which the religious scholars were heir was, generally speaking, the Arabo-Islamic one alone. While aspects of other intellectual and cultural heritages were absorbed into the matrix of the Islamic religion, the fundamental point of reference was the Arabic language in which the Islamic revelation—prophetic discourse—took place, and it was on the epistemology of that prophetic discourse, in the Arabic language, that religious scholars firmly held their glance. This

is not to deny the variety of Islamic religiosity throughout Islamic history, but rather to emphasize its fundamental point of reference and its constraints.

In contrast, the Islamic state of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries was ready heir to multiple dispensations. Among them, the Arabo-Islamic was undeniable and distinct, but for reasons very different from those which led religious scholars to gravitate to it. For the state, the Arabo-Islamic tradition was vital to its existence not only out of respect for its claim to lead and rule the community of Muslims (*al-umma*), but also because its need to control its subjects and advance its interests required a regulated use of the Arabic language. It was, then, this intense concern for the language that wed the state so closely to the religion, in one culturo-epistemological frame of reference. This was the case, it should be stressed, simply because the sources of the language—the bases for a proper use of the language—had been so thoroughly assimilated to the religious tradition. This is the case even today: Discourse in an Arab context—the use of language, concepts and terminology—is always and inescapably an Islamic one, regardless of one's confessional identity or social group. Islam as a point of reference is always there as long as the Arabic language is the medium of discourse. The dependency of the Abbasid state structure—its bureaucratic *modus operandi*—on the language raised important questions about the relation of the state to the Arabo-Islamic tradition, as we saw in our discussion of the grammatical category of the administrative genre. By Qudāma's day, however, these questions were no longer so ambiguous, and the identification of state administration with language can be spelled out in a fairly straightforward fashion. The first half of Qudāma's work, which demonstrates this close association of the state and its administrative organs to language, could, by his day, be assumed. These sections (II-V) of his work do spell out this association more clearly than previous works and, as such, offer us a way to understand this dynamic of early Islamic civilization more clearly. For his contemporaries, however, Qudāma's summary of the genre, while useful for its clarity of organization, did not break any new ground in terms of the nature of the state. The other works of the administrative genre all recognize on some level that control and patronage of language were essential to the state's existence, authority and administration of its subjects.

The complex identity of the Islamic state can be seen in the sec-

tions where Qudāma's work expands the administrative genre by attaching to it other branches of knowledge. When we read his sections on geography, fiscal theory and political thought, we are no longer merely within an Arabo-Islamic frame of reference, but now find ourselves listening to other voices as well—Ptolemaic, Sasanian and Greco-Hellenistic, to name only the three most prominent. It is in these sections that we see a state happily harnessing a plethora of cultures and philosophies to serve its interests in defining itself as Islamic in a way which is no longer only Arabo-Islamic, the importance of the language to the state notwithstanding. The great epistemological diversity which these sections reflect show that the Islamic attempt to accomodate and integrate many peoples was most visible (and viable) through the discourse of state, i.e the Islamic empire which itself embraced diverse peoples. In turn, the state's introduction of this diversity into the Islamic milieu was eventually held to be in harmony with Islamic civilization as a whole. Certainly, the state welded together these several dispensations into a vision which, as Qudāma's work shows, represented its own social interests. At the same time, the state's contribution to the three branches of knowledge represented in sections VI through VIII were all to perdure as a familiar part of Islamic civilization as identifiable Islamic points of view, now no longer necessarily connected to state interests. In other words, the state was a vital formator of an Islamic civilization which continued long after the state itself had fragmented and even disappeared.

Such insight has been garnered through a reading of the sources which fundamentally respects their own point of view. Qudāma's work, while rooted in the administrative genre, has conveniently served as the focus for an examination of Islamic civilization as a whole for its inclusion of other branches of knowledge. Reading his work, especially sections VI through VIII, alongside many others of various provenance and orientation, has allowed us to understand more fully the way the state was in dialogue with a wider intellectual and cultural milieu. Qudāma's work cannot be reduced to a training manual. Certainly, low-ranking bureaucrats, the overwhelming bulk of the administrative corps, pursued employment which was defined as a trade, the work of a functionary earning his living,[1] who

[1] This point is made by al-Tawḥīdī in his letter on the sciences (*Risālat fī al-ʿulūm*), where he says that the functionary (*kātib*) plies his trade without attaining the rank of the learned (*sharaf al-ʿulamā'*). See M. Bergé, *op. cit.* (1963-1964), p. 289.

was required to undertake some form of apprenticeship in the technical skills necessary for plying his trade, namely the craft of writing regardless of the bureau to which he was destined. This is not to say that Qudāma's work was in no way used for training purposes, but it certainly was not addressed to the general ranks of state secretaries. Rather, its attempt to push the boundaries of the administrative genre by consolidating other branches of knowledge indicates a discourse of state pursued by an administrative elite, a specific kind of secretary: of high rank, to be sure, but also intellectually talented, the learned of the administrative corps (*ʿulamāʾ al-kuttāb*, see chapter one, n. 59). It was this group that mediated the interests as well as diverse identity of the state to the wider intellectual arena. These scholar-officials were the figures who presented to that arena the state's contribution to and definition of certain branches of knowledge. Qudāma is one such figure, but his work underscores how important such figures were to the formation of the civilization writ large. The state contribution was not translation alone, although translation was put to the service of state ideology,[2] but something of much greater complexity and sophistication: a central place in the fashioning of material of varied origin and value into an Islamic image.

[2] D. Gutas, *op. cit.*, 1998.

APPENDIX
ARABIC CITATIONS

1)

فإنّ المترسّلين إنما يترسَّلون في جباية خراج، أو سد ثغر، أو عمارة بلاد، أو إصلاح فساد، أو تحريض على جهاد، أو احتجاج على فئة، أو مجادلة لمِلّة، أو دعاء الى ألفة، أو نهي عن فُرقة، أو تهنئة بغبطة، أو تعزية على رزية، أو ما شاكل ذلك من جلائل الخطوب ومعاظم الشؤون التي يحتاجون فيها أن يكونوا ذوي أدوات كثيرة، ومعرفة مفَنَّنة. وقد وسمتهم الكتابة بشرفها، وبوّأتْهم منزلةَ رياستِها، فأخطارهم عالية بحسب علوّ خطر ما يفيضون ويذهبون اليه.

2)

وهو قدامة بن جعفر بن قدامة، وكان نصرانياً وأسلم على يد المكتفي بالله، وكان قدامة أحد البلغاء الفصحاء والفلاسفة الفضلاء، وممن يشار اليه في علم المنطق وكان أبوه جعفر ممن لا تفكر فيه ولا علم عنده، وله من الكتب: كتاب الخراج ثمان منازل وأضاف اليه تاسعة، كتاب نقد الشعر، كتاب صابون الغمّ، كتاب صرف الهمّ، كتاب جلاء الحزن، كتاب درياق الفكر فيما عاب به أبا تمام، كتاب السياسة، كتاب الرد على ابن المعتز، كتاب حشو حشاء الجليس، كتاب رسالته في أبي على ابن مقلة ويعرف بالنجم الثاقب، كتاب صناعة الجدل، كتاب نزهة القلوب وزاد المسافر.

3)

مع أنّ أصول الوظائف على الكُوَر لم يكن لها ثَبَت ولا علم، وليس من كورة إلا وقد غُيِّرت وظيفتها مراراً، فخفيت وظائف بعضها وبقيت وظائف بعض؛ فلو أن أمير المؤمنين أعمَلَ رأيه في التوظيف على الرساتيق والقرى والأرضين وظائف معلومة وتدوين الدواوين بذلك وإثبات الأصول حتى لا يؤخذ رجل إلا بوظيفة قد عرفها وضمنها ولا يجتهد في عمارة إلا كان له

فضلها ونفعها لرجونا ان يكون في ذلك صلاح للرعية وعمارة الأرض وحَسْم لأبواب الخيانة وغشم العمال.

4)

وبالكتابة جمع القرآن، وحفظت الألسن والآثار، ووكدت العهود، وأثبتت الحقوق، وسيقت التواريخ، وبقيت السكوك، وأمن الإنسان النسيان، وقيدت الشهادات...

5)

فتخَيّر من الألفاظ أرجحها وزناً، وأجزلها معنى، وأليقها في مكانها.

6)

اعلم، أيدك الله، أن أدوات ديوان جميع المحاسن، وآلات المكارم، طاعة منقادة لهذه الصناعة التي خطبتها، وتالية تابعة لها، وغير خارجة الى جحد أحكامها...

7)

قال أبو جعفر: ونحن نؤلف كتاباً نجمع فيه ما يحتاج اليه الكاتب، ونجتهد في تقريبه، ونذكر فيه عيون ما يُنتفع به من الخط، والهجاء، والعربية، واللغة، والمكاتبات على الترتيب للرجال والنساء، وعيوناً من الرسائل، وغير ذلك.

8)

قال أبو جعفر: ومن العلم صناعة الكتابة. وقد وهم من زعم أن أحكام الكتابة مباينة لأحكام الشريعة، لأن ذلك مخالف لما يوجبه الدين والعقل، لأن الكتابة فرع من فروع الشريعة، والشريعة أصل، والكتابة سياسة الملك، والملك لا قِوام له إلا بالدين. فقد تبيَّن أن الكتابة فرع من فروع الدين، وما كان فرعاً لشيء لم يباينه. وأحكام الكتابة ملائمة لأحكام الشريعة. والدليل على ذلك أن مسلماً لو أحيا أرض مواتاً كان حكم الفقيه والكاتب فيها سواءً. وكذلك فيما يخرج من الزكاة من العشر ونصف العشر، وكذا حكم الصدقات من الإبل والبقر والغنم، وكذا الحكم في الركاز والفيء والغنائم...

9)

قد أمليت في النحو كتباً مؤلفة على الأبواب فاستغنيت بذلك عن العمد الى أبواب النحو ها هنا غير أني أملي من ذلك شيئاً يحتاج اليه مَن نظر في هذا الكتاب ... ثم أملي باب بيان إعراب ما يقع في أوائل الكتب وأواخرها مما يُشكل على كثير من الكتّاب...

10)

وبها {الكتابة} قامت السياسة والرياسة، واليها ضَوَت الملوك بالفاقة والحاجة، واليهم {الكتّاب} أُلقيت الأعنّة والأزمّة، وبهم اعتصموا في النازلة والنكبة، وعليهم اتكلوا في الأهل، والولد، والذخائر، والعُقَد، وولاة العهد، وتدبير الملك، وقِراع الأعداء، وتوفير الفيء، وحياطة الحَرَم، وحفظ الأسرار، وترتيب المراتب، ونظم الحروب بالميمنة والميسرة والقلب والكُمناء والروادف والأجنحة.

11)

ونحن نأتي في هذا الموضع من ذكر ما يكتب به الأعلام في المكاتبات وما له رسم معروف ومذهب مألوف فيكون مثالاً لمن لم يعرفه وطريقاً الى الخبرة به.

12)

فلمّا أفضت الأمور في ذلك الى عبد الحميد راض صعاب الكلام فسهّلها وركب ذللها فامتهنها ثم وصّله توصيلاً أظهر زينته وألفه تأليفاً ألبسه حليته واستنبط الرأي من خزائنه استنباطاً قوياً واستقصى المعاني من وجوهها استقصاءً شافياً وصرّف الحجج وصنّف الأمور وفتق عنها أكمامها وهتك عن القلوب حجبها وقذف في الأسماع منافعها وانتظم كلام المتكلمين وخطب المتنطّعين وشعر السالفين ومواعظ الواعظين وصيّر ذلك منهاجاً فات فيه سبقه وبرز فيه ميله وذهب فيه شأوه وأبان فيه فضله وثبتت فيه رئاسته ووجب به على أهل صناعته حقه وشكره ونالوا منه منزلة شرف كانوا عنها متّضعين وركبوا به طريقة فضل كانوا عنها مقصّرين فصارت لهم الوزارة

وعندهم الكفاية ولهم فضائل الأدب وصارت كتبه محكمةً باقيةً دائمةً دافعةً يحتذي عليها الباقون ويمتثلها المتنطعون وينتهي اليها الأمثلون ويعرف فضلها الأوّلون من أهل زمانه والآخرون...

13)

قال بعض الكتّاب: "الكتّاب خمسة، كاتب خراج يحتاج الى أن يكون عارفاً بالطسوق والمساحة وخبيراً بالحساب والمقاسمات، وكاتب رسائل يحتاج أن يكون عارفاً بالوصول والفصول حاذقاً بالصدور والفتوح والعهود، وكاتب حاكم يحتاج أن يكون عارفاً بالأحكام حافظاً للشروط حاذقاً باختلاف الناس في الأموال والفروع، وكاتب جند يحتاج أن يكون عارفاً بشيّات الدواب وحُلى الرجال، وكاتب معونة يحتاج أن يكون عالماً بالقصاص والجراحات والحدود ولطائف التعزيرات ووجوه الاحتياط على أهل الجرائم والجنايات."

14)

ولا أحب ذكر ما قاله النحويون فيه لأنه تكلف لا يضر تركه.

15)

وقال بعضهم: إنما سمي الحبر حبراً لأنه تحبر به الأخبار. أنشدني الحمدوني لنفسه:

ثنتان من أدواتِ العلمِ قد ثنتا   عنان شأوي عما رُمتُ من هممي
أما الدواة فأودى حملها جسدي   وقلّم المال مني حرفة القلمِ
وحبرت في صحف الحرف محبرة   تذود عني سوامَ المالِ والنعمِ

ونحوه، وليس هو مما قصدناه في كتاب الكتّاب ولكنه اعترض فجئت بما أحفظ فيه لغير الحمدوني:

جمعت حروفَ الحرف في الحبر كلها
ولولا شقائي ما عرفت المحابرا
وقد زاد بي الإخفاق في كل موطن
لحملي في كمي اليه الدفاترا

وسطر في أثناء قلبي تعللا

طلابي لما أن عرفت المساطرا

16)

(1) قال الشاعر:

إن الكتابة رأس كل صناعة وبها تتم جوامع الأعمال.

(2) قال المأمون: "لله دَرّ القلم كيف يحوك وشي المملكة."

(3) {كتاب من عبد الله بن طاهر الى اسحاق بن ابراهيم نسخته}:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم: أما بعد، فأنا على طول الممارسة لهذه الكتابة التي غلبت على الاسم، ولزمت لزوم الوشي، فحلت محل الأنساب، وجرت مجرى الألقاب...

(4) وكتبت الى أبي علي محمد بن علي في أيام ابن الفرات الأولى بقصيدة منها {في وصف القلم}:

مشف على الرأي نظار عواقبه إذا تشابه وجهُ الرأي واحتجبا

في كفِّه صارمٌ لانت مضاربه يسوسنا رغباً إن شاء أو رهبا

السيفُ والرمحُ خدام له أبدا لا يبلغان له جداً ولا لعبا

(5) ... لا سيما في آلة يستعان بها على مثل هذه الصناعة الجليلة المستولية على تدبير المملكة...

17)

ولا يكاتب بالتصدير الإمام ولا ولي عهده ولا وزيره. فأما الإمام فيكتب بالتصدير الى كل من خاطبه من عامل حرب وخراج وقضاء في الكتب المدونة المنعوتة بالعهود والعقود وجباية الفيء والحمول والنفقات والإقطاعات والإمارات والفتوح وما جرى هذا المجرى. ويبدأ بنفسه. ولا يخاطب الإمام أحداً من هذه الطبقات بدعاء له في التصدير إلا ولي عهده

فإنه يدعي له بعد التصدير بالحفظ والحياطة.

18)

قال أبو بكر: سمعت أحمد بن اسماعيل بن الخصيب الكاتب يقول: الأئمة يوقعون في السجلات، ويكتب الإمام في الثلثين من الطومار الى ملوك الملك والى عماله، ويكتب عماله اليه في مثل ذلك، ويكاتبه وزيره في النصف في أمور العامة الديوانية، فأما الخاص الذي يكتبه بخطه أو يكتب بين يديه بإملائه ففي الخمسين، ويكاتبونه في مثل ذلك في الخاص والعام إلا من كان منهم في أدنى الطبقات فإنه لا يكاتب إلا في النصف في الحالتين جميعاً. وتتكاتب الأكفاء في الأثلاث والأرباع وتتحمل المودة بينهم كل شيء حملته من التسمح في ذلك، والأسداس للتوقيعات.

19)

فأما مكاتبات الناس الى الإمام أو الى ولي العهد أو الى الوزير فيكتب "لعبد الله فلان بن فلان الى كذا أمير المؤمنين سلام على أمير المؤمنين ورحمة الله وبركاته. فإني أحمد إلى أمير المؤمنين الله الذي لا إله الا هو وأسأله أن يصلي على محمد عبده ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم". ويكون ذلك في سطرين وبعض آخر ثم يقال "أما بعد أطال الله بقاء أمير المؤمنين ..." ويكون ذلك في سطرين ثم يقال بعد ذلك "فقد كان كذا"، لأن جواب "أما بعد،" بالفاء: "فقد كان كذا وكذا." واذا أتى على جميع المعاني المحتاج الى المكاتبة فيها فبلغ الى الدعاء قال "أتم الله على أمير المؤمنين نعمه ... وكتب فلان بن فلان يوم كذا في شهر كذا." والى ولي العهد والوزير مثل ذلك إلا أن الفرق..."

20)

قال بعض الكتّاب: التأريخ عمود اليقين، ونافي الشك، وبه تعرف الحقوق وتحفظ العهود.

وقال: ولا يقع التأريخ في شيء من الكتب السلطانية من رئيس أو

مرءوس الا في أعجاز الكتب. وقد يؤرخ النظير والتابع ما خلص من الكتب في صدورها.

وقيل: الكتاب بغير تأريخ نكرة بلا معرفة، وغُفل بغير سمة...

21)

وقال بعض الكتّاب: الوزارة الختم والخاتم لأن سائر الأعمال يباشرها بعض الكفاة إلا الختم، فإنه لا بد أن ينتهي الكُتب الى الوزير وتعرض عليه فيختمها بخاتم الملك.

وقال ابراهيم بن العباس الصولي: الكتب موات ما لم يوقع فيها توقيع الختم وتختم، فاذا فعل ذلك بها عاشت.

22)

لكتّاب الجيش أحكام تجري على ظلم وألفاظ يقع فيها اللبس على من لم يعتَدها ولا بأس أن نذكر من ذلك ما يعمله المبتدئ بالعمل في الجيش لتكون معرفته عنده.

23)

البيان على أربعة أوجه: فمنه بيان الاشياء بذواتها وإنْ لم تبِن بلغاتها، ومنه البيان الذي يحصل في القلب عند إعمال الفكر واللب، ومنه البيان باللسان، ومنه البيان بالكتاب، وهو الذي يبلغ مَن بَعُدَ وغاب.

24)

قد شرّف الله -- عز وجل -- منزلة الكتّاب، وأحوج الناس اليهم، وأمرهم بمعاونة من استعان بهم، فقال: *ولا يأبَ كاتبٌ أنْ يكتُبَ كما عَلَّمه اللهُ، فليكتُبْ، وليُمْلِل الذي عليه الحقُّ.* {سورة البقرة، الآية ٢٨٢}. ولو لم يكن من فضل الكتابة إلا ان الله -- سبحانه -- مَدَحَ الملائكة بها، فقال: *إنَّ عليكم لحافظين. كراماً كاتبين. يعلمون ما تفعلون.* {سورة الانفطار، الآيات ١٠، ١١، ١٢}.

والكتّاب خمسة: كاتب خط، وكاتب لفظ، وكاتب عقد، وكاتب حكم،

وكاتب تدبير. ولكل واحد من هؤلاء مذهب من الكتابة يخالف مذهب غيره. ونحن نذكر منها ما يحضرنا ذكره.

25)

فتكرار هذه الألفاظ قد أخرج البيع عن شروط الخيار كلها، وأوجب صحته.

وكان مع علمه بمذاهب الفقهاء وخلافهم، عالماً بوجوه الكلام، مميزاً لما تحتمله ألفاظ الخواص والعوام حتى يأتي في لفظه، وتعلم قوله بحراسة الشروط من الاشتباه في المعاني، والاشتراك فيها.

26)

... حتى إذا انقضى المجلس الذي يجلسه الخليفة أو من يقوم مقامه، أخذ جميع القصص مجموعاتها، وأثبت المجموعات في الديوان، وذكر أسماء الرافعين، وأثبت التوقيعات على قصصهم ثم دفعت القصص بعد ذلك اليهم لئلا يجري في الرقائع حيلة أو تزوير. فإن عاود المتظلم مرة أو مرتين أو ثلاثاً فصاعداً أثبت جميع أمره في موضع واحد، حتى إذا طولب بإخراج حاله من ديوان المظالم، وجد أمره كله منسوقاً مجموعاً في موضع واحد، وأخرجها صاحب الديوان من غير كلفة.

27)

قال أبو الفرج: يحتاج في البريد الى ديوان يكون مفرداً به، وتكون الكتب المنفذة من جميع النواحي مقصوداً بها صاحبه، ليكون هو المنفذ لكل شيء منها الى الموضع المرسوم بالنفوذ اليه، ويتولى عرض كتب أصحاب البريد والأخبار في جميع النواحي على الخليفة أو عمل جوامع لها، ويكون اليه النظر في الفُرْوانقيين والموقعين والمرتّبين في السكك، وتنجز أرزاقهم، وتقليد أصحاب الخرائط في سائر ألامصار.

28)

قال قدامة: أول ما ينبغي أن نبتدئ من أمر هذا الديوان مجالسه

وتبيّن أسمائها ومعانيها، ثم نتلو ذلك بالأعمال التي يدعو {العمل} فيه اليها...

29)

قال قدامة: هذا الديوان يقسم مجالسه على حسب ما يجري فيه من الأعمال ... من ذلك الجاري... ومن ذلك الأنزال ... ومن ذلك الكُراع ... ومن ذلك البناء والمرمة ... ومن ذلك بيت المال... ومن ذلك مجلس يعرف بالحوادث...

ويفرد بالإنشاء والتحرير مجلس، وبالنسخ مجلس آخر على ما تقدم من وصف ذلك وشرحه.

30)

وما يحتاج الى تقوية هذا الديوان به لتصح أعماله وتنتظم أحواله ويستقيم ما يخرج منه أن تخرج كتب الحمول من جميع النواحي قبل إخراجها الى الدواوين اليه (اي ديوان بيت المال) لتثبت فيه، وكذلك الكتب النافذة الى صاحب بيت المال من جميع الدواوين بما يؤمر بالمطالبة به من الأموال.

31)

ما رأيت أحداً تناهى في وصف النثر بجميع ما فيه وعليه غير قدامة بن جعفر في المنزلة الثالثة من كتابه؛ قال لنا علي بن عيسى الوزير: عرض عليّ قدامة كتابه سنة عشرين وثلاثمائة؛ واختبرته فوجدته قد بالغَ وأحسن، وتفرّد في وصف فنون البلاغة في المنزلة الثالثة بما لم يشركه فيه أحد من طريق اللفظ والمعنى، مما يدل على المختار المجتبَى والمَعيب المجتنَب.

32)

قال قدامة بن جعفر: ما ينبغي لمن يرشح نفسه من الكتابة للرياسة العالية ان يكون جاهلاً بامر الاراضي ووضعها وبتخيّل اقطارها وعلم غامرها وما لا يبلغه العمران منها ومعرفة ثغور الاسلام واحوال الاجيال والامم المطيفة بالمملكة التي يريد تدبيرها. وقد كنا وعدنا في صدر كتابنا

الكلام في هذه الامور وذكر ما يحتاج اليه منها من كان ضابطاً للترتيب الذي رتبنا عليه اسباب الكتابة...

33)

واذا قد ذكرنا امر الثغور الرومية واسبابها فلا بأس ان نذكر من احوال الروم ما ينتفع بعلمها.

34)

واحوال ديلم لم تزل مذبذبة لانه لا شريعة لهم محصلة في هذا الوقت ولا طاعة فيهم مستقرة لانهم بعد فتحهم قد نقضوا وكفروا غير مرة وكان منهم في هذا الوقت ما كان من الامور المستفظعة في قتل الاطفال والفجور في المساجد وترك الصلاة وفروض الاسلام.

35)

حدثنا عيسى بن محمد الرملي، حدثنا ضمرة، عن الشيباني، عن ابي سكينة رجل من المحررين، عن رجل من اصحاب النبي (ص)، عن النبي (ص)، انه قال: دعوا الحبشة ما ودعوكم واتركوا الترك ما تركوكم.

36)

ولو ان هذا المُعجَب بنفسه، الزاري على الاسلام برأيه، نظر من جهة النظر لأحياه الله بنور الهدى وثَلَج اليقين، ولكنه طال عليه ان ينظر في علم الكتاب، وفي اخبار الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم وصحابته، وفي علوم العرب ولغاتها وآدابها، فَنَصَب لذلك وعاداه وانحرف عنه الى علم قد سلّمه له ولامثاله المسلمون، وقلّ فيه المتناظرون، له ترجمة تروق بلا معنى، واسم يهول بلا جسم...

37)

ونسيتَ -- ابقاك الله -- عمل البلدان، وتصرف الازمان، وآثارهما في الصُوَر والاخلاق، في الشمائل والآداب، وفي اللغات والشهوات، وفي الهمم والهَيئات، وفي المكاسب والصناعات، على ما دبّر الله تعالى من

ذلك بالحكمة اللطيفة، والتدابير العجيبة.

38)

قال قال الفضل بن يحيى الناس اربع طبقات ملوك قدّمهم الاستحقاق ووزراءُ فضّلهم الفطنة والرأي وعِلية انهضهم اليسار واوساط ألحقهم بهم التأدب والناس بعدهم زَبَد جُفاء وسَيل غُثاء لُكَع ولكاع وربيطة اتّضاع همّ احدهم طعمه ونومه، وقال معوية للاحنف صف لي الناس فقال رؤوس رفعهم الحظ واكتاف عظمهم التدبير واعجاز شهرهم المال وادباء ألحقهم بهم التأدب ثم الناس بعدهم اشباه البهائم ان جاعوا ساموا وان شبعوا ناموا، وقال بُزُرْجمِهْر لرجل ان اردت ان تبلغ احظى درجة الآداب واهلها فاصحبْ ملكاً او وزيراً فانهما برغبتهما في معرفة ايام الملوك واخبارهم والآداب واهلها وقسمة الفلك ونجومه يبعثانك على طلب ذلك قال فما وسيلتي اليهما قال انتحال ذلك رسم الادراك والطلب مادّة الوجود والآداب عند الهمة. وقال أسامة بن مَعْقِل كان السفّاح راغباً في الخُطَب والرسائل يصطنع اهلها ويثيبهم عليها فحفظت الف رسالة والف خطبة طلباً للحظوة عنده ونلتُها وكان المنصور بعده معنياً بالاسمار والاخبار وايام العرب يُدني اهلها ويجيزهم عليها فلم يبق شيء من الاسمار والاخبار الا حفظته طلباً للقربة منه فظفرت بها وكان موسى مغرماً بالشعر يستخلص اهله فما تركت بيتاً نادراً ولا شعراً فاخراً ولا نسيباً سائراً الا حفظته واعانني على ذلك طلب الهمة في علوّ الحال ولم ار شيئاً ادعى الى تعلم الآداب من رغبة الملوك في اهلها وصلاتهم عليها ثم زهد هارون الرشيد في هذه الاربعة وأُنسيتها حتى كأني لم احفظ منها شيئاً. دخل الشَعْبي على الحجاج فقال يا شعبي ادب وافر وعقل نافر قال صدقت ايها الامير العقل سجية والادب تكلف ولو لا انتم معاشر الملوك ما تأدّبنا قال فالمنة في ذلك لنا دونكم قال صدقت قال الشاعر في عبيد الله بن زياد

علّمني جُودُك ما لم اكنْ أحسنِه من جَيِّد الشعرِ

فصِرتُ في الناس أخا ثروة وصرتُ ذا جاه وذا قَدْرِ

وانشد لغيره

وكنتُ مُفْحَماً دهراً طويلاً فصيّرَني عطاؤك ذا بيانِ

فما شُكري لخَلق مِثْلُ شكري لِمَن كفّاه أطلقَتا لساني

قال فكتابي هذا يشتمل على ضروب من اخبار البلدان وعجائب الكور والبنيان فمن نظر فيه من اهل المعرفة فليتأمله بعين الانصاف ليُعِرنا فيه حسن مَحْضَره وجميل رأيه فان الاجدى في المذهب شاؤك وقرابة دانية ورحم ماسّة ووصلة واشجة ويهب زللي لاعترافي واغفالي لاقراري فانّي انما ألحقت في هذا الكتاب ما ادركه حفظي وحضره سماعي من الاخبار والاشعار والشواهد والامثال.

39)

والكتب المختصرة التي جعلت تذاكير الكتب الطويلة قوانين، إذ كانت أشياء قليلة العدد تحصر أشياء كثيرة ويكون تعلّمنا لها وحفظنا إياها، وهي قليلة العدد، قد علمنا أشياء كثيرة العدد.

40)

وأما الأوجه التي يفترقان (أي الجزية والخراج) فيها: فأحدها أن الجزية نص وأن الخراج اجتهاد، والثاني أن أقل الجزية مقدر بالشرع وأكثرها مقدر بالاجتهاد، والخراج أقله وأكثره مقدر بالاجتهاد.

41)

قال: حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح عن الليث عن عُقيل قال: حدثني ابن شهاب: أن عمر بن عبد العزيز أمره، فكتب السنة في مواضع الصدقة. فكتب: هذه منازل الصدقات ومواضعها إن شاء الله.

42)

فإن قسم الإمام الأرض بين من غلب عليها صارت عشرية وأهلها رقيق. وإن لم يقسمها وتركها للمسلمين كافة فعلى رقاب أهلها الجزية وقد عتقوا بها وعلى الأرض الخراج وهي لأهلها.

43)

ورخّص بعض الفقهاء في الازدياد على من يحتمل الزيادة وفي يده الفضل من أهل الصلح، واتبعوا في ذلك سنة وآثار من آثار السلف متقدمةً، إلا أن إجماع القول عندي في الفرق بين الصلح والعنوة ، وإن كانا جميعاً من الخراج، أنه قد وقع في ملك أهل العنوة أرضَهم خلاف، ولم يقع الخلاف في ملك أهل الصلح أرضَهم. وكره بعض أهل النظر شراء أرض العنوة، واجتمع الكل على إطلاق شراء أرض الصلح لأنهم إنما صالحوا قبل القدرة عليهم والغلبة لهم فأرضوهم ملك في أيديهم.

44)

أخبرنا عمرو بن يحيى قال حدثنا محبوب قال أنبأنا أبو إسحاق عن سعيد الجُرَيري عن يزيد بن الشحِّير قال: بينا أنا مع مُطَرِّف بالمِرْبَد إذ دخل رجل معه قطعة أدم قال كتب لَي هذه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فهل أحد منكم يقرأ قال قلت أنا أقرأ فاذا فيها من محمد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لبني زُهير بن أُقَيش أنهم إن شهدوا أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمد رسول الله وفارقوا المشركين وأقروا بالخمس في غنائمهم وسهم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وصفيه فإنهم آمنون بأمان الله ورسوله.

45)

قال مالك: المعدن بمنزلة الزرع، ويؤخذ منه مثل ما يؤخذ من الزرع، ويؤخذ منه مما خرج من المعدن من يومه ذلك، ولا يُنتظر به الحول، كما يؤخذ من الزرع إذا حُصد العشر، ولا يُنتظر أن يحول عليه الحول.

46)

... لم يكن ذلك له (أي العدو) لأنها صارت بلاد المسلمين وملكاً لهم ولم يجز له إلا قسمها بين أظهرهم كما صنع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بخيبر... (قال الشافعي) رحمه الله تعالى: وكل ما وصفت أنه يجب قسمه، فإن تركه الإمام ولم يقسمه فوقفه المسلمون أو تركه لأهله رد حكم الإمام فيه

لأنه مخالف للكتاب ثم السنة معاً. فإن قيل: فأين ذكر ذلك في الكتاب؟ قيل: قال الله عز وجل: *اعلموا أنما غنمتم من شيء فإن لله خمسه وللرسول* -- الآية. وقسم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الأربعة الأخماس على من أوجف عليه بالخيل والركاب من كل ما أوجف عليه من أرض أو عمارة أو مال. وإن تركها لأهلها اتبع أهلها بجميع ما كان في أيديهم من غلتهم فاستخرج من أيديهم وجعل أجر مثلهم فيما قاموا عليه فيها... قال: فإن ظهر الإمام على بلاد عنوة فخمسها ثم سأل أهل الاربعة الأخماس ترك حقوقهم منها فأعطوه ذلك طيبة به أنفسهم فله قبوله إن أعطوه إياه يضعه حيث يرى: فإن تركوه كالوقف على المسلمين فلا بأس أن يقبله من أهله وغير أهله بما يجوز للرجل أن يقبل به أرضه {اقرأ: برضاه}؛ وأحسب عمر بن الخطاب إن كان صنع هذا في شيء من بلاد العنوة إنما استطاب أنفس أهلها عنها فصنع ما وصفت فيها كما استطاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنفس من صار في يديه سبي هوازن بحنين فما طاب نفساً رده ومن لم يطب نفساً لم يكرهه على أخذ ما في يديه.

47)

وليس الأمر عندي إلا على ما قال سفيان: إن الإمام يتخير في العنوة بالنظر للمسلمين والحيطة عليهم: بين أن يجعلها غنيمة أو فيئاً (أي موقوفاً).

ومما يبين ذلك أن عمر نفسه يحدث عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قسم خيبر. ثم يقول مع هذا: "لو لا آخر الناس لفعلت ذلك."

فقد بين لك هذا أن هذين الحكمين جميعاً اليه. لولا ذلك ما تعدى سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الى غيرها، وهو يعرفها.

48)

وذلك فإنما هو كراهية لما كانت الملوك من العرب والعجم في الجاهلية يأخذونه من عشور أموال التجار.

49)

وقد أبطل الله ذلك بالإسلام وسنة الزكاة، وهي أنه لا يؤخذ من العين شيء حتى يبلغ عشرين دينراً ولا من الورق حتى يبلغ مائتي درهم، فإذا بلغا هذين المقدارين ففيهما ربع العشر. فأما غير المسلمين فإن الذمي يؤخذ منه نصف العشر ورقاً... وأما أهل الحرب فإنه يؤخذ من تجاراتهم العشر إذا دخلواها بلد الإسلام على حسب ما يفعلون بمن يدخل اليهم من تجار المسلمين...

50)

وجعله (اي الإنسان) الله لاختلاط أحواله مكلفاً مأموراً منهياً، واحتاج بما فيه من قوة التمييز أن يسوس ما قد خلط فيه من البهيمية، ولكثرة تصاريف ما في قوة التمييز من الأفعال وزيادتها على ما يفي به الواحد من الناس، احتيج الى الاجتماع والتمدن ليكون في المدينة ناس كثير يتصرفون في هذه الأفعال الكثيرة المختلطة.

51)

مع اختلاف صيغ الكثرة واجتماعهم في المدينة تتصل الأفعال المختلفة التي يلزم قَودها الى حسن السيرة وسداد الطريقة، فعند ذلك ومن أجله وقع الاضطرار الى السياسة التي هي قود الملوك والأئمة رعاياهم.

52)

فلما كان الأمر على هذا في الكثرة والاجتماع في المدينة وكان علم ذلك سابقاً عند الله سبحانه، فطر الإنسان محباً للمؤانسة، مؤثراً للاجتماع مع ذوي جنسه فاتخذ الناس المدائن والأمصار واجتمعوا فيها للتعاضد والتوازر اللذين ذكرناهما.

53)

وجمع (اي أبو جعفر) مشايخ الباب، وعقلاء الحضرة، فما زالوا يتحاورون فيه حتى اجتمعت أراؤهم على أن عمدة السياسة وملاك الملك ورونق السلطان أن تشتد الهيبة وتكثر المحبة وترتعش الرعية ويستظهر

الجيش، وتظهر المروءة وينقمع المتغلبون وتأمن الطرق ويتمكن العمال وتدر الأموال وتكثر الحمول وتمتلئ الخزائن وتتصل الصلات والخلع وتكثر الوفود والرسل وتدوم الصنائع وتحسن الآثار.

54)

لمّا دعت الحاجة الى إجتماع الناس في المدائن والأمصار، واجتمعوا فيها وتعاملوا وأخذ بعضهم من بعض فأعطوا، وكانت مذاهبهم في التناصف والتظالم مختلفة، وكان الله سبحانه قد شرع لهم شرائع وحدّ حدوداً بينة، احتيج الى من يأخذ الناس باستعمال فروض الشرائع المسنونة ويقيم الحدوح المبينة، حتى يلزمها الناس كافة ولا يتعداها منهم أحد إلا أحلت به العقوبة التي تقوده الى الشرع والسنة، وتأتلف الكلمة، وتلتئم البيضة، وتجري أمور الكافة على التناصف والمعدلة، ولا يقع في تعاملهم جور ولا مظلمة.

55)

ولما اجتمع الناس في المدن وتعاملوا، وكانت مذاهبهم في التناصف والتظالم مختلفة، وضع الله جل وعز سنناً وفرائض يرجعون اليها ويقفون عندها، ونصب لهم حكّاماً يحفظون السنن ويأخذونهم باستعمالها لتنتظم أمورهم ويجتمع شملهم ويزول عنهم التظالم والبعد عمّا يُبدِّد شملهم ويفسد أحوالهم.

56)

ولما اجتمع الناس في المدن وتعاملوا، وكانت مذاهبهم في التناصف والتظالم مختلفة، وضع الله لهم سنناً وفرائض يرجعون اليها ويقفون عندها، ونصب لهم حكّاماً يحفظون السنن ويأخذونهم باستعمالها لتنتظم أمورهم ويجتمع شملهم ويزول عنهم التظالم والتعدي الذي يُبدِّد شملهم ويفسد أحوالهم.

57)

فإنه لا ملك إلا بدين وشرع ولا دين إلا بملك وضبط...

58)

وإن الله بمنّه ورحمته وعفوه جعل ولاة الأمر خلفاء في أرضه وجعل لهم نوراً يضيء للرعية ما أظلم عليهم من الأمور فيما بينهم.

59)

ولا تكون المحبة للملك من رعيته نافعة إلا آن يكون معها هيبة

60)

والملك الذي يقصد لإقامة الناس على العدل، ويقودهم نحو الواجب، مضطر الى أن يكون، كما قدمنا، مَهيباً مخوف الجانب يُرهب الناس بأكثر مما يرغبهم، ويشتد عليهم بأزيد مما يلين لهم، ويكون معه من الغلظة أضعاف ما يكون معه من الرأفة.

61)

فإن في قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه دليلاً بيناً على ما قلته، وذلك حيث قال: نُصرتُ بالهيبة دون ما غيرها.

62)

لأن الذي يجده {الملك} مستحق السطوة بغيه أكثر من مستوجب الرأفة بصالح سعيه، إذ كان القليل من الناس ذوي هَدي وحسن استقامة والكثير منهم أهل خبّ وغرامة.

63)

إنه جد في مطالبة أبي الفضل وأسبابه من خلفائه وحجابه وغلمانه وكل من انتسب اليه وديزويه العارض حتى استصفى أموالهم واتسع بما وصل اليه مديدة ومشت الأمور بين يديه فتبجح بذلك وادعى حسن الأثر وتوصل الى أن كناه المطيع ولقبه الناصح فخلع عليه الخلع السلطانية بأمر بختيار وإذنه. وكثر ذمه لأبي الفضل والطعن عليه وادعى العدل والإنصاف فلم تمضِ إلا أيام حتى ارتكب من الظلم والغشم وإثارة الفتن ما صارت أيام أبي الفضل بالقياس الى أيامه جارية مجرى أيام العمرين وكل ذلك لسوء

نظر بختيار وإهماله الأمور وإقباله على الشهوات واستثقاله مباشرة التدبير حتى سقطت الهيبة وانبسطت العامة وأغار بعضها على بعض وظهرت الأهواء المختلفة والنيات المتعادية وفشا القتل حتى كان لا يعدم في كل يوم عدة قتلى لا يعرف قاتلوهم وإن عرفوا لم يتمكن منهم فانقطعت مواد الأموال وخرجت النواحي المتباعدة بخراب دار المملكة وظهر في كل قرية رئيس منها مستولٍ عليها وتباغوا بينهم وحصل السلطان صفر اليد والرعية هالكون والدور خرابَ والأقوات معدومة والجند متهارجون.

64)

لكن ينبغي أن يقترن بخُلْف الوعيد عذر حتى لا يهون وعيدك ليكون نظام الهيبة به محفوظاً، وقانون السياسة مضبوطاً.

and

ولقلما انثلمت هيبة المُجِدّ وتكاملت هيبة الهازل، والهيبة أس السلطنة.

65)

وإذ قلنا ما قلناه، فليكن أول ما نتبع به ذلك ذكر أخلاق الملك وسجاياه، وما يجب أن يكون عليه منها في ذات نفسه، إذ كان ذلك مبدأ التدبير والسياسة ومنشأ الأفعال الشائعة. ثم يتبع ذلك ما يجب أن يكون تابعاً له.

66)

فقد كان يقال: من كان عقله لا يقوم بمصلحة خاصته، لم يكن أهلاً لأن يستصلح به أمر عامته.

67)

العالم الذي يعلم أمر الله على كنهه وأقصى ما جعل الله علمه من ملكوته وسلطانه.

68)

ذوو الرأي والحنكة ومن قد هذّبت العلوم الصحيحة رأيه وثقفت المعارف الحقيقية لبّه...

69)

ومما ينبغي أن نذكره من أمر خلائق الإسكندر ذي القرنين ليتقيل الملوك ذلك، ويذهبوا بنفوسهم نحوه، ولا ييأسوا من بلوغ مثل حاله، فإن الناس واحد في المعنى، وأفضلهم عند الله التقي الذي يجده عز وجل عند ما يحب ويرضى، فإنه يبلغ الى الغاية القصوى، ويسموا الى الدرجة العليا، ولو كان من الملوك بلغ ما بلغه مُوضَعاً من أحاديثه ما تسمعه الملوك، ولا ينكلوا عن تعاطي مثل أمره، والله ولي التوفيق بقدرته.

70)

سائر الأجيال والأمم المخالفة للإسلام...

71)

وما ينبغي للملك أن يدع المشاورة ورسول الله صلى الله عليه لم يكن يدعها إلا فيما ينزل به الوحي، أمر من أمر الله قاطع، والرأي مجعول الى الناس فيه التشاور. وقد كان عليه السلام إذا أراد أمراً قال له أصحابه: هذا بوحي من عند الله أم شيء أنت تفعله؟ فيقول: لو كان وحياً ما احتجت الى النظر فيه، ولكنه بالرأي. فيقول كل امرئ حينئذ ما عنده. فلو أن أحداً من البشر كان مستغنياً عن المشورة لاستغنى عنها رسول الله صلى الله عليه. ومع أنه كان لا يستنكف عنها، وقد أمر في القرآن أيضاً بها، فما لأحد أن يأنف منها، ولا يضع نفسه موضع الاستغناء عنها.

72)

وقد احتجت الى أن تبين لي ما أجتلب به مصلحة أموري في الرعية وإصلاحها عندي.

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INDEX

ʿAbbās, I. 10, n.23; 204, n.23; 218. n.58; 228, n.94
Abbasid 1; 9; 10; 15; 21; 25; 26; 27; 28; 30; 31; 32; 35; 36; 43; 46; 63; 66, n.92; 94; 104; 104, n.24; 113, n.43; 115; 117; 118; 118, n.59; 119; 120; 130; 134; 135; 146-149; 151; n. 18; 153; 154; 157; 158; 159; 160; 166-169; 171; 179; 183; 188; 221; 229
Abbott, N. 10, n. 23
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd 39; 40, n.37; 40; 41; 44; 61, n.81; 141; 194, n.2; 218; 228, n.94
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān 28; 149, n.9; 165, n.46; 169; 236
ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī 180, n.76; 181; 183; 184
Abū Bakr 162, n.40; 165, n.45; 180
Abū Da'ūd 28, n.6; 134, n.83; 172; 172, n.64; 173; 182; 183; 219, n.61
Abū Dulaf 97, n.5
Abū Ḥanīfa 152, n.18; 153; 181
Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 2, n.4; 80, n.121; 137, n.88
Abū ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh 152, n.18; 170; 171, n.60; 189; 191
Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām 146; 147; 156; 173, n.66; 175, n.69; 180; 180, n.74; 186; 186, n. 85; 187; 188; 219, n.61
Abū ʿUbayda 46
Abū Yūsuf 146; 150;, n.13, n.14; 151, n.18; 156; 156, n.29; 158, n.32; 167; 170f.; 171, n.60; 173; 180; 186; 194, n.2; 219, n.61
Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī 96, n.4
adab (pl. ādāb) 2, n.3; 13; 17; 84; 95; 99, n.14; 102, n.18; 114; 114, n.48; 139; 140; 144
adīb 19; 136
administrative bureau(s) 33; 35; 36; 37; 40; 48; 49; 50; 51; 58; 72; 73, n.105; 84; 86; 87; 88; 89f.; 152
administrative corps 26; 29; 31; 38; 41; 43; 47; 60; 102. n.18; 120
administrative department(s) 50; 82; 89
administrative science 3; 8, n.19; 12; 18; 30; 31; 39; 44
administrative units (*aʿmāl*) 116; 119; 121; 132
Aghlabid 42, n.44; 118, n.59
Alexander the Great 128; 129; 130; 134; 134, n.84; 135; 141, n.101; 218; 220, n.66; 223; 225; 232f.
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib 56; 75; 79, n.115
al-ʿĀmirī 228, n.90
amwāl 66; 146; 187
al-Awzāʿī 168, n.55
Andalus 109; 113, n.43; 119; 130; 136
al-Anṣārī 46
Arabian peninsula (Arabia) 97;98; 105, n.33; 138; 139; 174, n.67; 176
Arabic language 2; 2, n.4; 11; 13; 14; 17; 18; 26; 28; 32; 41; 44; 45; 51; 54; 67; 80, n. 121; 95; 138; 198, n.11
Arazi, A. 10, n. 23; 30, n.16
Aristotelian (Aristotle) 4, n.10; 20, n.40; 80, n.120; 140, n.101; 196; 201, n.16; 205; 205, n.27; 220, n.65; 223; 225; 231; 232; 234f.
Arkoun, M. 4, n.10
al-Ashʿarī 8, n.19
al-ʿAskarī 79; 79, n.117
al-Aṣmaʿī 46
astronomy and astronomical literature 94; 101; 103; 106; 124
Athamina, Kh. 40, n.39
ayyām 11; 41
Ayyubid 102, n.19
Azami, M.M. 29, n.12

Baghdad 98; 105, n.32; 114; 129; 140, n.96
al-Baghdādī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 11; 19, n. 37; 60f.; 68; 77; 81, n.122

al-Baghdādī, ʿAbd al-Qāhir 202
al-Baghdādī, al-Khaṭīb 23
Bakar, O. 24, n.67
al-Bakrī, Abū ʿUbayd 129
al-Balkhī, Abū Zayd 5, n.12; 18; 98; 113; 116; 119; 194, n.1; 201, n.16; 203, n.21; 206; 214
al-Balādhurī 7, n.16; 29, n.13; 130, n.78; 140; 154; 156; 169
balāgha 25, n.67; 34; 42; 44; 52; 54; 56; 58; 61, n.80; 82
Balkhī school of geography 97f.' 122
al-Bāqillānī 202
al-Baṣra 46; 63; 118; 139
al-Battānī 1-4
bayān 13
Bencheikh, J.E. 10, n. 23; 29, n.13
Ben Shemesh A., 23; 24; 24, n.62; 146, n.1; 156, n.29; 166, n.49; 170; 170, n.57
Bergé, M. 24, n.67; 242, n.1
Biesterfeldt, H.-H. 18, n.33
Björkmann 10, n.17
Black Sea 110
Blay-Abramski, I.I. 10, n.22; 27, n.3; 73, n.105
Bonebakker, S.A. 3, n.7; 22, n.52; 23. n. 61; 205
Bonner, M. 129
Bosworth, C.E. 18, n.32, n.34; 218, n.59
Bowen, H. 35, n.26
Brethren of Purity 21, n.43
Butterworth, C.E. 201, n.15; 206, n.29
Byzantine 28; 96; 108; 114; 122; 124; 125; 129; 131; 133; 139; 147; 194, n.2; 199; 201, n.16; 230

Cahen, C. 155, n.27; 158, n.31
Canary Isles 109; 109, n.39
Carmathian 9
Calder, N. 151, n.15; 156; 168, n.53; 171, n.59; 172, n.62
calligraphy 10; 10, n.23
Caspian Sea 110; 133, n.81
Carter, M. 35, n.26; 56, n.72
Chabbi, J. 1, n.1
chancery 31, n.16; 43; 47; 53; 58; 81
Chapoutot-Remadi, M. 24, n. 67
Cheikho, L. 22, n.55
China (and Chinese) 96; 96, n.4; 97. n.5; 108; 124; 129; 134; 135; 137; 235
Christian(s)(ity) 127; 127, n.74; 128; 129; 150; 174
classification of knowledge 14; 17; 19
Constantinople 110; 124; 125; 132
Cook, M. 29, n.12
Companions 52; 56, n.72; 57
Crone, P. 150, n.13, n.18

dār al-islām 101; 117
Daiber, H. 203; 203, n.21; 208, n.36; 214; 214, n.49
Daylam 133
De Goeje 21
Dennett, D.C. 154; 154, n.22
De Slane, M. 21
dhimmī (ahl al-dhimma) 101; 122
Dīnawar 46
dīwān 33; 34; 35; 36; 37, n.29; 43, n.48; 43, n.49; 48; 49; 54; 58; 62; 73, n.105; 81; 84; 86; 87
Ducène, J.-C. 97, n.9; 126, n.67, n.68
Dunlop, D.M. 98, n.10
al-Dūrī, ʿA.ʿA. 10, n.22; 28, n.9; 154; 154, n.23; 169, n.56

Egypt(ian) 102, n.19; 113, n.45, n.46; 118, n.56; 119; 121; 131; 132; 139; 161; 169; 186
encyclopedia(s) 1; 7; 3, n.10; 16f.; 124; 125
Enderwitz, S. 137, n.87
Ethiopia(n) 108
El'ad, A. 28, n.9
Euphrates 111; 120

fann 63; 46, n.54
faqīh (pl. fuqahā') 2; 28; 77; 141; 148; 150
al-Fārābī 8, n.19; 19; 151; 151, n.16; 196; 200; 206f.; 221; 223, n.72; 230, n.100
farā'iḍ 41; 183
Fatimid(s) 42, n.44; 113, n.44; 121; 161; 218, n.60
Fazārī 168, n.52
Fleischer, C.H. 7, n.18; 147, n.3
French school of geography 100-101
Fürstenspiegel 15; 40, n.37; 82; 84; 85;

144; 197; 198; 199; 200; 201; 204; 214; 218; 219; 224; 225f.
futūḥ 7, n.16; 147

Galen 128
Galston, M. 208, n.37; 209, n.38
Goitein, S.D. 166, n.48
grammar 43; 59; 62; 65; 82; 93; 138
Greek and Greco-Hellenistic 2; 8, n.19; 28; 94; 98; 104, n.24; 108; 109, n.36; 128; 137; 141, n.101; 144; 196; 197; 198; 198, n.11; 200; 201; 201, n.16; 203, n.21; 204; 205; 206; 209; 218; 219; 220; 224; 227; 228, n.90; 229; 237
Green Sea109; 110
Grignaschi, M. 205, n.26; 229, n.96
Gruendler, B. 29, n.13
Gulf of Aden 109
Gutas, D. 2, n.4; 28, n.7; 1-4, n.24; 228, n.92; 243, n.2

Haddad, F.I. 104, n.27
Ḥadīth and Ḥadīth collections 16; 29; 48; 97; 127, n.73; 141; 151; 156; 181f.; 217
Hadj-Sadok, M. 114, n.47
al-Ḥajjāj 1, n.1; 41, n.41; 165, n.46
Hamori, A. 33 n.21
al-Hamdānī 105; 105, n.33; 109, n.37
hayba (muhīb) 6, n.15195; 195, n.3; 203, n.20; 214, n.49; 222; 223
al-Haytham b. ʿAdī 61, n.79
Heinrichs, W. 19, n.38; 21, n.51
Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik 229
al-Ḥimyarī 110, n.40
Hinds, M. 150, n.13
al-Ḥiyārī, M. 23; 23, n.61; 31, n.18; 34, n.22; 83, n.124; 203; 203, n.19, n.22; 204; 220, n.65; 230
Hodgson, M.G.S. 148, n.6
Hoenerbach, G.J. 32, n.20
Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq 205; 228; 229

Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam 163; 163, n.42
Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi 17; 55; 224, n.80; 226, n.86; 228; 229
Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī 8, n.19; 151
Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ 215, n.52; 216; 217
Ibn Abī Shayba 182
Ibn al-Ashʿath 1, n.1; 163, n.41; 178
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 96, n.3
Ibn Durustawayh 48, n.58
Ibn Faḍlān 97
Ibn al-Faqīh 97; 98; 98, n.11; 105; 136; 140f.; 141, n.101
Ibn Farīghūn 18
Ibn al-Furāt (minister) 2, n.5; 69, n.98; 73, n.105
Ibn Ḥamdūn 18, n. 36; 30, n.16
Ibn Ḥanbal 148
Ibn Ḥawqal 25, n.67; 98; 116; 122; 123
Ibn al-Haytham 104, n.30
Ibn Hindū 228
Ibn Hishām 7; 7, n.16; 176; 182
Ibn Isḥāq 176
Ibn al-Jawzī 24
Ibn Jubayr 96, n.3
Ibn Juljul 220, n.66
Ibn Khalaf 79, n. 117
Ibn Khaldūn 16; 25, n. 67; 39, n.35; 108; 200; 201; 207; 211; 215; 221
Ibn Khurdādhbih 5, n.12; 16; 21; 97; 98; 100; 102; 104, n.26; 105; 113f.; 118; 119; 121; 122; 124; 126, n.70; 129; 131; 135, n.85
Ibn Māja 164, n.44; 182
Ibn Mammātī 102, n.19; 112, n.41
Ibn al-Mudabbir 39, n.36
Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ 5, n.12; 36; 36, n.29; 37; 141; 166; 169; 172; 179; 196, n.6; 204; 213; 217; 226, n.86; 228; 229; 230; 236; 237
Ibn al-Nadīm 3, n.7; 17, n.30; 22, n.56; 33, n.21; 39, n.34; 140, n.97; 214, n.47
Ibn Qutayba 11; 17; 19, n. 37; 21; 24; 30, n.15; 39, n.34; 42, n. 44; 45f.; 51; 52; 54; 59; 61, n.80; 65, n.89; 137; 137, n.90; 138; 138, n.93; 141; 141, n.101; 202; 204; 228; 228
Ibn Rajab 176
Ibn Rushd 206; 207
Ibn Rustah 21, n.43; 97; 98; 105; 124f.; 124, n.62; 125, n.64; 128; 130
Ibn Saʿd 7; 7, n.16; 61, n.80; 130, n.78; 159; 170; 174, n.67; 182; 187
Ibn al-Sarrāj 8, n.19

Ibn Sīnā 206; 207
Ibn Ṭayfūr 30, n.16; 218, n.59
Ibn Taymiyya 195, n.2; 216, n.52
Ibn al-Ṭiqṭiqā 203, n.20; 230, n.99; 231, n.103
Ibn Wahb, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm 12; 34, n.24; 79f.; 159f.; 159, n.36; 174; 188
Ibn Wahb, Sulayman 23
Ibn Waḥshiyya 103, n.21
Ibn Zinjawayh 156, n.28
Idrisid 128, n.59
ʿilm 5; 17
imām 150, n.13; 162; 171; 172; 175; 177; 178; 188; 191; 207; 208
India(n) 28; 95; 96; 96, n.4; 97, n.5; 98; 104; 108; 124; 125; 125, n.63; 129; 134; 141, n.101; 197; 198; 198, n.11; 204; 220; 224; 228; 235
Iraq 97; 105, n.32; 114; 119; 161; 169
ʿIrāqī school of geography 97f.
al-Iṣfahānī 23; 24
isnād 127; 151
al-Iṣṭakhrī 98; 113, n.44; 116; 116, n.53; 117; 119; 121

Jackson, S. 153, n.21
Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq 79, n. 115
al-Jāḥiẓ 12; 29, n.11; 42, n.44; 44; 45, n.51; 46; 55, n.70; 62; 79; 136; 137; 137, n.89; 138; 139f.; 139, n.94; 159, n.37; 202; 228; 229; 230
al-Jahshiyārī 28, n.10; 30, n.16; 33, n.21; 234, n.109
Jarrāḥid (Banū Jarrāḥ) 33, n.21; 79, n.115
al-Jaṣṣāṣ 8, n.19
al-Jayhānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh 97; 122; 126; 126, n.70; 127; 219
Jerusalem 107
Jew(s) 150; 174; 184
jizya 158, n.31; 180
Johansen, B. 155, n.27
Juynboll, G.H.A. 147, n.4

Kaʿba 98; 125
Kanazi G.J. 79, n.117
kātib (pl. *kuttāb*) 2; 9; 12; 88; 93; 81; 98; 100; 144
Kennedy, E.S. 104, n.27
Khalidi, T. 125, n.77
Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ 41, n. 41; 63
al-kharāj 83; 113; 164, n.44; 175
Khārijite(s) 8; 136; 202; 236
al-khāṣṣa 113; 142
al-Khaṣṣāf 151, n.18; 156
khaṭṭ 13; 43, n.49; 54; 64
Khazars 108; 132; 133; 133, n.81
khums 150; 161
Khurāsān 121; 140; 218
Khusrau I Anūshirvān 120; 133
al-Khwārazmī (Abū ʿAbd Allāh) 18; 104, n.28
al-Khwārazmī (Abū Jaʿfar) 104; 105; 106; 110
al-Kindī 5, n.12; 20, n.40; 98; 113, n.44; 206, n.29
King, D.A. 103, n.23
kitāba 30; 44; 53; 55; 55, n.67; 57; 147; 149; 160
Kraemer, J. 5, n.12
Kramers, J.H. 116, n.52
Kratchkovsky, I.J. 115, n.50; 118
al-Kūfa 75; 118

Labidi, M.M. 39, n.36
Lassner, J. 149, n.10
law of nations 168f.
Lawrence, B.B. 125, n.63
Lecomte, G. 30, n.15
Leder, S. 5, n.13; 61, n.79; 67, n.94
Le Strange, G. 133, n.81
Lewis, B. 194, n.1
logic (Greek) 2, n.5; 5; 20, n.40; 24; 138
Løkkegaard, F. 154; 154, n.24; 158, n.31

Maʿan b. Zāʾida 7
al-Madāʾinī 140
Madelung, W. 160, n.38
al-Mahdī 35, 152, n.18; 170
Mahdi, M. 3, n.5; 20, n.42
majlis 50; 51; 82
Makki, A. 22, n. 54, n.56; 23, n.58, n.60; 32, n.20
Mālik b. Anas 153; 153, n.19; 167; 179; 181; 183; 186
mamlakat al-islām 101; 112; 113, n.43; 117; 119
al-Maʾmūn 54; 58; 69, n.98; 104;

104, n.24; 141, n.100; 148; 152; 167; 186
al-Manṣūr 5, n.12; 36; 104; 104, n.24; 117, n.55; 167, n.51; 172; 196, n.6; 213; 235; 235, n.11
Maqbul Ahmad, S. 97, n.8; 113, n.45
al-Maqdisī 21, n.43; 126
marḥala (pl. *marāḥil*) 88; 118
Marlow, L. 198, n.11
Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik 120
al-Masʿūdī 21, n.43; 24, n.67; 97; 98; 105; 113, n.44; 116, n.54; 125; 126; 127; 128; 128. n.77; 130; 228, n.89
Mattā b. Yūnus, Abū Bashr 2, n.5; 24
al-Māwardī 15; 16; 151; 159, n.34; 200; 201; 202; 205, n.28; 215; 215, n.52; 220; 220, n.66; 221; 224; 225; 225, n.81; 230
mawḍiʾ 42; 58; 88
maẓālim 83; 85
Mecca 98; 103; 107; 114; 125; 139
Medina 63; 98; 121; 125; 139; 183
Mediterranean 109; 110
Mez, A. 21; 30
miḥna 8; 148; 167
military expeditions (*maghāzī*) 131f.
Minorsky, V. 97, n.9
Miquel, A. 99; 99, n.12; 109, n.36; 116, n.45; 125; 126, n.66; 142, n.102
Miskawayh 3, n.10; 7; 206; 228
Modarressi, H. 159, n.35, n.36
Montgomery, J.E. 34, n.23; 114, n.48; 125, n.64
Morony, M. 115, n.49
Mount Sinai 107
Mottahedeh, R. 199, n.12; 214, n.50
Motzki, H. 29, n.12
muʿāyana 105
Mubarak, Z. 39, n.36; 42, n.44
al-Mubarrad 24; 42, n.44
al-Mubashshir b. Fātik 228
muḥaddith(ūn) 28; 40; 127; 141; 151; 186
al-Muhallabī 113, n. 44
al-Muktafī 27, n.3
Munajjid, Ṣ., 113, n.44
al-Muqaddasī 94; 98; 100; 112; 112, n.42; 121; 122; 123; 127; 127, n.72; 136; 136, n.86
al-muqāsama 151, n.18
al-Muqtadir 27, n.3; 79, n.115; 97
mushāhada 105
al-Muʿtaḍid 27; 73, n.105; 114; 235
al-Muʿtamid 235
al-Muʿtaṣim 117, n.55
Muʿtazilite(s) 104, n.24; 126; 128; 136; 141
al-Mutawakkil 23; 167

al-Naḥḥās 34, n.34; 45; 51f.; 58; 59; 63, n.85; 66, n.93
Najjār, F.M. 194, n.1; 208, n.34
al-Nasāʾī 180, n.75; 181, n.78; 182
Nawas, J. 148, n.7
Netton, I. 207, n.30
Nile 111
North Africa 113, n.43; 121; 130; 135

orthography 35, 48; 56; 66; 82
Ouyang, W. 22, n.52; 138; 138, n.92

Paret, R. 16, n.27
Pellat, C. 16, n.27; 24, n. 67; 37, n.29; 138, n.91
Persian(s) 28; 41; 45; 74; 94; 98; 104; 108; 109, n.36; 115; 116; 119; 128; 129; 134; 137; 144; 198; 198, n.11; 203, n.21; 204; 218; 224; 228; 229; 234; 237
philosophy 2; 8, n.19
Pingree, D. 104, n.25
Plato 196; 201, n.16; 205; 205, n.27; 206; 209; 210; 216; 222, n.71
Plotinus 207, n.32
poetry 29; 41; 48; 52; 67; 114; 140; 229
Popovic 9, n.20
post and postal service 87; 88, n.127; 98; 113; 122
pre-Islamic Arabia (history of) 40; 91; 125; 129
pre-Islamic poetry 41
Proclus 207, n.32
prophet (Muḥammad) 52; 56; 61; 65, n.90; 74; 98; 125; 149; 150; 150, n.14; 152, n.18; 153; 155; 158, n.32; 159; 160; 162; 165; 167; 170; 172; 173; 175; 178; 180; 182; 186; 190; 195; 202; 232; 237

prose and poetry 10; 48; 52, n.12; 66; 81; 82; 136
Ptolemy 94; 94, n.1; 99; 104; 104, n.25; 104, n.30; 105; 105, n.33; 105, n.34; 106; 107; 109; 114

Qāḍī ʿIyād 153, n.19
al-Qāḍī, W. 10, n. 23; 218, n.60; 228, n.93
al-Qāhir 79, n.115
al-Qalqashandī 30, n.16
Qudāma b. Jaʿfar
 life 22f.
 family 22-23
 father (Jaʿfar b. Qudāma) 23
Qurʾān(ic) 5, n.12; 17; 38; 38, n.33; 41; 43; 48; 51; 81; 103; 103, n.21; 124; 127; 127, n.71; 128; 128, n.78; 135; 138; 147; 149; 153; 160; 161; 162; 163; 164; 175; 180; 184; 237
Qurʾān and Ḥadīth 11; 13; 147; 148; 158; 228, n.90; 229; 239
qurrāʾ 38

al-Rāḍī 66; 94, n.2
al-Rashīd (Hārūn) 167; 171
raʾy 36, n.29; 150, n.13; 150, n.13; 158, n.32; 171; 219; 222; 236
Red Sea 109
Richter, G. 197, n.8
Rifāʿī, T.J. 21, n. 50
al-Riyāshī 46
roadways (imperial) 95; 96; 112; 113; 114; 121; 122; 125
Roman law 147, n.2; 177; 179; 191
Rosenthal, E.I.J. 196, n.5; 202; 208, n.33; 226, n.84
Rosenthal, F. 24, n.67; 194, n.1; 205, n.27; 214, n.49; 228, n.90, n.91
Rubin, U. 158, n.31
Rustamid 128, n.59; 136

al-Ṣābiʾ (Hilāl) 33, n. 21
Sabra, A.I. 104, n.29
Sadan, J. 31, n.16; 34, n.24
ṣadaqa 162; 164
Ṣafwat, A.Z. 30, n.16
Sahl b. Hārūn 213
al-Sakkākī 25, n. 67
al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ 52; 56, n.72; 172; 182; 202
Samanid 5, n.12; 9; 18; 97; 98; 116; 125, n.64; 126; 215
Samarqandī (ʿArūḍī) 25, n. 67
Samarra 27; 114; 116, n.55; 117, n.55; 117
al-Sāmarrāʾī, Ḥ. 10, n. 22
al-Sarakhsī 113, n.44; 125, n.75; 214
Sasanian 1, n.1; 4, n.10; 12; 15; 28; 45; 74; 74, n.106; 104, n.24; 114; 115; 119; 122; 133; 194, n.2; 218; 228. n.90; 229; 232; 194, n.2; 218; 228, n.90; 229; 232
Sawād 114; 115; 119; 120; 121; 177; 178
Sayyid, R. 40, n.38; 219, n.62; 221, n.67
Schacht, J. 182, n.81
Sellheim, R. 26, n.1
al-Shāfiʿī 148; 168, n.55; 170; 174; 184
al-sharīʿa 53; 148; 149; 197; 220
Sharon, M. 9, n.20; 149, n.11
al-Shaybānī (littérateur) 39; 42; 44; 47; 64
al-Shaybānī (jurist) 152, n.18; 168; 168, n.53; 169; 173
Shīʿī(s) 79, n. 115; 128; 150, n.13; 159; 159, n.36; 160; 161, n.39; 202; 208
shiʿr 10, n. 23
al-Shīrāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn 21, n. 43
shurṭa 55; 83; 84
shuʿūbiyya 8; 137; 138; 144
Sijistān 118
Simonsen, J.D. 154; 155, n.25
al-Sīrāfī, Abū Saʿīd 2, n.5; 24
siyāsa 194; 194, n.1; 220; 222; 239
Slavs and Slavic lands 124; 125; 129
social values and knowledge 7-8
Sourdel, D. 10, n.22; 26. n.1; 28, n.9; 31. n.17; 33. n.21; 39, n.36; 88, n.127
Sprengling, M. 148, n.9
state literature 167f.
state officials and functionaries 26; 39; 47; 54
state secretaries 27; 28; 29; 39, n.16; 39; 40; 44; 45; 81-85; 115
Stetkevych, S.P. 67, n.94
Strabo 142; 142, n.103
Suhrāb 105; 106; 111

al-Ṣūlī 38, n.33; 65f.; 55, n.68; 80, n.120; 94, n.2
sulṭān 55; 196; 201; 224, n.80
sunna (prophetic) 5, n.12; 147; 147, n.4; 149; 153, n.19; 165; 182; 184

Ṭabāna, B. 22, n. 53
al-Ṭabarī 7; 7, n.17; 16; 18, n.19; 30, n.16; 153, n.20; 197, n.9; 202, n.17; 236, n.11
ta'dīb (*ta'addub*) 63; 95; 139
al-Taḥāwī 8, n.19; 151; 153, n.20
tamyīz 80; 105; 106; 210; 212
al-Tawḥīdī, Abū Ḥayyān 3, n.5; 18, n.31; 24; 31; 32; 32, n.19; 92, n.131; 214, n.49; 242, n.1
al-Ṭayālasī 170
al-Tha'ālibī 214, n.49; 215; 215, n.51
Tha'lab 24
Themistius 199; 200, n.14; 206; 216; 217; 223, n.75
thughūr (marches/frontiers) 101; 123; 131f.; 177
Tibet 124; 134; 139
Tigris 111; 120
al-Tirmidhī 169, n.55; 182
Toelle, H. 103, n.20
Turks 108; 129; 134; 135

'ulamā' 2; 28
Ulmann, M. 103, n.21
'ummāl 2; 184
'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ('Umar II) 153; 163; 165; 167; 168; 169; 187
'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ('Umar I) 75; 152, n.18; 153; 158; 158, n.32; 159; 160; 165; 165, n.45; 168, n.52; 169; 173; 175; 177; 180; 187; 192; 236
'Umar, F. 149, n.10
'Umarī A.J. 3, n.15; 66, n.92
Umayyad(s) 1, n.1; 7, n.16; 9; 28; 30; 39; 40, n.41; 63; 74; 120; 135; 136; 149; 153; 163, n.41; 166; 169
'ushr 164; 164, n.44; 197; 218; 229; 231
al-'Utbī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn 215
'Uthmān b. 'Affān 74; 178

van Gelder G.J. 32, n.19
van Grunebaum, G.E. 3, n.5
Visel, Z. 18, n.32
Vogel, F.F. 194, n.1

Wahb b. Munabbih 140
Walzer, R. 207, n.30
al-Wāqidī 140; 168, n.55
waraq(a) 24; 66; 120
warrāq 17, n.30; 82
wazīr (pl. wuzarā') 2; 12; 63; 64; 84
Weber, M. 35; 36, n.28; 37, n.30; 41, n.41
Weiss, B. 80, n. 119
writing, tools of 3; 12
wulāt 2

Yaḥyā b. Ādam 146; 156; 156, n.29; 180; 186; 186, n.85; 187
Yaḥyā b. 'Adī 207, n.30; 222, n.72; 228
Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj (Gog and Magog) 124; 135, n.85
al-Ya'qūbī 7; 7, n.16, 23, n.57; 29, n.13; 97; 98; 100; 102; 102, n.18; 113; 116; 117f.; 119; 121
Yāqūt 24; 35, n.25

al-Zajjājī 8, n.19
Zakāt 147; 162; 180
Zaman M.Q. 2, n.2; 148, n.8; 149. n.12; 166, n.50
Zanj 9
Ziyād b. Abīhi 74; 41, n.41

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