

# ON EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: ABŪ ISMĀʿĪL AL-AZDĪ AND HIS *FUTŪḤ AL-SHĀM*

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The present paper examines the *Futūḥ al-shām* (Conquests of Syria) attributed to Abū Ismāʿīl al-Azdī, in an attempt to establish its authenticity, date, and provenance. Several historical sources confirm the authorship of this work and demonstrate that al-Azdī's reporting reflects little religious or regional favoritism. Identifying the origin of the material that comprises al-Azdī's text highlights the similarity between the reports given by him and those attributed to other narrators of his time. Their common early source is likely to be Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī (d. 157/774), an early narrator from Kūfa with proto-Shiʿite sympathies.

THE *FUTŪḤ AL-SHĀM* BY ABŪ ISMĀʿĪL AL-AZDĪ is one of the earliest extant Arabic sources dealing with the Islamic conquest of Syria and is one of the few extant historical documents from the second/eighth century. It is, however, commonly ignored in most modern scholarship as a result of Michael J. de Goeje's negative criticism of it, which dates back to 1864.<sup>1</sup> In recent years, this state of affairs has started to change, though slowly, as a result of a study by Lawrence I. Conrad that reestablished some confidence in the Azdī text.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, further research is needed to solve some of the puzzles that still pertain to this particularly valuable document.

The aim of the following study, therefore, is to examine this book in the light of newly found evidence, mainly sources that have not been checked by modern re-

searchers or were not available to them. An investigation of the transmission of the Azdī text, as well as the evidence it provides, establishes its authenticity, date, and provenance. Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* is, in fact, a late second/eighth century compilation based on a work having the same title by Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī (d. 157/774) of Kūfa, and hence it depended originally on material that was in circulation in Kūfa.

## AZDĪ AND HIS *FUTŪḤ AL-SHĀM*

Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī al-Baṣrī is an obscure personality. His name is absent from the known biographical dictionaries. There is one ambiguous exception. In *Kitāb al-thiqāt* by Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), a Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī is mentioned as being a traditionist from Baṣra who transmitted *ḥadīths* from ʿĀṣim ibn Hilāl al-Baṣrī (d. ca. 185/797) and from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAṭāʾ al-Baṣrī (d. 204/819).<sup>3</sup> Probably the same traditionist is the one mentioned in a chain of authorities (*isnād*) quoted in *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*<sup>4</sup> by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1039). There, he is cited as the informant of a certain Yaḥyā ibn Bisṭām,<sup>4</sup> who was also from Baṣra and who was alive in 214/829.<sup>5</sup> One can, therefore, place the life

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<sup>1</sup> M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur le Fotouho's-Sham attribué à Abou Ismaïl al-Baṣri*, in *Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales*, no. 2 (Leiden, 1864).

<sup>2</sup> Lawrence I. Conrad, "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām: Some Historiographical Observations," in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 AH/640 AD*, ed. Muhammad ʿAdnan Bakhit (Amman, 1987), I: 28–62. Conrad is preparing a new edition and translation of Azdī's text.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt* (Haydarabad, 1973–83), IX: 84.

<sup>4</sup> Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ* (Cairo, 1938), III: 128.

<sup>5</sup> According to Ibn Abī Ḥātim, his father Muḥammad (d. 264/878) had met Yaḥyā ibn Bisṭām in that year: Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl* (Haydarabad, 1952), IX: 132.

of Muḥammad al-Azdī the traditionist in the late second/eighth and early third/ninth century.

The information found in the two dictionaries is, however, sparse. The Azdī of *Futūḥ al-shām* becomes familiar to compilers of histories and biographical dictionaries after the sixth/twelfth century, but only as the author of a book entitled *Futūḥ al-shām*. Therefore, it is possible that the traditionist and the author of *Futūḥ al-shām* are different Azdīs.

The two surviving manuscripts of Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, nos. Arabe 1664 and 1665. They comprise 82 and 149 folios, respectively. The first manuscript was copied in Jerusalem on 22 Dhū al-Ḥijja 613 (21 April 1217) by a Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghassānī.<sup>6</sup> The second, which is clearer than the first, was copied on 1 Dhū al-Qa'da 764 (12 August 1363).<sup>7</sup> Arabe 1664 refers to Azdī's text under the title *Kitāb mukhtaṣar futūḥ al-shām li-l-Wāqidi* (Synopsis of the Conquests of Syria by Wāqidi) by Abū Ismā'īl Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī al-Baṣrī. But this title does not appear in the other manuscript, and it seems that it was added later by one of the owners of that manuscript.

Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* also exists today in two editions. The first was published in Calcutta in 1854 by William N. Lees, who edited the work, with the title *Kitāb futūḥ al-shām*, on the basis of one slightly damaged manuscript found in India. A few pages at the beginning of that manuscript are missing or badly worm-eaten,<sup>8</sup> as are another three pages in the body of the text, and few pages at the end of it.<sup>9</sup> The second edition was published in Cairo in 1970 by 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir. 'Āmir, not aware of the presence of the two manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, claimed to have found another manuscript in Damascus in a private library and to have based his new edition, entitled *Ta'rikh futūḥ al-shām*, on it.<sup>10</sup> 'Āmir described the manuscript he found as complete, compared

to the incomplete one Lees had published.<sup>11</sup> However, by comparing both editions, it is clear that 'Āmir copied Lees' text, concocting a few additions to make it appear different and more complete.<sup>12</sup> Apparently, neither of the two manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale seems to have been the one used by Lees, because they both contain the folios that are missing from his edition. In this study, Lees' edition is used as a base, and the other two manuscripts are referred to only when necessary.

#### AZDĪ IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

The main problems concerning Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* are first, the problem of authorship, that is, whether the work is really that of Azdī or of someone else; second, the problem of dating the material in it; and third, the problem of establishing the provenance of this material. One can add on the basis of these three problems a fourth, namely that if the text is originally that of Azdī, how can we know that its material retained its original form and was not subjected to changes and alterations over the years?

Lees emphasized the importance of the *Futūḥ al-shām* by saying that it is "one of the most valuable remains of Arabic history that has ever been published; . . . I am not aware that we have any complete work in *original*

<sup>11</sup> About the manuscript 'Āmir claimed to have found, see his introduction, 1-m.

<sup>12</sup> After comparing both edited texts, I found them nearly identical in almost every respect. Both begin and end in the same manner; and curiously, the worm-eaten parts are in most cases identical in both texts. 'Āmir also borrowed the footnotes and comments of Lees without acknowledgment. The differences, however, are mainly verbal; in a few instances lines or chains of authorities either are dropped from or added to 'Āmir's edition. 'Āmir neglected to refer to the missing folios of Azdī's manuscript, and interestingly enough, by comparing the mysterious additions that he makes in lieu of these missing folios with the respective passages in the two manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, it is obvious that they do not match: compare 'Āmir, 102(4)–103(12) to Azdī (M1), 28b(12)–29a(9) and Azdī (M2), 52a(11)–53a(8); 'Āmir, 137(2–8) to Azdī (M1), 38b(16)–39a(15) and Azdī (M2), 69b(1)–70a(10). Moreover, the addition in 'Āmir, 257(13)–259(6), does not figure, on the one hand, in either of the two manuscripts and, on the other hand, is not even in accord with the preceding section in his edition. Thus it is clear that 'Āmir copied the text of Lees. For general comments on 'Āmir's edition, see Akram Ḍ. al-'Umarī, *Dirāsāt tārikhiyya* (Medina, 1981), 70–71, 76–79; Conrad, 29–32.

<sup>6</sup> Azdī, *Futūḥ al-shām* (ms. Arabe 1664 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), f. 83a(5–8). Henceforth, Azdī (M1).

<sup>7</sup> Azdī, *Futūḥ al-shām* (ms. Arabe 1665 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), f. 149a(5–8). Henceforth, Azdī (M2).

<sup>8</sup> The worm-eaten part at the beginning of the text is reproduced by Lees at the end: see *Kitāb futūḥ al-shām*, ed. William N. Lees (Calcutta, 1854), appendix, 1–3. Henceforth, Lees.

<sup>9</sup> About the condition of the manuscript which Lees used, see Lees, preface, v–vii; and for the three missing pages in the body of the text, see Lees, 90 (n. 2), 120 (n. 2), 178 (n. 2).

<sup>10</sup> Azdī, *Ta'rikh futūḥ al-shām*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir (Cairo, 1970). Henceforth, 'Āmir.

that was written at so early a period as this fotooh.”<sup>13</sup> Since 1854, several other early Arabic compilations have been published. Even so, the work of Azdī remains one of the earliest works in the *Futūḥ* genre to have been preserved. Lees also faced the problem of not finding any notice for Azdī in the dictionaries available to him and resorted to analyzing the chains of authorities in the Azdī text for a possible dating of the period in which Azdī lived. The conclusion he came to was that Azdī died around 178/794, or slightly before that date.<sup>14</sup>

Shortly after Lees’ edition, and belying his expectation that it would throw light on some of the obscurities of early Islamic history, de Goeje published a censorious criticism of the text in which he ruled out any possibility of dating it to the early Islamic period. De Goeje, who had in front of him Lees’ edition only, argued that Azdī never existed, that his name was a corruption of the name of the famous traditionist Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870),<sup>15</sup> and that *Futūḥ al-shām* was compiled at the time of the Crusades<sup>16</sup> for the glorification of Islam and the heroes who made it triumphant.<sup>17</sup>

The assertion by de Goeje that the text of Azdī is a mere forgery was based upon several wrong inferences. For instance, he identified Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, who is quoted in the Azdī text thirteen times, as “Mohammed ibn Jousof ibn Wākid ibn Othmān Abou Abdollah ad-Dhabbi al-Fārjābi (120–212), . . . et ce Mohammed ibn Jousof est l’un des Schaikhs de Bokhāri.”<sup>18</sup> But the Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf identified by de Goeje does not refer to the Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf of the Azdī text because the latter appears to be the informant of Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī (d. 157/774), who identified him as Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Anṣārī from the tribe of al-Ḥārith ibn al-Khazraj<sup>19</sup> from Medina. It is not the purpose of this study, however, to go over all of de Goeje’s arguments. Conrad has already shown most of them to be inaccurate and none are confirmed by the present paper.

Because of de Goeje’s criticism, Azdī’s text has been generally ignored as if it did not exist—until, that is, Conrad published his analytical study. Arguing in favor of dating the text to the late second century or the early third

century A.H. at the latest,<sup>20</sup> Conrad concluded that Azdī was either a Syrian, from Ḥimṣ in particular, or lived in Ḥimṣ; that he died between 190 and 205 A.H.; and that his text is a Syrian account of the conquests of Syria.<sup>21</sup> In addition to studying these chains of authorities, Conrad examined the text’s use of certain terms that were applied in the early Islamic period but were replaced by other terms later on, such as the names of some cities. He also spotted echoes of early religious trends that were later eclipsed. Consequently, Conrad emphasized the importance of including Azdī’s text in any study of the history of early Islamic Syria.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Conrad pointed to a possible link between accounts from Azdī’s text and material transmitted on the authority of the famous Damascene traditionist Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tanūkhī (d. 167/783); on the basis of this he suggested a possibly now lost work by Sa‘īd al-Tanūkhī as a source for Azdī’s text.<sup>23</sup>

Thanks to Conrad’s reappraisal, the *Futūḥ al-shām* is again being used.<sup>24</sup> Walter Kaegi, stressing the fact that the Azdī text needs further study, argued that some of Azdī’s statements “have more of a ring of authenticity than scholars have previously assumed,” and that “the author or one of his sources possessed some very specific and accurate information concerning the reign of Heraclius.”<sup>25</sup> In modern Arab scholarship, Azdī and his *Futūḥ al-shām* appear in a few studies that accept its authenticity unquestionably.<sup>26</sup> It suffices to mention Iḥsān ‘Abbās who briefly compared similar passages from the Azdī text and from the section on the conquests of Syria in the *Futūḥ* of Muḥammad ibn A‘ṭham al-Kūfī (d. fourth/tenth century). On the basis of this comparison, ‘Abbās noted that Azdī’s *Futūḥ al-shām* must be older than Ibn A‘ṭham’s, since the former’s narration and chains of authorities approximate the style of the compilers of the second and early third century in which period the text of Azdī should be placed.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Conrad, 33–48.

<sup>21</sup> Conrad, 48–55.

<sup>22</sup> Conrad, 59.

<sup>23</sup> Conrad, 50, 59.

<sup>24</sup> Walter Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge, 1992); Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, tr. Michael Bonner (Princeton, 1994); and Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, 1998).

<sup>25</sup> Kaegi, 11–12.

<sup>26</sup> Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī, “Futūḥ al-shām,” *Majallat al-majma‘ al-‘ilmī al-‘arabī* 20 (1945): 544–49; ‘Umarī, 69–79.

<sup>27</sup> Iḥsān ‘Abbās, *Ta’rikh bilād al-shām min qabl al-islām ḥattā bidāyat al-‘aṣr al-umawī, 600–661* (Amman, 1990), 22–23.

<sup>13</sup> Lees, preface, vii.

<sup>14</sup> Lees, preface, v.

<sup>15</sup> De Goeje, 14–15.

<sup>16</sup> De Goeje, 38–39.

<sup>17</sup> De Goeje, 22–23.

<sup>18</sup> De Goeje, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901), I: 3233 and II: 525.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF AZDĪ'S *FUTŪḤ AL-SHĀM*

The attribution of *Futūḥ al-shām* to Azdī is made mainly in biographical dictionaries. But it is also found in works of history, belles-lettres, and in the indices of books. The sources that explicitly attribute this work to him are: *Fahrasat* of Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179),<sup>28</sup> *Ghazawāt* of Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 584/1188),<sup>29</sup> *Taʾriḫ al-islām* of Dhahabī (d. 748/1348),<sup>30</sup> *al-Iṣāba* and *Tahdhīb* of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448),<sup>31</sup> and *al-ʿIṭlān* of Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497).<sup>32</sup> Of these sources, only Ibn Khayr provides information concerning the transmission of the text from Azdī to him.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ḥubaysh, by contrast, included the entire text of Azdī in his *Ghazawāt*. But he did not indicate how the text of Azdī got to him and it seems likely that he knew it through the same transmission as that cited by Ibn Khayr. Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), similarly, quotes in his *Muḥāḍarat* a few long passages from the Azdī text but without mentioning the title of the book.<sup>34</sup> Azdī is also identified by Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar as the author of a *Futūḥ al-shām* in many biographical notices of informants on whose authority Azdī transmitted accounts of the conquests. In other biographical notices cited by Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, individuals are identified only as being mentioned in the text of Azdī. However, neither Dhahabī nor Ibn Ḥajar devoted to Azdī a biography in any of their several biographical dictionaries.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the sources mentioned above, which are from Syria, Egypt, and Spain, speak of a work entitled *Futūḥ al-shām* attributed to Abū Ismāʿīl al-Azdī. Two chains of

authorities, one stated in the text of Azdī and the other cited by Ibn Khayr, are said to have passed down the text. The first is almost identical in the two manuscripts and in the two edited versions.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, the following complete chain<sup>37</sup> can be reconstructed out of four almost identical ones:

Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī al-Baṣrī  
 |  
 al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād al-Ramlī<sup>38</sup>  
 |  
 Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād al-Ramlī  
 |  
 Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq<sup>39</sup> al-Baghdādī  
 |  
 Abū al-ʿAbbās Munīr ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan  
 al-Khashshāb  
 |  
 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥabbāl  
 al-Nuʿmānī al-Tujībī<sup>40</sup>  
 |  
 Abū al-Ḥusayn<sup>41</sup> Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Musabbih  
 al-Muqri<sup>42</sup>  
 |  
 Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Silafi  
 al-Iṣfahānī  
 |  
 A pupil of Silafi

According to this chain, the person who transmitted *Futūḥ al-shām* from Azdī was al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād al-Ramlī. The name in this form does not appear in any of the known biographical dictionaries. However, in Ṭūsī's *Fihrist* of Shiʿite scholars, a certain al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasat mā rawāh ʿan shuyūkhīh min al-dawāwīn al-muṣannaḥa fī ḍurūb al-ʿilm wa-anwāʿ al-maʿārif*, ed. Franciscus Codera and J. Ribera Tarrago (Baghdad, 1963), 238.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Ghazawāt Ibn Ḥubaysh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1992), I: 195.

<sup>30</sup> Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ al-islām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1987–94), 141–50 A.H.: 213 and 255.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (Cairo, 1323 A.H.), I: 180; idem, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Haydarabad, 1325–27 A.H.), III: 485.

<sup>32</sup> Sakhāwī, *al-ʿIṭlān bi-al-tawbīkh li-man dhamm al-taʾriḫ*, ed. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī (Baghdad, 1963), 263. Sakhāwī cites the regional affinity of Azdī as *al-Miṣri* instead of *al-Baṣrī*, most probably a scribal error.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Khayr, 238.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār wa-musāmarat al-akhyār* (Cairo, 1906), II: 201, 266–67, 279–80, 284–87.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ḥajar cites Abū Ismāʿīl al-Azdī at least twelve times as the author of *Kitāb futūḥ al-shām*; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I: 180, 272; III: 11, 153; VI: 149, 165, 166, 167, 267 (twice), 363; VIII: 186.

<sup>36</sup> Azdī (M1), 1a(2–7); Azdī (M2), 4a(3–15); Lees, 35–36; ʿĀmir, 1.

<sup>37</sup> This chain of authorities derives mainly from Azdī (M2) because it is the most complete and correct. The differences with the other chains of authorities are indicated below.

<sup>38</sup> The name of al-Ḥusayn was completely dropped here from Azdī (M1). This is certainly a scribal error, since with the exception of this case, the name appears continuously in the chains of authorities within this same manuscript.

<sup>39</sup> ʿAlī in Lees, 36, and in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾriḫ baghdād* (Beirut, 1986), XI: 330; *Muḥammad* in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾriḫ madīnat dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar ibn Gharāma al-ʿUmrawī and ʿAlī Shīrī (Beirut, 1995–), VII: 464.

<sup>40</sup> *Tujībī* after a quarter in old Cairo: Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Bārūdī (Beirut, 1988), I: 448. In Lees' and ʿĀmir's editions, it appears as *al-Yuhfī*, which has no meaning and must be a scribal error: see Lees, 36; ʿĀmir, 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Abū al-Ḥasan* only in Azdī (M2), f. 4a(9).

<sup>42</sup> *Al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Musabbih al-Muqri*? in ʿĀmir's edition, which is definitely a mistake: ʿĀmir, 1.

is identified as the author of a *ḥadīth* compilation entitled *Kitāb al-ruḍāʿ* (the Book of Foster Relationship), which, according to Ṭūsī, was transmitted from al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād by al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād.<sup>43</sup> So, having al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād appear as the transmitter of al-Ḥusayn's book would mean that this al-Ḥusayn is the same person mentioned in the chain of the Azdī text. According to Ṭūsī, too, al-Ḥusayn was known to have transmitted *ḥadīths* from the Shiʿite *imām* Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818).<sup>44</sup> Al-Ḥusayn is mentioned as well by Kashshī,<sup>45</sup> and by Ibn Ḥajar, who identified him as al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād al-Kūfī.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, it can be said that al-Ḥusayn was an ʿAlid (Shiʿite) from Kūfa and was known to have been active between the late second/eighth and mid-third/ninth century. As for the *nisba* al-Ramlī<sup>47</sup> attached to his name, it may refer to his possible residence in Ramla, Palestine, sometime in the third/ninth century. What is peculiar in the case of al-Ḥusayn and al-Walīd is that Kūfans did engage in trade with Ramla in olive oil. That the profession of al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād was selling olive oil is evident from the epithet al-Zayyāt (oil seller) attached to his name. Thus, it is possible to suppose that al-Ḥusayn, who was nicknamed al-Simsār (the broker), was also engaged in this kind of trade, and that he resided in Ramla for some time for the sake of buying olive oil and transporting it to Kūfa.<sup>48</sup>

Al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād al-Ramlī transmitted the text of Azdī from al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād, probably in Ramla, as mentioned before. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād al-Ramlī al-Zayyāt was an average traditionist. He is said

to have studied *ḥadīth* in Damascus with Hishām ibn ʿAmmār al-Dimashqī (d. 245/859). A few known traditionists, like Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī (d. 310/923) and Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971), transmitted *ḥadīths* from him.<sup>49</sup> Al-Walīd is said to have compiled a book entitled *Kitāb faḍāʿ il bayt al-maqdis* (the Book on the Merits of Jerusalem).<sup>50</sup> He died around the year 300/912.<sup>51</sup>

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī, according to the chain above, is said to have copied the text of Azdī from an oral transmission by al-Walīd ibn Ḥammād in Shaʿbān 286 (August 899). Abū al-Ḥasan, known as Ibn al-Maqāburī al-Bazzāz, was originally from the town of Wāsiṭ, in Iraq, and moved to live in Baghdad, where he studied *ḥadīth* with scholars like Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Shādhān al-Jawharī (d. 286/899). Later, he came to reside for sometime in Ramla, and is said to have been in Damascus around the year 341/952, where he was also active in *ḥadīth* circles, and later moved to Cairo.<sup>52</sup>

In Cairo, Abū al-ʿAbbās Munīr ibn Aḥmad al-Khashshāb al-Miṣrī (d. 412/1022)<sup>53</sup> copied the text of Azdī from Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī, who was reading the text to his pupils in his house in 343/954. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥabbāl al-Tujībī al-Miṣrī (d. 482/1089) copied the text from Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Khashshāb also in Cairo. He is said to have studied *ḥadīth* with the latter, and to have met and studied *ḥadīth* with ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Saʿīd al-Miṣrī (d. 409/1018) in 407/1016. This Abū Ishāq al-Tujībī is known to have been a bookseller and to have died at the age of ninety.<sup>54</sup> From him, Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Musabbih al-Muqri<sup>55</sup> copied

<sup>43</sup> Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Muḥammad S. Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1937), 57; see also Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Muḥammad S. Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1961), 39; Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* (Tahran, 1379–87 A.H.), III: 285; and Abṭahī, *Tahdhīb al-maqāl* (Iṣfahan, 1405 A.H.), II: 411. See also Conrad, 57–58.

<sup>44</sup> Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Muḥammad S. Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1961), 374.

<sup>45</sup> I could not locate the biography of al-Ḥusayn in Kashshī's *Rijāl*. The reference to al-Ḥusayn's name in Kashshī's work is taken from Ibn Ḥajar.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* (Haydarabad, 1329–31 A.H.), II: 284.

<sup>47</sup> The *nisba* al-Ramlī is commonly accepted as referring to the town of Ramla in Palestine.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, VI:40. Samʿānī (III:91) cites the name of a certain Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn ʿIsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ramlī (d. 202/817) and said about him that he was from Kūfa and had resided in Ramla where he was engaged in buying olive oil and sending it to Kūfa; see also ʿAbd Allāh Mukhlis, *Miḍḥanat al-jāmiʿ al-abyad fi al-ramla* (Beirut, n.d.), 8.

<sup>49</sup> Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, ed. Muḥammad S. Ismāʿīl (Amman, 1999), VI: 419–21, where al-Walīd is quoted for fourteen *ḥadīth*.

<sup>50</sup> Dhahabī ascribed this book to al-Walīd: see Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* (Beirut, 1981–85), XIV: 78; see also Suleiman A. Mourad, “A Note on the Origin of *Faḍāʿ il Bayt al-Maqdis* Compilations,” *Al-Abhath* 44 (1996): 31–48.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, LXIII: 121–23; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIV: 78–79; idem, *Taʾriḫ*, 291–300 A.H.: 320; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI: 221–22.

<sup>52</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XI: 322; Ibn ʿAsākir, XLI: 229–30; see also n. 39 above.

<sup>53</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVII: 267; Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab* (Cairo, 1350 A.H.), III: 197.

<sup>54</sup> Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-al-wafayāt*, ed. Helmut Ritter et al. (Stuttgart, 1991), V: 355; Ḥanbalī, III: 366.

<sup>55</sup> No biographical notice for Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Muqri<sup>55</sup> could be found in the known biographical dictionaries. Silafī mentioned him in his *Muʿjam al-safar*, citing the names of all his teachers: see Silafī, *Muʿjam al-safar*, ed. Sher Muhammad Zaman (Islamabad, 1988), 12–13.

the text of Azdī in Cairo, as well. Abū al-Ḥusayn was known as Ibn al-Qābila (son of the mid-wife) and was, according to Silafī (d. 576/1180), one of the prominent reciters of the *Qurʾān* in the mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in al-Fuṣṭāṭ.<sup>56</sup>

Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī al-Silafī copied the text from Abū al-Ḥusayn in Cairo in Dhū al-Ḥijja 515 (February 1122). Silafī was born around the year 475/1074 in Iṣfahān. He traveled throughout the Muslim world for the sake of studying *ḥadīth* and other religious sciences. For that purpose, he lived in Damascus for two years (509–11/1115–17), after which he moved to Alexandria towards the end of 511/early 1118 and resided there until his death in 576/1180.<sup>57</sup> It is through this Silafī that all known extant copies of Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* were transmitted.<sup>58</sup>

The manuscript Lees used was copied from Silafī by a pupil whose name is not stated anywhere in the manuscript.<sup>59</sup> But the place and date of the transmission are known: Alexandria, in the month of Muḥarram 573 (July 1177).<sup>60</sup> The damage to the first and last pages of the manuscript makes it impossible to identify this pupil or to determine if it was transmitted from him to other people. The manuscript, however, seems now to have been lost.<sup>61</sup>

Manuscript Arabe 1664 was copied by another pupil of Silafī called Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar ibn ʿAlī al-Hamadānī al-Iskandarānī. Abū al-Faḍl was born in 546/1151 and is said to have been engaged in circles of learning in Alexandria, Cairo, and Damascus, where he died in 636/

1238.<sup>62</sup> A certain Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ghassānī copied the text of Azdī from the text of Abū al-Faḍl in Jerusalem in Dhū al-Ḥijja 613 (March 1217). This copy of the Azdī text passed into the possession of Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Masʿūd al-Mawṣilī (d. 704/1304). Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī was active in circles of learning in Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus, where he is said to have resided.<sup>63</sup> The other *samāʿ* (oral certification) written on the first and last folios of this manuscript records the names of the people who owned it at different times after Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī.<sup>64</sup>

Manuscript Arabe 1665 was copied from Silafī by a third pupil of his, called Abū al-Maymūn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAtīq ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Wardān al-ʿĀmirī al-Miṣrī (d. 626/1229),<sup>65</sup> in Alexandria during a series of lectures, the last of which was on Sunday 14 Rabiʿ I 574 (30 August 1178). Subsequently, it was copied by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Najā al-Iskandarānī al-Makhilī<sup>66</sup> in Cairo also during a series of lectures, the last of which was on Saturday 14 Ramaḍān 635 (30 April 1238).<sup>67</sup> This Jamāl al-Dīn (568/1172–672/1273) was known to have met Silafī and received from him an *ijāza* (license).<sup>68</sup> This manuscript was transmitted from Abū al-Faḍl al-Makhilī to a person who must have transmitted it in turn to others, as inferred by a date of transmission at the end of the manuscript: 1 Dhū al-Qaʿda 764 (12 August 1363).<sup>69</sup> But no names are mentioned. There are also some *samāʿ* recorded at the end of this manuscript which indicate some of the people who later owned it.

Beside Egypt, the *Futūḥ al-shām* of Azdī was also known in Spain. As mentioned earlier, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī stated that the Azdī text reached him through the following chain of authorities:

Azdī  
|  
[al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād]<sup>70</sup>  
|

<sup>56</sup> Silafī, 13. Silafī transmitted from Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Muqriʿ an account which has the following chain of authorities: Silafī from Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Musabbih ibn Ḥamza al-Muqriʿ in Cairo from Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tujībī . . . : Silafī, 12. These names also appear in this order in the chain of authorities that passed down the text of Azdī.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, V: 208–11; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1968), I: 105–7; Ṣafādī, VII: 351–56; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XXI: 5–39.

<sup>58</sup> De Goeje argued that the chain of authorities cited in Lees' edition is "fictif," basically because he could not identify any of the men who were mentioned in it: de Goeje, 19–22.

<sup>59</sup> Lees, preface, vi. ʿUmarī identified this pupil as Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī. In fact, ʿUmarī, probably unintentionally, read wrongly the words of Lees, and the name he gave to Silafī's pupil is that of Silafī: ʿUmarī, 71.

<sup>60</sup> Lees, 35–36.

<sup>61</sup> I could not establish where this manuscript now is. De Goeje indicated (p. 39) that it is in Berlin. However, it seems to have been misplaced or lost, since Sezgin does not mention it in the entry on Azdī: Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967), I: 292–93.

<sup>62</sup> Ṣafādī, XI: 117; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XXIII: 36–39.

<sup>63</sup> Ṣafādī, XXII: 194.

<sup>64</sup> Azdī (M1), fs. 1a and 83a.

<sup>65</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XXII: 314.

<sup>66</sup> *Al-Makhilī* after the town of Makhil in the region of Burqa in modern-day Libya, from which Jamāl al-Dīn's family originally came: Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XXIII: 116–17; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Beirut, n.d.), V: 73 (*Makhil*). In the manuscript, it reads *al-Maḥallī*, a scribal error.

<sup>67</sup> Azdī (M2), f. 4a(7).

<sup>68</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XXIII: 116–18.

<sup>69</sup> Azdī (M2), f. 149a(2–4).

<sup>70</sup> It is probable that Ibn Khayr unintentionally dropped the name of al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād from this chain of authorities.

Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Walid ibn Ḥammād (d. ca. 300/912)  
 |  
 Abū al-Ḥasan al-Muʿaddil<sup>71</sup>  
 |  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣri (d. 416/1025)<sup>72</sup>  
 |  
 Ḥakam ibn Muḥammad al-Judhāmi al-Qurtūbī (d. 447/1055)<sup>73</sup>  
 |  
 Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Qurtūbī (d. 498/1105)<sup>74</sup>  
 |  
 Abū Bakr al-Ishbīlī (d. 580/1184)<sup>75</sup>  
 |  
 Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179)<sup>76</sup>

In addition to the allusion to the Azdī text by Ibn Khayr, the work was reproduced almost in its entirety in Ibn Ḥubaysh's *Ghazawāt*. It is very likely that Ibn Ḥubaysh, being also from Spain, knew the copy referred to by Ibn Khayr. It is equally possible that Ibn Ḥubaysh copied the text of Azdī in Egypt from Silafī, because the latter was one of his teachers.<sup>77</sup> None of these possibilities can be verified, however, because Ibn Ḥubaysh did not mention how the text of Azdī reached him.

A third chain of authorities through which the text of Azdī was possibly transmitted is found in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrikh*. Ibn ʿAsākir quotes one passage from Azdī, but without attributing any work to him. This material has the following chain of authorities:

Azdī  
 |  
 al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād  
 |  
 al-Walid ibn Ḥammād (d. ca. 300/912)  
 |  
 Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī (d. 310/923)<sup>78</sup>  
 |

<sup>71</sup> ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq. He is the same person identified in a previous chain of authorities: see n. 39 above.

<sup>72</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar al-Tujībī: Ṣafadī, XVIII: 205.

<sup>73</sup> Ḥanbalī, III: 275.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Jayyānī: Ṣafadī, XIII: 32; Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar*, ed. Muḥammad Zaghlūl (Beirut, 1985), II: 377.

<sup>75</sup> Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭāhir. He is said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, taught in Cairo, Aleppo, and Baṣra, and to have settled in Bijāya, in modern-day Algeria, where he died in 580/1184: Ṣafadī, II: 113–14.

<sup>76</sup> Concerning this chain of authorities, see Ibn Khayr, 238.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, *Muʿjam fī aṣḥāb al-qāḍī al-imām Abī ʿAlī al-Ṣafadī*, ed. Franciscus Codera (Baghdad, n.d.), 51.

<sup>78</sup> Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Warrāq: Samʿānī, II: 511–12; and Ṣafadī, II: 36.

al-Ḥasan ibn Rashīq al-Miṣri (d. 370/980)<sup>79</sup>  
 |  
 Abū Shuʿayb ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣri  
 and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān  
 al-Miṣri<sup>80</sup>  
 |  
 Rashāʾ ibn Naẓif al-Dimashqī (d. 444/1052)<sup>81</sup>  
 |  
 Abū al-Qāsim al-Nasīb al-Dimashqī (d. 508/1114)<sup>82</sup>  
 and Abū al-Waḥsh al-Muqriʾ al-Dimashqī (d. 508/1115)<sup>83</sup>  
 |  
 Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176)<sup>84</sup>

Based on these three chains of authorities, it is possible to say that the work of Azdī was transmitted from al-Walid ibn Ḥammād by at least two scholars, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī and Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī. Both traditionists were known to have come to Syria for the sake of learning *ḥadīth* and other religious sciences. They carried the work to Cairo in the second half of the third century A.H. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī copied the text from al-Walid ibn Ḥammād in Shaʿbān 286 (August 899), as mentioned earlier; whereas, in the case of Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī, it may be argued that he copied the text of Azdī from al-Walid ibn Ḥammād sometime before 260/874, when he moved to Cairo.<sup>85</sup>

The indications of the availability of Azdī's *Futuḥ al-shām* in more than one region suggest that the text was older than the sixth/twelfth century, when it was transmitted in Alexandria by Silafī to at least three of his pupils on different occasions. But it is undeniable that a wide interest in the Azdī text really developed only during the period of the Crusades. The survival of the text, thus, seems to have resulted from the reemerging interest in *Futuḥ* literature at that time. This explains why the text is absent from all prior historical sources. During the time of the Crusades at least three manuscripts of Azdī's *Futuḥ al-shām* were copied from Silafī (d. 576/1180) in Alexandria. It was then that the text was quoted in other compilations—quoted in its entirety in *Ghazawāt* of Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 584/1188), and partially in *Muḥādarāt* of Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 638/1240). There is, moreover, no reason to doubt that Azdī existed, for his text was transmitted through more than one chain of authorities,

<sup>79</sup> Ṣafadī, XII: 16–17.

<sup>80</sup> I could not identify either of them.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XVIII: 148–49.

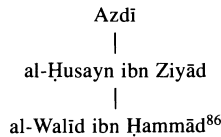
<sup>82</sup> ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī: Ibn ʿAsākir, XLI: 244–47.

<sup>83</sup> Subayʿ ibn al-Muslim al-Ḍarīr: Ibn ʿAsākir, XX: 139–40.

<sup>84</sup> For his chain of authorities, see Ibn ʿAsākir, VII: 464.

<sup>85</sup> Samʿānī, II: 511.

all of which, nevertheless, originated from a single earlier chain as follows:



The important point is the ascription of a similar contemporary text to Saʿīd ibn al-Faḍl and, as will be observed in the following section, the ascription of the same material to still more compilers from the same period as Azdī.

#### DATE AND PROVENANCE OF AZDĪ'S *FUTŪḤ AL-SHĀM*

As mentioned in the previous section, Ibn Ḥubaysh used the text of Azdī in his *Ghazawāt*. It is obvious that the differences in the *Ghazawāt* version are not significant, and that most of the missing pages in Lees' edition can be reproduced also from the text of Ibn Ḥubaysh. Ibn Ḥubaysh, however, dropped almost all chains of authorities, stating only the first informant in each account, which is the case throughout his work; but only in four instances are the informants different from those given in the Azdī text.<sup>87</sup>

The importance of Ibn Ḥubaysh's *Ghazawāt* stems from his reference to this material as having been taken from two *Futūḥ al-shām* books and not one only.<sup>88</sup> In addition to Azdī, he cited the name of a Saʿīd ibn al-Faḍl, who is identified by Ibn Ḥubaysh as another author of a work having the same title as Azdī's.<sup>89</sup> Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd ibn al-Faḍl was a native of Baṣra and was known to have transmitted *ḥadīths* from the traditionist ʿAṣim ibn Sulaymān al-Aḥwal (d. 142/759). He resided for some time in Damascus, where he was active in *ḥadīth* circles, and returned to Baṣra, where he died sometime around 185/801.<sup>90</sup> Saʿīd's name is also mentioned in a chain of authorities given by Ibn Ḥubaysh that is identical to the

chain of authorities for the same account in the Azdī text, except that the name of Saʿīd replaces that of Azdī.<sup>91</sup>

For Ibn Ḥubaysh, the texts of Saʿīd and Azdī seem identical, as he gives no indication of any differences between them. The fact that the material that constitutes the text of Azdī is ascribed by Ibn Ḥubaysh to two authors suggests that this material might have been taken, by both Azdī and Saʿīd, from a common source; or that one of the two depended on the other. But because Ibn Ḥubaysh did not state how the texts of Azdī and Saʿīd were transmitted to him, the possibility that their texts were based on an older compilation needs at this level further supporting evidence.

Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh*, which only recently has been consulted seriously in studies of Islamic historiography, holds the key to the problem of dating the contents of the Azdī text. The biographical importance of Ibn ʿAsākir's work lies in his citation of the chains of authorities that transmitted almost every single piece of information from its original, assumed informant to him. Ibn ʿAsākir's use of this technique enables us, for example, to follow the variation of a certain account through the various chains of authorities that transmitted it, which may in turn determine to what extent each narrator adhered to the original version of the account, and whether or not he altered or introduced additions to it.

There is no reference to Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh*. The name of Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī is mentioned, however, in the chain of authorities for one account in the biographical notice for Adham ibn Miḥriz al-Bāhili,<sup>92</sup> an informant quoted in the Azdī text. The same account is also found in the Azdī text with the same chain of authorities,<sup>93</sup> where only two words, whose omission does not change the meaning, are dropped. Furthermore, Ibn ʿAsākir included fifty-nine accounts that are almost identical to accounts found in the Azdī text but quoted from narrators other than Azdī. These fifty-nine accounts are found in biographical notices for individuals who either transmitted them or were mentioned in them. The narrators to whom Ibn ʿAsākir ascribed these same accounts are Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī (d. 157/774), ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Qudāmī (d. after 200/815), and Abū Ḥudhayfa al-Bukhārī (d. 206/821). They, with the exception of Abū Ḥudhayfa, quoted their material from the same informants as those cited for the same accounts by Azdī. Abū Mikhnaf is quoted for seven, Qudāmī for twenty-four, and Abū Ḥudhayfa for twenty-eight. Most are not reproduced in their entirety

<sup>86</sup> This point goes against one of the conclusions of de Goeje. According to him, Azdī's text was fabricated in the period of the Crusades to promote the call for the *jihād*, and could not have been transmitted from Silafī: de Goeje, 19–22 and 38–39.

<sup>87</sup> For these four cases, compare Ibn Ḥubaysh, I: 158, 238, 247, and II: 6 to Lees, 20, 151–52, 166, and 45, respectively.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Ḥubaysh, I: 195, 238, 303 and 324. The title *Kitāb futūḥ al-shām* is mentioned twice by Ibn Ḥubaysh but without naming its author, and in both cases, he states, “*rajaʿa ilā (back to) kitāb futūḥ al-shām*”: Ibn Ḥubaysh, I: 184 and 202.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Ḥubaysh, I: 195.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XXI: 275–77; and Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, 181–90 A.H.: 169.

<sup>91</sup> Compare Ibn Ḥubaysh, I: 190 to Lees, 65.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, VII: 464.

<sup>93</sup> Lees, 132.



by Ibn ʿAsākir, who in such cases quoted part of the account and then made a note indicating that the material in question has a continuation.<sup>94</sup>

The first narrator is Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdī. He was an ʿAlid (Shiʿite) from Kūfa and was famous for his transmission of historical accounts; but his reputation as a scholar of *ḥadīth* was very poor. He is described in Sunnite biographical dictionaries as *matrūk al-ḥadīth* (i.e., his *ḥadīth* transmission was disregarded as being unreliable), and that he used to transmit material from unknown people—a charge almost equal to forging the material.<sup>95</sup> In the Shiʿite biographical dictionaries, however, Abū Mikhnaḥ is highly esteemed as a narrator and is recognized as an authority on historical accounts in Kūfa.<sup>96</sup> The Shiʿite compilers did not comment on the soundness of his *ḥadīth* transmission. He died in 157/774, and is said to have left several books, of which a *Futūḥ al-shām* was one.<sup>97</sup>

Abū Mikhnaḥ was the subject of a study by Ursula Sezgin, who examined what survived of Abū Mikhnaḥ's books in later compilations, basically in Balādhuri's *An-sāb* and Ṭabari's *Taʾriḫ*.<sup>98</sup> She argued that Abū Mikhnaḥ was not a prose writer<sup>99</sup> but rather a collector who used to take reports from a variety of religio-political sources, rarely correcting the inaccuracies in them, and that his material is in general reliable.<sup>100</sup> Sezgin also maintained that although the accounts Abū Mikhnaḥ reported generally sympathize with Shiʿites, his work is not as sectarian as the writings of other Shiʿite scholars.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir generally resorted to brevity when quoting long accounts, especially if used for biographical purposes. For example, parts of one account given in the section on the history of Damascus are used in four separate biographical entries: Ibn ʿAsākir, II: 152–58 is found in XI: 316–17; XLVI: 56, 107–8; and XLIX: 364.

<sup>95</sup> Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-taʾriḫ al-kabīr* (Haydarabad, 1361 A.H.), VII: 252; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII: 182; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 151–60 A.H.: 581; and Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1973), III: 225–26.

<sup>96</sup> Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 129–30; idem, *Rijāl*, 70, 279; Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* (Beirut, 1988), II: 191–93; Tustarī, VII: 443–47.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā Tajaddad (Beirut, 1988), 105; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* (Cairo, 1938), XVII: 42.

<sup>98</sup> Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaḥ: Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umayyadischen Zeit* (Leiden, 1971). Julius Wellhausen also, although very briefly, analyzed Abū Mikhnaḥ's historical transmission in *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902), iii–v.

<sup>99</sup> U. Sezgin, 91.

<sup>100</sup> U. Sezgin, 90.

<sup>101</sup> U. Sezgin, 93–94.

The accounts of Abū Mikhnaḥ reached Ibn ʿAsākir through the following chain of authorities:

Abū Mikhnaḥ (d. 157/774)  
|  
Zurʿa ibn al-Ṣafar  
|  
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz<sup>102</sup>  
|  
ʿAbd al-Salām ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥimṣī<sup>103</sup>  
|  
Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāḍī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 324/935)<sup>104</sup>  
|  
Abū Ṭālib al-Umlūki al-Ḥimṣī<sup>105</sup>  
|  
Abū al-Muʿammar al-Umlūki al-Ḥimṣī (d. 431/1040)<sup>106</sup>  
|  
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī al-Dimashqī (d. 482/1090)<sup>107</sup>  
|  
Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṣaffār al-Dimashqī (d. 543/1148)<sup>108</sup>  
|  
Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176)<sup>109</sup>

The second narrator is Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rabiʿa al-Qudāmī. He came from the town of Miṣṣiṣa, in southeastern Anatolia, and was known to have transmitted *ḥadīths* from the famous jurist Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795). His reputation as a traditionist, however, was extremely poor and he was accused of forging *ḥadīths*, especially on the authority of Mālik. Ibn ʿAsākir attributed to Qudāmī a work on *Futūḥ al-shām*.<sup>110</sup> He died after the year 200/815.<sup>111</sup> The accounts of Qudāmī reached Ibn ʿAsākir through the following chain of authorities:

<sup>102</sup> No biographical notice for either Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Zurʿa could be found.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XXXVI: 209.

<sup>104</sup> ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn Saʿīd: Ibn ʿAsākir, XXXVI: 229–31; Ṣafadī, XVIII: 445.

<sup>105</sup> ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh: Ibn ʿAsākir, XLIII: 55–57.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Musaddad ibn ʿAlī: Ibn ʿAsākir, LVII: 392–93.

<sup>107</sup> Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Sulamī: Ibn ʿAsākir, XIII: 17–19.

<sup>108</sup> Al-Khaḍir ibn al-Ḥusayn: Ibn ʿAsākir, XVI: 434–35.

<sup>109</sup> For this chain of authorities, see Ibn ʿAsākir, II: 119. It should be pointed out that the editor of the Beirut edition here misread some names. Therefore, I refer the reader to the partial edition by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus: al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī, 1951), I: 503.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XLVI: 106.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn ʿAdiy, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rijāl* (Beirut, 1984), IV: 1569–71; Samʿānī IV: 459; Ṣafadī, XVII: 438; Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. ʿAlī al-Bajāwī (Beirut, 1963), II: 488–89; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, III: 334–36. See also Michael Lecker, “The *Futūḥ al-shām* of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Rabiʿa al-Qudāmī,” *BSOAS* 57 (1994): 356–60.

Qudāmī (d. after 200/815)  
 |  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣṣīṣī<sup>112</sup>  
 |  
 Abū Yaʿqūb Ishāq ibn ʿAmmār al-Miṣṣīṣī<sup>113</sup>  
 |  
 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baʿlabakkī  
 (d. 380/990)<sup>114</sup>  
 |  
 Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Dūlābī al-Baghdādī<sup>115</sup>  
 |  
 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī (d. 466/1074)<sup>116</sup>  
 |  
 Abū Turāb al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī (d. 506/1112)<sup>117</sup>  
*and* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-Dimashqī  
 (d. 508/1114)<sup>118</sup>  
*and* Abū al-Waḥsh al-Muqrī<sup>2</sup> al-Dimashqī  
 (d. 508/1115)<sup>119</sup>  
*and* Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Samarqandī al-Dimashqī  
 (d. 516/1122)<sup>120</sup>  
*and* Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Akfānī al-Dimashqī  
 (d. 524/1129)<sup>121</sup>  
 |  
 Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176)<sup>122</sup>

The third narrator is Abū Ḥudhayfa Ishāq ibn Bishr al-Bukhārī. He was born in the town of Balkh and moved to Bukhāra, in central Asia. He was known to have transmitted from famous *ḥadīth* and *maghāzī* scholars of the second/eighth century, such as the jurist Malik ibn Anas and Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767). Abū Ḥudhayfa is said to have visited Baghdad at the time of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–93/786–809) and was engaged in the transmission of *ḥadīth* and other genres of scholarship there. Although famous for his great ability at memorization, his reputation as a traditionist and as a narrator was very poor. He was accused of being a liar, and of dropping the names of his informants and claiming instead to

have heard his informants' informants. In the Shiʿite biographical dictionaries, however, Abū Ḥudhayfa is recognized as trustworthy.<sup>123</sup> He is said to have composed several works of history, including a *Kitāb al-futūḥ* that had a section on the conquests of Syria (*al-Shām*).<sup>124</sup> These works were presumably transmitted by his pupil Ismāʿīl ibn ʿĪsā al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baghdādī (d. 232/847). Abū Ḥudhayfa died in Bukhāra in 206/821.<sup>125</sup> The accounts of Abū Ḥudhayfa reached Ibn ʿAsākir through the following chain of authorities:

Abū Ḥudhayfa (d. 206/821)  
 |  
 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿĪsā al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baghdādī (d. 232/847)<sup>126</sup>  
 |  
 al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Qaṭṭān al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910)<sup>127</sup>  
 |  
 Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Ṣawwāf al-Baghdādī (d. 359/970)<sup>128</sup>  
 |  
 Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥammāmī al-Baghdādī  
 (d. 417/1026)<sup>129</sup>  
 |  
 Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Muslima al-Baghdādī (d. 479/1086)<sup>130</sup>  
 |  
 Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Samarqandī al-Dimashqī  
 (d. 536/1142)<sup>131</sup>  
 |  
 Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176)<sup>132</sup>

From the history of the transmission of the works of these three narrators, the following can be deduced:

Parts of Abū Mikhnaf's *Futūḥ al-shām* were in circulation in Ḥimṣ in the third and fourth centuries A. H. Abū al-Muʿammar al-Ḥimṣī made them known in Damascus in the early fifth century when Ibn ʿAsākir was informed about them.

Qudāmī's *Futūḥ al-shām* was known in the region of Miṣṣīṣa, in southeastern Anatolia, starting in the third

<sup>112</sup> No biographical notice for him could be found. His father, Ibrāhīm ibn Mahdī, was originally from Baghdad and moved to Miṣṣīṣa, where he died in 225/840: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, VI: 178.

<sup>113</sup> No biographical notice for him could be found.

<sup>114</sup> Abū Muḥammad al-Qāḍī: Ṣafadī, XVII: 489.

<sup>115</sup> Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Khallāl: Ibn ʿAsākir, V: 69–70.

<sup>116</sup> Abū Muḥammad al-Kittānī: Ibn ʿAsākir, XXXVI: 262–65.

<sup>117</sup> Ḥaydara ibn Aḥmad: Ibn ʿAsākir, XV: 378–79.

<sup>118</sup> See n. 82 above.

<sup>119</sup> See n. 83 above.

<sup>120</sup> ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad: Ibn ʿAsākir, XXVII: 41–42; Ṣafadī, XVII: 44.

<sup>121</sup> Hibat Allāh ibn Aḥmad: Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, II: 424.

<sup>122</sup> For this chain of authorities, see Ibn ʿAsākir, XV: 321–22 and XXIV: 160–61. The same chain is reproduced by Ibn ʿAsākir in the biographical notice for Dūlābī: Ibn ʿAsākir, V: 69–70.

<sup>123</sup> Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 149; Najāshī, I: 194–95; Tustarī, I: 480–83.

<sup>124</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, 106; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, VI: 73. Shakhāwī named the book *Futūḥ al-shām wa-al-rūm wa-miṣr wa-al-ʿirāq wa-al-maghrib*: Sakhāwī, 264.

<sup>125</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, VI: 326–28; Ibn ʿAsākir, II: 745–47; Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh*, 201–10 A.H.: 48–50; Ṣafadī, VIII: 405–6.

<sup>126</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, VI: 262–63.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, VII: 375.

<sup>128</sup> Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad: Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, I: 289.

<sup>129</sup> ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad: Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XI: 329–30.

<sup>130</sup> Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad: Ṣafadī, I: 152.

<sup>131</sup> Ismāʿīl ibn Aḥmad: Ibn ʿAsākir, VIII: 357–59; Ṣafadī, IX: 88.

<sup>132</sup> For this chain of authorities, see Ibn ʿAsākir, II: 61 and XLVI: 107.

century. Abū Muḥammad al-Ba<sup>ḥ</sup>labakkī introduced it some time in the fourth century in Damascus where Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir became acquainted with it.

Abū Ḥudhayfa's *Kitāb al-futūḥ* was in circulation in Baghdad. There Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī was introduced to it in the late fifth century, and it was transmitted from him by Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir in Damascus in the early sixth century.

Of these three narrators, each of whom was known to have composed a work on the conquest of Syria, Abū Mikhnaf was the earliest. The possibility that Azdī had based his work on that of Abū Mikhnaf is founded on the fact that Azdī states in his own *Futūḥ al-shām* that he had heard a certain account from his father.<sup>133</sup> The same account is reproduced three times in Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir's *Ta<sup>ṣ</sup>riḥ*, one from Abū Mikhnaf, who claimed to have heard it from his father as well.<sup>134</sup> The remaining part of the chain of authorities in both texts is the same. It seems far from being a simple coincidence that both Azdī and Abū Mikhnaf would transmit, each from his father, the same account with the same chain of authorities. Another indication of family connection is Abū Mikhnaf's claim of transmission from his maternal grandfather, <sup>ḥ</sup>Abd al-Malik ibn Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq (d. 145/762) of Medina.<sup>135</sup> Azdī too claims to have transmitted directly from <sup>ḥ</sup>Abd al-Malik. One report on the authority of <sup>ḥ</sup>Abd al-Malik is quoted by both Azdī and Abū Mikhnaf.<sup>136</sup>

In addition, there are four reports from Abū Mikhnaf that are identical to reports in Azdī, including their chains of authorities;<sup>137</sup> two reports that are almost identical save that no informants of Abū Mikhnaf were quoted,<sup>138</sup> and three allusions to material in Abū Mikhnaf that appears in Azdī as well.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, when one checks the informants of Abū Mikhnaf, as quoted in Ṭabarī's *Ta<sup>ṣ</sup>riḥ*, and compares them to the most important mentioned by Azdī as his, it is apparent that they are the same. Yet, it is obvious that Abū Mikhnaf was well informed as to the specific identities of his informants and was able to offer information about them not found in any other source. Azdī mentioned them only by name. The informants of

Abū Mikhnaf, as can be established from the chains of authorities quoted in Ṭabarī's *Ta<sup>ṣ</sup>riḥ*, and those of Azdī that are common to both, and the numbers of accounts transmitted from each are as follows:

	Mikhnaf	Azdī
1. <sup>ḥ</sup> Abd Allāh ibn <sup>ḥ</sup> Abd al-Raḥmān al-Māzinī	4	1
2. <sup>ḥ</sup> Abd al-Malik ibn Nawfal ibn Musāḥiq	17	9
3. <sup>ḥ</sup> Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir	1	2
4. Abū Jahḍam al-Azdī	3	14
5. Abū Jannāb al-Kalbī	21	1
6. Abū al-Mughaffil	1	1
7. Abū al-Muthannā al-Kalbī	1	1
8. Al-Ajlaḥ ibn <sup>ḥ</sup> Abd Allāh	1	1
9. <sup>ḥ</sup> Amir ibn Mālik Abū Ṭayyiba al-Qaynī	2	4
10. Farwa ibn Laqīṭ al-Azdī	20	2
11. Ḥamza ibn <sup>ḥ</sup> Alī ibn Miḥfiz	1	1
12. Al-Ḥārith ibn Ka <sup>ḥ</sup> b al-Azdī	16	4
13. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Khazrajī	7	13
14. Al-Mujālid ibn Sa <sup>ḥ</sup> id al-Hamadānī	16	2
15. Al-Naḍir ibn Ṣāliḥ	38	1
16. Al-Qāsim ibn al-Walīd	1	2
17. Qudāma ibn Ḥāzim ibn Sufyān	1	1
18. Sa <sup>ḥ</sup> d Abū Mujāhid al-Tā <sup>ḥ</sup> ī	5	3
19. Al-Ṣaq <sup>ḥ</sup> ab ibn Zuhayr	21	3
20. Suqayf ibn Bishr al- <sup>ḥ</sup> Ijlī	1	1
21. Yaḥyā ibn Hānī <sup>ḥ</sup> al-Murādī	2	3

This list shows that, although they were at least one generation apart, both Abū Mikhnaf and Azdī had access to the same informants. The possibility that Azdī depended on Abū Mikhnaf without acknowledging him seems obvious.

Qudāmī, like Azdī, must have depended on Abū Mikhnaf as well. First, some of the informants from whom he transmitted were also the informants of Abū Mikhnaf. But Qudāmī died after 200/815, and he could not have met the informants of Abū Mikhnaf, who died in 157/774. It is very probable that he used Abū Mikhnaf's *Futūḥ al-shām*, possibly among other sources, as a reference for his own work, and that he neglected to indicate his sources and instead cited their informants directly. This possibility is supported by a passage in Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir's *Ta<sup>ṣ</sup>riḥ*, where the chain of authorities for an account, transmitted by Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir from Qudāmī, is given in the following way:

Al-Naḍir ibn Ṣāliḥ told me on the authority of Sālim ibn Rabi<sup>ḥ</sup>a, he said: he (Sālim) told me while we were in the army of Muṣ<sup>ḥ</sup>ab ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>140</sup>

Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir adds that the same account was also transmitted by Abū Mikhnaf, and that he suspects that Qudāmī had taken it from Abū Mikhnaf, whose name was

<sup>133</sup> Lees, 203–5.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XV: 321.

<sup>135</sup> See no. 24 in the regional informants list.

<sup>136</sup> Compare Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XXIV: 394 to Lees, 43.

<sup>137</sup> Compare Ṭabarī, I: 2020 to Lees, 55–56; Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, II: 119–20 to Lees, 90–91; Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XI: 453 to Lees, 167–77; and Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XV: 321 to Lees, 203–5.

<sup>138</sup> Compare Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XLI: 131 to Lees, 125; and Yāqūt, *Mu<sup>ḥ</sup>jam al-buldān*, II: 303 to Lees, 131–32.

<sup>139</sup> Compare Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XV: 185 to Lees, 31–33; Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XLIX: 360 to Lees, 79; and Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XX: 40 to Lees, 118–19.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn <sup>ḥ</sup>Asākir, XX: 39–40.

dropped.<sup>141</sup> The same chain of authorities was in fact used by Abū Mikhnaf. In Ṭabari's *Ta'rikh*, Abū Mikhnaf is quoted for two accounts which he transmitted on the authority of al-Naḍir ibn Ṣāliḥ from Sālim ibn Rabī'a,<sup>142</sup> where al-Naḍir had stated that he had met Sālim during the emirate of Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr (d. 71/690) and that he had asked him about previous events that Sālim had witnessed.<sup>143</sup>

Another indication of Qudāmī's dependence on Abū Mikhnaf's *Futūḥ al-shām* is the fact that both Abū Mikhnaf and Qudāmī transmitted from an informant by the name of Sa'īd ibn Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī.<sup>144</sup> Curiously enough, the correct name of this informant, as can be verified in the biographical dictionaries and other historical works, is Sa'īd Abū Mujāhid,<sup>145</sup> and not Sa'īd ibn Mujāhid.<sup>146</sup> Only Abū Mikhnaf and Qudāmī give the name in this form, which indicates that the latter copied the name without verification as it appeared in Abū Mikhnaf's work. The two examples discussed above could not have been the result of simple coincidence and the argument that Qudāmī used Abū Mikhnaf's *Futūḥ al-shām* as one of his sources seems reasonable.

As for Abū Ḥudhayfa, the accounts dealing with the conquests of Syria transmitted on his authority by Ibn 'Asākir are almost identical to those in the Azdī text. But Abū Ḥudhayfa, in the few instances where he cited his informants, mostly quoted from the famous Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) and from Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī al-Dimashqī (d. 167/783). It seems that he was also acquainted with the book of Abū Mikhnaf, for he quoted one account from him.<sup>147</sup>

The accounts of Abū Ḥudhayfa that are identical to those in Azdī's text are twenty-eight in number. Some of them have almost identical chains of authorities. Therefore, it is possible to say that Abū Ḥudhayfa had access to the same material as Azdī, but through a different line of transmission. Accordingly, I am inclined to argue that this material must have constituted a corpus known to narrators in Medina like Ibn Ishāq, to narrators in Kūfa like Abū Mikhnaf, and to narrators in Damascus like Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī. These three are roughly of the same generation—they died in 150/767, 157/774, and 167/783,

respectively. But they were from different geographical regions. The existence of no significant difference among their otherwise similar accounts may imply that the corpus in question can be dated to the early second/eighth century. This assumption, however, seems quite implausible. On the other hand, the possibility that Abū Ḥudhayfa forged the chains of authorities for the accounts of the conquests of Syria which he claimed to have transmitted from these narrators seems much more probable. Given his poor reputation in learned circles, this could very likely have been the case.

The conclusion that can be drawn therefore about these different *Futūḥ* compilations of Abū Mikhnaf, Azdī, Sa'īd ibn al-Faḍl, and Qudāmī is that they came from and were known in Iraq, Anatolia, Syria, Egypt and Spain through different transmissions. It is clear that the only common link between all of them is either at the level of Abū Mikhnaf, as already argued, or at the level of his informants. In other words, either Azdī, Sa'īd ibn al-Faḍl, and Qudāmī depended on the text of Abū Mikhnaf, or they, including Abū Mikhnaf, used the same source(s). But the latter assumption is unlikely, given that Abū Mikhnaf was a generation older than the other narrators, and that these narrators, given their death dates around the end of the second century, could not have met informants who lived in the early second century. The fact that this material remained almost identical despite being transmitted by various narrators and in various regions suggests that these narrators, as they transmitted this material, adhered to the original version of Abū Mikhnaf without any radical editing. The possibility that any one of them tampered with the material in question seems unlikely in view of the fact that there are no major differences in their content.

One last remark should be made before moving to discuss the informants quoted by Azdī. The material about the conquests of Syria found in *Kitāb al-futūḥ* of Ibn A'ṭham al-Kūfī<sup>148</sup> might also have been based on the work of Abū Mikhnaf. This material is similar to, though more detailed than Azdī's. The problem of this similarity was discussed by Ihsān 'Abbās, who assumed that either Ibn A'ṭham quoted Azdī or that they both quoted from the same source.<sup>149</sup> The former assumption can still be held as a possibility. One can also argue, in light of the fact that Ibn A'ṭham was from Kūfa, that, as in the case of Azdī, he based his material concerning the conquests of Syria on the work of Abū Mikhnaf, but without acknowledging it.

The extent to which Azdī depended on Abū Mikhnaf cannot be determined fully without the existence of the lat-

<sup>141</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, XX: 40.

<sup>142</sup> Ṭabari, II: 18 and 39.

<sup>143</sup> Ṭabari, II: 18.

<sup>144</sup> Ṭabari, I: 1888, 1889, and II: 548; Ibn 'Asākir, LX: 258–59.

<sup>145</sup> The name in Azdī is *Sa'īd*, not *Sa'īd*.

<sup>146</sup> Bukhārī, II: 2:65; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV: 99; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VI: 397; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, 121–30 A.H.: 113; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III: 485.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, LXV: 67–69; Lees, 86–89.

<sup>148</sup> Ibn A'ṭham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, ed. Na'im Zarzūr (Beirut, 1986).

<sup>149</sup> 'Abbās, 22.

ter's work. It is also impossible to establish if Azdī added material to the texts he collected from other sources. Yet, since all significant informants who were quoted by Azdī were the informants of Abū Mikhnaf, as shown above, it is unlikely that Azdī added a substantial number of accounts to the original text of Abū Mikhnaf.

The total number of accounts in Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* is one hundred and twenty-two,<sup>150</sup> nine of which have nothing to do with the conquests of Syria.<sup>151</sup> The remaining ninety-three cover most of the details of the conquests, from the preparations in Medina until the capture of Jerusalem. The informants who were quoted in the Azdī text number forty-one; ten of them cannot be identified.<sup>152</sup> The thirty-one who are identifiable are quoted for eighty-eight out of the one hundred and two accounts. Fifteen from Kūfa transmitted twenty-nine accounts, seven from Syria transmitted twenty-eight, six from Medina transmitted twenty-six, and three from Baṣra transmitted five. Almost all of these informants died between 120/738 and 160/777. Therefore, it is possible to say that the material in the Azdī text originated from three geographical regions: Iraq (especially Kūfa), Syria, and Medina. Such a wide variety might be taken to imply that most of the chains of authorities, and subsequently most of the material forming the Azdī text, were forged. However, there is no concrete basis for this assumption.

The following list shows the informants of Azdī who could be identified and who were also the informants of Abū Mikhnaf:

#### Informants from Kūfa

1. Abū Jannāb Yaḥyā ibn Abī Ḥayya al-Kalbī (d. ca. 147/764), an <sup>ʿ</sup>Alid.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>150</sup> This figure is based on the number of chains of authorities that are present in Lees' edition. Besides that edition, the two manuscripts and Ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Asākir's *Taʾriḫ* and Ibn Ḥubaysh's *Ghazawāt* were used for additional checking of the accounts and chains of authorities.

<sup>151</sup> These nine accounts deal with the conquests of Iraq or incidents that took place during the journey of the caliph <sup>ʿ</sup>Umar on his way back from Syria to Medina: see Lees, 45–61, 236–44.

<sup>152</sup> These informants are: Abū <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Khaddāsh, Abū al-Mughaffil, Abū Ziyād, al-Ḥakam ibn Jawwās ibn al-Ḥakam ibn al-Mughaffil, Ḥamza ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī, al-Ḥasan ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd Allāh, Mikhnaf ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd Allāh ibn Yazid ibn al-Mughaffil, al-Musayyab ibn al-Zubayr, and <sup>ʿ</sup>Umar ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IX: 138–39; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-majrūhin min al-muḥaddithin wa-al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-al-matrūkin*, ed. Maḥmūd Zāyid (Aleppo, 1396 A.H.), III: 111–12; Ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Adiy, VII: 2669–70; Dāraqutnī, *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-al-matrūkin*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Sāmar-

2. Abū Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>shar Ziyād ibn Kulayb al-Ḥanzalī al-Barrā<sup>ʿ</sup> (d. ca. 120/738).<sup>154</sup>
3. Al-Ajlah ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd Allāh al-Kindī (d. 145/762), an <sup>ʿ</sup>Alid.<sup>155</sup>
4. Farwa ibn Laqīṭ al-Azdī al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Āmirī. The name is cited in the Azdī text each time as “Farwa or Qurra.” Farwa must be correct because it is cited in this form in Ṭabarī's *Taʾriḫ* and in Ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Asākir's *Taʾriḫ*.<sup>156</sup> The accounts quoted from Farwa by Abū Mikhnaf present mostly details about the revolt of the Kharijite Shabīb ibn Qays (d. 77/696), in which Farwa was fighting against the Umayyads in Kūfa and its region,<sup>157</sup> placed by Ṭabarī in the year 77/696.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, Abū Mikhnaf transmitted from Farwa accounts the latter had quoted from Adham ibn Miḥriz al-Bāhili, a commander in the Umayyad army that was stationed in Iraq during the emirates of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (d. 95/714).<sup>159</sup> In the text of Azdī, Farwa transmitted two accounts from Adham.<sup>160</sup>
5. Al-Ḥārith ibn Ka<sup>ʿ</sup>b al-Wālibī al-Azdī, an <sup>ʿ</sup>Alid.<sup>161</sup>
6. Ismā<sup>ʿ</sup>il ibn Abī Khālid (d. 145/762), famous traditionist.<sup>162</sup>
7. Al-Mujālid ibn Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>id al-Hamadānī (d. 144/762), known traditionist.<sup>163</sup>
8. Al-Naḍir ibn Ṣāliḥ al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Absī.<sup>164</sup> He fought in the army of Shurayf ibn Hānī<sup>ʿ</sup> al-Madhḥijī (d. 78/697)

rā<sup>ʿ</sup>ī (Beirut, 1984), 176; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 141–50 A.H.: 345; idem, *Dīwān al-ḍuʿafāʾ wa-al-matrūkin* (Beirut, 1988), II: 444; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrib al-tahdhib*, ed. Muḥammad <sup>ʿ</sup>Awwāma (Aleppo, 1986), 589, 629.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VI: 327; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 111–20 A.H.: 365–66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, III: 382.

<sup>155</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūhin*, I: 175; Ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Adiy, I: 417–19; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 141–50 A.H.: 63; idem, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, I: 65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, I: 189–90.

<sup>156</sup> Ṭabarī, I: 2805–6; Ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Asākir, VII: 464, XLIX: 359–60.

<sup>157</sup> Ṭabarī, I: 2805–6; II: 560, 564, 886, 903, 924–26, 941, 947–48, 954–55, 960, 962, 971, 974–75, 977.

<sup>158</sup> Ṭabarī, II: 948–49, 962.

<sup>159</sup> Ṭabarī, II: 564; see also Ibn Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1958), VI: 216.

<sup>160</sup> Lees, 125–30, 131–32.

<sup>161</sup> Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 87; Tustarī, III: 32; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II: 156.

<sup>162</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II: 174–76; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, IV: 19–20; Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 105; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 141–50 A.H.: 68–69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, I: 291–92.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>d, VI: 349; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VIII: 361–62; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūhin*, III: 10–11; Ibn <sup>ʿ</sup>Adiy, VI: 2414–17; Dāraqutnī, 165; Ibn al-Nadīm, 103; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 141–50 A.H.: 288; idem, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, II: 273; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, X: 39–41.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VIII: 477; and Dhahabī, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, II: 402.

that participated in the conquests of Sijistān,<sup>165</sup> placed by Ṭabarī in the year 23/644. Al-Naḍir was later engaged with Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughira, whose army was fighting that of al-Ḥajjāj in the region around Madāʿin in Iraq in 77/697.<sup>166</sup> He is said to have resided in Kūfa after the defeat of Muṭarrif.<sup>167</sup>

9. Al-Qāsim ibn al-Walid al-Hamadānī al-Khibdha<sup>cī</sup> (d. 141/758), a known traditionist.<sup>168</sup>
10. Qudāma ibn Ḥāzim ibn Sufyān al-Khath<sup>c</sup>amī. His name and the chain of authority in the Azdī text where he is mentioned varies in the two manuscripts and in Lees' edition: Qudāma from Jābir from Sufyān; Qudāma ibn Ḥāzim from Sufyān; and Qudāma ibn Jābir from Sufyān.<sup>169</sup> Qudāma was quoted by Abū Mikhnaf when reporting on the fight between Shabīb ibn Qays al-Khārījī (d. 77/696) and the Umayyad army in the region of Kūfa in 76/695.<sup>170</sup> The name, as it appears in Ṭabarī's *Taʾrikh*, is Qudāma ibn Ḥāzim ibn Sufyān, which is also the case in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrikh*.<sup>171</sup>
11. Saʿd Abū Mujāhid al-Tāʿī (d. ca. 125/743).<sup>172</sup>
12. Al-Ṣaqʿab ibn Zuhayr al-Azdī al-Kabīrī (d. ca. 135/752).<sup>173</sup> Abū Mikhnaf identified him as the descendant of Kabīr ibn al-Dawl from the Azd.<sup>174</sup>
13. Suqayf ibn Bishr al-ʿIjlī.<sup>175</sup> His name is cited in Ṭabarī's *Taʾrikh* as *Sayf*.
14. Yahyā ibn Saʿid al-Azdī. He was the father of Abū Mikhnaf. Azdī claimed to have heard an account from his father.<sup>176</sup> The same account is transmitted in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrikh* from Abū Mikhnaf on the

authority of his father.<sup>177</sup> It seems certain that Abū Mikhnaf's version was the original and that Azdī referred to Abū Mikhnaf's father, not his own.

15. Yahyā ibn Ḥānī<sup>ʿ</sup> ibn ʿUrwa al-Murādī (d. ca. 125/743), a known traditionist.<sup>178</sup>
- Informants from Syria*
16. ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir al-Azdī (d. ca. 155/772), a famous traditionist.<sup>179</sup>
  17. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī.<sup>180</sup>
  18. Abū Jahdam al-Azdī. He was in the army of al-Ḥajjāj that was fighting a rebel group in Dayr al-Jamājim in Iraq in 83/702.<sup>181</sup>
  19. Abū al-Khazraj al-Ghassānī: His name is given by Ibn ʿAsākir as Abū al-Jarrāh—probably the result of a punctuation problem. He came originally from a place near the town of Buṣrā, south of Damascus, as can be inferred from the Azdī text as well as his biography in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrikh*, and he witnessed the conquests of Syria.<sup>182</sup> There is a problem in the chain of authorities where Abū al-Khazraj was quoted by Azdī. It reads as if Azdī transmitted directly from him, which could not have been the case. It must read as it appears in Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrikh*: al-Musayyab ibn al-Zubayr from Abū al-Khazraj (or al-Jarrāh).
  20. Abū Ṭayyiba<sup>183</sup> ʿAmr ibn Mālik al-Qaynī. He was recruited while a young boy to the army of ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād (d. 67/686), who was fighting a rebel pro-ʿAlid army under al-Mukhtār ibn Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī (d. 67/687) in Iraq in 66/685.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Ṭabarī, I: 3357.

<sup>166</sup> Ṭabarī, I: 983, 985.

<sup>167</sup> Ṭabarī, II: 1001.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII: 122–23; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VII: 334; Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh*, 141–50 A.H.: 255; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, VIII: 340.

<sup>169</sup> Azdī (M1), f. 9a(5); Azdī (M2), f. 17a(1); and Lees, 20, respectively. ʿĀmir follows Lees: ʿĀmir, 25.

<sup>170</sup> In Ṭabarī's *Taʾrikh*, it reads as follows: "Abū Mikhnaf said that Qudāma ibn Ḥāzim ibn Sufyān al-Khath<sup>c</sup>amī told him that a group of them were killed that day": Ṭabarī, II: 938.

<sup>171</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, LXVIII: 32–33.

<sup>172</sup> Bukhārī, II.2:65; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV: 99; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VI: 379; Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh*, 121–30 A.H.: 113; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, III: 485.

<sup>173</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV: 455; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VI: 479; Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh*, 131–40 A.H.: 451; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, IV: 432.

<sup>174</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, IV, pt. 1, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Wiesbaden, 1979), 519.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV: 322; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VI: 436.

<sup>176</sup> Lees, 203–5.

<sup>177</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XV: 321.

<sup>178</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IX: 195; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VII: 614; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrikh dimashq*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥamūsh and Muḥammad al-ʿUmar (Damascus, 1985), XXVII: 302–3; Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh*, 121–30 A.H.: 302; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, XI: 293.

<sup>179</sup> Ibn Saʿd, VII: 466; Bukhārī, III.1: 365; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, V: 299–300; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VII: 81–82; al-Khatīb al-Bagh-dādī, X: 211–14; Ibn ʿAsākir, XVI: 48–64; Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh*, 151–60 A.H.: 500–501; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, VI: 297–98.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI: 790; Mizzi, *Tahdhib al-kamāl fi asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār Maʿrūf (Beirut, 1980–92), XIII: 160. His name is given as *Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī* in Azdī (M2), f. 19a(10).

<sup>181</sup> Ṭabarī, II: 1099–1100.

<sup>182</sup> Lees, 71–72; Ibn ʿAsākir, LXVI: 105.

<sup>183</sup> In Ṭabarī, Abū Kabsha.

<sup>184</sup> Ṭabarī, II: 647. The tribe of *Qayn*, according to Hamadānī, had inhabited the region of Ḥayyāniyya, south of Damascus, since pre-Islamic times: Hamadānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. Muḥam-

21. ʿAmr ibn Miḥṣan ibn Sūrāqa ibn ʿAbd al-Aʿlā ibn Surāqa al-Azdī. He fought with Muʿāwiya at the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657).<sup>185</sup>
22. Yazīd ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir al-Azdī (d. ca. 133/750), a famous traditionist.<sup>186</sup>

#### Informants from Medina

23. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī ʿAmra al-Anṣārī al-Māzinī.<sup>187</sup> His first name only is given by Azdī in a chain of authority where ʿAbd Allāh is quoted as transmitting from his father.<sup>188</sup> The full name is cited by Abū Mikhnaf in Ṭabarī's *Taʾriḫ*.<sup>189</sup>
24. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Nawfal ibn Musāhiq al-ʿĀmirī (d. ca. 145/762),<sup>190</sup> a known traditionist, Abū Mikhnaf's maternal grandfather.<sup>191</sup>
25. Abū ʿUbāda ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Farwa al-Anṣārī al-Zuraqī.<sup>192</sup>
26. Hishām ibn ʿUrwa ibn al-Zybayr al-Asadī (d. ca. 145/762). He is said to have frequented Kūfa at the time when the caliph al-Manṣūr was residing there. He died either in Baghdad or in Kūfa.<sup>193</sup>
27. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Thābit al-Khazrajī, Abū Yūsuf al-Anṣārī.<sup>194</sup>
28. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 58/678 or 87/706).<sup>195</sup>

#### Informants from Baṣra

29. Abū al-Muthannā al-Kalbī. He was quoted by Abū Mikhnaf as transmitting from a relative of his from

Baṣra, which suggests that he himself was from Baṣra.<sup>196</sup>

30. ʿAṭāʾ ibn ʿAjlan al-Ḥanafī (d. ca. 135/752).<sup>197</sup>
31. Mālik ibn Qusāma ibn Zuhayr al-Māzinī al-Tamīmī. His father was from Baṣra and died during the emirate of al-Ḥajjāj over Iraq or after the year 80/699.<sup>198</sup>

As mentioned above, fifteen informants out of the thirty-one identified were from Kūfa. As for the Syrians, the most frequently quoted either resided for some time in Kūfa, as in the case of Abū Jaḥdam al-Azdī (fourteen accounts) and ʿAmr ibn Mālik al-Qaynī (four accounts);<sup>199</sup> were known to have visited it, as in the case of Yazīd ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir (five accounts); or were known to have been Abū Mikhnaf's informants, as in the case of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd ibn Jābir (two accounts).<sup>200</sup> Of the Medinan informants, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Nawfal (nine accounts) was Abū Mikhnaf's maternal grandfather;<sup>201</sup> and Hishām ibn ʿUrwa (one account) is said to have frequented Kūfa at the time of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/754–75). One may conclude from this that Azdī's text was based largely on material that was in circulation in Kūfa (sixty-four accounts).

Accordingly, the view that the Azdī text is of Syrian provenance, as Conrad maintains, needs to be revised. Conrad suspected that Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tanūkhī al-Dimashqī (d. 167/783) had a role in passing down some of the material that Azdī used.<sup>202</sup> As mentioned already, Abū Ḥudhayfa transmitted on the authority of Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī some of the accounts which are almost identical to those of Azdī. However, there is no way to ascertain that Abū Ḥudhayfa was actually quoting Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī.

mad al-Akwaʿ (Beirut, 1973), 274. About Ḥayyāniyya, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II: 327 (al-Ḥayyāniyya).

<sup>185</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XLVI: 330–31.

<sup>186</sup> Bukhārī, IV:2: 369–70; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IX: 296–97; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VII: 619; Ibn Manẓūr, XXVIII: 29–30; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 131–40 A.H.: 569–70; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI: 370–71.

<sup>187</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, V: 96.

<sup>188</sup> Lees, 45–52.

<sup>189</sup> Ṭabarī, I: 3101.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, V: 372; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, VII: 107; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 141–50 A.H.: 212–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI: 428.

<sup>191</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir, XXIV: 394.

<sup>192</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VI: 281–82; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūḥīn*, II: 119–20; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XI: 143; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII: 218–19.

<sup>193</sup> Ibn Saʿd, VII: 321; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IX: 63–64; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XIV: 37–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI: 48–51.

<sup>194</sup> Ṭabarī, I: 3233, 3402–3.

<sup>195</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, III: 248; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 81–100 A.H.: 146–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII: 19–20.

<sup>196</sup> Ṭabarī, II: 517.

<sup>197</sup> Ibn Maʿīn, II: 331; Bukhārī, III:2: 476; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VI: 335; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Majrūḥīn*, II: 129–30; Ibn ʿAdiy, V: 2002–3; Dāraquṭnī, 138; Dhahabī, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, II: 157; idem, *Taʾriḫ*, 131–40 A.H.: 489–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV: 173; idem, *Tahdhīb*, VII: 208–10.

<sup>198</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, VII: 147; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, V: 328; Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*, 91–100 A.H.: 457; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII: 378.

<sup>199</sup> See nos. 18 and 20 in the regional informants list.

<sup>200</sup> See nos. 16 and 22 in the regional informants list. Yazīd is said to have visited Kūfa: Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI: 370–71. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān came to Baghdad at the time of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/754–75): Ibn ʿAsākir, XXXVI: 52. Abū Mikhnaf transmitted from him in Ṭabarī's *Taʾriḫ*: Ṭabarī, II: 568. Also, both brothers originally inhabited Baṣra before they moved to Damascus: Ibn ʿAsākir, XXXVI: 57.

<sup>201</sup> See no. 24 in the regional informants list.

<sup>202</sup> Conrad, 50, 59.

Given his poor reputation in scholarly circles, it is likely that he tampered with the chains of authorities and replaced Abū Mikhnaf's name with that of the highly acclaimed and trustworthy traditionist Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī. Moreover, the link in the material of Azdī to Abū Mikhnaf of Kūfa can be proven much more convincingly, as we have seen.

Alternately, if we assume that Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī actually had a role in transmitting the accounts Abū Ḥudhayfa quoted from him, it should be noted that he did not mention his informants by name, unlike Abū Mikhnaf and Azdī. In Ibn 'Asākir, for instance, Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī is quoted, through the intermediary of Abū Ḥudhayfa, for three reports that are almost identical to reports in Azdī.<sup>203</sup> In the three instances, Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī identified his informants as *qudamā' ahl al-shām* (men long established in Syria); whereas in the Azdī text these informants and their chains of authorities are as follows:

Rāshid ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī (two accounts).<sup>204</sup>  
 |  
 al-Muhājir ibn Ṣayfī al-'Udhri  
 |  
 al-Ṣaq'ab ibn Zuhayr  
 |  
 Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī.<sup>205</sup>  
 |  
 Thābit (al-Bunānī al-Baṣrī)  
 |  
 Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf

Only Rāshid ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī could be connected to Syria, as he had participated in its conquests,<sup>206</sup> whereas all the others were either from Iraq (al-Ṣaq'ab and Muhājir were from Kūfa, and Thābit from Baṣra), or from Medina (Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf and Sahl ibn Sa'd). Although Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī could have had his material from non-Syrian informants, his reference to these ambiguous informants as "men long established in Syria" suggests a tampering with the chains of authorities. But even if one accepts his reliability, the presence of these accounts and their transmission by non-Syrian informants prior to his time would suggest that there was more than one source for them. This would dismiss altogether the

argument that Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī was a source for the Azdī text or at the least some of the Azdī accounts.

Another point made by Conrad in favor of the text's Syrian provenance is its pro-Ḥimṣī character.<sup>207</sup> In fact, the Azdī text does highlight the role of men from Ḥimṣ in battles during the conquest of Syria. The most relevant account in this respect fits very well in the *Awā'il* genre, naming the first army commander to reach Ḥimṣ, the first to kill an unbeliever in Ḥimṣ, the first to be born in Ḥimṣ, the first to receive money from the state-treasury, and the first to frequent the *kuttāb* (*Qur'ān* and scribal teachers) in Ḥimṣ.<sup>208</sup> Ironically enough, it was transmitted from Adham ibn Mihriz al-Ḥimṣī—who features in some of these firsts—by Farwa ibn Laqīṭ al-Azdī, an 'Alid from Kūfa.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, an abridged form of the same account appears in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān* and is quoted there from Abū Mikhnaf,<sup>210</sup> which also supports the dependence of Azdī on Abū Mikhnaf. If one accepts that showing a preference for Ḥimṣ would suggest a link to Ḥimṣ, then we should expect that both Abū Mikhnaf and Farwa ibn Laqīṭ were from Ḥimṣ, or at least pro-Ḥimṣī. This, however, is clearly not the case since Farwa and Abū Mikhnaf were both pro-'Alids from Kūfa. Therefore, if the Azdī text includes material in favor of Ḥimṣ, it does not necessarily mean that its provenance was Ḥimṣ or Syria.

#### CONCLUSION

Based on these arguments, I believe that the text of Azdī was compiled some time in the late second/eighth century, and was based on the *Futūḥ al-shām* of Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774) of Kūfa. Moreover, the material that constitutes Azdī's text was not unique to Azdī. It was known to other compilers of his generation, Sa'īd ibn al-Faḍl al-Baṣrī, al-Qudāmī al-Miṣṣīṣī, and Abū Ḥudhayfa al-Bukhārī. The fact that this material survived in an almost identical form strongly suggests that these narrators kept it as they were introduced to it and without editing it significantly. Accordingly, Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* is one of the oldest historical sources for the conquests of Syria that has survived until modern times.

Moreover, Azdī's source, Abū Mikhnaf, was an 'Alid from Kūfa. Most of the informants who were quoted by

<sup>203</sup> Compare Ibn 'Asākir, XVII: 461, II: 148–51, and 151–52 to Lees, 190–91, 194–98, and 198–200, respectively.

<sup>204</sup> Lees, 190–91, 194–96.

<sup>205</sup> Lees, 196–200.

<sup>206</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, XVII: 460–61.

<sup>207</sup> Conrad, 52–53.

<sup>208</sup> Lees, 131–32.

<sup>209</sup> See no. 4 in the regional informants list.

<sup>210</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II: 203 (*Ḥimṣ*).



Azdī, and who were also the informants of Abū Mikhnaf, were either ʿAlids from Kūfa or resided for some time there. The *Futūḥ al-shām* was transmitted from Azdī by al-Ḥusayn ibn Ziyād, also an ʿAlid from Kūfa. Therefore, it is possible that Azdī, originally from Baṣra, lived in Kūfa where he was introduced to the *Futūḥ al-shām* of Abū Mikhnaf, and he based his own *Futūḥ al-shām* on it. Azdī,

therefore, should be placed in the generation that followed Abū Mikhnaf, and, as such, his death may be set at around 190/806. Whether he had ʿAlid sympathies remains an open question. In any case, Azdī's *Futūḥ al-shām* represents a Kūfī narration of the conquest of Syria that implies no direct religious or political biases on his part.