CHAPTER 1

Ibn Abī Isḥāq (d. ca. 125/743) and His Scholarly Network

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1 Introduction

The field of Arabic linguistics started in the second half of the first Islamic century with the study of the Arabic language (ʿArabiyya) in close connection with Qurʾānic studies, and gradually developed into a technical, scientific endeavour of its own, covering Arabic grammar (naḥw), lexicography (lugha), as well as elaborate studies of poetry.¹

Three main hypotheses regarding the early development of Arabic grammar as a distinct specialisation have been espoused over the years. The traditional account tags the beginning of the study of Arabic grammar to Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿālī (d. ca. 69/688–689), a Basran judge (qadi) who “invented” the discipline at the instigation of the fourth caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 35–40/656–661): the influx of non-Arab Muslims, speaking Arabic, caused corruption of the language of the Qurʾān. Moreover, those who knew the text, the Prophet’s Companions, were passing away. Not only did the Qurʾānic text require preservation, the do’s and don’ts of the Arabic language needed to be set down.²

Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿālī reportedly had written a few chapters on Arabic grammar.³ A second theory is that Arabic grammar was an innate Islamic specialisation that co-jointly evolved with Islamic law. Finally, a third thesis suggests

¹ At a later stage, naḥw would additionally come to include the connotation of syntax set apart from tasrīf, morphology (see Joyce Åkesson, “Ṣarf,” in Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics, ed. Kees Versteegh, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2006–2009), 4118–122). The period I cover in this article precedes this shift in meaning.

² See Monique Bernards, “Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿālī,” in Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE, Yearbook 2012 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 62–64.

³ Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sīrāfī, Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn, ed. Fritz Krenkow (Paris: Paul Geuthner and Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1936), 18; ʿAbd al-Wahīd b. ʿAli Abū al-Ṭayyib, Marāṭīb al-naḥwiyyīn, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Maktābat Nahḍa, 1955), 6; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Qīṭī, Inbāh al-ruwātʾ ālā anbāh al-nuḥāt, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr and Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Kutub, 1986), 51.
that the Greek philosophical tradition, through the translation of philosophical works and/or owing to direct contact between the Arabs and Hellenistic culture, contributed to the emergence of grammar as a field of systematic inquiry.4

Sībawayhi’s (d.ca. 180/796) al-Kitāb (The Book) is considered the crowning achievement in the field of Arabic grammar. But how Sībawayhi got there is still unknown due to the lack of extant grammatical works dating from before his time. This leaves us with a gap in the development of this specialisation. One way to fill this gap is to use a method that does not need such extant works, like Social Network Analysis. In what follows, an analysis of the social and intellectual contacts of one particular scholar—the Basran scholar Ibn Abī Isḥāq—who lived decades before Sībawayhi, sheds light on the otherwise dark early period of Arabic grammar.

I first discuss the rationale for examining Ibn Abī Isḥāq and his intellectual circle, which is followed by a short biography of the scholar. I then describe how information was collected and formatted for Social Network Analysis, concentrating on one approach to network analysis, the “sociogram,” after which we go directly to the sociogram I put together, that of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network—the main subject of this article. After summarising the results, I will discuss what they tell us about the development of Arabic linguistics in general and Arabic grammar (naḥw) in particular. As we will see, we will be able to fill in some details about the “dark age” from which no grammatical works survive by studying the contacts of Ibn Abī Isḥāq.

2 Why Ibn Abī Isḥāq?

Ibn Abī Isḥāq (d.ca. 125/743) belongs to a group of early scholars identified by “awā’il” as pioneers in the field of Arabic language studies. Awā’il are narratives beginning with the expression awwalu man, “the first person who ....,” or awwalu mā, “the first time something ...,” and tell in retrospect about novelties, about someone doing something for the first time (awwalu man) or something

4 Michael Carter is an advocate of the grammar/law thesis. The possibility of Greek influence on Arabic grammar was first suggested by A. Merx (Historia artis grammaticae apud syros) at the end of the nineteenth century and further elaborated on by Kees Versteegh who offers an overview of the diverse viewpoints on this subject. See Michael G. Carter, “Les origines de la grammaire Arabe,” Revue des études islamiques 40 (1972): 69–97; Kees Versteegh, Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Kees Versteegh, Arabic Grammar and Qurʾānic Exegesis in Early Islam (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 20–36.
having been done for the first time (*awwālu mā*). *Awāʾil* narratives cover a wide range of subjects—from theological and legal themes, to historical, political and cultural topics. *Awāʾil* about historical events of the Islamic era from the Prophet’s time onwards typically refer back to authoritative individuals who did something for the first time that had a long lasting effect, introducing some new tool or being the originator of a science, for instance. An investigation of *awāʾil* reports traditionally ascribed to Arabic language scholars from the first four centuries of Islam suggests that Ibn Abī Isḥāq was the first “real grammarian” in the Arabic tradition. At any rate, it is evident that Ibn Abī Isḥāq played an important role at the very outset of grammatical activities and as such serves as the focus of our investigation here.

Ibn Abī Isḥāq was a *mawlā* from Ḥaḍramawt and a specialist in hadith and qur’ānic reading (*qirāʾa*), but his heart was apparently in Arabic language studies. He is amongst the earliest individuals active in the field of grammar men-

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5 See Monique Bernards, “Awāʾil,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Yearbook 2014 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 120–127.

6 For a study of how the early Arabic grammatical tradition marked the highlights of its own development through awāʾil stories, see Monique Bernards, “Pioneers of Arabic Linguistic Studies,” in *In the shadow of Arabic: The Centrality of Language to Arabic Culture. Studies Presented to Ramzi Baalbaki on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Bilal Orfali (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 197–220. Rafael Talmon, “Naḥwiyyūn in Sībawayhi’s Kitāb,” *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 8 (1982):12–38, using biographical material as well, also concludes that Ibn Abī Isḥāq was the first real grammarian; cf. Henri Fleisch, *Préliminaires, phonétique, morphologie nominale*, vol. 1, *Traité de philologie Arabe* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1961), 27–28; George Bohas, Jean-Patrick Guillaume and Djamel Kouloughli, *The Arabic Linguistic Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 1–26. Michael Carter, *Sībawayhi* (Oxford: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 18–19 (cf. Carter, “Les origines de la grammaire”) remarks, however, that “[F]rom the meagre material in the Kitāb it would not be possible to deduce anything useful about what kind of ‘grammarian’ he might have been.”

7 Biographies of Ibn Abī Isḥāq in: Abū Ḥāmid Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Shaybān al-Tirmidhī, (Makhtūf farid naﬁs ‘an) Marāṭīb al-naḥwiyyīn, ed. Ḥāshim al-Ṭa“ān, al-Mawrid 3, no. 2 (1974): 139; Abū al-Ṭayyib, Marāṭīb, 12–13; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Ali Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 14 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984), 3:148; Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān b. Aḥmad Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, 7 vols. (Hyderabad, 1973), 5:61; Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Ḵayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī, Ghāyat al-nihāya fi ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’, ed. Gotthelf Bergsträsser, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1932–1935), 1:410; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḵajjāl Yūsuf al-Mizzi, Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmāʾ al-rijāl, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf, 35 vols. (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1993), 14:325–308; al-Qīfī, *Inbāh*, 2:104–108; ʿAlā al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Safī, *Kitāb al-wafî bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. various editors, 30 vols. (Beirut/Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962–2013), 17:186; al-Sirāfī, *Akhbār*, 25–28; Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-wu‘ūt fi ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāt, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḵadr Ibrāhīm, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, 1979), 2:42; Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Mufaddal b. Muḥammad al-Ma‘arī al-Tanūkhī, *Ṭārīkh al-‘alamāʾ al-naḥwiyyīn min al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Kūfīyyīn wa-ghayrihim*, ed. Monique Bernards - 9789004427952
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tioned in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb.* Ibn Abī Isḥāq was fervently anti-Arab (ṭa’ana l-ʿArab), we are told, and openly disgraced anyone—specifically the famous Arab poet al-Farazdaq (d. ca. 114/732) whose poetry he nevertheless transmitted—who committed laḥn (solecism). He died in Basra at the age of 88 around the year 125/743 and was buried there. This is more or less all that we know about his life.

As to Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s scholarly activities, he reportedly systematised the study of the Arabic language and, furthermore, laid the foundations for what would later become explanatory—as opposed to descriptive—grammar. Biographical reports credit Ibn Abī Isḥāq with three awā’il—baʿaja l-naḥw (1) wa-madda l-qiyās (2) wa-sharara l-ʿilal (3), “he made grammar known, extended qiyās, and explained the causes”—which do not directly concern real innovations in the strictest sense, but they do imply a consolidation of particular technical devices conceived before his time. Indeed, following the chronology of these reports, general interest in the study of the Arabic language and an exploration of ways to do so had led to a delineation of grammar and the introduction of qiyās, the use of analogy to formulate grammatical rules. With Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s contribution to the field, it seems that a crucial point in the development of the Arabic linguistic tradition had been reached—hence the rationale for focusing on him here and accepting the awā’il reports that also make this claim.

But Ibn Abī Isḥāq did not operate in a vacuum: The biographical tradition of grammarians identifies nine people who were active in grammar in the period up to Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s death in the year 125/743. Moreover, if we take the period up to 166/785 into account—a period that includes Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s students—forty grammarians in all are mentioned by the grammatical biographical dictionaries. These numbers indicate that Ibn Abī Isḥāq was part of a larger social and intellectual environment that offered various opportunities to contribute to the development of scholarly activities in the study of the Arabic language.

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8 He is mentioned seven times in *Kitāb Sībawayhi* (according to Carter, *Sībawayhi*, 18–19, as an indirect informant).

9 See, e.g., al-Qifṭī, *Inbāḥ*, 2, 106; Talmon, “Naḥwīyūn in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb,*” 30, suggests that Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s and Ḥāfiz Abū Saʿīd’s attacking the Arabs is to be interpreted “as reluctance to accept the usages of native speakers as authoritative for their linguistic studies.”

10 Bernards, “Pioneers of Arabic,” 208–209.
Stated differently, Ibn Abī Isḥāq belonged to a group of people who related to each other and, as such, constituted a social network. Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s position in the Arabic linguistic tradition will shortly be studied through an analysis of his broader social and scholarly network. Information taken from biographical dictionaries of grammarians is used in this article to reconstruct, in a diagram, all of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s social contacts.11

3 Selection of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s Network and the Method of Social Network Analysis

The first step to be taken in order to establish a person’s social relationships with others is to collect as much biographical data as possible about the person involved—in this case Ibn Abī Isḥāq—as well as information about those who we are told had a relationship with him. I systematically went through the classical Arabic biographical dictionaries and identified the following groupings: (1) Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s teachers and students; (2) the teachers and students of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s teachers and students; and, to further canvass the network, (3) Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s contacts outside grammarians’ circles. In all, I discovered thirteen direct contacts and twelve indirect contacts. These are listed below in Table 1.1 (chronologically ordered within each grouping).

A methodological approach to examine Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s relations is Social Network Analysis. A way to visualise relationships within a network is by drawing a diagram that depicts people as dots (●)—technically called the “nodes” of the network. These “nodes” are connected by lines that represent the relations between people. Such a diagram is called a “sociogram.” The number of nodes

11 The data for this study are derived from the grammarians’ database of the Ulama Project containing information on all known grammarians who were active prior to the year 400/1000 and identified by their inclusion in one of the biographical dictionaries of grammarians (e.g., al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 250/864), Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn; Abū Ṭayyib al-Lughawi (d. 351/962), Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn; al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), Akhābār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn; al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989), Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-lughawiyyīn). The total number of grammarians active during this entire period is around seven hundred. This database also includes information on teacher-student relationships as well as the lines of transmission of grammatical works. For a general description of the Ulama Project, see Monique Bernards and John Nawas, “A Preliminary Report of the Netherlands Ulama Project (NUP): The Evolution of the Class of ‘Ulamā’ in Islam with Special Emphasis on the Non-Arab Converts (Mawālī) from the First Through Fourth Century A.H.,” in Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society, eds. Urbain Vermeulen and Jan M.F. van Reeth (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 97–107.
**Table 1.1** List of contacts of Ibn Abī Ishāq

| Direct contacts: His teachers |  |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 Naṣr b. ‘Āṣim              | d. 89/708 |
| 2 Maymūn al-Aqran            | d. ca. 99/717–718 |
| 3 Yaḥyā b. Ya’mar            | d. ca. 106/724–725 |

| Direct contacts: His students |  |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 4 ʿĪsā b. ‘Umar               | d. 149/766 |
| 5 Abū ‘Amr b. al-ʿAlā’        | d. ca. 157/774 |
| 6 Maslama b. ‘Abd Allāh       | d. ca. 159/775–776 |
| 7 Bakr b. Ḥabīb              | d. ca. 159/775–776 |
| 8 Ḥammād b. Salama           | d. 167/783–784 |

| Direct contacts: Outside grammarians' circles |  |
|-----------------------------------------------|---|
| 9 Zayd b. al-Ḥārith                          | d. ca. 90/709 |
| 10 Ibn Sīrīn                                 | d. 110/728 |
| 11 al-Farazdaq                               | d. 114/732 |
| 12 Qatāda                                     | d. ca. 117/735 |
| 13 Bilāl b. Abī Burda                        | d. 122/740 |

| Indirect contacts: Ṭabaqa of teachers |  |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 14 Abū Hurayra                     | d. 58/679 |
| 15 Ibn ‘Abbās                       | d. 68/687–688 |
| 16 Abū al-Aswad                    | d. ca. 69/688–689 |
| 17 ‘Anbasa al-Fil                  | d. ca. 99/717–718 |
| 18 Ibn Hurmuz                      | d. 117/735 |

| Indirect contacts: Ṭabaqa of students |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 19 Khalil b. Aḥmad                   | d. ca. 170/786 |
| 20 Sībawayhi                         | d. ca. 180/796 |
| 21 Yūnus b. Ḥabīb                    | d. 182/798 |
| 22 al-Kisāʿī                         | d. 183/799 |
| 23 Abū ‘Ubayda                      | d. ca. 210/825 |
| 24 al-ʿAsmaʿī                        | d. 213/829 |
| 25 al-Anṣāri                         | d. 215/830 |
and the frequency of lines which connect the nodes in a sociogram show us the relational fabric of the group.\(^{12}\)

Additionally, Social Network Analysis uses several measures to analyse various aspects of a network. For instance, from patterns in the configuration of the nodes and the connecting lines, one can detect "centrality" versus "isolation." Centrality is when one node has a central position and is connected to several other nodes which may or may not be directly related to each other. However, when many nodes are interrelated and connected to one node in a central position, we speak of a "block." Isolation is a situation in which one single node is connected to another node that is embedded in the network. "Paths," another facet of a network, indirectly connect nodes to each other through a distinct sequence of lines within the network. There are other measures as well in Social Network Analysis, but for this particular study, only the four just mentioned—centrality, blocks, isolation, and paths—are required.\(^{13}\)

4  Sociogram of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s Network

Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s direct contacts are displayed in a sociogram (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 depicts, for obvious reasons, the perfect centrality of an egocentric network. Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network spans the lifetime of Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim (d. 89/708), at the top of the sociogram, up to Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783–784), at the bottom. If one takes into account that the dates mentioned are death dates, Figure 1.1 shows about 120 years of intellectual life, ranging from ca. 49/669 to 167/783–784.

Figure 1.2 is the sociogram of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s complete network, including his indirect contacts as well. The time span is thus expanded by another 70 years, from around 18/639 to 215/830.

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\(^{12}\) On the method of Social Network Analysis in general, see John Scott, \textit{Social Network Analysis: A Handbook}. 2nd edition (Beverley Hills and London, 2000); Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, \textit{Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications}, Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For Social Network Analysis in historical research, see B.H. Erickson, "Social Networks and History: A Review Essay," \textit{Historical Methods} 30 (1997): 149–157. For the use of Social Network Analysis in the study of the Arabic linguistic tradition, see Monique Bernards, "Grammarians’ Circles of Learning: A Social Network Analysis," in ‘Abbasid Studies II, ed. John Nawas (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 143–164.

\(^{13}\) For other measures, see Bernards, "Grammarians’ Circles of Learning."
A first general inspection of the sociogram shows that Ibn Abī Isḥāq is firmly embedded in a large network. His position is one of centrality and it has links to three different blocks (marked by circles in the sociogram of Figure 1.2) in which the positions of Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar, Ḫālid b. Ṭalṭib, and Abū Ḥanīfa b. Abī Ḥanīfah show centrality as well—they are nodes connected to many other nodes which, in turn, relate to each other. Only one out of the thirteen lines directly linked to Ibn Abī Isḥāq ends in a single node. This is an example of isolation: the node of Zayd b. al-Ḥārith.

At the top of the sociogram we find three well-known figures: Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿālī (d. 69/688–689), poet, littérateur, and traditionist (muḥaddith), judge in Basra; the alleged founder of Arabic grammar as we have already mentioned above; Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/679), a famous Companion of the Prophet, celebrated for passing on more traditions (hadiths) than any other Compan-

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14 For the sake of clarity, the network depicted in Figure 1.2 leaves out relations between lexicographers like al-Khalīl, Yūnus and Abū Ḥanīfah. Fuat Sezgin, Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums: Band IX Grammatik bis ca. 433 H. (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 36, 43, 48, identifies additional relations between Ibn Abī Isḥāq on the one hand, and Hārūn b. Mūsā (d. 170/786) and al-Akhfash al-Akbar (d. 177/793) on the other, which are not mentioned in the sources used for this article.
ibn abī isḥāq (d. ca. 125/743) and his scholarly network

Figure 1.2 Sociogram of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s complete network (showing blocks)

ion;15 and ʿAbbās (d. 68/686–688), paternal cousin and Companion of the Prophet, traditionally considered one of the greatest scholars of the first generation of Muslims, having excelled in almost all fields of knowledge, especially in Qur’ānic studies.16

These three men personify Islamic sciences-to-be, later known as grammar (naḥw), hadith, and Qur’ānic reading (qirāʾa). They have two students in common: The first one, located at the right hand side of the sociogram, is the rather isolated Ibn Hurmuz (d. 117/735), a Medinan traditionist who was reportedly the first to practice the study of Arabic grammar in Medina. Towards the end of his life, he moved to Alexandria where he died.17 The second common stu-

15 Gautier H.A. Juynboll, “Abū Hurayra,” in Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE, Yearbook 2007 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 133–136.
16 Claude Gilliot, “ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbbās,” in Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE, Yearbook 2012 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 41–55.
17 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-Madani: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2, 91; al-Sīrāfī, Akhbār, 21–22; al-Zubaydi, Tabaqāt, 26; al-Qifṭī, Inbāḥ, 2172–2173. See Rafael Talmon, "An Eighth-Century Grammatical School in Medina: The Collection and Evaluation of the Available Material,"
dent of this threesome is Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar (d. 106/724–725), generally praised for his excellent command of Arabic. He was a traditionist and jurist (faqīh) who worked as a judge in Basra, but after having aggravated al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), the special military deputy of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705), he was sent to become secretary (kātib) in Khurasan where he died. 18

Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar has a firm place in the network of Abū al-Aswad’s other students: ʿAnbasa al-Fīl (d. ca. 99/717–718), who was specialised in poetry (shiʿr) and was furthermore noted for his eloquence and personal charm. 19 ʿAnbasa had no direct connection with Ibn Abī Ishāq, but, like Ibn Abī Ishāq, he transmitted poetry from al-Farazdaq (d. 114/732), who was, together with Jarīr and al-Akhtal, one of the best Arab poets of all time. 20 ʿAnbasa’s friend Maymūn al-Aqrān (d. ca. 99/717–718) was a less famous teacher of Ibn Abī Ishāq. 21 Naṣr b. ʿĀsim al-Laythī (d. 89/708), on the other hand, was a well-known traditionist, Qur’ānic reader and jurist. 22

The sociogram of Figure 1.2 has a direct line connecting Naṣr b. ʿĀsim with Ibn Abī Ishāq as well as one that goes through Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar. Both Naṣr b. ʿĀsim and Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar turn out to be influential teachers of Ibn Abī Ishāq.

Ibn Abī Ishāq is also scholarly connected to his own father, Zayd b. al-Ḥārith (d. ca. 90/709)—in isolation located top left in the sociogram—from whom he transmitted hadith. 23 He also transmitted hadith from Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728), a famous traditionist and jurist, son of a slave of Anas b. Mālik (d. 93/712) and a cloth merchant who became the first renowned Muslim inter-

18 The sources mention several possibilities for Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar’s date of death ranging from 83/702 to 129/746–747; see al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:345; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 22–23; al-Zubaydi, Ṭabaqāt, 27–29; al-Qīfī, Inbāh, 4:24–27.  
19 ʿAnbasa reportedly obtained the nickname al-Fīl, “the Elephant,” from his father who apparently made a fortune from taking care of the elephant of the Umayyad governor of Basra, Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 55/673). Biographical information is found in al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:233; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 23–24; al-Zubaydi, Ṭabaqāt, 29–30; al-Qīfī, Inbāh, 2:381–382.  
20 See Nefeli Papoutsakis, “al-Farazdaq,” in Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE, Yearbook 2012 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 467–471.  
21 Abū ʿAbd Allāh Maymūn al-Aqrān: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:309; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 25; al-Zubaydi, Ṭabaqāt, 30; al-Qīfī, Inbāh, 3:337–338.  
22 Naṣr b. ʿĀsim al-Laythī, see al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:313; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 21; al-Zubaydi, Ṭabaqāt, 27; al-Qīfī, Inbāh, 3:343–344.  
23 No biographical details were found on Zayd b. al-Ḥārith (the date of his death is estimated on the basis of his position in the network of his son Ibn Abī Abī Ishāq).
Ibn Abī Isḥāq reportedly also had contact with Bilāl b. Abī Burda (d. 122/740), grandson of the Prophet’s Companion Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. ca. 48/668); like his grandfather, he was governor of Basra, and celebrated at the time for gathering poets and littérateurs in his salon— as shown by the lines in Figure 1.2 that connect him with al-Farazdaq and Abū ‘Amr b. al-ʿAlā’. Five lines connect Ibn Abī Isḥāq with his five students. Not much is known about Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-Sahmī (d. ca. 159/775–776), except that he hailed from an Arab family of traditionists. Maslama b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. ca. 159/775–776) was a nephew of Ibn Abī Isḥāq, a traditionist who lived in Basra until the end of his life when he moved to Mosul to become the educator of caliph al-Manṣūr’s (r. 136–158/754–775) son. Bakr b. Ḥabīb and Maslama b. ‘Abd Allāh are the lesser known students of Ibn Abī Isḥāq.

ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar (d. 149/766), on the other hand, studied qurʾānic reading under Ibn Abī Isḥāq and became very influential in the study of Arabic grammar. Some say that his book entitled al-Jāmiʿ (literally, “comprehensive, extensive”) served as a basis for Sibawayhi’s Kitāb. He reportedly wrote many books, none of which has survived. ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar was as fiercely anti-Arab as was his teacher Ibn Abī Isḥāq, and the sources note several occasions on which he discussed the use of ungrammatical Arabic (lahn, solecism). It is recounted that ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar had a serious speech impediment and sounded like an Indian. Abū ‘Amr b.

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24 See Toufic Fahd, “Ibn Sirīn,” in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:947–948.
25 See Charles Pellat, “Katāda b. Di‘āma,” in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 4:748. According to al-Qīṭī (Inbāḥ, 2, 107–108), Qatāda and Ibn Abī Isḥāq died on the same day and all nobles (ashrāf) and specialists of adab attended Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s funeral while the pious people and the legal scholars (fuqahā’) went to bury Qatāda. Inasmuch as the sources have alternative years of death for Ibn Abī Isḥāq—he died between 120/738 and 129/747–748—his and Qatāda’s dates mentioned in the sociogram are not the same.
26 Cf. Charles Pellat, Le milieu baṣrīen et la formation de Ġāhīz (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953), 157, 275, 288.
27 Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-Sahmī: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 1:462–463; al-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt, 46; al-Qīṭī, Inbāḥ, 1:279–280. Maslama b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Fihrī: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:287; al-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt, 45; al-Qīṭī, Inbāḥ, 3:262.
28 ʿĪsā b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:237–238; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 31–33; al-Zubaydī, Ṭabaqāt, 40–45; al-Qīṭī, Inbāḥ, 3:373–377.
al-ʿAlā’ (d. 157/774), a famous Qurʾānic reader, was a versatile scholar involved in many fields of endeavour. Reports on Abū ʿAmr include a good many discussions about mawālī and Arabs and who knows the best Arabic. Finally, Ḥammād b. Salama (d. 167/783–784), an illustrious traditionist and jurist who acted as mufti in Basra, was also trained by Ibn Abī Ishāq.

Moving on to the bottom part of the sociogram of Figure 1.2, we see connecting lines to famous and influential scholars of the next generation. One line goes from Ibn Abī Ishāq through ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar to al-Khalīl b. ʿĀhmād (d. ca. 170/786), author of the first Arabic dictionary (Kitāb al-ʿAyyn), and furthermore specialised in prosody and astrology, who is said to have deciphered Greek on his own. Al-Kisāʾī (d. 183/799), of Persian descent, is reckoned amongst the proponents of the Kufan school of grammar—he is the only representative of the Kufans in Ibn Abī Ishāq’s overall Basran network. Al-Kisāʾī was also active in Qurʾānic studies: his qirāʾa is one of the seven canonical Readings of the Qurʾān. The line ends at Sībawayhi (d. ca. 180/796), Persian author of the first full-fledged grammar of Arabic, the famous Kitāb. Another line connects Ibn Abī Ishāq through Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ to Yūnus b. Ḥābid (d. 182/798), from Jubbal in present-day India, who specialised in poetry alongside Qurʾānic studies. He is also connected to Abū ʿUbayda (d. ca. 210/825) who hailed from a Jewish family originating in Bajarwan (located in Shirvan, a region in the eastern Caucasus) and who is said to have fiercely hated the Arabs. Another line goes to al-ʾAṣmaʾī (d. 213/829), a stingy Arab

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29 Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:231–232; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 28–31; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 35–40; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 431–439.
30 Ḥammād b. Salama: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 1:548–549; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 42–44; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 51; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 1:364–365.
31 al-Khalīl b. Ahmad: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 1:557–560; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 38–40; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 47–51; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 1:376–382.
32 The development of Arabic language studies is traditionally and, probably in retrospect, characterised by the formation of two schools of grammar, a Basran and a Kufan school. Not presented in the sociogram of Figure 1.2 is the Basran imprint of Ibn Abī Ishāq’s network.
33 ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Kisāʾī: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:162–164; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 127–130; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 2:256–274.
34 Sībawayhi: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:229–230; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 48–50; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 66–72; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 2:346–360.
35 Yūnus b. Ḥābid: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:365; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 33–37; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 51–53; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 4:74–78.
36 Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannah: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:294–296; al-Sirāfī, Akhbār, 67–71; al-Zubaydī, Tabaqāt, 175–178; al-Qīfī, Inbāḥ, 3:276–288, calling him a “shuʿūbī.”
and polymath, we are told, who specialised in a broad range of studies. Finally, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830), a Shiite and an all-round scholar, like al-ʿAsmaʿī, who is said to have been very handsome.

With Sibawayhi at the bottom of the sociogram, we are on solid ground: we have his extant work that marks a fully developed and distinct scholarly discipline—Arabic grammar. Let us now try and trace back the paths of the various disciplines in Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network. This analysis will provide us with insight into how these disciplines have emerged. Tracing back sheds light on otherwise “dark” paths.

5 Intellectual Specialisations

Biographical dictionaries of grammarians offer information about intellectual endeavours pursued by the individual scholar besides language studies. Table 1.2 lists all these endeavours in a matrix for the group of scholars that operated within Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network.

For the sake of clarity, the specialisations in the table are classified into three broad categories—religious, linguistic, and secular:

“Religious” (left hand side of the table):
– Hadith, collection and transmission of traditions
– Qirāʾa, reading of the Qurʾānic text
– Tafsīr, Qurʾānic exegesis
– Fiqh, Islamic jurisprudence

“Linguistic” (in the middle columns):
– ʿArabiyya, study of the Arabic language
– Naḥw, grammar, grammatical studies of Arabic
– Lugha, Arabic lexicography (including the subfield gharīb, about rare and uncommon words and expressions)39

37 al-ʿAsmaʿī Abd-Malik b. Qurayb: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 2:112–113; al-Ṣirāfī, Akhbār, 58–67; al-Zubaydi, Ṭabaqāt, 167–174; al-Qifṭī, Inbāh, 2:97–205.
38 Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī Saʿīd b. Aws: al-Suyūṭī, Bughya, 1:582–583; al-Ṣirāfī, Akhbār, 52–57; al-Zubaydi, Ṭabaqāt, 165–166; al-Qifṭī, Inbāh, 2:30–35.
39 Notably the study of uncommon words and expressions in the Qurʾān (gharīb al-qurʾān) and hadith (gharīb al-ḥadīth).
### Table 1.2 Specialisations within Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network

|   | Hadith | Qirāʾa | Tafsīr | Fiqh | ‘Arabīyya | Naḥw | Lugha | Shīʿr | Nawādir | Ayyām | Nasab | Akhbār | Adab |
|---|--------|--------|--------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 1 | Abū Hurayra | 58/679 | x      |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 2 | Ibn ‘Abbās | 68/687–688 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 3 | Abū al-Aswad | ca. 69/688–689 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 4 | Naṣr b. ‘Aṣim | 89/738 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 5 | Zayd b. al-Ḥārith | ca. 90/739 | x     |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 6 | ‘Anbasa al-Fil | ca. 99/717–718 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 7 | Maymūn al-Aqrān | ca. 99/717–718 | x     |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 8 | Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar | ca. 106/724–725 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
| 9 | Ibn Sirīn | 110/728 | x     |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|10 | al-Farazdaq | 114/732 |       |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|11 | Ibn Hurrūmuz | 117/735 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|12 | Qatāda | ca. 117/735 | x     |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|13 | Bīlāl b. Abī Burda | 122/740 |      |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|14 | Ibn Abī Isḥāq | ca. 125/743 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|15 | ‘Īsā b. ‘Umar | 149/766 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|16 | Abū ‘Amr b. al-ʿAlāʾ | ca. 157/774 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|17 | Maslama b. ‘Abd Allāh | ca. 159/775–776 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|18 | Bakr b. Ḥabīb | ca. 159/775–776 | x     |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|19 | Ḥammād b. Salama | 166/782–783 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|20 | Khalīl b. ʿAhmad | ca. 170/786 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|21 | Yūnūs b. Ḥabīb | 182/798 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|22 | Sībawayhī | 180/796 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|23 | al-Kisāʿī | 183/799 | x     |      |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|24 | Abū ‘Ubayda | ca. 210/825 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|25 | al-ʿAṣmaʿī | 213/829 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
|26 | al-Anṣārī | 215/830 | x     | x    |           |      |       |      |        |       |       |       |      |
A bird’s eye view of Table 1.2 offers some remarkable general observations. First, the left hand side of Table 1.2 immediately shows that almost all scholars were in one way or another involved in the collection and/or transmission of hadiths. Qur’ānic exegesis (tafsīr), on the other hand, is a late phenomenon and Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) only sporadically appears in the table covering this period. We also discern that the emergence and development of the study of the readings of the Qur’ānic text (qirāʾa) went hand in hand with Arabic language studies (ʿArabiyya, naḥw, lugha). All scholars from Ibn Abī Isḥāq onward were involved in Arabic grammar (naḥw), while the more general study of Arabic (ʿArabiyya) has almost disappeared by the end of the period. Arabic lexicography (lugha) and the study of rare words or expressions (gharīb) seem to follow the pattern of the secular fields of endeavour (on the right hand side of Table 1.2), gradually filling in the matrix as we move toward the end of the period. In all, four scholars were specialised in adab; they are found in the last column of Table 1.2: Yahyā b. Ya’mar (teacher of Ibn Abī Isḥāq), Abū ‘Amr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (student of Ibn Abī Isḥāq), Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and al-Aṣmaʿī (two students of Abū ‘Amr b. al-ʿAlāʾ).

Combining now data from Table 1.2 with a more detailed scrutiny of the sociogram of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network (Figure 1.2), we see two clear paths (i.e., connecting lines that are directional and here represent causal sequences) between the four major blocks we identified earlier. Figure 1.3 zooms in on these two paths or lines of transmission, showing directional relations of the nucleus of Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s network with a focus on “linguistic” specialisations as defined above. Additionally, for reasons that will be explained later, adab is added to the listing of specialisations for each individual where appropriate.

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40 See Roberto Tottoli’s contribution in this volume.
41 I thank James Montgomery for providing me with this working definition of adab (personal conversation, Istanbul, August 14, 2014).
42 For the co-development of grammar and jurisprudence, see Carter, “Les origines de la grammaire.”
The three blocks, in which the positions of Ibn Abī Isḥāq, Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar, and ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar are central, are all connected to Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ who incorporated all specialisations received from his teachers: nahw, lugha, and adab. If we now extend this diagram to include the following two generations, the importance of the blocks and paths becomes evident.

On the one hand, we see a clear path of three steps leading from Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar, through Ibn Abī Isḥāq and ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar, to Sībawayhi, the grammar specialist par excellence. On the other hand, an adab path leads in two steps as well from Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar (and Ibn Abī Isḥāq) through Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Aṣmaʿī to the preeminent adab writer, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869). With Sībawayhi’s book on grammar and the adab works of al-Jāḥiẓ, we have reached solid ground in terms of extant works in the two distinct disciplines.

6 Discussion of the Findings

Language studies in general and Arabic grammar in particular are early developments in the context of Arabic-Islamic scholarly activities. The need for a good understanding of the Arabic text of the Qurʾān and an awareness of a radically changing use of Arabic due to a rapidly expanding empire and a growing number of non-native speakers led to an interest in language studies and sped up the development of grammar as a discipline. Within two centuries from the beginning of the Islamic era, a fully-fledged grammar of Arabic came into existence, Kitāb Sībawayhi.

How grammar emerged and developed as a field within the context of Arabic language studies and how the earliest “professionals” in this discipline interconnected, has been studied here by using Social Network Analysis—a widely
used method in the social sciences, but hardly applied in our field. More specifically, the method was used to identify and further clarify the relations within the network of one particular scholar, Ibn Abī Isḥāq, who died around the year 125/743. Based on our initial assumption that Ibn Abī Isḥāq played a pivotal role in the beginning of Arabic grammar, we selected him for a detailed scrutiny of his social and intellectual environment. From the biographical literature, information was collected on Ibn Abī Isḥāq’s teachers and students and their respective contacts. Subsequently, these people were mapped in sociograms.

Inspection of the sociograms revealed that Ibn Abī Isḥāq indeed held a central position in a network that was furthermore characterised by the existence of several blocks. These findings indicate a tightly interrelated network and lively social surroundings. We were able to identify two important paths or lines of transmission within the network revealing that both paths start with Yahyā b. Ya’mar, a scholar of the previous generation who died around the year 106/724–725. One path leads in three steps from Yahyā b. Ya’mar via Ibn Abī Isḥāq and ʻĪsā b. ʻUmar to Sibawayhi who elaborately consolidated Arabic grammar in his
Kitāb, while the other is a bridge, consisting of three steps as well, via Abū ‘Amr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and al-ʿAṣmaʿī, to the further development of adab culminating in the works of the foremost adab writer of the classical period, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869).

In other words, we have waded through unknown and uncharted territories to arrive at well-established disciplines which we are familiar with thanks to the fact that their writings are extant—unlike the earlier period. The application of Social Network Analysis using biographical information thus affords us insights that we miss relying solely on extant works. Suddenly and quite unexpectedly, scholars appear in central positions, assuming important roles in the development of certain fields. In the network of Ibn Abī Isḥāq it is Yahyā b. Yāʿmar who holds a key position at the passageway for two distinct paths in the network leading to the crystallisation of grammar on the one hand and adab on the other.43

However, the lack of extant works prevents us from knowing exactly what kind of grammar or adab was pursued at the time—we only know the outcome at the end of the paths. Before that time, they probably were not autonomous fields or part of a standard curriculum—that was to come later—but they did constitute the kernel of grammar as a later discipline, just like the kernel of adab existed at the time.44 For an attempt to reconstruct the development from kernel to outcome, we have used information from the biographical dictionaries.

In our discussion of the intellectual specialisations pursued by the scholars in our network, we have seen that the more general study of Arabic (ʿArabiyya) gradually disappears and that from Ibn Abī Isḥāq onwards all scholars were involved in nahw, which I have called “grammar proper.” By the time we reach Sībawayhi, nahw, literally “way of speaking,” had come to denote syntax as opposed to taṣrīf, morphology.45 Moreover, as the awā’il sources tell us, Ibn Abī Isḥāq apparently laid down the foundations for a much later development of

43 In a different study (Bernards, “Grammarians’ Circles of Learning,” 163), I have already shown that the scholar al-Shaybānī (d. 209/824), fairly unknown as a grammarian, held a prominent position amongst the Kufan grammarians of the early third/ninth century.

44 See Wolhard Heinrichs, “The Classification of the Sciences and the Consolidation of Philology in Classical Islam,” in Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and The Near East, eds. Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 119–139. Heinrichs used original texts, i.e., list-literature from the fourth/tenth century that reflects the manner in which thinking about one’s own specialisations was reconstructed. Regarding adab, he concludes that one has to go to later centuries for a more systematic description of adab as autonomous field.

45 Åkesson, “Ṣarf.”
rationalisation of language by introducing the concepts of *qiyās* (analogy), and *ʿilal* (causes), to explain hierarchical relations between grammatical categories.\(^{46}\)

The concept of *adab*, literally “good behaviour, good custom,” is much harder to grasp. *Adab* is not only associated with a large variety of concepts and materials, but its meaning changes greatly over time as well. However, my working definition here—a body of secular knowledge that can be transmitted by someone qualified as *muʿaddib*—incorporates two aspects that have been part and parcel of *adab* from the very beginning. *Adab* has an element of education (implied in the term *muʿaddib*, “educator”) and it is set apart from *ʿilm*, religious knowledge. This is more or less in accordance with the use of the term in canonical hadith where the books of *adab* treat rules for good social behaviour and correct usage of Arabic contrasted with *laḥn* (solecism).\(^{47}\) Al-Jāḥiẓ, situated at the end of the *adab* path in our network, is included in the kind of *adab* that is first and foremost characterised by eloquence in writing, particularly of letters and essays (*rasāʾil*).\(^{48}\)

In the context of intellectual history—based on data taken from biographical sources—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar is a key figure in the emergence and development of both grammar and *adab*. He is a pioneer of grammatical studies, considered the best grammarian of his time and reportedly elaborated Abū al-Aswad’s initial notes on grammar. As for *adab*, his excellent command of the Arabic language and his eloquence were praised. He is mentioned amongst the *fuṣāḥāʾ al-ʿArab*, those skilled in the use of Arabic prose which he had learned from his father. Yaḥyā’s style and wit were recognised in particular by al-Ḥajjājb b. Yūsuf based on the letters he wrote to him in his capacity as secretary (*kātib*) on behalf of the Umayyad governor of Khurasan. As such, Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar was a predecessor of al-Jāḥiẓ and a contemporary of the famous *kuttāb*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (d. ca. 132/750) and Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. ca. 139/756).\(^{49}\) Finally, the strong intercon-

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\(^{46}\) This manner of rationalising language by using *qiyās* as opposed to mainly relying on transmitted data (*samāʾ*) demarcates, in retrospect, the traditional Basra/Kufa dichotomy.

\(^{47}\) Cf. al-Bukhārī, book 78 (*Adab*); Muslim, book 38 (*Adāb*) and book 43 (*Alfūṣ min al-adāb*); Abū Dāʾūd, book 40 (*Adab*); al-Tirmidhī, book 40 (*al-Istīḍhān wa-l-ādāb*) and book 41 (*Adab*); al-Nasāʾī, book 49 (*Ādāb al-quḍāt*); Ibn Mājā, book 33 (*Adab*).

\(^{48}\) Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “*Adab a* Arabic, early developments,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Yearbook, 2014 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 26–35.

\(^{49}\) The *kuttāb* ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Muqaffa’ were important contributors to the development of Arabic literary prose in general and amongst the earliest epistolographers in Arabic; see Wadā al-Qāḍī, “‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-Kātib,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Yearbook 2009 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 14–17; Francesco Gabrieli, “Ibn al-Muḳaffa’,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3:883–885.
nection between grammar and *adab*—in the sense of the study of the language and literature, as we know it from al-Mubarrad’s (d. 285/898) introduction to his *Kāmil*—is confirmed by this study. 50

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50 “This is a book we have composed in order to bring together various ādāb: prose, good verse, famous proverbs, eloquent homilies, and a selection of celebrated speeches and stylish letters. Our intention is to explain every unusual expression appearing in this book as well as every concept that is not readily understandable, and to offer detailed comments on every syntactical problem that might occur, so that the book can stand by itself and will not oblige the reader to have recourse to anyone else for explanations” (translation from Susanne Enderwitz, *Adab b*) and Islamic scholarship in the ‘Abbāsid period,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*, Yearbook 2013 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 73–77).
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