Meta-Alexander: A New Complementary Model and Jurisprudential Theory for the Study of Muslim Historiography – 3rd/9th – 4th/10th Centuries

Submitted by Abdullah Esam Alobaid to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arab and Islamic Studies in July 2019.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: …………………………………………………………..

Abstract

This thesis seeks to determine and study the historiographical structure and concepts as well as historical concepts and their historical reflections as concerns the history of Alexander the Great in eight Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Such components constitute the complementary model for these historical writings. The aim will be achieved by functioning two approaches from the jurisprudential theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), i.e. probe and segmentation (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm)* and the indications of context (*dilālāt al-siyāq)* as a general approach. This will be accompanied by two Western theories and concepts, i.e. Hayden White's theory: The Event-making man, and the concept of anachronism, to shape and address the complementary model in an appropriate way. The thesis's contribution centres on its emphasis on an interdisciplinary and triangulated methodology and conceptual epistemological framework for studying cross-cultural historiographical cases such as that of Alexander the Great in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

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Dates

Hijrī (Islamic) calendar (AH) is placed before the Georgian calendar (CE) in terms of death dates or dates of events.

If there is no *Hijrī* equivalent to death date or date of event, (CE) is placed beside the Georgian calendar, and similarly when no Georgian equivalent, (AH) is placed beside *Hijrī* calendar.

Notes on Translation and Transliteration

The Congress System for Arabic transliteration was utilised in this thesis:[1]

Arabic

Letters of the Alphabet

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Romanization
ا	ـا	ـا	ا	omit (see Note 1)
ب	ـبـ	ـب	ب	b
ت	ـتـ	ـت	ت	t
ث	ـثـ	ـث	ث	th
ج	ـجـ	ـج	ج	j
ح	ـحـ	ـح	ح	ḥ
خ	ـخـ	ـخ	خ	kh
د	ـد	ـد	د	d
ذ	ـذ	ـذ	ذ	dh
ر	ـر	ـر	ر	r
ز	ـز	ـز	ز	z
س	ـسـ	ـس	س	s
ش	ـشـ	ـش	ش	sh
ص	ـصـ	ـص	ص	ṣ
ض	ـضـ	ـض	ض	ḍ
ط	ـطـ	ـط	ط	ṭ
ظ	ـظـ	ـظ	ظ	ẓ
ع	ـعـ	ـع	ع	ʻ (ayn)
غ	ـغـ	ـغ	غ	gh
ف	ـفـ	ـف	ف	f (see Note 2)
ق	ـقـ	ـق	ق	q (see Note 2)
ك	ـكـ	ـك	ك	k
ل	ـلـ	ـل	ل	l
م	ـمـ	ـم	م	m
ن	ـنـ	ـن	ن	n
ه	ـهـ	ـة ، ـه	ة ، ه	h (see Note 3)
و	ـو	ـو	و	w
ي	ـيـ	ـي	ى	y

Vowels and Diphthongs

◌َ	a	اَ	ā (see Rule 5)	◌ِى	ī
◌ُ	u	◌َى	á (see Rule 6(a))	◌َوْ	aw
◌ِ	i	◌ُو	ū	◌َىْ	ay

ALA-LC Romanization Tables

- Transliteration for Arabic, Persian and Islamic names, even common names like Muhammad, will be (Muḥammad), and Darius will be (Dārā).

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[1] https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/arabic.pdf

- Arabic places are translated into their English versions.
- Some Islamic and Arabic terms are translated into their English versions since they are common in English, like: Quran, hadith, Sharia, Sunni, Shia, Abbasid, Umayyad and Fatimid.
- Dynamic translation for Arabic texts is utilised.

- Some of the longer or most important Arabic texts are placed above their English translation in this thesis.

Principal authors

Al-Aṣfahānī: Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī (360/970) author of *"Tārīkh Sinī Mulūk al-Arḍ wa al-Anbiyāʾ"*.

Al-Dīnawarī: Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (282/895), author of *"Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl"*.

Al-Maqdisī: Al-Muṭahhir al-Maqdisī (+/- 355/966), author of *"al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh"*.

Al-Masʿūdī: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain al-Masʿūdī (345/956), author of *"Murūj al-Dhahab, al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf"* and *"Akhbār al-Zamān"*.

Miskawayh: Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh (421/1030), author of *"Tajārub al-Umam"*, *"Al-Ḥikmah al-Khālidah"* and *"Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq"*.

Al-Ṭabarī: Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (310/923), author of *"Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk"*.

Al-Thaʿālibī: Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (421/1029 or 1030), author of *"Ghurar fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa Akhbārihim"*.

Al-Yaʿqūbī: Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Yaʿqūbī (+/- 292/905), author of *"Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī, Mushākalat al-Nās li Ahl Zamānihim"* and *"Al-Buldān"*.

Glossary

Alexander history:

References to Alexander in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

Alexander Legend:

Syriac and Christian work which was written in an apocalyptic style in the Seventh century.

Alexander poem:

Syriac and Christian work inspired by the Alexander Legend and written in a poetic manner in the Seventh century.

Alexander Romance:

Syriac and Christian version of Pseudo-Callisthenes which was written in the Seventh century.

Alexander tradition:

References to Alexander in various Muslim Arabic disciplines and fields in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

Analogy/*Qiyās*:

It is "The extension of a *Sharīʿah* value from an original case, or *aṣl*, to a new case, because the latter has the same effective cause as the former."[2]

Anachronism/*Al-Mufāraqah al-Tārīkhiyyah*:

Can be defined as stratifying outsider objects from the present or past to different given historical objects.

Complementary model:

The interpretive and analytical system that represents major historiographical and historical components in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings.

Controlling standards/*Maʿāyīr ḥākimah*:
Refers to potential elements that constitute methodological and epistemological criteria for research approaches and historical writings, respectively.

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[2] Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 180.

Cross-cultural:

Refers to a case study or approach that consists of elements from different cultures.

Dhū al-Qarnayn:

Literally means (man with two horns) who is a king and whose story is mentioned in the Quran in the chapter of *The Cave, i.e. Sūrat al-Kahf*; sometimes identified with Alexander.

*Dilālāt al-siyaq***:**

A jurisprudential theory tool that can be translated as "indications of context".

Dualism/*Thunāʾiyyah*:**

Rhetoric dominance of two parts through the narrative process of historical story that portrays it in a certain character and which permits some topics to be crucial therein.

Epistemological complementarity/*al-Takāmul al-maʿrifī*:**

Possibility of beneficial and reciprocal interactions between different epistemic fields in the Islamic tradition and which takes various levels: methods, sources, contents, actors and receivers.

Emplotment:

Taken from Hayden White's theory, it denotes "a sequence of events fashioned into a story that is gradually revealed to be a story of a particular kind".[3]

Event-making man:

An influential person from high levels of a society who was able to contribute towards a considerable change in history.

Gog and Magog/ *Yaʾjūj wa Mʾjūj*:**

Vicious people or tribe in Biblical and Islamic traditions who would destroy the world and eliminate humanity. According to these traditions, these people are sealed off behind the wall built by Dhū al-Qarnayn.

Historiography:

The pattern and process of writing about events that took place and people who lived in certain times and places.

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[3] Hayden White, *Metahistory; The Historical Imagation in 19th-Century Europe*, (Baltimore; John Hopkins University, 2014), 7.

Historical concept:

Ideas and issues that concern historians and people in their time and which could be reflected in their historical writings.

Historical reflection:

The actualisation of historical concepts in their historical time.

Historical phenomenon:

Historical events, themes or issues and persons that are under question and study.

Historiographical concept:

An epistemological idea that determines selections and judgments of given historical themes and *akhbār* (historical reports) and which affects historical writings in certain forms and styles.

Historiographical structure:

The composite relationship and form between parts of historical writing: rhetoric explanation and argument explanation.

ʿIllah/Ratio or effective cause:

An effective cause that "is an attribute of the original case which is constant and evident and bears a proper (*munasib*) relationship to the law of the text (*hukm*)".[4]

Interdisciplinarity:

"A mode of research by teams or individuals that integrates information, data, techniques, tools, perspectives, concepts and/or theories from two or more disciplines or bodies of specialised knowledge to advance fundamental understanding or to solve problems whose solutions are beyond the scope of a single discipline or field of research practice".[5]

Induction/*istiqrāʾ*:

Process of induction used by Muslim scholars to trace particulars that relate to a certain issue.

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[4] Mohammad Hashim H. Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1991), 189.

[5] Committee on Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research, National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering and Institute of Medicine, *Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research*, (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2005), 2.

Jurisprudence/*Fiqh*:

Sometimes it literally means Islamic Law, which can be defined as knowing Sharia rules which stem from evidence and proofs.

Jurisprudential theorists/*Uṣūlī*:

Muslim scholars who specialise in jurisprudential theory.

***Khabar*/ Historical report:**

A common form in early historical writing that refers to individual narrative reports concerning past events.

Kayanids:

An ancient Persian dynasty that was ended by Alexander.

Levant:

Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon – known historically as *Bilād al-Shām.*

***Manʿ*/Prevention/:**

Rejecting a given argument by rebutting its proofs and can be translated as "prevention".

Meta-textual side:

Historical dimension behind the structure of historical texts. It includes historical concepts and reflections and historiographical concepts by virtue of their link with historical concepts and historical reflections. All of these are part of the Complementary Model.

Middle Persian/Pahlavi:

An ancient Persian language since the Parthians which lasted until the end of the Sasanid period.

***Muʿāraḍah*/Objection:**

Rejecting a given conclusion by bringing other evidence that is more airtight than another conclusion; it can be translated as "objection".

***Muḥaddithūn*/*Muḥaddith*/Traditionalists/:**

Refers to Muslim scholars who specialise in the tradition of Prophet Muḥammad.

New Persian:

The Persian language that evolved and emerged after the Islamic conquest.

Particular rule/*Ḥukm juzʾī*:

An individual rule that differs from others and does not share with them same rule or characteristics.

Pseudo-Callisthenes/Alexander Romance:

Written historical work that sheds light on Alexander's life and is attributed to Callisthenes who was a Greek historian in Alexander's time. It is also known as the Alexander Romance.

***Qarīnah*:**

Similar to *dilālah* and can be translated as "significance or indication".

Realism/ *wāqiʿiyyah*:

Aware acceptance of the influence of multi-conditions (historical, personal and intellectual) or themes without being completely subject to them.

Regional kings/*Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*:

Local Persian kings whom Alexander appointed to keep Persia divided.

Rotation/*Tadāwul*:

A historical concept that might concern Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. It means that the nature of the historical movement is changeable and might bring down certain regimes, nations and civilisations.

Rūm:

Refers in Muslim writings to European people, but basically to Greeks, Romans and Byzantines.

***Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*:**

A jurisprudential theory tool that can be translated as "probe and segmentation".

Sasanids:

The last Persian dynasty which ended with the Islamic conquest.

***Siyāq al-ḥāl*:**

External and historical context of written works and can be translated as "situational context".

***Siyāq al-kalām*:**

Internal context of written works and can be translated as "textual context".

Specificity and specifics/*Khuṣūṣ*:

Borrowing from jurisprudential theory where a given determination issue only matches or addresses some parts of a certain issue.

Textual side:

It connotes to historiographical structure and concepts with their linage to the former. Both are part of the complementary model and deal with the inner system of historical texts.

Triangulation

In a procedural sense, it denotes multiple use and combination of methodologies or theories to study a single case.

Tradition/*Turāth*:

Written works from different epistemic fields that were produced by Muslims during the pre-modern era.

***Ummah*:**

The community of Muslims.

Generality and general/*ʿUmūm*:

Borrowing from jurisprudential theory where a given determination issue matches or addresses all parts of a certain one.

Universal history:

Historical works that write history in annual and chronological ways by starting with the topic of creation, then prophets and ancient nations, until the advent of Islam; while mainstream literature focuses on Islamic history since the birth of Prophet Mohammed to the time of the writers.

Universal rule/*Ḥukm kullī*:

A general principle which includes particulars that share this principle.

Jurisprudential theory/*Uṣūl al-fiqh*:

A formative science used to analyse religious texts and extract jurisprudential judgements from them.

Chapter 1. Introduction

In recent years, many in the Middle East and the Arab world have used Islamic history intensively; reading it, analysing it, bringing it to their daily discussions and even producing media productions about it. What triggered this increased attention are calamities and changes which have caused political, cultural and intellectual shocks among people in this area. Many of them have turned to Islamic history to understand and deal with events. I have noticed that many people conceive their present time through the lens of history; they use Islamic history to link between the past and present, and how history repeats itself or reveals the origin of the present by tracing threads of the past. They wish for the events of the past to be a tell-tale of the present. However, the shocking political, cultural and intellectual calamities and changes have had their own backlash in history in general and in Islamic history in particular. People begin to ask about the legitimacy of history itself; about its historiography, epistemology and methodology. This has caused almost as much shock as the calamities and changes themselves. It is ironic that our present reality and intellectual tools to understand it seem to suffer from reciprocal shocks. Both prompt me to ask myself how and why people write and create history and conceive it in accordance with their time. Answering this question requires following two steps: first, to find a comprehensive and dynamic theoretical and methodological way; and second, to find a historical case that meets this question and resembles in some ways our current situation.

For the first step, my interest has shifted ever since my Bachelor's degree toward historiography, epistemology and the methodology of history, and has been increasing ever since. I read many works about both Islamic and Western history and found how waves of perspectives and opinions have flooded the historical field to the extent that some of them go to extreme opposites and conflict with each other; a matter that reminds me of the title of Eric Hobsbawm's "*The Age of Extremes*".[6] I wondered whether I needed to pick up some of what I had read and learned from the

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[6] Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994). We prefer to use "Western" instead of "modern" or contemporary". The phrase betokens a specific civilisational and cultural area, basically Europe, North America, and Australia.

historiography, epistemology and methodology of history to find my own path. I decided to look for gaps left by those who wrote on the three above-mentioned topics. The first stage was to formulate a new comprehensive and complementary model that seeks to avoid epistemological, theoretical and conceptual reductions and negligence in dealing with Muslim historical writings. The second stage was to find a novel approach as while I was studying jurisprudential theory , I was amazed to see how dynamic methodical normative "science" could give a crucial contribution to Islamic history.[7] I was likewise amazed at how jurisprudential theory is neglected and has not been used or benefited from, although other Islamic and Western approaches have been used. These steps led me to combine a cross-cultural theoretical and methodological way that attempts to help me deal with the question.

To apply these in a cross-cultural theoretical and methodological way, i.e. the complementary model and jurisprudential theory approach, I needed to find a good cross-cultural example within Muslim historical writings; and hence the second step. Alexander the Great's history in universal historical Islamic writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries appears to be such an example. The way that Muslim historians of the period dealt with Alexander (323 BC) reminded me of the way people in our time deal with history; how and why they wrote about him, conceived of him and brought him to their present time. As Ernest Budge says of Alexander:

> The details of the fabulous history of such an one will be modified to suit the country and ideas of people among whom the writers live and eventually it will become the popular expression of the national views of each country through which the history passes of what a hero should be.[8]

This study seeks to demonstrate that universal historical Muslim writings about Alexander the Great in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries have historiographical structure and concepts, and historical concepts and reflections that comprise the Complementary Model. The study does not consider the veracity of Alexander's history in Muslim writings nor the accuracy of Muslim historians in

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[7] We use "methodical" to refer specifically to approaches, while "methodological" is more general and refers to the general system of research that includes approach, research questions and aims, and structure.

[8] E. A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great: Being a Series of Ethiopic Texts,* (New York: B. Blom, 1968, first published in 1898), XLIV.

transmitting historical data from different sources. On the contrary, it seeks to reach historiographical structure and concepts, and historical concepts and reflections behind and within such history. The mechanism for this is the use of jurisprudential theory (*dilālat al-siyāq* and *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*) as general critical and analytical approaches, alongside two Western theories (Hayden White's and the event-making man) and the concept of anachronism. The thesis sets out to discover and construct unspoken and hidden sides of historical writings by looking at the spoken and visible ones, as al-Ghazālī (505/1111) refers to "Understanding the unspoken by the spoken via the indication of speech and the speaker's intention."[9]

This chapter will first present a chronology of Jurisprudential theory and its main terms before presenting a literature review of Islamic historiography, approaches of Islamic history and studies on Alexander in Muslim history the questions' research, parameters and structure.

1.1   Chronology of Jurisprudential theory and its main terms:

Jurisprudential theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) can be defined as a science that studies evidence and the ways to infer conclusions from that evidence.[10] Jurisprudential theory is a methodical normative science that follows a logical, argumentative, procedural process, starting with a given point and proceeding to a conclusion. The Theory arose due to the need for a normative mechanism that organises Islamic jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*) which can be defined as knowing religious practical rules (*furūʿ*), via their evidence.[11] Islamic jurisprudence has many schools (*madhāhib*) and each has its own religious views about jurisprudential themes, starting with ritual practices such as purification (*ṭahārah*) and prayer and ending with judicial testimonies (*al-shahādāt*). In each chapter and section, Muslim jurists try to demonstrate the rules of each practice by providing evidence (*adillah*) from the Quran, hadith and analogy or reasoning. The procedures that jurists follow to process such evidence are based on

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[9] Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī, *Al-Mustaṣfá Min ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, ed. Ḥamzah Zuhayr Ḥāfiẓ, vol. 3 (Al-Madinah: al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah, 1993), 411.
[10] Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Mibrad, *Ghāyat al-Sawl Ilā ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, ed. Yūsyf al-Subayʿī. 1st ed. (Kuwait: Ghirās li al-Nashr Wa al-Tawzīʿ, 2012), 29.
[11] Ibid. 30

jurisprudential theory.[12] This is the connection between the theoretical, methodological discipline and the practical, applied discipline. In Islamic disciplinary fields, each field or discipline has two sides: theoretical and practical. The theoretical, methodological framework guides and rules the practical one, which in return, offers actual examples to clarify the former (for instance, there are hadith collections that contain prophet Muḥammad's sayings and deeds, and there is the science of hadith terminology (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*), which is a critical methodological science that helps scholars to recognise the authenticity of hadiths and categorise them).

It is commonly held that Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (204/820) was the first scholar to compile a work on the emergence and development of jurisprudential theory.[13] His book is called *al-Risālah* (*The Epistle*) and states the main ways of drawing out rules in jurisprudence. This book showed the need for a written guide during a period when many jurisprudential schools emerged (alongside theological schools) and argued with each other over many theoretical and practical jurisprudential issues.[14] In fact, Muslim jurists before al-Shāfiʿī had been using jurisprudential theory in order to give jurisprudential opinions and rules by depending not on written works, but rather on common (and sometimes disputable) principles.[15] Al-Shāfiʿī proffered a written jurisprudential theory reference to jurists. Eventually, this step (in addition to general historical complexities, like the expanding of the Muslim world and community and cultural engagement with non-Muslims) motivated jurists from different jurisprudential and theological schools to write jurisprudential theory books that either follow the al-Shāfiʿī model or differ from it in terms of structure, epistemological issues and jurisprudential theory principles.[16] Accordingly, a new field of Islamic studies was created by a new group of Muslim scholars who are called later jurisprudential theorists *(ʿulamā uṣūl al-fiqh* or *al-uṣūliyyīn*). Two major schools appear in early jurisprudential theory: theologians (*al-mutakallimīn*) and jurists (*al-*

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[12] Bernard G. Weiss, *The Search for God's Law: Islamic Jurisprudence in the Writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press,2010), 14, 26

[13] Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 45–48.

[14] See: Wael B Hallaq. *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni Usul Al-fiqh*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 30-32.

[15] Wael B. Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 114-115, 120.

[16] Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Trans. Franz Rosenthal, vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 28

fuqahāʾ). *Al-mutakallimūn,* according to Ibn Khaldūn, "present these problems [jurisprudential theory themes such as commands and prohibitions] in their bare outlines, without reference to jurisprudence, and are inclined to use abstract logical deduction as much as possible, since it is their scholarly approach and required by their method". *Al- fuqahāʾ* mainly come from Ḥanafī jurists (following Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit 150/767). Ibn Khaldūn says the school "is more germane to jurisprudence and more suited for practical application to special cases, than treatment of the subject by speculative theologians, because juridical works mention many examples and cases and base their problems on legal points".[17] The interaction between these two trends and, moreover, their interactions with other discipline and fields, such as logic, Arabic, theology and hadith, contribute to crystallising jurisprudential theory and its written works.

Some terms from jurisprudential theory relate to the thesis. For example, the relation between a certain issue's parts has four terms. *Khuṣūṣ* (specificity and specific) is term referring to a given matter of determination that only correlates with or addresses some parts of a specific matter. *ʿUmūm* (generality and general) is also an issue of given determination that correlates with or addresses all parts of a specific matter. Then we have *ḥukm kullī* (universal rule) which a total principle that includes specifics that share in this principle. Finally, *ḥukm juzʾī* (particular) which an individual rule that differs from others and does not share with them same rule or characteristics.

As concerns jurisprudential theory as a method, it also consists of certain terms. *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* (probe and segmentation) is an inferred process that inducts different particulars by multiplying or joining them with their mutual general rule and excluding all irrelevant particulars to such rule.[18] There are two types of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* in jurisprudential theory. First, exclusive segmentation (*al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir*) which means that *al-taqsīm* revolves around denial (*nafyu*) and confirmation (*ithbāt*)

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[17] Ibid.
[18] For comprehensive discussion of the meanings of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* in different Islamic disciplines, see Saʿīd al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr wa al-Taqsīm wa Atharuh fī Al-Taqʿīd al-Uṣūlī: Dirāsah Naẓariyyah Maʿa al-Taṭbīq ʿalá Masāʾil Al-Ḥukm al-Sharʿī Wa Al-Adillah*, vol. 1 (Riyadh, al-Jamʿiyyah al-Fiqhiyyah al-Suʿūdiyyah 1437 AH), 75-126.

and that this assimilates all attributes or possibilities.[19] The second type is inductive segmentation (*al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī*) which means the *al-taqsīm* does not revolve around denial and confirmation but instead seeks to assimilate attributes by induction (*istiqrāʾ*), and then probe them to exclude invalid ones.[20] *Al-sabr* also has two types: First, analytical (*taḥlīlī*) and contains two ways: appropriateness (*al-munāsabah*), which means the characteristics of particulars remain appropriate to a given issue without any flaws or objection, and nullification (*al-ilghāʾ*) which means the conclusion will not be affected or changed if we exclude some particulars that we think do not match the issue, but it will be affected if we exclude particulars that we believe to be relative.[21] Second, argumentative (*jadalī*) that consists of prevention (*al-manʿ*) which denotes rejecting a given argument by rebutting its proofs (*adillah*), and objection (*muʿāraḍah*) which denotes rejecting a given conclusion (*natījah*) by including other evidence that is more sound.[22]

In addition to *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* exists *dilālat al-siyāq* (indications of context) and can be defined as:

> It is the meaning determined from that which surrounds the word, structure or text from preceding or following text that might include the entire text or book and the non verbal conflicts or circumstances that are relevant to the audience or the speaker, the nature of the subject matter, its purpose, the occasion which necessitated the text, the time and the place where the speech was given.[23]

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[19] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl fī al-Uṣūl*, ed. Ṭaha al-ʿAlwānī, 3rd edn. Vol. 5 (Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1997), 217. Muḥammad b. Al-Fattūḥī Al-Najjār, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr Sharḥ Al-Kawkab Al-Munīr*, eds. Muḥammad al-Zuḥaylī and Nazīh Ḥammād, 2nd edn. Vol. 4 (Riyadh: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿUbaykān, 1997), 229–230. Muḥammad b. Bahādur Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, vol. 7, (Amman: Dār al-Kutubī, 1994), 283–284. 287, 291.
[20] Al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr Wa al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 164-169.
[21] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 147-49. ʿAbd Al-Qawi b. Slaymān Al-Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Al-Rawḍah*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Al-Muḥsin Al-Turkī, vol. 3 (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1987), 407. Al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr Wa al-taqsīm*, vol. 1, 208-225.
[22] Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī, *Qawāṭiʿ al-Adillah fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, 1st edn. Vol. 4 (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Tawbah, 1998), 356. Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Saʿdī, *Mabḥath al-ʿIllah fī al-Qiyās ʿind al-Uṣūliyyīn*, 2nd edn. (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾr al-Islāmiyyah, 2000), 643–644. Chekhar Abounacer, "Iʿādat Haykalat Mabḥath Qawādiḥ al-ʿIllah ʿind Al-Uṣūliyyīn", (Selangor: International Islamic University Malaysia, n.d), 14–33.
[23] Muḥammad al-ʿUbaydī, *Dilālat Al-Siyāq Fī Al-Qaṣaṣ al- Qurnʾānī*, (Sanaa: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa al-Siyāḥa, 2004), 33–34.

There are two types of *dilālat al-siyāq*. The first branch is *siyāq al-kalām* (context of speech and text) which looks for internal relationships between texts, sentences and words, whether in the same text (*muttaṣil*) or separated text (*munfaṣil*). The second branch is *siyāq al-ḥāl* (situational context) which means to look at historical situations that relate to a given text so as to understand intentions and status of the text and those which link with it (speaker (*al-mukhāṭib*), recipient (*al-mukhāṭab*) and speech or discourse (*al-khiṭāb*).[24]

These are the main terms in the thesis.

1.2 Literature review

This thesis seeks to reveal the historiographical structure and concepts and historical concepts and reflections of Alexander's history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, by using an approach derived from jurisprudential theory alongside two Western theories and concept. It comprises three parts: Approaches to history, Muslim historiography and Alexander in Muslim history. Consequently, the literature review will follow the same format.

1.2.1 Approaches to Muslim historiography and history

A variety of traditional or Islamic and contemporary approaches were applied to four centuries of Islamic history and historiography in question.[25] Here, we will divide these into three groups; Western approaches, hadith approach and contemporary studies on the relationship between jurisprudential theory and Islamic history.

Starting with Western approaches, it seems that the motives for using them are influenced by the dominant culture and civilisation. Such approaches have been presented as the latest ones that might not have had alternatives and rivals from other civilisations and cultures. In addition, Western approaches show, to some extent, constructive and effective contributions which analyse and understand history and

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[24] Mohamed Ali Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics: Sunni Legal Theorists' Models of Textual Communication* (Richmond, Surrey: Routledge, 2000, 85. Ayman Ṣāliḥ, *al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ: Qirāʾah fī al-Manhaj al-Uṣūlī fī Fahm al-Naṣṣ*, (Herndon, Virginia: Al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlamī li al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 2010, 295–296, 308.

[25] For the sources of Islamic history's early centuries, R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. LTD, 1991), 25, 40, 53-54 and 69-72. Jean Sauvaget, *Introduction to The History of the Muslim East*, (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 22.

historiography from different eras (especially European and American history) and encourage those who specialise in Islamic history and historiography to use them. However, when specialists in Islamic history started to do so, the Muslim world was unable to compete with them, develop its traditional methods or offer alternatives because it faced a crisis of civilisation and intellect. Therefore, as long as the Muslim world was incapable, the solution should was found in Western methods. These approaches have been used by orientalists, Western academics and scholars, as well as by their Muslim and Arabic counterparts, and are varied.[26]

However, there are some problems in this matter. Those who use such approaches fall into reductionism as they investigate general historical phenomena in Islamic history through a partial method that analyses such phenomena from a narrow angle and hence prevents historians from examining their other aspects.[27] Even accepting the use of stenographic approaches for a specific and particular historical case in Islamic history causes challenges because at the core of any historical text or event are Muslims who have complex traditional and civilisation networks that are different from Western approaches. Such approaches suffer from alienation and ignore the civilisational idiosyncrasies of Muslim history, which makes it difficult to apply them on the macro level to the case study. Another problem is that these approaches contain underlying ideological and civilisation-based prejudices that give rise to preconceptions and prejudgments on Islamic history.[28] They reaffirm the fractional

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[26] Fred McGraw Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press), 5-25. Nancy Elizabeth Gallagher, *Approaches to the History of the Middle East, Interviews With Leading Middle East Historians*, (Reading: Ithaca, 1994), 1-17. Georg G Iggers, Q. Edward Wang and Supriya Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 283-298.

[27] Albert Hourani, "How Should We Write the History of the Middle East?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23, no. 2 (May 1991): 134–135.

[28] On the problem of ideology and prejudice in history, Michael H. Hunt, "Ideology", *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (June 1990): 108–15. Hayden V. White, *The Fiction of Narrative: Essays on History, Literature and Theory, 1957–2007*, ed. Robert Doran (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 274–292. About this problem in Islamic historiography, Stefan Leder, "Orientalists and their Perception of Arabic Historiography" in *Conference on Orientalism, Dialogue of Cultures*: 22–24 October 2002, ed. Sāmī ʿAbd Allāh Khaṣāwinah (Amman: Al-Jāmiʿah al-Urdunīyah, 2004), 93–94. Donner criticised the sceptical approach for adopting the method of Biblical criticism and Biblical critics' conclusions. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 29. See also a criticism to bias in philological approach, Marshall G. S Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 39-54. Muhammed A. al-Daʿmī, Orientalism and Arab-Islamic History: an Inquiry into the Orientalist's Motives and Compulsions, *Arab Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1998): 1–11.

reading of historical events and texts and seek to find themes that fit their ideological methods. The clearest instance is Ḥusain Marwah when he attempted to explicate the early period of Islam in a way that accorded with his Marxist and Communist thoughts.[29] What specialists In Islamic history need to do is to scrutinise and evaluate their approaches before applying them to historical cases in Muslim history to see whether they need to be modified or rejected, since they were produced by another civilisation which has its own intellectual trajectories that are distinct from the historical materials that were produced within Islamic civilisation. These potential ideological biases make orientalists and contemporary historians and scholars neglect "traditional" Islamic approaches and fail to use them in their work, or at least to incorporate them into their approaches. These drawbacks do not mean that there are no advantages to some Western approaches to Islamic history/historiography, nor do they deny the notion of epistemic and civilisation exchanges between different nations.

As for hadith approaches (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*), it appears that this method (which is normative science that scrutinises the traditions of Prophet Muḥammad (11/632) to determine the veracity of such traditions and their categories) is the predominant traditional or Islamic one, owing to some historical and epistemological elements. First, Muslims who compiled historical works during the early period of Islamic history used *isnād* or chain of narrators from whom writers took the historical account, *khabar*. This technique is fundamental in the science of hadith and enables scholars (*muḥaddīthīn*) to examine the veracity of hadiths by looking at the narrators and their reliability.[30] Second, it is thought that the emergence of historical works on Islamic history were derived from the tradition of hadith.[31] Third, according to ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArawī, the clarity and coherence of the method of hadith compared to other traditional ones such as *ʿilm al-kalām* (theology) or jurisprudential theory ,

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[29] Husain Marwah, *Al-Nazʿāt al-Māddiyyah fī al-Islām*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Fārābī, 2008).
[30] Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995/1996), 28–30, 39–44, 73–80. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 255–260. Nisār Aḥmad Fārūqī, *Early Muslim Historiography: A Study of Early Transmitters of Arab History from the Rise of Islam up to the End of Umayyad Period, 612-750 A.D* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979), 185–186.
[31] Muhidin Mulalić, *A Survey of Early Muslim Historiography*, 1st ed. (Kuala Lumpur: A. S. Noordeen, 2012), 49–59.

contributed to its adoption by scholars and historians.[32] Finally, some contemporary Muslim and Arab historians go further and make comparisons between hadith and the methods of historicism or historical positivism in the Nineteenth century, which were used by Leopold von Ranke in Germany and Charles Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos in France, and put the traditional Islamic method into the pattern of a Western one to prove that it was scientific and valid. The father of this trend is Asad Rustum, who wrote "*Muṣṭalaḥ al-Tārīkh*" (*Science of History*), which combines a modern Western pattern with hadith terminologies.[33] However, the use of an Islamic method to analyse Islamic history can be criticised. It is limited by the fact that it can primarily be applied to the first period of Islamic history since this era was recorded by chains of narrators. It is difficult to proceed with the method of hadith because it would eliminate many narratives that have historical indications and meanings that help us understand the early period of Islam. Ibn Khaldūn (808/1406) writes on the methodological and epistemological differences between hadith and history. He explains that because the method of hadith is associated with examining the prophetic report for religious instructions, it would be difficult to apply that method to history which depends on conformity (*Muṭābaqah*) between reality and historical reports.[34] Moreover, Muslim scholars and historians did not apply it as strictly as some contemporary Muslims because they recognised the disparity between the nature of history and hadith, as Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (310/923) did in his historical work. Another criticism is that hadith deals mainly with the surface of historical events and texts in terms of confirmation and denial, but it does not go deeper and

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[32] ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArawī, *Mafhūm al-Tārīkh*, 4th ed. (Casablanca: Al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 2005), 217.

[33] Asad Rustum, *Muṣṭalaḥ al-Tārīkh*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyyah, 2002). Also Akram al-ʿUmarī, "Manhaj al-Naqd ʿind al-Muḥaddithīn Muqāranan bi al- Mīthūdūlūjyā al-Gharbī" in *Al-Manhajiyyah al-Islāmiyyah Wa al-ʿUlūm al-Sulūkiyyah Wa al-Tarbawiyyah*, ed. al-Ṭayyib Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, 179–201, 1st edn. Vol. 2 (Herndon, Virginia: Al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlamī li al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1992). As for Ranke and Langlois, Leopold Von Ranke, *The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History*, ed. Roger Wines (New York: Fordham University Press, 1981). Leopold von Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History*, ed., Trans. by Georg G. Iggers, (London: Routledge, 2011). Charles Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966). It is interesting that China has a similar attitude toward Chinese traditional historical writing and German "scientific history". Q. Edward Wang, "German Historicism and Scientific History In China, 1900-1940" in *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography In Global Perspective*, eds. Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchteyed, 141-161 (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).

[34] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wāfī, vol. 1 (Cairo; Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 2014), 332.

seek to interpret them and disclose the intentions of the writers and historical figures, or the epistemic features of historical writings and the historical driving forces in a given epoch. In addition, there is an epistemological deficiency in that those who adopt the method saw Western historicism and positivism as the criteria for validity and science. They seem to have measured the former according to the latter and forgot that this Western historical school has been heavily criticised in Western intellectual fields, faces many challenges in fulfilling its role in historical studies and many historians have abandoned it in favour of other methods.[35]

What both groups share is that they omit other Islamic approaches that might offer influential contributions to Islamic history, such as jurisprudential theory.

Many contemporary writers place emphasis on jurisprudential theory as a scientific, critical and methodical mechanism that was formulated by Muslim minds and which has the ability to contribute to human and social sciences; some of them offer promising studies of the approach.[36] It emerged from the crisis of methodology (*azmat al-manhajiyyah*) among Muslim and Arabic intellectuals who attempted to evaluate Muslim traditions and simultaneously understand and answer the challenges of civilisation in their time.[37]

Four contemporary studies appear to highlight the relationship between jurisprudential theory and history. First, ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Lāwī's book, *Ḥafriyyāt al-Khiṭāb al-Tarīkhī al-ʿArabī* (*Archaeology of Arabic Historical Discourse*), discusses the effect of the hegemony of the judicial institution on Muslim historical writings and states that historical discourse always tried to simulate judicial discourse

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[35] For criticism of the historicism of the nineteenth century, Fernand Braudel, *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 6–12. Carl L. Becker, "What Are Historical Facts?" *The Western Political Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (September 1955): 327–40. Charles A. Beard, "That Noble Dream", *The American Historical Review* 41, no. 1 (October 1935): 74–87. Wael Hallaq points out that the epistemological criteria of hadith are different from the Western criteria. See: Wael B. Hallaq, "The Authenticity of Prophetic Hadith: A Pseudo-Problem," *Studia Islamica*, no. 89 (1999): 75–90.

[36] Ṭaha al-ʿAlwānī, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-Islāmī: Manhaj Baḥth Wa Maʿrifah*, 2nd edn. (Herndon, Virginia: al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlamī li al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1995). Ḥasan Ḥanafī, *Min al-Naṣṣ Ilá al-Wāqiʿ: Takwīn al-Naṣṣ*, 1st edn. Vol. 1 (Cairo: Markaz al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 2004), 18–19. Farīd al-Anṣārī, *Abjadiyyat al-Baḥth*, 3rd edn. (Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 2013), 69.

[37] Fatḥī al-Malkāwī, *Manhajiyyat al-Takāmul al-Maʿrifī: Muqaddimāh fī al-Manhajiyyah al-Islāmiyyah*, 1st edn. (Herndon, Virginia: al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlamī li al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 2011), 130–138.

by adopting its themes, including Creation and Resurrection.[38] The author claims that judicial hegemony allowed historians to explain historical events according to miracles and imaginative symbols instead of depending on logical or critical reasons. Therefore, the judicial mind produced a teleological and inevitable history that distanced itself from the truth.[39]

ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Lāwī attempted to address the problem with a mixture of concepts because he widens and generalises the term jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the general context of his section on the relationship between the former and history shows that he does not distinguish between the three Islamic fields of Jurisprudence, *ʿilm al-kalām* and hadith. If we reread and rephrase his work, we can conclude that theology plays a role in determining themes in historical works and that hadith influences the style of writing, which means that the writer does not clearly explain how jurisprudence, or its jurisprudential theory tool, affects Muslim historical writings. Therefore, this study does not offer any real historical, practical or theoretical insight into the relationship between jurisprudential theory and history.

The second study is by Moroccan philosopher and historian ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArawī in his book *Mafhūm al-Tārīkh* (*The Concept of History*). Compared to ʿAbd al-Lāwī's study, al-ʿArawī shows an aversion to the diverse Islamic method in historical writings, by differentiating between the history of *muḥaddith* and the history of jurist (*faqīh*).[40] According to al-ʿArawī, the latter is a step in the process of learning about historical events and it goes further in attempting to discover principles and laws that stabilise the tradition and change the circumstances.[41] The concept of history in Muslim jurisprudential theorist historians' school thus has two levels: knowledge of particulars (*juzʾiyyāt*) and knowledge of constants and continuity.[42] The author mentions some renowned Muslim historians of this school, including al-Masʿūdī, al-Muṭahhir al-Maqdisī, al-Maqrīzī (845/1441) and Ibn Khaldūn, whom al-ʿArawī cites from the latter's famed book *Al-Muqaddimah* (*The Introduction*) to illustrate the

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[38] ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Lāwī, *Ḥafriyyāt al-Khiṭāb al-Tarīkhī al-ʿArabī*, 1st edn. (Oran: Ibn al-Nadīm Li al-Nashr Wa al-Tawzīʿ, 2012), 88.
[39] Ibid, 102.
[40] Al-ʿArawī, *Mafhūm al-Tārīkh*, 87–88, 102–14.
[41] Ibid, 213–214.
[42] Ibid.

school's method.[43] It seems that the school's main methodical mechanism is the constant analogy (*al-qiyās al-muṭṭarid*), which can be defined as generalising the conclusion of a given issue to similar issues as a result of observation and experience.[44] Despite al-ʿArawī distinguishing between hadith and jurisprudential theory, he focuses on one of the latter's methodical mechanisms, i.e., the Constancy Analogy, and omits others. The author also analyses the jurisprudential theory school and does not tell us whether we can benefit from it or not, nor how to use it if it is applicable.

The third study is *Manhaj al-Naẓar al-Maʿrifī: bayn Uṣūl al-Fiqh wa al-Tārīkh* (*The Method of Epistemic Study between Jurisprudential Theory and History*) by al-Ḥassān Shahīd, who made a notable comparative study of Ibn Khaldūn and al-Shāṭibī (790/1388), basing his study on the idea of the epistemological complementarity between sciences which indicates that they benefit from the different knowledge of one another.[45] The author says that such complementarity between the method of history and jurisprudential theory takes two dimensions. First, the methodological dimension in that both depend on induction (*istiqrāʾ*) and frequency (*al-tawātur*) to reach certainty, and on this point the author meets with al-ʿArawī in terms of the role of *al-ʿiṭṭirād* and *al-tawātur* in history.[46] He believes that both History and jurisprudential theory share the same methods, such as analogy, but he does not give any examples.[47] The second appears in the content that each field derives materials from the other to better understand their issues and development, or to support their perspectives with evidence from other fields.[48] The author gives examples to illustrate this point by showing how jurisprudential theory relies on historical events and texts to understand the reasons for revealing Quranic verses (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) or abrogation (*al-naskh*) or how history helps us to recognise the establishment and development of jurisprudence and jurisprudential theory. Examples given by the author omit any account of how Muslim historical writings relied on the latter. Shahīd concludes that

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, 298–301.
[45] Al-Ḥassān Shahīd, *Manhaj al-Naẓar al-Maʿrifī: Bayn Uṣūl al-Fiqh wa al-Tārīkh*, 1st edn. (Doha: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah, 2011), 21.
[46] Ibid, 27.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid, 27–29.

the role of induction in Ibn Khaldūn's writing has three stages: conclusion, explanation and confirmation.[49]

While al-Ḥassān Shahīd concentrates on jurisprudential theoretical induction in Ibn Khaldūn's work, ʿAzīz al-ʿAẓmah concentrates on the regime of jurisprudential theory analogy (*al-qiyās al-tamthīlī*) in the historian's work.[50] Al-ʿAẓmah argues that the concept of correspondence (*muṭābaqah*), which is the pivotal conceptual frame in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* in its rooted meaning belongs to jurisprudential theory and means a "reference of a word to the entirety of its referent".[51] The role of correspondence in history is to substantiate the veracity of historical accounts (*akhbār*) in accordance with external reality and the science of civilisation (*ʿilm al-ʿumrān*) and in order to achieve this role, Ibn Khaldūn (according to al-ʿAẓmah) uses jurisprudential theoretical analogy.[52] This recourse to principle in order to gauge a particular historical *khabar* seems to assert the idea of principle (*aṣl*) in history and jurisprudential theory.[53] Nevertheless, the role of jurisprudential theory in history, in al-ʿAẓmah's perception, centres mainly on analogy and veracity rather than interpreting history. Therefore, we do not see al-ʿAẓmah talking about jurisprudential theoretical induction in Ibn Khaldūn's work or its role in theorising and interpreting his conception.

The studies above have three shortcomings. First, they contain conceptual and terminological limitations on the grounds that ʿAbd al-Lāwī and al-ʿArawī widen and mix jurisprudential theory with other fields. Second, they have methodological limitations as they concentrate only on one jurisprudential theory approach and omit the rest. Third, they do not say if and how we can use jurisprudential theory in the field of history, or as Fahmī Huwaydī says, the stage of jurist historian (*al-faqīh al-muaʾrrikh*) has gone and we await the stage of the historian jurist (*al-muʾarrikh al-faqīh*).[54]

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[49] Ibid, 46–52.
[50] Aziz al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn: an essay in Reinterpretation* (London; Frank Cass, 1982), 121-144.
[51] Ibid, 125.
[52] Ibid, 122.
[53] Ibid, 128, 132.
[54] Fahmī Huwaydī, "Al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī Bayn al-Faqīh al-Muʾarrikh wa al-Muʾarrikh al-Faqīh", *Majallat al-ʿArabī*, no. 274 (1981): 51.

1.2.2 Studies on Muslim historiography

Two tendencies in contemporary studies on Muslim historiography should be considered. The first concerns Muslim universal historical writings. Many prominent studies highlight ancient history in Muslim universal historical writings and it appears there are three issues that concern them. First, demonstrating how the connection between ancient history and Muslim history symbolises salvation history in Muslim thought;[55] second, the role of the former in legitimising the latter;[56] and finally, how such history is reflected in Islamic history and societies.[57]

There are some thematic, methodological and conceptual problems in these studies. They do not give more space to cover the issue of ancient history in Muslim universal historical writings, or at least expand their view on one example, like Alexander, whose story occupies a pivotal position in these historical writings. Another problem is that contemporary studies seem to confuse certain concepts. They do not spell out whether concepts like legitimisation belong to the historiographical facet or the historical one, or if they cling to the internal context of writings or the external one. Confusion increases when some studies assume the existence of the salvation history concept in Muslim universal history. Adopting this means that Muslim historians' views on the movement of history are predestined to be a straight line that is similar to the Biblical view.[58] Notwithstanding, the former view differs from the latter in that it takes on some cyclical and up-down shapes, as reflected in the concept of rotation (*tadāwul*) which means that the nature of history inclines it to be changeable and could bring down regimes, nations and civilisations. The conceptual confusion is accompanied by the omission of other historiographical and historical concepts that underlie ancient history (Alexander, for example) within the context of universal

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[55] Franz Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition on Muslim Historiography" in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt. 35-45, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962). John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[56] Andrew Marsham, "Universal Histories in Christendom and Islamic World, C.700–1400" in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: 400–1400*, eds. Daniel Woolf, Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson, vol. 2, 431–56 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[57] Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 138. Ulrika Martensson, "Discourse and Historical Analysis: The Case of al-Ṭabarī History of the Messengers and the Kings", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 16, no. 3 (2005), 297–300.

[58] Franz Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition", 35-45. ʿAzīz al-ʿAẓmah, *Al-Kitābah al-Tārīkhiyyah wa al-Maʿrifah al-Tārīkhiyyah,* 1st edn. (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1983), 93–127.

history, such as anachronism . The omission also exemplifies the neglect of traditional approaches that would have enhanced their understanding of this traditional matter and linked the structural, intellectual and historical components that shaped the ancient story. Beside these conceptual and methodological omissions, there is thematic omission: contemporary studies concerned with Islamic historiography do not consider some Muslim universal historical works i.e., al-Maqdisī's and al-Thaʿālibī's works, or give only brief accounts of them that seem to be insufficient to build further understanding.

Another important tendency in the field of Islamic historiography is notable works that seek to anatomise the structure of early Muslim historical narratives that manifest in *khabar* (plural; *akhbār*), whether short or long.[59] This anatomy deals with *akhbār* mostly through two orientations.[60] The first is to unmask the "falsifications" of such narratives, which refer to the outcome of the early narrative transmissions being exposed to distortions. An example on this is Albrecht Noth's *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*.[61] The second seeks to understand the hidden motives and intentions for early Muslim historians by assuming that they were not concerned with providing facts, but rather opinions or propaganda discourses, sometimes in allegorical ways; Tayeb al-Hibri's work is good example of this.[62]

However, there are some methodological and epistemological drawbacks in the previous studies, despite their attempts to analyse the historical writings' structures. First of all, it seems that some contemporary studies are inclined to rely heavily on Western literary criticism methods and apply them to traditional Muslim historical narratives, yet such dependency results in what Stefan Leder argues can "erode, even

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[59] Stefan Leder, "The Use of Composite Form in the Making of the Islamic Historical Tradition" In *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip F Kennedy, 125–48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005).

[60] These two orientations based on Meisami's essay. Julie Scott Meisami, "Masʿūdī and the Reign of Al-Amīn: Narrative and Meaning in Medieval Muslim Historiography" in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip F. Kennedy, 149–153 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005).

[61] Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source Critical Study*, 2nd ed. Trans. Michael Bonner (Princeton, New Jersey: Darwin Press, 1994).

[62] Tayeb el-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Narrative of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Jacob Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Art of ʿAbbāsid Apologetics* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1986)

destroy, the foundations of historiography"[63] by reducing "the historical kernel to the vanishing point" as per Fred Donner.[64] Indeed, the exponents of literary criticism resemble those of the hadith method as both are influenced by historicism, a philological historical approach, adherence to the dichotomy of falsehood and truth at the expense of multi interpretive perspectives that might reflect historical reflections at the time of writing. However, those from the second orientation could fall into the trap of similar methodological and epistemological polemics even when they have denied using literary criticism. Often, these use hermeneutical tools (although some of them, like Stefan Leder, do not clarify which) and other linguistic ones, as the main approaches drawn from certain languages and cultures.[65] By using such methods, they focus on unspoken and hidden fictional sides at the expense of factual ones in Muslim historical narratives and seek to extract the former from what are regarded as historical facts. This might be conducted around the centric view that evaluates Muslim historical writings and postulates them in a given assumption by likening them to literature from other cultures and civilisations.[66] They also apply heavily linguistic contemporary methods that have, to some extent, civilisational idiosyncrasies onto traditional historical Muslim narratives and omit traditional Islamic linguistic approaches that were formulated in the same civilisational and cultural milieu from which such narratives emerged. Arabic was embedded in Muslim historical writings in the formative and classic eras, and contemporary studies need to benefit from traditional Muslim Arabic hermeneutical and interpretive approaches. These drawbacks are linked to the abovementioned methodological and epistemological obstacles concerning contemporary approaches.

Alongside these drawbacks, there are thematic, methodical and conceptual absences in the contemporary studies. First, they tend to be interested in analysing historical narratives in Islamic history and do not pay attention to narratives that shed light on

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[63] Stefan Leder, "Al-Madāʾinī's Versions of Qiṣṣat al-Shūrá: The Paradigmatic Character of Historical Narration" in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Birgit Embaló, Sebastian Günther and Maher Jarrār, (Stuttgart: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), 379.

[64] Donner, *Narrative of Islamic Origin*, 19.

[65] Stefan Leder, "The Literary Use of the Khabar: A Basic Form of Historical Writing" in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, eds. Averil Cameron and Lawrence I Conrad. 277–315 (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1992).

[66] For criticism of this centric assumption, Meisami, "Masʿūdī and the Reign of al-Amīn", 149–152.

pre-Islamic periods. However, examples such as Mohsen Zakeri's study on the fall of the Hatra Kingdom and Walter Oller's study on the tropes of *baghy* in Arab battles (*ayyām al-ʿArab*) are exceptions to this,[67] but even these studies tend not to see the historical reflection of such narratives on the time of their Muslim compilers and the links between them. They do not contextualise these narratives in a broader sense. Such types of narratives raise crucial questions, such as when analysing the structure of Islamic narratives regarding pre-Islamic periods, whether we can disclose the historiographical and historical concepts related to the time of writing. Therefore, our understanding of Muslim historians' writing and time periods can be increased by studying what they wrote about others, not merely themselves. This might be particularly worth understanding in Alexander the Great's history in Muslim universal historical writings in the periods under consideration, which has some features that might not exist in other historical accounts.

Secondly, contemporary writings also face the absence of correlated and integral analytical structures that connect between textual structures of historical narratives and their contextual and historical structures that present the historical reflection of the former. Some of them concentrate heavily on analysing the first part – the textual structure – and neglect external context, which means that attention to some features would probably not provide an integral and comprehensive view of this matter, but merely a synchronic intertextuality view, as exemplified in Joseph Sadan's study of the defeat of the Barmakids family by Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. [68] Additionally, it is effective when some of them analyse the textual structure and leap directly into the historical reflections for historical narratives, although there is a missing link exemplified in the missing historiographical and historical concepts that constitute the controlling standards (*maʿāyīr ḥākimah*) for historical writings and which, at the same time, bridge the gap between the latter and historical reflections.

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[67] Zakeri, "Arabic Report on the Fall of Hatra to the Sassanids", 158-167. Walter Oller, "Al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim and the Tropes of *Baghy* in the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*" in *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip. F Kennedy, 233–60 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005).
[68] Joseph Sadan, "Death of Princess: Episodes of the Barmakid Legend in Its Late Evolution" in *Story Telling in the Framework of non-Fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. Stefan Leder, 130–57 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

Lastly, the absence is conceptual as well when some studies (like Dona Sue Straley's thesis on al-Ṭabarī) discuss the issue of historical reflections in historical Muslim writings, but do not conceptualise this historiographical phenomenon that is related to the concept of anachronisms or their relevant concepts: presentism and projection.[69] Whether such reflections (like Josef Van Ess's study on political ideas in Early Islam) belong to the historiographical or historical side is also unclear.[70]

There are some contemporary studies that try to present balanced contextualisation of historical and textual sides of historical texts – examples on which are the works of Tarif Khalidi, Chase Robinson, Fred Donner, Konrad Hirschler and Abed el-Rahman Tayyara. Khalidi intends to locate the epistemic frameworks of Muslim historiography by contextualising them within the intellectual background of historians and their political spheres,[71] but he does not tell us about the procedures of the textual side of his approach that help him analyse the epistemic frameworks. He also reduces the historical context to a political one and omits other aspects; Robinson does when he looks at the role of courts and traditionalists/muḥaddithūn to produce and direct historical writings, but unlike Khalidi, Robinson proposes three major types of writings (biography, prosopography and chronography) that dominate Muslim historiography and he tries to study their textual and structural elements.[72] Still, he reduces knowledge into religion, or more precisely, into one type of religious knowledge that clings to hadith instead of other intellectual fields. The same problems occur to the historical context by restricting it to the courts. Although Robinson pays attention to the internal system of the three types of historical writing, he does not explain the methodical procedures of the textual side of his approach that deals with them. Donner is concerned with two matters: Muslims' reasons and motives for writing history and how they "proceed to describe their tradition of historical writings."[73] He places the first part in the intellectual context of Muslim history and in the second he relies on Albert Noth's work to categorise major historical themes in

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[69] Dona Sue Straley, "Perspective and Method in Early Islamic Historiography: A Study of al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*" (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977).
[70] Josef Van Ess, "Political Ideas In Early Islamic Religious Thought", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 2 (2001): 151-164.
[71] Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, XII.
[72] Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, Xxiv-xxv, 83-97 and 114-123.
[73] Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, xi.

early Muslim historical writings, yet from interests and motivations that contribute to "the articulation of each".[74] The historical context again seems to be reduced by focusing only on the intellectual side and neglecting others. This means the author has a clear approach to identifying internal and textual structure of Muslim historical writings, but does not go further and explore the historical reflections of such writings and their themes in the time of their compilation. As for Hirschler's study, it seems to be different and makes efforts to bridge gaps in other studies. By concentrating on two Muslim historians in the seventh/thirteenth century, Hirschler seeks to anatomise narrative strategies in their works that seek to produce sets of meanings that have significances to their time.[75] To achieve this task, the author uses certain contemporary approaches and theories. He, first of all, relies on Gabrielle Spiegel's approach that combines "social history and literary studies" in the sense that Hirschler links the two Muslim historical writings with their social and intellectual contexts and sees the "complex relationship" between texts and contexts in terms of reflection and production.[76] Secondly, the author benefits from Clifford Geertz' and Hayden White's works to locate and analyse the meanings and narrative strategies in such historical works.[77] Hirschler's study would have been more fruitful had he combined contemporary and Muslim traditional approaches (especially jurisprudential theory and more precisely (*dilālat al-siyāq* and *al-qarāʾin al-siyāqiyyah*), since he deals with Muslim traditional historical writings. Such traditional approaches provide levels of meanings and indicative categories absent in Hirschler's work. Hirschler's study deals with the late classic period that is far from our period of interest and which deals with Islamic themes during Muslim eras, which are again very different.

Finally, Abed el-Rahman Tayyara's PhD thesis, *The Reflection of Non-Islamic Cultures in Early Islamic Universal Histories*[78] where he focuses on Muslim universal

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[74] Ibid, xii-xiii.
[75] Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1.
[76] Ibid, 3. For Spiegel, Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
[77] Ibid, 3-6. For Geertz, Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[78] Abed el-Rahman Tayyara, "The Reflection of Non-Islamic Cultures In Early Islamic Universal Histories" (PhD, New York University, 2005).

historical writings in (third/ninth and fourth/tenth) centuries and selects seven historians. Tayyara's aims are to find out how such historians write about non-Muslim cultures (in particular, Biblical tradition, pre-Islamic Persians and Greco-Romans) in terms of themes and sources, and their historical reflections on the time of Muslim historians in (third/ninth and fourth/tenth) centuries. To achieve his aims, Tayyara uses comparative textual analysis and more importantly, historical models. The latter is "an organisational strategy and investigating tool" that seeks to study "common narratives, themes and episodes" in Muslim universal historical writings.[79] Therefore, in each of the three main cultures, we will find major thematic or categorical models. Tayyara dedicates a long sub-section in the chapter on Greco-Roman culture to Alexander the Great, and within it, he examines the sources and narrative portrayals of Alexander.[80] He presents three historical models for Alexander history: prophetic-regal model (exemplified in the Alexander linkage with Dhū al-Qarnayn and with Persian royal linage),[81] regal-philosophical model (exemplified in Alexander's relationship with Aristotle)[82] and Persian-national model (exemplified in Alexander's conflict with and destruction of the Persian Empire),[83] each of which has historical reflections on the time of Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

Although I believe the author explains the meaning and procedures of historical models appropriately, he does not do the same for his comparative textual analysis. That is, he does not explain its methodical procedure and its epistemological foundations. Secondly, Tayyara does not provide justification for why he does not include Miskawayh's book and al-Thaʿālibī's books with other historical universal works (although he mentions them in different places in the thesis but not as primary works). Both of authors lived in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, and their books are contemporaneous.[84] It is true that historical themes and their historical

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[79] Ibid, 24.
[80] Ibid, 283-301.
[81] Ibid, 294-305.
[82] Ibid, 305-310.
[83] Ibid, 305-11.
[84] See in this chapter, 1.3 Parameters of the thesis.

reflections in the time of Muslim historians play a pivotal role in Tayyara's thesis, yet he does not take further steps to crystallise this aim conceptually. That is, he does not talk about the role of anachronism and realism in shaping historical writings. Finally, the thesis would have been more effective and fruitful if it had focused on one culture or one historical phase (such as the Alexander era) and elaborated on its historical models and their historical reflections.

These works thus suffer from thematic absence (Alexander history, with exception of Tayyara), methical absence (Muslim traditional approaches) and conceptual absence (anachronism) although Hirschler and Donner each discuss an aspect of it, but in light of Quran and hadith.[85] Therefore, the methodological and thematic inflations and reductions in contemporary studies concerned with the structures of historical Muslim writings can lead to thematic, methodological and conceptual negligence, which, in return, necessitates more investigation.

1.2.3 Contemporary studies of Alexander in Muslim historical writings

Interest in Alexander in early Muslim historical writing surfaced at the end of the nineteenth century, when a group of European scholars started to edit and study Middle Eastern versions of Alexander's history, such as Ernest Budge in his works, *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* and *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great: Being a Series of Ethiopic Texts*.[86] The seminal work was *Beitrag Zur Geschichte Des Alexanderromans* by Theodor Nöldeke, who tried to demonstrate how Arabic tradition derived material from Syriac versions of Alexander's romance and legend and how they had an impact on the story of Dhū al-Qarnayn in the Quran.[87] Later, many scholars wrote extensively about Alexander in Arabic and Muslim traditions ranging from analysing specific regions like the Arabic version of Alexander history in al-Andalus (Bruno Meissner, *Mubašširs Akhbâr El-Iskender'*), to books like *Kitāb*

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[85] Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography*, 65, 80, 108. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 47-49.

[86] E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo Callisthenes* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2003, first published in 1889). Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*.

[87] Theodor Nöldeke, *Beitrag Zur Geschichte Des Alexanderromans* (F. Tempsky: Wien, 1890), 30-33. I would like to thank Callum Darragh, a student at the Foreign Languages Centre and the Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies, for translating Nöldeke's work into English.

al-Tījān (*The book of Crown*) by Ibn Hishām (218/833) (Israel Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende Und Der Alexanderroman; Eine Sagenge-schichtliche Und Literarhistorische Untersuchung*) and translations such as the influence of the Arabic version on the Ethiopic one (Karl Weymann's, *Die Aethiopische Und Arabische Übersetzung Des Pseudo-Callisthenes: Eine Literarkritische Untersuchung*).[88]

Other notable scholars and researchers need to be mentioned here. First, Richard Stoneman's book *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* seeks to deal with Alexander in a thematic and historiographical way. The author categorises his work as a biography of Alexander.[89] Stoneman surveys themes from various cultures and civilisations, including the Muslim, and mentions some early prominent Muslim historians who wrote about Alexander such as Wabh b. Munabbih (34/655), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (257/871), Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (282/895), al-Ṭabarī and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain al-Masʿūdī (345/956). In addition to these early historians, the author mentions other figures from other fields, for instance ʿUmārah b. Zayd (third/ninth century), al-Thaʿlabī (427/1035), Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī (after 290 AH) and Ibn Khurdadhabah (circa 280/893). It seems that the main role of early Muslim historical writings in Stoneman's work is that of a conduit that carries Persian, Syriac and Jewish influences and which then became the main sources for later Persian, Turkish and Arabic works.

Second is David Zuwiyya in *The Alexander Romance in the Arabic Tradition* and his latest book *Islamic Legends concerning Alexander the Great*.[90] While the main concern of the author is early fictional and non-historical works – for instance ʿUmārah b. Zayd, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād and two anonymous works – he turns to

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[88] Bruno Meissner, "Mubašširs Akhbâr El-Iskender" *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 49 (1895): 583–627. *Israel Friedlaender, Die Chadhirlegende Und Der Alexanderroman; Eine Sagenge-schichtliche Und Literarhistorische Untersuchung*, (Leipzig: Druck Und Verlag Von B. G. Teubner, 1913); Karl Friedrich Weymann, *Die Aethiopische Und Arabische Übersetzung Des Pseudocallisthenes: Eine Literarkritische Untersuchung* (N.L. Druck Von M. Schmersow: Kirchhain, 1901). The recognition of these works is based on Doufikar-Aerts's literature review, Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: A Survey of the Alexander Tradition through Seven Centuries: From Pseudo-Callisthenes to Ṣūrī*, (Paris: Peeters, 2010), 4–6.
[89] Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
[90] David Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Romance in the Arabic Tradition" in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Zuwiyya, 73-112 (Leiden: Brill, 2011). David Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the Great: Taken from Two Medieval Arabic Manuscripts in Madrid* (Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, 2001).

historians like Wahb, al-Dīnawarī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (654/1256). The main issue of interest to such historians is the identity of Alexander and his relationship to the Quranic figure of Dhū al-Qarnayn and how such figures entered the Islamic tradition and the process of merging and separating them during the first four centuries.[91] However, Zuwiyya discusses this matter in general within the broad context of Muslim tradition like Quranic commentaries, wisdom literatures and works of fiction. Aside from this, the author notes in passing that Muslims understood Alexander in an Islamic pattern and Islamised him.[92]

Third, Hamad Bin Seray in his article "Alexander the Great in the Islamic Accounts and the Classic Sources: A Comparative Study", which appears as an independent study that deals with historical works,[93] divides his study into two parts. First, he attempts to trace the sources of such historical works and "compare them with classical sources for the history of Alexander"[94] and, second, he briefly examines the information cited by Muslim historians al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Thaʿālabī. Three points should be noted from Bin Seray's article. First, by demonstrating that Islamic accounts derived their information from different sources, including Greek, Syriac, Persian and Biblical, the author responds to Rosenthal's notion that Islamic accounts were confined to Jewish and Christian ones. Second, by analysing *Al-Fihrist* (*The Index*) of Ibn al-Nadīm, the author seems to be able to identify one of the books of Ibn al-Kalbī on which al-Ṭabarī depended, about the regional kings (*mulūk al-tawāʾif*). Third, Bin Seray, like Zuwiyya, mentions the Islamisation of Alexander by Muslim historians.

Fourth, is Paul Weinfield's PhD thesis *The Islamic Alexander: a Religious and Political Theme in Arabic and Persian Literature.*[95] The first chapter is dedicated to Alexander in early Arabic historiography and the second to Alexander in Quranic

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[91] Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Romance in the Arabic Tradition", 73–75. Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends,* 1–10.

[92] Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends,* 3.

[93] Hamad M. Bin Seray, "Alexander the Great in the Islamic Accounts and in the Classical Sources: A Comparative Study", *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 6 (1994): 51–66. I thank Dr Hamad Bin Seray for providing me with his essay.

[94] Bin Seray, "Alexander the Great" 53.

[95] Paul Weinfield, "The Islamic Alexander: A Religious and Political Theme in Arabic and Persian Literature" (PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2008).

Arabic commentaries, while the third and fourth are devoted to Alexander in Persian literature. After explaining the main aims of his thesis, which is "a study of various meanings and morals that Muslim writers drew from stories about Alexander the Great, but it is also, as a result, a study of medieval Iranian identity",[96] the author shows that his approach belongs to the field of literary criticism because he depends on the school of New Historicism that looks for the relationship between texts and their contexts. He also uses the concept of "dialogism" that explicates the different perspectives of a given writer.[97] In the chapter on Alexander in Arabic historiography, the author attempts to cover this issue during the first four centuries by classifying the chapter into four themes. He provides a discussion on the sources of Alexander in early Muslim tradition, then moves on to the Umayyad phase and examines Mario Grignaschi's arguments on the first Muslim endeavours to translate works concerned with Alexander.[98] He then addresses the second and third centuries in the Abbasid era where he focuses on two major historians, al-Dīnawarī and al-Yaʿqūbī, and argues how historical changes in Iran at the time affected their historical conception of Alexander's character.[99] Finally, Weinfield moves on to the fourth/tenth century and concentrates on al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and to a lesser extent on Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī. Here he argues that these historians attacked Alexander, claiming that he lacked moral policy and had a personality that caused political failure.[100] What distinguishes Weinfield's thesis is that it not only traces the sources of Alexander's tradition in Muslim historical works and compares their themes, but that it also seeks to put them in their historical contexts and identify their meanings.

The fifth is Anna Akasoy, who recently published two chapters about Alexander in Muslim tradition: "Iskandar the Prophet: religious themes in the Islamic version of the Alexander Legend" and "Geography, history, and prophecy: mechanism of

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[96] Ibid, 4

[97] Ibid, 4, 6–7. For Bakhtin's dialogism, M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. 5th ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

[98] Weinfield, "The Islamic Alexander", 23–42.

[99] Ibid, 49–58.

[100] Ibid, 59–68.

integration in the Islamic Alexander Legend".[101] In each, the author sought to reveal religious and geographical projections in Alexander history in Muslim tradition by showing the link between the identity of Dhū al-Qarnayn and Alexander as manifestation of the role of religion in transmitting knowledge and in linking Alexander with the Prophet Muḥammad on the grounds that the former represents the universal imaginary geography and expanded conquests of the prophetic scheme of the latter.[102]

The last is Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, who seems to be the most prolific. She studies Alexander in Muslim Arabic traditions and her endeavours exemplify this in her book, *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: A Survey of the Alexander Tradition through Seven Centuries: From Pseudo-Callisthenes to Ṣūrī*.[103] In this work, the author proposes a new classification for Alexander's tradition; first is the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which includes historical, geographical and fictional or romance works; second is literature on wisdom, which is a collection of works that contains philosophical and pedagogic proverbs; third is the Dhū al-Qarnayn tradition, which includes Quranic exegeses and prophetic stories; and finally, *Sīrat al-Iskandar*, which refers to an "Arabian epic about Alexander, apparently entirely in the tradition of Arabic semi-oral *sīra* literature".[104] In the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition, Doufikar studies the characters, motifs and sources of Alexander accounts in the works of al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Mubashir b. Fātik, anonymous author of *Nihāyat al-Arab* (Pesedu-Aṣmaʿī) and some Christian historians such as Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīq (328/940), al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd (1273 CE) and Abū Shākir al-Rāhib (thirteenth century). More than any other contemporary work, the author follows a

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[101] Anna A. Akasoy, "Iskandar the Prophet: Religious Themes in Islamic Version of Alexander Legend" in *Globalisation of Knowledge in the Post-Antique Mediterranean, 700-1500*, Sonja Brentjes and Jürgen Renned, 167-204. 1st ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2016). Anna Akasoy, 'Geography, History, and Prophecy: Mechanism of Integration in the Islamic Alexander Legend', in *Locating Religions - Contact, Diversity And Translocality*, Reinhold Glei and Nikolas Jasperted. 16-36, (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
[102] Akasoy, "Iskandar the Prophet", 169, 189-190. Akasoy, "Geography, History, and Prophecy", 17, 31-32.
[103] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*.
[104] Ibid, 196.

detailed genealogical chart that traces the evolution of sources of Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition in Islamic tradition.[105]

In addition to these major works, there are some articles and chapters that shed light on Alexander in early Muslim universal historical writings, whether in general or specific topics: *Alexander at the Caspian Gates* and *Alexander's Horns* by Andrew Anderson;[106] *The Tomb of Alexander the Great in Arabic Sources* by Christides Vassilios;[107] *Pseudo-Callisthenes Orientalis and the Problem of 'Du L-qarnain* by R. Macuch;[108] *Legends on Alexander the Great in Moslem Spain* by M. Marín;[109] *The Pseudo-Aristotelian Kitab Sirr Al-Asrār* by Mahmoud Manzalaoui;[110] section three in Chapter Four of *al-Masʿūdī and His World* by Ahmad Shboul;[111] *al-Tabari's Tales of Alexander* by el-Sayed Gad; [112] a section in Michael Bonner's thesis *An Historiographical Study of Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Wanand al-Dīnawarī's Kitāb al-Aḫbār al-Ṭiwāl;*[113] two articles about Dhū al-Qarnayn *Baayn al-Khabar Al-Qurʾānī wa al-Wāqiʿ al-Tārīkhī* (*The Man with Two Horns, between Quranic Report and Historical Reality*) by ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAskar;[114] and lastly, *Facing the Land of*

[105] Ibid, 91.

[106] Andrew Runni Anderson, "Alexander's Horns", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 100–122. Andrew Runni Anderson, "Alexander at the Caspian Gates", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 59 (1928), 130–63.

[107] Vassilios Christides, "The Tomb of Alexander the Great in Arabic Sources" in *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth; Hunter of the East*, ed. Ian Richard Netton, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 165–73.

[108] R Macuch, "Pseudo-Callisthenes Orientalis and the Problem of 'Du L-Qarnain", *Graeco-Arabica IV* (1991), 223–64.

[109] M. Marín, "Legends on Alexander the Great in Moslem Spain", *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991), 71–89.

[110] Mahmoud M. Manzalaoui, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian '*Kitab Sirr al-Asrār*': Facts and Problems", *Oriens* 23–24 (1974), 147–258.

[111] Ahmad M. H. Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī and His World*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1979), 113–120.

[112] El-Sayed M. Gad, "Al-Tabari's Tales of Alexander: History and Romance" in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, eds. Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson and Ian Richard Netton (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing, 2012), 219–32.

[113] Michael Richard Jackson Bonner, "An Historiographical Study of Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Wanand al-Dīnawarī's Kitāb al-Aḫbār al-Ṭiwāl" (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2014), 110–116.

[114] ʿAbd Allāh al-Askar, "Dhū al-Qarnayn Bayn al-Khabar al-Qurʾānī wa al-Wāqiʿ al-Tārīkhī", *al-Dārah*, 3, no. 3 (1977): 36-43. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAskar, "Dhū al-Qarnayn Bayn al-Khabar al-Qurʾānī wa al-Wāqiʿ al-Tārīkhī 2", *al-Dārah*, 3, no. 4 (1978): 22-29. I thank Dr Faisal al-Wazzan for sending me al-ʿAskar's essays.

Darkness: Alexander, Islam and the Quest for the Secrets of God by Christine Chism.[115]

There are some methodological, epistemic and conceptual drawbacks to these studies. First, it seems that the early universal historical works are paid less attention than the other traditional works. In fact, most of the major works focus primarily on fictional, epic and religious (Quranic and prophetic) works that concern Alexander, while the historical works resemble an introduction or additional illustration of other works. Another point is that even those who allocate individual works or chapters to Alexander face two problems. Firstly, They do not examine some important early universal works that had significant information and perspectives on Alexander, such as al-Maqdisī and al-Thaʿālibī's books, which are never mentioned, or al-Aṣfahānī and Miskawayh, who have been neglected by some studies. Some contemporary studies of historical works tend to cover various periods that have distinct historical circumstances and traits, which means that they have different historical motives and reflections for their topics. For instance, it is likely difficult to claim that both al-Ṭabarī and al-Maqrīzī exhibit the same historical concepts and reflections in their writings about Alexander, and accordingly, we need historical unity to deal with this issue. The second problem is that most contemporary works survey all traditional works on the Alexander tradition, or trace their roots and sources, but they do not sufficiently analyse historical concepts and reflections behind Alexander's account in historical works, nor do most of them analyse the historiographical structure of such accounts or seek to extract the fundamental historiographical concepts behind such a structure. This point leads us to another: that contemporary works appear to pay less attention to conceptualisation of important historiographical and historical issues that would have clarified them, such as the Islamicisation of Alexander or the modes of narration. Similarly, there is an absence of theories that would give an opportunity for a greater understanding of the systematic writings of historical works which enable us to experience the dynamic aptitude of such theories in historical fields. Finally, contemporary works seem to use Western approaches and omit Islamic traditions that

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[115] Christine Chism, "Facing the Land of Darkness: Alexander, Islam and the Quest for the Secrets of God" in *Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages: Transcultural Perspectives,* ed. Markus Stock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 51–75.

might offer valuable insight into traditional issues like the account of Alexander in early Muslim universal historical writings.

1.3 Research questions

Our literature review frames the main research question of our study, which is:

- What historiographical structure, concepts, historical concepts and reflections emerge from Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writing in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, and what is the relationship between them?

This generates substantial supplementary queries:

- How effective are the jurisprudential theory approaches of (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*), Western theories and concepts (Hayden White's Theory, the Event-making Man Theory and the Anachronism concept) to understanding Muslim historiography?
- What was the development of the Alexander tradition from its emergence until the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries?

1.4 Parameters of the thesis

The parameters of this thesis are to examine Alexander in universal historical works written by Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The reasons behind choosing Alexander lies in his unique position in main categories of early Muslim historical writings. The Alexander history occupies a distinct position and belongs neither to Prophetic, Muslim history or non-Muslim history solely, but instead constitutes a fourth category that is comprised of Muslim and non-Muslim history. This could not be found in any other historical figures in early Muslim historical writings. Due to the geographical spread of his conquests, many empires and civilisations witnessed historical changes and the spectre of Alexander always seems to be present within them. Islamic culture and civilisation that spread across Europe, Asia and Africa are no exception, and present him as an effective historical figure whose historical lessons Muslims should learn from. Beside the historical interest in Alexander, there is an Islamic one through his connections to his preceptor Aristotle (322 BC), whose ideas became embedded in Muslim culture, in addition to the identity of Dhū al-Qarnayn, a king mentioned in the Quran. All these factors

enhanced the attendance of Alexander in the Islamic tradition more than other Muslim and non-Muslim figures or rulers.[116] Anna Akasoy argues that "the many facets of the historical Alexander and the flexibility of his legend allowed him to become exceptional instrument of integration in medieval Islamic world."[117] Thus, the unique position of Alexander history in Muslim history could tell us about Muslim thought, historical concerns, and eventually, historical writings from outside the creedal scope but in the middle between Islamic and other historical perspectives because Muslim historians dedicated considerable works to his life. The history of Alexander could distinctively reflect that of Muslims' and their historical writings.

Another parameter is that we will not study Christian historians who lived in the Muslim world at that time who wrote about Alexander. The reason for this is that their works have either not cascaded to us, like the writings of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (260/873), or have reached us only in part, such as Maḥbūb b. Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī (4th/10th).[118] Even if we accept the veracity and full account of al-Manbijī's book *Al-Tārīkh al-Majmū' 'alá al-Taḥqīq Wa al-Taṣdīq* (*The Collected History of Investigation and Ratification*), which is attributed to Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq and, like the former work, was edited by Luwīs Shīkhū [Louis Cheikho], we could not include them in our study for several reasons. First, there is doubt regarding the authenticity of al-Manbijī's and Ibn al-Biṭrīq's books, and Shīkhū's edition has also been criticised.[119] Second, al-Manbijī and Ibn al-Biṭrīq belong to a different cultural and religious milieu that would give his work different historical concepts and reflections

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[116] For the impact of Alexander on Muslim Arab tradition, Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Romance in the Arabic Tradition", 73-112. Richard Stoneman, "Alexander The Great in the Arabic Tradition" in *The Ancient Novel and Beyond*, eds. Stelios Panayotakis, M. Zimmerman, and Wytse Hette Keulen, 3–21 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[117] Akasoy, "Geography, History, and Prophecy", 21.

[118] Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 80. Fuʾād Sizkīn [Fuat Sezgin], *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, trans. Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī, vol. 2, pt. 1, (Riyadh: Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Suʿūd al-Islāmīyah, 1983), 190–191. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Al-Kitābah al-Tārīkhiyyah wa Manāhij al-Naqd al-Tārīkhī 'ind al-Muʾarrikhīn al-Muslimīn*, (Cairo, al-Dār al-Miṣriyyah al-Lubnāniyyah, 2017), 175-187.

[119] Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Romance in the Arabic Tradition", 98–99. See also 'Umar al-Tadmurī's criticsim to Shīkhū's edition. Agabius b. Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī, *Al-Muntakhab min Tārīkh al-Manbajī*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī, (Tripoli, Lebanon, Dār al-Manṣūr, 1986), 8-17. For Shīkhū's editions, see: Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīq, *Al-Tārīkh al-Majmū' 'alá al-Taḥqīq wa al-Taṣdīq*, ed. Luwīs Shīkhū (Beirut, Maṭbaʿat al-Ābāʾ al-Yasūʿiyyīn, 1905). Maḥbūb b. Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī, *Al-Mukallal bi Faḍāʾil al-Ḥikmah al-Mutawwaj bi Anwā' al-Falsafah*, ed. Luwīs Shīkhū, (Beirut, Maṭbaʿat al-Ābāʾ al-Yasūʿiyyīn, 1908). See another edition of al-Manbijī's book, Alexander Vassiliev, "Kitab al-'Unvan", *Patrologia Orientalis* 5 (1910): 501-691, 7 (1911): 414-591, 8 (1912): 399-550, 11 (1915): 145-272.

than Muslim works. It seems unsound to compare only one Christian historian as representative of Eastern Christian society with eight Muslim historians as representatives of Muslim society.

The third parameter is the period under consideration. Many universal works that have reached us were written in that time and their reporting on historical events ends either at the end of the third/ninth century or fourth/tenth century.[120] Such works absorbed previous historical works from the second/eighth century and became sources for other works in following centuries. In addition, there is a historical continuity between the universal works in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries in that they came after each other and their authors lived in a period with similar historical circumstances.[121] After them, we witness the absence of universal history for almost a century, which means different historical circumstances and hence a historical discontinuity between them and those who came after them.[122]

The third parameter is Universal History, which means we will exclude Muslim historical works that concentrate on one area, or other works from various disciplines such as literature, philosophy, geography, Quranic exegeses and, above all, epical works. Such works (with exception of the last) do not offer a full account of Alexander from birth to death, only have scattered information about him or focus on his proverbs (philosophical literature) rather than the historical incidents that revolve around him. Authors of local history also tended to be interested in certain themes in Alexander's tradition that are directly connected to their local history and hence the absence of a general view of Alexander and history. In contrast, universal works offer a full account of Alexander's history and put it within the context of ancient history

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[120] With the exception of al-Thaʿālibī, who might have finished his book at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century since he dedicated it to his living patron at the time: Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Ghaznawī, who died in 409 or 412 AH. For al-Thaʿālibī, Kārl Brūkilmān [Carl Brockelmann], *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī*, trans. ʿAbd Al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār, vol. 6. (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif bi Miṣr, 1959), 117–118. See editor's introduction of *Al-Yamīnī*: Abū Naṣr al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī; Tārīkh al-ʿUtbī*, ed. by Iḥsān Dha al-Nūn al-Thāmirī, (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 2004), ix.
[121] Hamilton Gibb's periodisation tends to be confusing because he includes universal works of the fourth century with the first phase that starts at the beginning of Islam till the third century. See: H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization* Hamilton Gibb, *Studies on the Civilisation of Islam*, eds. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962). 117–119.
[122] It is thought that universal history was revived by Ibn al-Jawzī in his work *al-Muntaẓam* (597/1201). Gibb, Studies, 126. See also: Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al- Raḥmān b. al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam*, eds. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā and Muṣṭafá ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā, vols. 19 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1992).

which precedes that of Islam. Universal history upholds the continuity of human history and the connection between its various periods and the author's view of history in general that might not be found in local history.[123] This could not also be found in epical works because they do not universalise and historicise Alexander history, but rather fantasise it. Despite this, such works seem to not have an effect on Muslim tradition and societies in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, in comparison to universal historical works, and the paucity of the former might outweigh the status of the latter. Putting Alexander's history in a universal context means that he has historical significance and links to Muslims at that time, and therefore, part of understanding Muslim history and historiography is conducted through examining his story.

Eight primary sources of Alexander history will be examined. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* (*The Long Historical Reports*) by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (282/895); [124] *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* (*The History of al-Yaʿqūbī*) by Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Yaʿqūbī (about 292/905);[125] *Tārīkh al-Rusul Wa al-Mulūk* (*The History of Prophets and Kings*) by Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (310/923); [126] *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar* (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*) by ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain al-Masʿūdī (345/956) (with reference to his other books; *Al-Tanbīh Wa al-Ishrāf* (*Notification and Outlook*)

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[123] For more details about universal historical writings in Islamic history in the period under consideration, Rosenthal. *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 133–137. Bernd Radtke, "Toward a Topology of Abbasid Universal Chronicles" in *Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, eds. Wolfhart Heinrichs, P. M. Holt, H. N. Kennedy and Lutz Richter-Bernburg, 1–18. (St. Andrews: University Printing Department, 1990): 1–19. Marsham, "Universal Histories" 431–56.

[124] Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dinawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, ed. ʿUmar Fārūq al-Ṭabbāʿ, (Beirut: Dār al-Arqam, 1999). Robert Hoyland does not consider *Al-Akhbār Al-Tiwāl* as a universal historical book because it focuses mainly on Persian history. Robert. G. Hoyland. *The 'History of the Kings of the Persians' in Three Arabic Chronicles: The Transmission of the Iranian Past from Late Antiquity to Early Islam* (*Translated Texts for Historians Lup*) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018). 106 n398. However, I do not agree with him due to the fact that al-Dīnawarī does include in his work the beginning of humanity since Adam (Ādam), human spread across the earth after the flood, history of some prophets, such as Abraham (Ibrāhīm) and his son Ismael (Ismāʿīl), David (Dāwūd) and his son Solomon (Sulimān), the history of ancient Arabs, Alexander, and moreover the history of caliphs until his time.

[125] Ahmad b. Isḥāq al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Amīr Muhannā, vols. 2 (Beirut: Sharikat al-Aʿlamī li al-Maṭbaʿāt, 2010).

[126] Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul Wa al-Mulūk Wa Ṣilat Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vols. 11 (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1967).

and *Akhbār al-Zamān* (*Historical Reports of Time*),[127] *Tārīkh Sinī Mulūk al-Arḍ Wa al-Anbiyāʾ* (*Historical Annals of Kings of Earth and Prophets*) by Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī[128] (360/970); *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh* (*The Beginning and History*) by al-Muṭahhir al-Maqdisī (circa 355/966);[129] *Tajārib al-Umam wa Taʿāqub al-Himam* (*The Experiences of Nations and Consequences of High Ambitions*) by Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh (421/1030); [130] and finally *Ghurar fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa Akhbārihim* (*Beginnings or Blazes of Biographies of Kings and their Historical Reports*) by Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (after 400/1000).[131] These books and their compilers possess commonalities, differences and some problems.

As for their commonalities, they all lived in the Eastern region, *al-Mashriq,* of the Muslim world under the Abbasid caliphate or independent political entities such as the Buyids, Ghaznavids, Tulunids and Samanids that had nominal affiliation to the caliphate.[132] They lived in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries when the Muslim world witnessed the beginning of the deterioration of the Abbasid caliphate that paved the way for the dominance of Turkish military leaders and then of the Buyid tutelage which heralded the second era of the Abbasid caliphate. Their works belong to the category of universal history that was written in Arabic and covers creation and history of ancient peoples and prophets before the advent of Islam, then turns to Islam at its origin until the Abbasid era. Despite these similarities, the eight Muslim historians differ in terms of religious doctrine (Sunni, Shiite and Muʿtazilī), specialties (jurisprudence, exegesis, geography, literature, linguistic philosophy and

[127] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar*, ed. Asʿad Dāghir, vols. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1996). *Al-Tanbīh Wa al-Ishrāf,* ed. Lajnat Taḥqīq al-Turāth (Cairo: Dār wa Maktabt al-Hilāl, 2007). *Akhbār al-Zamān* (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1996).
[128] Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh Sinī Muluk al-Arḍ wa al-Anbiyāʾ* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1961).
[129] Al-Muṭahhir al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, ed. Clément Huart and studied by Bin Mizyān b. Sharqī (Beirut: Dār al-Rawāfid al-Thaqāfiyyah, 2015).
[130] Aḥmad b. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam wa Taʿāqub al-Himam*, ed. Abū al-Qāsim Imāmī, vols. 7 (Tehran: Dār Sarrūsh, 2000).
[131] ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs Wa Siyarihim*, ed. Hermann Zotenberg (Tehran: Republished by Maktabat al-Asīdi, 1963).
[132] Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilisation* vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 473–495, vol. 2. 13–42. Ira M. Lapidus, *Islamic Societies to the Nineteenth Century: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 105–113. Michael Bonner, "The Waning of Empire, 861–945" in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Chase F. Robinson, vol.1, 305–359 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Hugh Kennedy, "The Late ʿAbbāsid Pattern, 945–1050" in *The New Cambridge History of Islam),* ed. Chase F. Robinson, vol. 1, 360–394 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

botany), position (independent scholar, court preceptor and court scribe) and ethnicity (Arab, Persian, Kurd and (probably) Turk). As for their works, they are different from one another in terms of length and quantity of historical themes, main purposes or intentions, sources and in their concentration on and neglect of certain topics.

Some problems face us with these works. First, they differ from each other in terms of the length of Alexander history. Some, like al-Maqdisī and al-Yaʿqūbī, epitomise it and give a brief account of Alexander from his birth to his death, though they do cite some information about him that does not exist in other works. On the other hand, other historians, such as al-Thaʿālibī, described it to an extent that might digress from the main topic. Second, some Muslim historians did not mention all their sources for Alexander history. Third, we lack sufficient information about some Muslim historians, such as al-Maqdisī, al-Thaʿālibī, al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Dīnawarī, to know about their personalities, social life, political activities and intellectual backgrounds. Fourth, some of these works, such as *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh* and *Gurar,* have not been edited aptly or even reprinted, to the extent that they were attributed to other authors.[133] Similarly, we are missing parts of some of the primary sources for the latter, of which we only have the first sections that discuss ancient nations, especially Persia, while parts on Islamic history are missing. This means it is difficult to extract the views of al-Thaʿālibī about his time in the context of universal history.[134]

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[133] The first book was edited by Clément Huart between 1899–1903, and the second by Hermann Zotenberg in 1900. The first book was attributed to Abū Ziad al-Balkhī. See Clément Huart's reconsideration of this matter: *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 89–90. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām, Qāmūs Tarājim Li Ashhar Al-Rijāl Wa Al-Nisāʾ Min Al-ʿArab Wa Al-Mustaʿribīn Wa Al-Mustashriqīn*, 15th ed. vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm Li al-Malāyīn, 2002), 253. The second one was attributed to Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, a famous belletrist, who wrote *Yatīmat Al-Dahr* and was close to the Buyids, whereas the author of *Ghurar* was close to the Ghaznavids. See: Claude Cahen, "History and Historians" in *Religion, Learning, and Science in the ʿAbbasid Period*, eds. M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant, the Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 210. To clarify the identity of the author of *Ghurar*, see: Brūkilmān, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī*, vol. 6, 117–118. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām,* vol. 2, (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li al-Malāyīn, 2002), 254. Moreover, Luwīs Shīkhū points out that he found a book called *Ṭabaqāt Al-Mulūk*, which assigned to al-Thaʿālibī a time of the Buyids that is different from *Tārīkh al-Furs* as he called that, assigned to al-Thaʿālibī from the time of the Ghaznavids. See: Luwīs Shīkhū, *Riḥlāt ʿIlmiyyah Baḥthan ʿan Al-Mathṭūṭāṭ*, 2nd edn. (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 2010), 60.

[134] Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 142.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

The thesis has seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter presents a theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis in terms of its interdisciplinarity and triangulation basis and the application of Western theories and concepts to Islamic history. The chapter analyses Hayden White's theory and its relationship to historiographical structure, anachronism, and realism; the relationship of both to historiographical concepts of the case study; and the event-making man theory (theory of the great man) and its relationship to historical concepts. The second section of this chapter examines *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq* as the major jurisprudential theory's approaches and gives methodical and epistemological justifications for using them.

The third chapter supplies observational and historical background. It is concerned with the entrance of Alexander's tradition into Muslim tradition and its development and propagation through Muslim epistemic fields up to the fourth/tenth century, to show the environment that contributed to the presence of Alexander's history in Muslim universal historical writings.

Chapter four starts with analysing the meanings of historical *khabar* in Muslim tradition, and then analysing the two sides of the historiographical structure of Alexander's history in Muslim universal historical writing and such structure based on Hayden White's theory. Chapter Five deals with historiographical concepts; anachronism and realism (basically their textual side) that affects historical writing in terms of their forms and themes and introduces historical concepts and their reflections.

The sixth chapter will focus on historical concepts and their reflections and tries to demonstrate that such concepts occupied Muslim historians' minds in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. In the introduction, we will explain the relationship between historiographical concepts (their meta-textual side) and historical concepts. These concepts are reflected by Alexander's history in Muslim universal historical writings of these historians and can be confirmed by looking at other contemporaneous intellectual works. In this chapter, we will use the Event-making man theory to explain one of the historical concepts and its reflections. The major historical concepts are: *tadāwul*, event-making man, knowledge and unity.

Finally, the conclusion recapitulates both the aims of the thesis and the previous chapters, and places emphasis on its main contributions, with recommendations for further works.

Chapter 2. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework and Methods

This chapter contains two sections. The first will start with an explanation of how and why the thesis is interdisciplinary and triangulated, and the link between the two. It will then propose theoretical and methodological procedures to deal with contemporary theories and concepts and how we could apply them to Islamic history and historiography. It will elucidate a theory by Hayden White and explain its relationship to the historiographical structure of Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings and then analyse the concepts of anachronism and realism to show that they are the main historiographical concepts in such history. It will then explicate the theory of event-making man (theory of the great man), which is related to one of the historical concepts in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings. Finally, it will illustrate how these concepts connect to each other and create a complementary model for Alexander history.

The second section will examine the nature of the relationship between the disciplines of jurisprudential theory and Islamic history and historiography, and how and why they will become interdisciplinary, proposing theoretical and epistemological stages that might help us conduct a jurisprudential theory approach and support the argument that a good way to understand traditional historical issues is to benefit from traditional methods. Then we will narrow the scope and construe the nature, meanings, types, elements and procedures of two jurisprudential theory methods that we will use, *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*. Finally, it will provide justifications for using these two methods and show how the approach will work.

2.1 Theoretical and conceptual framework

Our study is a cross-cultural one comprising two Western theories and concepts, the general approach from jurisprudential theory, and the case study of Alexander in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Such a cross-cultural study needs a suitable framework to organise and harmonise its different parts. This is the role of interdisciplinarity and triangulation.

2.1.1 Interdisciplinarity

Interdisciplinarity is defined as:

> A mode of research by teams or individuals that integrates information, data, techniques, tools, perspectives, concepts and/or theories from two or more disciplines or bodies of specialised knowledge to advance fundamental understanding or to solve problems whose solutions are beyond the scope of a single discipline or field of research practice.[135]

It has many modes or types by which it seeks to infuse and harmonise existing disciplines that are relevant to each other in terms of epistemic knowledge, data and methods.[136] Another mode is subordination-service in which one discipline takes a subordinate role in favour of another; a matter that indicates the hierarchal relationship between them, whether on the level of ideas or of knowledge and research or methods.[137] The last one is wide interdisciplinarity, which means to integrate and synthesise existing disciplines that are not relevant to each other or do not share the same principles.[138]

Recently, various researchers and scholars have used interdisciplinarity to promote knowledge and methods and create new fields and disciplines. It seems that interdisciplinarity is inevitable when researchers proceed with their work in one discipline and then reach a certain point where they would benefit from another. Some independent disciplines were initially the result of benefiting from and capitalising on other fields.[139]

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[135] Committee on Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research, *Facilitating Interdisciplinary Research*, 2.

[136] Andrew Barry and Georgina Born, "Interdisciplinarity: Reconfigurations of the Social and Natural Sciences" in *Interdisciplinarity: Reconfigurations of the Social and Natural Sciences*, eds. Andrew Barry and Georgina Born, 1st edn. (London: Routledge, 2013), 11. Julie Thompson Klein, "Interdisciplinarity Approaches in Social Science Research" in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Science Methodology*, eds. William Outhwaite and Stephen P. Turner, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2007), 38.

[137] Barry and Born, "Interdisciplinarity: Reconfigurations of the Social and Natural Sciences", 11. Klein, "Interdisciplinarity Approaches in Social Science Research", 38. At the level of ideas and methods, Jerry A. Jacobs and Scott Frickel, "Interdisciplinarity: A Critical Assessment", *Annual Review of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (2009): 50–51.

[138] Klein, "Interdisciplinarity Approaches", 38.

[139] Barry and Born, "Interdisciplinarity", 4. Yan Zuo, "On Interdisciplinarity", *Discourse & Society* 8, no. 3 (1997), 439. Bengt Hansson, "Interdisciplinarity: For What Purpose?" *Policy Sciences* 32, no. 4 (December 1999), 339.

This study belongs to interdisciplinarity in that it integrates and synthesises two epistemic fields. The first is history that presents the historiographical case study of Alexander's history in Muslim universal history writings beside Western historical theories, and the second is jurisprudential theory as methodical and normative science that provides the general approach that meets our needs and leads to a new insight in historical studies. This interdisciplinarity affiliates to the first mode on the grounds that both jurisprudential theory and Islamic history belong to the Islamic tradition and arise from the same intellectual milieu, which means that interdisciplinarity could be applied to them and that Islamic history and Western historical theories belong to the field of history. However, our study might adopt the second mode because jurisprudential theory will supply the approach to Islamic history and historiography that will supply the potential data and materials for analysis.

Some would reject interdisciplinarity because it gives one discipline authority over another.[140] Yet such relations should not be taken at face value and we should remember that this is one of the three types of interdisciplinarity; an object or a case study will determine the kind of relationship and integration between certain disciplines.[141] Some fields experience a changeable status in terms of their methodology or epistemology; for example, history, which has to turn to other disciplines and fields to fill its gaps and develop itself.[142] There are debates on whether such discipline has its own method that distinguishes it from other fields and, if so, why we see various methods that might contradict each other and stem their roots from diverse epistemological aspects, and even among one group there are changing methodological trends.[143] This suggests that history seems unable to grow and develop in an isolated intellectual environment without exchanging and benefiting from other fields. Historically, and from an Islamic context, history was treated as a secondary discipline that offered ancillary knowledge to other fields, and

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[140] Timothy R. Austin et al. "Defining Interdisciplinarity." *Pmla* 111, no. 2 (March 1996), 273.

[141] For the role of the object in determining the method of research, Zuo, "On Interdisciplinarity", 440.

[142] For the epistemological and methodological problems of history, Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 27–50. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, transl. by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (London: Routledge, 2002), 3–16. Braudel, *On History*, 12–22.

[143] Keith Jenkins, *Rethinking History*, (London; Routledge, 2003). 16-19. Example of changing in one group is Annales School. See, François Dosse, *New History in France: The Triumph of the Annales*, trans. Peter V. Conroy, Jr. (Urbana and Chicago; University of Illinois Press, 1994).

vice versa. Those who engage in writing history were from different intellectual backgrounds that affected methodological and epistemological aspects in their historical writings. This suggests that history was an intellectual exchange and that it overlaps with other fields.[144]

2.1.2 Triangulation

Like interdisciplinarity, triangulation can be defined in a procedural sense. It denotes the use and combination of several methodologies or theories to study a single case.[145] It refers to the multiplicity, conjunction and integration of two or more subject in the research process. According to some researchers, there are four categories of triangulation. The first is data triangulation which is collecting and using different data sources to examine a given case. The second, method triangulation, uses more than one approach to analyse and evaluate the case and its data. The third, theory triangulation, applies diverse theories to the study, and the fourth, investigators' triangulation, occurs when a group of researchers engage in a joint investigation.[146]

This study will operate the first three types on two levels: generally across the study and specifically within specific topics and matters. However, the first level diverges from the approach of some contemporary researchers who are concerned with this method. Denzin contends that there is the "within-method" that signifies the use of a certain approach with diverse strategies, and the "between-method" that signifies the use of multiple approaches, one qualitative and the other quantitative and which refer to combining and integrating dimensions.[147] Our triangulation method is neither the "within" nor the "between" because we use both methods simultaneously throughout our study and they belong to the same field or discipline – jurisprudential theory – and

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[144] Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 54, 59, 64-65. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 104-115. Jacob Lassner*, The Middle East Remembered: Forged Identities, Competing Narratives, Contested Spaces* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 22-23.

[145] Norman K. Denzin, *The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, (London: Butterworths, 1970), 300. Constance T. Fischer, *Qualitative Research Methods for Psychologists: Introduction through Empirical Studies* (Burlington, MA: Elsevier Academic Press, 2006), 194.

[146] Omar Ghrayeb, Damodaran Purushhothaman and Vohra Promod, "Art of Triangulation: An Effective Assessment Validation Strategy", *Global Journal of Engineering Education* 13, no. 3 (2011), 96–97. Denzin, *The Research Act in Sociology*, 301–308.

[147] Denzin, *The Research Act in Sociology*, 307–308.

take the shape of a dialogical strategy that paves the way for a third process.[148] As for the second level, we will use two theories and a theoretical concept. The process will use integrative and synthetic steps by fusing the theoretical concept with one of our theories and applying the result to a certain point in our study. Meanwhile, theory triangulation is connected by applying the second theory to another point in our study without further integration or working with another theory. Still, we should take into consideration the fact that the two theories and theoretical concepts belong to the same field – history – and so they also take the shape of a dialogical strategy.

2.1.3 Relationship between Interdisciplinarity and Triangulation

These issues raise a question about the relationship between interdisciplinarity and triangulation and whether they perform the same task and possess the same meaning. I think there is *umūm* (generality) and *khuṣūṣ* (specificity) between them on the grounds that interdisciplinarity is concerned with the epistemological and methodological connections between different disciplines and that fields use the tools, data and theories of a given discipline in another and integrate them to bring about a new discipline or sub-discipline.[149] However, triangulation might be seen as less general than interdisciplinarity and initial attempts to address the functionality of the methodologies and theories in a defined and temporary case study, rather than as a comprehensive and long-term effort between various general branches of knowledge.

Many advantages prompted us to adopt interdisciplinarity and triangulation in our case study. First, each discipline has its limitations in terms of data, methods, theories and interest areas and hence researchers are prone to having limited perspectives through the repetition and routine in their work and might neglect some significant aspects. Interdisciplinarity and triangulation supply us with a "defamiliarization" of disciplines and "re-evaluate" them from a distinct angle.[150] Second, in the social and

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[148] We borrow the term Dialogical Strategy from Manfred Max Bergman, "Troubles with Triangulation" in *Advances in Mixed Methods Research: Theories and Applications*, ed. Manfred Max. Bergman, 1st edn. (London: SAGE, 2008), 28.
[149] For *ʿumūm* generality and *khuṣūṣ*, see Glossary.
[150] Timothy R. Austin et al., "Defining Interdisciplinarity", *Pmla* 111, no. 2 (March 1996): 282. Moti, Nissani, "Ten Cheers for Interdisciplinarity: The Case for Interdisciplinary Knowledge and Research", *The Social Science Journal* 34, no. 2 (1997): 204–205. Todd D. Jick, "Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action", *Administrative Science Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (December 1979), 607–609.

human sciences, phenomena are complex and intertwined as many factors and elements from diverse aspects of life (psychological, social, economic, geographical, material and religious) play a role in shaping it; thus to avoid reductionism through ignoring some aspects in favour of others, we need to understand the problems by coexisting and cooperating with different disciplines, data or methods.[151] Exceeding disciplines' limitations and dealing with the complexity of historical phenomena increase in the case of cross-cultural cases such as our case study. Finally, if we need to increase our understanding of a case study, we need to understand the world from where it emerges. This means contextualising it through the interdisciplinary and triangulation processes that allow us to view the case from different contexts.[152]

2.1.4   Habituation of Western theories and concepts

The common position of Arabic and Muslim historians on Western theories and concepts ranges from rejection to unconditional acceptance.[153] I believe that the absence of epistemological and methodological procedures may result in such positions and hence I propose to supply what is lacking so that we can deal with contemporary theories and concepts in a consistent manner.

Before looking at such theories and concepts, we should look through Islamic traditions for ideas or concepts that have similar tasks and elements. If such traditional ideas and concepts exist, we do not need to turn to foreign ones that are outside the traditional system; otherwise it would be like repeating the same ideas and concepts under a different name and interpretive frame. If we do not find suitable ideas and concepts that would clarify, organise and fill the gaps in our study, then we should turn to others and search for those which could be appropriate. We also need to be aware of the cultural and ideological bias (*taḥayyuz*) that underlies Western theories and concepts. Theories and concepts develop in given historical circumstances and are coined by writers who hold particular political and economic positions, religious creeds or philosophical perspectives and might be filtered through

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[151] Nissani, "Ten Cheers for Interdisciplinarity", 207–209. Hansson. "Interdisciplinarity", 339. Denzin, *The Research Act in Sociology*, 21–22, 26–27.
[152] Zuo, "On Interdisciplinarity", 440. Jick, "Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods", 603–604.
[153] For the first view, see: Anwar al-Jundī, *Al-Tārīkh fī Mafhūm al-Islām ʿalá Ṭarīq, al-Aṣālah al-Islamiyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Anṣār, 1979). For the second view, see: Marwah, *Al-Nazʿāt al-Māddiyyah.* Vol. 1.

different social and cultural lenses. All these elements exert leverage on writers that would beckon them to formulate their theories and ideas in a way that constitutes and expresses their *Weltanschauung*, i.e. worldview.[154] Taking such theories and ideas from different cultures and applying them without understanding their civilisational biases towards another culture would lead to misinterpretation and misunderstanding and to a lapse into reductionism and patternisation (*namaṭiyyah*), rather than acknowledging the idiosyncrasy.[155]. Therefore, we need to analyse and deconstruct theories and concepts to identify their cultural, intellectual and ideological biases and the historical circumstances that affect them. After understanding such bias, we should become used to habituation (*tabyiʾah*) of theories and concepts so that they fit with theoretical and methodological systems that would incorporate them into a traditional case study.[156] In fact, this process seems to be a widespread phenomenon among human cultures that deal with any new or foreign ideas because of differences of thought and worldview. Muslims are not exempt from this, especially since they absorbed Greek and Aristotelian logic into Islamic and Arabic science and knowledge. [157] There is no agreement on methodological procedures of epistemological habituation and yet we can propound some suggestions that draw on Ṭaha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a prominent Moroccan philosopher, who makes proposals according to what Muslim intellectuals, philosophers and scholars in the classical

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[154] For discussion of this term, Clément Vidal, "What Is A Worldview?" in *Nieuwheid Denken: De Wetenschappen En Het Creatieve Aspect Van De Werkelijkheid*, eds. H. Van Belle and J. Van Der Veken, (Leuven: Voorburg, 2008), 1–13. David K. Naugle, *Worldview: The History of a Concept* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 2002).

[155] We also should distinguish between idiosyncrasy (*khuṣūṣiyyah*) and exceptional (*al-istithāʾiyyah*) as al-Faḍl Shallaq explains. The former is historical since each community or society distinguishes itself from others by combining and establishing relationships between sets of values, concepts and means, and so on in certain ways, whilst the latter is against history (and hence changes) and continuity of humanity since it denies any possible common and shared values, concepts and means that could be borrowed or imported and habituated. See, Al-Faḍl Shallaq, *Al-Ummah Wa al-Dawlah*, (Beirut: Dār al-Muntakhab al-ʿArabī, 1993), 169-170. So exceptional is per se an expression of essentialism, which one of its meanings refers to timeless characteristics that are solely embedded into a given culture. See, D. R. Woolf (ed), *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, vo. 1. (London: Routledge, 1998), 293-294.

[156] I borrow the term from Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī, *Al-Muthaqqafūn fī al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʿArabiyyah: Miḥnat Ibn Ḥanbal wa Nakbat Ibn Rushd*, 2nd edn. (Bairūt: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-ʿArabiyyah, 2000), 10.

[157] ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUnayyāt, *Aslamat al-Manṭiq al-Urgānūn al-Arusṭī Bayn Yaday al-Ghāzālī*, (Beirut: Manshūrāt Ḍifāf, 2013). Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)*, (London: Routledge, 1998) 166–175. Muzaffar Iqbal, *Islam and Science*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 90–120.

periods did in borrowing knowledge from other cultures and civilisations. [158] Habituation might work by adding some elements to the borrowing theories or concepts that may cover their shortages in some points by removing some elements of these theories or concepts that negatively affect our understanding and thereby our conclusions. Another way is to replace (*ibdāl*) some borrowing elements with traditional ones, or inverting (*qalb*) some elements by changing their positions so that they will fit the traditional linguistic and epistemological system or to separate (*tafrīq*) elements to keep what is suitable and eliminate what is not.[159]

Finally, after absorbing theories and concepts and subjecting them to habituation, we should use them at the meso (middle) or micro level of our case study and not on the macro level; or to put it differently, place them on a specific scale of the analytical system, rather than the general one.[160] Such theories and concepts would be used to analyse and understand a given point in our study that we might need to clarify and conceptualise. In addition, placing them on the meso or micro level means we avoid generalising them to the entire study, and thus avert the hegemony of these theories and concepts over theoretical and methodological systems, whereby avoiding any presuppositions. These procedures might supply us with a clear position to deal with contemporary theories and concepts and apply them to Islamic history and historiography.[161]

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[158] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tajdīd al-Manhaj fī Taqwīm al-Turāth*, 4th edn. (Casablanca: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 2012), 290-297.

[159] Ibid. For these steps, see: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tajdīd al-Manhaj*. 290-291. An example of habituation some terms within Islamic studies can be found in Gregor Schoeler's work *Oral Tradition and Literacy In Classical Islam*. He states "The Greek language affords us an accurate terminological distinction between private written records intended as a mnemonic aid for a lecture (or a conversation) and literary works composed and redacted according to the canon of stylistic rules: the former type is called *hypomnēma*; the latter, *syngramma*. In the following discussion, we will apply these two terms to Arabic works as well". See: Gregor Schoeler, *Oral Tradition and Literacy in Classical Islam*, trans. Uwe Vagelpohl. Ed. James E. Montgomery, (London: Routledge, 2006), 46

[160] Amānī Ṣāliḥ, 'Manhajiyyat al-Tajdīd Min Khilāl al-Istifādah Min Baʿḍ al-Iqtirābāt wa al-Mafāhīm Wa al-Adawāt al-Gharbiyyah: Namūdhaj li Tawẓīf al-Iqtirāb al-Bināʾī al-Waẓīfī', *Al-Manhajiyyah al-Islāmiyyah*. 1st edn. Vol. 2. (Herndon, Virginia: al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlamī li al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 2010), 757.

[161] We cannot discuss here all theories and methods that we reject, albeit we discussed some of them in the literature review section in chapter one, some footnotes in chapter four and six, and also in appendixes II and V. Otherwise, it would distract us from our main aims. Nevertheless, we could avail from jurisprudential theory in this matter. There is non-congruent understanding (*mafhūm al-mukhālafah*) that denotes "as a meaning which is derived from the words of the text in such a way that it diverges from the explicit meaning thereof". See, Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 124. So when a text determines certain meanings, it on the other hand, excludes or gives different meanings

2.1.5 Hayden White's theory and its habituation

Hayden White is a leading but controversial historian. Most of his works concentrate on historiography. He presents his general and comprehensive theory in his book *Metahistory*, in which tries to design a theoretical structure of historical writing by reading the works of four historians and four philosophers from Europe in the nineteenth century.[162] White defines historical work as: "verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model or iconic of past structures and processes in the interest of explaining what they were by representing them."[163] Therefore, it is a pronunciational or literal human product that depends heavily on the linguistic system and operation that seek to represent something that took place in the past using a verbal explanation.

White adopts a formalist approach which seeks to discover the structure of a given work by focusing on texts through internal relations between them and excluding different types of contexts.[164] White frequently contends that there is a need for shifting attention from content to the form of historical writings, since the former is vague or at least scattered; what can give them meaning is the form, which simultaneously discloses the ideological tendencies and the present of historians.[165] Having said that, such shifting means that the task of historians is not to prove the veracity of historical accounts and, hence, the possibility of reaching truth. Rather, it is to understand how such historical accounts are shaped in certain verbal forms and identify their main elements.[166] Here, White's approach seems to meet what is called the "linguistic turn" that is concerned with linguistic matters in history and, therefore, uses linguistic tools.[167]

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from the determined ones. Having said that, when we give justifications for using certain methods, concepts and theories, we, at the same time, give implicit justifications for not using others.

[162] White, *Metahistory*, XXIX-XXXII.

[163] Ibid, 2.

[164] Hayden V. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 76. White, *Metahistory*, 3–4.

[165] White, *The Content of the Form*, 90–91, 193. Hayden V. White, *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 4. White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, 289–290. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 125.

[166] White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 134.

[167] Paul Sutermeister, *Hayden White, History as Narrative: A Constructive Approach to Historiography*, (Norderstedt, Germany: GRIN, 2005), 3. Herman Paul, *Hayden White* (Cambridge:

White's definition of historical work and his approach lead us to scrutinise his view of the nature of historiography. He believes that history does not belong to science nor is in midway position between it and art which dates back to the nineteenth century. That history should be classified "as a form of fiction-making" that resembles the role of a novel in that both use the same strategies to produce verbal images about reality, refers to the relativistic view that there exists no one correct aspect.[168] This does not mean that White does not believe in the existence of historical facts or real events, but that he calls them "singular existential statements" and distinguishes between them as raw materials that are scattered and unorganised and between recording and setting them in a certain verbal position that would give them historical meaning. Therefore, historical writing is an interpretive narrative on what happened.[169]

White lays out three categories of explanation that constitute the level in historical works and each possesses four modes. He derives these modes from different Jurisprudential theorists and philosophers, whose works are not historical.[170] In addition to these categories, there are four types of allegory that correspond to them.

The first explanation is that of emplotment, which denotes "a sequence of events fashioned into a story [that] is gradually revealed to be a story of a particular kind" – its modes are romance, tragedy, comedy and satire.[171] Romance means that the

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Polity Press, 2011), 80–81. For the linguistic turn in history, Judith Surkis, "When Was the Linguistic Turn? A Genealogy", *The American Historical Review* 117, no. 3 (June 2012): 700–722. Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages", *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (Jan., 1990): 59-86.

[168] White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 43, 121–122. Kansteiner says that most critics of White's theory go to his relativism perspective and formalism approach. See: Wulf Kansteiner. "Hayden White's Critique of the Writing of History", *History and Theory* 32, no. 3 (1993), 294. See Jenkins' reply to Kansteiner. Keith Jenkins, *On 'What Is History?': From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (London: Routledge, 1995),191–192 n6.

[169] White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 51-80. Hayden White, "Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth" in *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the 'Final Solution'*, ed. Saul Friedländer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 52. White, *Figural Realism*, 2, 70. White, *The Content of the Form*, 40–41, 45, 76. White, *The Fiction of* Narrative. xxix–xxxii, 312–313.

[170] He borrows emplotment from the work of Northep Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) and argument explanation modes from Stephen Pepper, *World Hypothesis: A Study in Evidence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966). The ideological modes are from Karl Mannheim, *An Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, transl. by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co, 1946). Also for the same author, "Conservative Thought" in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953). White, *Metahistory*. 7, 13, 21, 427.

[171] White, *Metahistory*, 7.

historical story inclines towards optimism in that it depicts events by showing how historical figures overcome the difficulties and misfortunes they encounter and achieve their goal at the end of the story; it is a story of the victory of light and goodness over dark and wickedness. [172] Satire takes the opposite direction by revealing the inadequacy of the human will and consciousness to overcome disasters or darkness, and so, highlights the difficulty of having hope for a solution of freeing such humans from the world.[173] In comedy, men temporarily triumph over their realm by reconciling human and natural forces and no one dominates the historical scene.[174] In tragedy, challenges take an acute direction that may result in the fall of the protagonist while others survive; a matter which indicates that humans can work and change within the limits of the conditions they are in and that they rise and fall as part of this struggle, which suggests another kind of reconciliation.[175]

The second explanation is that of Argument. It attempts to explain historical stories by "invoking principles of combination which serve as putative laws of historical explanation" and its modes are formist, organist, mechanistic and contextual.[176] These argumentative modes have "nomological and deductive" processes that organise parts of the historical story in a certain systematic way to illustrate how it happened.[177] The formist mode seeks to explain how each individual theme in a historical story is unique and does not share commonalities with other themes in terms of agents, agencies and acts, i.e. that they avoid any generalisation or finding a governing law for history.[178] The organist approach deals with each historical theme in a functional manner by explicating and integrating it with other themes to reach general explanation and characters of the historical story, which means that it searches for the role of each theme in light of a common goal. [179] The mechanist approach is generalised and fatalistic because historians who adopt it believe that there are governing laws that control history and steer agents in certain ways, and that

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[172] Ibid, 8.
[173] Ibid, 8, 10.
[174] Ibid, 8–9.
[175] Ibid
[176] Ibid, 10–11.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid, 13–14.
[179] Ibid, 15–16.

discovering such laws would help them understand history.[180] Contextualism is, to some extent, a textual mode as events can be explained be viewing them in the same context that shows the functional interrelationship among them in the historical story. This mode occupies a middle position between generalisations of organist and mechanist and the dispersive trend of formist modes.[181]

The third explanation is that of ideology, which White defines as "a set of prescriptions for taking a position in the present world of social praxis and acting upon it".[182] The modes of this explanation are anarchism, conservatism, radicalism and liberalism. These ideologies have political dimensions concerned with the social changes in human societies that are reflected in historical works on the level of emplotment and argument; even historians who do not have explicit political tendencies or opinions in their works effectively have such ideological modes.[183] Conservatism sees social change as inevitable through the natural rhythm and gradual process of change, but only some parts of the fundamental structure of a society are thought to be sound; a matter which indicates that such ideological modes conceive the current social structure as realistic and perfect and that any progressive changes occur in accordance with it.[184] Liberalism believes in particular changes to the fundamental structure via social adjustment and social rhythm of the educational process, political elections and parliamentary debate. This ideology conceives historical time through the future that might discourage any endeavour for radical change in the present.[185] Radicalism contrasts with the other two as it believes in fundamental changes to the social structure that would pave the way for the emergence of new structures. The possibility of such a transformation is viewed as imminent, taking into account that such modes are aware of the inertia necessary to make the change and, hence, the need for effective power and means.[186] Anarchism has similarities to radicalism in that it demands fundamental changes to the social structure, but without any consideration of power and means, and replaces the society

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[180] Ibid, 16–17.
[181] Ibid, 17–18.
[182] Ibid, 21.
[183] Ibid, 23, 26.
[184] Ibid, 23–24.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.

with a "community of individuals" who share a "sense of their common humanity".[187] This utopian dimension refers to anarchist ideology that tends to glorify the primitive and remote past at the expense of the present and believes that people can achieve this past status by acquiring will and consciousness.

According to White, the three types of explanations and their modes meet with four tropes that comprise the linguistic grounds of such explanations and transform them from the abstract realm to the symbolic verbal one that affirms the precedent role of linguistic thought and tools in the process of historical writing. Likewise, the emphasis on the priority of such figurative tropes determines the emplotment, argument and the ideology of historical writings and four tropes exist.[188] First is metaphor, which is representational and identifiable because it confirms similarities between two different objects by analogy and metonymy; second is metonymy, which is reductionist and extrinsic because it reduces a given phenomenon to the status of the other; third is synecdoche, which is integrative and intrinsic in that one part expresses the whole object, and finally irony, which is negativity and catachresis in that it uses positive words in critical and negative ways.[189]

We can benefit from White's theory in terms of its general form more than its content; such an argument is based on three premises. First, White admits that historians should shift their attention to the forms of historical writings instead of their content because the forms give meaning to the content and help identify their writers' views of history.[190] Accepting his claim means that we interact with his theory on the formal level, which is deeper than that of content. Indeed, the emplotment and arguments tend to harmonise with argumentative and rhetorical strategies that seek to achieve epistemological functions of Muslim historical narrative reports (*akhbār*, plural of *khabar*) that contain evaluative and lesson judgments. Such harmony would improve our understanding of the epistemological essence of Muslim historical writings by propounding additional and ancillary systemisation and categorisation for them that might not be found in other contemporary theories.

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[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid, 29–30, 430-431.
[189] Ibid, 32–36.
[190] White, *The Content of the Form*. 90–91, 193. White, *Figural Realism*, 4. White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, 289–290. White. *Tropics of Discourse*. 125.

Second, White states that "to raise the question of the nature of narrative is to invite reflection on the very nature of culture." [191] Elsewhere he states:

> The truth-value and authoritativeness of a given representation of a given domain of the past must be assessed in terms of its relationship to the cultural context and social conditions obtained at the time of its production and with respect to the perspective from which the inquiry was launched.[192]

This implies a connection between a certain type of writing and the culture where it flourishes.[193] His conclusion on the modes of each type of explanation stems from European historians and philosophers who lived in the nineteenth century. This means that the content of White's theoretical form could change according to the historical works studied because of the differences in the writers, cultures and historical time. Third, White exercises a kind of selective action towards theories that belong not to the historical field, but to literary criticism, philosophy and sociology, and he relies on integrating them into his case study and theoretical form.[194] Consequently, the modes that represent the content of White's theoretical form will be selective and habituated in order to be integrated with our case study.

If we accept these premises, then we need to explain how we will integrate White's theory. First, we agree that Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries consists of three levels of explanation and yet they differ from White's theory in terms of mode. Secondly, since White's approach is formalism, his theory contributes only to analysing the historiographical structure of Muslim historical writings and not the historical conceptions and reflections that indicate the main issues which concerned Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

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[191] White, *The Content of the Form*, 1.
[192] Hayden White, "Response to Arthur Marwick", *Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 2 (April 1, 1995), 39.
[193] See: Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 164.
[194] White, *Metahistory*, 7, 13, 21, 427.

Beginning with the emplotment:[195] historians seek to link between the elements of story and synthesise them in a coherent and correspondent way. This process is technical since it clings to a practical and plausible aspect, not to the aspect of factuality and genuineness of historical stories. In other words, emplotment is concerned with better ways of describing and representing historical events in a story-telling pattern that make them accepted to their writers and readers. Using a specific kind of plot means historians will shed light on some historical events or parts of historical stories at the expense of others that might be excluded or at least marginalised. This can be seen in how certain historians deal with their stories in terms of "characterisation, motific repetition, variation of tone and point of view."[196]

Three points from this are key. Point of view is the first and it refers to the intellectual perspective of historians toward the movement of history in the past and how people dealt with it. This perspective means that emplotment tends not to be a neutral linguistic tool and that no natural tone in describing historical events exists; rather, it emphasises on how the subjectivity of historians affects emplotment.[197] Secondly, since emplotment contains technique and specific narrative plot structure, there are topological dimensions which emerge in two points; there is no consensus among historians on using specific terms and words in historical writings, and historical events are structured in a plot which is imaginable and not independent of historians' minds.[198] Structure in this sense is equivalent to *maṣnúʿ*, which is driven from *al-jaʿl*, which refers to making, creation (*khalq*), fabrication and synthesis (*ṣunʿ*).[199] Lastly, plausibility relates to historical circumstances that revolve around historians and which look for what is deemed a suitable and understandable plot structure for their audiences who might envisage certain types of plots that accord with their culture and society.[200] Actually, the strong effect of historical circumstances on determining the types of emplotment means that it is not sufficient to merely look at the contextual

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[195] Emplotment raises a question about the relation between Greek rhetoric and Arabic rhetoric, and for this issue see Appendix II: Further issues about the complementary model.

[196] White, *Tropics of Discourse*. 84.
[197] White, *Metahistory*, 142-143.
[198] White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 94, 98.
[199] Jamāl al-Dīn b. Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 11, (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1414), 111.
[200] White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, 231.

relation between given texts, but, in order to apprehend emplotment according to its time, we also need to look at the external context of the texts, seen in the historical circumstance of the author, his/her recipients, his/her discourse and the correlation between them. It appears that only romance and tragedy could be found in Muslim historical writings on Alexander that constitute the first type of explanation, which we relabel as "rhetoric explanation". In addition to emplotment, another mode, dualism (*thunāʾiyyah*), exists and alludes to two narrative components that are parallel and dominate the passages of Alexander history.[201]

Both dualism and emplotment are governed and guided by a narrative operation which we call duality. It is named as such because it takes on a dual relationship among the modes and has four shapes. First, it takes reciprocal duality (*tabāduli*) where one part takes the role of another. Second is integrative duality (*mazji*) where some parts incorporate into one part. Third is consensual duality (*tawāfuqi*), which indicates that both parts of narration emphasise and agree with the same view. Last is obverse duality (*taqābuli*), which indicates that the relationship between the two parts is opposite. All these dual operations are found in the major modes of rhetoric and argumentative explanations and tend to govern and guide their position and work in Alexander history in Muslim historical writings. Duality does not entail the impossibility of the existence of more than two parts in a historical story, and there is a multitude of voices and perspectives, but the general pattern seems to take a dual frame.[202]

As for argument explanation, two points are important in the relationship between its two modes. As Keith Jenkins points out in his analysis of White's theory, argumentative explanation has either dispersive or integrative dimensions.[203] The former is:

> *[A]nalytical* in that it leaves the various elements which make up the explanation *un-reduced* either to the status of, say, general laws or to general classificatory categories, whereas the latter sees its elements at

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[202] See Appendix II: Further issues on the complementary model.
[203] Jenkins, *On "What Is History?"* 154.

the end as 'connected to each other in some sort of *cause-effect* way…
or in that of a *whole-part* relationship'.[204]

The dispersive and integrative processes thus seem to constitute a duality framework of the modes of argument explanation in Alexander history. The second point is that the existence of this duality framework means that there is a complementary role between argumentative modes, a matter which underscores the attendance of duality (basically integration, reciprocity and consensual). The complementarity is varied among the eight Muslim historians who, as we will see, prefer to function in a specific mode more than in others. The modes of contextualist, mechanist and organic can be found in their cues within the modes of contexualisation, causality and inductive probe in Muslim universal historical writings. Attribution may also be added as the fourth mode.

White uses argument and emplotment explanations at the macro - but not the micro - or meso-level as we do. Our reason for this is that history does not cleave solely to a holistic, universal, general and static status, but also to the particular, dynamic and changeable. White sees the relationship between the two modes of explanation as hierarchal where one serves another. Emplotment is particular (*juzʾī*) in our case study as part of rhetoric explanation, whereas argument is universal (*kullī*), and it is difficult to let only one control everything.

On the matter of ideology, we do not agree with White's stance as such claims reduce historical thought and consciousness to a political view concerned with social change. As Barbara Smith points out, storytelling has multiple purposes: "to reflect reality or supplement it, to reinforce ruling ideologies or to subvert them, to console us for our morality or to give us intimations of our morality".[205] White's application of the concept of ideology – borrowed from Karl Mannheim – to European historians and philosophers seems to be accepted as such concepts emerged in Europe in the time of such historians and philosophers.[206] It might be true that some historical issues and

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[204] Ibid, 155.
[205] Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Narrative Versions, Narrative Theories", *On Narrative* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 235.
[206] For the development of this concept in European culture, Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1–20. Jan Rehmann, *Theories of Ideology: The Powers of Alienation and Subjection* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). Jorge Larrain, *The Concept of Ideology* (London: Hutchinson, 1979).

topics in Muslim historical writings appear to be ideological (in the political sense) and propagate an epistemic discourse in favour of certain groups or against others, yet it would be difficult to render all historical writings in general with such meaning of ideology, since religious thoughts were rooted in the Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. By no means will we exclude the intellectual backgrounds of Muslim historians from our analysis, but we should consider intellectual backgrounds that are much more widely diverse and less problematic or controversial than ideology as part of our general analytical approach to the Alexander history. Instead of ideological modes, we suggest renaming this type of explanation as "historiographical concepts", which means that there are foundational concepts that pinpoint historical themes and affect rhetoric and argumentative explanations in Muslim historical writings and that such concepts arise from the general thought of Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. There are two historiographical concepts: realism (*wāqʻiyyah*), which means an aware acceptance of the influence of multi-conditions (historical, personal and intellectual) or themes without being completely subject to them, and anachronism.

With respect to tropes (or allegories (*majāzāt*, plural of *majāz*), it is problematic to adopt and apply them to our case study because our texts demonstrate that Muslim historians used various types of Arabic rhetoric in their writings and did not confine themselves to the tropes that constitute part of such rhetoric. White's belief in the inevitability of tropes contradicts his freedom as a central driving force in his historical thought that envisages the task of historical writings as liberating human thought from conventions and restrictions. [207] The tropes may block intended meanings and cripple functional aspects of language. The meaning of allegory (*majāz*) is to move (*jāzah*) from its original meaning to an additional one, and the existence of transmission and addition in allegory implies that there is some real or factual (*ḥaqīqī*) precedent. This precedent can sometimes convey its message without

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[207] On the problematics of tropes in White's thought, Gabrielle M. Spiegel "Rhetorical Theory/Theoretical Rhetoric: Some Ambiguities in the Reception of Hayden White's Work" in *Philosophy of History after Hayden White*, ed. Robert Doran, 1st edn. 171-182, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). On the centrality of freedom, Herman Paul, *Hayden White* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011). 44-52.

majaz, or can do it better.[208] I believe Muslim historians used such tropes according to the epistemological functions of historical narrative writings, which means that they tended to be in their service. They used both figurative and factual language, which means the issues will be part of the "dualism" mode on the level of rhetoric explanation.

2.1.6 Anachronism

Anachronism (*al-mufāraqah al-tārīkhiyyah*) can be defined as stratifying outsider objects from a different time and space and imposing them on other historical ones.[209] By observing major contemporary works in this issue, we can infer that there are three perspectives to anachronism: three major modes, two main concepts and three factors for practising it.[210]

The first perspective is concerned with the possibility of anachronism in that some think such historical phenomena are inescapable because historians cannot escape their present and find themselves consciously or unconsciously imposing current categories on the past. Between inevitability and possibility, there is a third path that we call "reconciliation", as does William Dray when he distinguishes between a "pragmatic" path, which is an orientation to reshape the past that makes it useful for addressing present issues, and a "projective" one which seeks to interpret the past in accordance with our conceptions of the present.[211] Some anachronistic categories thus seem to be inevitable, while others may be avoidable.[212]

With respect to studying Muslim universal historical works, our task is to identify the modes of anachronism in such works. In our case study there appear to be three major modes. First is doctrinal anachronism, which refers to the imposition of the writer's

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[208] Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir fī Adab al-Kātib wa al-Shāʿir*, eds. Aḥmad al-Ḥūfī and Badawī Ṭabbānah, vol. 1 (Cairo, Dār Nahḍat Maṣr, 2009), 88-89. See also: ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Asrār al-Balāghah*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Madanī, 1991), 350-352. Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī. *Al-Taqrīb wa al-Irshād*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Abū Zunayd, vo. 1. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1998), 352-360.

[209] For other definitions, Harry Ritter, *Dictionary of Concepts in History*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 9–10.

[210] Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics Regarding Methods*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 64–73.

[211] William H. Dray, *On History and Philosophers of History*, (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 173–174.

[212] Sami Syrjämäki, "Sins of a Historian Perspectives on the Problem of Anachronism" (PhD thesis, University of Tampere, 2011), 113–117.

religious beliefs, predictions and language on the historical themes.[213] Second is structural anachronism, which is a chain of past events constructed in a teleological way.[214] Third is present anachronism, where present writers presuppose that people from different times, places and civilisations faced the same issues as they do.[215] Fulfilling the third anachronistic historical types reflects the main historical issues prevalent at the historians' time. The first two modes underscore the influence of the past on the past, whereas the third mode accentuates the effect of the present in the process of conceiving the latter through the lens of the former. The three modes entail the mental operation of conscious analogy (*qiyas*) in the case of the third mode, and unconscious identification (*taṭābuq*) in the case of the first and second, whether logically, symmetrically or linguistically, that seek reconciliation, familiarisation and realisation among different historical objects.[216]

The modes of anachronism lead us to its relevant concepts of presentism and projection, which have been jointly discussed by contemporary studies. Presentism resembles anachronism in some ways, but may worry about past issues in light of the present, which means it becomes the criteria for the past.[217] Therefore, anachronism seems to be more general than presentism in terms of meaning and function. As for projection, it is a psychological concept emerging from the work of Sigmund Freud and his daughter Anna, who articulated that such a concept is part of the self-defence mechanism or paranoia when people try to take negative sides of their personalities

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[213] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 59–64. Conal Condren, "Political Theory and the Problem of Anachronism," in *Political Theory: Tradition and Diversity*, ed. Andrew Vincent, 45–66, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 54.

[214] Condren, "Political Theory", 54-55.

[215] Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies*, 133.

[216] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 74. Oscar Moro-Abadía, "Thinking About 'Presentism' From A Historian's Perspective: Herbert Butterfield and Hélène Metzger", *History of Science* 47, no. 1 (2009): 67-70. Oscar Moro Abadía, "Hermeneutical Contributions to The History Of Science: Gadamer On 'Presentism'", *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 42, no. 2 (2011): 378. Syrjämäki, "Sins of a Historian". 106-107.

[217] Fairburn, *Social History*. 301 n1. Cary Dipietro and Hugh Grady, 'Presentism, Anachronism and The Case of Titus Andronicus', *Shakespeare* 8, no. 1 (2012): 47. See also Syrjämäki in his response to Richard Rorty. "Sins of a Historian", 118 n273. For the term of rational reconstruction in Richard Rorty's work, Richard Rorty. "The Historiography Go Philosophy: Four Genres" In *Philosophy in History: Essays on the Historiography of Philosophy*, eds. Richard Rorty, J. B. Schneewind and Quentin Skinner, 49–75. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

and presuppose them to other people.[218] Therefore, this concept focuses on the negative view and is not restricted to past or present, which means it is more specific and could be included in anachronism. Projection has been translated into Arabic as (*isqāṭ*) and most contemporary Arabic writers use it to criticise orientalist works that study Islam and Islamic history and tradition.[219] They do not seek to determine if Muslims in pre-modern times exercised projection, or even presentism and anachronism; and I believe this omission portrays their works as if they seek to prove that projection tends to exist solely in Western thought. Meanwhile, some contemporary Western works attend to the issue of anachronism in Islamic history and tradition instead of to projection, and they differ in terms of spaces and aspects that they consider.[220]

Applying these types of anachronism tends to result from specific factors. First, the overwhelming presence of the present in the minds of Muslim historians. Second, the distant gaps between their present and the past in terms of details and status. Third, the belief in the overlaps and similarities between present and past.

Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries who wrote the history of Alexander in their universal works used anachronisms (whether pragmatic or projective) and comprised a historiographical concept and simultaneously introduced historical concepts and indications at that time. The categories and factors also seem to relate to their works.

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[218] Sigmund Freud, *Case Histories II: The Rat Man,ˊ Schreber, Íhe Wolf Man,ˊ A Case of Female Homosexuality*, transl. by James Strachey, ed. Angela Richards (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1979), 204. Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, trans. Cecil Baines (London: Hogarth, 1968), 43–46, 51–52, 122–123 Matthew Hugh Erdelyi, *Psychoanalysis Freud's Cognitive Psychology* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 1985), 262–263.

[219] Māzin Ṣalāḥ Muṭabbaqānī, *Al-Istishrāq wa al-Ittijāhat al-Fikriyyah fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*, (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahad al-Waṭaniyyah, 1416 AH). Muḥammad ʿĀmir Maẓāhirī, "Manhaj al-Mustashriqīn fī Kitābātihim ʿan ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb fī Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Islāmiyyah", (Master's thesis, Jāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Suʿūd, 1422 AH). Shawqī Abū Khalīl, *Al-Isqāṭ fī Manāhij al-Mustashriqīn* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998). Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 5th edn. (London: Penguin Books), 69. Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient: Devise and Rule* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 5, 17, 59, 80.

[220] Boaz Shoshan, *The Arabic Historical Tradition & the Early Islamic Conquests: Folklore, Tribal Lore, Holy War*, 1st edn. (London: Routledge, 2016). Vincent J. Cornell, "Religious Orthodoxy and Religious Rights in Medieval Islam: A Reality Check on the Road to Religious Toleration" in *Justice and Rights: Christian and Muslim Perspectives*, ed. Michael Ipgrave (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2009), 53. J. M. Rogers, *The Uses of Anachronism on Cultural and Methodological Diversity in Islamic Art: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered on 17 October 1991*. (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994).

Having said that, we should give an account of two issues. First, if we agree that Muslim historians used anachronisms, does this mean that we fall into anachronism by imposing this concept on their works and intentions. To deal with this question, some points should be raised. We do not intend to evaluate the view of Muslim historians towards Alexander history and claim that their anachronisms are false or correct; rather, we intend to describe and examine which types of such concepts they exercised.[221] In addition, Muslim historians in general did not express constitutive ideas that formulate their works and did not conceptualise them; therefore, their readers' task is to draw out such ideas, conceptualise and grasp them. Indeed, the conceptualisation process is known in Islamic tradition as the science of nomenclature or terminology (ʿilm al-waḍʿ), which states that concepts and terms can be divided according to their categories. One of these is interpretative (taʾwīlī), which refers to words that do not have the independence to express themselves, but are defined by indications and presumptions (qarāʾin).[222] Another category is that the term could be specific when stated in a specific matter, or general when put forward in general matters.[223] In our case, using the word anachronism to describe a historiographical concept seems to be interpretative and specific. In addition to this "traditional" solution, there is the contemporary one. According to Mark Bevir, we do not "ascribe" our concepts to the past as its agents meant; rather, we "apply" such concepts "to discuss and explain the past provided only [that] we have good philosophical reasons for believing those concepts apply universally".[224] However, the universality of concepts is problematic and ambiguous and applying the concept of anachronism denotes that it is a general phenomenon that is exercised with variation of its levels or types by different civilisations in different ages and places

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[221] See Quentin Skinner, who distinguishes between identifying and commenting on people's beliefs. See: Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 49.

[222] Yūsuf al-Dajawī, *Khulāṣat ʿIlm al-Waḍʿ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhirah, 1920), 7–8. ʿAlī Jumʿah Muḥammad, "Muqaddimah Asāsiyyah Ḥawl Bināʾ al-Mafāhīm" in *Bināʾ al-Mafāhīm: Dirāsah Maʿrifiyyah Wa Namādhij Taṭbīqiyyah*, eds. ʿAlī Jumʿah Muḥammad and Sayf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ. 1st edn. Vol. 1. (Cairo: Dār Al-Salām, 2008), 18–19.

[223] Muḥammad al-Dusūqī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Shaykh al-Dusūqī al-Mālikī ʿalá Sharḥ al-Muḥaqqiq Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī ʿalá al-Risālah al-ʿAḍudiyyah* (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah, 1929), 67–68. Al-Dajawī, *Khulāṣat ʿIlm al-Waḍʿ*, 9. ʿAlī Jumʿah Muḥammad, "Muqaddimah Asāsiyyah", 19.

[224] Mark Bevir, "When Can We Apply Our Concepts to the Past?" *Scientia Poetica*, no. 8 (2004), 284. I would like to thank the author for sending me a copy of his essay. See also Gad Prudovsky, who tries to tackle this issue from his point of view. Gad Prudovsky, "Can We Ascribe to Past Thinkers Concepts They Had No Linguistic Means to Express?", *History and Theory* 36, no. 1 (1997): 15-31.

and not exclusively to a given civilisation like the concept of Republic in the ancient Roman world or the concept of Caliphate in the Muslim world. We should add that what we said about the concept of ideology when we discussed White's theory does not apply to the concept of anachronism for several reasons. First, there is an initial consensus among contemporary historians and scholars on the meaning of anachronism that seems to be absent when it comes to ideology. Second, the major elements of the meaning of anachronism seem to be found in Islamic historical writings. Third, Hayden White's use of the concept of ideology stems from Karl Mannheim; as we have mentioned, it is narrowly conceived and fits with European historical works of the nineteenth century.

To address the second issue, we will fuse the concept of anachronism with a theory that we have modified from Hayden White, and such concepts (besides the concept of realism) shall replace the ideological implications of White's theory. Some may argue that anachronism, as a historiographical concept, is allegorical, since there is resemblance (and thus metonymy or metaphor) between two parts or more. However, tropes circumscribe, rhetorically rather than analogically, between two parts at least via one letter as an interdependent link between distinct entities that share some tropical similarities. The case is different when it comes to anachronism because it signifies either merging two entities into an identical one (and therefore the absence of a link), or circumscribing analogically, rather rhetorically, between two parts to show what are thought to be their actual objective and external similarities.

2.1.7 Realism

We need here to give a brief account of realism having already discussed anachronism. We define realism as acceptance of the influence of multi-conditions (historical, personal, and intellectual) or themes without being completely subject to them. The term "realism" implies that there are subjective (*dhātī*), objective (*mawḍū'ī*), and external (*khāriji*) elements that contribute to the narrative and argumentative sides of Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the period under consideration. The subjective elements are the intellectual, characteristic, and personal backgrounds of the historians; the objective elements are the historical materials, whether texts, documents, or remnants; and the external are the historical circumstances that surround historians and historical materials. Realism

has three modes: explanatory (tendencies to give argumentative explanations about a certain historical issue), narrative (inclination to expiate more narrative or refrain from expression on a certain historical issue), and present (the sense of practical and instrumental tendencies to record and write about historical issues in given way, springing from the awareness on the need to understand these issues in order to understand the present). The first two modes underscore the influence of present on past (the historian, his/her time, and to some extent objective materials in writing Alexander history). The third mode accentuates the effect of past (Alexander history) on the present (third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries) by virtue of how historians understand historical roots of their time and deal with it.[225]

In general, realism represents the second historiographical concept (besides anachronism) and its presence or absence has an effect on shaping Alexander history as it is recorded in Muslim universal historical writings. Realism serves a similar role to anachronism, as we will see later: it provides a bridge between historiographical structure and historical concepts and reflections.

2.1.8 The event-making man theory

The theory of great men or individuals implies that persons with high aptitude, from diverse fields and positions such as kings, military commanders, writers, artists, scientists or prophets, are regarded as the driving force of the movement of history and that they create watershed moments in moving from one status and epoch to another.[226] It is used to demonstrate human beings' free will against predeterminism and a mechanistic interpretation of history, while another view shows the opposite, as

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[225] For its relationship with Western conceptions of realism, see appendix II, Further issues about the complementary model.

[226] The heroes in Joseph Campbell's book deals with heroes in narratives (the narrative characteristics of his story), but here we prefer other works because they talk about heroes in history (their own personal characteristics as actualised in spatial-temporal space). In this sense the former relates to emplotment modes in the historiographical structure, whereas the latter relates to historical concepts and its historical reflections. Therefore we are interested in the heroes in history more than in narratives. For Campbell's book, see, Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2004). As for the echo of Campbell's idea in the Alexander tradition, we can find it in the following study: Graham Anderson, "The Alexander Romance and The Pattern Of Hero-Legend" in *The Alexander Romance In Persia And The East*, Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson and Ian Netton (eds), 81-102. (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 2002).

if history itself revolves around great men.[227] Second, they differ in terms of which internal element of personality plays a significant role in great men: intuition, faith, the soul and so on, while others prefer to look at society or the environment that impacts such men and yet other try to balance the internal and external factors.[228]

What such contemporary views miss is that they do not attempt to establish a conceptual structure on this issue that would clarify the meaning of great men, but we found this in the work of Sidney Hook, *The Hero in History*, when he includes the main and secondary conceptual distinctions that identify great people. First, he distinguishes between "the hero of historical action and the hero of thought" wherein the former mainly refers to political leaders or statesmen and the latter to geniuses from different fields.[229] Second, great men should not be measured by their morals or outcome; rather, they should be gauged by their influence on human history, whether negative or positive.[230] The last point leads Hook to maintain the distinction that there are eventful men and event-making men and he defines them as:

> The eventful man is any man whose actions influenced subsequent developments along a different course than would have been followed if these actions had not been taken. The event-making man is an eventful man whose actions are the consequences of outstanding capacities of intelligence, will and the character rather than of accident of position.[231]

The author articulates some features of the latter that demarcate its differences from the former. The event-making man is aware of the crucial point he faces and seeks to

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[227] For the first view, Butterfield, H. "The Role of Individual in History". *History* 40, no. 138/139 (January/February 1955). E. J. Tapp, "The Role of The Individual in History". *The Australian Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (March 1958). William James, *The Will to Believe And Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 216–262. For the second view, Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History; With an Introduction by Henry Morley*, eds. David R. Sorensen and Brent E. Kinser, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

[228] For the first view, Henri, Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, transl. by R. Ashley Audra, Cloudesley Brereton and W. Horsfall Carter (London: Macmillan, 1935), 1-82. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 4th edn. Vol. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1948**)**, 231, 239**.** We should bear in mind the author emphasises on a creative minority of personalities instead of a single person**.** For the second, Georgi Plekhanov, *Selected Philosophical Works*, vol. 2 (London, Moscow: Lawrence & Wishart; Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1977), 283–315. For the third, James, *The Will to Believe*, 216–262. E. H. Carr, *What Is History? With a New Introduction by Richard Evans* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 25-49.

[229] Hook, *The Hero in* History, (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, 1945), 107.

[230] Ibid, 108.

[231] Ibid, 108–109.

invest in the circumstances to make a considerable change in history rather than an interim one.[232] He is independent of his social class and interests and can change them as long as he controls his powerful followers or team who come to power with him at the crucial point.[233] Accordingly, these two traits of the event-making man need to be dissected more in that his political position in crucial circumstances should not be in middle or low strata, but on top of the hierarchy so that he is able to make a vital change.[234] In addition to his position and powerful group, such changes in history or independence of social class depend on his personality. As Fred Greenstein states, "the greater a political actor's affective involvement in politics, the greater the likelihood that his psychological characteristics (apart from his sense of political involvement) will be exhibited in his behaviour".[235]

Finally, there are socio-psychological and political interests in reading and writing about heroes or event-making men. First is the importance of leadership in human societies in terms of regulating and organising people and protecting them by securing their continuities, stabilities and prosperities. The importance of leadership as a human phenomenon necessitates leaders who symbolise it and deliver its tasks, and consequently efficient leaders are the focus of attention to their societies.[236] Secondly, "whoever saves us is a hero; and in the exigencies of political action, men are always looking for someone to save them" as Hook argues.[237] When people confront critics, they look for solutions, and those who take the initiative lead and succeed in getting out of crises, and will be remembered, glorified and depicted as saviours. Third is that event-making men, because of their influence, set examples and moral models for other rulers and their societies, who could learn and benefit from their lives.[238] This seems to be the logical corollary of the two previous points. We can also add that recording event-making men and writing their histories might take propagandist

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[232] Ibid, 110–111.
[233] Ibid, 116–118.
[234] Fred Greenstein, *Personality and Politics; Problems of Evidence, Inference and Conceptualisation*, (Chicago: Markham Pub, 1969), 44–45.
[235] Ibid, 54.
[236] Hook, *The Hero in History*. 11-14.
[237] Ibid, 16.
[238] Ibid, 14-16.

orientation in favour of a certain ruler and against his rivals. These interests might help understand people's concerns with event-making men.

With respect to the history of Alexander in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, we do not intend to evaluate or rebut theory, but to evaluate its adequacy and relevance in light of our case study. I believe that the features of the great man theory in general appear to fit our case study and would prefer to borrow the term "event-making man" from Sidney Hook because it seems to be more accurate in the case of political leaders and fits with those who are seen as good or bad leaders. Benefitting from different contemporary aspects also means that there is no single contemporary theory or idea about it that could explicate our case study.

Having said this, the last chapter of this study on Alexander history will demonstrate that the reverberations of event-making man did actually exist in the Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and that it is one of the major historical concepts that had historical indications and concerned Muslim minds at that time. The argument for and analysis of the existence of such a concept at that time is different from saying that Muslim historians were wrong or right, or primitive or modern, in adopting it.[239] Alexander history will demonstrate that the event-making man concept was not regarded by Muslim historians at the time as the sole and absolute force for understanding history, and they tended to believe in internal and external elements that create the event-making man.

2.1.9 The complementary model

The previous sub-sections have shown four bases in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings. First is the historiographical structure which contains rhetoric explanation and argument explanation, and here we benefit from Hayden White's theory although with some differences in modes. The second base is historiographical concepts, which constitute the epistemological norms that determine selections of given historical themes and *akhbār*, and impact shaping historical

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[239] Edward Carr claims that believing in great individuals is "characteristic of primitive stages of historical conciseness". Carr, *What Is History*, 39.

writings in certain forms and styles; in this base are two modes: realism and anachronism.

Ulrika Mårtensson argues that the two main epistemological foundations of al-Ṭabarī's historical methodology are empiricist and idealist. The former:

> [A]ssumes that reality consists of material things and knowledge about reality is gained 'empirically', through sense perceptions of those things […and the latter is] 'that reality consists of material ideas which correspond to human linguistic concepts and knowledge about ideas is therefore gained through discursive reasoning, i.e., by thinking rationally about concepts'.[240]

Apart from her argument that al-Ṭabarī gained such epistemological foundations from Greek thought and her conception of the two concepts, we could divert her idea toward the textual side of the two historiographical concepts (anachronism and realism) in the case study. Anachronism seems to represent the ideal sides of the eight Muslim historians in that it represents the imposition unconsciously or consciously of pre-existent ideal (*dhihnī*) elements on external and objective elements. With respect to realism, it reifies the existential (*wujūdī*) and realistic sides in that the concurrent existence of ideal, objective and external elements prevent the imposition of such elements over others, and would eventually create some element of synchrony among them. Anachronism and realism textual and meta-textual sides. The textual relates to historical texts (and thereby to historiographical structure) exemplified in doctrinal and structural anachronism and explanatory and narrative realism. The meta-textual looks at the historical reflections behind such historical texts, exemplified in present anachronism and realism. Muslim historians and writers tend to summon historical issues and events from Alexander's time and apply them anachronistically and realistically to their time for analogous symmetrical and instrumental practical perspectives. Miskawayh summarises these perspectives in the introduction of his historical book:

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[240] Ulrika Mårtensson, *Tabari*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2009), 16. In fact, these two epistemological foundations were highlighted earlier by William Walsh in his important book *An Introduction in Philosophy of History*. See: William H. Walsh, *An Introduction in Philosophy of History* (London; Hutchinson University Library, 1967), 42-47.

فإنّ أمور الدنيا متشابهة، وأحوالها متناسبة، وصار جميع ما يحفظه الإنسان من هذا الضرب كأنّه تجارب له.

> The matters of the world (*dunyā*) are alike and their conditions symmetrical. And all that which mankind memorise in this affair has been rendered as their own experiences.[241]

Or as al-Masʿūdī says on the importance of *akhbār*:

إذ كان كل علم من الأخبار يستخرج وكل حكمة منها تستنبط والفقه منها يستثار والفصاحة منها تستفاد وأصحاب القياس عليها يبنون وأهل المقالات بها يحتجون ومعرفة الناس منها تؤخذ وأمثال الحكماء فيها توجد ومكارم الأخلاق ومعاليها تقتبس منها وآداب سياسة الملك والحزم منها تلتمس.

> For every knowledge from them [*akhbār*] is extracted, every piece of wisdom deduced, jurisprudence matters raised, eloquence cascaded, people of analogy's and theologians' judgments on it based. Within it are words of the wise, the best and most supreme of ethics, and from it are quoted state rulings' and disciplines of firmness.[242]

These perspectives seem to give the modes of present anachronism and present realism their meta-textual side and their connected and integrative role between historiographical concepts and historical concepts and reflections. If we look at this point from the relationship between the parts of the complementary model, we could argue that the meta-textual side is the epistemological foundation of historical concepts, as the essentials of these concepts are present realism and present anachronism expressed by analogous symmetrical and instrumental practical writings. This is a connected and integrated nexus between the meta-textual side of historiographical concepts and the historical concepts and reflections. We can trace the threads of present anachronism and realism in historical concepts in two ways: articulated and direct when historians compare different historical incidents or comment on them, as the examples show, or indirect and unarticulated. The indications are historical and non-historical writings of the eight historians, their time that embodies the historical reflections and other historical and non-historical writings from other authors from same periods. From a historiographical perspective, the conceptual connection between historiographical (meta-textual side) and historical

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[241] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1. 48. See also: Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 6.
[242] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2. 40.

concepts exists in Muslim historians' writings by virtue of putting into words in their works how lessons (present realism) and symmetry (present anachronism) shape history.[243] These statements become akin to general premises that guide and apply their historical writings.

The meta-textual side of anachronism and realism leads to the third base, which are the historical concepts that preoccupied Muslim historians at the time of writing. The historical concepts suggest that there were some issues and themes that occurred in the remote past, the near past, and their present time, with various dimension (political, intellectual, historical) preoccupying Muslim historians' minds when they wrote about the history of Alexander.[244] The historical concepts are the conceptual references to the historical reflections that conceptualise the latter in their writing. Historical reflections refer to historical events that represent the actualisation of such historical concepts on the ground of the temporal and spatial spheres that took place in the Muslim world at the time. Two points need to be considered here:

The relationship between the historical concepts (*tadāwul*, event-making man, authority of knowledge and unity) is interconnectivity and conditionality, but not causality. This means that each historical concept contains some elements that appear to be similar and linked with other historical concepts. For instance, the concept of *tadāwul* crystallises when it is supplemented with the historical concepts of unity, event-making man and knowledge.

Another point is that historical concepts seem to have an ideal existence (*wujūd dhihnī*) that is not independent from people (Muslim historians in this case), whereas the historical reflections are more of an ontological existence (*wujūd khārijī*) that is independent from people. To put it differently, the former concern Muslim historians'

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[243] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 79, 201, vol. 6, 186. See also his commentary on a Quranic verse that talks about Quranic stories. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 10, 589. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2. 40-41. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1. 47-49. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 98, 102, 406, 453. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 6. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, XLVIII-L.

[244] Hodgson answers indirectly to the relation between historical concepts and reflections when he speaks of al-Tabari's effort to comprehend the actualisation of Islamic vision, "the great problem of history was how to realise those ideals within the social framework provided by the community's power". Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "Two Pre-Modern Muslim Historians: Pitfalls And Opportunities In Presenting Them To Moderns" in *Towards World Community*, John Nefed. (The Hague: DR. W. Junk N.V., Publishers, 1968), 55.

minds because they produced them by thinking about them, whilst the latter happen whether the historians witnessed and thought about them or not. There is an interactive relationship between historical concepts and reflections in that, because the latter have ontological and independent existence represented by historical events, they exercise a kind of external stimulus to prompt Muslim historians to think about given issues that link with such events. In return, these historical concepts become an internal and ideal stimulus that would prompt Muslim historians to grant them written, textual and narrative form by including them explicitly or implicitly in their historical writings. Consequently, historical writings tend to be the production that ensues from interactive stimulus of ontological and ideal existence of historical reflections and concepts respectively. Accordingly, historical reflections and concepts explain to us what issues Muslim historians were thinking about and their reflections and representations on their time and their historical writings. This feature is probably what gives historiography its epistemic distinction from other written branches, as historians think of historical issues and events of their time by giving them a historical pattern that narrates another historical period. It is by no means the case that Muslim historians fictionalised the Alexander history or perceived it entirely as a mere allegorical story. On the contrary, the epistemological consequences of historical *khabar* in Muslim tradition are concerned with judgmental and lesson values and the historical concepts that preoccupied them.[245] Chase Robinson points out that:

> Historiography reflects cultural values [and] it can also reflect (or impose) ways of thinking about time, about change, about how the individual relates to the state, and the state to the world.[246]

So their interaction with their time means the historians were not just passive and affected receivers of their historical materials that entirely guided them without any consideration to their situational context.

All four bases are connected to each other and create an integral and complementary model for Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. They are illustrated in Figure 1.

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[245] See in Chapter Four, 4.1.1. The meaning and role of historical *akhbār* in Arabic Muslim tradition.
[246] Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 103, 121.
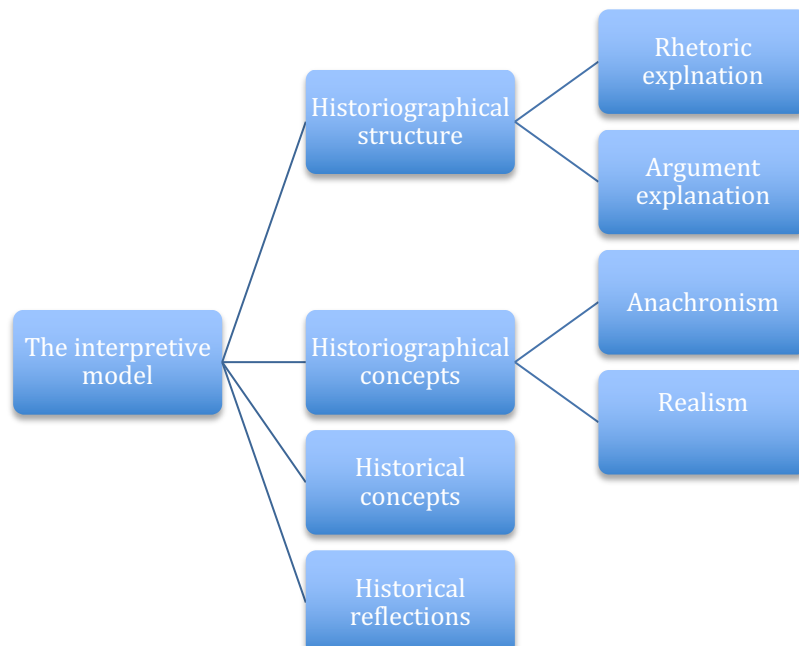
Figure 1. The complementary model

This complementary model is a development of White's theory on formal aspects, in that it broadens its scope to look at not only the form of historical writings, but its historical contexts as well, and thereby seeks to balance between internal and external structures and components that contribute to shaping historical writings in a certain way. The textual and contextual parallel of this model would therefore give more understanding of historical writings' form and their historical reflections and indications by connecting them to each other. This would allow the appearance of an integral and complementary frame of historical writings instead of inflating one side at the expense of another. As for conceptual aspects, the complementary model replaces some concepts and modes in White's theory with others that are distinct in terms of epistemological view (such as the historiographical concepts: realism and anachronism) or functional view (such as dualism in the historiographical structure). The concepts do not confine themselves to the historiographical sides, but go further and extend to and integrate with the historical sides and constitute historical concepts that exemplify issues which preoccupy Muslim historians (as a result of interaction with their time) and divert their historical writings in terms of selecting historical

themes and formulating them in given narrative shape.[247]. Having said this, formal and conceptual developments lead us to reaffirm that our complementary model is a triangulated one since it fuses White's theory and the concept of anachronism and then links the latter to historical concepts, which in turn represent historical reflections. The complementary model also has an interdisciplinary dimension in that it comprises formalism (represented by White) that looks at the textual and intertextual structure of historical writings, and contextualism or meta-textuality that looks at beyond such writings in terms of their relationship to their historical and external contexts that revolve around them and interact with them. This complementary model sets off from the form of texts to concepts and then to their historical references in a cumulative and inductive way, or, to put differently, it goes from historiography to history. The relationship between the model's angles is neither hierarchical nor vertical; rather, it is (in a theoretical and ideal sense) horizontal in that textual and historiographical sides synchronise to look at the contextual and historical sides and vice versa. What guides the modes and details of the model are the natures of texts, their multi contexts and their textual and non-textual relations, alongside general analytical and investigatory methods. For instance, the historical concepts in our case study incline to be religious, political and intellectual due to the nature of Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings at the time, but these types of concepts may change into socio-economic and cultural ones if we study other historical writings or themes. This means that the complementary model cannot work alone on the historical writings or automatically impose prejudgments and axioms on them. Rather, it tends to interact with its subjects (the historical texts) to raise further understanding of problems and questions we face, and this gives a chance to examine them and the possibility of granting them validity and efficiency.

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[247] Historical concepts interact with other contemporary terms, such as archetype, topoi, tropes, motifs, and themes. In the literature review we see how some contemporary studies use such terms in order to analyse Islamic history. We do not deny the terminological convergence between them and the historical concepts, yet the latter is interdependent to historiographical concepts and historical reflections. Consequently, epistemological and terminological meanings pertain to their position and functional role in the complementary model. See Chapter One, 1.1 Literature review. For the general meanings of aforementioned terms, see: M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, (Boston, Wadsworth, Cengage learning, 2012), 16-18, 130, 229.

One question remains about the nature of the complementary model: whether we should consider it reconstructive or constructive. There are debates among contemporary historians and intellectuals about the task and adequacy of history to recall past events and affairs. Apart from the deconstructionist view, they are divide between those who embrace the reconstructionist view, which claims to objectively restore the past as it was exactly and in an empirical way, and the constructionist view which claims to know (not empirically and with consideration to language) something about the past via traces found in historians' works.[248] The complementary model is concerned with historians in terms of their writings and their time more than with the historical period they write about, as Ian Almond points out, "you learn more about the historians' epoch than the history itself."[249] In this sense, and without being restrained strictly to such epistemological and philosophical categorisations, the complementary model is constructive at the historiographical level that seeks to discover the methodological, epistemological and conceptual elements in certain historical themes that are written by historians. Such a complementary model is reconstructive, but in an approximate sense instead of an empirical one on the historical level that attempts to know and conceptualise historical circumstances that revolve around historians and their texts and which affect them. These two sides support the textual and contextual parallel of the model that seeks to avoid a reductive view toward historical writings. This aim would be enhanced when it is accompanied by our jurisprudential theory approach.

In the end, the complementary model for Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings has four bases: historiographical structure, historiographical concepts, historical concepts and historical reflections. History is one of the models used to understand the human phenomenon; it "is the intellectual form in which a civilisation renders account of its past".[250] It has many sub-forms to examine the human phenomenon from various aspects and our suggestive complementary model

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[248] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 39-60. Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, (London, Routledge, 2000), 53-55, 194197.
[249] Ian Almond, *Two Faiths, One Banner: When Muslims Marched with Christians Across Europe's Battlegrounds*, (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 104.
[250] Johan Huizinga, "A Definition of the Concept of History" in *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, eds. Rymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), 9.

hopes to be one of them. But we do not claim that the model is the most comprehensive and includes all aspects of history and historiography, or that it is the ultimate solution. It provides us with an approximate (*muqārabātī*) explanation (and not an identical one), or a way of many ways for understanding such historical writings as will be demonstrated throughout this study.

2.2 Jurisprudential theory as a general approach

In this section, we will propose theoretical stages needed to understand the relationship between jurisprudential theory and Islamic history, then analyse and expound on two jurisprudential theory methods; *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*, that we will benefit from in our case study.

2.2.1 How can we benefit from jurisprudential theory in Islamic history?

The gaps in previous studies in the role of jurisprudential theory in Islamic history move us to fill them by some theoretical and epistemological stages that might constitute an introduction to the practical function of jurisprudential theory knowledge in Islamic history.

The first stage is a general preface to this issue. We should acknowledge epistemological complementarity (*al-takāmul al-maʿrifī*) in the sphere of Islamic tradition. It refers to the possibility of beneficial, reciprocal interactions between different epistemic fields in Islamic tradition and takes various levels: methods, sources, contents, actors and receivers.[251] Al-Shāṭibī (790/ 1388), a Mālikī jurist who sought to renew jurisprudential theory by focusing on *maqāṣid al-Sharīʿah* (aims of Sharia) in his book *al-Muwāfaqāt* (*The Reconciliation*), states that "[i]nterpreting one discipline according to another in some of their rules [is done] so that the religious rule (*futyā*) in one discipline is based on the rules of the other, though the two are not attributed to a single real origin".[252] The following example supports his view:

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[251] The pioneering works in this issue are: Al-Malkāwī, *Manhajiyyat al-Takāmul al-Maʿrifī*. Al-Ḥassān Shahīd, *Al-Takāmul al-Maʿrifī Bayn al-ʿUlūm*, 1st edn. (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah: Idārat al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyyah, 2013). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tajdīd al-Manhaj*.
[252] Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, ed. Mashhūr Ḥasan, 1st edn. Vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār Ibn ʿAffān, 1997), 117.

يحكى عن الفراء النحوي أنه قال: من برع في علم واحد سهل عليه كل علم. فقال له محمد بن
الحسن القاضي ـ وكان حاضرا في مجلسه ذلك، وكان ابن خالة الفراء ـ فأنت قد برعت في
علمك، فخذ مسألة أسألك عنها من غير علمك: ما تقول فيمن سها في صلاته، ثم سجد لسهوه
فسها في سجوده أيضا ؟ قال الفراء : لا شيء عليه . قال: وكيف ؟ قال: لأن التصغير عندنا لا
يصغر، فكذلك السهو في سجود السهو لا يسجد له، لأنه بمنزلة تصغير التصغير، فالسجود
للسهو هو جبر للصلاة، والجبر لا يجبر، كما أن التصغير لا يصغر.

Al-Farrāʾ's al-Naḥwī (grammarian) is reported to have said, 'Those who excel in a certain discipline find it easy to learn all disciplines', so Mohammed b. Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, who was present at that gathering of [al-Farrāʾ] and who was also al-Farrāʾ's cousin, said, 'You have excelled in your knowledge, so let me ask you a question beyond your knowledge: What do you say of one who day dreams (sahā) in prayer – and to make up for the mistake he has to do an extra prostration – and yet day dreams in that prostration as well?' Al-Farrāʾ said, 'He does not have to do anything'. Al-Qāḍī asked: How? Al-Farrāʾ replied, 'Because [in Arabic grammar] what is diminutive (muṣaghghar) cannot be made more diminutive and so is the day dreaming during the extra prostration, because this prostration is a compensation for forgetfulness and you do not need to a compensation for this compensation, and again diminution cannot be further reduced.[253]

Here, al-Shāṭibī asserts the possibility of the transformation of epistemic foundations and approaches from one field to another; and I would assume that he tends to stipulate the interchange inside the Islamic cultural circle. I do not think his view contradicts Ibn Ḥazm's (456/1064) when he says that, "All disciplines are related to each other [...] in need of each other"[254] because I think that there is a difference between tools and approaches that integrate in the core of a given field, like the Arabic language with Quranic commentaries (tafsīr) and between others that become ancillary where a given field avails itself of them like maths and astrology with jurisprudence. Indeed, the epistemological complementarity will assist different fields not to be isolated and hence avoid stagnation that might affect their efficiency. It does not mean copying and imposing a given field over another, rather it calls for mutual benefit, habituation and development of the imported elements. It is reported that al-Shāfiʿī was the most knowledgeable person in people history (ayyām al-nās) because

[253] Ibid, 177–118.
[254] ʿAlī b. Ḥazm, *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 1st edn. Vol. 4 (Beirut: al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabiyyah Li al-Dirāsāt, 1983), 90.

he spent twenty years learning it and literature to understand jurisprudence.[255] This is like the mode of synthesis-integration in interdisciplinarity that harmonises between existing fields which share a similar tradition circle (Arabic and Islamic).

The second stage is that to benefit from jurisprudential theory in Islamic history, we need to understand its epistemic content which consists of four elements. First, *naqlī* which embodies the first three sources in the section on proofs of Sharia (*adillat al-aḥkām*), which are the Quran, the tradition of the Prophet (and in the case of Shiite thought, the traditions of his descendants) and consensus (*ijmāʿ*). [256] Second, rationality (*ʿaqlī*) which is exemplified in jurisprudential analogy (*al-qiyās*) – in Shiite thought, they have mind (*al-ʿaql*) instead. [257] This analogy depends on a rational process to perceive present issues whose judgement could not be found in the first three sources.[258] Third, linguistic elements which embody the significations (*dilālāt al-alfāẓ*) that seek to obtain a connection between indicators (*dāll*) and meanings (*madlūl*, or *al-taʾwīl*), which is the interpretation of texts that are similar to hermeneutics.[259] Lastly is the historical element that exemplifies *siyāq al-ḥāl*, which looks at the circumstances of the speakers (*al-mukhāṭib*), the audience (*al-mukhāṭab*) and the discourse (*al-khiṭāb*).[260] These stages are the outcome of acknowledging the epistemological complementarity among Islamic fields.

The third stage is to examine the nature of the historical case we want to study and see which jurisprudential theory tools or elements accord with it and its questions, as they determine the nature of history, and not methods that are changeable and mutual with other fields. Marshal Hodgson asserts that:

> Human social history (to which we give the title 'history' par excellence) is to be distinguished from other disciplines studying human society, not fundamentally by its methods (historians have

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[255] Abū Shāmah al-Maqdisī, *Al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūriyyah wa al-Ṣalāḥiyyah*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Zaybaq, vol. 1 (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1997), 22. *Ayyām al-Nās* in this context might be Arabs battles in pre-islamic period *ayyām al-ʿArab*.
[256] Muḥammad Taqī al-Ḥakīm, *Al-Uṣūl al-ʿĀmmah li al-Fiqh al-Muqāran*, 2nd edn. (Tahran: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li al-Ṭibāʿah wa al-Nashr, 1979), 97–99, 121–122, 1455–150, 255.
[257] Ibid, 301–358.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Fatḥī al-Duraynī, *Al-Manāhij al-Uṣūliyyah fī al-Ijtihād bi al-Raʾy fī al-Tashrīʿ al-Islāmī*, 3rd edn. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2013), 137–183, 215–218.
[260] Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 4, 146. Najm al-Dīn al-Zankī, *Naẓariyyat al-Siyāq: Dirāsah Uṣūliyyah*, 1st edn. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2006), 370–371.

learned much from the methods of others, in fact) but by the sort of questions asked… human history will continue to have its own autonomy, at any rate, because the type of questions it pursues will continue to be interdependent in their own terms.[261]

In this respect, Gerard Noiriel also notices that Marc Bloch confuses between the "vocation" or "profession" of historians and historical method in the sense that it becomes problematic to define the unity of historians' professions according to the historical method as Bloch suggests.[262] This suggests that methods tend to be subjective and not objective because they relate to us and, as Michel De Certeau argues, we move in response to subjects that move and revolve around us.[263]

The fourth stage is to examine the nature of the historical case we want to study and see which jurisprudential theory tools or elements accord with it and then to habituate and integrate jurisprudential theory tools that we want to use in the field of history, or to historicise such tools to make them part of the history field. Beside habituation procedures, we need to add some points that concern the interrelationship between jurisprudential theory tools or elements. Because our case study belongs to the history field, we do not deal with religious or sacred texts but need to make internal habituation for the imported jurisprudential theory approaches to fit the history field and avoid the problematics that face those who completely and literally adopt hadith method. Thus, internal habituation has two parallel proceedings. First, is integration that combines two jurisprudential theory elements and approaches that have comparable functional and methodical processes. Second is extension which seeks to expand the original search scope of jurisprudential theory so that it would allow them to work on other important research materials that would be marginal or omitted if we limit jurisprudential theory approaches to their original search scope.

The four stages confirm our argument that if we want to better understand Muslim classic historical issues, we should benefit from methods that come from the Muslim

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[261] Marshal G.S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History*, edited with an introduction and conclusion, by Edmund Burke III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). 252-253.
[262] Jirār Nuwāryīl [Gérard Noirie], "Qirāʾah fī "Difāʿan ʿan al-Tārīkh" (Appendix) in Mārk Blūkh [Marck Bloch], *Difāʿan ʿan al-Tārīkh Aw Mihnatu al-Muʾarrikh*, trans. Aḥmad al-Shaykh (Cairo: Al-Markaz al-ʿArabī al-Islāmī li al-Dirāsāt al-Gharbiyyah, 2012), 218.
[263] Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 125.

tradition that created such methods, like jurisprudential theory. Al-Maqrīzī, a Muslim historian and the pupil of Ibn Khaldūn, has an interesting text that illuminates the link between jurisprudence and Islamic history, when he states:

وحقيقة الاقتصاص إذاً الخبر على وجه، سواء كان المخبر عنه أنباء الأولين أو أحكام الله تعالى لعباده المكلفين، فكل ذلك قصص ولا غناء في كلا القسمين عن الفقه أن به تدرك مقاصد الاقتصاص، وبإدراكها يتميز العام عن الخاص.

> The core of recounting is the *khabar* as it is, whether what is narrated is *akhbār* of ancient people or Allāh's commands for His servants, all are *akhbār* and jurisprudence is indispensable to both sections for through it are the determinations of recounting achieved, and in realising them the general be can be distinguished from the specific.[264]

This affirms the epistemological complementarity of the Islamic circulation sphere that represents the first stage and reaffirms that Islamic history needs traditional approaches such as jurisprudential theory . For the case study, I believe that the most appropriate jurisprudential theory approaches are *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*.

2.2.2 *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*

A suitable definition of the general meaning of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* is an inferred process that makes induction of different particulars by multiplying them or joining them to their mutual general rule and excluding the irrelevant particulars to such rule.[265] This shows how the general meaning of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* is not confined to a specific field or domain in jurisprudential theory and could be applied to others.

This occupies a significant position in Arabic and Islamic tradition and is not confined to jurisprudential theory . It contributes to improving the intellectual and cultural fields of many Muslim scholars, whether from Quranic studies, linguistics, theology, logic or even ethics as they depend directly or indirectly on such an approach to theorise, analyse and organise their works.[266] Some Muslim scholars claim that it is a

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[264] Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī Muʾarrikhan* (Beirut; ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 1990). 215. See also similar view in the matter of overlapping between historical *akhbār* and jurisprudence and jurisprudential theory in al-Masʿūdī. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 40-41.

[265] For comprehensive discussion of the meanings of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* in different Islamic disciplines, al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr Wa Al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 75-126.

[266] Jalāl al-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Qurʾāniyyah, vol. 5. (Medina: Majmaʿ al-Malik Fahd li Ṭibāʿat al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf, 1426); 1959. Jalāl Al-Dīn Al-Suyūṭī,

common rational method and that people in general, and by their human nature (*fiṭrah*), use it as an inferential tool as in mathematics and other functions.[267]

This introduction of the meaning and nature of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* shows that it is a composite mechanism that consists of probe (*al-sabr*) and segmentation (*al-taqsīm*), that is employed in theoretical, practical and argumentative levels; each part needs the other. As a jurisprudential theorist said: "the collection of particulars and revocation of what does not fit, requires examination, which is *al-sabr*, which in return requires *al-taqsīm*".[268] Both have their procedures and conditions that regulate the entire process.

There are two types of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* in jurisprudential theory. First, exclusive segmentation (*al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir*), which means that *al-taqsīm* revolves around denial (*nafyu*) and confirmation (*ithbāt*) and this assimilates all attributes or possibilities.[269] Yet this type is common in rational issues (*ʿaqliyyāt*) more than in religious or practical ones, (*sharʿiyyāt wa ʿamaliyyat*).[270] *Al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir* in the perspective of logicians, theologians and jurisprudential theorists is certain (*yaqīnī*) because if the two parts of a case are opposed to each other, it means that refuting one of them by certain evidence necessitates affirming the other.[271] However, if *al-taqsīm* is exclusive

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Al-Iqtirāḥ fī uṣūl Al-Naḥw, ed. Maḥmūd Fajjāl (Damascus: Dār Al-Qalam, 1989), 283. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Al-Anbārī, *Al-Ighrāb fī Jadal al-Iʿrāb wa Lumaʿ al-Adillah fī Uṣūl Al-Naḥw*, ed. Saʿīd Al-Afghānī (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat al-Jāmiʿah Al-Sūriyyah, 1957), 127–128. See also: Nusaybah Muwājdah, "Al-Istidlāl Bi Al-Sabr Wa Al-Taqsīm ʿind Al-Nuḥāt wa Al-Ṣarfiyyīn; Dirāsah Waṣfiyyah Taḥlīliyyah" (PhD thesis, Jāmiʿat Muʾtah, 2010). Abū Ḥamid Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Iqtiṣād fī al-Iʿtiqād*, 1st edn. ed. Al-Khalīlī ʿAbd Allāh (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2004),18–19.

[267] Aḥmad b. Tayymiyyah, *Al-Radd ʿalá Al-Manṭiqiyyīn*, eds. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Kutubī and Muḥammad Manyār, 1st edn. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Rayyān, 2005), 343. A similar view can be found in Al-Ghazālī, *Asās Al-Qiyās*, 32.

[268] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bannānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Bannānī ʿalá Sharḥ al-Maḥallī ʿalá Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), 270.

[269] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rāzī, *Al-Maḥṣūl fī al-Uṣūl*, vol. 5, 217. Al-Najjār, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 229–230. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 7, 283–284. 287, 291.

[270] Al-Rāzī, *Al-Maḥṣūl*, vol. 5, 217. Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar Al-Tanwīr*, vol. 4, 229–230. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr Al-Muḥīṭ fī Uṣūl al-fiqh*, vol. 7, 284. *ʿAqliyyāt* refers to metaphysical, theological and abstract issues, while *sharʿiyyāt* refers to religious devotional and ethical practices and *ʿamaliyyāt* refers to temporal contractual practices and relationships (financial transactions, judicature, political system and social and family affairs). ʿAbd al-Karīm Zaydān, *Al-Madkhal li Dirāsat al-Sharīʿah*, (Beirut; Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2005), 56-58.

[271] Al-Rāzī, *Al-Maḥṣūl*, vol. 5, 217. Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tanwīr*, Vol. 4. 229–230. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 7, 284.

and *al-sabr* is uncertain, then the result is uncertain because such types of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* stipulate that both of its parts must be certain.[272]

The second type is inductive segmentation (*al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī*), which means *al-taqsīm* does not revolve around denial and confirmation and instead seeks to assimilate attributes by induction (*istiqrāʾ*), and then probe them to exclude invalid ones.[273] This type is more common among scholars and they use it in the matter of *ʿillah* and in judicial and jurisprudential theory fields. It is closer to human reality (*al-wāqiʿ*) and human daily life and affairs (*ʿamaliyyāt*) and here there is convergence with history and hence historical *akhbār* and writings.

We need to extend the research scope of the two types of *al-taqsīm*. *Al-taqsīm* per se is either to be real (*ḥaqīqī*) or nominal (*iʿtibārī*). The former denotes that particulars of a certain universal are in reality and mentality (*dhihn*) differentiated from each other, whereas the latter denotes that such particulars are only mentality differentiated and in the matter of reality might be universals or not particulars, depending on their positions in different contexts.[274] So, *al-taqsīm* is multifaceted when it is incorporated with other types of *al-taqsīm* that let us deal with various issues from various aspects and grants us multiple practical methodical choices.

With regard to *al-sabr*, there are some points to consider. It appears that most jurisprudential theorists are inclined to establish two, three or six ways of probing attributes related to *qawādiḥ al-ʿillah* (*the vilifications of ratio*), which indicates that the efficiency of *ʿillah* results from some ways that demonstrate the absence of any relationship between an original issue and an inferred one.[275] Other scholars believe that all *qawādiḥ al-ʿillah*, of which there are about twenty-five or thirty, can be used

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[272] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tanwīr*, vol. 4., 146. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mardāwī, *Al-Taḥbīr Sharḥ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 1st edn. eds. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jibrīn, ʿAwaḍ al-Qarnī and Aḥmad al-Sarrāḥ, vol. 7 (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2000), 3355–3356.
[273] Al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr wa Al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 164-169.
[274] Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Shinqīṭī, *Ādāb al-Baḥth wa al-Munāẓarah*, (Cairo; Maktabat Ibn Taymiyyah, n.d), 9. Al-Kafawī (1094/1683) names *al-taqsīm al-iʿtibārī* as *al-majāzī* (allegorical). Abū al-Baqāʾ al-Kafawī, *Al-Kulliyyāt*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, (Beirut; Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1998), 265.
[275] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 115. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 7, 234. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tilmisānī, *Miftāḥ al-Wuṣūl Ilá Bināʾ al-Furūʿ ʿalá al-Uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Farkūs, 1st edn. (Mecca: Al-Maktabah al-Makkiyyah, 1998), 689.

in *al-sabr*.[276] Theologians and dialectical (*al-jadal wa al-munāẓarah*) scholars in their field likewise use such ways independently from *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* to confute their opponents' views.[277] The ramifications are problematic and intricate because there is overlap and similarity between them; in addition, the general meaning of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* is not connected to ways of ratio (*ṭuruq al-ʿillah*), which means some *qawādiḥ al-ʿillah* are not needed here because they are attached to *ʿillah*.[278] The best way is to say that there are two major methods of probing from which the rest are derived. The first is for analytical purposes (*taḥlīlī*) and contains two ways: appropriateness (*al-munāsabah*), which means the characteristics of particulars remain appropriate to a given issue without any flaws or objection, and nullification (*al-ilghāʾ*), which means the conclusion will not be affected or changed if we exclude some particulars that we think do not match the issue, but it will be affected if we exclude particulars that we think are relative.[279] Indeed, each of them potentially includes the other, in that we could probably know certain particulars as appropriate because if we exclude them, the conclusion would be affected, and meanwhile, when we exclude unaffected particulars we conclude that they are not appropriate.

The second argumentative purpose (*jadalī*) consists of prevention (*al-manʿ*), which denotes rejecting a given argument by rebutting its proof (*dalīl*) and objection (*muʿāraḍah*), which denotes rejecting a given conclusion (*natījah*) by including other evidence that is more sound.[280] So when someone wants to probe induced attributes, they should keep or exclude them by looking at their proofs (and hence their premises) or conclusions (and hence their evidence) to see their agreement with the characteristics of an issue they are looking for.

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[276] Al-Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍah*, vol. 3, 407–408. Al-Rāzī, *Al-Maḥṣūl fī al-Uṣūl*, Vol. 5., 255. Al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr wa al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 207.

[277] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 229–230. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 7, 328.

[278] See Appendix III: Further issues about *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*.

[279] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 147-49. Al-Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍah*, vol. 3, 407. Al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr wa al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 208-225.

[280] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 147-49. Al-Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍah*, vol. 3, 407. Al-Qaḥṭānī, *Al-Sabr wa al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 208-225. See also: Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī, *Qawāṭiʿ al-Adillah fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Al-Ḥakamī, 1st edn. Vol. 4 (Riyadh: Maktabat Al-Tawbah, 1998), 356. Al-Saʿdī, *Mabḥath al-ʿIllah fī al-Qiyās*, 643–644. Chekhar Abounacer, "Iʿādat Haykalat Mabḥath Qawādiḥ", 14–33.

By and large, these processes of jurisprudential theory (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*) attempt to encompass controlling standards (*maʿāyīr ḥākimah*) which play a crucial role in determining the appropriateness of given attributes and their effectiveness for supporting and clarifying given issues (see figure 2).

Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm, in its general meaning that does not link with *al-ʿillah,* shares with jurisprudential theory induction (*al-istiqrāʾ*) some epistemological and functional orientations. Functionally, both trace out particulars to prove a given issue and they do so by complete tracking (*al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir*) and complete induction (*al-istiqrāʾ al-tāmm*) or tracking most particulars (*al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī and al-istiqrāʾ al-nāqiṣ*). Epistemologically, both approaches hold that the first type of tracking leads to certainty, whereas the second one leads to outweighing uncertainty (*ghalabat al-ẓan*) that should be used. However, *al-istiqrāʾ* depends on jurisprudential theory induction, not on logical Aristotelian induction, which is known as "incomplete" or "minus" induction (*al-istiqrāʾ al-nāqiṣ*). The latter, in the view of logicians, is unreliable because it leads to guessing or uncertainty, while the former, in the use of jurisprudential theorists, refers to tracing particulars of an issue to reach to a conclusion that is reliable as long as there is no opposite conclusion or particulars that would affect it.[281] This epistemological and functional likeness between *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and jurisprudential theory induction might lead some scholars to use the terms of the two jurisprudential theory approaches interchangeably (as al-Shāfiʿī did) or to use both in one case (as al-Rāzī did).[282] *Al-munāsabah* as one of the procedures of *al-sabr* is, per se, *al-istiqrāʾ* as it investigates and examines all inductive particulars to see which are appropriate and related to a given issue.[283] With respect to differences, the multi-functions and procedures of *al-sabr* are clearer and more organised than *al-istiqrāʾ* which focuses on inductive procedures more than probing ones. Yet *al-istiqrāʾ* has additional attributes that *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* seems to lack.

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[281] Aḥmad Al-Qarāfī, *Sharḥ Tanqīḥ Al-Fuṣūl fī Ikhtiṣār al-Maḥṣūl fī al-Uṣūl*, ed. Maktab al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikir, 2002), 352. For the comparison between logical induction and *al-istiqrāʾ*, see Wael Hallaq, "Inductive Corroboration, Probability, and Certainty in Sunnī Legal Thought" in *Islamic Law and Jurisprudence*, ed. Nicholas Heer, 3–31. (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1990). Especially pp. 18n43, 18. ʿUmar Jadiah, *Manhaj al-istiqrāʾ ʿind al-Uṣūliyyīn wa al-Fuqahāʾ*, (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2011), 109-120.
[282] For al-Shāfiʿī, Abū al-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī, *Al-Burhān fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 1st edn. ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Al-Dīb, vol. 2 (Qatar: Dawlat Qaṭar, 1399), 1117. Al-Rāzī, *Al-Maḥṣūl*, vol. 1, 232.
[283] Jadiah, *Manhaj al-istiqrāʾ*, 224-225.

The former seeks to trace out particulars to reach to a conclusion that confirms a universal ruling on a certain issue (*ḥukm kullī*), whilst the latter does so only to confirm a particular ruling (*ḥukm juzʾī*).[284] Jurisprudential theory induction has a further step in generalisation by assigning unexamined particulars or the rest of elements to the examined ones that are inductive and traced, and this step is known as *ilḥāq al-fard bi al-aghlab*.[285] This means that most of our universal judgements and conclusions are based on applying induction to the majority of particulars of a given issue (*al-aʿam al-aghlab*) in such a way that the rest would not affect the outcome.[286] The generalisation looks at the recurrence (*al-tikrār*) and spread (*al-intishār*) of universal conclusion through such particulars.[287] In addition, if some particulars contradict the conclusion, it would probably divert to reconciliation as the former specify the latter in a certain context and condition.[288] From a complementary perspective, *al-taqsīm* serves as a methodical tool that subdivides and sorts the various particulars under a general conclusion which in turn is a result of *al-istiqrāʾ*. Thus, universality and particulars proceed in parallel. This relationship is nominal, as some general or universal parts are at the same time particular and specific in their link with other parts that include them.

The general meaning of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* (with its extended and combined elements which benefit from *al-istiqrāʾ*) helps us in denying or asserting a given historical issue or event and enables us to determine the general and partial characteristics of a historical issue.[289] Hence, *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* seems to be more practical and applicable in its second type. This jurisprudential theory approach combines more than one analytical and critical method. It contains the process of induction, whether complete or incomplete. Likewise, when it seeks to examine

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[284] Al-Bannānī, *Ḥāshiyat*, vol. 2, 345. For the definition of *al-istiqrāʾ*, al-Ghazālī, *Al-Mustaṣfá*, vol. 1, 161. See also: Nūr al-Dīn Mukhtār al-Khādimī, *Al-istiqrāʾ wa Dawruhu fī Maʿrifat al-Maqāṣid al-Sharʿiyyah*, (Riyad, Maktbat al-Rushd, 2007), 15-18.

[285] Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 419. Al-Shāṭibī calls *al-istiqrāʾ* or *al-tawātur al-maʿnawī*. Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol.1, 27–32. Vol. 2, 81–82. Aḥmad Al-Raysūnī, *Naẓariyyat al-Taghlīb wa al-Taqrīb wa Taṭbīquhā fī al-ʿUlūm al-Islāmiyyah*, 1st edn. (Cairo: Dār Al-Kalimah, 1997), 30–32, 100–103, 13–15. See also: Al-Juwaynī, *al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 816–817. Al-Subkī, *Al-Ibhāj*, vol. 6, 2388–2389. Hallaq, "Inductive Corroboration", 24–29.

[286] Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 2, 83-84.

[287] Nuʿmān Jughaym, *Ṭuruq al-Kashf ʿan Maqāṣid al-Shāriʿ*, (Jordan; Dār al-Nafāʾis, 2014), 248.

[288] Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 3, 176-183.

[289] I will keep using the term *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* although we integrate it with *al-istiqrāʾ*

collected attributes or parts to see which ones are valid for a given matter, it includes investigational and dialectic processes, with the second found in the field of dialectic (*al-jadal*). Still, *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* differs from the latter process in that it does not solely attempt to refute, but also seeks to organise and build the structure of a given issue after eliminating what does not presently integrate with it. Therefore, it has three phases: collecting and inducing, then probing and eliminating and finally preserving and concluding, and these phases have deconstructive and constructive dimensions in both parts of this jurisprudential theory method. In addition to their inductive dimensions, they will be seen throughout this study and yet sometimes we will operate *al-taqsīm* without *al-sabr*. We will induce and probe only the related prospects without mentioning or examining the unrelated ones and neglecting the unrelated ones is like indirectly using elimination. In this matter, we will rely on the inductive dimension so that it will provide our approach with more dynamic research scope.

We need to briefly shed light on two problems of induction that resurface frequently on the intellectual scene.[290] First is certainty of the induction of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*. History, unlike natural sciences, is more dynamic and moveable due to its possibility and not certainty. Marc Bloch declares: "[T]he uncertainties of our science must not, I think, be hidden from the curiosity of the world. They are our excuse for being. They bring freshness to our studies".[291] This means that the induction of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* in history tends to rely on a supposition that results from inducing many parts of a certain issue as long as the rest do not stand together against such a supposition. However, in some cases in history, our conclusion might be certain if we induce all parts in the case of exclusive (*al-taqsīm*) or complete induction. The second problem is generality as we should distinguish between transitive rule or result and generalisation as the former pertains to causality whilst the latter pertains to preponderant supposition that pertains to historical studies. History is sensitive to universal law or causality for many reasons, like the inability to predict historical events, the shortage of targeted data and various ramifications of human phenomena.

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[290] For the problem of *al-istiqrāʾ* in jurisprudential theory , see: Jadyah, *Manhaj al-istiqrāʾ*, 112-115.
[291] Marc Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam, with a preface by Peter Burke, (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2004), 15.

To treat these challenges, it is better to look for practical and procedural solutions in the schemas and trajectories of a given historical case, and this is the role of generalisation. Generalisation is acceptable since historical events cannot be separated from wider contexts.[292] The two points are actually interdependent on each other in that preponderant supposition (possibility) relies on generalising the inductive parts as long as there are no inductive and total parts that stand against it.
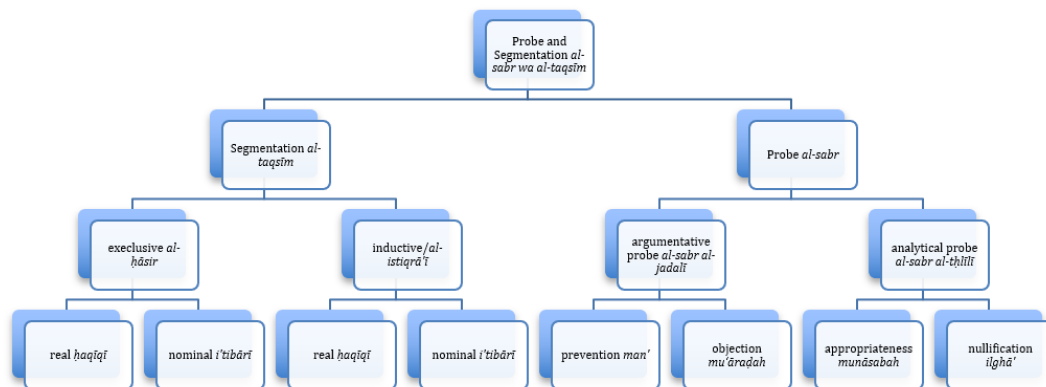
Figure 2. *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*

2.2.3 *Dilālat al-siyāq*

The second jurisprudential theory approach is *dilālat al-siyāq*.[293] It seems that early Muslim scholars paid attention to the role of *dilālat al-siyāq* in understanding the meanings and interpretation of Quranic verses and the tradition of Muḥammad to draw out judicial and religious opinions and issues. During the emergence of jurisprudential theory and the class of jurists, we noticed initial references to such interpretive tools, like al-Shāfiʿī, who said in his well-known work *al-Risālah* (*The Treatise*)

> God has addressed His Book to the Arabs in their tongue in accordance with the meanings that they know. Included in the words in accordance with the meanings they know was the extensiveness of

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[292] For trajectories and schemata of history, and generalisation with its connection to particularities instead of absolute universalities in history, see: Carr, *What is History*, 56-59. Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History*, 15, 24-25. Wilhelm Dilthey, *The Formation of Historical World in the Human sciences*, Edited with an introduction by Rudolfe A. Makkreel and Frithjof Rodi (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2002), 154-156, 233-234. Paul Veyne, *Writing history: Essay on Epistemology*, trans. Mina Moore-Rinvolucri (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), 159-166.
[293] For Western contextual approaches, see Appendix V, Western contextual approaches.

their tongue. It is God's divine disposition to express something, part of which is literally general which is intended to be obviously general with the first part [of the phrase] not needing the second. Something literally general 'means that the concept of the particular is included in the general; that is indicated by some of the words expressed. Also, 'literally general' means only what is particular. This is the word literally recognised in its context to mean what is not literally so. Knowledge of all of this is to be 'found either in the beginning of what is said or in the middle or at the end.[294]

He goes on to affirm the importance of context, when he says, "the meaning of which is clarified by context".[295] Here al-Shāfiʿī posits the pivotal execution of context (*al-siyāq*) to reveal and deal with multiple and various levels of speech or discours (*al-khiṭāb*) that are used in Arabic, regardless of their different vernaculars as long as they share the same linguistic foundations.

Jurisprudential theorists define context in its linguistic manner (*lughawī*), by explaining its role, giving examples on it or by elucidating one side of it, although some have tried to define it idiomatically.[296] I believe that the definitions by the latter are more constant and harmonised, and one of the chosen definitions is:

> هي الدلالة الحاصلة من مراعاة ما يحيط باللفظ أو التركيب أو النص من كلام سابق أو لاحق
> قد يشمل النص كله أو الكتاب بأسره، وما يحيط به من ملابسات غير لفظية أو ظروف تتعلق
> بالمخاطِب والمخاطَب وطبيعة موضوع الخطاب وغرضه والمناسبة التي اقتضته والزمان
> والمكان الذي قيل فيه الكلام.

> It is the meaning determined from that which surrounds the word, structure or text from preceding or following text that might include the entire text or book and the non-verbal conflicts or circumstances that are relevant to the audience or the speaker, the nature of the subject matter, its purpose, the occasion which necessitated the text, the time and the place where the speech was given.[297]

The definition leads us to speculate on three points: its functions, its relationship to the relevant concept and its major branches or parts. As for the first point, the substance of *dilālat al-siyāq* in jurisprudential theory contains the importance of usage (*istiʿmāl*), which denotes using words or speech by people in a given time and

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[294] Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, *Al-Risālah fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, trans. Majid Khadduri, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2008), 94–95.
[295] Ibid, 102.
[296] For comprehensive investigation of the contexts' meaning, see al-Zankī, *Naẓariyyat Al-Siyāq*, 33-52.
[297] Al-ʿUbaydī, *Dilālat al-Siyāq*, 33–34.

in specific ways. Another notion is connection (*ittiṣāl*), which denotes the correlation and conjunction between the elements of discourse. These substantial notions serve several functions.[298] First, they try to determine the nature and meaning of speeches or texts and their elements. Second, they try to determine the nature of issues or cases that relate to the speeches or texts. Third, they try to disclose and comprehend the potential reasons, motives and consequently the intentions of writers or speakers.[299] These functions relate to locating the position of *dilālat al-siyāq* in jurisprudential theory works that tend to be mostly associated with the chapter of *dilālāt al-alfāẓ* that deals with levels and categories, such as the general and specific, the absolute and restrictive, the apparent and hidden, signified indication (*ishārah*) and bound indication (*iltizām*), explicit uttered (*manṭūq ṣarīḥ*) and non-explicit uttered (*manṭūq ghayr ṣarīḥ*), congruent understanding (*mafhūm muwāfaqah*) and non-congruent understanding (*mafhūm mukhālafah*).[300]

The issue of *dilālāt al-alfāẓ* is crucial in the jurisprudential theory field and it can be conceived as a bridge for reaching the meanings and intentions behind speech or texts, and it allows jurisprudential theorists to make huge contributions to linguistic fields that compete with the works of grammarians, rhetoric scholars, linguists and belletrists.[301] Despite such a pivotal role of *dilālat al-siyāq*, jurisprudential theorists did not appropriate a specific section that displays theoretical foundation and methodological process for it and, instead, we notice the scattering of its elements throughout other sections (with the exception of al-Zarkashī (794/1392), who allocated an individual section for *dilālat al-siyāq* in the chapter on "disputed

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[298] Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 34.
[299] Ṭaha al-ʿAlwānī, "Al-Siyāq: Al-Mafhūm, al-Manhaj, al-Naẓariyyah", *Al-Iḥyāʾ*, no. 26 (November 2007), 49. Also: Ṣāliḥ, *al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 123. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 35, 101–103. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 8. 54–55. Bernard G. Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 64.
[300] See Appendix IV: *Dilālāt al-alfāẓ*.
[301] Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 1, 23. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. *Al-Ibhāj fī Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, eds. Aḥmad al-Zamzamī and Nūr al-Dīn Ṣaghīrī, vol. 2 (Dubai; Dār al-Buḥūth li al-Dirāsāt al-Islamiyyah wa Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 2004). 15. ʿAbd Al-Ghaffār al-Sayyid Aḥmad, *Al-Taṣawwur al-Lughawī ʿind ʿUlamāʾ Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 1st edn. (Alexandria: Dār al-Maʿrifah al-Jāmiʿiyyah, 1996), 67–172. Maḥmūd Tawfīq Saʿd, *Dilālāt Al-Alfāẓ ʿalá al-Maʿānī ʿind Al-Uṣūliyyīn*, 1st edn. (Cairo: Maktbat Wahbah, 2009), 19–21, 58–59, 637–640.

sources" (*adillah mukhtalaf fīhā*)),[302] probably because all types of verbal indications contain and need *dilālat al-siyāq*.[303]

This conclusion reminds us of the statement by al-Shāfiʿī about the position of context and its connection to other types of jurisprudential theory linguistic categories and hence a way to determine which types of such linguistic categories are contingent on the existence or absence of contextual indications.[304]

The second point is the relationship between *dilālat al-siyāq* and other jurisprudential theory tools, especially *al-qarāʾin* (presumptions)*,* that can be identified as "what accompanies the evidence so to explain, strengthen or prove it".[305] The confusion stems from the fact that they share similar functions, and thus some jurisprudential theorists talk about them in the same paragraph and some use mixed terms, such as contextual presumptions (*qarāʾin siyāqiyyah*).[306] However, the main difference is that evidence in *al-qarāʾin* includes speech and action, whereas in *dilālat al-siyāq* it only includes speech.[307] *Al-qarāʾin* comprises four types: rational, material, verbal and contextual presumptions.[308] For a complementary and integrative purpose, I believe the last three perform tasks in the same manner as the two major branches of *dilālat al-siyāq*. Such major branches will present a systematic frame for the three types of *al-qarāʾin*. In addition, we widen the meaning of evidence in *dilālat al-siyāq*, so that it will include speech and actions. With respect to the rational one, it seems that it relates to interpreters and their intellectual backgrounds and views, which means it is separated and independent from the three branches that link with texts or speeches and their producers.

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[302] Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 8, 54–55.

[303] See, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muẓaffar, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. ʿAbbās al-Zāriʿī al-Sabzwārī (Qom: Muʾassasat Bustān Kitāb, 1422 AH), 145.

[304] For the strong influence of *siyāq* and *qarāʾin* in jurisprudential theory linguistic classification, see Robert Gleave, *Islam And Literalism: Literal Meaning and Interpretation in Islamic Legal Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 40–54. Bernard G. Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006) 91, 98.

[305] Muḥammad al-Mubārak, *Al-Qarāʾin ʿind al-Uṣūliyyīn*, vol. 1 (Riyadh: Jāmiʿat Al-Imām Muḥammad b. Suʿūd al-Islāmiyyah, 2005), 68.

[306] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tilmisānī, *Miftāḥ al-Wuṣūl*, 454.

[307] For evidence in *al-qarāʾin*, Al-Mubārak, *Al-Qarāʾin*, vol. 1, 69.

[308] Tammām Ḥassān, *Al-Lughah Al-ʿArabiyyah Maʿnāhā wa Mabnānahā*, 6th edn. (Cairo: ʿĀlam Al-Kutub, 2009), 190. Al-Mubārak, *Al-Qarāʾin*, vol. 1, 103–107. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*. 35, 55.

Two major branches comprise *dilālat al-siyāq* and they need each other to reach meanings and intentions behind texts or speeches (see Figure 3). The first is the context of speech and text (*siyāq al-kalām*) which looks for the internal relationships between texts, sentences and words; what shape them are contextual and verbal presumptions (*al-qarāʾin al-lafẓiyyah al-siyāqiyyah*). This branch has linguistic dimensions because it depends heavily on linguistic tools such as Arabic grammar, rhetoric, inflection or declension. *Siyāq al-kalām* is divided into connected (*muttaṣil*) and separated (*munfaṣil*).[309] The former refers to words or sentences that are incomplete and cannot stand alone to create meanings, and thus need to be helped by other verbal and textual presumptions that clarify them.[310] *Al-siyāq al-munfaṣil* refers to independent verbal and textual presumptions that have complete meanings and stand alone without any need for other sentences, texts or words; this separation from a given text might be total in that it is found in other sections, chapters or books from the same writer or, could be found in other books from different writers who deal with same case.[311] Another kind of separation is the particular, which can be found in words or sentences that precede or come after a given text and is known as *al-sawābiq wa al-lawāḥiq*.[312]

The second branch is the situational context (*siyāq al-ḥāl*) which means to look at historical situations that relate to a given text so as to understand the intentions and status of the text and that linked to it.[313] By saying "historical situation", we notice that *siyāq al-ḥāl* has historical dimensions that pay attention to history in its general meaning: social, political, religious, economical, customary (*ʿurfī*), cultural and

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[309] Aḥmad b. Taymiyyah, *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwá*, eds. ʿĀmir al-Jazzār and Anwar al-Bāz, 3rd edn. Vol. 31 (Cairo: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 2005), 66–67. Muḥammad b. Al-Mawṣilī and, *Mukhtaṣar al- Ṣawāʿiq al-Mursalah*, ed. Sayyid Ibrāhīm, 1st edn. (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2001), 324. Saʿd, *Dilālāt al-Alfāẓ*, 262–263.

[310] Muḥammad Bāqir Al-Ṣadr, *Durūs fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1 (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Isālāmī, 1410 AH), 105–106. Muḥammad al-Asṭal, "Al-Qarāʾin ʿind al-Uṣūliyyīn wa Atharuhā fī Fahm al-Nuṣūṣṣ" (Master's Thesis, Al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmiyyah fī Gaza, 2004), 28–29. Muḥammad Ṣanqūr Alī, *Al-Muʿjam Al-Uṣūlī*, 3rd ed. (n.p.: Manshūrāt al-Ṭayyār, 2007), 380. See also: Al-Tilmisānī, *Miftāḥ Al-Wuṣūl*, 454–456.

[311] Al-Ṣadr, *Durūs fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, 105–106. Alī, *Al-Muʿjam al-Uṣūlī*, 380–381. Al-Zankī, *Naẓariyyat al-Siyāq*, 233-235. Al-Asṭal, "Al-Qarāʾin ʿind Al-Uṣūliyyīn", 28–29. See also: Al-Tilmisānī, *Miftāḥ al-Wuṣūl*, 456–457.

[312] Al-Ṣadr, *Durūs fī ʿIlm al-Uṣūl*, vol. 1, 105–106. Alī, *Al-Muʿjam al-Uṣūlī*, 380–381. Al-Asṭal, "Al-Qarāʾin ʿind al-Uṣūliyyīn", 28–29.

[313] Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 85. Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 295–296, 308.

epistemic aspects at the time when the text was produced. Indeed, historical dimensions of *siyāq al-ḥāl* cause some jurisprudential theorists to admit that it is difficult to count all the variations on this branch.[314] However, other scholars in contemporary studies propose some major formulations of this matter.[315]

Siyāq al-ḥāl is composed of three parts: speaker (*al-mukhāṭib*), recipient (*al-mukhāṭab*) and speech or discourse (*al-khiṭāb*).[316] In terms of the speaker, we should look at some elements that connect to him/her: intellectual or religious background, political tendencies, habits, functional position and personality (introvert, mentality, etc.).[317] These elements should also be applied to the recipient, with the added important point that, in the view of jurisprudential theorists, that the recipient is not a passive receiver who only reacts to the aesthetic images of speech and discourse as some scholars of Arabic rhetoric claim.[318] On the contrary, jurisprudential theorists gave an important role to the recipient in shaping speech and discourse because the speaker should take into consideration the circumstances of the latter.[319] The last aspect is (*al-khiṭāb*) and it means we should look at the nature and habitual use of language (*ʿahd al-khiṭāb*) in light of historical circumstances where such discourse is produced, and the reasons for fabricating it.[320] Emphasis on the habitual use indicates

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[314] Al-Juwaynī, *Al-Burhān*, Vol. 1. 261. Al-Tilmisānī, *Miftāḥ al-Wuṣūl*. 456. Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Mustaṣfá*, vol. 3, 229. See the discussion of Ayman Ṣāliḥ to al-Juwaynī opinion: Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 305–307.

[315] By depending mainly on al-Juwaynī's claim, Sherman Jackson suspects contextual indicators because jurisprudential theory thought does not supply instructions to use contextual indicators, especially *siyāq al-ḥāl*. Sherman A. Jackson, 'Fiction and Formalism: Toward a Functional Analysis of Uṣūl Al-Fiqh', in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory: The Alta Volume*, ed. Bernard G. Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 193–194. First, we have already explained the classification of *al-qarāʾin al-lafẓiyyah*, which emphasises the internal systematic analysis for speech/texts. Second, some jurisprudential theorists propose a classification for *siyāq al-ḥāl* like Ibn Taymiyyah, al-Shāṭibī and others that overshadow the al-Juwaynī's claim. Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, Vol. 4. 146. Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwá*, Vol. 33, 105. See also: al-Zankī, *Naẓariyyat al-Siyāq*, 370–371. Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 314–317, 323. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 55–58. Finally, if we take into account what al-Muẓaffar said about the major types of verbal and textual presumptions being contextual, we see how they contain in their essence contextual processes. Al-Muẓaffar, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 145.

[316] Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 4, 146. Al-Zankī, *Naẓariyyat Al-Siyāq*, 370–371. Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 314–317.

[317] Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Mustaṣfá*, vol. 3, 229. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 55–56.

[318] Idrīs b. Khūyā, *Al-Baḥth al-Dilālī ʿind al-Uṣūliyyīn Qirāʾah fī Maqsidiyyāt al-Khiṭāb al-Sharʿī ʿind al-Shawkānī* (Irbid: Dār ʿĀlam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 2011), 63.

[319] Farīdah Zamrū, "Al-Siyāq ʿind Ibn Taymiyyah, Qirāʾah Jadīdah", *Al-Iḥyāʾ*, no. 26 (November 2007): 99–100.

[320] Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 323. Al-Mubārak, *Al-Qarāʾin*, vol. 1, 239–240. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 36, 57.

preference of the former at the expense of positive use (*istiʿmāl waḍʿī*) and that language is not absolutely subjective and independent of circumstantial and historical constraints.[321] Within these three categories, material indications could be infused and used if available, so that we have material indications associated with the situation of speaker, recipient and speech or discourse.

Albeit the speaker, recipient and speech or discourse in the situational context, there is an epistemic challenge that exemplifies in the possibility of the presence and availability of all angles of such context. Sometimes, sources and shreds of evidence that provide us with knowledge of the contexts of speaker, recipient and discourse incline to be absent or at best scarce to an extent that may complicate interpreters' task. We can add that even in the case of their presence, sources and evidence may contain biases for or against that blur their accuracy and problematise more than resolve. The presence and absence of the angles of situational context suggest that this branch of context is twofold; as part of methodical tool (and here *dalālah* indication) and as part of evidences or clues (and here *dalīl*).

Be that as it may, for the aforementioned epistemic challenge, I think we need to pay attention to some procedures from jurisprudential theory thought that assist with *dilālat al-siyāq* when we use it. First of all, the two branches have a double "face" that exercises an affirmative and a nugatory process. The first is the guiding indication (*qarīnah dāllah*) which confirms and clarifies the direct and literal intention behind a speech or text, and the second is the diverting indication (*qarīnah ṣārifah*) which diverts interpretation from a literal meaning to an allegorical one.[322] Indeed, these two types seem to resemble the role of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* in that both jurisprudential theory approaches affirm relevant elements and eliminate irrelevant ones.[323] Secondly, in the case of contradiction between indications, we should give most weight to the most constant and clearest one. Another suggestive way is to go with closer contexts (spatial-temporal and textual-verbal) to a given text or case (*al-*

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[321] Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 4, 27–35. Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwá*, vol. 7, 71. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 53. Wael B. Hallaq, "Notes on the Term Qarīna in Islamic Legal Discourse", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108, no. 3 (July 1988): 476.

[322] Al-Mardāwī, *Al-Taḥbīr*, vol. 6, 2884. Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 35–36, 73–74, 216–217. Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 127–149, 166–170.

[323] See in this Chapter, 2.2.2 *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*'.

aqrab fa al-aqrab).[324] This step leads us to the third being that the output of choosing an indication to understand a text should be effective in that without it, we will not be able to increase or change our understanding of the text, which means "the absence of *qarīnah* is in itself a *qarīnah*" as Wael Hallaq says, and here again it resembles the analytical (*al-sabr*) in *al-sabr* wa *al-taqsīm*.[325] Fourthly, there is the intended and original meaning that belongs to writer or speaker and clings to his/her writing and speech, and then an additional and interpretive meaning that belongs to a reader's and interpreter's understanding who grasp parts from such writing and speech according to their methodology (that linked with *dilālāt al-alfāẓ*) alongside the availability and accessibility of indications.[326] The fifth is that the relationship between *siyāq al-ḥāl* (and its three parts) and given texts is nominal (*iʿtibārī*), in that if we look at texts within a certain book, it means situational circumstances therein are indirect (unless there are direct indications or evidences), and such circumstances are direct with regard to their book. That being so, people vary from each other in terms of extracting *dilālat al-siyāq* due to the disparity of their familiarity and assimilation of language and the culture that revolves around it, or what jurisprudential theorists call *al-dhawq*, as al-Zarkashī points out, "knowing the modes of speech cannot be grasped without *al-dhawq*" and yet this disparity appears basically in the genres of probable, alluded and uncertain levels, and not in certain levels or in direct meanings of texts.[327]

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[324] Al-Mubārak, *Al-Qarāʾin*, vol. 1, 239–240. Soualhi Younes, "Islamic Legal Hermeneutics: The Context and Adequacy of Interpretation in Modern Islamic Discourse", *Islamic Studies* 41, no. 4 (Winter, 2002): 598.

[325] Wael B. Hallaq, "Notes on the Term Qarīna", 477. For the role of effectiveness of *qarīnah*, see Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarā, wa al-Naṣṣ*, 76, 134. For *al-sabr*, see in this chapter 2. 3. Procedures and conditions of *al-sabr*'.

[326] Muḥammad b. al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn ʿan Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn*, ed. Mashūr Ḥasan, vol. 3, 1st ed. (Riyadh: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1423), 116, vol. 4, 518. Al-Qarāfī, *Sharḥ Tanqīḥ Al-Fuṣūl*, 24–28. Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 2, 151. See also: Yunis, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics*, 49–52. Tawfīq, *Dilālāt Al-Alfāẓ*, 34-42. Aḥmad, *Al-Taṣawwur al-Lughawī*, 112. Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law*, 57–58. Gleave, *Inevitable Doubt*, 149.

[327] For the quotation, see: Muḥammad b. Bahādur Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū Al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Vol. 2. (Beirut: Dār Al-Maʿrifah, 1957), 124. See also: Muḥammad b. Daqīq Al-ʿĪd, *Ihkām al-Aḥkām Sharḥ ʿUmdat al-Aḥkām*, eds. Aḥmad Shākir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid Al-Faqqī, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Al-Sunnah al-Muhammadiyyah, 1953), 378. For analysis and discussion of the previous references, see: Al-Zankī, *Naẓariyyat al-Siyāq*, 176–178. See also: Al-Mubārak, *Al-Qarāʾin*, vol. 1, 207–213. Interpretation is in need for understanding, and gaining such need happens via *dhawq* (familiarity and assimilation) which in return comes from learning and experience.

Dilālāt al-siyāq
Indications of context

- **Siyāq al-ḥāl** — Situational context
  - **Ḥāl al-mukhāṭib** — situation of speaker
  - **Ḥāl al-mukhāṭab** — situation of recipient
  - **Ḥāl al-khiṭāb** — situation of discourse
- **Siyāq al-kalām** — Context of speech
  - **Al-siyāq al-mttaṣil** — connected context
  - **Al-siyāq al-munfaṣil** — disconnected contexts
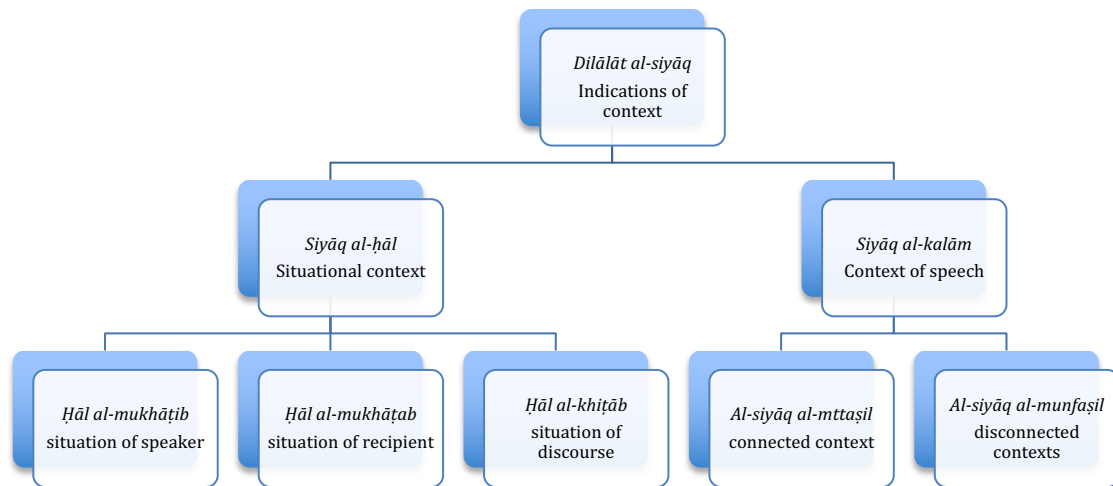
Figure 3. *Dilālāt al-siyāq*

2.2.4 Justification for using *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*

Jurisprudential theory approach has been employed in other Islamic and Arabic fields that have epistemic and thematic interests in Muslim history writings. This confirms that such methods are not confined to one field like jurisprudential theory , and confirms the epistemological complementariness among the different fields in the Islamic intellectual sphere. This suggests that, if we want to understand an Arabic Islamic traditional case, we should avail ourselves of traditional methods that were produced by the same civilisation. We do not call for extreme idiosyncrasy, but benefit from the traditional method to understand the traditional case, especially if we consider that our case study benefits at the same time from contemporary theories and concepts that do not belong to the traditional sphere. However, jurisprudential theory seems to be the more efficient and dynamic traditional approach that employs *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq* in terms of theorising them, integrating them with its system and improving them in a way that makes them argumentative or dialectic and constructive and analytic.

These general reasons lead us to the more specific that jurisprudential theory's tools tend to be more suitable for our work because they will help us in two procedures. First, the methodological process will address inductive and critical dimensions by

identifying and scrutinising, first, the main themes in Alexander's tradition in Muslim tradition from different fields, major historiographical concepts and structure, and then the historical concepts and their reflections that reflect them. Second, the methodological process will take comparative, analytical and interpretative dimensions by anatomising and explaining issues in light of historical periods in which Muslim historians' writings emerged. The first procedure is exemplified in *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* (in its inductive dimension) and with an ancillary role for *dilālat al-siyāq* (in its indictive dimension) and in the second procedure *dilālat al-siyāq* in the first stage presents it with an ancillary role for *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*; such reciprocal tasks between them reassert methodical complementariness in jurisprudential theory . *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* is an inductive explanatory descriptive process in terms of looking at external links and characteristics of the historical phenomenon, whereas *dilālat al-siyāq* is an interpretive comparative hermeneutic process in terms of looking at internal links and characteristics of the historical phenomenon.[328] Therefore, both meet our needs and will provide us with methodological assistance to reach our aims.

Some might envisage the application of jurisprudential theory methods as a kind of methodical anachronism since it is moving or projecting one field onto another. Some points might clarify this issue. First, even if we consider *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq* as alien or anachronistic to history field, we do not have clear and agreed historical methods or inquiries. Most contemporary approaches stem from the Western world, and adopting them might also be considered an anachronism or, as the authors of *Telling the Truth About History* put it: "absolutism in the name of universal (synonymous with Western) science and progress, and they set out to incorporate the whole world into their schemas of interpretation".[329] Another point is that these jurisprudential theory approaches are in essence universal and historical. Historians tend to contextualise historical events and texts by putting them in their temporal and spatial contexts and likewise contextualise such historical events and texts by

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[328] For the role of explanation and interpretation or understanding in history, see Charles Frankel, "Explanation and Interpretation in History", *Philosophy of Science* 24, no. 2 (1957): 137-155. Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. Khathleen Mclaughlin and David Pellauer, vol. 1 (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1990), 121-174.
[329] Joyce Appleby, Margaret C Jacob and Lynn Hunt, *Telling The Truth About History*, 1st ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 77.

comparing them textually.[330] Regarding induction and probe, historians also use them when they collect historical data, sources and evidence and keep what is related and sound and eliminate what is not.[331] So, we only theorise two universal and historical approaches but in accordance with jurisprudential theory . What differentiates jurisprudential theory from its counterparts in other cultures is their epistemological foundations (intention, motives, certainty and generalisation) and methodological procedures (multiple of *al-taqsīm*, multiple contexts and multiples of *al-sabr*). Third, even if we suppose that there are no differences between Western approaches and jurisprudential theory's approach with respect to methodological and epistemological foundations, and therefore in outcomes, I cannot find a solid objection to using the latter. Both originated outside history as a discipline and both underwent habituation. If they are similar, it is better to use an Islamic approach and apply it to an Islamic case study since they emerged from the same civilisational and cultural milieu. Finally, we do not copy such jurisprudential theory approaches or claim that they are true representatives of Muslim historical inquiry. Instead, we benefit from some of them that fit the nature of our case study and habituate and develop them. Our structuring of the two jurisprudential theory methods is not conventional jurisprudential theory. We not only present the two jurisprudential theory methods in a descriptive way as they are found in jurisprudential theory works, but we also reformulate and re-function them (in habituating ways) and hence reinterpret jurisprudential theory according to our historical case study. Otherwise, we will fall into the same pitfalls as the exponents of the hadith approach.[332]

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[330] Spiegel, *The Past As Text*, 22-28. Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta, 1997), 158-159. Pocock, *Political Thought*, 110-115. Carr, *What is History*, 29, 34, 38.

[331] Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*, 39, 107. 39-43. Albrecht Noth puts criteria for dealing with *akhbār* that consist of frequency and influence. Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 62. Miles Fairburn suggests, 'the focused information-gathered' as one of the modes of inquiry in social history. Fairburn, *Social History*, 28-29. Interestingly Fernard Braudel in his studying of the meaning of civilisation and culture, function similar method to *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*. First, he critically reviews major Western works that deal with the two concepts, then he states "the first task is a negative but necessary one, and that is to make an immediate break with certain habits of mind which, whether they are good or bad, it seems to me indispensable to leave behind at the start, even if only to come back to them later. The second task is then to seek a definition of civilization, the least unsatisfactory, meaning the most convenient one, and the easiest to manage for pursuing our work". See: Braudel, *On History*, 177-218. The quotation is on page: 200.

[332] In the following chapters, I will refer to my jurisprudential theory approach in the footnotes.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter I have shown that this thesis is interdisciplinary and integrates two traditional disciplines: jurisprudential theory and Islamic history/historiography. It also uses triangulation on two levels: general-across that combines two jurisprudential theory methods (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*) and particular-specific that exemplifies White's theory, the concept of anachronism in historiographical structure and concept, and theory of event-making man in historical concepts. Subsequently, we discussed the link between interdisciplinarity and triangulation in that the former is more general and integrative, while the latter functional and specific, and then presented some of their virtues such as overcoming limitations and reductionism with an example from Islamic history, where we attempted to address some reasons for rejecting both.

In the section on theoretical and conceptual framework, we proposed theoretical and methodological procedures to deal with contemporary theories and concepts in Islamic history/historiography that include starting with traditional ones if they exist, awareness of civilisational and ideological prejudices towards such theories and concepts, then habituating and applying them on the micro level. These procedures led us to adopt White's theory. We showed how we accepted the formal theoretical structure he proposes which includes three types of explanations, each of which has its modes. We modified and adopted these to be more efficient in our case study and they became: narrative explanation (containing the mode of emplotment, tragedy, romance and the mode of dualism) and argument (organist, mechanist and contextualist). Both types constitute the historiographical structure. The last type in White's theory was replaced by the historiographical concepts that comprise anachronism and realism. We analysed the former in the light of recent studies into some of its types, factors and two relevant concepts (presentism and projection) that are related to our study. Realism also showed that it has three modes. Finally, we showed that these two concepts are the way into historical concepts, one of which is event-making man adopted from the Great Man theory in contemporary studies. The outcome was an integral and complementary model of Alexander history which has four bases: historiographical structure, historiographical concepts, historical concepts and historical reflections.

We then moved on to the methodology and likewise proposed theoretical and epistemological stages that illuminated the relationship between jurisprudential theory and Islamic history/historiography. These are: an acknowledgement of the epistemological complementarity in the Islamic circulation sphere, the need for comprehension of the epistemic content jurisprudential theory and, finally, the habituation and integration with Islamic history/historiography. These stages paved the way for analysis and discussion of two jurisprudential theory methods: *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*. We explained that the former has a general meaning not connected to *ʿillah* and which could be used for other fields or issues in terms of drawing out general principles or supporting a given argument. In addition to its first type exclusive *al-taqsīm*, there is inductive *al-taqsīm*, which has an inductive process and which seems to be more practical and common because, unlike the first, it does not depend on the duality of confirmation-rejection. As for *al-sabr*, we recast it in two ways. For analytical purposes, it embodies appropriateness and nullification, and for argumentative purpose, it embodies rejection of premises and objection to the conclusion. Then we widen its research scope by infusing it with the induction method that has similar elements. This approach has three stages: collecting and inducing, probing and eliminating, and preserving and concluding, with deconstructive and constructive dimensions. Sometimes we induce and probe only relevant attributes without probing or eliminating irrelevant ones.

The second method, *dilālat al-siyāq*, revolves around two components: the use and connection that fulfil some tasks to identify meanings, intentions and circumstances of texts and speeches. This approach works in two parallel manners: on the internal context that looks at textual and linguistic relations of a given text or speech and simultaneously on the external context that contains the circumstances of speakers, authors, recipients and the discourse. Such patterns should take three matters into consideration: levels of indications (which hold the same meaning and functions in this matter and which help us to widen the research scope of *dilālat al-siyāq*) in terms of clarity and validity, their effectiveness on the texts or speeches and the disparity in interpreters' and readers' abilities. Finally, we presented justifications for using the two jurisprudential theory approaches and showed how they would work together through our study.

Chapter 3. Alexander in Muslim traditions

This chapter is historical background and general observation and constitutes an introduction to the chapters that follow it. In analysing historiographical structures and concepts in Alexander history in Muslim historians' writings, we need to first look at the position of Alexander in traditions in Muslim heritage from the first/seventh century to the fourth/tenth century. *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* will be vertical and chronological in that it will trace the beginning of the Alexander tradition and its path to the fourth/tenth century. The observation will horizontal and thematic in shape in that it will cover major epistemic branches where Alexander tradition thrived, whether religious, literary, philosophical or geographical works. *Dilālat al-siyāq* will be used in parallel with *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and will determine the reasons and motives behind the entrance of Alexander tradition into Muslim tradition. What we will see is that there is a discursive link between Alexander tradition and knowledge of it and the intellectual disciplines in Muslim tradition in that the more the former was introduced to Muslim tradition, the more the latter were ramifying and growing. It means there is relational overlapping among knowledge, disciplines and the needs and interests of the Muslim nation for both. These needs and interests reflect that, as the Muslim world in terms of geographical and demographical aspects was expanding, social, political, religious, economic changes and interactions took place. The entrance of the Alexander tradition into the first/seventh century coincided with the emergence of religious disciplines and ended up in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries with various disciplines. In each, Alexander tradition seems to serve its intellectual and historical needs and interests.

3.1   The primary sources of Alexander tradition in Muslim tradition

Contemporary studies looked extensively at the sources of Alexander tradition in Arabic and Muslim heritages. [333] By observing these researches alongside early Muslim traditions via *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*, as an inductive mechanism, we can recognise five prime sources. [334] The first comes from Greek heritage. [335] The second is

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[333] See in Chapter One, 2.1.9 Contemporary Studies of Alexander in Early Muslim Writings.
[334] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-ḥaqīqī.*

Biblical and comes mainly from the Judaic and Christian heritages.[336] The third is of Persian sources.[337] The fourth are Arabic and Islamic sources.[338] The last, most common and prevailing one, is the Syriac heritage which in effect splits into three categories: Alexander Romance, Alexander Legend and Alexander Homily or the Song of Alexander.[339] Alexander Romance is an adaptation of pseudo-Callisthenes (which is believed to be composed around 200 B.C in Alexandria) probably via Pahlavi translation in the seventh century CE and focuses mainly on Alexander's conquests.[340] The second is thought to take an apocalyptic character that highlights Alexander's journey to the end of the world and his building of the gate to deter Gog and Magog; it has northern Mesopotamian elements.[341] The third takes a homiletic shape and was written soon after the Alexander Legend; one of its main topics is Alexander's journey to the Dark Land and his effort to reach the source of eternity.[342]

Nonetheless, our concern here is to know since when and from whom Muslim tradition knew or heard about Alexander tradition. Determining the inception of knowing Alexander in Muslim history seems to be problematic in terms of recognising the historical period and origins where the mention of Alexander appeared and came from. This dilemma perhaps results from the existence of various historical narrations that have different aspects on this issue. By using *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*, we can recognise two main aspects that differentiate in time, recipients and sources: Syriac sources in the Quran during Muḥammad's life and *Isrāʾīliyyāt* sources

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[335] See below: 3.3 Alexander in Umayyad period, and 4.3 Alexander in philosophical literature and literary philosophy works.

[336] See below: 2.2 The bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī*".

[337] See below: 4.3 Alexander in philosophical literature and literary philosophy works, and 3.5 Alexander in the eight Muslim universal historical writings.

[338] See below: 2.2 The bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī*, 4.3 Alexander in philosophical literature and literary philosophy works, and 3.5 Alexander in the eight Muslim universal historical writings

[339] Faustina C. W. Doufikar-Aerts, "King Midas' Ears on Alexander's Head: In Search of the Afro-Asiatic Alexander Cycle" in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, eds. Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson and Ian Richard Netton (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing, 2012), 62.

[340] Budge, *The Life and Exploit of Alexander the Great*. XX-XXII. George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 11.

[341] Károly Czeglédy, "The Syriac Legend Concerning Alexander the Great", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7, no. 2/3 (1957): 231-249. Stephen Gero, "The Legend of Alexander the Great in the Christian Orient", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, (1993): 6-8.

[342] Kevin Van Bladel, "The Syriac Sources of the Early Arabic Narratives of Alexander" in *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia*, eds. Himanshu Prabha Ray and Daniel T Potts, (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2007), 57.

via Quranic commentaries during the time of Muḥammad's successors. After examining this matter, we will move to the entry of Alexander in Umayyad time and its development in the Abbasid period.[343]

3.2 The entrance of Alexander tradition into Muslim tradition:

The entrance of Alexander tradition into Muslim tradition either took place at the emergence of Islam (and thus during Prophet Muḥammad's life) or after that (and thus from Muḥammad's successors onward).[344]

3.2.1 Alexander in the Muḥammad period

The first aspect relates to the story of Dhū al-Qarnayn (the man with two horns) in the Quran, in the chapter (*Sūrat*) of *al-Kahf, The Cave*. This chapter of Quran illustrates Dhū al-Qarnayn as a monotheist ruler who possessed power (*al-Tamkīn*) from Allāh and traversed to many areas to settle disputes among people and help others build dams to deter Gog and Magog, the savage people, who killed innocents and destroyed the lands.[345]

From the Dhū al-Qarnayn story in the Quran, Theodor Nöldeke hypothesises that the Alexander Legend, from the Syriac version written by Christian monk Jacob of Serugh (who died in 521 CE) was the source for such Quranic verses.[346] He bases his argument on the belief that Prophet Muḥammad may have orally learned the story of the Alexander Legend, alongside other such stories (presumably Nöldeke refers to other Biblical ones) and that he indirectly infused it with the Quran.[347] It seems that this hypothesis depends on two elements. The first is that if we accept that the Quran derives many of its materials from Biblical sources, then it would be possible it is derived from Syriac sources, including the Alexander Legend. The second is the

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[343] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with the *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[344] Here is *al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir al-ḥaqīqī* with the *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[345] Q 18. 83-98.

[346] Nöldeke, *Beitrag*, 30-31. See also: N. A Newman, ed. *The Qurʾan: An Introductory Essay by Theodor Nöldeke* (Hatfield, Pennsylvania: Interdisciplinary Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 9. Theodor Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, trans. John Sutherland Black (Beirut: Khayats, 1963), 31. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magus*, 145-146.

[347] Nöldeke, *Beitrag*, 32. See also: Kevin Van Bladel, "The Alexander Legend in the Qurʾan 18:83-102" in *The Qurʾān in Its Historical Context*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds (London: Routledge, 2008), 175.

existence of similarities in some points between the Alexander Legend and the story of Dhū al-Qarnayn and since the former precedes in terms of time, then the latter must benefit from the latter. Nöldeke's hypothesis conflicts with other studies that question whether he means Jacob of Serugh or not, whether or not it could be proved first of all that Arabs were conscious of such texts and why he did not look for the reasons behind the name of Dhū al-Qarnayn.[348] Likewise, Nöldeke did not distinguish between the Quran as a book that has its own sources and between Quranic commentaries that turned to non-Islamic traditions to interpret and understand the Quran.[349] The similarities do not necessarily confirm the priority of one text over another; instead it might refer to how different texts share the same sources or how they own different views towards a given subject.[350] Orientalists, basically in the nineteenth century, tended to rely on the philology (comparative linguistic "science" that tracks historical origin and factuality of texts) to trace back the roots of sources of Islam and Muslim tradition, and yet it produced as many problems as solutions, not least the persistent monocular reductionism for all texts at the expense of idiosyncrasy for each text or their pluralism.[351] Besides the aforesaid criticisms of Nöldeke, such studies demonstrate that the Alexander Legend had been compiled after the emergence of Islam, which means the main foundation for his hypothesis is no longer firm and cannot stand as an acceptable one.[352]

Still, some recent studies have been keen to revive and support Nöldeke's opinion. The reason why this hypothesis remains an influence on other studies stems from the general endeavour of Nöldeke in fathoming the issues of Alexander in Middle Eastern

[348] Weinfield, "The Islamic Alexander", 75 Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magus*, 146-147.
[349] For further details on this point, Brannon M. Wheeler "Moses or Alexander? Early Islamic Exegesis of Qurʾān 18:60-65", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 57, no. 3 (1998): 191-215.
[350] Peter Hoffer classifies the analogy that depends on weak similarity as semi-logical fallacy. Hoffer, Peter Charles, *The Historians' Paradox: The Study of History in Our Time* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 46-47.
[351] Riḍwān Al-Sayyid. "Al-Istishrāq Al-Almānī Marratan Aukhrá: Tarjamah ʿArabiyyah Li Kitāb Nūldkah ʿan Al-Qurʾān". *Majallat Al-Tasāmuḥ* 8 (2004): 286-290. Edward Said states "Philology problematises itself, its practitioner, the present. It embodies a peculiar condition of being modern and European, since neither of those two categories has true meaning without being related to an earlier alien culture and time" Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 5th ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 132.
[352] Gero, "The Legend of Alexander", 6-7. Czeglédy, "The Syriac Legend", 246-248. G. J. Reinink, "Heraclius, The New Alexander: Apocalyptic Prophecies During the Reign of Heraclius" in *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation*, eds. G. J. Reinink and Bernard H. Stolte (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2002). Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magus*, 146-147. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magus*, 147. Replying to Nöldeke is *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*manʿ* and *al-muʿāraḍah*).

traditions. Kevin van Bladel says that Nöldeke is right, and emphasises the hypothesis of oral transmission of the Alexander Legend to Muḥammad as the only real possibility because other possibilities (that the Syriac derives its account from Quran, or that both share a mutual source) are void.[353] He then declares "The Qurʾānic account must draw from the Syriac account, if not directly, then oral report".[354] Indeed, in this essay and elsewhere, van Bladel seems to depend on three elements to support this hypothesis. He adopts Nöldeke's view as a starting point. Then he heavily criticises Wheeler's view in his articles because the latter misinterprets this issue and confuses two types of Alexander tradition: the Alexander Legend and the Alexander Homily and neglects the Alexander Romance.[355] This element leads to the last one that van Bladel uses in the works of Gerrit J. Reinink, which seek to manifest that the Alexander Legend was written in 628 CE during the period of Heraclius (641 CE), the Byzantine Emperor, who was a contemporary of Muḥammad.[356] Reinink states that the Alexander Legend was written as propaganda in favour of Heraclius when he was launching counter-war against the Sassanid Empire, who took over some part of the Byzantine Empire.[357] Still, van Bladel's insistence on this date as the entrance of Alexander Tradition into the Quran faces difficulties because the spread of information at that time was slow due to the limited transport systems, which means it would have taken time for such a story to arrive in Medina and be infused with the Quran. Another difficulty is that according to the history of Islam and also the reasons of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), Muḥammad was asked about Dhū al-Qarnayn before the conquest of Khaybar (which was ruled by the Jews), and also before the battle of Muʾtah or even before the conquest of Mecca, which took place in 7/628, 8/629 and 8/630 respectively.[358] Moreover, in the last years of Prophet Muḥammad's life

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[353] Van Bladel, "The Alexander Legend in the Qurʾan 18:83-102", 189. Also Zuwiyya in his survey appears to be confident about Nöldeke's hypothesis. See Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Romance",75.
[354] Van Bladel, "The Alexander Legend in the Qurʾan 18:83-102", 190.
[355] Ibid, 197-198 n8 and "The Syriac Sources of the Early Arabic Narratives of Alexander" in *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia*, eds. Himanshu Prabha Ray and Daniel T Potts (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2007), 59.
[356] Reinink, "Heraclius, The New Alexander". 83. n16.
[357] Ibid, 86.
[358] Abū al-Fidāʾ b. Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*, ed. Sāmī b. Muḥammad Salāmah, vol. 5 (Riyad: Dār Ṭaybah Li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzīʿ, 1999), 133. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiʿ li Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Al-Muḥsin Al-Turkī, 1st ed. Vol. 13 (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2006), 197. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magus*, 146-147.

witnessed tense and cautious relations with the Byzantine Empire that cast doubts on the easy spread and exchange of ideas between the two sides.[359]

With all these drawbacks, it seems that the dating of the entrance of Alexander Tradition into the Quran during Muḥammad's life is problematic and faces many criticisms that make it difficult to consider evidence (*dalīl*) or at least denotation (*amārah*).

Some would argue that Alexander history may have entered into the tradition of Muḥammad's hadiths on the grounds that some hadiths point out that he was asked by the people of the book (*ahl al-kitāb*) (and in some hadiths they were Jews) about Alexander and he said, "He was a young man from Rūm and he went to one of the Shores in Egypt and built Alexandria".[360] One point to notice is that most of the hadiths end with ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir, one of Muḥammad's companions, and other hadiths do not mention his name or other companions.[361] Nevertheless, these hadiths were indeed not included in hadith compilations, instead they were included later in commentaries of hadith compilations.[362] Scholars who wrote such works criticised such hadiths and describe them as weak (*ḍaʿīf*) and anonymous (*jahālah*).[363] This rejection to such hadiths seeks the content (*matn*) and the chain of narrators (*al-sanad*), in terms of that some narrators are branded as unworthy to narrate Muḥammad's traditions due to their confusion or weakness of memory, or because they in effect did not meet men whom they narrate on the behalf of.[364] Those who seek to assure Syriac Alexander Romance influences on the Quranic story of Dhū al-Qarnayn, do not pay attention to Alexander's mention in hadiths probably due to their scepticism toward the veracity of hadiths as invented religious *akhbār* after the death of Muḥammad. What is interesting is that hadith commentators rely on some

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[359] Walter E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press), 70-74. Here and the previous point is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-khiṭāb*). Plus replying to Van Bladel is *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*manʿ* and *al-muʿāraḍah*).
[360] Sirāj Al-Dīn b. Al-Mulaqqin, *Al-Tawḍīḥ Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, eds. Khālid al-Ribāṭ and Jumʿah Fathī, vol. 19. (Doha: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah, 2008), 340.
[361] Ibn al-Mulaqqin. *Al-Tawḍīḥ*. 340. Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, eds. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Bāqī, Muḥib al-Dīn Al-Khaṭīb and Quṣayy al-Khaṭīb, vol. 6 (Cairo; Dār al-Rayyān Li al-Turāth, 1986), 441.
[362] Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ Al-Bārī*, vol. 6, 440-443. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Al-Tawḍīḥ*, vol. 19, 333-340.
[363] Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ Al-Bārī*, vol. 6, 441. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Al-Tawḍīḥ*, vol. 19, 340.
[364] Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 6, 441. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Al-Tawḍīḥ*, vol. 19, 340. Here is *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*al-muʿāraḍah*).

historical works such as Muḥmmad b. Isḥāq (between 150 to 152/768 to 769), al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (256/870), al-Ṭabarī and al-Masʿūdī, to discuss the issue of Dhū al-Qarnayn.[365]

3.2.2 The bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī*

The problematic nature of the first aspect makes us turn to the second one that dates back to the period after the death of Prophet Muḥammad and which we can call the bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī* (Muḥammad's companions and their pupils), which consists of three figures.[366] First is Kaʿb Al-Aḥbār (32 AH), who though he lived during Muḥammad's life did not meet him, probably due to the long distance that separated them in that the former was in Yemen and the latter was in al-Madīnah and most of Yemen accepted the sovereignty of Islam after the Muslim success in annexing Mecca.[367] However, Kaʿb was a Jewish scholar and well acquainted with the Old Testament and ancient people, and many of Muḥammad's companions took from him; one of them was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, whom we will discuss later.[368] Interestingly, there is a book; entitled *Sīrat al-Iskindir wa mā fīhā min ʿAjāʾib wa Gharāʾib* (*The Biography of Alexander's Wonders and Marvels*), which is claimed to be composed by him, despite the fact that Muslim writers (as far as we know) did not mention this book when they wrote his biography or when they cited Kaʿb's account in their works.[369] We do not know of the content of this work, yet we assume that using the name of Alexander connotes that Kaʿb was aware of the consistency problem between the former and Dhū al-Qarnayn and preferred to affirm the distinction between the two characters. The narration says that Kaʿb was asked about Dhū al-Qarnayn and that he said:

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[365] Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 6, 440-443. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Al-Tawḍīḥ*, vol. 19, 333-340.

[366] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with multiplication from down to above.

[367] For discussion of the time of his conversion to Islam, Isrāʾīl Abū Dhuʾayb [Israel Ben Zeev], *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAbbāsī (Maṭbaʿat al-Sharq al-Taʿāwuniyyah, 1976), 27-28.

[368] Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmāʾ al-Rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, vol. 24 (Beirut: Mutassent al-Risālah, 1980), 189-190.

[369] Sizkīn, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 122. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*. 139. Ḥājī Khalīfah mentions a book titled *Sīrat Iskandar* that is composed in poetic and prosaic ways, but he does not name the author. Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Khashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa al-Funūn*, eds. Muḥammad Sharf al-Dīn Yaltaqāyā and Rif ʿat al-Klaysī, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d), 1015. But I do not think this work belongs to Kaʿb, I think Khalīfah refers to a later work.

> The truth for our scholars and predecessors is that he is from Ḥimyar from Yemen and his name is al-Ṣaʿb b. Dhī Marāthid and Alexander was a man descended from Yūnān b. ʿAyṣ b. Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Ibrahīm al-Khalīl and his men witnessed ʿīsá b. Maryam, peace be upon him. From them came Galen and Aristotle, who descended from Yūnān and Danyāl [Daniel] a prophet, who was descended from Israel. Then Kaʿb said: Rūm were not intending [conquests], they do not have the force of it.[370]

Such a quotation reassures our assumption and moreover suggests that Kaʿb puts the character of Dhū al-Qarnayn in Yemeni pattern, which can be found later in other Yemeni works. This step might be understandable, since Kaʿb belongs to Yemen and a Yemeni tribe, who sought to make a place for Yemeni tradition in Islam's early centuries and hints about the emergence of Yemeni awareness at that time.[371]

Second is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (68/687), the cousin of the Prophet and who was regarded as one of his young companions.[372] Although he is viewed as one of the early eminent commentators on the Quran, we do not have evidence if he composed an exegesis book or not. Rather, we do have his commentaries scattered in various works of exegesis that show his opinion towards Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn.[373] It is said that Ibn ʿAbbās reported (*rawá*) from Kaʿb Al-Aḥbār, which presumably means he might have taken information from him about the aforementioned figures, though in some accounts concerned with Alexander, Ibn ʿAbbās does not profess his sources.[374]

Finally, we have Wahb b. Munabbih (113/732), who has a similar historical background to Kaʿb Al-Aḥbār as he was a Jewish scholar who then converted to Islam during the period of Muḥammad's successors and who was also born and lived

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[370] ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, *Al-Tījān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar*, (Sanaa; Markaz al-Dirasāt wa al-Abḥāth al-Yamaniyyah, 1347 AH), 120. Al-Maqrīzī (845/1441) in his book *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār* cites also this quotation. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār bi Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa Al-Āthār*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1998), 286.
[371] Here functioning *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* + al-munfaṣil analysis and also *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).
[372] Ibn ʿAbbās was named as *ḥabr*, singular of *al-aḥābr*, was attached to Kaʿb and is an Arabic translation of *Haber*, a Jewish religious title. Jawād ʿAlī, *Mawārid Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣāmil Al-Sulamī (Riyadh: Al-Majallah Al-ʿArabiyyah, 2012), 113.
[373] Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr Al-Thaʿlabī Al-Kashf Wa Al-Bayān ʿan Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, eds. ʿAlī b. ʿĀshūr and Naẓīr Al-Sāʿīdi, vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ Al-Turāth Al-ʿArabī, 2002), 194. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān,* vol. 15, 390.
[374] Jawād ʿAlī rejects the meeting between Ibn ʿAbbās and Kaʿb because contemporary studies were not able to prove it. See Alī, *Mawārid Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī*, 114.

in Yemen (though his roots are thought to be Persian, he lived in Yemen and knew *Abnāʾ* people).[375] No historical or traditional works mention that he met Kaʿb, but rather they confirm that he met Ibn ʿAbbās and reported of him (*rawá ʿanhu*).[376] Still, we believe that Wahb took some of his information about Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn from Ibn ʿAbbās, who in return took his information from Kaʿb; at the same time, Wahb could have shared the same sources as Kaʿb could, because both had similar religious and cultural backgrounds.[377] Another important point is that Ibn ʿAbbās is the connecting link between the three narrators , and he was neither from Yemen nor had a Jewish background. This conclusion could be demonstrated by looking at one of Wahb's works entitled, *Kitāb al-Mulūk al-Mutawwajah min Ḥimyar wa Akhbārihim wa Qaṣaṣihim wa Qubūrihim wa Ashʿārihim.*[378] This book was actually reproduced by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām al-Ḥimyarī (213/732), the prominent historian, who compiled a book entitled, *al-Tījān* (*The Crowns*) that talks about ancient Yemeni kings.[379] This book depicts Dhū al-Qarnayn as a Yemeni King, whose name is al-Ṣaʿib b. al-Ḥārith Dhī Marathid from the Ḥimyar tribe, which corresponds with Kaʿb's view that we mentioned earlier. On top of this, Ibn Hishām ascribes an account to Wahb on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, which refutes the idea that Dhū al-Qarnayn is Alexander by emphasising that the latter is Greek or Rūm.[380] However, in exegesis and historical works, we find some accounts claiming that Wahb states that Alexander was Dhū al-Qarnayn, which at first glance indicates that he had two different opinions on this matter.[381] Otherwise we should outbalance in favour of the first opinion because such exegesis works were compiled after the book of *al-Tījān* or its source *Kitāb al-Mulūk al-Mutawwajah* (*The Book of Crowned Kings*). What also

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[375] Shams Al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb Arnāʾūṭ, vol. 4 (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 2001), 544-457. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb Al-Kamāl*, vol. 31, 140-162.
[376] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 4, 545. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb Al-Kamāl*, vol. 31, 140.
[377] Again Jawād ʿAli doubts about the studying of Wahb under Ibn ʿAbbās. ʿAlī, *Mawārid Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 138.
[378] Sizkīn, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*, vol. 2, pt. 1,124. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Al-Dūr, *Nashʾat ʿIlm al-Tārīkh ʿind al-ʿArab* (Beirut, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-ʿArabiyyah, 2005), 30-31.
[379] Ibn Hishām, *Al-Tījān*, 9-10. Sizkīn, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 111 .
[380] Ibn Hishām, *Al-Tījān*, 120.
[381] E.g: ʿAbd Allāh b. Qutaybah Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāshah (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿĀmmah li al-Kitāb, 1992), 54, 57. ʿAlī b. al-Māwardī, *Tafsīr Al-Māwardī*, ed. al-Sayyid b. ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, vol. 3, (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1993), 337.

makes us think Wahb's preference to his first opinion is that Kaʿb, who preceded him and Ibn Hishām, tend to portray Dhū al-Qarnayn in Yemeni pattern.[382]

With respect to the sources of the bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī*, it seems that they derived their information about Alexander from various sources and there are five possibilities that could be presented and inspected here; Biblical, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian and Persian sources.[383] Biblical heritage is possibly qualified to what is known in Islamic tradition as *Isrāʾīliyyat*, which can be defined as traditions and materials dealing with pre-Islamic topics in metaphysics, religions and history whose origins stem from non-Islamic sources, basically from Jewish heritage.[384] Early Muslims noticed that the Quran does not describe some pre-Islamic topics in terms of not determining time, places and names, and instead it only gives general information about them. Therefore, they discovered that to interpret Quranic verses, they need materials outside Islamic traditions, with *Isrāʾīliyyāt* as one of them since some Muslims used to be Jewish scholars.[385] At the first stage it seems that *Isrāʾīliyyāt* rely mainly on Jewish sources (probably from the Book of Daniel and the Talmud) while taking into account that these sources might benefit from Greek sources in some information about Alexander.[386] Jewish people witnessed Alexander's conquests and there are Jewish historical and religious accounts alleging that he met them and visited Jerusalem, had conversation with Rabbis, and above all, gave respect to their God.[387] Regardless of the soundness of such accounts, in contrast to Greek sources, they refer

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[382] Here functioning *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* + al-munfaṣil analysis and also *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib + ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[383] Here is *al-taqsīm* al-*istiqrāʾī*.

[384] Shari Lowin, "Isrāʾīliyyāt", *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Executive Editor Norman A. Stillman. Brill Online, 2015. Reference. University of Exeter. 11 December 2015 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/israiliyyat-SIM_0011700

Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Isrāʾīliyyāt fī al-Tafsīr wa al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1990), 13-14. And for the development of such term in Islamic history, see the useful study, conducted by Roberto Tottoli, "Origin and Use of the Term Isrāʾīliyyāt in Muslim Literature", *Arabica* T. 46, no. Fasc. 2 (1999): 193-210.

[385] Tottoli, "Origin and Use", 207-208. Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Isrāʾīliyyāt*, 15-34.

[386] Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great,* 585-590. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander,* 19.

[387] Jonathan A. Goldstein "Alexander and the Jews". *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 59 (1993): 59-101. Richard Stoneman, "Jewish Tradition on Alexander the Great", *Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994): 37-53.

to the presence of Alexander in Jewish heritage and to the need for such influential historical figure to be amalgamated with it.[388]

However, we cannot exclude other possible sources, since Kaʿb moved to the Levant, and may have become acquainted with Christian Syriac heritage.[389] As for Wahb, he might look at Persian heritage on Alexander because he descends from the Persians who dwelled in Yemen after invading it.[390] Still, they are *qarāʾin*, based on the historical context at that time. In addition to aforesaid sources, it would be possible that Kaʿb and Wahb knew about Alexander through Yemeni tradition, since it insists on the Yemeni identity of Dhū al-Qarnayn, but we do not know if Yemeni sources stem their information about Alexander from their local sources, Persian sources, Greek sources or Syriac sources.[391] Did Kaʿb and Wahb violate the Jewish perspective about Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn in favour of the Yemeni one when they converted to Islam? Or they might prefer some Jewish Maccabee perspectives that depict Alexander in a "historical" way rather than other Jewish perspectives like books of Daniel that make connexion between him and Dhū al-Qarnayn so that Kaʿb and Wahb could put the latter in Yemeni pattern.[392]

In the end, it seems that Muslims knew Alexander in the early period of Islam and before any translation endeavour that occurred later. Such knowledge of him came through religious aspects rather than philosophical, literary or historical aspects and it can be explained as the result of the Muslim nation's interest at that time, where the companions of Muḥammad were still the most dominant people, in concentrating on improving their comprehension of the Quran and its interpretation. To state it contextually, commentators, their audiences and the historical circumstances in which the community is still in the status of sustaining its unity and the essential principles of such unity, are required to look at knowing about Alexander through the religious aspect. But such knowledge of him does not mean the recognition of him as Dhū al-

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[388] For comparison between Jewish and Greek sources, Goldstein, "Alexander and the Jews", 13-15.
[389] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 3, 491. Here functioning *siyāq al-ḥāl* (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).
[390] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol .4, 544. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb Al-Kamāl*, vol. 31, 140.
[391] Wheeler, "Moses or Alexander", 200-201.
[392] Here in this paragraph, is functioning *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil + al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib + ḥāl al-khiṭāb*). For Alexander in Daniel Book, Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, 585-590.

Qarnayn. The bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī* incline not to merge the two figures and seem to prefer to view them separately; and herewith we can presume that Alexander was not considered as Dhū al-Qarnayn in the first and second centuries.

3.3 Alexander in the Umayyad period

The second entrance of Alexander into Muslim traditions took an administrative form. Ironically, it is believed that the first translation endeavour for Aristotle's works introduced him to Alexander during the reign of Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (125/743), when his secretary (*al-kātib*) Sālim Abī al-ʿAlāʾ (2nd/8th) translated an ascribed correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander that contained political advice.[393] Iḥsān ʿAbbās postulates that if Sālim translated such a letter by himself, it means he was one of the earliest people who did so, or even if the letter was translated by others for him, it confirms that the translation movement started early.[394] In fact, the study, conducted by Mario Grinaschi evinces the previous assumption and shows that Sālim's translation is "based on a Greek-Byzantine Epistolary Romance, which dates back to the 6th century".[395] If we accept this conclusion, then we can go further and claim that the Greek-Byzantine perspective about Alexander had been introduced to Islamic tradition before the Syriac versions, which emerged in the Abbasid era. It seems that Aristotle and Alexander were introduced to Muslim tradition for the first time via political and administrative fields and not via philosophical and scientific works and that Alexander was also introduced in this matter to Muslim traditions via the translation of Greek, not Syriac, works, as Gutas states "The translation activity associated with this cycle thus represents the last vestiges of direct influence of

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[393] Miklós Maróth (ed.), *The Correspondence Between Aristotle And Alexander The Great: An Anonymous Greek Novel In Letters In Arabic Translation*, 1st ed. (Piliscsaba: Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2006). 8, 97. See also: Dimitri Gutas. "Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature: Nature and Scope". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, no. 1 (1981): 61.

[394] Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd Al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyá Al-Kātib Wa Mā Tabaqqá min Rasāʾilih wa Rasāʾil Sālim Abī al-ʿAlāʾ*, (Amman: Dār Al-Shurūq, 1988) 30-31.

[395] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 104. Miklós Maróth, who edits and publishes The Correspondence discusses in length the possible translation of such work during Ummayad period and explicates that later centuries posterior to that period other epistles were (that ascribed to Aristotle as well) incorporated into the original one. Maróth, *The Correspondence Between Aristotle And Alexander The Great*, 77-90.

Byzantine administrative tradition upon the Umayyad bureaucracy and is qualitatively distinct from later translations made by intellectuals".[396]

Sālim was a client (*mawlá*) of Umayyads, especially the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik and his brother Saʿīd.[397] Historical accounts present him as a person who had political and cultural impact on Hishām, to the extent that al-Ṭabarī says, "yet it seems that it was Salim who dominated Hisham".[398] Moreover he was responsible for introducing to the Umayyad caliphate his son-in-law *khatan* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, the famous secretary and belletrist during the last period of the Umayyads, and whose literary style remained an influence on the next generations of *kuttāb*.[399] Regardless of the veracity of correspondences, they incline to reflect the relationship between Sālim and the caliph Hishām and how the former exercised leverages on the latter as Aristotle did with Alexander. To put it differently, by translating such correspondences, Sālim attempted to legitimise his power and control over the caliph, and for this reason, he might not have sought to translate other philosophical works if he could have found them because the society or the caliph might have been unwilling to accept them.[400]

The content of the correspondence includes: the invitation to study philosophy, the invitation of Philip, the king of Macedonia, to Aristotle to educate Alexander, the answer by Aristotle to this invitation, moral epistle, covenant of Aristotle for Alexander, the request of consultation by Alexander for organising his kingdom, request of advice on killing Persian nobles and the Golden Epistle on the description of the world.[401]

By looking at the content of the correspondence and the position of Sālim and his reader, the caliph Hishām, it would be plausible to accept the idea that Sālim's work would be seen as the first compilation in Islamic history to present a Mirror for

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[396] Gutas, "Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature", 61.
[397] ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyá Al-Kātib*, 28.
[398] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of Al-Ṭabarī*, trans. Carole Hillenbrand, vol. XXVI, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 74.
[399] ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd Al-Ḥamīd B. Yaḥyá Al-Kātib*, 28.
[400] Here functioning *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab* + *ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).
[401] Emily Cottrell, "An Early Mirror for Princes and Manual for Secretaries: The Epistolary Novel of Aristotle and Alexander" in *Alexander The Great And The East: History, Art, Tradition*, 303-328, eds. Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowskaed (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

Princes (*al-ādāb al-sulṭāniyyah*) which focuses on political advice to rulers by putting them in philosophical, ethical and literary patterns.[402] This means that Sālim's work precedes compilations in early Abbasid era that are concerned with Mirrors for Princes. It is noteworthy that since Alexander entered Muslim tradition via the administrative aspect, it reaffirms anew the separation between him and Dhū al-Qarnayn.

3.4   Alexander in the Abbasid period

In the early Abbasid caliphate (which succeeded the Umayyad caliphate), some crucial socio-political changes and intellectual developments took place that made it distinct from the Umayyad period.[403] Subsequently, information of Alexander increased and was distributed throughout other branches of knowledge. The main ones are: religious works, the bulk of literature and philosophy works, geography works, epic works and finally historical works.[404]

3.4.1   Alexander in religious works

The Alexander tradition reached Muslims after the death of Muḥammad via *Isrāʾīliyyāt* from former Jewish scholars like Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih. Alexander in the religious field in early Abbasid era is a continuation of the bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī* in terms of using *Isrāʾīliyyāt* as sources. Faustina Doufikar-Aerts points out that the strong connection between Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn was enhanced after the story of Gog and Magog with the former that is found in pseudo–Callisthenes and Syriac tradition and thus for some Muslim authors "demonstrated that for them this comparison was already established fact and that identification of

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[402] Ibid, 20-21. As for *al-ādāb al-sulṭāniyyah*, L. Marlow, "Surveying Recent Literature on the Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes Genre" *History Compass*, 7, no. 2 (2009): 523-38. Louise Marlow, "Advice and Advice Literature" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, eds. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson, Brill Online, 2016. Reference, University of Exeter. 25 May 2016 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/advice-and-advice-literature-COM_0026

[403] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 280-472. Ira M. Lapidus, *Islamic Societies to the Nineteenth Century: A Global History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 105-113. Amira K. Bennison, *The Great Caliphs: The Golden Age of the ʿAbbasid Empire* (New Haven: Yale University, 2009), 24-43, 69-80, 167-194.

[404] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-i'tibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

Dhū al-Qarnayn with al-Iskandar was no longer a point of discussion".[405] So it is not strange that we see exegetes of Quran in the Abbasid era such as Muqātil b. Sulaymān (150 A.H), Yaḥyá b. Sallām (200 A.H) al-Samarqandī (375/985) al-Thaʿlabī and even al-Ṭabarī cite some hadiths that refer to Dhū al-Qarnayn as Alexander (yet without outweighing them).[406]

From the hadith, we notice that in the fourth/tenth century some scholars include in their collections one hadith that does not use the name Alexander, and yet connects the building of the city of Merv (thought to have been built by him) with Dhū al-Qarnayn. This hadith probably appears first with Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿUqaylī (322 AH), who recounts in his hadith collection *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr* (*The Grand Book of Weak Narrators*) that Prophet Muḥammad says:

> They will be sent on a mission called Khurasān, you should join them. And then they will descend onto a land called Merv and you should dwell in this city, which was built by Dhū al-Qarnayn, who pray for its blessing and not be harmed.[407]

This hadith appears later in other works, such as *al-Majrūḥīn min al-Muḥaddithīn* by Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān (354 AH), *al-Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ* (*The Middle Lexicon*) by Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī (360 AH)*, al-Kāmil fī Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Rijāl* (*The Full Book of Weak Narrators*) by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī (365 AH).[408] These scholars cast doubts on the Hadith and weaken it by virtue of its narrator's untrustworthiness and inclination to

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[405] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 135-136. See also, Andrew Runni Anderson, Alexander's Horns' *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 58 (1927): 112. Similar conclusion can be found in Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends*, 8.

[406] Yaḥyá b. Sallām, *Tafsīr Yaḥyá b. Sallām*, ed. Hind Shalabī, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2004), 206. Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Shaḥḥātah. 1st ed. Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ Al-Turāth, 1423), 599. Abū Al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr Al-Samarqandī; Al-Musammá Baḥr Al-ʿUlūm*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwāḍ, ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd Al-Mawjūd and Zakariyyā ʿAbd Al-Majīd Al-Nūtī, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār Al-Kutub Al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1993), 358. Al-Ziriklī notes that the title of *Baḥr Al-ʿUlūm* belongs to another author who lived in the 9th AH, Al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām*, vol. 8, 28n1. Abū Isḥāq Al-Thaʿlabī, *Al-Kashf wa al-Bayān ʿan Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAlī b. ʿĀshūr and Naẓīr al-Sāʿidī, vol. 6 (Beirut; Dār Iḥāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2002) 194. Abū Isḥāq Al-Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ al-Musammá ʿArāʾis al-Majālis* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Jumhūriyyah, n.d), 400-416. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 15, 390.

[407] Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿUqaylī, *Al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Amīn Qalʿah ʾjī, vol .1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1984), 124.

[408] Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn min al-Muḥaddithīn*, ed. Ḥamdī ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī, vol. 1 (Riyadh: al-Ṣumayʿī, 2000), 442. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ*, ed. Ṭāriq ʿIwaḍ Allāh and ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Ḥusaynī, vol. 8 (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1995), 141. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī, *Al-Kāmil fī Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Rijāl*, eds. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwāḍ, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1997), 107.

narrate oddities (*gharāʾib*).[409] Even so, if the scholars by weakening this hadith might not believe in the connection between Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn or do not know of it, the "untrustworthy narrators" might show the opposite side in this matter.

The last religious field tends not to be interested in Alexander tradition and can be found in theological works like that of ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (3rd/9th), who, in his theological and apologetic book *al-Dīn Wa al-Dawlah* (*Religion and State*), put the narration of Alexander in the fourth level of consensus (*ijmāʿ*), as it was less acceptable than the story of Adam and Eve or the stories of India and China.[410]

3.4.2   Alexander in geography works

The second category of tradition has a geographical dimension. According to sources and information that reached Muslims, the ability of Alexander as an effective ruler appeared in his achievements in building many cities in the lands he conquered, the most famous being Alexandria in Egypt and Merv in Khurāsān.[411] Some historical texts claim that he built dozens of cities that bore his name.[412] These cities turned out to be pivotal civilisation centres during the first centuries of Islamic history, and subsequently, we notice the name of Alexander recurring in Muslim historical and geographical works that mention these cities. For example, al-Maqdisī (around 381/990) in his book *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm* (*The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*), ascribes an interesting narration to Ibn ʿAbbās:

> Yes the country Merv, it is built by Dhū al-Qarnayn and ʿUzayr prayed
> in it and its rivers flowing with blessings . Each door in Merv, there is
> an angel who holds a sword to protect it from evil.[413]

The most important geography work that highlights Alexander is *Kitāb al-Buldān* (*The Book of Countries*), written by Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, who cites some peculiar anecdotes that could not be found in other geographical, literary, religious or

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[409] Al-ʿUqaylī, *Al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr*, vol .1, 124. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 1, 442. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʿjam al-Awsaṭ*, vol. 8, 141. Ibn ʿAdī. *Al-Kāmil fī Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Rijāl*, vol. 2, 107.

[410] ʿAlī b. Rabban Al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Dīn wa al-Dawlah fī Ithbāt Nubawwat al-Nabī Muḥammad*, ed. ʿĀdil Nuwayhiḍ. 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār Al-Āfāq Al-Jadīdah, 1973), 38-39.

[411] For Alexandria and Merv, see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, ed. *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 13, 402.

[412] For the discussion of Alexander and his cities, see P. M. Fraser, *Cities of Alexander the Great*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

[413] Muḥmmad al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*, (Lieden; Brill, 1906), 298.

even historical works.[414] Some contemporary studies suggest that Ibn al-Faqīh might depend on earlier books that talk about Alexander like a translation of Alexander Romance.[415] Above all, Ibn al-Faqīh explores the thorny issue of the relationship between Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn by pointing out that:

> People dispute about Alexander and some of them claim that he is Dhū al-Qarnayn and others said he is not Dhū al-Qarnayn, the son of Philip, but due to his frequent journeys and passing through various regions, people who do not have knowledge about him liken him with the latter who was chief, built the dam of Gog and Magog and the builder of Merv city and the Lighthouse of Alexandria.[416]

Yet there is another important work that includes unique information. *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* (*The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*), written by Abū al-Qāsim b. Khurdādhbih (circa 280/ 893). He identifies Alexander with Dhū al-Qarnayn and talks about him in the context of describing Asian nations around the Muslim world. The main *khabar* of Alexander is his conquests in Asia, his meeting and almost conflict with the king of China, and then how the latter advised Alexander to build the dam to lock north eastern Turkish nomads and stop their threats. According to Ibn Khurdāthbeh, this dam is the one that is mentioned in the Quran and those Turkish nomads were Gog and Magog.[417] What gives Ibn Khurdādhbih's work more attention is that he cites the most famous Muslim expedition to find the dam of Gog and Magog. This expedition was led by his contemporary Sallām al-Turjumān, who was sent by Abbasid caliph al-Wāthiq (232/847), who saw in his dream that the dam was opened. Sallām claimed that he reached the dam, which was located near the Khazar kingdom (in Caucasia).[418] Still there is a problem in terms of the dam's location between the *khabar* of Alexander with the Chinese king and Sallām's *khabar*, that raises questions about the authenticity and accuracy of this account.[419]

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[414] Aḥmad b. al-Fqīh al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb Al-Buldān*, ed. Yūsuf Al-Hādī, (Beirut: ʿĀlam Al-Kutub, 1996), 124-125, 136-137, 332, 451, 616.
[415] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 27-28, 30.
[416] Al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb Al-Buldān*, 125.
[417] Abū al-Qāsim b. Khurdādhbih, *Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik; wa yalīh Nubthah min Kitāb al-Kharāj li Qudāmah b. Jaʿfar*, (Leiden: Brill, 1889), 363-365.
[418] Ibid,162-160.
[419] For more details about Sallām's journey, see: E. J. Van Donzel, Andrea B. Schmidt, and Claudia Ott, eds. *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

3.4.3 Alexander in philosophical literature and literary philosophical works

The third category is literature on philosophy. The picture of Alexander as an essential ruler in ancient history whose polity might be useful to Muslim rulers increased when ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muqaffaʿ (142/759), an eminent writer in the early Abbasid era, translated *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* into Arabic, which is said to be an Indian book that had been translated into Persian.[420] The striking feature of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* is that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in the introduction ascribes to a man is named ʿAlī b. al-Shāh al-Fārisī that the book was written after Alexander's campaign in India and he reports how Alexander was a successful leader who showed sophistication and efficiency to defeat the Indian king and convince Indians to accept his sovereignty.[421] In addition to this book, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ translated a letter that is known as *Tanṣar*, which was thought to be written by Tanṣar, the Zoroastrian advisor to Ardashīr (242 CE), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty.[422] In it is reference to the correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander concerning the conquest of Persia, which shows us how Ibn al-Muqaffa again introduces Alexander to Islamic and Arabic tradition, accompanied by his preceptor Aristotle.[423]

Another important work is the book of *Sirr al-Asrār* (*The Secret of Secrets*), which was translated by Yūḥannā b. al-Biṭrīq (between 200 and 210 AH), who was in the service of Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn. The translator reported that the work was written by Aristotle for Alexander and he translated it from Syriac or Greek into Arabic, although contemporary studies refute his claim due to many errors in its themes and style.[424] Whether authentic or not, this work indicates that Muslim audiences (especially those in the political and philosophical spheres) accepted the increasing presence of Alexander in Muslim tradition through translation. The role of Alexander in *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* and *Sirr al-Asrār* might have paved the way for

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[420] ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīlah Wa Dimnah*, (Cairo: Al-Maṭbaʿah Al-Amīriyyah bi Būlāq, 1937)
[421] Ibid, 10-14.
[422] Albeit Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* does not mention this letter in the list of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ works, Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Isfindiyār, the author of *Tārīkh Ṭabristān* (*The History of Tabaristan*), says that he translated the letter of Tinsir from Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ version. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Isfindiyār, *Tārīkh Ṭabaristān*, Trans. Aḥmad Muḥammad Nādī (Cairo: Al-Majlis al-Aʿlá li al-Thaqāfah, 2002), 25.
[423] Ibid.
[424] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (ed.), *Al-Uṣūl al-Yunānīyah li al-Naẓarīyāt al-Siyāsīyah fī al-Islām* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah,1954), 32-73.

other Muslim writers to include him in their books like *al-Tāj fī Akhlāq al-Mulūk* (*The Crown of Kings' Morals*) by al-Jāḥiẓ (255/869), *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd (The Unique Necklace)* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (328/940) and *al-Iʿjāz wa al-ʾĪjāz* (*Miracle and Brevity*) by al-Thaʿālibī (429 AH).[425] Such works represent advice literature that contain proverbs which were uttered by ancient kings and constitute moral guides to Muslim caliphs and rulers and tend to be akin of a prototype of the works of the Mirrors for Princes, which would come later.[426]

Alexander's advice arises in books that deal with the wisdom of philosophers such as *Nawādir al-Falāsifah wa al-Ḥukamāʾ* or *Ādāb al-Falāsifah* (*The Literature of Philosophers*) by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (260 AH) *Ṣīwān al-Ḥikmah* (*Cupboard or Commode of Wisdom*) by Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (380 AH), *al-Kalim al-Rūḥāniyyah fī al-Ḥikam al-Yūnāniyyah* (*The Spiritual Speech of Greek Wisdoms*) by Abū al-Faraj b. Hindū (420/1029).[427] These works appear to follow the same themes that exist in the work of Sālim Abī al-ʿAlāʾ. For example, the epistle of Philip, the father of Alexander, to Aristotle and his answer to it, some correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle and Alexander's correspondence with his mother.[428]

Some of these men, like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Yūḥannā b. al-Biṭrīq, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq and Ibn Hindū, used to work under royal and caliphate courts or at least were close to caliphs, princes and ministers and thereby the mention of Alexander in their works

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[425] ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Tāj Fī Akhlāq Al-Mulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā, (Cairo: Al-Maṭbaʿah Al-Amīriyyah, 1914), 109, 123. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, ed. Mufīd Jābir Qumayḥah, vol. 1 (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1983. 23-24, 111. Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Al-Iʿjāz wa al-ʾĪjāz*, ed. Muḥammad Al-Tūnjī (Beirut: Dār Al-Nafāʾis, 1999).

[426] Louise Marlow, "Advice and Advice Literature" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, eds. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson, Brill Online, 2016. <u>Reference</u>, University of Exeter. 25 May 2016 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/advice-and-advice-literature-COM_0026

[427] Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, *Ādāb Al-Falāsifah*, Compendium by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Al-Anṣārī, ed. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Badawī, 1st ed. (Kuwait: Manshūrāt Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyyah: al-Munaẓẓamah al-ʿArabiyyah li al-Tarbiyah wa al-Thiqāfah wa al-ʿUlūm, 1985). Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah, wa Huwah Tārīkh li al-Ḥukamāʾ Qabl Ẓuhūr al-Islām wa Baʿdih, wa Yalīh Thalāth Rasāʾil fī al-Ajrām wa al-Muḥarrik al-Awwal*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Badawī, (Paris: Dār Bīblyūn, 2013). Abū al-Faraj b. Hindū, *Al-Kalim al-Rūḥāniyyah fī al-Ḥikam al-Yūnāniyyah*, ed. Muṣṭafá al-Qabbānī al-Dimashqī (Egypt; Maṭbaʿat al-Sharqī, 1900), 91-94. In the discussion of the editing of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, see Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 96n. 14.
[428] Ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb Al-Falāsifah*, 83-111. Al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah,* 147-168. Ibn Hindū, *Al-Kalim al-Rūḥāniyyah*, 91-94.

reminds us of Sālim Abī al-ʿAlāʾ and his purpose to translate the epistles.[429] Some of the material in these works, like that of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq and al-Sijistānī, was not only translated from Persian or Syriac, but also from Greek, which asserts anew the variety of the sources that speak of Alexander.[430]

3.4.4 Popular stories and epic works of Alexander

At the end of the Umayyad Period and the beginning of the Abbasid period, we see the appearance of a distinct type of writing that focuses mainly on Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn. This type seems not to belong to historical or religious writings, rather it tends to be closer to fiction.

ʿUmārah b. Zayd (third/ninth) compiled a work titled *Ḥadīth Dhī al-Qarnayn* or *Qiṣṣat Dhū al-Qarnayn* (*The Story of the Man with Two Horns*). The work includes much that differs from *tafsīr*, philosophy and literature books and might represent the first work based on the Alexander Romance.[431] Al-Masʿūdī mentions his name in the introduction of *Murūj al-Dhahab* when he lists famous Muslim writers who compiled history works and links him with ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥfūẓ al-Balawī.[432] Both were mentioned in Shiite biographies (*kutub al-rijāl*), criticised by Shiite scholars and accused of being liars and forging hadiths, and we are not sure if one of the reasons for such accusations was that they narrated non-Islamic accounts.[433]

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[429] For their link to caliphal and royal courts, see Muḥammad b. al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, vol. 1 (London; Muʾassasat al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2014), 367-368, vol. 2, 142-144. Sulaymān b. Ḥassān b. Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ wa al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1985), 67-72. Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa al-Dhayl ʿAlayhā*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vol. 3 (Beirut; Dār Ṣādir, 1974), 13. Here functioning *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab* + *ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[430] Gutas, *'Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature: Nature and Scope'*, 61.

[431] David Zuwiyya, "'ʿUmārah's Qiṣṣa al-Iskandar as a Model of the Arabic Romance", in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, eds. Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson and Ian Netton (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 2012), 205-218. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 51-52. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander* Magnus, 35-45. Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends*, 24-27.

[432] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 21. David Zuwiyya confuses between ʿUmārah b. Zayd with ʿUmārah b. Wathīmah by insisting that the former is the latter. Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends*, 25-26. Ibn Wathīmah was also mentioned by al-Masʿūdī in his work *Murūj al-Dhahab*. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 21.

[433] Abū ʿAlī Al-Ḥāʾirī and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Al-Mazandarānī, *Muntahá al-Maqāl fī Aḥwāl al-Rijāl*, vol, 5 (Beirut: Muʾassasat Āl Al-Bayt li Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1998), 96-97. Doufikar-Aerts does not refer to the Shiite background of ʿUmārah. Moreover, ʿUmārah was probably weakened by Sunni scholars and accused of forging hadiths and ascribing them to ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb. See Aḥmad b. Ḥajar

In that age there was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād (third/ninth); fortunately, we have more information about him to help us fathom his work. There are two significant points in ʿAbd b. Ziyād that relate to the issue of Alexander. The first is that his name is mentioned in the chain of accounts in *tafsīr* or hadith works that are concerned with Dhū al-Qarnayn. These accounts end with ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir, whom we mentioned earlier, and have been seen to be unsound. Part of this problem results from the narrators, as with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, who is weakened by most scholars of hadith, partly because of his inaccuracy of transmission and the anonymity of some of his narrators.[434] The second point is that ʿAbd b. Ziyād was captured by the Byzantine Empire, and Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī says:

> He was a prisoner in the land of Rūm, then they released him, when they saw him. But he should take something from the Caliph, Abu Jaʿfar. Therefore he came to him.[435]

This accident gives a hint that ʿAbd b. Ziyād during his captivity could have learned something from Byzantine about Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn, which induced him to write the story of Dhū al-Qarnayn. Having said that, I assume that his interest in non-Islamic materials in addition to his inaccuracy of transmission led to most scholars of hadith having a low opinion of his hadiths.[436]

The style and structure of *Qiṣṣat Dhū al-Qarnayn* and *Qiṣṣat al-Iskandar* are distinct. Both attempt to combine the characters of Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn and make them one person, which contradicts the works of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Wahb b. Munabbih and Ibn Hishām, who depict Dhū al-Qarnayn as a Yemeni king and refute the connection between him and Alexander. Secondly, they give the full story about Alexander as Dhū al-Qarnayn and direct it to revolve around the character of a person that starts with his birth and identity, then his conflict with other empires, his confrontation with Gog and Magog, his correspondence with Aristotle, his journey to the dark sea, his correspondence with his mother, his funeral and more. Third, *Qiṣṣat*

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al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān Al-Mīzān*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1971), 278. Shams Al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ* vol. 5, 166-180.
[434] Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol, 17. 104.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Here in this paragraph is functioning *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* + al-munfaṣil analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

Dhū al-Qarnayn and *Qiṣṣat al-Iskandar*, tend to be fables and fictional and cast Alexander Dhū al-Qarnayn in a mythical and miraculous frame and present him as a righteous ruler with prophetic character, which makes such works stand out from historical works. As for their sources, it is suggested that they derive from Syriac pseudo-Callisthenes and Syriac Alexander Legend, as can be attested by the similarity of their themes and the details of events and yet it does not affirm that one takes from the other.[437] With regard to common narrators (*ruwāt*), ʿAbd b. Ziyād and ʿUmārah share some of them like Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Ibn ʿAbbās, Muqātil b. Sulaymān (150/767) and Wahb b. Munabbih, who are considered as exegetes and use *Isrāʾīliyāt*.[438]

The last work is *al-Shāhnāmah*, which is a long epic poem completed in Persian in 400/1010 by Abū al-Qāsim al-Firdawsī (between 411/1020 and 416/1025), who was a Persian poet during the Gaznavid period and had a high reputation in Persian tradition because of such epic works.[439] Although al-Firdawsī talks mainly in *al-Shāhnāmah* about ancient Persia and its heroes and kings before the advent of Islam, he allocates a long and separate chapter to Alexander by virtue of his strong presence in Persian tradition as a man who took over their empire and he, likewise, depicts him as a monotheistic character who visited Mecca and fought Gog and Magog, which indicates Islamic influences on *al-Shāhnāmah*, probably from earlier popular stories.[440]

Compilers and authors of these popular stories and epic works tend not to seek truth or fact behind their works, rather they deal primarily in symbolic ways with moral, ethical and aesthetic sides and thus use poetic and rhetoric strategies. Apart from *al-Shāhnāmah*, which was admired by Muslim Persian (or Persianised) people whether

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[437] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 78. Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends*, 26-27.
[438] Zuwiyya, *The Alexander Romance,* 82. Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends*, 27.
[439] See ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām's introduction to his edition of *Al-Shāhnāmah*. Abū al-Qāsim al-Firdawsī, *Al-Shāhnāmah*, trans. Abū al-Fatḥ al-Bundārī, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1932), 3-111. Edward Granville Browne, *A Literary History Of Persia*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 129-146. For his life and biography, A. Shapur Shahbazi, *Ferdowsī: A Critical Biography* (Costa Mesa, Cal: Mazda Publ, 2010).
[440] Al-Firdawsī, *Al-Shāhnāmah*, vol. 2, 1-29. Haila Manteghi, "Alexander the Great in the Shāhnāmeh of Ferdowsī" in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, eds. Richard Stoneman, Kyle Erickson and Ian Richard Netton, 161-174, (Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing, 2012). And also recently PhD thesis by same author on this matter. Haila Manteghi, "The Alexander Romance in the Persian Tradition: Its Influence on Persian History, Epic and Storytelling" (PhD, University of Exeter, 2018), 60-88.

from "high" or "low" levels, the early popular stories of Alexander seemed to face challenges and difficulties because of the antagonistic attitude of Muslim scholars and even those from political orders to storytellers *quṣṣāṣ*, who were seen as people who fabricated and spread falsehoods.[441]

3.4.5 Alexander in historical writings

There are some notable historical works written in the Abbasid period which talk about Alexander. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (257/871), in his book *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Al-Maghrib* (*Conquest of Egypt and North Africa*) and Ibn Zūlāq (387 AH) in *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* (*Virtues of Egypt*) discuss the identity of Alexander and give some information about him in narrating the building of Alexandria.[442] They tend to match Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn, which means the historicisation of the latter and Islamisation of the former.[443] Since their intellectual backgrounds were religious and they lived in Egypt, they might have drawn their information from *Isrāʾīliyyāt* and local or Egyptian sources.[444] Another important historical (or quasi-historical) work is *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Akhbār al-Furs wa al-ʿArab* (*The End of Need in the History of Persians and Arabs*), believed to have been written in the third/ninth century. The author is unknown, but at the beginning of this book it refers to multi-writers, starting very early with ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī (106/ 723), his contemporary Ayyūb b. al-Qirriyyah (84/ 703), then to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and finally al-Aṣmaʿī (216/831), a famous linguist and writer in the early Abbasid era, who finalised this work when Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd requested it.[445] The book dedicates many pages to and provides

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[441] For *quṣṣāṣ*, Abū al-Faraj al-Jawzī, *Al-Quṣṣāṣ wa al-Mudhakkirīn*, ed. Muḥammad Luṭfī al-Ṣabbāgh (Beirut; al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1988). Boaz Shoshan, "High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam", *Studia Islamica*, no. 73 (1991). 83-85. Ch. Pellat, "Ḳāṣṣ" in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 13 February 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4002.

[442] ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. Abd Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa Al-Maghrib*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿĀmir, vol. 1 (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-ʿĀmmah li Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 1999), 56-62. Al-Ḥasan b. Zūlāq, *Faḍāʾil Miṣr wa Khawāṣṣuhā wa Akhbāruhā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿĀmmah li al-Kitāb, 1999), 15-17.

[443] Here is functioning *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab + ḥāl al-mukhāṭib + ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[444] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūnis al-Ṣadafī, *Tārīkh Ibn Yūnis al-Miṣrī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fatḥī ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vol. 1 (Beirut; Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2000), 118, 307. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1978), 91-92.

[445] See the edition introduction of this book: *Nihāyat Al-Arab fī Akhbār Al-Furs wa Al-ʿArab*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhu, 1st ed. (Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 1417 AH), 8-9.

many details of Alexander, starting with his birth until his funeral.[446]According to contemporary studies, this quasi-historical work adopts both Syriac Alexander Romance and Syriac Alexander Legend, and despite the suspensions of its authenticity and identity of its writers, it became a source for later historical and geographical works.[447] Another history book is the Arabic version of Paulus Orosius' history *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII* (*Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*) which was originally written in Latin in the fifth century CE.[448] It is a universal historical work that starts with creation and ends with the death of the Eastern Roman Emperor Valens in 378 CE, and it was put in polemic and religious pattern to support Christianity.[449] It is thought that it was translated into Arabic in al-Andalus during the time of Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II.[450] The book allocates two sections to Alexander's father's military campaigns, then Alexander's war against the Persians and the rest of his conquests until his death, and then lengthily details his successors and the conflicts among them. Generally speaking, Alexander is rendered in a Greek pattern instead of a Biblical one.[451]

3.5   Alexander in the eight Muslim universal historical writings

Within this intellectual environment, the eight Muslim historians (al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Aṣfahānī, al-Maqdisī, Miskawayh and al-Thaʿālibī) include Alexander history in their universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The major themes in Alexander history in such writings are Alexander's birth and ethnic roots, relationship with Dhū al-Qarnayn, Aristotle and Gog and Magog, journeys to Mecca and the dark sea, conquests, conversations with

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[446] Ibid, 110-158.
[447] Edward G. Browne, "Some Account of the Arabic Work Entitled 'Niháyatu'l-irab Fí Akhbári'l-Furs Ua'l-'Arab', Particularly of That Part Which Treats of the Persian Kings". *J.R. Asiat. Soc. G.B. Irel. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, 1900, 195-259. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 29-34. Alī, *Mawārid Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī*, 174-183.
[448] Orūsyūs, *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, (Beirut: al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabiyyah li al-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 1982).
[449] Ibid, 53-37.
[450] For the dating of its translation and its authors/translators, see Ann Rosemary Christys, *Christians In Al-Andalus 711-1000* (London: Routledge, 2002). 135-157. Mayte Penelas, "A Possible Author of The Arabic Translation of Orosius' Historiae", *al-Masāq*, 13 (2001): 113-135. Also the introduction of Badawī. *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam*. 10-15. Christian C. Sahner, "From Augustine To Islam: Translation And History In The Arabic Orosius", *Speculum* 88, no. 4 (2013).
[451] Orūsyūs, *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam*, 220-226, 229-263.

Chinese kings and an Indian Brahmin wise man, building of cities, funeral and successors.[452]

Their sources are:[453] Greek:[454] Rūm scholars without stating whether the information from such scholars was obtained directly (in original language form or translated) or through secondary sources;[455] Persian:[456] Arabic and Islamic sources (like Alexander visiting Mecca and his Arabic root);[457] *Isrāʾīliyyāt*:[458] local narrations such as the story of Alexandria that could be traced to Greek or Syriac sources;[459] and lastly and the most well-known, Syriac sources that contain the three versions: Alexander the Legend, Alexander the Romance and the Alexander Homily.[460]

The works of Muslim historians vary in their sources of Alexander history. Some historians state their sources and others do not. These sources reveal epistemic circulation among various intellectual fields, as Muslim historians shared sources with other works from different epistemic branches and were able to obtain them as others did. Another level of circulation is hierarchal in that historians appear to obtain their sources from other branches in Muslim tradition. The last level of circulation is when the eight Muslim historians *akhbār* take from each other.

This thematic induction shows that structural, intellectual and historical components played a significant role in determining and shaping the main themes in the history of

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[452] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī*.

[453] Here is *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-ḥaqīqī*.

[454] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj Al-Dhahab*, vol.1, 257, 317, 415.

[455] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 32. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 577.

[456] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 9-12.

[457] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 22-23, 35. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj Al-Dhahab*, vol.1, 316. See also in Chapter Five, 5.1.1 Doctrinal anachronism.

[458] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-32. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 442.

[459] Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī*, 116-117. See also: Faustina Doufikar-Aerts "A Legacy of the Alexander Romance in Arab Writings: Al-Iskandar, Founder of Alexandria," in *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, ed. James Tatum, 323-343, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

[460] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 573, 577. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 366. See also: Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 80-90, 120-130, 188-192. Also, Van Bladel, "The Syriac Sources of the Early Arabic Narratives of Alexander", 58. Josef Wiesehöfer, "The 'Accursed' and the 'Adventure'; Alexander the Great in Iranian Tradition" In *a Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya, 1313-132, (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Minoo S. Southgate, "Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97, no. 3 (July-Sep 1977), 279. Alī, *Mawārid Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī*, 183-184, Seray, "Alexander the Great", 51–66. S. P. Brock, "The Laments of the Philosophers over Alexander in Syriac" *Journal of Semitic Studies J Semitic Studies*, no. 207 (1970): 205–18. See in this chapter, 3.1. The primary sources of Alexander tradition in Muslim tradition.

Alexander as documented in Muslim historians' writings, and that these historians did not simply copy their sources but instead, interpreted source material according to their own perspectives. For instance, Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī relies on Persian history in various versions of both *Khudā Yāmah* (*The History of Persian Kings*) which is an ancient Persian book translated into Arabic in the third/ninth century and *Avesta* (a religious book of Zoroastrianism).[461] In Greek and Roman history, Hamzah al-Asfahani relies on a book attributed to Ḥabīb b. Bahrīz, the bishop of Mosul, on Abū Maʿshar (271/886) the astrologer in his book *al-Aulūf* (*Book of Thousands*), on a book from Wakīʿ, a judge from Baghdad, and finally on a book from a Rūmī man.[462] Despite such notable endeavours to collect these sources, al-Aṣfahānī tends to neglect some themes in Alexander's history, such as Alexander's birth and roots, his military campaigns in India and China and his funeral oration.[463] Such omissions indicate that the role of sources tends to be less than the structural, intellectual and historical components in Alexander's history in Muslim historians' writings.

Miskawayh derives many of his materials from al-Ṭabarī, but he relies on additional accounts that do not exist in al-Ṭabarī's work.[464] Similarly, Miskawayh tends to modify some materials that are derived from al-Ṭabarī's book, for instance, the shortening of Alexander's successors' account (their names and their reigns), and neglects others such as the issue of Alexander's Persian roots.[465] Al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī reference *The Law,* by Claudius Ptolemy (170 CE), when they speak about Alexander's father, Philip.[466] Al-Yaʿqūbī describes Philip as tyrannical, whereas al-Masʿūdī does not.[467] Finally, al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī might have a shared source

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[461] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 9-10, 50.

[462] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 9-12, 56, 61-65.

[463] For his writing about Persians' history, Parvaneh Pourshariati, "Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī and Sasanid Historical Geography of Tarīkh sini Mulūk al-Arḍ wa al-Anbiyā" in *Des Indo-Grecs aux Sassanides: Données Pour L'histoire et la Géographie Historique*, ed. R.Gyselen (Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 111-140.

[464] This contradicts Brockelmann's opinion that Miskawayh, in the first part of his work, translated literally from al-Ṭabarī, Brūkilmān, *Tārīkh Al-Adab Al-ʿArabī*, vol. 2, 119.

[465] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 578-579. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 104.

[466] Al-Yaʿqūbī states the book's name but al-Masʿūdī states the author's name, al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj Al-Dhahab*, vol .1, 317. Al-Masʿūdī in *al-Tanbīh* ascribes the book to Theon of Alexandria (405 CE), Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 113. Jawād ʿAlī sets forth "It appears that the book "The Law of Theon" is originally one of the Ptolemy's works, and then Theon commented on it," Jawād ʿAlī, "Mawārid Tārīkh al-Masʿūdī", Sūmar 20, no. 1/2 (1964): 42. See Also, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, Vol. 2, 217.

[467] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj Al-Dhahab*. vol .1, 317.

(probably *Nihāyat al-Arab*), but they differ in terms of omitting, elaborating and shaping the historical *akhbār* of Alexandrian history.[468] Their different interpretations imply that there may have been additional elements in the sources that led the two historians to have different understandings of Philip.

Even the three versions of Alexander history in Syriac have been selected and synthesised to align with the structural, intellectual and historical components.[469] "Structural" refers to the historiographical structure of historical writing; "intellectual" denotes the intellectual thought and backgrounds of Muslim historians that are revealed in historiographical concepts, and "historical" refers to historical circumstances which are exemplified in historical concepts that reflect their time.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter we saw how Alexander tradition and knowledge increased from the first AH/eighth CE century to the fourth AH/tenth CE century in parallel with the crystallisation of various intellectual disciplines in Muslim tradition where Alexander tradition permeated and contributed to their growth. First, we traced the inception of the entry of Alexander's mention and tradition in Muslim heritage. Our investigation showed that there are two possibilities. The first is the influence of Syriac sources on the Quran and Muḥammad during his time, which is adopted by Nöldeke and later by van Bladel but refuted and criticised by other scholars. The second is the tradition of *Isrāʾīliyyāt* in Quranic commentaries by Jewish scholars Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih under the successors to Muḥammad, which seems to be more acceptable than the first hypothesis. Then we highlighted Alexander history in the Umayyad phase when Sālim Abī al-ʿAlāʾ translated alleged correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle perhaps by means of a Greek version, and it showed how Alexander came into Muslim tradition in administrative ways which suggests it might be the first prototype for the genre of the Mirrors for Princes. In the Abbasid era, Alexander tradition was distributed through many epistemic branches due to the growth of the translation movement and cultural exchanges. The main branches diverge into

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[468] On the influence of *Nihāyat al-Arab*, see: Browne, "Some Account of the Arabic Work," 195-259. Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 29-34. Alī, *Mawārid Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī*, 174-183.

[469] For the synthesis, see Van Bladel, "The Syriac Sources of the Early Arabic Narratives of Alexander," 58. Here is functioning *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis.

Quranic exegesis as an extension to first generation geography works, the bulk of literary and philosophical works and finally the epic works. The last branch showed distinct features as it presented full fictional complications that revolved around Alexander, combining him with Dhū al-Qarnayn. Then we moved to the history branch and after that observed the major themes of Alexander's history in the eight Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. It seems that they shared most of the major themes but that they ranged between omission, mention and elaboration. These different attitudes towards Alexander's history result from the role of historiographical structure, with its historiographical concepts and historical concepts with their historical reflections.

Chapter 4. Historiographical structure of Alexander history

The previous chapter revealed how the eight Muslim historians' attitudes toward Alexander history pertained to historiographical structure, historiographical concepts, historical concepts and historical reflections. This chapter will focus on the historiographical structure and has two sub-sections. The first examines the meaning of historical reports (*akhbār*) and narration in Muslim historical writings to understand the components of the historiographical structure. It will then analyse historiographical structure in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the period of interest, and argument explanation and discuss its four modes: contextualisation, inductive probe, mechanism and attribution. Assisting us in this will be jurisprudential theory approach, which is *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* as an inductive and probing tool and *dilālat al-siyāq* as an interpretive and comparative tool. Three points should be mentioned before proceeding. First, we will not study all features and elements in Alexander history, but rather focus on the more prevailing ones as most of our judgments and conclusions are based on the majority portions of historiographical structure and historiographical concepts. Secondly, there are abundant Western concepts and theories that deal with historical narratives from the literary perspective, and many have been applied to Muslim traditional historical texts. However, we will not draw too heavily on them so as to avoid imposing assumptions on the texts and hence making them subject to categories that might not correlate with the different cultural and intellectual perspectives of Muslim traditional historical texts. As Ulrika Mårtensson says: "each work must be analysed in its own terms before we can draw historical conclusions from it".[470] Finally, we will highlight the duality features as a narrative operation that appears in the major modes in the rhetoric and argumentative explanations in Alexander history in Muslim universal

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[470] Ulrika Martensson, "Discourse and Historical Analysis: The Case of Al-Ṭabarī's History of the Messengers and the Kings", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 16, no. 3 (2005), 287.

historical writings. Its four shapes are integrative, reciprocal, consensual and obverse.[471]

4.1 Meaning and role of historical *khabar* in Arabic Muslim tradition

Muslim historians who wrote about Alexander tended to use two specific terms as headings for his history:[472] *akhbār* reports (plural of *khabar*) that were used by al-Dīnawarī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Asfahānī;[473] and the *qiṣṣah* story (singular of *qaṣaṣ*) that was used by al-Maqdisī and al-Thaʿālibī. [474] Al-Yaʿqūbī did not use specific terms, and Miskawayh titled the heading of Alexander's history '*wa mimmā yuḥká ʿan al-Iskandar wa ḥiyalih*' ("what is recounted about Alexander and his stratagems").[475] *Yuḥká* is pro-agent *nāʾib ʿan al-fāʿil*, which is *ḥakiya* and the noun is *ḥikāyah* (singular of *ḥikāyāt*), which in its original meaning links with imitation (*muḥākāt*) or acting in same way to the original action. In Miskawayh's case, the word is equivalent to "be informed" or "reported" (the noun is "informing" or "report" (*khabar*)) and told *ḥaddathah* (the noun is "telling" (*ḥadīth*)).[476] We need to explore the conceptual interrelationship between these terms in Arabic traditional use at the time to be able to understand their epistemic and functional content.

Most of the authors used *akhbār* in the plural rather than the singular form, whereas those who used *qiṣṣah* used the singular rather than plural form. This indicates that there is generality and specificity between the two terms in that the latter is more general and contains the former. Indeed, their meanings in Arabic tradition confirm that *khabar* is an essential part in the historical story, *qiṣṣah*. *Khabar* refers to a single and independent report that is not a statement (*inshāʾī*) and seeks to inform (*iʿlām*,

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[471] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah* + *al-ilghāʾ*). See about duality in Chapter Two, 2.1.5 Habituation of Hayden White's theory.

[472] We are not certain if the eight historians used these titles themselves or whether the copyists inserted them, but we will assume that historians did, as long as there is no indication (*qarāʾin ṣārifah*) that diverts us from this assumption.

[473] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār Al-Tiwāl*, 28. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj Al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 314. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 26.

[474] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402.

[475] Miskawayh, *Tajārib Al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95.

[476] For the meaning of *ḥakiya*, see Pellat, Ch., Bausani, A., Boratav, P.N., Ahmad, Aziz and Winstedt, R.O., "Ḥikāya" in: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 03 November 2018 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0285

Inbāʾ and *bayān*) another about an occurrence (*ḥadath*) or something (*amr*) that took place.[477] A set of *akhbār* can be organised in order and connected to each other and this process is the second part of story and can be described as a narration (*sard*), which means to "put thing by thing consistently, in tracing each other sequentially".[478] So it seems that *khabar* is the material or content of a story and *sard* is a modal and coordinating action that creates a hypothetical link between a set of *akhbār*.[479] We can define story as employing a narrative process and format to arrange a set of historical *akhbār* in specific form.[480]

The sources of *akhbār* are either transmissive (*naqlī*), including written and oral, or material such as remnants and remaining works, like buildings, clothes and coins.[481] *Akhbār* have three statuses for their *mukhbirīn* (reporters or informants of *akhbār*) and recipients (*al-mutalaqqīn*): true, false, and unknown. The truthfulness of *akhbār* could be proved by imperative or investigatory knowledge (*ḍarūrī wa naẓarī*).[482] They exemplify in some expressive sentences and words like "the true story" "it is mistake" and "we do not know if it is correct". Yet these categories relate to the possibility of the existence of historical *akhbār*, not to the way of their formulation and representation takes the forms of written and oral, imparted or generated by meaning or literally.

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[477] For the meaning of *khabar*, see Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 66-69. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 75-77, Al-ʿAẓamah, *Al-Kitābah Al-Tārīkhiyyah,* 12-18. Leder, "The Use of Composite Form", 126. Muḥammad al-Qāḍī, *Al-Khabar Fī Al-Adab Al-ʿArabī* (Tunis: Kulliyat al-Ādāb-Mannūbah, 1998), 46-90.

[478] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-ʿArab*, vol. 3, 211. Also: Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs Min Jawāhir Al-Qāmūs*, vol. 8, (Cairo: Dār al-Hidāyah, n.d.), 187.

[479] Similar to this view, Abd al-Sattār Jabr, *Al-Huwiyyah Wa Al-Dhākirah al-Jamʿiyyah: Iʿādat Intāj Al-Adab Al-ʿArabī Qabl Al-Islām, Ayyām Al-ʿArab Namūdhajan*, 1st ed. (Baghdad: Iṣdārāt Mashrūʿ Baghdād ʿĀṣimat al-Thaqāfah al-ʿArabiyyah 2013, 2013), 223-224.

[480] Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Al-Furūq al-lughawiyyah*, ed. Salīm Ibrāhīm, (Cairo: Dār al-ʿIlm wa al-Thaqāfah, 1998), 42

[481] The echo of the sources of *akhbār* can be found in: ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa al-Tabayyun*, ed, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, vol. 1 (Cairo; Maktabat al-Khānjī, repr, 1998) ,76-83. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 66.

[482] For more details, see Muḥammad al-Tahānūnī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt Al-Funūn wa al-ʿUlūm*, ed. Rafīq al-ʿAjam and ʿAlī Daḥrūj, trans. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khāldīj, 1st ed. vol. 1 (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān Nashirūn, 1996), 737. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 210. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 109, 348-349. Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd al-Awāʾil fī Talkhīṣ al-Dalāʾil,* ed. ʿImād Aḥmad Ḥaydar, (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah, 1987), 25-43. Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Bakr Ṭūbāl Auglī and Muḥammad Arūshī (Istanbul; Maktabat al-Irshād, 2001), 69-76. For analytical comparative approach to theological perspectives in this matter, Salhab, *ʿIlm Al-Kalām wa Al-Taʾrīkh*, 77-104.

However, the position of historical *akhbār* in the epistemological system of Islamic tradition is due to their epistemic sequences and aims that stem from two parts.[483] First is to learn lessons (*ʿibar,* plural of *ʿibrah*) from historical *akhbār* regardless of their status. These lessons deal with aesthetics, morals or ethics. To learn lessons is a result of impression (*athar*), which suggests that *akhbār* seek to make an impression on their recipients by rhetoric and prose strategies so they interact and pay attention to them and thereby accept the moral sides and values of such *akhbār.* As Julie Meisami puts it: "the link between ethical concerns and rhetorical style is an essential one: rhetorical strategies pertaining to structure and embellishment play an important role in conveying the historian's message".[484] For instance, Miskawayh when he talks about the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (23/), said:

> ʿUmar was frequently sitting alone with Persian people who read to him the Persian kings' policies, particularly virtuous kings of the Persians and especially Anūshirwān [242 CE], whom ʿUmar admired and followed frequently.[485]

The intention of ʿUmar to listen to the biographies of Persian kings was not to prove their historical existence or creedal thought but to learn and benefit from their policies. Lessons and impressions start from the scope of others (people, thoughts, places and occurrences) toward the self as a recipient and such epistemic sequences are more practical than of judgment or persuasion because they require action after assimilating the lessons.[486] The aesthetic, moral and ethical lessons in historical *khabar* meet literary works (epic stories) and philosophical literature (Mirrors for Princes) as they all function as linguistic rhetoric and literary tools to intensify the lessons. However, the second and third types of written works tend to be concerned with symbolic and figurative lessons of anecdotes, or *khabar,* regardless of their factuality and truthfulness or, in other words, with an absence of judgment. Here

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[483] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-ḥaqīqī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[484] Julie Scott Meisami, *Persian Historiography: to The End of The Twelfth Century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 11.

[485] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 415.

[486] Muhsin Mahdi defines the multiple meanings of the word *ʿibrah* in Muslim tradition as to pass from one point to another or to go beyond something and hence it is like a bridge or connection between two subject. It also means an expression of something, which is the essence of interpretation (*al-taʾwīl*). Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldûn's Philosophy of History*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1957), 63-66.

historical *khabar* parts company with literary works and philosophical literature inasmuch as lessons in the former are connected and parallel and hence rely on judgment to exert more influence on the audience. This leads us to the second epistemic sequences which give a judgment (*ḥukm*) to people, nations, rulers, religious creeds and occurrences that depend on asserting their existences, or ascribing to them some attributions, accounting for their actions or occurrences and also evaluating them. This judgment seeks to create a persuasion (*iqtināʿ*) and it is an outcome of conceiving a given issue in a certain way "*al-ḥukm ʿalá al-shayʾ farʿ min taṣawwurih*" ("judging something depends on perceiving it").[487] For example, when al-Ṭabarī presented historical and religious evidence about the identity and time of al-Khiḍr (who is mentioned in Quran as a wise man and who met Prophet Moses), he concluded with:

> These accounts that we have mentioned on the authority of the Messenger of God and the scholars among the predecessors make it clear that al-Khiḍr existed before and during the days of Moses. This proves the error of the words of those who say that he was Jeremiah b. Hilkiah, because Jeremiah lived during the days of Nebuchadnezzar, and between the days of Moses and Nebuchadnezzar was a period the extent of which is not difficult for scholars of the days of mankind and their accounts to calculate.[488]

Al-Ṭabarī here does not concern himself with the oral lessons or values of this text or its practical outcome in reality, but wanted to give a rational and critical judgment to convince his readers of al-Khiḍr's issue. So, the second epistemic sequence of historical *khabar* has a perception and predicative perspective and deals with other historical *akhbār*, i.e. people, thoughts, places and occurrences, from the scope of self (*al-dhāt*) and such epistemic sequence does not necessitate a practical step.

Both judgments and persuasion and lessons and impressions take place at the micro level in the case of a single and independent *khabar*, and at the macro level in the case of story that gives more general historical vision since its vision is correspondent with the general vision of a historical book that contains such a story. Here, the role of

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[487] This saying is widespread and we take it from this book. Muḥammad al-Kāfīī, *Al-Ajwibah al-Kāfiyah ʿalá al-Asʾilah al-Shāmiyya*, (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿādah, n.d), 45.
[488] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of Al-Tabari: The Children of Israel*, trans. William M. Brinner, vol. III. (State University of New York: Sunny Press, 1991), 18. We will come to *al-Khiḍr* later.

narration (*sard*) is to link evaluative judgments and persuasion and lessons and impressions of a certain set of *akhbār* with a certain story and then linking that story with a certain historical book; thus, the job of narration whether in micro or macro levels is to prevent any dichotomy between the two epistemic sequences of historical *khabar* or story.

Having said that, the conceptual and epistemic distinction of *khabar*, story and narration and judgments/persuasion and lessons and impressions bring about its role in the historiographical structure and concepts in Alexander history. It appears that the rhetoric explanation level of historiographical structure of such story is concerned with lessons (*ʿibar*) and their practical impressions (*athār*), whilst argument explanation level concerning with persuasion (*iqtināʿ*) of conception of Alexander history and giving evaluative judgments on its historical *akhbār* (see Figure 4).

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                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │      khabar       │
                    │ historical report │
                    └──────────────────┘
                             │
              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
      ┌───────────────┐            ┌──────────────────┐
      │  ʿibar/lessons │            │  ḥukm/judgment   │
      └───────────────┘            └──────────────────┘
              │                             │
      ┌──────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────┐
      │ athar/impression │        │ iqtināʿ/persuasion  │
      └──────────────────┘        └─────────────────────┘
```
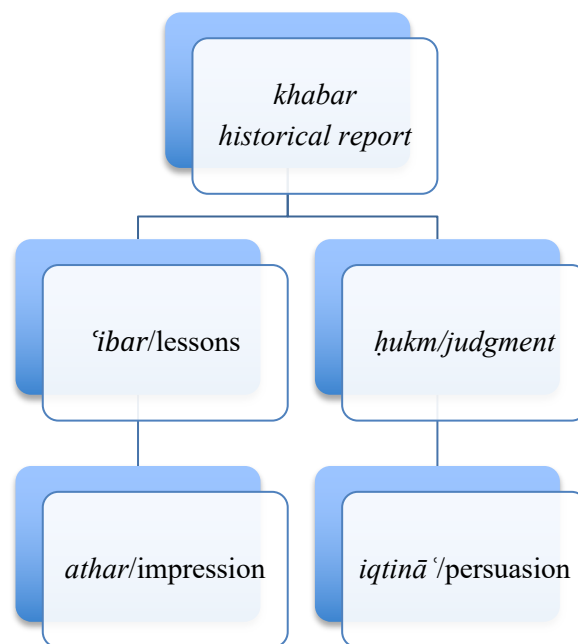
Figure 4. *Al-khabar* and its functions.

4.2   Rhetorical explanation

In this sub-section we will analyse dualism and its four main modes: author and compiler, speech and act, two figures, factuality and allegory, and the relationship

among them.[489] Then, we will analyse the two modes of emplotement, tragedy and romance, starting with the relationship and the generality and specificity between them and the role of rhetoric *al-iltifāt* (apostrophe) in these two modes.

4.2.1 Dualism

We can define dualism as rhetorical dominance of two parts through the narrative process of a historical story that portrays it in a certain character and permits some topics to be crucial to the story. According to our general jurisprudential theory approach, there are four modes. The first is the duality of author and compiler (*al-muʾallif wa al-jāmiʿ*). Muslim historians not only collected and arranged the materials of Alexander history, but they also designated it in a certain narrative form. Their voices and the voices of their subjects are together in their works. This mode of duality does not meet with the standard of originality in Western literature theory which insists that literary works require authors not to stop at collecting and arranging their works, but also to innovate their narrations.[490] Robert Hoyland points out that labelling Muslim historians only as compilers because they do not fit with the standard of originality "has the unfortunate consequence that individual works are not evaluated as a unity but simply ransacked for factual needles in the narrative haystack".[491] He argues that even compilation involves a creative process that can be discerned in harmonising heterogeneous scattered historical *akhbār* and pouring them in a homogeneous narrative pattern, which refutes the claim on the absence of originality in Muslim historical writings.[492]

The presence of authors emerges in formulating historical *akhbār* by using specific words, expressions and sentences, and by electing given historical accounts instead of others, and finally by commenting on the historical *akhbār* they selected. Clear

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[489] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[490] Robert G. Hoyland, "History, Fiction and Authorship in First Centuries of Islam" in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray, (London: Routledge, 2006), 40.

[491] Ibid, 40-41. See also, Chase Robinson, "Islamic Historical writing 700-1000" in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: 400-1400*, eds. Daniel Woolf Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 247-248. For the epistemology of the concept and meaning of originality, see Conal Condren, *The Status and Appraisal of Classic Texts: An Essay on Political Theory, Its Inheritance and on the History of Ideas* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 92-118.

[492] Hoyland, "History, Fiction and Authorship" 41. Also, Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 21-22

authorial attendance can be found in Arabised and Islamised words that might not be familiar to Arabic and Muslim readers in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. For instance, Muslim historians use the word Allāh when Alexander speaks to his people, his epistle to his mother, or his conversation with other kings, although some historians (like Miskawayh) did not believe that Alexander was a Muslim or a monotheist.[493] The word of Allāh is repeated frequently by Muslim historians on the tongue of other ancient kings who are again not monotheist such as Ardashīr and Anūshurwān (579 CE).[494]

The presence of compilers in Alexander history symbolises the voice and proxy of historical actors in historical accounts that appropriate a space to speak and express themselves by providing such historical accounts with dialogues between historical actors, proverbs spoken by them and religious, historical and poetic quotations. A good example can be found in al-Thaʿālibī's work in the section of the story on the journey of Alexander to Gog and Magog where he said: "there are no more comments on this story over what Allāh says in Quran. It is the most genuine and truthful one".[495] Then al-Thaʿālibī cited the Quranic verses in *Sūrat* of *al-Kahf* that talk about Gog and Magog and at the end of the section he concluded by reaffirming that "we do not need more evidence because these verses are sufficient and adequate in explaining the building of the dam".[496] Here al-Thaʿālibī is a bystander who could not give more information or opinion on this matter and becomes solely a compiler who surrenders to his source, which has absolute epistemic authority over him and other sources.

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[493] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 34. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 277. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 412. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 103. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 438. This mode relates to the mode of descriptive anachronism. See in Chapter Five, 5.1.1. Doctrinal Anachronism

[494] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 42. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 116-117, vol. 1, 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 38, 99. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1. 266-267, 295. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 126, 128, 180, 189. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 38, 46. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 462, 481. The familiarisation of terms reminds us of articulating a given subject meaning or literally *al-riwāyatu bi al-lafẓ aw al-maʿná*. Scholars of hadith discussed such issue on the ground that if narrators of hadiths have the right not to narrate them in a literal style as long as they convey the meaning and the intention of hadiths and have the aptitude and eligibility (like honesty and acquaintance with language and speech). See, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifat Anwāʿ ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth: Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Atar, (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1986). 213-217. See also the discussion of Aḥmad Shākir on the footnote of Ibn Kathīr's discussion about this topic. Abū al-Fidāʾ Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bāʿith al-Ḥathīth Sharḥ Ikhtiṣār ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir and commented by Nāṣir Al-Dīn Al-Albānī. Vol. 1. 1st ed. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Maʿārif, 1996), 399-404.

[495] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 440.

[496] Ibid, 442.

However, there is a potential presence of authors within compilers and actors, sides that emerge in diverting such conversations, quotations and proverbs along specific narrative routes that might serve authors' structural historical and intellectual aims. In the same quotations of sections of al-Thaʿālibī's work, the author used specific assertive words to exercise a rhetorical influence on his readers to accept his citations regarding the story of Alexander and Gog and Magog, and that people should not skip the Quranic explanation in favour of other cognitive sources that are lower than the Quran.[497] The duality of author and compiler implies that they are an integrative duality that lets the spectrum of authors permeate into the voices of the compilers and historical actors. Simultaneously, there is a reciprocal duality at the surface that pretends a rotational role between the authors and their subjects, which lets readers presume that the authors speak to them in some places, and the actors in others. The duality is consensual as authors sometimes agree with the actors of historical *akhbār* through describing and commenting on events or action, and sometimes the obverse. Indeed, the existence of the four framework categories confirms the various voices in Alexander history and the innovative attendance of Muslim historians, which challenges the Western standard of the meaning of originality.[498]

The second duality is speech and action (*qawl wa fiʿl*), which implies that historical texts in Alexander history are presented either by historical actors and dialogues among them, or by the actors taking actions. Both are intended and motivated and do not take place arbitrarily or aimlessly. They are a teleological causal performance that responds to previous speech and acts or future ones.

The relationship between speech and action takes three forms: starting with speech then action; starting with action then speech; and starting with action then speech then action.[499] Usually, speeches need actions. Such relational forms between the two parts are linked through narrative causes (synchronic dimension) or through temporal causes (diachronic dimension). The framework categories of dualism in the duality of speech and action embody consensual duality, in which historical texts leave space for action to translate speech of historical actors into action that explains the meaning,

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[497] This is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* analysis.
[498] This mode also relates to that of narrative realism. See in Chapter Five, 5.2.2. Narrative Realism.
[499] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-ḥaqīqī*.

intention, reasons and motives that underlie the speech. In contrast, the framework categories embodied in the obverse duality that is speech are reaction and expressive opposition, which are produced by a historical actor as against an action by another historical actor and vice versa.

Two examples might be useful to illustrate this. The first is when Alexander was dying and sent an epistle from Babylon to his mother asking her to make dinner and invite people to it and ask them to eat it except those who had lost someone from their families, relatives, friends and colleagues. But when his mother enacted his request, nobody came to the banquet and she asked why. The answer was:

> فقالوا لها: أنت منعتيهم من ذلك ، قالت: وكيف ؟ قيل لها: أمرت أن لا يجيبك من فقد
> محبوباً ، أو عدم خليلًا ، أو فارق حبيباً وليس فيهم أحد إلا وقد أصابه بعض ذلك ، فلما
> سمعت ذلك استيقظت وعلمت ما به سئلت ، وقالت: لقد عَزَّانِي ولدي أحسن العزاء.

> They told her, "You prevented them." She asked: "How is that?" They said, "You ordered those who lost someone from their beloved not to accept your request and yet everybody has lost someone". Then she paid attention and understood what she had asked and said: "My son found a good way to console me".[500]

This *khabar* is mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Maqdisī with differences between them in terms of length and details (epically the conversation between Alexander's mother and her servants).[501] The duality started with action (Alexander's sending the epistle and his request), followed by speech between his mother and servants, and this speech explained the intention and motives behind Alexander's epistle.

The second example is cited by al-Dīnawarī on the conflict between Alexander and Qindāqah, queen of al-Maghrib (probably North Africa). When Alexander heard how her kingdom was great in terms of its fertility and wealth, he sent her a letter to show how he gained glory and power and demanded her supplication, that she should convert to Islam and pay land tax, otherwise he would invade. Qindāqah replied:

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[500] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 323.
[501] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408-409.

> What made you write us this letter is your arrogance and despotism and if you wish to confront us, do, and you will taste defeat like others.[502]

Alexander invaded, and the campaign resulted in a treaty and conciliation between them.[503] Here, there is first motivation for Alexander that prompted him to make a type of speech formalised in a letter that led to a speech response in the same format that reaffirms the motivation and rejects the demands, which in return caused an action. The duality of speech and act in this *khabar* is obverse between the actors and their performative acts and speeches.[504] Speech and act could be present twice in one single *khabar* due to the textual nature of it - its historical details - or its historical importance, like Alexander's attempt to conquer China which ended with him meeting and making conversations with the Chinese king.[505]

The duality of speech and action in Arabic and Islamic historical narratives is common and it might be rooted in *ayyām al-ʿArab* stories that contain such duality which links parts of *khabar* in temporal and causal narrations.[506] This stylistic representation of past accounts continued to depict historical events and occurrences since the advent of Islam, whether via wars, political or religious interactions. But the duality in this Islamic history takes the four framework categories – integrative, consensual, obverse and reciprocal – rather than just two categories that emerge in Alexander history.

The third duality is two figures, which means that two people dominate and become the pivot of the scene of historical *akhbār* in Alexander history. Alexander seems to be a fixed part in this duality, which is unsurprising since he is the subject of his story. The duality takes reciprocal, obverse and integrative frameworks. The first is common among the eight historians and concretises royal succession – Alexander's succession

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[502] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 36.
[503] Ibid.
[504] The two examples are *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis.
[505] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 37. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 101-1-03. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 436-440. We will come to this example when we discuss the mode of structural anachronism. See in Chapter Five 5.1.2. Structural Anachronism.
[506] For the impact of ancient Arabs battles on Muslim historical writings, see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 19-21. Khālidī, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 63, 67. Al-Dūrī, *Nashʾat ʿIlm al-Tārīkh*, 19. This is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

of his father and Dārā's (330 CE) succession of his father.[507] Such succession sometimes comes as a consequence of obverse duality when one figure overcomes another and takes over his rule, such as Alexander and Dārā.[508] The reciprocal framework in the duality of the two figures emerges through the work of the eight historians even in the Islamic period basically in the matter of caliphates, with caliphs rather than kings.[509]

Second is the obverse duality that appears in the conflict between Alexander and other kings, especially Dārā, king of Persia. The obverse duality of two figures takes a dialectical dimension that shows how each has different views toward the world, power and belief that leads to confrontation between them which results in a new era.[510] Al-Ṭabarī presents Alexander and Dārā as the two main figures who face each other (with a brief mention of Alexander's father before Dārā).[511] Other historians display the obverse duality in other topics like Alexander and the king of China and yet such duality is not reciprocal, as it is with Dārā.[512] The obverse duality of two figures shows how Muslim historians conceive human conflict in history as binary

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[507] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 36. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 272-273, 279. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 323. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 95, 104. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408-409. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 440.

[508] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 33-34. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-577. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95-97. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402-411. As for Fūr, Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār Al-Ṭiwāl*, 35. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 118. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 97-98. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 416-421.

[509] See in Chapter Six 6.2.2 The concept of *tadāwul* and 6.2.1 The historical reflections of *tadāwul*.

[510] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār Al-Ṭiwāl*, 33-34. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-577. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95-97. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402-411.

[511] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-577.

[512] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 37. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 101-103. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 436-440. The obverse duality contains in its essence arguments between two sides and the narrative way they shaped reminds us of a prominent theme in Muslim tradition that is the discipline of research and debate *ādāb al-baḥth wa al-munāẓarah*, which highlights this historical phenomenon from different intellectual fields and how debaters tried to defend their view and in return refuting opposite ones. See, Abū al-Qāsim Al-Zajjāj, *Majālis al-ʿUlamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Salām Hārūn, 2nd ed, (Kuwait: Wizārat al-Iʿlām, 1984). Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Tārīkh al-Jadal*, (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 2003). Interestingly, al-Masʿūdī cites many sub-subjects relating to this issue that revolve around two figures who have different political, religious, literary and social perspectives. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 190-193, 214, 228-229, 239-242, 302-303, vol. 4, 21-23, 104-106. 163-166. It is possible that the narrative and rhetoric shape of the duality of two figures succumbed to the influence of *ādāb al-baḥth wa al-munāẓarah*, since the eight Muslim historians have literary and religious backgrounds that produced such cognitive field and, in addition, some of them had already used it in their works as appears in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūj*

between good and evil or believers and infidels.[513] Either way, this conception has Quranic elements, which symbolise some thematic concepts that revolve around the duality.[514]

Last is integrative duality between historical actors in historical *akhbār*, which incorporates various actors into two sides and actors. The most striking example is Alexander's eulogistic ceremony where philosophers including his teacher Aristotle, his mother and his wife stood in front of him to address their eulogy to him without making a group conversation between themselves.[515] In this respect, the historians put the mourners at one side and Alexander at the other and portrayed the scene as if there were only two actors. This integrative duality is seen in al-Maqdisī's account when he summarised the eulogistic ceremony in one sentence by saying:

> When Alexander was laid on his coffin, the wisemen, who used to accompany him, stood and gave eloquent speech.[516]

Yet, within this integrative duality of two figures, we notice a reciprocal element in other accounts (al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Thaʿālibī) when each mourner leaves the narrative scene to another to give their eulogy to Alexander.[517]

There is kind of gradual and sequential transmission among the reciprocal, obverse and integrative in the duality of two figures in Alexander history. It might start as reciprocal (Alexander succeeded his father) then obverse (Alexander's clash with Dārā and other kings) and finally integrative (Alexander's funeral ceremony). This sequential transmission again suggests that the dualism in general is not a fixed and solid binary between the narrative components of historical *akhbār* in Muslim historical writings and Alexander history.

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[513] Claude Gilliot, "Al-Ṭabarī And The 'History of Salvation" in *Al-Ṭabarī A Medieval Muslim Historian and His Work*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 2008), 138-139. This is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib + ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[514] R. S. Humphreys, "Qurʾanic Myth and Narrative Structure in Early Islamic Historiography" in *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity,* eds. P.M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 277-282.

[515] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184-186. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 320-324. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409.

[516] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409.

[517] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184-186. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1. 320-324. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409.

The last mode of dualism in the historiographical structure of Alexander is the duality of factuality and allegory (*al-ḥaqīqah wa al-majāz*), which denotes that the representative language used in Alexander history is factual and allegorical. The duality here is thematic and linguistic, the former in speech and act and the latter in representation and structure.[518]

Allegory surfaces in speeches, whether dialogues, addresses or letters and allegorical speeches have factual dimensions that take an integrative duality framework. In the Arabic tradition, the originality of allegory is factuality and stems from allegory.[519] The integrative framework is another aspect where the source of such speeches is taken from written texts and this performative is literal because the historians transmitted them.

Regarding actions in *akhbār*, Muslim historians who had literary backgrounds tended to use allegory more than others, as was the case with al-Thaʿālibī. He ornamented and rhetorised some events such as the war between Alexander and Fūr, which depicted it as fierce and unlikely to be settled between the two armies.[520] At the beginning of his book, al-Thaʿālibī justified using an ornamental and allegorical style by stating that he would adopt a belletrist style because their technique is influential and touching.[521] This leads us to look at also other historical circumstances that revolve around al-Thaʿālibī. He lived under the Ghaznavid dynasty where rulers patronised Persian and Arabic literature and one of their interests was to mix history with literature in a rhetoric style, and al-Thaʿālibī responded to this and sought to meet his audience's needs.[522]

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[518] For factuality and allegory in Arabic historical writings, see Stefan Leder, 'Conventions of Fictional Narration in Learned Literature' In *Story-telling in the Framework of Non-Fictional Arabic Literature*, ed. Stefan Leder, 34–60 (Germany: Harrassowitz, 1998). Leder, "The Literary Use of the Khabar", 309-313.

[519] Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir*, vol. 1. 89. See also al-Bāqillānī, *Al-Taqrīb wa al-Irshād*, vol. 1, 358.

[520] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 416-421.

[521] Ibid, L.

[522] For more details about the Ghaznavid dynasty, see Abū al-Faẓl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh al-Bayhaqī*, trans. Yaḥyā Al-Khashshāb and Ṣādiq Nashʾat (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1982). Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk Kardīzī, *Kitāb Zayn al-Akhbār*, trans. ʿAfāf Al-Sayyid Zidān, (Cairo: Al-Majlis al-Aʿlá li al-Thaqāfah, 2006), 251-288. Clifford Edmund. Bosworth, *Ghaznavids: their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Librairie du

Muslim historians of philosophical and religious backgrounds tended to depend less on allegory in describing actions. In contrast to al-Thaʿālibī, Miskawayh describes the war between Alexander and Fūr through literal and factual language that focuses on military tricks and techniques instead of the difficulties the two armies faced.[523] Although the language is different between the two historians in this *khabar*, they nevertheless share the same feature in that they sought to present practical and moral lessons and rhetoric influences, which are among the main epistemic functions of historical *akhbār* in Muslim historical writings. By no means did those historians with philosophical and religious backgrounds not use allegory at all, but they preferred to use hidden allegory in what is called cognitive allegory (*al-majāz al-ʿAqlī*) which means:

> [A]ttributing the meaning of the verb to someone or something other than what is referred to by the verb itself as it appears in the proposition.[524]

Al-Ṭabarī, who is seen as a traditionalist Sunni scholar, uses this type of allegory, for instance when he says some Persians went to Alexander and showed him Dārā's loins (*'awrah*) and in other *khabar* when the war between these two kings broke out, al-Ṭabarī points out how the grudges of Dārā's companions moved against him.[525] Rationality, the exposure of *'awrah* and the movement of grudges do not happen but such actions were attributed to them for rhetorical influence and strong linguistic emphasis on such shifting action in the conflict between Alexander and Dārā. Another cognitive allegory can be found in al-Maqdisī's description of the death of Alexander.[526] Cognitive allegory in their writings shows a reciprocal framework of duality because actual and supposed actions are replaced by others. The existence of allegory implies that Muslim historians from various intellectual backgrounds could not escape allegorical language.

Liban, 1973). Waldman, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative*, 30-38. This is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab*).

[523] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 98.

[524] Hussein Abdul-Raof, *Arabic Rhetoric: a Pragmatic Analysis*, (London; Routledge, 2006), 212.

[525] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572, 576.

[526] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409.

The four modes of duality incline to allow historians to practise a process which recasts and reshapes absorbed historical *akhbār* in their works "to stress or attenuate and to add or drop certain elements".[527]

4.2.2 Emplotment

The dualism brings us to the second mode in narrative explanation, emplotment. In the Alexander history under consideration, there are two modes of emplotment, tragedy and romance, and three features relating to the textual link between them. Like dualism, these two modes have the four dual frameworks discussed earlier: integrative, consensual, reciprocal and obverse. These frameworks govern the plot aspect between tragedy and romance and confirm the attendance of dualism and its dynamic multiplicity. Secondly, there is generality and specificity (*ʿumūm wa khuṣūṣ*) between the modes of tragedy and romance in that some Muslim historians emplot Alexander history as tragedy, yet within it there is historical *khabar* that inclines to be romance and vice versa, and these generality and specificity have integrative and reciprocal dimensions to them. Finally, there is a crucial moment within the narrative process of tragedy and romance when the story or one of its historical *akhbār* reaches its climax that would turn the textual scene to different detour.[528] Such climactic points exercise linguistic and narrative assertiveness and thereby an influence on readers to show them the watershed moments in history. This narrative climax does not arrive suddenly, but rather there is a gradual narrative process the paves the way for it and hence prepares the readers for it. This rhetoric modulatory turn is known in the Arabic tradition as *al-iltifāt* (apostrophe or turning around), which is defined as 'the swerving from a certain style of speech to another one that is contrary to the former'.[529] Muslim rhetorists and scholars believe that what distinguishes Arabic language is *al-iltifāt* since Arabs used to use it in their prose and poetry by virtue of it having influence on discourse and therefore its recipients. According to al-Nasafī (710/1310):

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[527] For the quotation, see Stefan Leder, "The Use of Composite Form", 129.

[528] White refers to climax of emplotment in his discussion of the concept of realism in Georg Lukács's works. White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, 279.

[529] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-Sāʾir*, vol. 2, 135-150. Yaḥyá b. Ḥamzah al-ʿAlawī, *Al-Ṭirāz li Asrār al-Balāgha wa ʿUlūm Ḥaqāʾiq Al-Iʿjāz*, 1st ed. Vol. 2, (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyyah, 2002), 71.

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والعرب يستكثرون منه ويرون الكلام إذا انتقل من أسلوب إلى أسلوب أدخل في القبول عند السامع.

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> And Arabs use it frequently and believe that if speech moves from one style to another, it will be well received by the listener.[530]

Such rhetoric mode has narrative transformation in terms of style and meaning due to the nature of the narrated historical story that necessitates a diversity that expresses its nature (and here is the role of meaning) and the nature of its writers, who do not rely on one style because their audience is not familiar with a monocular style (and here is the role of style). Having said that, *al-iltifāt* inclines to be the narrative connection between the modes of emplotment and then between writer and his readers.[531]

4.2.2.1 Tragedy

The first example of tragedy we meet in Alexander history is Dārā's defeat and death. The historical *khabar* from different Muslim historians tells us how Dārā's epistles to Alexander show his confidence in his power and his underestimation of his opponent. He prepared a huge army to face his enemy, who was in a critical situation. After days of fighting, he was defeated when two of his men betrayed and murdered him, and from this point the *khabar* reaches its climax that tips the scales of power in favour of Alexander and Dārā then became the weaker side in the narrative equation. This *iltifāt* is just the beginning of the tragedy and the *khabar* continues and reports that he did not die immediately, but was dying and Alexander came to him and put Dārā's head on his arms and started crying for him and then a tragic dialogue ensued between the two kings. In this dialogue, historians recount that Alexander expressed respect for Dārā as a prestigious king and sorrow for his sudden and miserable end.[532] Al-Thaʿālibī does not settle for the tragic sides expressed by Alexander, but he and al-Dīnawarī add *Nihāyat al-Arab*'s account of Dārā's tragic speech to Alexander:

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اعتبر بي كيف كنت أمس وكيف أنا اليوم. ألست الذي كان يهابني الملوك ويذعنون لي بالطاعة ويتقونني بالإتاوة؟ وها أنا ذا اليوم صريع فريد بعد الجنود الكثيرة والسلطان العظيم.

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[530] Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī, *Madārik al-Tanzīl wa Ḥaqāʾiq al-Taʾwīl*, ed. Yūsuf Badawī, 1st ed. Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib, 1998), 31.

[531] The point of *iltifāt* is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[532] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 34. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 573-574. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 96-97. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 408-411.

> Take me as an example as to how I was yesterday and how I am today. Am I not the one whom other Kings feared, obeyed and showered with gifts out of fear? Yet here I am today, murdered and alone though I had many soldiers and grand authority.[533]

Dārā's death and what ensues from the end of the Persian Empire mark an ironic tragedy that displays the collapse of an arrogant, tyrannical and powerful king, defeated by a nascent ambitious nation that was recently weak and divided.[534] It also has integrative duality as the tragic death of Dārā was romantic for Alexander who won the battle that paved the way to his later achievements. Climatic *iltifāt* occurs in two stages beginning with the murder of Dārā which is an action, and then the dialogue between the two kings, which is a speech that summarises the tragic scene of the Persian king. It appears that tragedy is one of the favourite emplotments for Muslim historians to characterise the decline of states, nations and civilisations whether by external or internal forces. Tragic emplotment operates narrative assertion on the significance of the end of a power and its aftermath in the movement of human history, whether negative or positive. The clear examples in Islamic history that are dramatised in a severe tragedy are the killing of the third caliph Uthmān b. ʿAffān (35/656), the killing of the grandson of Prophet Muhammad al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (61/680), the end of the Sasanid dynasty during the first caliphate and the end of the Umayyad caliphate by the Abbasid revolution in 132/750.[535] All of these events were watersheds in Muslim historical memory that changed the trajectory of history in their society. This not only accumulates historical data about them, but also shows narrative emplotment that properly and coherently conveys their importance, effect and lessons to the Muslim society, and tragedy seems to be the preferred mode.[536]

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[533] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 34. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 410. See also *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 121.

[534] For the representation of Dārā's death in Muslim tradition, see Pierre Briant, *Darius In The Shadow Of Alexander*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 401-405.

[535] Many contemporary studies focus on these historical phenomena, for example: Yousef Bennaji, "Echoes of the Fall of the Umayyads in Traditional and Modern Sources: A Case Study of the Final Eight Years of the Umayyad Empire with Some Reference to Gramsci's Theory of Cultural Hegemony" (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2015). M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History*, (London: Routledge, 2015). 35-45. Shoshan, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography*, 173-208, 233-252. Heather Nina Keaney, *Remembering Rebellion*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 38-45.

[536] This is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab + ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

Tragedy, especially in death, seems to be like a narrative inevitability that even Alexander in the eyes of some Muslim historians could not escape from. The tragedy begins at a point that explains how Alexander was going to return to his homeland after he had extended his conquests further than any king had done before him, when he had subjugated many countries, eliminated many enemies and many kings paid him homage.[537] This glorious narrative moment amounts to its climax, as it is epitomised by al-Maqdisī in one sentence:

"فلما استوسقت له الأمور و ألقت إليه بأزمّتها.

When all matters and affairs surrendered to him and were rendered under his control[538]

Such *khabar* makes acute *iltifāt* when Alexander became fell sick and his health deteriorated that he felt desperate to recover though the efforts to save him from death had failed.

Al-Thaʿālibī makes this tragic *iltifāt* topical by saying

وكانت الدنيا تسير بسيره، كرّت عليه الأيام بارتجاع ما أعطته واستلاب ما كسته

And life (*dunyā*) was aligned with his movements and then it attacked him and took back what it had given him.[539]

This tragedy has reciprocal duality in that it begins with a romantic emplotment that magnifies and recapitulates Alexander's achievements and then leaves the narrative scene for tragedy that portrays how Alexander is under its outreaching arm and unable to shake loose. The tragedy goes further and is narrativised in a different *khabar* formulisation when Alexander was dead and the eulogistic ceremony was held for him by philosophers and his family.[540] What is important is that most of the speeches were tragic in sarcastic and ironic ways and speakers explained how Alexander was in

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[537] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab,* vol. 1, 319-320, 323. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 447-448.
[538] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408.
[539] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 448.
[540] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184-186. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 320-322. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 450-455.

his life but now he was just a dead body which had left everything behind. Such speeches resemble the tragedy of Dārā's speech to Alexander when he was dying.[541]

Although al-Masʿūdī portrays Alexander's death in a verbose tragic way, he does not do so with Dārā's death. The reason may lie in the nature of his book *Murūj al-Dhahab,* which inclines towards cultural, intellectual and geographical aspects of history instead of political and military ones. Thus al-Masʿūdī says after very brief mention of the conflict between Alexander and Dārā "and we dealt with the story of his killing (Dārā) and the killing of other Indian kings and other eastern kings in *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ*".[542] With regard to al-Aṣfahānī, though he has Persian sympathies and admiration for ancient Persians, he does not describe Dārā's and Alexander's deaths tragically but rather gives a lukewarm ironic tragedy for both by allocating only a brief paragraph in which he refers only to the betrayal by the Persian guards that led to Dārā's death without any further narrative details about the battle between the two kings. After that, the author recounts that when Alexander decided to return to Babel after conquering India and the eastern regions, he died because of poison.[543] It might be understandable that al-Aṣfahānī does not give an account of Alexander's death with tragic sadness since he had a Persian tendency; and yet this omission to this type of tragedy in the case of Darā's death is another issue.[544]

4.2.2.2 Romance

Some of the eight historians prefer to put Alexander history in general into a romantic pattern rather than a tragic one. The romantic process begins by illustrating the political situation of the Greek nation before Alexander's birth and its defeat by the Persian Empire which resulted in acknowledging its sovereignty and paying protection tax (Jizyah). This changed dramatically when Alexander came to power and from this moment, we witness a narrative (*iltifāt*) in the trajectory of Alexander history which reached its climax in his victory over the Persian Empire. This is epitomised in al-Ṭabarī's statement:

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[541] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184-186. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 323. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 450-455.

[542] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318. Here is textual *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* analysis.

[543] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 64.

[544] This is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).

Greek rule had become centralised, whereas before Alexander it was dispersed; Persian rule was dispersed, whereas before Alexander it had been centralised.[545]

The *iltifāt* escalates gradually as if it wants to show how each stage and challenge in Alexander's life was overcome, which paved the way for him to attain more achievements that are embodied in the duality of independence (*istiqlāl*) and unity (*tawḥīd*) which in turn seem to be linked to each other by the narrative stress on Alexander's victories. The general romantic emplotment mode in Alexander history can be found in al-Dīnawarī, al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh and they choose to narrativise it in this mode through all stages until the death of Alexander, settling for only stating that he had died (although Miskawayh does not mention it at all) and then mentioning the names of cities that he built which immortalise him.[546] Romance as a general plot structure seems to be used in the case of some Muslim rulers and caliphs in Muslim historical writings, like some Umayyad caliphs such as Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and his son al-Walīd and some Abbasid caliphs, such as al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Muʿtaḍid.[547]

The most striking feature is that most of those who narrativise Dārā's death in a tragic plot (al-Dīnawarī, al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh) depict the end of Alexander in a rough romantic way.[548] By doing this, these historians exercise three types of duality's frameworks: reciprocal, integrative and obverse. The first appears in leaving the scope of the tragedy of Dārā's death to pave the way for Alexander to accomplish more, starting with the unity of the Greeks, then the liberation from Persian hegemony and finally the establishment of a new empire that symbolises a new era in history. The second was the tragedy of Dārā's death which had both a tragic and romantic face. Such integration takes another dual dimension, that Alexander's romantic end contains a specific and particular tragedy in Dārā's death. The third is that giving

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[545] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of Al-Ṭabarī: The Ancient Kingdoms*, trans. Moshe Perlmann, vol. IV, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 88-89.
[546] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 103.
[547] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 296-300. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 204-216. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 495-499, vol. 10. 86. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 157-173, vol. 4, 143-185. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 692, 736. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 2, 30-37, vol. 3. 461, 480. Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil + al-munfaṣil* analysis.
[548] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 39. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol, 1, 578. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 103

different modes of emplotment for the two kings indicates that the end of the unjust and defeated king in the eyes of these Muslim historians is the obverse end of the just and victorious king.

One issue which should be addressed is why al-Dīnawarī does not depict Alexander's end in a tragic way as al-Thaʿālibī does, since both seem to depend heavily on *Nihāyat al-Arab*'s work, which finalises Alexander's end in the tragic mode.[549] The answer might lie in the textual and structural context of al-Dīnawarī's work which suggests that he prefers to conclude the end of just and victorious rulers in a brief and tranquil way as if they deserve a romantic end due to what they had achieved in their lives. The first and second caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are a case of point. Al-Dīnawarī does not give an account of how they died or the reasons for their deaths but depicts the killing of ʿAlī in a tragic way as his reign was not romantic, but rather a tragic one.[550] This applies equally to Miskawayh, who does not portray the death of Prophet Muḥammad and his first two successors in tragic ways.

The biographical story of Prophet Muḥammad is dominated by two narrative modes: tragedy and romance, whether at the general or specific level.[551] Since it is the cornerstone of Muslim historical writings of biographies, these two modes pervade them and formulate them in similar ways as the biography of the Prophet. This premise also goes for Alexander history as the modes that dominate it are tragedy and romance.

Table 1. Table of the modes of rhetorical explanation

	Al-Dīnawarī	Al-Yaʿqūbī	Al-Ṭabarī	Al-Masʿūdī	Al-Aṣfahānī	Miskawayh	Al-Maqdisī	Al-Thaʿālibī
Duality (author/compiler)	+		+			+		+
Duality (speech/act)	+	+		+			+	
Duality (figures)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Duality (allegory/fact)			+				+	+
Tragedy	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
Romance	+		+			+		+

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[549] *Nihāyat Al-Arab*, 166-158. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 447-454.
[550] Here is textual *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* analysis.
[551] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 239-657, vol. 3, 9-199.

4.3 Argument explanation

Before analysing the four modes of argument explanation, this section will give a general outline of it and then analyse its modes: contextualisation, causation, inductive probe and attribution.[552]

4.3.1 General outline of argument explanation

The existence of argument explanation's modes in Muslim historical writings indicates two crucial conclusions. First of all, it does not entail that Muslim historians were right about their evaluative judgments to historical *akhbār* or that they always employed such modes in appropriate ways that enabled them to convince their readers about judgments. Understanding this remark is important because it is relevant to the second point that some contemporary scholars and writers, who think that most of the early Muslim historians did not practise any kind of analytical writings or apply critical reading to their sources and on the contrary such historians (according to this view), were at the mercy of their sources and succumbed to myths and superstitions stories.[553] The problem is that such a claim is confused in the distinction between three aspects: the existence of critical and analytical devices alongside an ability to use them in judgment; the identification of such devices with their results and intentions; and the concept of credibility and possibility of historical *akhbār* that are taken from one culture and time to another, and in the case of Arabic and Islamic traditions, they revolve around truth, falsehood and uncertainty. Some of them think that the epistemic roles of historical *akhbār* are solely concerned with moral lessons or aesthetic that fall under the canopy of rhetoric influence and hence the task of Muslim historians was simply compiling, categorising and linking between historical *akhbār,* resulting in an ornamented historical story.[554] It is a perspective that sees Muslim historians as merely compilers and ignores other aspects of the epistemic

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[552] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[553] On al-Ṭabarī, see Alī, *Mawārid Tārīkh Al-Ṭabarī*, 69, 92. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 76. In general: Salīm, *Niẓām Al-Zamān Al-ʿArabī: Dirāsah Fī Al-Tārīkhiyyat Al-ʿArabiyyah Wa Al-Islāmiyyah* (Beirut: Makraz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-ʿArabiyyah, 2006), 110, 113-114, 119. Al-ʿAẓmah. *Al-Kitābah Al-Tārīkhiyyah*, 25-26, 37, 41. Gustave E. V. Grunebaum. *Medieval Islam; A Study in Cultural Orientation*. (Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1953), 281. Here is *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*manʿ*).

[554] Radtke, "Toward a Topology of Abbasid Universal Chronicles". 11–13. Also: Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 281. El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 13-15, 217-218.

nature of historical *akhbār* that make them authors. It appears that the judgmental side is absent in this view, which means that the role of facts and their functions are not on the list of purposes of writing history in the Muslim tradition. This view blurs the epistemological features between history and fictional literature and makes them out to be one literary branch. In response to this claim, Boaz Shoshan points out the analytical and critical intervention of the Muslim historians (al-Ṭabarī, for example) and states:

> The absence of an explicit authorial voice is no guarantee of a constantly neutral stand, when other mechanisms of representation, such as the very selection – as pointed out by Hodgson himself – and (which is the other side of coin) suppression of information, are at work. Ṭabarī can and, indeed does, use these and other options to communicate his view on crucial historical subjects, and on variety of minor matters […] for a reader who is not satisfied with a simplistic story and who is ready to face challenges, Tabarī – so Hodgson maintains – is willing to provide the leads such a reader requires.[555]

Lastly, there are similarities between some modes of argument explanation and some of jurisprudential theory. History in this period was a secondary discipline and not separated from the general intellectual milieu, and historians were not specialised at that time. Although Ibn Qutaybah (276/889) and Ibn al-Nadīm (380/990) subsume historians under the canopy of genealogists and *akhbāriyyīn*, they do not give them an independent status like other disciplines.[556] Thus, many argumentative modes or analytical and critical tools would be common to other epistemic fields and might permeate and affect each other, and the modes of contextualisation and inductive probe in argument explanation are a case in point. As long as there is epistemological complementarity and overlapping between different intellectual fields in Muslim tradition and as long as some of the eight Muslim historians have judicial backgrounds, the conclusion is that there are similarities between the modes of contextualisation and inductive probe in argument explanation and their counterparts in jurisprudential theory.

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[555] Shoshan, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography*, 120. For Hodgson's view, see *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 352-353. Similar notes can be found in Khalil Athamina, "The Sources of Al-Balāthurī's Ansāb Al-Ashrāf", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 5 (1984): 243-244.

[556] Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Maʿārif*, 534-539. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, vol. 1, 276-356. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 5-7.

The modes of argument explanation that are found in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings are contextualisation, inductive probe, mechanism and attribution.

4.3.2 Contextualisation

The mode of contextualisation seems to be the most common one used by the eight Muslim historians in their writings about Alexander. We can go further and argue that by comparing Alexander history with other historical topics and stories in Muslim historical writings, we notice that contextualism becomes identical with historical argument explanation; that means contextualisation is like historisation and this sub-section will demonstrate it.[557]

Contextualisation in Alexander history is divided into two types. First is textual context that links two historical events or issues in causal or chronological-temporal ones and takes conjunctional and associative form between two textual sentences or paragraphs.[558] For instance, some Muslim historians cite the reasons for Alexander's colliding with other kingdoms as due to his ambition to put an end to Persian control, establish his own empire and even spread his beliefs.[559] Another is that when al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh explain the transition of rule from Alexander's family to another one:

> When Alexander died, the realm was offered to his son Alexander, but he refused for he preferred piety and worship. They say the Greeks made Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, king.[560]

Regardless of the accuracy of information, they try to give reasons and relate to judgment and explanation rather lessons and rhetoric. Nevertheless, the explanation by textual contextualisation does not entail that the causal link between the sides of historical *khabar* is certain, but it is one possible option even though the Muslim historians mentioned just one reason.

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[557] In this study, historicisation is to trace the development and changes of a given past event within time.

[558] Al-ʿArawī calls this type of explanation by array *nasaq*. Al-ʿArawī, *Mafhūm al-Tārīkh*, 295-298.

[559] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 32-33. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol.1, 183. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572, 576. Mikawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1. 95. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318, 324. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33, 64. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402, 416.

[560] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 95. Mikawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 104.

In this type of contextual argument, Muslim historians recast and reshape their sources and shed light on textual tensions in historical events that cause military conflicts between Alexander and other kings, and the succession to Alexander. If they had not mentioned them in conjunctional form that stems from their sources, it would not have given any explanation for historical changes that took place. Al-Ṭabarī places emphasis on textual context in his exegesis and how looking at context will reveal the intended meaning of Quranic verses.[561]

Another point is that there is similarity between this type of context, *iltifāt* and textual climax in modes of emplotment in that both shed light on textual changes in Alexander history that give it more dynamic and efficacy. However, there are two differences between them. Firstly, textual context concerns judgment and persuasion, whereas *iltifāt* and textual climax concern incorporeal influence, and second, the textual context deals with all changes, while *iltifāt* and textual climax deal with crucial ones. Textual context also resembles the duality of speech and acts as one of the modes of dualism and the same epistemic differences that apply to it, *iltifāt* and textual climax can be applied here. This type of contextual explanation also appears in other topics in Muslim historical writings, for example, when Muslim historians talk about motivations and reasons that prompted Prophet Muḥammad to leave Mecca and ask for help from Taif and his later success with the al-Aws and al-Khazraj tribes. Both *akhbār* were explained by a textual connected contextual argument that seeks to prove their point and how their outcomes gave rise to changes in the history of Islam.[562]

The second type of context is explanatory and comparative and recalls the context of a given text to construe consequences of historical events or problematics of some historical issues. First is al-Masʿūdī when discussing the Greeks and Alexander and the origin of these people. He explains this historical complexity by laying out the confusion between Greeks and Rūm because their homelands were adjacent and they

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[561] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 2, 217, vol. 7, 674. Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis.
[562] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol.1, 355-358. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 344, 347-354. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 513, 518-520. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá Al-Balāthurī, *Jumal min Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār and Riyāḍ Al-Ziriklī, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1996), 237-239. Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil + al-munfaṣil* analysis.

had culture and language in common.[563] His interest in geography led him to contextualise the issue of Greeks and Romans geo-historically.[564] Al-Yaʿqūbī uses his geo-historical thought to solve this issue contextually.[565] Al-Masʿūdī makes use of context when he shows that the reason for naming the minaret of Alexandria after Alexander was the fame of Alexander as a conqueror.[566] As for al-Thaʿālibī and the *khabar* of Alexander after seizing the Persian Empire, he took its wealth and transferred it into his own land (which al-Thaʿālibī calls Rūm), and that is why Rūm became the wealthiest land.[567] Al-Aṣfahānī explains the reason for omitting Persian kings before the Sasanid dynasty by virtue of Alexander killing Persian wisemen, scientists and elites, and burning their books.[568] All of these historians want to demonstrate an existential judgment over the historical issues they face when they talk about Alexander's *akhbār*. Al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī and al-Aṣfahānī tend to look at the external context of their texts instead of the internal one when giving their judgments. Nevertheless, there is potential evaluative judgment inside the existential one (especially in the case of al-Aṣfahānī) that attempts to repudiate Alexander's action and blame him for the loss of reliable historical accounts of the pre-Sasanid period. Al-Aṣfahānī seems to apply the explanatory and comparative context argument to Islamic history: in his chapters on Muslim rulers who governed Khurasān (Khorasan) and Ṭabaristān (Mazindaran), stating that people of Khurasān helped establish the Abbasid caliphate, while people of Ṭabaristān helped rescue and protect it (and here al-Aṣfahānī means the Buyid family, as he lived during their rule).[569] The voice of the historians is clearer than the textual narrative contextual argument and their judgmental perspectives and intellectual tendencies toward certain topics are clear.

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[563] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vo. 1, 315.
[564] For his geographical thought, see M. Shafi, "Al-Masʿūdī as Geographer" in *al-Masʿūdī Millenary Commemoration*, eds. S. Maqbul Ahmad and A. Rahman, 72-76, (Aligarh: Indian Institute for the History of Science: Institute of Islamic Sciences, 1960.) Here is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).
[565] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol .1, 186. Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).
[566] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 416.
[567] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 416.
[568] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 20-21.
[569] Ibid, 164.

Recalling historical context that revolves around a historical *khabar* to explain the reasons that underlie it is applied to other historical topics in Muslim universal historical writings, such as when al-Ṭabarī rationalises his mention of the story of two Arabic kings of al-Ḥīrah (southern Iraq):

> What we mentioned here about Jadhīmah and his nephew ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, flowed from our previous discussion of the kings of the Yaman whose reigns were not orderly. A chieftain among them was ruler over his province (*mikhlāf*) and region (*maḥjar*) only, not beyond that. If any of them deviated from this, or distinguished himself and went beyond this limitation by advancing well beyond his province, then it was due rather to his personality and not entrenched rule, or ancestry and progeny. It was similar to what happens to some exceptional bandit who raids district after district, surprising the people, but when pursued, he shows no stability. Such was the case of the rulers of the Yaman. One after the other would sometimes emerge from his province and region and gain something on his march, but he would then rush home in fear of pursuit. No one would show allegiance to him, other than the people of his province, nor would they pay him taxes. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, Jadhīmah's nephew, whose story we have recounted, became a ruler (in the same way) as his progeny did, that is, in the fashion practiced by the Arabs in the environs of Iraq and the *bādiyah* of the Hijaz.[570]

However, in a very short comment in Alexander history, al-Ṭabarī combines the textual and the circumstantial contexts to decipher the intention of Alexander's speech to Dārā by recalling a historical issue that he mentioned early in his book and which is related to the conflict between the two kings.[571]

4.3.3 Causation

Causation (*al-sababiyyah*) means that every action, act and event is determined or took place as a result of causes, and as al-Ṭabarī puts it, "there is a cause for everything".[572] There are two types of cause in Alexander history in Muslim universal

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[570] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 149.

[571] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 197, 377-378, 576. We will come later to this historical *khabar* in Chapter Five 5.2.1 Explanatory realistic mode.

[572] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History,* vol. V, 183. For *sabab*, see al-Tahānūnī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt Al-Funūn*, vol. 1, 924-926. Arnaldez, R., Izzi Dien, Mawil Y., Heinrichs, W.P. and Carter, M.G., "Sabab" in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Ed.: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 22 February 2017 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0951 First published online: 2012 First print edition: ISBN: 9789004161214, 1960-2007

historical writings and both seem to reflect the intellectual thought of the eight Muslim historians being studied: a deterministic mechanical cause and a free voluntary one. These argument explanations of reason have also dual relationships in terms of integration, reciprocal and obverse.[573]

The first is deterministic and mechanical and shows there are "causal laws", as White says, that transcend historical events and actions and govern and guide them in a given direction.[574] This type tends to present history in a predictable and repeatable way as long as historians discover the causal laws and understand their processes and elements. By assigning general principles in judging history means that the explanation by causal argument depends on deductive argument that measures historical events and actions according to laws that are fixed and unchangeable. By doing that, the mechanical cause tries to reveal the fixed essence of history that shows the unchangeable and primary aspects of its movement. However, this does not mean that historians are unable to analyse historical accounts. On the contrary, they use such causality by embracing certain intellectual thoughts and because deterministic causes at the time in question try to convince their readers of the soundness of their argument. The deterministic and mechanical cause in Alexander history appears in geography and fate (*al-qadar*) which express natural and divine manifestations. An example of natural reason is Aristotle's epistle to Alexander advising him not to kill Persian nobles:

ولو قتلتهم لأنبت البلد أمثالهم لأنّ إقليم بابل يولّد أمثال هؤلاء الرجال، من أهل العقول والسداد في الرأي، والاعتدال في التركيب، فصاروا أعداءك وأعداء عقبك بالطبع، لأنّك تكون قد وترت القوم، وكثرت الأحقاد على أرض الروم منهم وممن بعدهم.

> [E]ven if you kill them، the country will produce others like them because the province of Babylon generates such men who are wise,

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[573] Albrecht Noth points out to causal links and on the other hand non-causal links that go under the name of schemata such as "pseudo-causes, etiologies, and rhetorical formulae of transition". Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 57-58, 173. Albeit he gives some examples of the latter that clarify it, he does not define the former or give examples for it. This lack of explanation results from not distinguishing between rhetoric and argumentative explanations. Plus the issue of causes is one of the modes of the argumentative explanation that aims to evaluative and judgmental values. As for non-causal links they might subsume under rhetorical explanation, basically with al-iltifāt tactic or duality or to some extent textual contextualisation. In fact, Noth replied to himself by concluding his discussion of formulae of transition that Muslim historians "tell series of story, but they tell us no history". Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 177. It means such type of schemata concern with rhetoric sides and argumentative side.
[574] White, *Metahistory*, 16.

intelligent, and of moderation. Then they will become your enemies
and the enemies of your offspring, of course, because you would have
killed their people and increased hatred on the land of Rūm and those
who come after them.[575]

It is thought that Aristotle believed in the impact of the location of a given area on its
residents in terms of their physical and mental abilities, behaviour and mood and,
above all, creating a cultural and civilised system.[576] This kind of explanation inclines
to correspond with Aristotle's logical thought which depends on deductive process
(*al-istinbāṭ*), which means to set out from a known premise to reach a conclusion.[577]
Muslim geographers in the third/ninth century embraced Greek geographical thought
that divided Earth into seven areas (*aqālīm*, plural of *iqlīm*) and one was Babylon
(modern Iraq) and Persia circle.[578] Some Muslims who were influenced by Greek
philosophy adopted this opinion, among whom were historians like al-Masʿūdī and al-
Maqdisī.[579] Beside this intellectual influence, their regional backgrounds (all of them
used to live in this area and some were Persian) might also have prompted them to
accept the argument of geographical determinism to explain the failure of Greek
hegemony in the Iraq-Persia circle.[580].

As for *al-qadar*, it is unclear whether the Muslim historians embraced it as
deterministic in history since some do not articulate their theological and
philosophical views, or at least the rest of their works have not reached us yet.
Predeterminism (*al-jabriyyah*) in Islamic tradition refers to the belief that *al-qadar* is
unavoidable and governs everything, including human actions and human fate and

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[575] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 100.

[576] Arisṭū Ṭālīs, *al-Siyāsah*, ed. Bartilmī Santhilis, trans. Aḥmad Luṭfī Al-Sayyid (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿĀmmah li al-Kitāb, 2008), 372-373.

[577] Arisṭū, *Manṭiq Arisṭū*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Badawī, vol. 1 (Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1980), 142-143, 147.

[578] Ighnāṭyūs Kratshkūfiskī [Ignaty Krachkovsky], *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfī al-ʿArabī*, trans. Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim, vol. 1 (Cairo: Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa al-Tarjamah: Jāmiʿat al-Duwal al-ʿArabiyyah, 1963), 101-102.

[579] Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 48-49. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 483.

[580] Miskawayh discusses free will and determinism in other works, and he seems to be in the middle,
albeit he does not articulate explicitly his opinion about natural causality. See, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī
and Miskawayh, *Al-Hawāmil wa al-Shawāmil*, eds. Aḥmad Amīn and al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr, (Cairo;
al-Hayʾah al-ʿĀmmah li Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, repr, 2001), 256-262. Probably al-Yaʿqūbī's omission of
geographical causality is to some extent due to that his view differentiates from Greek view in terms of
asserting the mainlands. See: Maḍiūf ʿAbd al-Malik Al-Farrā, *Al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Kātib al-ʿAbbāsī al-
Jughrāfī al-Muʾarrikh wa Ṣāḥib Kitāb Mushākalat al-Nās li Zamānihim* (Doha: Maṭābiʿ Qaṭar al-
Waṭaniyyah, 1984), 52-58.

that there is no space for human freedom or independence that offer choices in their lives.[581] An example can be drawn from Alexander history in Muslim historical writings. Al-Dīnawarī reports that the first caliph Abū Baker al-Ṣiddīq sent ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ṣāmit to the king of Rūm in al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah (Constantinople), and when he met him, the king brought out something like a box and took from it black rags and each one had a picture of a famous prophet, including Muḥammad. At the end of this *khabar,* the king of Rūm said to ʿUbayd Allāh that this box was in the hand of Alexander and that his successors inherited it one after the other.[582] In this unique historical *khabar*, the author gives two interpretive indications. The first is to determine the legitimate lineage between Prophet Muḥammad and other prophets and second, to show how Muslims eventually would take over other empires following Alexander. In other words, the black rag represents two aspects: Islam and Muslims are the ultimate religions and empires, respectively. Al-Dīnawarī does not espouse the ultimate and extreme fatalist view, but such *khabar* at least could tell us how mechanic causation exercises an effect on his historical writings.[583]

The second type is voluntary cause and stems from independent actions of people, alongside the circumstances around them in a given time, that would eventually lead to consequences and changes. The actions happen because of free will, realisation and ability that stem from the human self. These three parts constitute the meaning of effectiveness: *al-fāʿiliyyah*, which is the opposite of causality; *ʿilliyyah*, since *al-fāʿiliyyah* leans on probability whereas *ʿilliyyah* leans on certainty.[584] Voluntary causality rejects deterministic and mechanical explanation of argument, but at the same time, refuses coincidence (*al-ṣudfah*) that blurs finality of *al-ghāʾiyyah* in human action. An example is the reason for the discontent felt by Persians toward Emperor Dārā. Muslim historians expound that he was a tyrant, oppressed and killed people, and subsequently his people and his army hated him and some of them

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[581] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Al-Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Amīr Muhannā and ʿAlī Fāʿūr, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1993), 97-104. W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London: Luzac & Company LTD, 1948), 96-99.
[582] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 22-23.
[583] Discussion of this type of causality with its examples is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil + al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).
[584] Fārūq Aḥmad Al-Dusūqī, *Al-Qaḍāʾ wa al-Qadar Fī al-Islām*, vol. 2, (Cairo: Dār al-Iʿtiṣām, 1996), 241-242.

colluded with Alexander to get rid of him.[585] It might be true that this may have come to Muslim historians by their sources and not by their own investigation, but still they incorporate such textual sources into their works and it becomes an argument explanation mode that helps them understand and convince their readers why the Persian Empire, exemplified in Dārā, fell before Alexander. There is integrative and consensual duality between voluntary cause and textual contextualisation in that both link between previous and later historical events to manifest the role of the former in creating the latter, and accordingly, there is a causal and temporal relationship between the two events. If mechanic causality is based on governing laws, the voluntary causality is based on an inference that depends on historical and textual evidence to determine the relationship between historical events or between affairs and consequently fills the gaps between two historical *akhabār*.[586] Another example of the use of voluntary causality is in the case of Alexander's conquest of India and how he did not invade one of its kingdoms due to the character and personality of its king (Kīd), who was just, concerned with knowledge, a wise man, peaceful, and who did not want to engage in conflict with Alexander.[587] Introducing the character and personality of the king paved the way to understanding why Alexander did not conquer this kingdom as he did with others.

4.3.4 Inductive probe

Inductive probe suggests that Muslim historians induce and probe the parts that characterise the form of Alexander history. This type of explanatory argument proceeds firstly on macro levels (which we can call the general probe) that appears in major themes of the story, and then the micro level (which we can call the specific probe) that appears inside one of these themes.

The first level's aim is to collect major and pivotal parts of historical accounts about Alexander from his birth till his death and synthesise between them to show

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[585] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-573. Mikawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 94. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402-403. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 36.

[586] Or as Paul Venye calls it, "retrodiction", which means moving back and forth between historical documents to look for the connections between effects and presumptive causes to synthesise written history. Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*, trans. Mina Moore-Rinvolucri (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), 144-155.

[587] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 118. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 324. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 424.

developments of his life and how the events constructed it. This aim of the general probe indicates that it has cumulative and progressive dimensions that resemble the organic argument in White's perspective, which "attempts to depict the particulars discerned in historical fields as components of synthetic process."[588] The integrations of particular historical events into one story means that the general probe uses *al-fāʿiliyyah* and *ʿilliyyah* at the same time in that each event has its own characters and circumstances that differ from others, and yet the synergy of all in one direction contributes to finalising the story in a specific way as if the end was planned retroactively. Such a planned end is like a universal rule (*ḥukm kulliy*) in Muslim historians' minds who seek to trace its particulars (*juzʾiyyāt*), and it is the essential core of jurisprudential induction (*al-istiqrāʾ al-uṣūlī*)[589]. The universal judgment varies from historian to another. For instance, al-Ṭabarī and al-Aṣfahānī seem to be interested in Alexander's relationship with Persians, Miskawayh is concerned with his military techniques and political experiences, al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī pay attention to his religious message and al-Masʿūdī is interested in his character and culture.[590] In al-Ṭabarī's case, he seems to need to shed light on the problem of Alexander's ethnic roots because he is interested in the relationship between Alexander and the Persian Empire, while Miskawayh does not do so, albeit he gets his information from al-Ṭabarī, because he is concerned with Alexander's military and political experiences. This difference happens again between the two historians in the matter of the beginning of time (*al-zamān*) and its linguistic, theological and historical meaning. Al-Ṭabarī gives an account of this issue and discusses it deeply and immediately after the preface of his book by presenting various historical and religious *akhbār* from Muslim tradition, Biblical tradition and Persian tradition and at the end concludes by saying:

> The stated purpose of this book of ours is to mention the history of kings and tyrants, those who disobeyed their Lord and those who were obedient to Him, and the times of the prophets and messengers. We

[588] White, *Metahistory*, 15.
[589] See in Chapter Two, 2.2.2 *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*. Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).
[590] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-39. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 573-577. Mikawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95-103. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 312-332, 410-417. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402-457. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33-34, 37, 64-65.

have discussed how chronological dates can be soundly established and how information about moments and hours can be ascertained. (Moments and hours are established by) the sun and the moon. One makes it possible to learn about the hours and moments of the night and the other, the hours and moments of the day.[591]

Al-Ṭabarī could not deal with this issue briefly since it is important to the structure of his book and the universal idea in his mind about the dating of the rise and fall of nations and their succession to each other.[592] Similarly, al-Aṣfahānī expresses his function of general probe to Persian sources so that he would be able to verify the history of Persian kings: "I do not have choice except to collect all disparate copies […] then I weigh between them to reach the conclusion in this chapter".[593] It functioned more clearly in historical stories that revolve around the life of a certain historical figure like the biography of Prophet Muḥammad which is portrayed in terms of its argument explanation by organic and synthetic process as it appears in Ibn Hishām's editing of Ibn Isḥāq's work.[594] In addition, since general probe takes organic progress and integration, it is likely to be common among Muslim historians because it is a dynamic explanation, not only on argument level, but also to stress the tragic or romantic emplotment in Alexander history or even in the biographies of other Muslim figures like that of Prophet Muḥammad.

Regarding specific probe, there are similarities with *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* as the Muslim historians collected and probed the possible views of a given issue in Alexander history. Those who practiced specific probe (al-Dīnawarī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and al-Maqdisī) have scholarly backgrounds (whether theological or jurisprudential) and it seems that such intellectual backgrounds might have unconsciously affected the argument explanation of their historical writings. The

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[591] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. I, 248-249.

[592] For the concept of time in al-Ṭabarī's work, see Michael Whitby, "Al-Ṭabarī: The Period Before Jesus" in *Al-Ṭabarī: A Medieval Muslim Historian and His Work*, ed. Hugh Kennedy, 1st ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 2008), 15-20. Also the Franz Rosenthal's forward to the first volume of the English version of al-Ṭabarī's work, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. I, 158-159.16-18. For the concept of time in early Muslim historical writings, see Salīm, *Niẓām Al-Zamān Al-ʿArabī,* 27-48. Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 118-122. Al-ʿAẓmah, *Al-Kitābah Al-Tārīkhiyyah*, 49-127.

[593] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*. 9-10.

[594] See Ibn Hishām introduction, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, *Al-Siīrah al-Nabawaiyyah li Ibn Hishām*, eds. Muṣṭafá al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī, vol. 1 (Cairo; Maṭbaʿat al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1955), 4

dialectal argument seems to be attendant in the specific probe more than *al-taqsīm al-ʿāmm*, and there are no contradictions between them, and they share a kind of integrative, reciprocal and consensual duality. General probe needs specific probe in some historical stages to give coherence for some *akhbār* that have crucial positions in the process of historical story. One example of a specific probe is the identification of Dhū al-Qarnayn (the Quranic figure) with Alexander. Some of the eight Muslim historians present many possibilities on this matter from Biblical and Islamic sources. This specific probe can be found in al-Masʿūdi and al-Maqdisī.[595] But neither gives a specific opinion although they tend not to consider the two figures as one person. If we look at the narrative trajectory of Alexander history in their writings in that they do not narrate on such *akhbār* about Gog and Magog, the journey to Mecca or putting Aristotle in a monotheistic pattern. As for al-Ṭabarī, it seems he prefers to discuss this matter in his Quranic exegesis.[596] This type of probe is common in al-Ṭabarī's works whether in history or exegesis, or even judicial work such as his *Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahāʾ* (*The Dispute of Jurists*), whose method centres on this specific probe which indicates epistemological complementary and integration between different fields and how they affect and benefit from each other instead of showing a solid binary separation between them.[597] Another example appears in al-Dīnawarī who exercises specific probe clearly in the issue of the ethnic roots of Alexander, when he shows the Persian and Greek (or Rūm, in his perspective).[598] Al-Dīnawarī repeats this approach when he discusses the ethnic origins of Bābik al-Khurramī (a rebellion during al-Maʾmūn's and al-Muʿtaṣim's time) and refutes an opinion that links Bābik's mother to the family of the Prophet.[599] The recurrence of specific probe in al-Dīnawarī's historical

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[595] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318-319. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 366.

[596] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 15, 370, 390.

[597] Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahāʾ*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1999). This is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis. For the relation between the two works of al-Ṭabarī in terms of methodology, see Gilliot, "Al-Ṭabarī and the 'History of Salvation'". 137-138. Tarif Khalidi adopts an opinion that al-Ṭabarī uses a completely different method in his exegesis from his history. Khalidi, *Arabic historical Thought*, 73-78. Although he states clearly that al-Ṭabarī "felt most urgently the need to reshape history in order to confirm with both the form and substance of Quranic view" Ibid, 78. We want to add that we do not deny the difference between history and exegesis fields and we do not accept the complete distinction between them, yet we think it is difficult to set a solid binary separation in our minds (mechanically speaking) when we want to write and think of something in a certain field without existing spectrums of other fields.

[598] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-32.

[599] Ibid, 367.

work hints to the influence of jurisprudential theory and thought on him, especially if we take into account neglected information of al-Dīnawarī belonging to the Ḥanafī judicial school and that he is said to have compiled a huge exegesis of Quran.[600]

4.3.5 Attribution

Attribution (*al-isnād* or *ihālah*) means that Muslim historians cite their sources of Alexander history. *Al-isnād* exercises a kind of referential explanation by allocating space for a third voice that mediates between author and audience. It gives him legitimacy of his view toward a certain *khabar* in terms of accepting or rejecting it, explicating it and evaluating its historical figures. In its mediating role, al-isnād creates a disclaimer where the author could cast responsibility on a third part to express his indirect view toward *al-khabar* without any pressure.[601] This mode of argument explanation reminds us of the duality of author and compiler voice at the narrative level and shows the overlap between them but with a difference in terms of the epistemic function of each. This mode of explanation comes directly by stating names of sources, whether books' authors, or indirectly by stating the general sources in the preface of books or using words like "they said". By performing it in two ways, *al-isnād* places emphasis that all Muslim historians from different intellectual backgrounds use. It confirms that many sources of Alexander history incline to be written ones and not only oral, even in the case of al-Ṭabarī. For example, in some *akhbār* in Alexander history, al-Ṭabarī cites the name of Hishām al-Kalbī (204/819) who is well known in Arabic genealogies and ancient people, attributes some of them to Rūm, Persians, Christians and other genealogists and also uses expressions like "they said […] it is said […] some claim".[602] The attributive hierarchy manifests in other Muslim historians such as al-Dīnawarī, who cites the name ʿAbd Allāh b.

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[600] For his jurisprudential affiliation, see Muḥī al-Dīn Abī al-Wafāʾ al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāḥir al-Muḍiyyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulaw, vol. 1 (Giza: Dār Hajar, 1993), 168-169. For his exegesis, see Yāqūt Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 1st ed. Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993), 259.

[601] Western studies highlight the term "middle voice" which "represents the third voice or *diathesis* between the passive and the active". Philippe Eberhard, *The Middle Voice In Gadamer's Hermeneutics* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 9. However, this term is scrutinised through grammatical and literary scopes which means it deals with narrative or linguistic aims, whereas the medial dimension in attribution *al-isnād* is concerned with argumentative aims. Therefore the middle voice tends to be relative to the rhetoric explanation in the historiographical structure in Alexander history.

[602] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-579.

ʿAbbās, and refers to the Quran in the case of Gog and Magog, Persians, Rūm scholars and form of words as "they said".[603] Likewise, al-Thaʿālibī seems to follow this attributive hierarchy by citing the name of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Khurādhbah, the author of *Shāhnāmah*, Quran, Muslim poets and form of words whether for oral or written sources like "it is said [*qīlah*] […] I heard [*balaghanī*] and recite [*anshadanī*]".[604] As for al-Masʿūdī, al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Aṣfahānī, they attribute to Greek, Byzantine and Persian written sources whether in the context of Alexander history, at the beginnings of their books or within those books.[605] The more variety of forms and number of *al-isnād*, the more the argument explanation would be strengthened and persuasive to their readers who in, the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, were familiar with such modes of argument explanation.[606] Muslim historians employ *al-isnād* in a different manner in that they attribute to others to show how their opinions appear to be weak and unacceptable and thereby the role of historian is to refute them by other argument explanations (contextualisation, inductive probe and reason) or even by *al-isnād* itself and at the same time offer other plausible perspectives. This happens in al-Thaʿālibī who presents what Sallam al-Turjumān said about the dam of Gog and Magog:

> "And that narrated by Sallam al-Turjumān of the dam, of the hadith about the door and the stile, the description of the lock and key and the dangling cylinders cannot be relied upon as it does not correlate with the Quran's description of it."[607]

In depending on the Quran, al-Thaʿālibī rejects Sallam's view because the Quran is sacred and infallible and thus more reliable. It is also understandable why the historian prefers the Quranic account at the expense of another, because he believes that Alexander is Dhū al-Qarnayn, who is mentioned in the Quran.

4.4 Historiographical balance of the historiographical structure

In the introduction to this chapter, I explained that the epistemological sequences and aims of historical *akhbār* in Muslim historical writings is: to produce evaluative

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[603] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-32, 35-39.
[604] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 415, 424, 431, 433, 440-441, 454, 457.
[605] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, 183. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 21-23, 319. *Al-Tanbīh*, 148. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 54, 63-64.
[606] This is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).
[607] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 440.

judgment that consists of proving, evaluation and reasoning and to produce influence that comprises lessons and aesthetics. In general, these go hand in hand to render historical *akhbār* for their conceptual and epistemological distinction from other epistemic branches. Yet the existence of all epistemological sequences and aims through the crystallisation of rhetoric and argumentative modes in one single historical writing does not necessitate that a given historian succeeds in achieving them simultaneously and is able to create a historiographical structural balance between them. Through the analysis of historiographical structure of Alexander history some reduction of some modes occurs and others increase. We have seen the absence of tragedy and the faint voice of romance and allegorical language in al-Aṣfahānī's work which suggests the absence of aesthetic functions in favour of lessons and evaluative judgment. The absence of functional balance also seems to appear in various rhetoric and argumentative modes. For instance, al-Thaʿālibī tends to prefer tragedy at the expense of romance in the rhetoric and on argumentative levels, Miskawayh depends less on attribution in favour of other modes while al-Ṭabarī uses attributions and neglects mechanical causation. Such disparities imply that Muslim historians seem to confront difficulties in creating epistemological balance in their writings as a result of their sources, their intellectual backgrounds, audiences and historical atmospheres, whether social, intellectual or political ones.

In the end, the modes of argument explanation are tools for demonstration and not materials. Muslim historians use such tools to prove the soundness of their evidence and materials, to correlate between them and to analyse and expound them. It is also important to take into consideration the efficiency and familiarity of such argumentative modes to readers of historical books in Muslim society in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Muslim historians might have used what was available to them at the time and what were more suitable to historical explanation that would have probably also had persuasive capacity. As Johan Huizinga points out:

> The task of functioning as an implement of culture, the implement with which culture accounts for its past, can only be fulfilled by a historical discipline that finds its sphere and its sounding-board in life

in general in its own day. To be full-fledged, any field of study must be accepted and supported by the culture nourishing it.[608]

Table 2. Modes of argument explanation

	Al-Dīnawarī	Al-Yaʿqūbī	Al-Ṭabarī	Al-Masʿūdī	Al-Aṣfahānī	Miskawayh	Al-Maqdisī	Al-Thaʿālibī
Contextualisation (Textual)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Contextualisation (Circumstances)		+	+	+	+			+
Causation (Deterministic)	+					+	+	
Causation (Voluntary)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
Inductive probe (Macro)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Inductive probe (Micro)	+			+			+	
Attribution	+	+	+	+	+			+

4.5 Summary

This chapter analysed the conceptual distinction between some terms that relate to Muslim historical writings about Alexander (*khabar*, story and narration) and the epistemic sequences of historical *khabar* that centre mainly on sides. First, the judgmental side that seeks to convince through proving the existence of historical phenomena, assigning attributes to them and evaluating and reasoning them. Second, it is about lessons (*ʿibar*) that attempt to influence audiences via aesthetic, ethical and moral persuasion. These two sides of historical *khabar* pertain to argumentative and rhetorical explanations in the historiographical structure of Muslim historical writings.

It then explained narrative dual relations between their modes which contribute to their narrative operation and consists of integration, obverse, consensual and reciprocal. After that we moved to the modes of rhetoric explanation. Dualism presents two parts as controlling Alexander history, duality of author and compiler, duality of speech and act, duality of two figures and the duality of factuality and allegory. Such dualism brought us to the second mode of rhetoric explanation, i.e. emplotment, which refers to sequential historical events in a particular type of story. Two emplotments exist in Alexander history: tragedy and romance, whether in a

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[608] Johan Huizinga, *Men and Ideas: History of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance*, trans. James S Holmes and Hans Van Marle (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1960), 40-41.

general or specific sense over the story. The two major modes of rhetoric explanation showed how all the eight Muslim historians actually used (with varied degree) the elements of these modes even though they had different intellectual backgrounds, historical circumstances, texts and epistemic specialities.

After that we examined the argumentative explanation and the relationship between the former and rhetoric explanation which is horizontal instead of hierarchal. The modes of this level are contextualisation, causality, inductive probe and attribution with all these modes stemming from the cultural milieu of Muslim historians. Our induction and analysis of the modes showed that the historians varied from one another in using argumentative modes to produce judgment and to convince their readers, and that their preference toward one of them at the expense of others, revealed their intellectual tendencies. In contextualisation and inductive probes we found similarities between them and their counterparts in jurisprudential theory that indicate how such modes were common in different disciplines in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Likewise, the existence of these modes indicated that Muslim historians were not completely at the mercy of their sources or that they were simply narrating historical *akhbār* passively and objectively, but that they asserted that historical *akhbār* were not only concerned with entertainment and moral subjects, but also with judgment and facts.

Chapter 5. Historiographical concepts

As we have seen in the previous chapter, historiographical structure deals with the textual composition of historical accounts and looks at the internal relationship of historical texts. Historical concepts and reflections deal with what is behind such historical accounts or what we might call the meta-textual side. Of these two sides, only historiographical concepts deal with both in that some of their elements are textual and others are meta-textual and this feature makes them occupy a pivotal position as a bridge between historiography and history or the internal and external contexts of texts. This chapter will focus on the textual side of historiographical concepts and leave the meta-textual side till the next chapter. The jurisprudential theory approach of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* as an inductive and probing tool and *dilālat al-siyāq* as an interpretive and comparative tool, will help us in achieving our goal in this chapter.

5.1 Anachronism

In chapter two we defined anachronism as stratifying alien objects from the present or past to given historical objects from a different time. And we mentioned its three major modes in Alexander history in Muslim historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries: doctrinal, structural and present modes. Here we will focus on the first two modes while delaying the third till the next chapter as the former relate to the textual side and the latter to the meta-textual.[609]

5.1.1   Doctrinal anachronism

Doctrinal anachronism denotes that Muslim historians ascribe to and infuse Alexander history with Islamic features that give Alexander an Islamic character. Such anachronism relates to the doctrine, and thus the level of thought, and has links with the argumentative explanation in historiographical structure which deals with

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[609] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

judgments and convincement. This doctrinal anachronism has three manifestations: reconciliation, description and prophecy.[610]

With reconciliation, the most striking point in doctrinal anachronism is that some Muslim historians ascribe the belief of Allāh and monolithic creed to Alexander and identify him with the character of Dhū al-Qarnayn. They Islamise Alexander history in accordance with their religious perspectives. Those who do so (al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī) share similar intellectual backgrounds (that both specialise in literature) and draw from the same source (*Nihāyat al-Arab*'s book). However, this does not mean that these two factors alone justify their anachronistic doctrine. The anachronistic mode probably happens as a result of the existence of Quranic verses that shed light on the religious and historical character Dhū al-Qarnayn, but such verses (that apply to the *Sunnah* tradition) do not offer sufficient detail that would reveal his identity and time, which in this case prompted Muslim scholars and historians to look for answers to other historical and religious traditions like Biblical, Persian and Greek ones.[611] During the time of al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī, this coincides with the acceleration of the translation movement that facilitated the entrance of the heritages of non-Muslim tradition, and it seems that the most nominated historical figure was Alexander due to two elements. First, Greek sources which portray Alexander as a wise and just ruler revered by scholars and philosophers. [612] Second, the Persian tradition that presents Alexander in two antithetical images: positively and negatively. [613] The lack of knowledge on two crucial religious and historical figures motivates some Muslim historians to reach for epistemic reconciliation by amalgamating Dhū al-Qarnayn and Alexander. What motivates them more is that the Biblical tradition Christianised Alexander and linked him with the character of Dhū al-Qarnayn, and since Biblical tradition went to this anachronistic process, it was acceptable for Muslim historians to do it too.[614] Donner

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[610] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).
[611] See Chapter Three, 3.2 The entrance of Alexander tradition into Muslim tradition, 3.3 Alexander in the Umayyad period and 3.4 Alexander in the Abbasid era.
[612] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alaxander Magnus*, 93-130.
[613] Wiesehöfer, "The 'Accursed' and the 'Adventure'", 114.
[614] Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends*, 3. For Christianising Alexander, see: Juan Pedro Monferra-Sala, "Alexander the Great in the Syriac Literary Tradition" in *a Companion to Alexander Literature in the*

looks at this from a different angle when he points out that there are historicisation and verisimilitude counterfeiting in Muslim historical writing. He means that Muslim historians place some "legendary" and "spurious" accounts in given historical contexts and accommodate them, thereby giving them plausibility and acceptable historical identity or existence.[615]

The identification with Dhū al-Qarnayn is the cornerstone of the anachronistic doctrine in Alexander history and it leads to the proliferation of other micro anachronistic doctrinal aspects in themes and characters. [616] First is to reshape Aristotle's belief and put him in a monolithic pattern by stressing that he (in al-Dīnawarī's view) "believes in Allāh and his oneness and does not associate with him others"[617] and (in al-Thaʿālibī's view) "he believes in monotheism, the creation of world (ḥudūth al-ʿālam) and accepts the resurrection (al-baʿth wa al-nushūr)".[618] Al-Dīnawarī does not settle for monotheising Aristotle, and goes further and creates a narrative atmosphere that gives Aristotle a kind of prophetic role when he went to Alexander who had been a tyrant before he met Aristotle but on meeting him embraced monotheism, disposed of idols and became a righteous ruler.[619] By infusing narrative progressive romantic emplotment and mechanic deterministic argument, the author accommodates Aristotle's faith with Alexander history to remove any narrative and historical obstacles that would contradict the historical reconciliation between Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn. Such anachronistic technique in the matter of doctrine resurfaces in other themes like Gog and Magog, al-Khiḍr, Alexander's conflict with other kings and visiting Mecca. All of these themes express the religious message that Alexander held in his journeys and conquests.[620] The last theme (visiting Mecca) raises the question of why al-Dīnawarī prefers to depict the conflict between Khuzāʿah and Quraysh tribes in anachronistic terms by inserting Alexander who was going to Mecca on pilgrimage and to settle the conflict by deporting Khuzāʿah from

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Middle Ages, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 55-56. The analysis of reconciliation is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (ḥāl al-mukhāṭib + ḥāl al-khiṭāb).

[615] Donner, *Narrative of Islamic Narrative*, 209-210.

[616] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī*.

[617] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, 32.

[618] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 443.

[619] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, 32-33. See also: *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 110-114.

[620] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, 33-37. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 404, 423, 432-433, 440-443. See also: *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 110-114. 127-128, 138, 141-143, .

Mecca and handing over its sovereignty to Quraysh.[621] Alexander's visit to Mecca is also narrated by al-Firdawsī in *Shāhnāmah* and in *Nihāyah* and probably this journey is imitation (and hence anachronistic) of the Jewish version of his visit to Jerusalem. [622] Al-Dīnawarī offers a very different narrative and argumentative explanation from other Muslim historians who cover the topic in a tribal manner, though he seems to share similar sources.[623] Muslim historians tell how Quṣayy b. Kilāb succeeded in reuniting his tribe (the Quraysh), gaining endorsement from other tribes, fighting Khuzāʿah and then obtaining the right to rule and inhabit Mecca.[624] The answer might lie in the idea of predestination, the unseen (*al-ghayb*) and reconciliation since Alexander was Dhū al-Qarnayn, the monotheist ruler, and he needed to express his monotheism and worship Allāh by performing one of the major practical rituals (pilgrimage). In Arabic and Muslim historical awareness there was a story of the conflict between Khuzāʿah and Quraysh over the sovereignty of Mecca that paves the way for the birth of Islam. Al-Dīnawarī chooses to achieve two historical and religious aims through integrating two themes into one and consequently he might think that he was able to maintain the characterisation of Alexander's Dhū al-Qarnayn and also grant the story of Mecca more prophetic, predestined and unseen aspects. In this regard, Abed el-Rahman Tayyara demonstrates how al-Dīnawarī uses narrative reconciliation in the matter of *Shuʿūbiyyah* to "remove the tension" between Arabs and Persians.[625]

Al-Khiḍr (who is regarded as a holy man or prophet) was mentioned by al-Thaʿālibī suddenly and without any introduction so that one could understand the relationship between Alexander as Dhū al-Qarnayn and al-Khiḍr.[626] He accompanied Alexander in

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[621] Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār Al-Tiwāl*, 35. See also: *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 128.

[622] Al-Firdawsī, *Al-Shāhnāmah*, vol. 2, 10. *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 128. On influence: Manteghi, *The Alexander Romance*, 64n32. Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 49-52.

[623] For al-Dīnawarī's sources, Bonner, "An Historiographical Study", 77–79, 106-107.

[624] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 288-290. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 254- 259. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 30-32. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 489. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*. vol .1, 117-118, 123-129.

[625] Abed el-Rahman Tayyara, "Origin Narratives and the Making of Dynastic History in al-Dīnawarī's Akhbār", *Digest of Middle East Studies*23, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 54-75.

[626] For al-Khiḍr in Muslim tradition, see A.J.Wensinck, "Al-Khaḍir (al-Khiḍr)" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, ed.: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 25 September 2018 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0483 . Irfan Omar, 'Khiḍr in the Islamic Tradition', The Muslim World, vol. LXXXIII, Nos. 3-4 (July-October, 1993), 279-294.

his war against the Persians and later in his journey to the Land of Darkness (*Arḍ al-Ẓulumāt*) to search for the immorality spring and he found and drank from it without telling Alexander about it.[627] This *khabar* is similarly narrated in *Shāhnāmah* by al-Firdawsī.[628] Al-Thaʿālibī is the only one among the eight Muslim historians who generates double doctrinal anachronistic reconciliation by infusing between the historical and Quranic/Islamic figures (Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn and Alexander and al-Khiḍr) and between two Quranic/Islamic figures (Dhū al-Qarnayn and al-Khiḍr). He enhances the position of these three figures and clarifies their identities and roles through relational connections among them. This double doctrinal anachronistic reconciliation emerges in Ibn Hishām's book *al-Tījān*, but this time between the Himyarite Yemeni king al-Ṣaʿb b. al-Ḥārith (who is thought to be a historical figure) as Dhū al-Qarnayn, to whom al-Khiḍr is an indispensable teacher and councillor.[629] The long life of al-Khiḍr in Muslim tradition probably found its source in the immorality spring, which in turn led to Alexander (at least to al-Thaʿālibī and al-Firdawsī) to search for this place, hence merging between the two figures in doctrinal anachronistic reconciliation.[630]

Doctrinal anachronistic reconciliation resurfaces in another important topic in Alexander history that is the building of Alexandria in al-Masʿūdī's book *Murūj al-Dhahab*. The author points out that when Alexander wanted to build Alexandria, he found in its location remnants of massive buildings and on one of their pillars was an inscribed sermon written in al-Musnad calligraphy (which is ancient Yemeni writing). The inscription states its writer's name, Shaddād b. ʿĀd, a king from the Arabian peninsula who explained that he was the one who built *Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād* (an

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[627] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*. 432-433.

[628] Al-Firdawsī, *Al-Shāhnāmah*, vol. 2, 21-22.

[629] Ibn Hishām, *Al-Tījān*, 95-104. See our brief discussion about this book in Chapter Three, 3.2.2 The bulk of *ṣaḥābī-tābiʿī*.

[630] Most prominent contemporary studies that tackle the issues of al-Khiḍr, Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn ignore al-Thaʿālibī. Rather, they consider al-Firdawsī and Ibn Hishām and other Muslim authors. Wheeler. "Moses or Alexander?" 191-215. Doufikar-Aerts. *Alexander Magnus*. 171-173. Stoneman. *Alexander the Great*. 155-159. Wensinck, A.J., "al-Khaḍir (al-Khiḍr)" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Ed.: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 25 September 2018 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0483 . Irfan Omar, "Khiḍr in the Islamic Tradition", pp. 279-294. Wheeler shows the possibility of the influence of Biblical works on al-Firdawsī and Ibn Hishām. Wheeler. "Moses or Alexander?" 191-215. Brannon M. Wheeler, "The Jewish Origins of Qurʾān 18:65-82? Re-examining Arent Jan Wensinck's Theory", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118, no. 2 (April – June, 1998): 153-171.

ancient Arabic city) and who wanted to build another one in Egypt after a glorious life, but he died.[631] Al-Masʿūdī continues to narrate the process of building the city and the challenges that Alexander confronts which put Alexander in the same situation as the Arabic king in that when Alexander finished his city he ordered to be written on its gates that he wanted to build it with pleasure and happiness but "Allāh" did not want that.[632] This example reaffirms that the doctrinal anachronistic mode that seeks to reconcile between two heritages and integrate between them into one narrative systematic pattern.[633] This time, the anachronism does not reconcile between religious-Quranic and historical figures, but between two historical figures that find their congruence in Alexander and his city. There is common opinion that some foreign power took over Egypt (such as Hyksos), but there is no compelling evidence if the Arabic ancient people called ʿĀd ruled or inhabited Egypt.[634] According to al-Masʿūdī's, the second generation of ʿĀd (an ancient Arab people, whom al-Masʿūdī believes are mentioned in the Quran) was heralded by Shaddād b. ʿĀd, who not only ruled the southern Arabian peninsula, but also expanded his sovereignty over other areas and kingdoms around him and became like a king of the world.[635] There is a lack of knowledge in the *khabar* regarding the identity of the king to whom Alexander read his inscription, and it concurs with a story of an ancient Arabic king who had already built the city of Iram and taken over Egypt. It seems to be acceptable in al-Masʿūdī's perspective to integrate the two stories and two historical figures into one narrative. It is thought that Arabs used to ascribe any ancient and great buildings or human achievements to the ʿĀd people when the originator was unknown, to the extent that such ascription became infused in their poems and aphorisms.[636] The reconciliation of al-Masʿūdī in this matter is kind of syllogism that sets off from two

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[631] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 410-411.

[632] Ibid, 414.

[633] For the contemporary studies in this matter, see Doufikar-Aaerts, "A Legacy of the Alexander Romance in Arab Writings", 323-343. Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī*, 116-117.

[634] For more details about the history of Hyksos, see John Van Seters, *The Hyksos, a New Investigation* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipe & Stock , 2010). For more details about ʿĀd, see Muzaffar Uddin Nadvi, *A Geographical History of the Qurʾan*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2009). 63-98.

[635] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 13.

[636] Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, eds. Mahdī al-Makhzūmī and Ibrāhīm al-Sāmirrāʾī, vol. 2 (Cairo; Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, n.d), 220. Abū Mūsá al-Madīnī, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mughīth fī Gharībayy al-Qurʾān wa al-Ḥadīth*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿAzbāwī, vol. 2 (Jeddah; Dār al-Madanī, 1988), 403.

propositions to reach a conclusion; the remnants are mysterious ancient buildings and any mysterious ancient buildings are from the ʿĀd, therefore remnants were originally buildings erected by the ʿĀd. The result is doctrinal anachronism although such Muslim historians do not integrate Dhū al-Qarnayn and Alexander in such anachronistic manner and are unable to escape it when they write about Alexandria. Anachronism in this respect is found in another Muslim historian, ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who in his book *Futūḥ Miṣr* not only has doctrinal anachronism in the story of Alexandria, but also identifies Alexander with Dhū al-Qarnayn and hence seems to have a kind of homogeneous anachronism unlike al-Masʿūdī.[637] Another example is Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (333/915), a Mālikī jurist, who recounts in his book *Al-Mujālasah wa Jawāhir al-ʿIlm* (*The Association and the Gems of Knowledge*) an interesting short anecdote about the funeral ceremony of Alexander and the eulogies of philosophers to him. The author formulates it in the complete doctrinal anachronistic pattern by removing Alexander from the scene and impresses on his readers that Dhū al-Qarnayn was, in fact, the man who is meant in the anecdote.[638]

The word "Allāh" in al-Masʿūdī's narration of Alexander and Alexandria leads us to the second doctrinal anachronism that takes a descriptive track in that Muslim historians replace names of Greek and Persian gods in Alexander history with "Allāh". This anachronism is conscious and the historians were aware of it when they wrote about Alexander. It means that those who doubt that Alexander is Dhū al-Qarnayn, Persian and not monotheistic, insist on expressing the names of gods or idols by the same word (Allāh). By way of illustration, al-Maqdisī concludes Alexander's epistle to his mother with this sentence "take a warning from Allāh اتعظ بالله",[639] and al-Ṭabarī ascribes to Alexander after his victory over Dārā "Allāh bestowed us triumph over Dārā قد أدالنا الله من دارا".[640] The meaning and intentions behind this suggest that there are some revealing historical contextual implications.

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637 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, vol. 1, 56-64. Although Doufikar-Aaerts compares al-Masʿūdī's and Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī's accounts in his book *al-Buldān*, she does not do so with Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. For Ibn al-Faqīh, see al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb Al-Buldān*, 124-127. See also in Chapter Three, 3.4.2. Alexander in geography works.

638 Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Mujālasah wa Jawāhir al-ʿIlm*, ed. Mashhūr Ḥasan, vol. 2 (Manamah; Jamʿiyyat al-Tarbiyyah al-Islāmiyyah, 1998), 304.

639 Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 409.

640 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 577. Ironically, the English version of al-Ṭabarī's history uses the word "God" instead of "Allāh". Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 94.

Firstly, it might be that Muslim historians did this because their audience or society felt antipathy for reading or absorbing pagan concepts, so the historians recast them. But this claim does not stand if we browse their books, where there are some pagan and non-Islamic concepts and terms.[641] Another possibility is that Muslim historians did not know the names of the gods in ancient nations due to the shortage of their sources and therefore they choose to use the word of "Allāh" as a general term that assigns to these nations' gods. The first part of this claim is problematic because Muslim historians derive their knowledge (especially in the case of their neighbours, prominent nations and Biblical communities) from various sources.[642] The second part of this claim seems to be acceptable and we can reformulate and say that Muslim historians might think that it is better to use a general term and in their view, the word "Allāh" at that time, was a general, functional and procedural term that could be applied to other cultures.[643]

The last manifestation of the anachronistic doctrine mode is prophecy, and it is found in al-Maqdisī's work who said that after Alexander defeated Dārā, he:

> [B]urned the book of their religion, which Zardasht brought forth and it was said that it was written on twelve thousand cow skins in which is mentioned all that was and what is to be until Judgment Day and until the King of the Arabs and the duration of their days.[644]

Here, al-Maqdisī's writing in this anachronistic manner, although he does not Islamise or monothelise Alexander and has reservation to consider him as Dhū al-Qarnayn, grants it prophetic predestined and unseen aspects that we find in al-Dīnawarī's writing about Alexander visiting Mecca. Indeed, al-Dīnawarī narrates that Abū Bakr, the first caliph, sent a delegation to the king of Rūm (the Byzantine emperor) to

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[641] For example: see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 220. Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 95-96, 109-110. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 439-460.

[642] See Chapter Three, 3.5 Alexander in the eight universal historical writings.

[643] From a comparative perspective, the translator of Paulus Orosius' history (who lived in the fourth/tenth century) does not identify Alexander with Dhū al-Qarnayn nor does he include the anecdote of the ceremony at the death of Alexander, or the last conversation between Alexander and Dārā. Be that as it may, he uses a similar type of descriptive doctrinal anachronism by using the word of Quḍāʿiyyūn (which is an Arabic tribe that did not live during Alexander's time) to refer to Chaldeans (ancient people in Iraq). 86. Moreover, he uses Baghdad to refer to a part of the middle land of Iraq that was governed by a Zoroastre, the ancient prince of Mosul, at the time of Assyrians. Orūsyūs, *Tārīkh al-ʿĀlam*, 93

[644] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408.

advise him to convert to Islam. The delegation went to Constantinople and met the king and during that time a box was brought and opened, and the king took out rags (*khiraq*) that depicted some prominent prophets including Prophet Muḥammad. The king said that these pictures had been in the possession of Alexander and his successors.[645] This time the connection between Alexander and Islam is more direct and clearer. Alexander preserved a set of pictures of prophets who lived before and others, including the Prophet of Islam, would live after him, which means Alexander (according to al-Dīnawarī) knew about the coming of Islam as the epilogue of religions. Al-Dīnawarī used deterministic causation as a mode of argument explanation, and it reaffirms the link between doctrinal anachronism and argument explanation.[646] Tayyara comments on this historical *khabar*:

> This narrative registers a shift from presenting Islam as a monotheistic religion in relation to others, to presenting it as a political power in the midst of other empires. Here, the prestigious prophetic status of Muḥammad and his association with Abraham is presented in the context of the religious and political contention between Islam and Byzantium.[647]

It appears that the strategy of doctrinal anachronism with predictive and futuristic aspects has been applied to other historical themes in Muslim historical writings. For instance, Abū Bakr b. al-Qūṭiyyah (367/977), an Andalusian historian, cites an interesting *khabar* in his book *Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* (*The History of The Conquest of Andalus*). He states that the kings of the Goths had a coffin in a house in their capital Toledo which contained four Christian Bibles. When Luthrīq, the last king of Andalus before the coming of the Muslims, took over the throne, he insisted on opening the coffin and when he did they found pictures portraying Arabs holding bows and wearing turbans and underneath the picture a statement claiming that if the house was opened and the pictures were taken out, Arabs would enter Andalus and rule it.[648] To render the story of the conquest of al-Andalus with predictive and futuristic reason is likely to be a doctrinal anachronistic strategy to romanticise and

[645] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, 22-23.
[646] See in Chapter Four, 4.3. 3 Causation.
[647] Tayyara, "The Reflection of Non-Islamic Cultures", 123.
[648] Abū Bakr b. al-Qūṭiyyah, *Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. Ibrāhīm Al-Abiārī, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī, 1989), 33.

justify a significant historical event in Muslim history and memory in a similar way as al-Dīnawarī and al-Maqdisī do in the case of Alexander.[649] In his analysing al-Ṭabarī's work, Shoshan calls this manifestation of doctrinal anachronism *vaticinatio post eventum*, which means to insert a prophecy before a certain historical event that predicts its happening.

Before ending this type of anachronism, it is striking that al-Thaʿālibiī and his counterpart al-Firdawsī portray Alexander in a doctrinal anachronistic pattern and yet the former puts him in an Islamic frame as Dhū al-Qarnayn, who is mentioned in the Quran, whereas the latter puts him in Christian frame with the title of Dhū al-Qarnayn, who is mentioned in Syriac Alexander Romance.[650] Although both authors share similar sources (like *Shāhnāmah* of Abū Manṣūr and *Khudāyāmah*) and lived under or were close to the Ghaznavid court, they offer opposite doctrinal anachronistic images of Alexander. Al-Thaʿālibiī wrote his work in Arabic and belongs to the universal historical writings' genre, while al-Firdawsī wrote in Persian and in epical poem that stops with the ending of Sassanid empire.[651] Probably al-Firdawsī did this because he might not have thought of Alexander as the Quranic Dhū al-Qarnayn, or because Alexander was the destroyer of Persian glory and hence depicted in the second part of *Shāhnāmah* as greedy and the son of a demon. Al-Firdawsī may in this case have wanted to strip Alexander from Quranic and Islamic characteristics, which would have eventually idealised him.[652] Another point is that some would argue that al-Ṭabarī calls Alexander Dhū al-Qaranyn and indicates that he believes the two people are indeed one and therefore it is doctrinal anachronism. However, al-Ṭabarī uses this title for other historical and legendry figures like an ancient Persian king and an Arabic king from al-Hira.[653] Plus, al-Ṭabarī does not directly state the link between the two figures and even in his Quranic commentary he

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[649] Shoshan, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography*, 62-68. The three examples above present *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis.

[650] For Syriac Alexander Romance in *Shāhnāmah*, see Manteghi, *The Alexander Romance*, 70-71.

[651] For the similarity of sources, see Ibid, 62. Abū Manṣūr al-Daqīqī (366/976) is thought to be the first author of *Shāhnāmah*, who compiled it in prose and later on which al-Firdawsī completed in poetry. "Daqīqiī, Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad – Encyclopedia Iranica", Iranicaonline.Org, last modified 2018, accessed March 1, 2018, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/daqiqi-abu-mansur-ahmad-b.

[652] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 15, 368-372, 390. For the transmission of the image of Alexander in *Shāhnāmah*, see Manteghi, "Alexander the Great", 70. The analysis of this paragraph is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).

[653] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 193, 365, vol. 2, 104.

disputes about the identity of Dhū al-Qarnayn without coming down on one side or the other.[654]

5.1.2 Structural anachronism

Structural anachronism means that Muslim historians benefit from a certain narrative structure so that they use it to build other historical stories. The role of such a mode of anachronism is as a referential framework that supplies other historical stories with narrative appliance that connect the stories' parts to give a historical meaning. Structural anachronism is connected to rhetoric explanation in the historiographical structure. In Alexander history, we see this mode of anachronism in some of its *akhbār* and yet the indications do not give us definite evidence of whether such a story is simulated by other stories or if it simulates them. It seems there is overlap and reciprocal structural anachronism between Alexander history and others that lets us assume Muslim historians might project the narrative structure on others and vice versa. Some examples might clarify this matter.

A favourite narrative category in al-Masʿūdī's work is dialogue between rulers and scholars, philosophers or wisemen. This category occupies pivotal space in Alexander history that reifies in Alexander and his conversation with an Indian philosopher who was sent (alongside a physician, a girl and a goblet) by an Indian king as symbol of his respect of and obedience to Alexander. The topic of the Indian philosopher with Alexander takes three stages. First, he debated with Greek philosophers on various issues and showed how he was well versed in knowledge and able to surpass them. Second, he was tested to see how he would respond and third, there was a meeting with Alexander and a long conversation between them about several philosophical, moral and political issues.[655] Al-Masʿūdī presents a long conversation between an old Coptic man and the ruler of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (270/883) and the conversation takes three narrative stages. The old man asks the ruler questions about Egypt, its history, cities and geography, then he debates with scholars about his Christian doctrine and finally his opinion about Judaism.[656] What we see here is that the

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[654] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 15, 368-371, 390
[655] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 325-331.
[656] Ibid, 383-394.

narrative structure of Both *akhbār* simulate each other in terms of figures (wisemen or philosophers and rulers) and stages (questions and debates), and since the *khabar* of Alexander with the Indian philosopher took place and was recorded before that of the Coptic man with Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, we could assume that it indicates the former constituted a referential narrative pattern for the latter. Nevertheless, it could be possible that al-Masʿūdī used the narrative style of the Arabic story to familiarise and habituate the *khabar* of Alexander with the Indian philosopher, which in this case is a kind of structural anachronism.

The case of Chinese kings is yet more intriguing. Al-Dīnawarī, Miskawayh and al-Thaʿālibī narrate a conversation between Alexander and the king of China, with differentiations in details and on which of the two visited the other. In the end, Alexander did not conquer China and the Chinese king tried to undermine Alexander's morale by appearing suddenly with his army in front of Alexander, but Alexander gained acknowledgement of his supremacy and tributes were paid to him.[657] This *khabar* appears in several popular stories and epical works such as *Qiṣṣat al-Iskandar* by ʿUmārah b. Zayd and *Shahnamah* by al-Firdawsī.[658] The source of this *khabar* seems to stem from the Syriac version of Alexander Romance and not from Greek sources.[659] Some Muslim historians have narrated that Qutaybah b. Muslim (97/716), a military commander, who conquered Transoxiana during the Umayyad caliphate under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96/715), communicated with the Chinese king in a similar way as Alexander. Al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh report that Qutaybah intended to conquer China after he succeeded in annexing Transoxiana. After he conquered Kashgar (on the edge of China), the Chinese king asked him to send men to explain to the Chinese people their religion and policies.[660] Qutaybah sent his men and told them to tell the Chinese king that he swore never to "depart until I tread on their land, seal [the necks of] their kings and collect their tax."[661] After a long dialogue between Muslim envoys and the king that showed how the latter tried to

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[657] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 37. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 101-1-03. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 436-440.
[658] Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*, 84. Al-Firdawsī, *Al-Shāhnāmah*, vol. 2, 25-26.
[659] Stoneman, *Alexander the Great*, 30.
[660] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 500. Miskawahyh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 2, 423.
[661] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. XXIII, 225. Miskawahyh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 2, 423.

undermine their morale in a way that resembles what his ancestor did with Alexander, they ended up acknowledging the supremacy of Muslim rule and carried out Qutaybah's requests.[662] It seems that only Miskawayh includes the two *akhbār* items and it is not clear which one reached Muslim historians first or whether there is compelling evidence that the Qutabybah *khabar* was inspired by the Alexander *khabar* and emulated it. Yet the three parts in the two *akhbār* dialogue – Chinese attempts to manoeuvre and procrastinate and the conquests – indicate that there is a possible narrative synthesis to make their general emplotment similar as both have similar historical situations.[663]

Another instance is found in al-Aṣfahānī's work when he talks about Alexander in the light of Ardashīr's story, the first Sasanid king, who succeeded in restoring the Persian Empire after the collapse of their first empire at the hands of Alexander.[664] The author narrates how Alexander took over the Persian Empire, slaughtered Persian nobles, burned their books and destroyed their cities and then how Ardashīr came to rescue the Persians from disunity and retrieve their Empire by justice and established new cities.[665] In chapter nine of his book that is allocated to Muslim governors of Khurasān, al-Aṣfahānī explicates how Umayyad rulers were unjust, killers and not respectful of Islam and the family of Prophet Muḥammad, until Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī (137/755) came out and "purified the country and rescued people from them."[666] If we recall the intellectual background of al-Aṣfahānī, we will realise to which extent *Shū'ūbiyyah* ideology plays a significant role in determining the narrative structure of his historical writing that prompts him to idealise those who have a Persian background over rivals whom the author demonises and blames for the

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[662] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 6, 501-503. Miskawahyh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 2, 423-426.

[663] This is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil + al-muttaaṣil* analysis. Historically, Alexander did not reach Chinese borders and meet the Chinese king. Also, his name was not introduced to China until the end of the sixteenth century CE. Gościwit Malinowski, "Alexander The Great And China" In *Alexander The Great And The East: History, Art, Tradition*, Krzysztof Nawotka and Agnieszka Wojciechowska (eds.), 151-158, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

[664] For Ardhashīr, see Tūrağ Daryāyī, *Sasanian Persia: the Rise and Fall of an Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd in association with the Iran Heritage Foundation, 2009). 2-6. A. D. H. Bivar, "The Political History of Iran Under the Arsacids" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. Ehsan Yāršātir, vol. 3, pt. 1, 21-99, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983).

[665] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 37.

[666] Ibid. 164-165. For more details on the role of Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī in the Abbasid revolution, see Lassner, *Islamic Revolution,* 99-133.

deterioration of Persian civilisation.[667] What strengthens this sense is the political and social environment where al-Aṣfahānī lived. Iraq and Fars were under the control of the Buyid dynasty, which followed nominally the Abbasid caliphate and who had a hostile attitude to Umayyads. Although the Buyids were Daylim they became Persian in terms of language, culture and names and attempted to revive national Persian heritage.[668] It thus seems that al-Aṣfahānī seeks a comparative narrative structure so that he would be able to reduce the temporal distance between two Persian protagonists and build a bridge between them. The anachronistic process applies to their enemies as well.

The third example is the end of Persian Empire at the hands of Alexander and then again at the hands of Muslims. Each has historical similarities in that the fallen empires were from the same civilisation, people and area and the victors (Greeks and Muslims) were less than their rivals in matters of civilisation and military power. In both cases, Muslim historians try to emphasise points that affect the historical trajectories of the two conflicts. The first narrative convergence emerges in displaying the political status of the last Persian Emperors (Dārā in the case of Alexander and Yazdajard in the case of the Muslims), and that both suffer from political instability and the absence of justice that coincides with their lack of understanding the status quo.[669] The second is the feeling of superiority by Persians toward their enemies and how they were better equipped and had more soldiers.[670] Lastly is the murder of both

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[667] For *al-Shūʿūbiyyah* in al-Aṣfahānī's thought, see Sizkīn, *Tārīkh Al-Turāth Al-ʿArabī*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 185. Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*. Trans. S. M Stern and C. R. Barber, vol. 1, 1st ed. (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 2006), 192-195. For reassessment of this view, see: Pourshariati, "Ḥamzah al-Aṣfahānī", 115-118. Here in this paragraph is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[668] Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age*, (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 44-46. Wilferd Madelung, "The Assumption of the Title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids and 'The Reign of the Daylam (Dawlat Al-Daylam)'", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28, no. 2 (1969): 84-108.

[669] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31, 104, 110-111, 114. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 116-117, vol. 1, 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 38, 99. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 126, 128, 180, 189. Al-Aṣfahānī. *Tārīkh*. 38, 46 Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 462, 481.

[670] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 32-34, 115-116. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 116-117. Vol. 1 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 38, 99. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol.1, 126, 128, 180, 189. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 38, 46 Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 462, 481.

Persian Emperors by someone that discloses the climax of tragic emplotment of the collapse of Persian Empires.[671]

The last example is found only in al-Thaʿālibī's work. He constructs Alexander history in a way similar to Muslim historical writings and his structural anachronistic mode embodies three aspects. From the beginning of the Alexander history he lodges it with some Arabic poetic verses that emphasise and clarify the meaning of the historical *akhbār* he cites.[672] For instance, the physician who was sent by the Indian king told Alexander that the best way to preserve his health was to ration his food, drink and intercourse. Al-Thaʿālibī's comments by saying that:

<div dir="rtl">

وهذا المعنى أراد منصور الفقيه بقوله:
أَقْلِلْ فديتك إن أكلت وإن شربت وإن غَشيتا
أنا الكفيل إذا فعلت بأن تُعافى ما بقيتا

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> By this is meant Manṣūr al-Faqīh, when he said: be abstemious, oh my dear, if you eat and drink and when you make love […] and I guarantee that if you do so you will be healthy as long as you live.[673]

However, the author seems to be aware when he makes this structural anachronism and it appears that since the poetic-prosaic writing style was common in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries in the Muslim world, al-Thaʿālibī may prefer to use it if we take into account that he is a literary writer and was close to Ghaznavid princes, who seemed to be interested in works with a literarily style.[674] Abū al-Naṣr al-ʿUtbī (circa 413-431 AH), one of al-Thaʿālibī's close friends, uses this format in his history book *al-Yamīnī*, which is a biography of the Sultan Maḥmūd b. Subaktakīn al-Ghaznawī (421/1030) and he includes some of al-Thaʿālibī's poems.[675] This helps us understand al-Thaʿālibī's application of poetic-prosaic writing style to Alexander history.[676]

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[671] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 34, 131-132. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 116-117. Vol, 1 184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 38, 99. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 126, 128, 180, 189. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 38, 46 Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 462, 481.

[672] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 402, 422, 426.

[673] Ibid, 426.

[674] Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 129-130. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 116. For Ghaznavids, see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 129-131.

[675] Al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī*, 74, 118, 188.

[676] Here in this paragraph is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab* + *ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

The second aspect of the structural anachronistic mode in al-Thaʿālibī's writings is to recall some statements by prominent Muslim figures in Alexander history such as his citing a comment by al-Maʾmūn, the Abbasid caliph, who said "in the past, determinism is the religion of kings" when he heard of what happened to Alexander with the Brahmen monk.[677] The third aspect is that al-Thaʿālibī allocates a section to present wisdoms and speeches of Alexander that are not found in other historical works, but rather in philosophical works like *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* by Abū Slaymān al-Sijistānī and *Adāb al-Falāsifah* by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq.[678] Again, the author departs from his intellectual milieu and prefers to construct his book and its Alexander history in the same way as many historical biographies of Muslim figures such as Prophet Muḥammad, his companions and caliphs by other Muslim historians.[679] This anachronistic unity of constructing historical stories in a similar way might indicate that al-Thaʿālibī may think it better to conceive historical trajectories of nations and figures in one pattern because the normative affairs such as deeds, military actions or the role of philosophers and wisemen are similar, and here the immutability that places emphasis on timeless and transcendentality shifts from history to historical writings.[680]

5.2 Realism

We have defined realism as the aware acceptance of the influence of multi-conditions (historical, personal and intellectual) or themes without being completely subject to them and we mentioned its three elements, i.e. subjective, objective and external. These elements comprise the concept of realism and, in terms of the textual side, seem to work through parallel lines: the influence of external and objective elements on the subjects (the historians) and the influence of external and subjective elements on the objects (historical materials). Such parallel lines are seen in two manifestations

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[677] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 224.
[678] Al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah*. 158-166. Ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb Al-Falāsifah*, 87-91.
[679] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 110-118, 228-234, 248-250, 320-322. 116-117. Vol. 1 184. Al-Balādhurī, *Jumal min Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, 113-157, vol. 10, 112-114. 364, 436. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 38, 99, vol. 4, 201-207, vol. 6, 566-570. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 118-120, 27-130, 184-187, 419-420.
[680] For immutability in historical anachronistic writings, see Colin G. King "Historical Fallacies of Historians" in *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography* by Carlos Speorhase, ed. Aviezer Tucker, (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 277.

that have links with the argumentative and rhetoric aspects of the historiographical structure: explanatory realistic and narrative realistic modes.

5.2.1   Explanatory realistic mode

The explanatory realistic mode denotes that Muslim historians have tendencies to give argumentative explanations whether evaluating historical events or figures, proving their existence or attributions and illuminating reasons, motives and intentions of people. In Chapter Four we discussed and analysed the argumentative explanation by giving some examples that show the functions of explanatory realistic mode. The essence of Muslim historians' tendencies in this realistic mode includes the possibility of knowing, understanding and conceptualising motives and intentions of people that underlie historical *akhbār* and the possibility of generating evaluative judgment on such *akhbār*. Examples for each of these possibilities would probably help.[681]

First is the possibility of knowing, understanding and conceptualising motives and intentions which appear when al-Ṭabarī narrates the conversation between Dārā and Alexander at the end of their war. He cites Alexander's speech to a dying Dārā:

> "You were attacked from the rear. You were alone among enemies and your trusted men betrayed you. Ask of me whatever you desire, for I am intent on keeping close relations between us." He meant, so this source maintained, the closeness between Salam and Hirāj, the sons of Afrīdhūn.[682]

The author here seems to intervene in the conversation by inserting his comment to show readers what Alexander meant in his speech. In such interference, al-Ṭabarī uses contextual argument by linking this incident with other textual and historical contexts in his book as when he narrates the origin of Persian and Greek-Roman ancestors (according to Persian perspective) and how their ancestors shared the same origins.[683] If al-Ṭabarī choses the death of Dārā to exhibit his intervention in revealing Alexander's intention, al-Maqdisī does so with Alexander's death. Al-Maqdisī comments on Alexander's pessimism about entering Babylon as "escaping from fate" (*firāran min al-qadar)* and comments later when Alexander wakes up he looks at his

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[681] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī*.
[682] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 92.
[683] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol .1, 212-215.

condition so "he was certain of his death" (*fa istayqan bi al-mawt*).[684] We do not know how al-Maqdisī uncovers Alexander's feelings or reactions but it would be likely that he might have had indications that impelled him to express his commentary. Indeed such indications may be found in al-Thaʿālibī's book, who points out that when Alexander felt unwell he asked Ptolemy to read his fortune and look at the stars (*qirāʾat al-ṭāliʿ wa al-naẓar fī al-nujūm*) and he said to Alexander that he would be fine until he saw some signs that would tell him that his end was near.[685] Al-Thaʿālibī's mention of this matter might clarify al-Maqdisī's intervention in revealing the internal details of Alexander's end.[686] Again, al-Thaʿālibī uses the argumentative mode, and this time deterministic mechanical causation, to substantiate reasons and motive behind al-Khiḍr's action, when the latter gained immortality by drinking from the spring of immortality without telling Alexander because (according to al-Thaʿālibī), Allāh had predetermined that al-Khiḍr's life would last for a long time.[687] Here, we notice the author employs argument explanation in the service of what he believes to be a true *khabar* (which is doctrinal anachronism). In the end, what is apparent in the three Muslim historians' works as subjective attendance is an objective attendance by virtue of textual materials' role in prompting Muslim historians to explicate the intentions and motives of Alexander.

Some objections might stand against such type of realistic mode and consider it as type of omniscience *al-iʾlm al-kullī*, which implies that historians have ability to go inside the minds and hearts of their objects (historical figures) and that such ability allows them to disclose the purposes of objects.[688] Omniscience goes further and crystallises the discovery of historical figures' minds and hearts in a way that exposes the later historical sequences and hence omniscience works as futuristic instrument.[689]

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[684] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408.
[685] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 448.
[686] Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis.
[687] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 432-433. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 366-367. See in this chapter, 5.1.1 Doctrinal anachronism. For the mode of deterministic mechanical causation, see in Chapter Four 4.3.3 Causation. As for al-Maqdisī, albeit he does not identify Alexander with Dhū al-Qarnayn, he nevertheless narrates that Dhū al-Qarnayn and al-Khiḍr were in fact cousins and competed with each other to earn immortality from the spring of life. Al-Maqdisī conceives this *khabar* via the scope of miracles *muʿjizāt* since he puts the story in the section of prophets' history. See: Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 366-367.
[688] Shoshan, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography*, 52.
[689] Ibid, 56.

To put it differently, the claim of historical actors' extraction of intentionality is likely to be judgmental anachronism. Such objections may be applicable to some historical themes in Muslim historical writings, but omniscience assumes the entire dichotomy and separation between subject (historians) and object (historical texts or actors) and at the same time assumes the complete control of the former over the latter. This meaning does not apply to the case of Alexander history in Muslim historical writings because we should take into account that Muslim historians exercise their explanations and interpretation via indicational (*dilālī*) categories and levels that vary between: certain, presumptive, identical, implicational and incorporational, and which relate to conventional and intended meanings or perceived and additional meanings (or the meaning of the meaning according to ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī 417/1078).[690] What Muslim historians do is to function historical and textual indications to explain a given historical *khabar*. Muslims in general in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries seem not to have had problems in recovering meanings and intentions of human actions and speeches. The reasons for that should be linked to the Quran. So long as they insisted on recovering the meanings and judiciousness of Allāh's word, they would be able to recover human ones. The opposite is not right to them and there would be a backlash. If they were unable to recover human meanings and intentions, they would not be able to do so with Allāh's word.[691] Quentin Skinner explains it from a different aspect as follows:

> To know what a writer meant by a particular work *is* to know what his or her primary intentions were in writings it […] whatever an author was *doing in* writing, what he or she wrote must be relevant to interpretation and thus *among* the interpreter's tasks must be the recovery of author's intention *in* writing what he or she wrote […] we

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[690] See in Chapter Four, 4.1 The meaning and role of historical *khabar* in Arabic Muslim tradition; and also Appendix IV: *Dilālāt al-alfāẓ. Maʿná al-maʿná* is "to understand the meaning of the word, that eventually leads you to another meaning behind it". ʿAbd al-Qāhir Al-Jurjājī, *Dalāʾil al-Iʿjāz*, ed. Maḥamūd Shākir (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1992), 263.

[691] For the insistence on recovering and understanding the meanings of Quran, see al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 1, 67-70. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Mufīd, *Al-Tadhkirah bi Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. Mahdī Najaf, (Tehran; Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt, 1413 AH), 29, 38, 42. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Al-Mughnī fī Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-ʿAdl*, ed. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, vol. 17, (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa-al-Irshād al-Qawmī, al-Muʾassasah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah li al-Taʾlīf wa al-Tarjamah wa al-Ṭibāʿah wa al-Nashr, 1958-1965), 42-55.

need to be able to characterise a writer's intention if we are to interpret the meaning.[692]

Still Muslim historians' intervention to their objects' intentions does not always succeed even with their interpretive linguistic arsenal due to some obstacle like the shortage of knowledge about their historical cases, the intellectual presupposition toward them, the effective attendance of historical environment and their efficiency in mastering their linguistic tools and anachronism is the case point.

With regard to the possibility of generating evaluative judgment, it is better to start with al-Aṣfahānī, who expresses his evaluative judgment clearly on the matter of epithet of Dhū al-Qarnayn that shows the two parallel lines of realism: the influence of external and subjective elements and of external and objective elements on the subject (historians). When al-Aṣfahānī narrates about the ancient Yemeni king Yarʿash b. Abī Karib, he points out that early *akhbārī* claimed that such king was called Dhū al-Qarnayn. However, al-Aṣfahānī (who tended to be *Shuʿūbī*) rejects this claim by functioning contextualisation as an argumentative mode that shows how *akhbāriyyīn* confused with the word "Dhū", plus the similarities between Yarʿash and Alexander in the matter of conquests.[693]

Still, the most controversial instance can be found in al-Masʿūdī's case. When he narrates the story of Alexandria, he cites some *akhbār* that show how some creatures from the sea came out to the city and let Alexander decide to make something like a coffin and he went inside it and then his men dropped him in the sea. In this adventure, Alexander saw the creatures that were demons which resembled humans and had axes and saws.[694] Al-Masʿūdī continues and narrates a similar incident when the sea creatures came out and abducted people which led to Alexander erecting the obelisks that were designated in accordance with astronomy.[695] The question is why al-Masʿūdī allocates many pages for this supernatural and miraculous incident. A contemporary historian explains that it is due to the nature of *akhbār* in that they are alternative to rational argument and do not need any evidence and/or proofs, and in

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[692] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 101. Here is *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*manʿ*).
[693] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tarīkh*, 100. It is by no means sure that al-Aṣfahānī identifies Alexander with the Quranic Dhū al-Qarnayn. He just wants to refute Yemeni claim and locates the problem.
[694] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 412-414.
[695] Ibid, 415.

this context, he cites a quotation from al-Masʿūdī, who says about his book *Murūj al-Dhahab*:

هذا كتاب خبر لا كتاب بحث ونظر

this is a book of *khabar* not one of investigation and consideration.[696]

However, many examples in al-Masʿūdī's works contradict his statement. In these examples, he practices argumentative modes to accept or deny some *akhbār* or some parts thereof and one of them is in the end of the narration of Alexander with the Indian physician. Al-Masʿūdī states that he does not mention many *akhbār* about them because the issue of Indian medicine is "the illusion that India claims in the medical industry and others."[697] Putting al-Masʿūdī and his works within textual and external contexts would probably help us understand this dilemma. First of all, we should bear in mind that al-Masʿūdī uses this sentence in the context of his speaking about religions and their doctrines and he seems to mean that defending, refuting and analysing them in theological ways does not fit in historical works but in his other theological works.[698] The second point is that we have discussed the epistemological nature of *khabar* in Muslim tradition and its possibility for truth, falsehood and the unknown that is in between them. These three states accompany each other following epistemological statues: necessity (*ḍarūrī*) that a given thing must certainly happen; impossibility (*mustaḥīl*) that a given thing could not happen; and possibility (*jāʾiz*) that a given thing might happen.[699] Together, the two categorical states are viewed using certain criteria: the abundance of accounts, observing and examining them and the absence of any contradiction to rationality, reality (the external existence) and religion.[700] Although these criteria seem to be acceptable to Muslim historians for

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[696] Al-ʿAẓmah, *Al-Kitābah al-Tārikhiyyah*, 18-20, 25, 41. For al-Masʿūdī, Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 292. *Al-Tanbī wa al-Ishrāf*, 322. For the concept of investigation in al-Masʿūdī's thought, Khalidi, *Islamic Histriography*, 47-54.

[697] Ibid, 332.

[698] For his theological works, Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī*, 37-41. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 29-30, 136-142.

[699] Al-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh, *Al-Hawāmil wa al-Shawāmil*, 259. Al-Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd al-Awāʾil*, 25-43. Al-Māturīdī, *Al-Tawḥīd*, 7-17. Al-Tahānūnī, *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt Al*-Funūn, vol .1, 737. For analytical comparative approach to theological perspectives in this matter, Salhab, *ʿIlm al-Kalām wa al-Taʾrīkh*, 77-104.

[700] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1. 199-200. Al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Tabṣīr*, 112. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Vol. 2. 50, 210-211, 215-216. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 6, 10, 106, 151 Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 348-349, 367. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1. 49-50, 60.

knowing historical *akhbār*, they are disputed among historians in the matter of details and procedures due to the difference of their intellectual backgrounds. Such conceptualisation and framing would probably help us outline how Muslim historians deal with historical *akhbār* in terms of accepting or denying their existence or parts of them. Such intellectual attitudes do not seem to be strange to Muslim historians like al-Masʿūdī, who refers to the epistemological nature of *khabar* across his works.[701] Similarly for Miskawayh in his work *al-Hawāmil wa al-Shawāmil* and for al-Maqdisī's work who, alongside his theoretical introduction that has Greek logical and Muʿtazilī theological influences, brings to light an assertive statement:

واعلم أنّ لو تكلفنا هذه الأخبار والأقاصيص كلها على وجهها وأتينا بها على كنهها لاحتجنا إلى أن نسرد الروايات كلها الحق منها والباطل والمحال والمجاز ثم لم يحصل الناظر فيها على غير ما كان ممكنا من غير ذلك. وإنما المراد في ذكر ما يجوز ويمكن ويتوهم مما اختلف فيه الناس.

> And know that if we go overboard in presenting all *akhbar* and stories as-is, we would need to recite all stories, whether true, false, annulled, impossible and allegoric, and then readers will not understand anything other than what would have otherwise been possible; yet the intention is to mention that which is possible , probable and allegoric in what people have differed.[702]

These examples of the possibility of generating judgment show the opposite trend of that of understanding motives and intentions as the former seems to ascertain that the intellectual backgrounds of Muslim historians and their historical intellectual atmosphere tend to affect the objects that reify in historical texts. Discussing al-Masʿūdī's example is not to justify his narration of Alexandria's sea creatures, nor to say his argument is correct or even plausibly reasonable. Rather, it is to show that Muslim historians worked within intellectual criteria that were acceptable to Muslim communities of the time. ʿAzīz al-ʿAẓmah calls this *maʿqūliyyah tārīkhiyyah* (historical rationality), which is to look at epistemological and methodological conditions of Muslim historical writings within their time and at historical conditions.[703]

[701] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 50, 210-211, 215-216. *Al-Tanbī wa al-Ishrāf* 82.

[702] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*. 348-349, al-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh, *Al-Hawāmil wa al-Shawāmil*, 259. For al-Maqdisī's philosophical and theological thought, see Khalidi, Tarif. 'Muʿtazilite Historiography: Maqdisī's Kitāb Al-Badʾ Waʾl-Taʾrīkh'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35, no. 1 (January 1976): 1–12.

[703] Al-ʿAẓmah, *Al-Kitābah al-Tārīkhiyyah*, 9.

The possibility of evaluative judgment takes another turn as there is unspoken rejection of doctrinal anachronism by most of the eight Muslim historians, which suggests that they practice a kind of realistic evaluative judgment. It exemplifies in omitting any *khabar* about the identification between Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn, Aristotle and monotheism and the company of Alexander with al-Khidr. This appears in Miskawayh, al-Aṣfahānī, al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Ṭabarī. Another way is to have reservations toward the issues and not to weigh between them; this appears in al-Maqdisī (with exception to his writing about the prophecy of Zardasht) and al-Masʿūdī (with exception to his writing about the building of Alexandria).[704] They also provide some cautious words and phrases to put distance between them and their texts. They say, "Allāh knows" (*Allāh aʿlam… qīlah*) "it is said", and "they claim" (*yazʿumūn*).[705] Here, the historians prefer to stand on the side of potentiality and probability between truth and falsehood, certainty and impossibility. Such realistic judgment would ransom them from the burden of cognitive responsibility that they tend to be like conveyers who highlight other voices that present various and sometimes contradictory opinions.[706]

5.2.2 Narrative realistic mode

The narrative realistic mode suggests that Muslim historians incline to range between using more narrative expressions on a certain topic in Alexander history or refrain from such narrative expressive use. The main realistic parallels that consist of the relationship between subject, object and historical circumstances play again a pivotal role in this mode.

One of the major topics that manifest the narrative realistic mode is again the death of Dārā. Miskawayh and al-Maqdisī illuminate this topic in tragic way, yet they do so generally and do not stress or amplify the conversation between the Persian king and Alexander. Miskawayh presents the tragic scene in three stages: Alexander sitting beside Dārā while he was dying, Alexander telling him that he did not intend to kill

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[704] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 366-367. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318-319. For their exceptions, see in this chapter, 5.1.1. Doctrinal anachronism.
[705] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol .1, 574, 576-578. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 319, 415. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408.
[706] See: Michael Whitby, "Al-Tabari: The Period Before Jesus", 15.

him, and finally Alexander asking Dārā what his request was, and Dārā saying to execute his murderers and marry his daughter.[707] As for al-Maqdisī, his narration is briefer than Miskawayh's and does not include any quotation, just narrative paraphrasing. His narration seems to come in three stages as well: the first is Alexander apologising to Dārā, while the second and third are similar to Miskawayh's work, but with an additional request: not to burn Persian temples or irritate Persian nobles.[708] The narrative modification of the two historians indicates that the influence and attendance of their subjectivities are to minimise the emotional and sentimental aspects in the narrative scene. They might do so because they think that a brief narrative illustration is sufficient. Neither historian in the matter of influential functions of *khabar* is curious about the aesthetic and entertainment aspects of Dārā's death, and instead they focus on the lessons aspect of it. When they do so they reaffirm the attendance of their intellectual backgrounds in that they have philosophical and theological tendencies that look for the practical aspects (lessons) at the expense of aesthetic entertainment.[709]

In contrast with subjective realism in Miskawayh's and al-Maqdisī's works, al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī expatiate the topic of Dārā's death and enlarge its tragic details. They seek to cite speech-quotations for Alexander and Dārā as if they prefer to allocate a narrative space for the topic to speak on its own, and thus be more influential in terms of displaying the feelings of both sides for one another.[710] Within such quotations, rhetoric and allegorical language appear to add more influence in this topic.[711] Since the topic of Dārā's death occupies a distinct position in the trajectory of Alexander history in al-Dīnawarī's and al-Thaʿālibī's works, it might indicate the attendance and impact of the object on the two historians (who represent the subjective side in realistic mode). Al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī also tend to be interested not only in the lessons' aspects (as Miskawayh and al-Maqdisī are) but also

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[707] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 96. This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-ḥaqīqī*.

[708] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. It appears that there is missing text in Alexander history in al-Maqdisī's book, because it jumps suddenly from Dārā's warning to Alexander to the death scene, without mentioning the battle at all.

[709] Here, in this paragraph, is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).

[710] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār Al-Tiwāl*, 34-35. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 409-411.

[711] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār Al-Tiwāl*, 34-35. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 409-411. ((Why not just write – Ibid – instead?

in the aesthetic and entertainment ones. It is true that their intellectual backgrounds (literature) may have an effect, yet they do so in a functional way in that the historical cultural circumstances that revolve around the two historians denote that their audiences were interested in aesthetics and entertainment alongside lessons. [712] Consequentially, the topic and historical milieu seem to affirm the objective realistic line over the subjective.

When it comes to al-Ṭabarī, the situation is unclear. In contrast to the other historians, he presents two *akhabar* about Dārā's death that reassert the multi-narrative and argumentative style of his work.[713] Although al-Ṭabarī has two *akhabar*, he presents them briefly and simultaneously using speech-quotations that have lessons aspects and also aesthetic ones. Therefore it is likely that al-Ṭabarī appears to stand in-between objective and subjective lines with a slight leaning to the subjective. It is interesting that al-Ṭabarī presents more than one *khabar* for most themes in Alexander history; for instance Alexander's ethnic roots, the reasons for conflict between Alexander and Dārā and the duration of Alexander's reign.[714] It is typical to find this multi-narrative presentation to a single *khabar* in his historical work, his exegesis work of the Quran, or even his judicial work about jurists' disputes as we have seen in the mode of inductive prove in argumentative explanation in the historiographical structure. Some think that by doing this, al-Ṭabarī shows a lack of historical sense or awareness of the writing of history and displays dispersed *akhbār* that do not orchestrate between them in a synthetic and harmonious way.[715] In this narrative realistic mode, al-Ṭabarī tries to imply that there are more than one perspective and possibility to understand and read a particular *khabar*.[716]

Another example of realistic narrative is Alexander's military conquests. Al-Masʿūdī tends not to allocate much space in his book *Murūj al-Dhahab* to the political and military events in the history of Alexander. On the contrary, he appears to be

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[712] Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 129-130. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 98-99, 116.

[713] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 575-576.

[714] Ibid, 572-578.

[715] Shākir Muṣṭafá, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿArabī wa al-Muʾarrikhūn*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li al-Malāyīn, 1983), 260.

[716] Humphreys, "Qurʾanic Myth", 279-281. In this paragraph there is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

interested in civilisational, cultural and intellectual aspects in Alexander history such as building Alexandria, his conversation with Indian wisemen and philosophers and his funeral oration.[717] Perhaps political and military history does not fit with the structure of his book; mostly he states that he elucidates Alexander's wars in his other book *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ*.[718] Similarly, al-Yaʿqūbī pays attention to Alexander's letter to his mother and his funeral oration more than to his military campaigns.[719] Indeed, what confirms al-Yaʿqūbī's propensity to civilisational and cultural history is the context of his book in that he describes the works of Greek philosophers and scientists in more detail than the histories of their kings.[720] It is worth recalling al-Yaʿqūbī's perception of the movement of history. To conclude Alexander history with his dying and his funeral ceremony reflects his perception of history that takes salvific or tragic shapes that appear in his historical writings. These shapes of history might relate to his Shiite background, which highlights the family of the Prophet's agonies and martyrdom, especially al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and their offspring.[721] It might also be connected to his time and the deterioration of the Muslim world.[722] So for al-Yaʿqūbī, Alexander dying and his funeral are worthy of being narrated as long as they contain tragic features. Miskawayh seems to be more interested in political and military events in Alexander's history and puts the philosophical themes in his other works (his book *al-Ḥikmah al-Khālidah*), which show an opposite way to al-Masʿūdī and al-Yaʿqūbī.[723] In doing so, Miskawayh follows his peer philosophers such as Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (*Nawādir al-Falāsifah wa al-Ḥukamāʾ* or *Ādāb al-Falāsifah*) and Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (*Ṣīwān al-Ḥikmah*).[724] Al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh give more space to political and military aspects of Alexander's history, and al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī who both tend to be concerned

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[717] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 320-332, 410-416.
[718] Ibid, 318.
[719] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184.
[720] Ibid, 126-183. See, Tayyara, "The Reflection Of Non-Islamic Cultures", 306.
[721] William Guy Millward, "A Study of Al- Yaʿqūbī: With Special Reference to His Alleged Shīʿa Bias" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1962), 6-11.
[722] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, Vol. 2. 468-469. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Al-Buldān*, 217, (Appendix). See the concept of *tadāwul* in Chapter Six, 6.2.2 The concept of *Tadāwul*.
[723] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikmah Al-Khālidah*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Raḥmān Badawī, (Tehran: Muʾassasah Intishārāt Wa Jāb Danshikāh, 1377), 219-225.
[724] Ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb Al-Falāsifah*, 84-86. Al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah*, 147-150.

with religious issues in Alexander's history, because they portray Alexander and Dhū al-Qarnayn as one character in an anachronistic pattern.[725]

Table 3. Table of the modes of historiographical concepts (textual side)

	Al-Dīnawarī	Al-Yaʿqūbī	Al-Ṭabarī	Al-Masʿūdī	Al-Aṣfahānī	Miskawayh	Al-Maqdisī	Al-Thaʿālibī
Doctrinal anachronism	+		+	+		+	+	+
Structural anachronism	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Explanatory realism	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Narrative realism	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, we construed the historiographical concepts in Alexander history in Muslim historical writings and justified adding them to the historiographical structure by saying that such concepts had textual (and hence historiographical) and meta-textual (and hence historical) dimensions. Two major concepts were discussed: anachronism and realism, and each of their elements has links with rhetoric and argumentative explanations. Anachronism was divided into doctrinal and structural. We explained how the former manifested in reconciliation between historical figures and events (sometime with the impact of predictive and pedestrian views on it) and in descriptive language to some terms and speech. With respect to realism, we divided it into two modes – explanatory realistic and narrative realistic – accompanied by subjectivity and objectivity. The explanatory realistic relates to argumentative explanation and symbolised the possibility of apprehending the motives and intentions of people that underlie historical texts and of generating judgment on such texts. As for narrative realism, we have seen it relates to rhetoric explanation and dealt with amplifying narrative expression on particular themes in Alexander history

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[725] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār Al-Tiwāl*, 34-36. Al-Ṭabarī. *Tārīkh*, vol .1, 537-577. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95-98. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 403-411, 416-421. In this paragraph there is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

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or refrained from doing so. The main realistic parallels (subjectivity and objectivity) again played a crucial role.

In conclusion, the historiographical structure with its two levels – rhetorical and argumentative – alongside the textual sides of historiographical concepts of anachronism and realism – look at the internal and textual relationship of elements that govern Alexander history in these authors' works and how these expound to us the narrative methodical strategies and conceptual foundations that make pivotal contributions to shaping Alexander history in certain ways. Here, we end the first part of the complementary model in our study and now deal with the second part that looks at the historical aspects of Alexander history.

Chapter 6. Historiographical concepts (meta-textual) and historical concepts and reflections

In Chapter Four we analysed the historiographical structure, which includes rhetoric and argument explanations with their modes, and in Chapter Five we did so with the historiographical concepts (textual side), anachronism and realism. The historiographical sides comprise the first part of the complementary model of Alexander's historical story in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. In this last chapter we will turn to the second part of the model, which also consists of two sides. The historical concepts, and explore within them the meta-textual dimension of the historiographical concepts: present anachronism and realism. The second side is historical reflections of the historical concepts.

In doing so, we will again adopt the same general critical and analytic approach in determining major historical concepts and reflections. *Al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* with its inductive dimension will help trace the concepts by looking at their frequency among the eight Muslim historians' writings and the effect of such concepts on understanding Alexander history and its structure. This means to see if the spectrums of the historical concepts in more than one *khabar* or one long *khabar* occupy an important position in Alexander history or if a given *khabar* is repeated by most or all eight Muslim historians. Secondly, *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* will again be accompanied by *dilālat al-siyāq* which will look for textual relationships between the bulk of *akhbār* in Alexander history in a particular historical work and the other historical works and other Muslim traditional works from various fields of the same period to confirm the influence and frequency of the five major historical concepts. *Dilālat al-siyāq* will extend further and look into the historical circumstances and external contexts of Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings by taking into consideration the intellectual backgrounds of the eight Muslim historians, their audiences and their times. The procedures of both jurisprudential theory methodical tools will be applied to the historical reflections that would reflect the historical concepts of Muslim history at the time.

6.1 General outline

Some issues need to be outlined here. First, to claim that Muslim historians were thinking about given issues when writing Alexander history is a kind of omniscience or even anachronism. This objection is acceptable if we look at historical concepts and reflections from a definite angle (*yaqīnī*) which means absolute belief in the identical match between concepts and reality. However, the role of historical concepts and reflections does not seek to do so, but rather tries to find indications (*dalāʾil*) instead of evidence (*adillah*) and implicational, inferred and alluded indications instead of equivalent indications.[726] This role is an approximate endeavour that begins with written texts to its textual and situational contexts to draw out additional perceived meanings. Historians, according to Robin Collingwood, do not only discover past events, but also go further and find out and understand the thoughts that reflect such events. Collingwood regards this as historical process which is a process of thought.[727] Putting such perspective in the Muslim traditional scope, the priority (*al-ʿibrah*) is that which is intended (*al-murād*) of the speaker, not his pronunciation (*lafẓ*) since it is linguistic and indicative references the former. According to Ibn al-Qayyim "the literary man says 'what did he say?' and the knowledgeable man says 'what did he want?'"[728]

The second issue is that the historical concepts and reflections raise questions about why the Muslim historians theorised and framed the issues that concerned them as did other contemporary Muslim scholars and writers from different fields. It seems that there are two possibilities. Firstly, they did not have the intellectual and methodological abilities to produce theoretical and analytical works that would have discussed historical and conceptual issues. Yet, if we look at works from other fields (such as theology, philosophy, jurisprudence or language) written by the eight Muslim historians, we will find theoretical works that rebut this possibility.[729] Secondly, they might have preferred to narrate such historical issues in a narrative pattern as

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[726] See Appendix IV, *Dilālāt al-alfāẓ*.

[727] R. G Collingwood, *The Idea Of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 214-216.

[728] Ibn al-Qayyim, *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn*, vol. 2, 385-386.

[729] See lists of their works in: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī Bi al-Wafayāt*, ed. Herausgegeben Von Sven Dedering, vol. 6, (Stuttgart: In Kommission Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 377-379. Brūkilmān, *Tārīkh Ādāb al-ʿArab*, vol. 6. 118-124. Sizkīn, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 159-168, 177-187.

narration was a suitable written form to address historical themes. White points out that:

> Historians also often claim to explain the matters they treat by providing a proper understanding of them. The means by which this understanding is provided is *interpretation*. *Narration* is both the way in which a historical interpretation is achieved and the mode of discourse in which a successful understanding of historical matters is represented.[730]

Narrative history at that time seemed to be a good way of self-expression among Muslim writers. Grunebaum argues that there are two ways of self-expression in Muslim civilisation: first, through speaking by themselves such as in autobiography; and second, through originating characters that represent the personality of their makers and in prose narrative and epics. According to Grunebaum, history (alongside its twin, biography) stands in the middle and combines, them and thereby its role is more comprehensive than the first two.[731]

The third issue is that these historical concepts present the evaluative and lessons judgment that constitute the epistemic functional sequences of Muslim historical *akhbār*, which are manifest in rhetoric and argumentative explanations. Since such concepts represent some of the main historical issues that existed during the time of Muslim historians which are narrated in historical narrative patterns, they have the elements of epistemic functional sequences of historical *akhbār*. By relying on *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* with its inductive dimension and *dilālāt al-siyāq*, we find that the historical concepts are intellectual (philosophical and religious) and political and ethical since thematic narratives in Alexander history in the eight Muslim writings revolve around them and therefore reflect them.[732] Historical writings are not incontrovertibly confined to the three aspects, but in some cases (including Alexander history) they are dominant due to the historians' circumstances, their recipients' and the circumstances of the discourse itself (the written works).[733]

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[730] White, "The content of the form", 60.
[731] Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 258-259, 275.
[732] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).
[733] In historical reflections, we will focus in general on the Eastern part of the Muslim world since the eight Muslim historians used to live there. Still, we give some attention to the Western part of the

6.2 The concept of *tadāwul* and its historical reflections

Tadāwul (rotation) can be defined as the process of driving away people and nations from their position in history. This section will discuss linguistic and idiomatic meanings of this concept, its link with similar concepts (state (*dawlah*) and history), nature (salvation, cycle, linear and jostle), relationship with emplotment modes (tragedy and romance), categories (macro-generality and micro-specificity), relationship with other historical concepts and finally the historical reflections behind it.

Al-Ṭabarī cites a speech by Alexander after his victory over Dārā. Alexander says, "God granted us triumph over Darius and granted us the opposite of Darius's threats."[734] Al-Thaʿālibī turns out to be quoting this sentence literally in his work.[735] Al-Ṭabarī and al-Thaʿālibī use the word *adālanā* that is derived from the word *adālah* (past) and its verbal noun is *idālah* and another verbal noun is *dawāl*.[736] These Arabic words denote in their linguistic meaning the consequences (*ʿāqibah*) of a given side at the expense of another.[737] Even the Quranic meaning of such a word seems to conceptualise as with the linguistic one. It is mentioned in the *Āl ʿImrān* chapter in verse 140 "و تلك الأيام نداولها بين الناس We deal out such days among people in turn."[738]

This comes in light of speaking about Muslims' defeat by Quraysh at Uḥud in 3 AH/625 CE to explain to the losers that victory or rise in human history and life is rotational (*tadāwulī*) among people and do not sustain a given people at the expense of others forever.[739] Therefore, the two Muslim historians' expression of *tadāwul* pertained to Arabic tradition and above all to Quranic and hence Muslim tradition. Al-Ṭabarī only expresses his thinking about the concept of *tadāwul* in citing the speech of Alexander in this manner, but does so in implicit ways by narrating *akhbār* in his Alexander history that contain equivalent words and sentences related to the word

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Muslim world and its heritages for comparative purposes and also because both parts of the Muslim world were not separated but rather interacted with each other.
[734] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 94.
[735] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 414.
[736] Aḥmad b. Fāris, *Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, vol. 2, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1979), 314.
[737] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 11, 252.
[738] Q 2. 140.
[739] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 6, 79-85.

tadāwul. For instance, he narrates the symbolic message of Dārā to Alexander and the interpretation by Alexander that he would possess Dārā's lands, and secondly at the end of Alexander history when al-Ṭabarī narrates how the reign transformed (*taḥawwal*) from Alexander's successors to the Romans.[740] With the building of Alexandria, al-Masʿūdī reports that Alexander said, " أردت طول بقائها، وأراد الله سرعة فنائها وخرابها وتداول الملوك إيّاها I wanted it to be lasting but Allāh wants it to be perished and rotated among kings".[741] Here the word *tadāwul* with its pessimistic mode comes not from military and political conflicts (as it appears in al-Ṭabarī and al-Thaʿālibī), but from civilisational aspects that al-Masʿūdī is more concerned with in *Murūj al-Dhahab*. Al-Ṭabarī and al-Thaʿālibī are the only ones who use the word *mudāwalah* in the context of Alexander history, and the rest of Muslim historians tend to prefer to put the issue of *tadāwul* in implicit ways. For example, al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Maqdisī and al-Thaʿālibī display it in the context of Alexander's funeral when groups of philosophers, wisemen and his family pay their condolences and one of the main issues in their consolations was how Alexander was strong and now is weak, how he was a conqueror of kings and now defeated.[742] It seems that the ceremony's symbolism was common in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and prompted Muslims either to imitate or recall it. An example of imitation is Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, who says that he was gathering with other philosophers, when ʿAḍud al-Dawlah (the strong and effective Buyid governor) died in 372/983, and they remembered philosophers' speeches during Alexander's funeral ceremony, so they decided to imitate them and start giving ceremonial speeches to ʿAḍud al-Dawlah.[743] Likewise, al-Masʿūdī reports that Abbasid caliph al-Wāthiq asked his attendants to tell him the best speeches that were delivered at Alexander's funeral ceremony, and when he listened to them he cried and wrote a poem that described how life has ups and downs (*ṣurūf al-dahr*) and how people, even with great achievements, all fall in

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[740] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 578.
[741] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*. Vol. 1. 412.
[742] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 185-186. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 320-322. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408-409. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 450-454.
[743] Abū Shujāʿ al-Rūdhrāwarī, *Dhayl Tājārib al-Umam*, in Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 7, 96-97. This story is also cited in: Al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah wa Akhbār al-Mudhākarah*, ed. ʿAbbūd al-Shālijī, vol. 7 (Beirut; Dār Ṣādir, 1995), 257-259. For a comparison between the death of Alexander and the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawlah, see: Emily Cottrell, "Alexander At The Buyid Court" in *The Alexander Romance: History And Literature* (Groningen: Barkhuis & Groningen University Library, 2018), 250-254. I would like to thank the author for sending me a copy of her work.

the end.[744] These actions (imitation and recalling) represent respectively present anachronism – and how the ceremony becomes an event to be gauged against their time – and present realism which becomes lessons to benefit from. Miskawah, like al-Ṭabarī, tells of the symbolic message of Dārā for the issues of *tadāwul* and ends with the conversation between Alexander and the king of China.[745] The connected and disconnected contextualisation of *tadāwul*'s meaning as a concept corresponds to the macro-textual connected and disconnected context of historical and non-historical works of Muslim historians, in that they present the concept through their works, whether explicitly or implicitly, as commentary statements at the beginning of their works or within or at the end, and finally through narrativising some historical *akhbār* and stories about the concept of *tadāwul*.

The most notable example is the story of the Abbasid revolution in 132 AH/750 CE that brought down the Umayyad caliphate and replaced it with the Abbasid dynasty. When Marwan b. Muḥammad (132/750), the last Umayyad caliph, was defeated and killed, Abu al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, the first Abbasid caliph (136/754), ascended the rostrum of Kufah mosque and he and his uncle delivered a speech on how Umayyads took over the caliphate and rotated it among them, until Allāh brought the Abbasids "وأتاكم الله بدولتنا".[746] In al-Masʿūdī's account, al-Saffāḥ spoke about the rise of his reign by reciting a poem by his great grandfather, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[747] The most striking feature here is that the concept of *dawlah* in Abbasid's time, when the eight Muslim historians lived, took further aspects as it if concerns not only the Abbasid revolution (and hence is relevant to *tadāwul*) but also the contemporary political regime, as Miskawayh cites a conversation between Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (the head of the al-Ḥusayn family) and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (the head of the al-Ḥasan family), when the former said when the Abbasid revolution broke out, "this state

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[744] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 495.
[745] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 96, 103.
[746] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 7, 426. Anonymous, *Al-ʿUyūn wa al-Ḥadāʾiq fī Akhbār al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. 3, (Baghdād: Maktabat al-Muthanná, 1971), 200-201. Al-Yaʿqūbī just cites al-Saffāḥ's uncle's speech. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 284.
[747] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 257.

dawlah will be maintained by them."[748] This second aspect of *dawlah* appears later in the titles of many Muslim regional rulers installed by Abbasid caliphs and they express the status of the holders of these titles as the protectors and guarantors of the permanence of the Abbasid caliphate. The twin meaning of *dawlah* needs to be seen in comparison with the meaning of history itself. History (*tārīkh* or *taʾrīkh*) in the Arabic tradition means that something reaches its end 'the history of everything means its uttermost time when it will end and means to fix something by timing (*tawqīt*: *ithbāt al-shayʾ*) as Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī explains.[749] The first meaning refers to the change process that puts an end to something and heralds something new and in this sense it resembles the meaning of *tadāwul*. The second meaning of history concerns continuity and recording something and hence saving it from oblivion, which resembles the second meaning of *tadāwul* that developed later in Abbasid context.[750] In his book *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, al-Masʿūdī dedicates a chapter to the historical calendar and timing among various nations and we can see the twin aspects of history, especially with Arabs before Islam, when they set their calendar according to their fights and wars.[751] At the beginning of the chapter, al-Masʿūdī expounds the need for history to realise the change and continuance of humanity and he demonstrates his view by the example of Alexander:

ليس أمة من الأمم من الشريعيين وغيرهم ممن سلف وخلف إلا ولها تأريخ ترجع إليه وتعول عليه في أكثر أمورها ينقل ذلك خلف عن سلف وباق عن ماض إذ كان به تعرف الحوادث العظام والكوائن الجسام وما كان في الأزمان الماضية والدهور الخالية. ولولا ضبط ذلك وتقييده لانقطعت الأخبار ودرست الآثار وجهلت الأنساب. ولذلك أخذ الإسكندر أهل مملكته ولا يجهل بتقييد أيامه وحفظ تأريخه وسيره، لكيلا يضيع ما بان من أمره وحمد من سعيه، كثرة من ناصب من الأعداء وقتل من الملوك ووطئ من البلاد وحوى من المملكة لعلمه بما يلحق كثيرا من الناس من التواني عن نقل الأخبار وتقييد السير والآثار وإعراضهم عن ذلك إيثارا للدعة وميلا إلى التخفيف. واحتذى فعله أردشير بن بابك لما قتل ملوك الطوائف واستوسقت له الأمور وانقاد الناس إلى طاعته، قام بضبط سيرته وعهوده وأيامه وحروبه. إلا أنه اطرح ما كان قبل ذلك وتناساه، لكي يكون الذكر لأيامه وسيرته، فضبط ذلك ضبطا شديدا

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[748] For the meaning of *dawlah* in the Abbasid revolution, Lassner. *The Middle East Remembered*, 60-94. Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language Of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988). 35-36. For the quotation of Jaʿfar, Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 3, 313.

[749] Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjat al-Atharī. (Baghdad: al-Maṭbaʿah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1341 AH), 178. See also: Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 9. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 6-8.

[750] For general observation of the meaning history, see Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 8-17. Wajīh Kawtharānī, *Tārīkh al-Taʾrīkh*, (Doha: al-Markaz al-ʿArabī li al-Abḥāth wa Dirāsat al-Siyāsāt, 2012) 30-42.

[751] Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf*, 183-198.

There is no nation among the nations that does not have a history on which it depends in their its important matters. Without doing this, past information and genealogies would have vanished. Therefore, Alexander ordered his people to record his days and preserve his history and his life, so as not to lose what is of his order and praise of his quest and not to forget how many enemies and kings he killed and how many countries he conquered. He did this because he knew that people were reluctant to record history. Likewise, Ardashīr b. Bābik followed Alexander's steps when he killed the regional kings, and then when all was settled in his favour, people obeyed and paid him homage. He recorded his life, his days and wars, but he cast aside what had gone before him and was forgotten so that the remembrance would be just of his days, and therefore he was able to rule very well.[752]

If people want continuity and resist *tadāwul* and oblivion, they should first be aware of the change of time and then construct and reconstruct it by recording and timing.[753]

The existence of *tadāwul* as a concept in Alexander history conducts us to the nature of such concept in the eyes of Muslim historians and its types. By nature, we mean the form in which such a concept appears in human life. It seems that there are three major modes of the nature of *tadāwul* in Muslim tradition in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.[754] The first is that *tadāwul* is a cyclical process which means there are given consequent stages in human history that start from a certain point and end with another. This perspective is adopted by Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, an ambiguous intellectual group who had Ismāʿīlī tendencies and who lived in the fourth/tenth century.[755] However, we do not know if there were other groups from different intellectual schools that might have had a similar view of history. As for the eight Muslim historians, they tended not to embrace Ikhwān al-Ṣafā's perspective; even al-Yaʿqūbī who was Shiite. This leads us to the second nature of *tadāwul* in Muslim tradition that is linear with two possible types. First, it takes descending shape as if history starts from creation and ends with a predictive phase that would formulate the end of mankind. This is known as salvation history and is common in Biblical

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[752] Ibid, 183.
[753] Salīm, *Niẓām al-Zamān al-ʿArabī*, 98. In this paragraph, there is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil + al-munfaṣil* analysis.
[754] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).
[755] Henry Corbin, *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1983), 35-37. Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 234-237.

traditions (Christianity and Judaism).[756] Some contemporary scholars argue that the Muslim historical view espouses salvation history as the main view as long as they base their historical writing system from Biblical traditions (mainly Syriac Christian view) and share similar religious heritage with them.[757] Yet there are some conceptual problems with this claim. The idea of salvation (*al-khalāṣ*), if we accept its existence in Muslim historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, clings to the futuristic or eschatological unseen (*al-ghayb al-ukhrawī*), whereas history is related to the past-unseen (*al-ghayb al-māḍawī*). In addition, salvation history is linked to the idea of the original sin, which is rejected by Muslim tradition.[758] In Muslim tradition at that time, the common term was *al-falāḥ* (success or excellence) which indicates benefits that people get as the outcome of doing good deeds in this world.[759] Still, there is a trace of salvation history and its link with suffering rather than sin in al-Yaʿqūbī's works on the Abbasid caliphate in a narrative, long and futuristic *khabar* of Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah) b. ʿAlī Abī Ṭālib.[760] Al-Yaʿqūbī finds in this *khabar* a mixture of reconciliation between his Abbasid and Alid background (he descended from a family that used to work for the Abbasids and is thought to have had Shiite tendencies) to propose salvific and predictive history about the advent of *ahl al-bayit* or Hashimi rule.[761] The second linear shape has some

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[756] Victor I Ezigbo, *Introducing Christian Theologies*, vol. 2, (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2015), 53-116. Emil. L. Fackenheim, "Salvation In Judaism", *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 2, no. 1 (1967). 23-24.

[757] Rosenthal, "The Influence of the Biblical Tradition". 35-45. Al-ʿAẓmah, *Al-Kitābah Al-Tārīkhiyyah,* 93–127. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian* Milieu, 18, 31–32, 40. Gilliot, 'Al-Ṭabarī And The 'History Of Salvation'', 131-140.

[758] For the Original Sin and its link with salvation history, see Orlando E Costas, *Christ Outside The Gate: Mission Beyond Christendom* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005). 21.

[759] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 1. 256. al-ʿAskarī, *Al-Furūq*, 211. For comparative analysis between salvation and *al-falāḥ*, see Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, *Al Tawhid: Its Implications on Thought and Life* (Herndon, Virginia: The International Institute of Islamic Thought. 2000), 72-73, 109. Also: Mulalić, *A Survey of Early Muslim Historiography*, 50–52. Maurice Borrmans, "Salvation" in: *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Georgetown University, Washington DC. Consulted online on 27 January 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_00368. This is *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*manʿ* and *al-muʿāraḍah*).

[760] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 221-223. See also, Anonymous, *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʿAbbāsiyyah wa fīh Akhbār al-ʿAbbās wa Waladih*, eds. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Muṭṭalibī (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1971), 183-190. Al-Balāthurī, *Jumal min Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 4, 80-87. For Abū Hāshim *waṣiyyah*, Lassner, *Islamic Revolution*, 55-71.

[761] For the notion of salvation and its link with redemption or suffering in Shiite Imamate, Mahmoud Ayoub, *Redemptive Suffering in Islām: A Study Of The Devotional Aspects of ʿĀshūrāʾ In Twelver Shīʿism (Religion And Society)* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978). 197-229. In this paragraph there is *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab* + *ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).

pessimistic dimensions that might be found in al-Masʿūdī's works that depict the political *tadāwul* among nations as signs of deterioration. According to Tarif Khalidi, al-Masʿūdī's conception of the movement of history is summarised as follows:

> Ancient nations were, like living organisms, subject to disease and decay, both internal and external. At the beginning, most of the seven ancient nations witnessed periods of glory and prosperity, induced largely by wise kings. But with lapse of time, the mainstay of the social and political order, vis., the principle of justice and the alliance between kingship and religion, begin to decay. Revolts break out and unitary kingdoms are divided into small and warring principalities.[762]

In Alexander history in al-Masʿūdī's work there is a sense of pessimistic dimensions of linear *tadāwul* in the topic of the building of Alexandria and Alexander's funeral.[763] It is interesting that al-Masʿūdī's conception of the nature of *tadāwul* coincides with Muslim apocalyptic works such as the book of *al-Fitan* (*The Afflictions*), compiled by Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād (228 Ah) who was a jurist and Muḥaddith.[764] In this book, he puts some historical events (like the reign of the first three caliphs, the Umayyad decline, and the reign of Abbasids) in predictive unseen pattern alongside other futuristic unseen events.[765] He goes further and narrates some apocalyptic accounts about the end of the Abbasid caliphate as result of its rulers' oppression that would lead to the emergence of al-Sufyānī and al-Mahdī.[766] Nuʿaym died in prison due to his resistance to accept the Createdness of the Quran and his book about *al-Fitan* functions in a kind of anachronistic aspect that projects futuristic events in historical pattern and vice versa.[767] Al-Aṣfahānī has mixed views of *tadāwul*, ranging between pessimistic and salvific. The former manifest in his Alexander story and the fall of the Persian Empire, and the latter in Ardashīr and his reviving of the Persian Empire after Alexander's invasion.[768] Mixed linear *tadāwul* reoccurs in al-Aṣfahānī's book when he talks about Umayyad tyranny and the advent

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[762] Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 111.
[763] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol .1, 410-417.
[764] For short study of Nuʿaym's work, see Michael Cook, "An Early Islamic Apocalyptic Chronicle", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52, no. 1 (1993): 25-29. See also: Robert G Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997). 330-335.
[765] Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Al-Fitan*, ed. Samīr al-Zuhayrī, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tawḥīd, 1991), 95-213.
[766] Ibid, 214-233, 278-315.
[767] Al-Ṣadafī, *Tārīkh Ibn Yūnus*, vol. 2, 245.
[768] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33-37.

of the Abbasid caliphate and its restoration by the Buyids.[769] If we put the linear *tadāwul* in al-Aṣfahānī's thought in the context of his *Shuʿūbī* tendency, we could draw out a cycle of *tadāwul* that keeps presenting the emergence of Persian or Persianised political power in human history, but there is no indication or evidence that al-Aṣfahānī espouses or was affected by Ikhwān al-Ṣafā's cycle of thought.[770]

The last mode of *tadāwul* can be called jostling rotation (*al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī*), which can be defined as the process of driving away people and nations from their position in history.[771] It is neither cyclical *tadāwul* nor pessimistic or salvific, but is unpredictable and waxes and wanes. In other words, *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* is not idealistic but rather realistic and practical. It seems that most of the eight Muslim historians incline to reflect the concept of *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* in their works, including the story of Alexander, and even those who might adopt different modes of *tadāwul* (al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī).[772] *Al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* is necessary and inevitable in conditional and causal ways, instead of a mechanical way as Miskawayh explains in his book *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (*The Refinement of Character*):

> For [the king] to maintain the things and because of this world is extremely difficult on account of [predisposition to] dissolution and annihilation in the nature of those things and because of what the king is obliged to do so, as described above and the large sums of money which he needs in order to pay to pay the soldiers attached to him and attendants in his service as well as the reserves and treasures which he must lay in store against misfortunes and accidents from which one cannot be safe.[773]

The necessity of *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* also ensues from the need for renewing an existing status that may be suffering from political, economical, social and moral religious calamities that require driving it away and replacing it with another. This point can be echoed in al-Ṭabarī's comment in his exegesis on the Quranic verse that

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[769] Ibid, 154, 164-165.
[770] In this paragraph is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib*).
[771] We could find a convergence between Hegel dialectical theory and *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī*. The cornerstone of both is the conflict between two opposite sides. But the essential disparity is that Hegel's dialectical theory results in a third way, while *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* leads to one side overcoming the other. For Hegel, see: "Hegel". *The Encyclopaedia of Logic: Part I*. 128-131.
[772] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 222, 239-246. Al-Masʿūdī, *Muruūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 46-47.
[773] Miskawayh, *The Refinement of Character*, Trans. Constantine K. Zurayk, (Beirut; American University of Beirut, 1968), 163.

talks about jostle, and without it people would oppress each other and injustice would reign.[774] If the concept of justice in Alexander history is likely to be faint or not as clear as other concepts, it is infused with *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī*. This *tadāwul* emerges and re-emerges when justice is absent as it symbolises Dārā who lost his crown to Alexander because his people were tired of his injustice: "he became arrogant, tyrant" as al-Dīnawarī says[775] and "embroiled in bloodsheds" as al-Thaʿālibī says.[776] Also, the Indian wise man told Alexander if he would like to rule his people and preserve his reign, then he should spread justice in his kingdom.[777]

The nature of *tadāwul* is a nature of emplotment. Whether the *tadāwul* is cyclical, pessimistic or salvific linear and *tadāfuʿī*, Muslim historians and writers use tragedy and romance or a mixture to narrativise their view of the movement of history, and Alexander history and its comparative counterparts are a case in point.

The modes of the nature of *tadāwul* are parallel to its categories in the range of its occurrences in the movement of history. It seems that Muslim historians conceived *tadāwul* in macro-generality and micro-specificity.[778] The former refers to the occurrence of *tadāwul* between nations or political powers that have diverse civilisation, religions and political systems. It manifests in the conflicts between the Achaemenids with Alexander, the Sasanids with Muslims, and the Muslims with Byzantium and the Visigoths, Umayyads and Abbasids, Fatimids and Abbasids. For the micro-specificity level of *tadāwul*, it refers to the conflicts among people who share a similar civilisation, religion, ethnic background and political system and yet differentiate from each other in the matter of interests and specific views of these shared elements and in the various conflicts between Muslims that took place, whether the internal caliphal conflicts (Umayyads with Umayyads, Abbasids with Abbasids) or in specific provinces (Samanids with Gaznavids, Tahirid with Saffarids and Buyids with Hamdanids).

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[774] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 16, 579.
[775] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31.
[776] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 402. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī has an interesting analytical discussion about the preference between ethnic nations, and within this discussion, he points out *tadāwul* between nations. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasah*, ed. Haytham al-Ṭuʿaymī, vol. 1 (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyyah, 2011), 70-73.
[777] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 331.
[778] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī*.

6.2.1 Historical reflections of *tadāwul*

To understand *tadāwul*, its nature and categories we need to look at its historical situation in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries which seems to have reflected the concept itself. The macro-generality and micro-specificity levels of the concept reify in historical phenomena: *tadāwul* between the Abbasid caliphate, between them and the military leaders (including those who held the position *amīr al-umarāʾ*), between the Abbasid caliphs and their caliphal rivals, between Muslim regional rulers, and lastly, the *tadāwul* between Muslims and non-Muslim countries.

An instance on the first phenomenon is the coup against the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (247/861) that resulted in his overthrow and murder by Turkish military leaders who connived with al-Muntaṣir (248/862), the older son of al-Mutawakkil and his heir.[779] Many reasons and motivations caused this first internal *tadāwul* between father and son. Firstly, al-Mutawakkil seemed to have intended to separate al-Muntaṣir from the regency (*wilāyat al-ʿahd*) in favour of his younger son, al-Muʿtazz. Likewise, the intense relationship between al-Mutawakkil and Turkish military leaders whose political role increased and would have threatened the leverage of the caliphate institution. There is another point that relates to al-Mutawakkil's personality in that he was depicted narratively as a strong and independent caliph who controlled the caliphate, in contrast to his Abbasid predecessors. All these elements seemed to rotate and hence revolutionise the political situation in the Abbasid caliphate.[780]

This historical *tadāwul* between caliphs paved the way for another historical phenomenon of *tadāwul* between caliphs and political and military leaders. From the moment of al-Mutawakkil's murder, the Abbasid caliphate entered its second phase that represents the absence of independent and strong caliphs and their conflicts with political and military leaders who sought to impose their will over that of the caliphs. It began with Turkish princes and leaders whose powers were increasing since al-

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[779] We excluded the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn because those historians (in our case study) who lived in the third/ninth century such as al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿqūbī, and al-Ṭabarī did not witness this conflict as they were not yet born. This exclusion is based on *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[780] For literary critical analysis of al-Mutawakkil, see el-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 178-199.

Muʿtaṣim (227/842) brought them and joined them with the army.[781] They went further after al-Mutawakkil's death and were involved in killing and appointing other Abbasid caliphs. The latter attempted to retrieve their hegemony by inducing some Turkish leaders to their side to eliminate others, as al-Muʿtazz (255/869) or al-Muhtadī (256/870) did, or as Abbasid's heir al-Muwaffaq did under the name of his brother, al-Muʿtamid (279/892) (the nominal caliph) in his conflict with the Tulunid dynasty in Egypt.[782] Other Abbasid caliphs tried to seek asylum with other Muslim regional princes like al-Muttaqī liallāh (357/968) who went to Mosul to get protection from Hamdanids in North Syria and Iraq, or from Ikhshidid dynasty in Egypt from Tūzūn, the supreme commander (*amīr al-umarāʾ*) in 331-333 AH, although Tūzūn had given oaths (*ʿuhūd*) to respect and not to harm him.[783] The killing of al-Muttqī by his supreme commander marks the apex of tension between Abbasid caliphs and their Turkish military leaders and the decline of the Abbasid caliphate as *dawalah* (the second aspect of this term which concerns current politics) and shifting the power (and thus the occurrence of *tadāwul*) from them to other rulers, which is portrayed in allegorical irony and tragedy in one sentence:

اجتمعت في أيام المتقي إسْحاقات كثيرة، فانسحقت خلافة بني الْعَبَّاس في أيامه وانهدمت قبة المنصور الخضراء الَّتي بِها كان فخرهم.

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[781] Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of The Caliphs: Military And Society In The Early Islamic State* (London: Routledge, 2001), 121-122. Osman S. A. Ismail "Muʿtaṣim and the Turks" in *The Turks in the Early Islamic World*, ed. C. Edmund Bosworth. 261-272, (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2006). See Shaban interpretive reconsideration of linking these leaders with Turkish ethnicity and slavery status. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 63-36.

[782] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 470-471, 473. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 389-390, 456-470, vol. 10, 10. Al-Masʿūdī, *Muruūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 92, 98-100, 122-125. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 308-312, 386-388, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 553. It is interesting that al-Ṭabarī dedicates dozens of pages and more spaces for the killing of al-Muhtadī and this shows sympathetic and interested propensities of the former toward the latter. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 443-469. The reason might underlie in al-Muhtadī's pious character that reminds al-Ṭabarī of the first four caliphs, especially ʿUthmān who faced rebellions that led to his murder.

[783] Al-Masʿūdī, *Muruūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 247-250. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 79-80, 100-101. Abū Bakr Al-Ṣūlī. *Akhbār al-Rāḍī billāh wa al-Muttaqī liallāh*, ed. H. Dunne (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Ṣāwī, 1935), 246-249, 276-2283. For al-Muttaqī and Tuzūn, see Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 46-47.

> In the days of al-Muttaqī many *Isḥāqāt* [many Isaaqs] gathered and crushed the caliphate of the family of Abbasids in his days and destroyed the dome of the green Mansour, which was their pride.[784]

The continuous interventions by Turkish leaders destabilised Iraq and Baghdad and led to their replacement by the Buyid dynasty, which had a different ethnic background (Daylam) and religion (Shiite) and thus we witness here another historical phenomenon of *tadāwul* among Muslim rulers.[785] The advent of the Buyid dynasty was welcomed by some of the eight Muslim historians in our study such as Miskawayh (especially with ʿAḍud al-Dawlah), who used to work in the Buyid court, and al-Aṣfahānī who had national tendencies or *al-Shuʿūbiyyah*, and both portrayed the Buyid as saviours and worthy replacements.[786] For instance, they introduced military feudalism (*iqṭāʿ*) that bestowed lands on their fellow military leaders (but for use and not for ownership) in exchange for paying them salaries, and this affected later periods in the Eastern part of the Muslim world.[787] In addition, the Buyids, although they did not oppress Sunnī people, did support and patronise Shiites by allowing them to hold their religious rituals publicly and hosted Shiite writers and scholars (alongside Sunni), which shows their hidden religious challenge to the Sunni Abbasids caliphate.[788] This indicates that, as time passed, the *tadāwul* between the Abbasid caliphs and Buyids appeared as the manifestation of the previous historical phenomenon of *tadāwul*, that is the *tadāwul* among caliphs and political and military leaders. This is due to the efforts of Abbasid caliphs to retain their power and independence, especially due to the existence of the obverse religious doctrine between the two sides that let ʿAḍud al-Dawlah, the strong Buyid ruler, to think of transforming the caliphate from the Abbasid family to the Buyid family by marrying a daughter of the Abbasid caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ lillāh (393/ 1003).[789] He also revived the name

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[784] Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 6, 554. *Isḥāqāt* in this context is homonymy *mushākalah lafẓiyyah* or metaphor *istiʿārah* that use the plural of such name as an indication to this historical situation.
[785] For Buyids, see: Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, 31-37. John J. Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq 334 H./945 to 403 H./1012: Shaping Institutions for the Future*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18-34.
[786] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 445-446. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 154.
[787] Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam,* 49-50. Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq*, 232-233.
[788] Ibid, 39-44.
[789] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 464.

Shāhinshāh (in Arabic *Malik al-Mulūk*, the king of kings), which was the title of the Persian emperors, as if he had supreme sovereignty over the Abbasid caliph, although Sunni Muslims had a negative attitude toward the title.[790] So there was going to be a revolutionary *tadāwul* that might have changed the history of the Muslim world. On the other side, Abbasid caliph al-Qādir billāh (422/1031) reacted to Buyid policies and hegemony by embarking on a religious discourse campaign that symbolised a theological decree called *al-Iʿtiqād al-Qādirī* (*Qādirī Creed*) in 408 AH that supported the Sunni creed and criminalised any opposing creed, including Muʿtazilī and Shiite.[791]

Al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī among Abbasids themselves, then between them and military leaders and then between regional rulers heralded the macro general level of the concept *tadāwul* that reifies in the emergence of other Muslim caliphates that challenged Abbasid political legitimacy and authority. The most notable example is the Fatimid caliphate which succeeded in its first phase in overthrowing Muslim dynasties in North Africa including Aghlabids in Ifriqiyyah (Tunisia) who were loyal to Abbasids, and then moving to take over Egypt in 358 AH/969 CE and extend their hegemony over the Levant and Hejaz.[792] Similar to the situation of the Buyid dynasty, the establishment the Fatimid caliphate over the debris of the Sunni and Kharijī dynasties led to socio-economical and religious-intellectual shifts in North Africa and Egypt. Fatimids claimed to be descended from the Alid family rather than the Abbasid family and were Ismāʿīlī Shiites, not Sunni as the Abbasids were, and to cement and legitimise their religious discourse they built the al-Azhar mosque to promote Ismāʿīlī doctrine.[793] They also built Cairo (*al-Qāhirah*), which became an important economic, political and intellectual city that was a new caliphate capital and that was an alternative to Baghdad, where the Abbasids lost their power in favour of

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[790] Wilferd Madelung, "The Assumption of the Title Shāhānshāh by the Būyids", 84-108.

[791] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, 125, 128. Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 5, 61. We mention this historical event albeit it happened at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century because we believe its historical roots and accumulations date back to the fourth/tenth century. Plus, the Abbasid caliph al-Qādir spent almost half of his caliphate reign time in the fourth/tenth century.

[792] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwah*, (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī, 2005), 98-178. Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ bi Akhbār al-Aʾimmah al-Fāṭmiyyīn al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. Jamāl al-Shayyāl, vol. 1 (Cairo; al-Majlis al-Aʿlá li al-Shuʾūn al-Islamiyyah, 1996), 55-68, 101-111. Michael Brett, *The Fatimid Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017). 50-54, 77-83. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 173-186.

[793] Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 100-106.

other regional rulers.[794] The Fatimid caliphate paved the way for dramatic shifting *tadāwul* in the Muslim world's political sphere in the fourth/tenth century that would resemble the revolutionary *tadāwul* by the Abbasids against the Umayyads. It is worth comparing the epistle of Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī, the conqueror of Egypt on behalf of the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz li Dīn Alla (365/975), to the Egyptian people with Abbasid's inaugural speech after their revolution to see the idea of *tadāwul* (*dawlah*, *idālah* and *mudāwalah*) in both.[795]

This historical instance of macro general level of *tadāwul* leads us to another concept of the conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Mediterranean territories. Abbasids, besides their nominal followers dynasties (like Tulunids and Hamdanids), Fatimids in North Africa and later in Egypt and Umayyads in al-Andalus, confronted the Byzantine Empire, Sicilians and Iberian kingdoms.[796] Still, the Abbasid Byzantine conflict in general in the Levant and in southern areas of Anatolia did not result in deep changes in therein since the main aim of both sides seemed to have been to maintain and secure their frontiers.[797] Such conflict was close to the heart of caliphal land and it seems that its effects on Muslims' minds was depicted as general *tadāwul*, similar to what was happening in Sicily and al-Andalus where Muslims faced serious challenges and threats.[798]

The intentional messages that the Muslim historians tried to convey by presenting the issue and concept of *tadāwul* in their works might lie in some historical indicative possibilities. First, *tadāwul*, which caused the replacement of one side in favour of the other, took place due to the lack of some essential historical concepts and the inflation of others. *Tadāwul* occurred in the Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries because of the absence of event-making men (Abbasid caliphs), justice

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[794] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, vol. 1, 111-113. There are also other reasons like the need for new areas for their Northern African armies (*Maghāribah*). André Raymond, *Cairo*, Trans. Willard Wood, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2000). 36-39.

[795] For Jawhar's epistle, al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, vol. 1, 103-104.

[796] Christophe Picard, *Sea of the Caliphs: The Mediterranean in the Medieval Islamic World* (Cambridge, Massachuats: The Belknap of Harvard University Press, 2018), 65-84, 112-146.

[797] Alān Dūsilyayh [Alain Ducellier], *Masīḥiyyū al-Sharq wa al-Islām fī al-ʿAṣr al-Wasīṭ*, Trans. Rashā al-Ṣabbāgh and Randah Baʿth, (Beirut; Dār al-Sāqī. 2014), 275-337.

[798] Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996), 54-59. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥajjī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Andalusī*, (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1981), 266-277. William E. Granara, "Political Legitimacy and Jihad In Muslim Sicily, 217/847 - 445/1053" (PhD thesis, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1986).

(Turkish leaders) or unity (the advent of the Fatimid caliphate). Therefore, the existence of the concept of *tadāwul* in Alexander history and other historical stories and themes in Muslim historical writings suggests that Muslim historians might have tried to deliver their concerns by narrativising them in a historical pattern. Within this historical narration we find judgmental and lesson statements that demonstrate the continuity and susceptibility of reappearances of *tadāwul* inasmuch as there are historical circumstances that would help such historical phenomena happen. The judgmental and lesson statements behind the *tadāwul* concept imply the necessity of it as a dynamic historical feature that would renew the status quo in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and to reinforce the essential meaning of *tadāwul* that time and power do not last forever for anyone. In this respect it is worth recalling what al-Yaʿqūbī says about the fall of the Tulunids dynasty in Egypt that expresses the concept of *tadāwul* and its reflection on his time:

لما كانت ليلة عيد الفطر من سنة ٢٩٢ تذكرت ما كان فيه آل ابن طولون في مثل هذه الليلة من الزي الحسن بالسلاح وملونات البنود والأعلام وشهرة الثياب وكثرة الكراع وأصوات الأبواق والطبول فاعترتني لذلك عبرة ونمت في ليلتي فسمعت هاتفا يقول:
ذهب الملك والتملك والزينة لما مضى بنو طولون

> As for the night of Eid al-Fiṭr in the year 292 [AH] I remembered the Tulunids's situation being well equipped with weapons, coloured items and flags, fancy garb and a multitude of horses, the sounds of trumpets and drums. Then a lesson crossed my mind, and as I slept that night, I heard someone calling: the king, possessions and decorations disappeared after the Tulunids were no more.[799]

The Muslim world at the end of the third/ninth and the beginning of the fourth/tenth centuries was clearly different in that the political sphere witnessed many political entities replace and jostle each other, and such political *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* was followed by different economic and political systems and varying religious and intellectual directions. By comparison, the preceding historical periods saw less *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* taking place at the macro-generality level only, and likewise in the micro-specificity level that only occurred at the caliphate level. The more *tadāwul* occurred in the eight Muslim historians' time, the more they paid attention to the matter.

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[799] al-Yaʿqūbī, *Al-Buldān*, 217.

6.3 Concept of the event-making man and its historical reflections

As we discussed in Chapter Two, one of the general features of Muslim universal historical writings is to concentrate on rulers (kings and caliphs) before and after Islam, and this solicitude might explain one of the major historical concepts that preoccupied Muslim historians in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, that of the influential event-making man.[800] Alexander is the case of point. We will look at reasons and motives for considering Alexander as an event-making man, then analyse the Muslim incarnated and representative conceptions toward the phenomenon of the event-making man and the attitude of the eight Muslim historians toward it.[801] After that, we will look at two such conceptions in terms of their relation to three other elements: people, time and knowledge. Finally, we will move to the historical reflections of the event-making man concept in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

Regardless of their opinions on his personality and character, the eight Muslim historians seem to consider Alexander a great and influential king due to his legacy and impact on history.[802] He was able to unite Greece and succeeded in defeating the Persian Empire (to whom Greeks had been subjected), taking over their lands and other kingdoms and establishing a new empire. The Alexander calendar epitomises the legacy and impact of Alexander, as al-Masʿūdī points out that ancient Greeks, Romans, Nabataeans and Syriacs had been using various and changeable calendars before they agreed on making the Alexander calendar the permanent and official one.[803] His achievements in the eyes of Muslim historians may arise from his aptitudes as a man with cunning, courage, wisdom and resolve (and also his belief in Allāh, according to the doctrinal anachronistic view of al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī)

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[800] See in Chapter Two, 2.1.8 The event-making man theory.

[801] The incarnated and representative conceptions are based on *al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah* + *al-ilghāʾ*). However, I think *al-taqsīm* of this phenomenon is thorny. If we say there is a third conception that combines the two conceptions, we have kind of an excluded middle *al-thālith al-marfūʿ* (which means a new way as result of two opposite sides). Still, the question is whether we can consider this combined conception or excluded middle as independent from the two conceptions. If so, *al-taqsīm* will be *istiqrāʾī*, but if not, I think it is *al-ḥāṣir*.

[802] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-39. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 118, 183-186. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-579. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318-332, 410-416. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33-37, 64-65. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 94-103. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh,* 408-409. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 402-457.

[803] Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 184. See also al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 64-65.

that enabled him to invest opportunities and exploit the unstable status of the Persian Empire and the reluctance of Persians or Dārā or defeat and subdue other kings.[804] From a doctrinal anachronistic scope, some Muslim historians such as al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī, said that Alexander was a great king and worth recording him because he was Dhū al-Qarnayn, the Quranic figure, who built the dam to protect humanity from the jeopardy of Gog and Magog, and to circulate monotheism among the people. Another side of Alexander's greatness that makes him an event-making man comes from his influence on his people and his dependence on the advice of wise men and philosophers like his teacher Aristotle.

Most of the eight Muslim historians, despite not being particularly interested in Greek and Roman history (with exception of al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī) or holding a negative attitude to Alexander (al-Aṣfahānī) seem unwilling not to write about or marginalise him. Al-Maqdisī states frankly that he would list the history of the Greeks and Rūm except from historical *akhbār* and stories because they do not contain any benefit or usefulness (*fāʾidah*). But this does not apply to Alexander to whom al-Maqdisī allocates a specific section and scattered *akhbār* in his book.[805] There is a kind of anachronistic nostalgia in writing about Alexander in detail that Muslim historians might find in his historical accomplishments a narrative expression of Muslim historical achievements.[806] Writing about him seems to conform to the realistic view on the importance and significance of event-making men in diverting the *tadāwul* movement of history in certain ways and thereby the cognitive need to shed light on their experiences for more understanding and more practical benefit.[807]

As we widen the scope of the event-making man concept, we find that it was not only conceptualised through Alexander, but was also an important concept in Muslim universal historical writings and tradition in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

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[804] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-32. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183-184. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 572-576. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318-319. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 36-37, 64. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 94-97. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh,* 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 402-411.
[805] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 435.
[806] Akasoy, "Geography, History, And Prophecy", 31-32.
[807] There is an interesting statement attributed to the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn who says "the most dignified kings in the earth are three who transformed states *naql al-duwal*: Alexander, Ardashīr, and Abū Muslim." See: Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 6, 50.

The event-making man is a Quranic paradigm in terms of individuality. The Quran sheds light on many individuals, whether from the good side such as prophets, wise men, women and kings, or from the evil side such as rich men, women and kings.[808] Dhū al-Qarnayn is one of the most important Quranic figures and represents a good event-making man, and since some Muslim historians associate him with Alexander, we can infer that event-making man seems to correspond to the Quranic paradigm.[809] Another point is that justice and greatness, not always linked with each other but with either knowledge that refines leaders' personalities and characters or with *tadāwul* (rise and fall of nations or kingships), are a type of the movement of history. Justice is absent from Alexander's characteristics in the concept of the event-making man and even in the writings of those who respect or regard him as Dhū al-Qarnayn.[810]

Another controversial point is that Alexander as an event-making man is more significant than prophets in history. This depends on Muslim historians' conception of his identity. If he is Dhū al-Qarnayn, then he is in similar position to prophets, since God supported him. Otherwise, he is not because the prophets can be seen as special event-making men guided by revelation and thus they are infallible (*maʿṣūm*). Another problem is that non-prophetic event-making men are great because of their own free actions, whereas prophets' actions are determined by God. So does this mean the former is greater than the latter? The answer is that the prophets, due to the potential greatness of their personalities and characters, were more worthy of receiving holy missions than others. There is no such comparison between historical figures and prophets because prophethood is not an attainable state for people, even if they want it, and yet greatness is attainable if people prepare themselves, benefit from circumstances around them and learn from the other event-making men.[811] We can

[808] Q 26, 27, 28 and 66.

[809] Ian Netton points out that the hero is one of the major archetypes in *sūrat al-Kahf* and Dhū al-Qarnayn is one of the main examples. Ian Richard Netton, "Towards a Modern Tafsīr of Sūrat Al-Kahf: Structure and Semiotics", *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2000): 74-76.

[810] Al-Dīnawarī links Alexander's repentance of injustice with his embrace of monotheism under the influence of Aristotle and thus it is in light of the concept of knowledge more than greatness or event-making man. Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 32-33. The discussion of justice and greatness is based on *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah* + *al-ilghāʾ*) and *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil* + *al-munfaṣil* analysis.

[811] For discussion of prophecy among the eight Muslim historians, see Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol, 20. 583-584. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 151-154, 329-330, 346-347. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 50. Al-Aṣfahānī describes (anachronistically) the conquest of Yemen by Sassanid king Anūshirwān as something that just happened to prophets. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*. 46, Al-Aṣfahānī, who is

add that even those who conceive Alexander as Dhū al-Qarnayn, portray him as if he becomes greater when he becomes identical to such a Quranic figure.[812] The last point is that there is tension between the concept of event-making men and anachronism in that the former places emphasis on individual personalities and characteristics, and hence uniqueness, and the latter on similarities and recurrence, and hence unity. We might resolve this dilemma if we look at it through the link between the two historiographical concepts in their meta-textual side. The free action and will of ambitious men allow them to follow the frame or archetype of earlier event-making men, and so part of the greatness of event-making men is their ability and readiness to learn from their predecessors.

Having said that, we need now to turn to the conception of leadership and kingship in Muslim tradition in light of Alexander history. At the beginning of his book *Ghurar*, al-Thaʿālibī states:

<div dir="rtl">

فإن الناس بالزمان والزمان بالسلطان والسلطان بعد الله للملوك الذين استرعاهم أمور عباده وملّكهم أَزِمّة بلاده فلا دين إلا بهم و لا دنيا إلا معهم.

</div>

> The people depend on the age and it depends on the sulṭan. After God, authority is for sultans whom He puts in charge of his servants' affairs. He grants them [the sultans] care of His lands. Without them, there is no religion and only through them can the world exist.[813]

This affirmative statement shows overlap and integration between the divine side (Allāh and religion), abstract and nominal *iʿtibārī* side (time), and the human side (people) that become infused into one person, the king. This is a kind of linguistic incarnation (*tajsīd*) or incarnated language that tries to place emphasis on the need for kings to give history and existence their meanings. The absence of kings or a reduction of their powers or privileges would probably threaten and harm the balance among religion, kings, people and state *dawlah* and put them in danger. As Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih says in the beginning of the first chapter of his work *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*:

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a pro-Persian, could not exceed the boundary between prophethood and greatness, and instead, he put prophets as criteria of great kings like Anūshirwān.

[812] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 32-33. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 442-444.

[813] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, Xlvii.

السلطان زمام الأمور، ونظام الحقوق، وقوام الحدود والقطب الذي عليه مدار الدين والدنيا. وهو حمى الله في بلاده وظلّه الممدود على عباده، به يمتنع حريمهم، وينتصر مظلومهم، وينقمع ظالمهم، ويأمن خائفهم.

The Sultan is the ribbon of affairs, the system of rights and the pivot around which religion and the world turn. He is the guardian on behalf of Allāh in His lands and he casts his shadow over God's servants, by which Allāh's sanctity is protected and by which the oppressed people win, he suppresses their oppressors and reassures the afraid.[814]

There is another conception that has representative dimensions. It regards rulers as necessary, not to preserve and protect their rule, but to preserve the unity of the community (*ummah*) and protect its faith (whether religious or philosophical). So, the representative perspective conceives the importance of rulers in a functional way instead of an essential one as does the incarnated view.[815] Both views place emphasis on obedience towards rulers and the need for their existence, yet differ on the matter of epistemological foundations and ways of conducting their discourse. It is by no means true that history is only about rulers and there is no meaning to history without them, but because political history is the most obvious, changeable and immediate, it must be appreciated through such dramatic human aspects.[816]

Together with the incarnated and representative views toward kings, there are relational sides that are parallel to and extracted from it. These shed light on the relationship between kings and the people, time and knowledge.[817] The first element regards whether the people are placed ahead of kings and thereby the kings are part of the people, and follow and are influenced by them. There is no consensus among Muslim historians and their counterparts from other fields, but some of those who have literary and philosophical propensities tend to prioritise rulers over their people and envisage them as the main driving and controlling force that diverts the movement of history and casts their societies with their character status. Miskawayh

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[814] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 1, 9. See also ʿAbd Allāh b. Qutaybah Al-Dīnawarī, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. 1, (Cairo; Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1996), 2.
[815] Ann K. S Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 13.
[816] Incarnated and representative conceptions are based on *al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir al-iʿtibārī with al-sabr al-taḥlīlī (al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ)*
[817] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī (al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ)*.

ascribes to Aristotle an epistle to Alexander when he was about to succeed his father and in it he advises Alexander that he should reform himself first if he wants his people to be righteous.[818] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih summarised by saying, "the righteousness of the people is conditioned by the righteousness of the ruler."[819] In the eyes of al-Dīnawarī, Alexander did indeed reform himself (but in an anachronistic way by converting to monotheism) and his people therefore followed his reformation.[820] And this imitation echoes in the famous proverb of Muslim tradition: " الناس على دين ملوكهم people follow the religion of their kings."[821] We find this kind of narrative imitation on what happened to Alexander and his people in Abū al-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Maghribī's (418 AH) book *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ*, which gives a concrete historical example in the Islamic period when corruption spread among the people during the era of Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn. The caliph went to counsel his advisers but was not convinced and declared that he should reform himself first to spread virtue among his people and his initiative was fruitful.[822] What we see here is that kings and rulers are not affected by their people, but the opposite is true; there is a view that puts kings and rulers not in the position of representative of their people and thus as part of them, but rather as the primary reason that gives rise to what follows. The one who tries hardest to give historical argument about the subordination of people to rulers is al-Yaʿqūbī in his short yet important book, *Mushākalat al-Nās li Zamānihim* (*The Adaptation of Men to Their Time*).[823] In the preface, the author states:

> Muslims in every era have followed the example of caliphs and rulers of Islam, travelling the course they charted, subscribing to their respective programmes and conducting themselves in accordance with the model they observed in them, without deviating from [the standard of] their moral qualities, their actions or their words.[824]

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[818] Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikmah al-Khālidah*, 220.
[819] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Vol. 1. 31.
[820] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 33.

[821] Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī, *Al-Tamthīl wa al-Muḥāḍarah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulu, (n.p.; Al-Dār al-ʿArabiyyah li al-Kitāb, 1983), 131.

[822] Abū al-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, (Riyadh: Dār al-Yamāmah, 1980), 62.
[823] William G. Millward, "The Adaptation of Men to Their Time: An Historical Essay by al-Yaʿqūbī", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84, no. 4 (1964): 329-344.
[824] Ibid, 333.

After that, al-Yaʿqūbī briefly presents a list of Muslim caliphs and how each of them had his own character that would be espoused by his governors and people and became like the cultural frame that branded the period of each caliph with its special historical character.[825] Similarly, al-Masʿūdī explains that some Abbasid caliphs (such as al-Mutawakkil and al-Muʿtazz) initiated some habits that led their people to imitate them.[826] We do not know if al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī had the same historical view toward non-Muslim kings from other nations in pre-Islamic and Islamic eras, and this also applies to Alexander, although al-Yaʿqūbī describes him as someone with knowledge, wisdom, ambition and courage that helped him challenge other kingdoms. [827] Al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī tend to presuppose in retroactive explanation the preconditioned correlation between character, mood and intellectual and ethical tendencies of rulers and people, which reminds us of deterministic causality as the mode of argumentative explanation in the historiographical structure of Alexander history.[828] What these Muslim historians and writers share (besides al-Thaʿālibī), alongside their philosophical and literary tendencies, is that many used to work in courts or were at least close to rulers (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih with the Umayyads in Andalus; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī with the Fatimids and Abbasids; Miskawayh with the Buyids and al-Thaʿālibī with Ghaznavids) which might clarify their attitude on the relationship between rulers and people.[829] Some of them also belonged to Persian (or Persianised) ethnicities or were influenced by Persian tradition that centralised kings at the top of society's hierarchy.[830]

There is a different view toward the relationship between rulers and people in al-Ṭabarī's work. Although he states that Alexander was astute and resolute, he does not give hints about his attitude to the relationship between rulers and people in Alexander history. However, within the context of Muslim history, al-Ṭabarī seems not to prioritise rulers at the expense of the nation (*ummah*), but instead looks on them

[825] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Mushākalat al-Nās*, 174-211.
[826] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 4, 94.
[827] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183. These examples are *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil*.
[828] See in Chapter Four, 4.3.3 Causation.
[829] Brūkilmān, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī*, vol. 3, 139, vol. 6, 117-118, 172.
[830] Al-Jābrī, *Al-ʿAql al-Akhlāqī*, 217.

as necessity for saving the unity of the *ummah* and protecting it from threats.[831] The irony in al-Ṭabarī's work appears in one of the titles of his book *The History of Nations and Kings*,[832] and then focuses on kings of nations, not kings and nations. Such irony suggests that he attempts to show that the trajectory of a nation's history in terms of *tadāwul* seems better to be conceived via rulers and kings of nations who are representative of their people in political, religious and military spheres – which is the main concern in al-Ṭabarī's work. The strength of rulers tends to express the strength and vitality of their nations and in return the weakness of rulers expresses the weakness and deterioration of their nations. Al-Ṭabarī's perspective toward rulers and people from different eras seems to stem from his general intellectual and theological thought in that he perceives *ummah* as the origin and rulers as a part and branch of it.[833] This perspective is shared with some of those who had religious backgrounds and who sought to weigh this view against the disunity of caliphate and the political interferences by some caliphs and rulers to undermine the right of *ummah* in political authority as a representative institution of them.[834] This view looks at the rulers and the people within a contractual and equal relationship that contrasts with the view that prioritises rulers at the expense of people and makes the ruler the origin and the people a branch. This perspective echoes in a saying that some attribute to Prophet Muḥammad "كما تكونوا يولى عليكم your rulers will be [just] as you."[835] The equal

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[831] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "Two Pre-Modern Muslim Historians: Pitfalls and Opportunities in Presenting Them to Moderns", in *Towards World Community*, John Nefed. (The Hague: DR. W. Junk N.V., Publishers, 1968), 55-56.

[832] See the general introduction of the English translation of al-Ṭabarī's History. Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. I. 131.

[833] Riḍwān al-Sayyid, *Al-Ummah wa al-Jamāʿah wa al-Sulṭah*, (Beirut: Jadāwil, 2011), 123, 180-181. Al-Faḍl Shalaq, *Al-Ummah wa al-Dawlah*, 34-38.

[834] For instance, al-Ḥalīmī, the pupil of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, argues in his book *al-Minhāj fī Shuʿab al-Īmān* that the first caliph Abū Bakr became Imām (or caliph) due to a covenant *ʿaqd* between him and people and not because of his worth *istiḥqāq*. Al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥalīmī, *Al-Minhāj fī Shuʿab al-Īmān*, ed. Ḥilmī Muḥammad Fūdah, (Damascus; Dār al-Fikr, 1979), 156. See also Riḍwān al-Sayyid's analysis on al-Ḥalīmī opinion and its linkage with issue of *ummah*, *jamāʿah* and unity. Al-Sayyid, *Al-Ummah*, 144-148.

[835] Al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasah*, vol. 3, 158. Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī (388/998) attributes to some companions of Prophet Muḥammad, Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī, *Aʿlām al-Hadīth; Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muḥammad b. Saʿd Āl Suʿūd, vol. 3, (Mecca; Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurá, 1988), 580.

relationship view is not confined to those who have religious or theological backgrounds but also to those who have philosophical ones.[836]

The second element is time (*zaman*) and again we find the discourse that infuses time with rulers. Alexander, in the eyes of some Muslim historians like al-Aṣfahānī, was aware of this and asked people of his time (*ahl zamānih*) to record history according to his reign.[837] This enhanced his legacy and reconfirmed the strong connection between rulers and time. The Alexander calendar became commonly used among Muslim historians when they wrote about non-Muslim history, especially Christians and Byzantines because, according to Muslim historians like al-Ṭabarī, such people had adopted the Alexander calendar.[838] Although time is an abstract and allegorical thing, it is nevertheless a referential and mental framework that denotes to external and objective entities to distinguish them from other ones.[839] Those who inculcate time into the sultan seem to prefer to use the double meaning of such term: consecutive and different times (*awqāt*) or just consecutive times.[840] To put it differently, Muslim writers such as al-Thaʿālibī or al-Yaʿqūbī might think that the movement of history can be seen through the rotation (*tadāwul*) between kings and rulers because they preside over the society and so the change always comes through them. Al-Aṣfahānī envisages ʿAlī b. Buwayh (338/949), one of the first generation of the Buyid dynasty and the eldest of his brothers, as saviour of the Abbasid caliphate (and hence as an event-making man), and calls him and Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī *qarīʿayy al-zamān* – "the fighters of time".[841] If we recall the intellectual background of al-Aṣfahānī, we will see that *Shuʿūbiyyah* was the motive that prompted him to endow these two men with this title, reconfirming the established view among those who have literary background (like al-Aṣfahānī). With respect to the representative view, political time is crucial and most changeable and obvious, and the most influential figures are rulers and so time is assessed by rulers' reigns.[842] For instance,

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[836] For instance, Abū ʿAlī b. Sīnā, *Al-Sīyāsah*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Isbir, (Jableh; Bidāyāt, 2007), 71
[837] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 64-65.
[838] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 193.
[839] Al-Kafawī, *Al-Kulliyyāt*, 486-487. William Gallois, *Time, Religion And History*, (London: Routledge, 2007), 170-183.
[840] Al-ʿAskarī, *Al-Furūq*, 270.
[841] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 154, 164.
[842] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1. 9, See also: Salīm. *Niẓām al-Zamān al-ʿArabī*. 101.

when al-Ṭabarī wants to date important events, he does so in various contextual ways and one of them is Alexander:

> The Zoroastrians agree with the Christians and Jews about the period of the destruction of Jerusalem and about Nebuchadnezzar. They also agree about the story of the Israelites down to Alexander's victory over Jerusalem and Palestine, and the death of Darius. But they contradict them about the duration of the period between Alexander's reign and the birth of the Baptist, as they maintain that it was fifty-one years. Between the Zoroastrians and the Christians there is a controversy, as I have mentioned, about the length of the period between Alexander's reign and the birth of the Baptist.[843]

Similarly, al-Masʿūdī shows representative tendencies.[844]

The last element is knowledge (whether religious or philosophical) which is a crucial point in political thought in Muslim tradition in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The great influential rulers are those who truly have deep faith in it, respect it, apply it and protect it. The second half of this historical equation is that people should obey their rulers and follow them, and that the outcome is happiness, victory over their enemies and sovereignty over other nations.[845] In his encyclopaedic work *al-Shifāʾ* (*The Healing*), Ibn Sīnā (427/1037) concludes the volume which deals with theological and divine matters (*al-Ilāhiyyāt*) in philosophical patterns with an interesting logical consequence when he talks about the need to obey rulers:

> At the head of these virtues stand temperance, practical wisdom and courage; their sum is justice, which, however, is extraneous to theoretical virtues. But whoever combines theoretical wisdom with justice is indeed the happy man. And whoever in addition to this, wins the prophetic qualities becomes almost a human god. Worship of him after worship of God, exalted be He, becomes almost allowed. He is indeed the world's earthly king and God's deputy on it.[846]

The striking point is that the three features – ethical (practical), theoretical (philosophical) and prophetic (religious) – find their resonance in Alexander in the view of al-Dīnawarī, al-Thaʿālibī and Miskawayh in his non-historical works, and at

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[843] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 107-108.
[844] Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 183-185.
[845] Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, 365-266. Qudāmah, *Al-Kharāj*, 436.
[846] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing: A Parallel English-Arabic Text/Avicenna*. Trans. Michael E Marmura (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2005), 378.

least the first two features in the eyes of al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Masʿūdī and Miskawayh. Al-Dīnawarī expresses it explicitly by dramatising in an anachronistic way the inception of Alexander history when he says that after Alexander converted to a monotheistic creed (under the influence of Aristotle), he called on his people to do the same and they accepted and followed him which prompted him to challenge other kings and called them for them to adopt the monotheistic creed.[847] The end of story was emplotted in a romantic way that reflects al-Dīnawarī's view of great rulers and religious knowledge.[848] If some of the Muslim historians and writers conceive the relationship between rulers and people and time in an incarnated pattern, in the case of the relationship between rulers and knowledge they conceive it in dualistic way, regardless of their intellectual, political or ethnic backgrounds. The reason may lie in the strong and touching attendance of Islam in Muslim written traditions from different fields, since it was the official religion of the caliphate and of other provinces and the majority belief of communities and societies where these Muslim historians and writers lived. What increases this status is other foreign cognitive sources embodied in Persian and fabricated Greek philosophical literatures found in Mirrors for Princes, and in literary and wisdom books. In both, Islamic and non-Islamic sources provide Muslims with argument and evidence to echo the idea that al-Dīnawarī mentions Alexander history, though they do not link it with Alexander (with the exception of al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī) because they either recognise the influential greatness of Alexander through wisdom (which is included in the next historical concept; knowledge) like al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī, or might have reservations over the non-monotheistic creed like al-Ṭabarī.[849]

6.3.1 Historical reflections of the event-making man

Al-Dīnawarī narrates the era of Abbasid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in romantic emplotment, similar to what he does with Alexander. He starts by praising al-Muʿtaṣim and depicts

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[847] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 33.
[848] For romance emplotment, see in Chapter Four, 4.2.2.2 Romance.
[849] The perspective that looks at the relation between rulers and religion solely through Islam can be found in Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī (381/992) in his book *al-Iʿlām bi Manāqib al-Islām*. Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī, *Al-Iʿlām bi Manāqib al-Islām*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ghurāb, (Riyadh; Muʾassasat al-Aṣālah, 1988), 158-161.

his reign as the time of conquest[850] because al-Muʿtaṣim put an end to some external threats like the Byzantine Empire and internal rebellions against the Abbasid caliph.[851] What al-Muʿtaṣim did in the eyes of al-Dīnawarī was to protect Islam, Muslims and the caliphate from such threats. This saviour role seems to be more important for al-Dīnawarī than other issues in al-Muʿtaṣim's reign such as bringing Turkish groups into the Muslim world and recruiting them as military forces that resulted in constructing a new capital (Samarra) for next generations of caliphs and marked the end of *Dīwān al-ʿAṭāʾ*, which Arabs and Arabic tribes had been benefitting financially from since the reign of the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[852] So al-Muʿtaṣim was an event-making man due to fundamental social, political and economic changes that took place during his time.

Later, Muslims faced a crucial situation in terms of the weakness of caliphate and the shakiness of unity (at least in most of the Muslim world under the Abbasids) and instabilities as result of killing al-Mutawakkl billāh and the interference of Turkish military leaders in caliphate affairs which led to appointing some ineligible and weak caliphs who in return encouraged separatist and independent orientations in various regions.[853] When situations worsened, people started looking for saviours or heroes who would be able to alleviate such predicaments. Such inclinations could be traced by the language (statements, narrative, *akhbār* and declamations) used by Muslim writers, historians and scholars when they talk about or focus on some prominent contemporary figures who emerged on the political sphere and played significant roles in restoring and reforming the situation. By saying 'historical figures', it means that such linguistic indications seem not to be confined to Abbasid caliphs, but extend to other Muslim rulers or even those who claimed to be caliphs offered themselves as rivals to the Abbasids. Non-Abbasid event-making men include: ʿAḍud al-Dawlah al-Buwayhī, al-Muʿizz billāh al-Fāṭimī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir and Maḥmūd al-

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[850] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 367.

[851] Ibid, 367-370. See about Khurramiyyah: Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends In Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, N.Y.: Bibliotheca Persian, 1988), 1-12.

[852] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Al-Buldān*, 52-65. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol, 9, 17-18. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 465-467. Matthew Gordon, "The Turkish Officers of Samarra: Revenue and the Exercise of Authority", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 4 (1999): 466-493. For comprehensive study about Samarra, Chase F Robinson (ed), *A Medieval Islamic City Reconsidered: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Samarra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[853] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 486-487.

Ghaznawī. Some Muslims prefer to prioritise Abbasid caliphs at the expense of other rulers as long as the Abbasids tended to be seen by some as the legitimate representation and symbol of the *ummah*, and al-Muʿtaḍid billāh is case of point.

Al-Masʿūdī begins the chapter allocated to al-Muʿtaḍid with an interesting statement:

> ولما أفضت الخلافة إلى المعتضد بالله سكنت الفتن، وصلحت البلدان، وارتفعت الحروب
> ورخصت الأسعار، وهدأ الهرج، وسالمه كل مخالف، وكان مظفرا قد دانت له الأمور،
> وانفتح له الشرق والغرب وأديل له في أكثر المخالفين عليه والمنابذين له.

> And when the Caliphate went to al-Muʿtaḍid billāh, strife settled, countries were peaceful, wars ended, prices lowered, calamities eased and his enemies appeased him. And he was victorious in that affairs subjected to him, West and East opened up for him and he overcame his opponents.[854]

If al-Masʿūdī articulated it directly, al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh imply it narratively. They described al-Muʿtaḍid's efforts to recover Abbasid caliphate and the position of caliph by narrating the military campaigns that he led or expeditions he sent to Iraq, which was the centre of the caliphate, and then extending to other areas such as the Levant, Fars, the Arabian Peninsula and Azerbaijan, and he even sent expeditions to fight Byzantium behind Tarsus, the Muslim boundary city south of Anatolia.[855] al-Muʿtaḍid wanted to go further and did not settle for military and political achievements, but included economic changes when he released a decree to abandon collection of land taxes in Nowruz (the Persian new year), and instead start it in June.[856] This step translates the incarnated dimension between sultan and time into a concrete historical example and reminds us of Alexander's intention to link time and history with him by setting up a new calendar.[857]

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[854] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol, 4, 143.

[855] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 10, 31-34, 39, 43-47. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 494, 496, 504-505, vol 5, 8-16.

[856] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 10, 39. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 498.

[857] Probably there is also a hidden aim behind this economic calendar change that it is found in historical *khabar* about Ḥamdān b. Qurmuṭ, the founder of al-Qarāmiṭah movement, which was an Ismāʿīlī doctrinal group in al-Ahsa and south of Iraq, included in his Sharia the fast of Nowruz and other days. If such historical *khabar* is true (because it was recorded by authors who had an antagonistic attitude toward al-Qarāmiṭah) then we could contextualise it and see al-Muʿtaḍid's step as political and religious discourse against such movement in order to exclude and marginalise it. See: Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 10, 26.

Al-Muʿtaḍid was going to release religious political edict that stigmatise and curse Umayyads.[858] But what is important in the propagandistic edict is its penultimate paragraph:

> O people! It is through us that God has guided you aright. We are the ones appointed to preserve God's concerns among you. We are the heirs of the Messenger of God and the ones who are in charge of the religion of God. Thus stay where we put you and execute what we command you! For as long as you obey the vicegerents of God and leaders toward right guidance along the path of faith and the fear of God, you will be alright. The Commander of the Faithful is the one who seeks God's protection for you and he asks Him to give you success. He prays to God to lead you toward right guidance and to preserve your religion for you, until you meet Him with it, deserving His loyalty and enlisting His mercy.[859]

This paragraph seems to function as an argumentative end that is used to conclude the edict with religious and political justifications that should convince Muslims who recognised the Abbasid caliphate. It includes an incarnated view (rather than a representative one) that prioritises rulers over community because caliphs were the protectors of religion as the successors of prophets and thus mediators between God and the people; the people needed the caliphs but not the other way around. This hierarchal priority statement is the explanation to *khalīfat Allāh* (God's caliph), which is the title that appeared more than once in Abbasid caliphal history.[860] Hugh Kennedy points out that Muslim historical narratives legitimise al-Muʿtaḍid's reign although he usurped the throne from his cousin al-Mufawwiḍ and appointed himself as heir after the death of his father al-Muwaffaq.[861] We can add al-Muʿtaḍid's brutality against his disobedient people.[862] The reason for the narrative justification lies behind the fact that al-Muʿtaḍid and his father defeated and retained Basra (the

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[858] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 10, 54-63.

[859] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. XXXVIII, 63.

[860] See for this issue: Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, God's Caliph: *Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Abdulhadi Alajmi, "ʿUlama And Caliphs New Understanding of The 'God's Caliph' Term", *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* 13, no. 1 (2011): 102-112.

[861] Hugh Kennedy, "Caliphs and their Chroniclers in the Middle Abbasid Period (third/ninth century)", in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic studies in honour of D. S. Richards*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 26, 30-34.

[862] For his brutality, see al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah*, vol. 1, 144-155. Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "Texts and Tortures: The Reign of al-Muʿtaḍid and the Construction of Historical Meaning", *Arabica* 46, no. 3 (1999): 313-36.

main city in the South) from the al-Zanj rebellion, which was in the eyes of Muslim historians a heretic movement and a threat to Islam and the caliphate (its political representation).[863] But if Muslim historians describe the head of the Zanj movement as *khabīth* (evil) and put him in a negative narrative, they show that he tried to act as saviour and claimed to be descended from the family of the Prophet and sought to rescue oppressed people and free slaves in southern Iraq. This, therefore, potentially made him an event-making man in the eyes of his followers.[864]

After the death of al-Muʿtaḍid, the caliphate institution was again exposed to weakness with Turkish military leaders and Buyid governors controlling the political sphere as a result of the absence of eligible and strong caliphs. From this point, it seems that the hopes for great, saviour and event-making men shifted from caliphs to regional rulers who at least would be able to protect the caliphate.

ʿAḍud al-Dawlah from the Buyid dynasty is Miskawayh's favourite historical figure.[865] He controlled Persia and Iraq, the central area of the Abbasid caliphate, which means the control of the caliphate became nominal and in the hands of the Buyids. What distinguishes him from other Buyid rulers is that he was able to sustain the unity and stability of the caliphate's central area, ending the threat of Arabic Bedouins and overcoming his regional rivals (Ḥāmdānids in Mosel and Aleppo, Ḥasnawayh, a Kurdish ruling family in al-Jabal, (northern Iraq), including his Buyid cousins from other areas, who acknowledged his sovereignty.[866] He was praised for supporting knowledge and respecting scholars and philosophers and also for

[863] Hugh Kennedy, 'Caliphs and their Chroniclers' 26, 30-34. See how al-Zanj rebellion was described in: al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 411, 424. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vo. 4, 119-120. Mikawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 429. For their religious creed, see Fayṣal al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zanj*, (Damascus, Dār al-Madá, 2000), 65-83. Alexandre Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the III/IX century*. With a new introduction by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.; trans. Léon King, (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1998), 152-153.
[864] For the title of *khabīth*, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 472. Mikawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 227. For historiographical review of al-Zanj, see Ghada Hashem Talhami, 'The Zanj Rebellion Reconsidered', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 10, no. 3 (1977): 443-461.
[865] M. S. Khan, "Miskawayh and the Buwayhids", *Oriens* 21/22 (1969): 244-245. Badruddin Bhat. *Abu Ali Miskawayh: A Study of His Historical and Social Thought*. New Delhi: Islamic Book Foundation, 1991. 56-57. Muḥammad Arkūn, *Nazʿat al-Ansanah fī al-Fikr al-ʿArabī*, Trans. Hāshim Ṣāliḥ, (Beirut: Dār al-Sāqī, 1997), 167-171.
[866] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 406-416, 426, 431-435, 441-446. See also: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 14, 243, 247, 252-253.

construction projects (hospitals and bridges and the renovation of Baghdad).[867] The coming of the Buyids to the surface of the Abbasid caliphate coincided with the emergence of official titles that were granted by Abbasid caliphs as protectors and saviours of their state (*dawlah* – the second meaning of *tadāwul*).[868] Due to the effect on his time and afterward, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī and his intellectual colleagues made a eulogy to ʿAḍud al-Dawlah as anachronistic imitation to the funeral eulogy of philosophers to Alexander.[869]

Second is the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz, who succeeded in completing the conquest of North Africa, Sicily and later Egypt that allowed him to extend further to the Levant and Hejaz. Besides these political military successes, he established Cairo as the capital. Early Ismāʿīlī sources contemporary to al-Muʿizz portray him, more than his predecessors, as one who first of all is descendent from *ahl al-bayt* (the sacred family in Shiite thought) and consequently as someone with initial, prophetic knowledge that grants his character a sacred aura as if he was the true saviour (and hence an event-making man) of the *ummah* who would bring back its glory.[870] Simultaneously, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir appeared in al-Andalus as the strongest man in the peninsula whose reign depicted prosperity, construction (new capital), military successes (to the extent that, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih wove a long epic poem that records and mentions al-Nāṣir's military victories) and intellectual activities that allowed him to announce himself as a caliph besides the Fatimid and Abbasid caliphs.[871] He got involved in conflicts with the Fatimids in the time of al-Muʿizz to extend his leverage in North

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[867] Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifṭī, *Ikhbār al-ʿUlamāʾ bi Akhār al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn, (Beirut; Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2005), 175. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 457. For the construction, Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 453-456.

[868] Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bayrūnī, *Al-Āthār al-Bāqiyah ʿan al-Qurūn al-Khāliyah*, ed. Eduard Sachau, (Leipzig; Brockhaus, 1878), 132-135. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭaqṭaqī, *Al-Fakhrī fī al-Ādāb al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Duwal al-Islāmiyyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad Māyū, (Beirut; Dār al-Qalam al-ʿArabī, 1997), 278.

[869] Al-Rūdhrāwarī, *Dhayl Tājārib al-Umam*, vol. 7, 96-97. Al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah*, vol. 7, 257-259.

[870] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt*, ed. Al-Ḥabīb al-Faqī, Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ and Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, (Beirut; Dār al-Muntaẓar, 1996), 63, 109, 118, 137, 148, 209, 271-272, 508, 541-542. See also al-Muʿizz address in: Abū ʿAlī al-Jawdharī. *Sīrat al-Ustādh Jawdhar*. Ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīrah. Cairo; Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1954. 76-48.

[871] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*. Vol. 5. 244-265. Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Ikhtiṣār Akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf and Maḥmūd Bashshār ʿAwwād, vol. 2, (Beirut; Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2013), 206-216.

Africa and push the Fatimids to the East. Within this conflict (which contains the concept of *tadāwul*), we notice a historical narrative propaganda and counter propaganda between the two sides. Those who supported al-Nāṣir put him in a romantic emplotment pattern as the hero of Islam and demonised his enemy (al-Muʿizz) and applied the same to the Fatimid side.[872] Actually, such clashing discourse emphasises the idea of hero or the concept of event-making men in historical writings at that time and the crucial role of history as an epistemic tool, or as Sidney Hook points out:

> History is rewritten so as to leave no doubt that it was either the work of heroes, predecessors of the leader, or the work of villains, prototypes of the leader's enemy.[873]

On the far Eastern side of the Muslim world, Maḥmūd b. Subaktakīn al-Ghaznawī emerged as another effective Muslim ruler in the fourth/tenth century. From historical works written about him (especially by his contemporary al-ʿUtbī in his book *al-Yamīnī – The Right*), Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī gained his reputation from two matters. First, he renewed the call for Jihad against non-Muslims and achieved considerable conquests in north India that would eventually strengthen Muslim presence in the sub-continent and enhance their progress inside it.[874] Second, he showed his loyalty to the Abbasid caliphate by declaring his support to Abbasid caliph, adopting Sunnī doctrine and prohibiting and persecuting other doctrines.[875] This step was necessary to a fluctuating caliphate that faced a strong rival (Fatimids) and that was surrounded by Shiite political entities (Buyids and Hamdanids). Whether he was religiously sincere in this matter or it was just a pragmatic cover for his own political interests, al-Ghaznawī was noticed by Sunni Muslim tradition for what he did and was granted by Abbasid caliphs some prestigious titles that had religious and political indications – *Yamīn al-Dawlah* and *Amīn al-Millah* – which explain his saviour role for the

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[872] Al-Nuʿmān, *Al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt*, 164-196. Ibn ʿAdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 2, 203-206. For Fatimid-Umayyad conflicts, see: Janina M Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in Al-Andalus* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000). 25-32.
[873] Hook, *The Hero in History*, 15.
[874] Al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī*, 12-14, 207-212, 400-414, Abū Saʿīd al-Kardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, trans. ʿAfāf al-Sayyid Zīdān, (Cairo; al-Majlis al-Aʿlá li al-Thaqāfāh, 2006), 238-239, 258.
[875] Al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī*, 390-395. Al-Kardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 257-258.

caliphate and Sunni Islam.[876] Al-Thaʿālibī allocates a section in his Alexander history about Muslim poems that mentioned Alexander, and one of them was written by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (398/1008) (a famous belletrist and writer of *Maqāmāt*). The poem contained a verse that likened Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī to Alexander as praise for his greatness and legacy.[877] Both historical figures had military campaigns in India that increased their appearance in historical writings.

What these rulers share is that all of them claimed to be knowledgeable or at least supporting and respectful of knowledge and its holders (whether religious, philosophical, literary or natural). Furthermore, they made successful political military attempts to overcome their opponents and extend their sovereignties. These two features pertain to the characters and personalities of such rulers who were depicted with wisdom, cleverness, bravery, strictness, justice and piety. Such Muslim rulers tended to benefit from historical writings (and here knowledge) and construction projects (and here material dimensions) to record their achievements and successes to immortalise their deeds and legitimise their rule.[878]

6.4   The concept of knowledge and its historical reflections

We will analyse the meaning of knowledge in Alexander history, its narrative themes in such a story (ethical, political, and religious) and the hierarchy among them, its exemplification in Aristotle and Alexander, its importance as a type of authority, its relation with rulers (wisemen or philosopher kings), al-Ṭabarī's negligence of Aristotle, and then its historical reflections in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.

The pivotal role of knowledge (*maʿrifah*) or (*ʿilm*) as a historical concept comes from the multitude of topics and figures in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.[879] These historical narrative

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[876] Al-ʿUtbī, *Al-Yamīnī*, 178. Al-Kardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 251.
[877] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 446-447.
[878] On the relation between writing history and rulers in Islamic history, Julie S. Meisami, "Rulers and the Writing of History" in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives on Their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times*, eds. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow, 73-92 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden, 2004). See also: Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 114-123.
[879] On the meaning of knowledge in Muslim tradition and the distinction between *ʿilm* and *maʿrifah*, al-ʿAskarī, *Al-Furūq*, 80-96. Also: Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant The Concept Of Knowledge*

themes would eventually divide the concept of knowledge in Alexander history into three categories.[880] The first one is ethical (*akhlāqī*) one that deals with ethical manners and how people should act, live and refine their characters and personalities in this life. It appears in Alexander's meeting and conversations with the Indian philosopher and wise man who was sent by an Indian king, and with Brahman men in India. In both cases, Alexander was in the position of learning, asking and listening to them about their perception of the temporality of this life and the side effects of wars on people.[881] If we contextualise this within non-historical works (wisdom literature and Mirrors for Princes books) we can find the voice of Aristotle in it as someone whom Alexander was indebted to for bringing him up.[882] The second category is political and shows how advisers and philosophical views of philosophers or wisemen would be indispensable to kings. The clearest example is Aristotle again, who is

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In Medieval Islam (Leiden: Brill, 2007). 46-69. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zunaydī. *Maṣādir al-Maʿrifah fī al-Fikr al-Dīnī wa al-Falsafī*. (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Muʾayyad, 1999). 35-51. Many contemporary authors discuss in depth the relationship between power and knowledge; most commonly Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci. However, the most problematic point in Foucault's thought in the light of our study is that he conceives knowledge as solely a top-down outcome and as controlled by those who own power (basically institutions). See, Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-77*, trans. Colin Gordon, LEO Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). The case here is different since knowledge in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries was not confined to a given group, sect, institution and so on. Even some attempts to monopolise knowledge and institutionalise it by Muslim political entities like the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt were not successful, which overshadows Foucault's view. Moreover, Foucault's theory is likely to fit with the Western world from the industrial revolution onwards. As for the theory of hegemony in Gramsci's thought, it seems to be irrelevant to our study, either since it puts it in dialectic pattern (so that it will meet Gramsci's Marxist thought) that talks about how political regimes control and monopolise knowledge and circulate it around societies in order to legitimise themselves, and how counter-hegemony from society is formed by the people in order to overthrow these regimes. The second idea relating to Gramsci's theory is the categories of intellectuals in society, who he divides into two types. Firstly, organic intellectuals, who arise within a certain social group and express its interests and seek to create counter-hegemony against the hegemony of political regime. Secondly is a conventional category that contains two types of intellectuals: religious and officials that are rooted in the origin of societies since their establishment. See, Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971). In the matter of our case study, we have indeed more than two conventional groups and there is overlapping among them from functional, historical and intellectual perspectives. Also, there are no organic intellectuals in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, on the contrary, these types turned out to be infused with conventional intellectual groups. The absence of organic intellectuals means the absence of counter-hegemony and hence it is problematic to apply Gramsci's theory since it depends on the dialectical pattern. Our discussion here is based on *al-sabr al-jadalī* (*manʿ* and *al-muʿāraḍah*).

[880] Detecting these figures is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).

[881] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 324-331. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 421-429.

[882] Al-Sijistānī, Abū Sulaymān, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah*, 147, 158-159. Al-Thaʿālibī mentions the role of Aristotle in this matter, but very briefly, al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 443.

considered at the same time the preceptor of Alexander. Alexander consulted him on the situation in Persia, dealing with Rūm soldiers in his army and his seeing to the House of Gold in India.[883] The political advice by Aristotle appears in other Muslim non-historical works such as *Sirr al-Asrār*, ascribed to Aristotle, and in wisdom literature and Mirrors for Princes books which place emphasis on the necessity of philosophy for rulers and kings.[884] The last category is religious and shows the role of that knowledge in elevating kings and enhancing their rule, and it appears again in Aristotle as a monotheist philosopher who exerted influence on Alexander to convert.[885] Religious knowledge in al-Dīnawarī's and al-Thaʿālibī's works, also appears in Miskawayh's wisdom works like *al-Ḥikmah al-Khālidah*, is a narrative reconciliation between religion and philosophy in an anachronistic way that indicates the endeavours of Muslim historians to sort out the epistemological dilemma that dominated the intellectual sphere in the Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. This might have prompted some Muslim philosophers such as Yaʿqūb al-Kindī (252/768), Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī and Miskawayh to assert the harmony between Sharia and philosophy.[886] The most striking feature in the three categories of knowledge is that Alexander is depicted as someone who is indebted to Aristotle in terms of teaching and instructing him in political manners and making him a good, wise and great (event-making) king. Al-Yaʿqūbī sates that Alexander's status had become great because Aristotle was his teacher.[887] Among the eight Muslim historians, al-Yaʿqūbī is interested in the intellectual and scientific history of Greeks more than in their political history, since he dedicates most of that to it and discusses Aristotle's works more than Alexander.[888] There is therefore a strong connection between the two historical figures; Alexander permeates the philosophers'

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[883] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 39. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183. Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 187-188. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 99. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 34.

[884] Badawī, *Al-Uṣūl al-Yunānīyah*, 32-73. See in Chapter Three, 3.4.3. Alexander in philosophical literature and literarily philosophy.

[885] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 32-33. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 443-444.

[886] Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī, *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-Falsafiyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Abū Rīdah, Second edition, (Cairo; Maṭbaʿat Ḥassān, 1978), 35-36. Al-ʿĀmirī, *Al-Iʿlām*, 82-83. Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, 346-347, 387-388.

[887] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183.

[888] Ibid, 126-183.

works and wisdom literature in Muslim tradition.[889] The authors of such works might find the dialogues and epistles between Alexander and Aristotle functional tools to highlight issues that relate to philosophy.[890] Another point is that the dual relationship between kings (Alexander) and philosophers (Aristotle) which takes hierarchal shape in that the former seem to be follow it more, which means the power of knowledge and its leverage in the political sphere, as al-Thaʿālibī points out that Alexander followed the principles of Aristotle and made them his policy.[891] By depending on Aristotle's thought, Miskawayh in his book *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* tries, from ethical and philosophical perspectives, to classify the levels of people and he puts wisemen on the top, whereas rulers in the third level.[892] Muslim historians and writers suggest that if rulers and kings want to sustain their regimes with prosperity and strength and also rule their people, they need to gain knowledge or take hold of knowledge to their side. They reflect this point by citing, narrating and commenting on other topics in their works. For instance, Miskawayh explains that Ardashīr, the first king in Sasanid dynasty, had a wise councillor called Tansir who helped him regain and reunify the Persian Empire after Alexander's conquest.[893] Similarly, al-Dīnawarī recounts that Anūshurwān preferred Buzurjumihr at the expense of his ministers and others, because he was the most respectful scholar and wise man of his time.[894] The two Sasanid emperors were portrayed in the context of Muslim tradition as just and great kings, and to link them with knowledge is to enhance that image, and the same goes for Alexander.[895] To add a historical example from Islamic period, al-Dīnawarī recounts that Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr was influenced by his meeting with ʿAmr b.

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[889] Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikmah al-Khālidah*, 219-225, 266-267, 278-281. Ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb Al-Falāsifah*. 84-87, 110-111. Al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah,* 147-161.

[890] Al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*, 161. For the epistles and dialogues between Alexander and Aristotle, see in Chapter Three, 3.4.3 Alexander in philosophical literature and literary philosophical works. See also: Akasoy, "Iskanndar the Prophet", 197.

[891] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 443.

[892] Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, 347.

[893] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 122.

[894] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 70, See also: Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 622, 633-636.

[895] See the narrative synthesis between the history of the two Sasanid kings and the issue of knowledge in Muslim historical writings: Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 66-71. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 207-209. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 98-103. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 267-273, 289-298. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 36-38, 45-47. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 121-144, 179-209. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 410, 415-416. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 480-486, 603-637. For the two Sasanid kings in Muslim tradition, see Louse Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 83-87.

ʿUbayd (143/761), one of the Muʿtazīli heads and afterwards threw his ring to him and told him to appoint whoever he wanted from his companions.[896] These historical cases, besides Alexander, could be seen in the light of proposing answers to the legitimacy of rule in Muslim tradition. According to Marshall Hodgson, Muslims offered fives solutions to this issue, two of which asserted the role of knowledge. The first is philosophical that saw the requirement to create a philosophical state, and the second is religious (with emphasis on the Sunni school), that saw the obligation of rulers to be subject to Sharia.[897]

The focus on the concept of knowledge in Alexander history may seek (present anachronism) to demonstrate the existence of philosopher kings such as Abū al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd (360/970), who described Alexander as the wise man of kings and king of wisemen or at least demonstrated the recurrence of the pair of ruler and philosopher as earlier examples show. [898] Yet from a doctrinal anachronistic perspective, Alexander is evidence of the existence of ancient kings who were equipped with divine or monotheistic knowledge.[899] In the context of Muslim history, the first four caliphs were regarded as scholars (ʿulamāʾ) who mastered Sharia and were sources of learning.[900] Since the attributes of these caliphs were normative to those who took over the caliphate, they must have been *mujtahid* if they wanted to be righteous and proper caliphs.[901]

The three categories raise questions about the existence of a hierarchy or priority among them. There is no general conclusion in this matter because of intellectual differences and different circumstances of Muslim historians and writers in terms of their discourse and audience. Such weight among the three categories should also be positioned in two distinct contexts: monotheist and non- monotheist history, in that if there is a priority, can it be applied to either? Those who identify Alexander with Dhū

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[896] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 351-352. This *khabar* indicates that al-Dīnawarī might have had Muʿtazīlī tendencies and this may be supported by another *khabar*. In his chapter on al-Maʾmūn, al-Dīnawarī praises him and says that his teacher in those debates was Abū Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (227/840), one of the heads of Muʿtazīlī in his time. Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 366.

[897] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1. 473-474.

[898] Al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah*, 325. See also: Akasoy, "Iskandar The Prophet",195-196.

[899] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 32-33, 36. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 442-444.

[900] Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Matn al-ʿAqīdah al-Ṭaḥāwiyyah*, (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1995), 29.

[901] Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of the Healing*. 374.

al-Qarnayn incline to prefer religious knowledge at the expense of others, while some who put Alexander in the Greek pattern tend to underline the preference of political and ethical categories (with their philosophical dimensions) in practical and public affairs like politics.[902]

Finally, all the Muslim historians except al-Ṭabarī mention the issue of knowledge and Aristotle as Alexander's teacher. [903] Despite al-Ṭabarī shedding light on Alexander, he does not mention his relationship with Aristotle and omits the translation movement that was sponsored by some early caliphs, though his history book concentrates mainly on kings, rulers and that which relates to them. Al-Ṭabarī in *Tasfīr* cites some accounts that mention Alexander and his relationship with Dhū al-Qarnayn; this does not apply to Aristotle.[904] It is also reported that al-Ṭabarī learned philosophy, logic and dialects (*al-jadal*), and if true, it means he knew of Aristotle and read about him or his works.[905] There is no compelling evidence that al-Ṭabarī infused his philosophical and logical readings with his written works as a systematic and formative approach to analyse and synthesise his materials and sources. Indeed, reading about such an epistemic field does not necessitate agreeing with it and adopting it. On the contrary, it might prompt refusal if it does not accord with the general thought of a certain person such as al-Ṭabarī. As for *al-jadal*, in the third/ninth century the principle of jurisprudence was clung to and separated from Aristolian logic or Greek philosophy. Al-Ṭabarī probably knew of it through such Muslim epistemic fields, with preference for the Muslim scholastic version instead of a non-Muslim one.[906] In this case we need to understand the intellectual and religious

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[902] For first group, see al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 32-33, 36. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 442-444. For second group, see Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 126, 183, 186. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 99, 122, 288.

[903] Here are both *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī* with its *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī (al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ)*, *al-jadalī (al-muʿāraḍah)*, and *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil-almunfaṣil* analysis with *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab-ḥāl al-mukhāṭib-ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

[904] Al-Ṭabar, *Jāmiʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 15, 390.

[905] Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, vol. 6, 2451-52, Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. ʿAmr b. Gharāmah al-ʿAmrawī, vol. 52, (Damascus, Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 203-204. See also the general introduction of the English translation of al-Ṭabarī's history by Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. I. 49.

[906] Al-Ṭūfī in his book *ʿIlm al-Jadhal fī ʿIlm al-Jadal*, says "You should know that the object of dialectics is jurisprudential theory … so dialectics is special jurisprudential theory." Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī, *ʿIlm al-Jadhal fī ʿIlm al-Jadal*, ed. Wolfhart Heinrichs (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987), 4. What we propose here is opposite to Ulrika Mårtensson's argument that al-Ṭabarī consciously uses Greek philosophical and logical "methodology" in his works, since he believes in using rational

background of al-Ṭabarī to help us understand his indifference to this matter. He belonged to the jurists and traditionalists layers (ṭabaqat al-fuqahāʾ wa al-muḥaddithīn), which in the first four centuries of Islam, opposed or at least had reservations on philosophy. This stemmed from the root of logic and philosophy that descended from Greek civilisation, which many scholars saw as pagan and contradicting with creed of Islam. The products of such pagan civilisation must – in the eyes of scholars – absorb its religious creed and can hence be used in favour of Islamic creed and theology.[907] What increased al-Ṭabarī's reservation toward Greek philosophy was the Abbasid caliphate's action during al-Maʾmūn, al-Muʿtasīm and al-Wāthiq in adopting the creed of Createdness of the Quran (khalq al-Qurʾān) and imposing it on Muslims, which led to the inquisition (Miḥnah) of Sunnī scholars.[908] These caliphs had interests in Greek heritage and philosophy.[909] Returning to al-Ṭabarī's history book, he amplifies this dilemma more than the rest of the Muslim historians in 9th/10th century as if he tries to show the negative consequences of such a

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reasoning al-istidlāl. See, Mårtensson, Tabari, 16-18. However, the author seems to reduce the concept of reason to one meaning in Muslim tradition and present it as the following premise: because rational reasoning is exclusively of Greek merit, so any kind of such process in Muslim tradition must be Greek in its essence and origin. This claim appears not to pay deep attention to Muslim jurisprudential and theological tradition and its epistemological and historical developments. Plus, it falls into a fallacy similar to essentialism that returns many similar historical phenomena to one origin, regardless of their potential, conceptual and functional differences. We do not deny the influence of Greek thought on Muslim jurisprudential and theological thought (whether Muslim scholars were aware of such influence or not), but it was not the only source for rational thinking in the Muslim tradition. For essentialism, see D. R. Woolf (ed), A Global Encyclopedia Of Historical Writing. Vo. 1, (London: Routledge, 1998), 293-294.

[907] Ignats Gūldtzīhar [Ignaz Goldziher], "Mawqif Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah bi Izāʾ ʿUlūm al-Awāʾil", In Al-Turāth al-Yūnānī fī al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmīyah: Dirasāt li Kibār al-Mustashriqīn, trans. ʿAbd al-Raḥman Badawī, 123-172. 4th ed. (Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1980). Al-Nashshār, Manāhij al-Baḥth, 69-74. This reservation was not only confined to Sunni scholars, but even early Muʿtazīlī ones like Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī who had a debate with the philosopher Mattā b. Yūnus in the court of Abbasid minister Ibn al-Furāt. See al-Ḥamawī, Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ, vol. 2, 894-910. Also Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī criticises al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (385/ 995), a Muʿtazīlī belletrist and an official minister in Buyid dynasty, who had hostile position to Greek heritage. See Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, Akhlāq al-Wazīrayn, ed. Muḥammad Tāwīt al-Ṭūnjī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1992), 61.

[908] Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad, Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ed, Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad (Riyadh; Dār al-Salaf, 1995), 48-65. Al-Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2, 426-427, 432, 444-445. Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, vol. 8, 632-645, vol. 9, 135-141. Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, 464, 488. For comprehensive study of the affliction of Createdness of Quran, see: John P Turner, Inquisition in Early Islam: The Competition for Political and Religious Authority in the Abbasid Empire, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

[909] Al-Dīnawarī, Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl, 366. Al-Yaʿqūbī, Mushākalat al-Nās, in al-Farrā, Al-Yaʿqūbī, 203, al-Masʿūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 3, 489-495. Miskawayh, Tajārib, vol. 4, 171. Al-Maqdisī, Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh, 744. Al-Sijistānī, Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah, 282.

creed and to stigmatise its sponsors who were influenced by Greek philosophy.[910] In addition, from theoretical and theological perspectives, he explicitly states in his book *al-Tabṣīr bi Maʿālim al-Dīn* (*The Enlightenment of Religion Contours*) that the Createdness of the Quran is in contradiction to Islam.[911] These contextual indications might clarify the issue of al-Ṭabarī and Aristotle. [912]

In the end, the narrative attendance of the concept of knowledge in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings and its historical reflections (as we will see in the next sub-section) in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries refers to how such conceptual issue was dynamic, interactive and indispensable in Muslim community at that time from different intellectual groups who are represented by Muslim historians who wrote about Alexander.

6.4.1   Historical reflections of knowledge

We could probably trace the historical reflections of the concept of knowledge in the Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries via their historical representations that are embodied in three main groups and in the relationships network that revolves around them. The three groups are scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) – who specialised in Sharia studies – philosophers (*falāsifah*) and belletrists (*udabāʾ*) - who specialised in belles-lettres and literature – and each of them expresses a side of Muslim intellectual background at that time.[913] There are no strict and ultimate conceptual and intellectual boundaries that circumscribe the lines among the three groups. On the contrary, there are sometimes overlaps among them in that some scholars practise philosophy and belles-lettres and some belletrists do similarly with Sharia and philosophy, and the same applies to philosophers with Sharia and belles-

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[910] On this matter, see El-Hibiri, *Reinterpreting, Islamic Historiography*, 96-98.

[911] Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Tabṣīr bi Maʿālim al-Dīn*, ed. ʿAlī Al-Shibil (Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀṣimah, 1996), 200-203.

[912] The above discussion is *siyāq al-kalām al-muttaṣil + al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭab + ḥāl al-mukhāṭib + ḥāl al-khiṭāb*). This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī*, with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*). As result, what al-Ṭabarī did is connect to narrative realistic mode and also to present realism. See in Chapter Five, 5.2.2. Narrative realism.

[913] It is notable that Grunebaum in his book *Classical Islam* names Chapter Nine "Horizon of Islam: Theology, Philosophy, Literature", which discusses mainly these three major fields and their branches. See: G. E. V. Grunebaum, *Classical Islam*, *A History, 600 A.D. to 1258 A.D*, (London; George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1970), 128-140. The chapter title expresses mostly and nearly our categories of epistemic fields and their holders as reflected in Alexander history.

lettres.[914] Their social and political status varied from independents who might have had close ties with rulers, official employees in royal courts and sometimes rulers who represented themselves as holders of knowledge. As for the relationships network, it means that the relationship between a given group and another, or to political power circles and the Muslim community. The role of the three intellectual groups seems to depend not only on their intellectual positions and type of knowledge, but also on political and social influences.

It is better to start with scholars as the holders and protectors of Sharia in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.[915] The reason for this underlies a historical phenomenon in Muslim history and the pivotal role of Islam at that time in shaping all aspects of life. From this point, scholars enjoyed strong leverage as the speakers of theological and legislative voice of Islam that paved the way for them through consensus (*al-ijmāʿ*) to be 'the collective voice of society's conscience' as Roy Mottahedeh says.[916] They took ramified forms as a result of the comprehensiveness of Sharia: jurists (*fuqahāʾ*), theologians (*mutakallimīn*), traditionalists (*muḥaddithīn*) and sufis (*mutaṣawwifah*) that permeated them into social, political and intellectual life. These forms (with specific reference to jurists and theologians) divide into other schools (Sunni, Shiite and Muʿtazalī in theology and Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī, Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī in jurisprudence) that mirror the diversity and differences in the religious sphere in the Muslim community at that time. For their religious knowledge,

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[914] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, vol. 1, 183-184, 373-378, 402-403, 428-429, vol. 2, 63, 123-124, 296-297.
[915] We did not put preachers *wuʿʿāẓ* with them because they seem to depend basically on their rhetoric skills, which in this case make them close to the group of storytellers *quṣṣāṣ* that are found in Islamic history, and which in fact was viewed negatively to some extent in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries by other holders of knowledge and even rulers and caliphs. See: Abū al-Faraj al-Jawzī, *Al-Quṣṣāṣ wa al-Mudhakkirīn*, ed. Muḥammad Luṭfī al-Ṣabbāgh, (Beirut; al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1988). Boaz Shoshan, "High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam", *Studia Islamica*, no. 73 (1991): 83-85. Pellat, Ch., "Ḳāṣṣ" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Second Edition, eds.: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 13 February 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4002. Besides this reason, some of them were in fact scholars, which means the latter absorbed them. As for parts of the nexus network, we classify them according to their linkage with the concept of knowledge, which means we put all strata of the angle of people (craftsmen, traders, workers, and families) in Muslim societies in one group. Political power includes: rulers, their secretaries and ministers, military powers and nobles. The three groups are the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī* with *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah + al-ilghāʾ*).
[916] Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 138. It is interesting that al-Maqdisī lamented on the corruption of his time due to the increase in heretics and ignorant people as a result of the lack of scholars. See: al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 153. He probably means Muʿtazilī scholars since he belongs to them.

positions and social spread, scholars became important to the caliphate (whether Abbasid, Fatimid, or even Umayyad in Anadalus) and to other Muslim regional rulers so they appointed them as judges, councillors, teachers and delegates and tried to gain their endorsement to reinforce and legitimise their rule. When al-Mutawakkil took over as caliph, he ended theological campaigns to force scholars and people to embrace the belief in the Createdness of the Quran which was inaugurated in al-Maʾmūn reign. Al-Mutawakkil not only ended it, but also prevented Createdness creed, freed Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (241/855), the prominent Sunni scholar of hadith and the founder of the Ḥanbalī judicial school, and other Sunni scholars from prisons and lionised them.[917] Such a step had political, social and religious dimensions in the centre of the caliphate and yet the Abbasid caliph seemed to realise the leverage Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his counterparts had over the populace in the Muslim community that made it difficult to uproot them by force. Al-Mutawakkil might find this layer of scholars and their popularity useful to face and delimit other factional groups who dominated the political sphere.[918] Although his personal life and character were not religious, plus his cruel policy toward Shia and his opponents, al-Mutawakkil was praised or at least put in narrative-mild pattern that downplay his controversial side due to his attitude toward the Createdness of Quran and scholars.[919]

The religious trend shifted again toward Muʿtazilī during the Buyid era. Under the patronage of al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (385/995), the prominent and cultured Buyid minister: ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (415/1025), the head of Muʿtazilī in his time, took the position of the head of judges (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*), the highest judicial position, which accordingly inflated his influence on Buyids to the extent that he refused to get off from his horse to greet al-Ṣāḥib because *al-ʿilm* could not let him do that and ʿAbd

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[917] Ibn Aḥmad, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad*, 83-94. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 447. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Mushākalat al-Nās*, 209. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 190. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 3. Zaman, *Religion and Politics Under the Early Abbasids*, 106-118.

[918] Turner, *Inquisition in Early Islam*, 134-136. Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābrī, *Al-Muthaqqfūn fi al-Ḥḍārah al-ʿArabiyyah; Mihnat Ibn Ḥanbal wa Nakbat Ibn Rushd*, (Beirut; Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-ʿArabiyyah, 2000), 109-111. Jadʿān, *Al-Miḥnah Baḥth fī Jadaliyyat al-Dīnī wa al-Siyāsī fī al-Islām*, (Beirut: al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabiyyah li al-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr, 2000), 354-355.

[919] El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 187, 198. Al-Jābrī, *Al-Muthaqqfūn*, 109-111. Jadʿān, *Al-Miḥnah*, 354-355.

al-Jabbār went further and started to describe himself in his letters to al-Ṣāḥib as "patron, custodian, or master of al-Ṣāḥib".[920]

Revering holders of religious knowledge in Buyid time was evident for Shiite and Sunni scholars alike. Sources of Sunni's report that al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (413/1022), head of Shiite Imāmī in Iraq, had popularity among Abbasid caliphs, ordinary people and rulers around Iraq because they tended to lean on his doctrine.[921] ʿAḍud al-Dawlah thus showed deep reverence to al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, used to visit him at his house and offered approval of any intercession that came from Shiite scholars.[922] It is true that the Buyids preferred Shiite (whether Imāmī or Zaydī) and Muʿtazilī figures, but they could ignore the impact of Sunni figures like Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (403/1012), the head of Sunni Ashʿarī school who was likewise respected by ʿAḍud al-Dawlah who sent him as a delegate to the Byzantine emperor and appointed him as a judge.[923] The attendance of religious knowledge that represented various religious groups and schools in the Buyid period suggests that the Buyid dynasty (especially in ʿAḍud al-Dawlah's time) inclined to be a pragmatic political regime that benefited from such religious intellectual variety to balance between the Abbasid caliphate and their Shiite-Muʿtazilī tendencies. Al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, when he decided to indoctrinate hadiths, wore scholastic clothes and went out, declared his repentance and appealed to jurists to endorse his repentance and such action popularised his indoctrination among people.[924]

What happened to the Buyids also took place in other political entities such as the Samanid and Saffarid dynasties and Fatimid caliphates. It is thought that one of the reasons for the success of the Samanid dynasty in Transoxiana and Khurasān was their good relationship with scholars. In such frontier territories with strong pagan and nomadic Turk tribes, the Samanids patronised scholars by attending their funerals,

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[920] Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, vol. 2, 697. Muṣṭafá al-Tawātī's study of intellectuals in the Buyids era helped us to recognise the three examples that we will give here, but we also depend on earlier sources. Muṣṭafá al-Tawātī, *Al-Muthaqqafūn wa al-Sulṭah fī al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʿArabiyyah, al-Dawlah al-Buwayhiyyah Namūdhajan*, (Beirut; Dār al-Fārābī, 2004), 274, 282-283, 289.

[921] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, 157. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 17, 344.

[922] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 17, 344.

[923] Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-Madārik wa Taqrīb al-Masālik*, ed. Saʿīd Aḥmad Aʿrāb, vol. 7, (Morocco; Wiārat al-Awqāf wa al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah, 1983), 44-68.

[924] Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, vol. 2, 694-695.

inviting them to court, granting them money and taking them on their military campaign in the name of Jihad against pagans.[925] The Samanids might have realised the power of written words that in the time of their prince Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (365/976), al-Ṭabarī's history and exegesis were translated (alongside *al-Sawād al-Aʿẓam – The Majoritarian*, which is a book in Sunni creed written by another Sunni scholar) into Persian, as it if became a counter project to refute non-Sunni doctrines in the eastern part of the Muslim world and place intellectual and political emphasis on unity and continuity with the Sunnī world and the Abbasid caliphate.[926] Otherwise it was scholars who contributed to the decline of the Samanid dynasty when they decided to stop their advocacy and instead encouraged Samanid's rival Karakhanids to seize Bukhara, the capital of the Samanids.[927] This incident may imply the substantial function of religious knowledge and its holders in the culture of the society of Transoxiana and Khurasān during Samanid reign. Like Samanid scholars, a link could be found between the Ṣāffārid dynasty in Sijistān and the Fars, who were keen to get Sunni scholars on their side by showing their commitment to the principles of Islam and fighting renegade or non-Muslim people.[928]

Another historical example of the role of religious knowledge and its holders is the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt. It appears they went through two parallel ways to symbolise religious knowledge. First, the caliphs represented themselves as imams with inherited exclusive and secret knowledge because they descended from the imams of *Ahl al-Bayt*. Here, instead of being philosophical kings (as in the case of Alexander, in some Muslim accounts), the caliphs would be knowing religious rulers, who scholars and people needed as al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān states in his book *al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt* (*Gatherings and Compliances*).[929] Secondly, the Fatimid dynasty took practical, instructional and intellectual steps by institutionalising religious

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[925] L. Marlow, *Counsel for Kings: Wisdom and Politics in Tenth-Century Iran*, vol. 1, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 173-181.

[926] On the historical significances of Samanid translation, see A.C.S Peacock, *Mediaeval Islamic Historiography and Political Legitimacy: Balʿamī's Tarikhnama*, (London: Routledge, 2007), 44-48. Meisami, *Persian Historiography*, 23-37.

[927] Peacock, *Mediaeval Islamic Historiography*, 23-24. R. N. Frye, "The Samanids" in *Cambridge History of Iran*. R. N. Frye (ed). Vol. IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 159.

[928] D. G Tor, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, And The Ayyar Phenomenon In The Medieval Islamic World* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2007), 135-147.

[929] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt*, 215, 266, 271-272, 276.

knowledge through building the al-Azher Mosque and later Dār al-Ḥikmah/al-ʿIlm (The House of Wisdom or Knowledge). The former was a hub for teaching Ismāʿīlī creed and jurisprudence conducted by al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, the head of judges, while the latter was, beside its library, a school for preparing apprentice proselytisers (*duʿāt*) to disseminate Ismāʿīlī thought.[930] These proselytisers were respectful and important figures in Fatimid society because they were the holders of sacred knowledge that stemmed from the imams.[931] Religious knowledge and its holders functioned as counter-propaganda against the Sunni and the Abbasid caliphate and simultaneously legitimised the Fatimid caliphate. In like manner but within Sunni and Abbasid circles, the Tulunids in Egypt shifted their judicial support from the Ḥanafī school to the Shāfiʿī school. The reasons for this was that the Ḥanafī school was adopted by the Abbasid caliphate which, in the second half of third/ninth century, had political interests in conflicts with the Tulunids, while in the meantime, the Shāfiʿī school had become popular in Egypt.[932]

The second intellectual group is philosophers. Al-Dīnawarī describes al-Maʾmūn as 'The star of the Abbasids in knowledge and wisdom.'[933] Muslim philosophers, historians and belletrists with philosophical backgrounds praised the Abbasid caliph because he was versed in philosophy more than his predecessors and successors and by gaining philosophical knowledge, he became the protector of Islam as a caliph (at least in the eyes of those who had Shiite and Muʿtazilī tendencies) and representative of philosophers.[934] This position reifies during al-Maʾmūn's reign in the dynamic activities of Bayt al-Ḥikmah (The House of Wisdom) which was an intellectual place or library for translating scientific and philosophical works (especially Greek ones)

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[930] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār*, vol. 4, 51-54. Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, (Stuttgart: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 110-112. Yaacov Lev, *State and Society In Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1991). 65-66, 71. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 173-186. S. M Stern, *Studies in Early Ismaʿilism* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1983), 234-253.

[931] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Al-Majālis wa al-Musāyarāt*, 477-481. Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn*, 110-112, Farhad Daftary, *Historical Dictionary of the Ismailis*, (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), 39-40.

[932] Ahmad El Shamsy, *The Canonisation of Islamic Law: a Social and Intellectual History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 137-144.

[933] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al- Ṭiwāl*, 366.

[934] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Mushākalat al-Nās*, 203-207. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 227. Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 320 Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 171. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 743-744.

into Arabic and studying philosophy and natural sciences, and it paved the way for those with philosophical backgrounds to merge with the Muslim community and culture and consolidate their status.[935] It is reported that Yaʿqūb al-Kindī (who is thought to have been the first Arabic and Muslim philosopher) was close to the Abbasid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (successor to al-Maʾmūn) and used to teach his son and write advisory epistles to the caliph. These epistles began with an affirmation that philosophy is at the top of human knowledge and science, and hence the importance of and the need for philosophers and their high position among the people.[936] This might indicate that this philosopher, in sending epistles to the Abbasid caliph, was influenced by the alleged epistles of Aristotle to Alexander.[937] Something similar happened to Ahmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarkhasī, who was a teacher to al-Muʿtaḍid and then became his courtier (*nadīm*), to the extent that he told al-Sarkhasī about his secrets and consulted him about his caliphal affairs.[938] This status of philosophers in the central area of the caliphate reached its climax in ʿAḍud al-Dawlah's reign, when he attempted to institutionalise philosophical knowledge. Miskawayh recounts that:

> In the House of ʿAḍud al-Dawlah was a room that was allocated to wisemen or philosophers, close to his court and reserved for his chamberlains who would meet to negotiate away from the foolish and mobs of commoners; they were allocated salaries and luxuries. So, knowledge regained its high status after having been destroyed; youth yearned to learn and the old yearned to teach; people became better and more generous after having been void of all goodness.[939]

We notice here a romantic emplotment in this historical *khabar* by Miskawayh, who belonged to the philosophers' group, as if he does not feel it is sufficient to just praise ʿAḍud al-Dawlah (to whom Miskawayh was close escort) for his step, but also to narrate in intensive and assertive fashion, the previous and current social situations for philosophers that shows decisive civilisational outcome of patronage of philosophical knowledge and its holders and venerates them. The relationship between philosophy

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[935] About The House of Wisdom, see: Ibn al-Nadīm. *Al-Fihrist*, vol. 2, 142, 215, 234-235. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 53-60. We include this historical phenomenon, because al-Dīnawarī was born during al-Maʾmūn reign, and it is based on *al-sabr al-taḥlīlī* (*al-munāsabah* + *al-ilghāʾ*).
[936] Al-Kindī, *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, 25. For his relation to al-Muʿtaṣim, see al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah*, 282.
[937] See in Chapter Three, 3.4.3 Alexander in philosophical literature and literary philosophical works.
[938] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, vol. 2, 196.
[939] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 6, 457.

and the scientific fields (basically medicine) might also make people from different social and political positions think of philosophers as indispensable figures for a community that was witnessing civilisational interactions and changes from various plateaus.

It was common to call philosophers at that time wisemen (*ḥukamāʾ*) and as a result they gained significant status in caliphal and royal courts.[940] The historical *khabar* that Miskawayh narrated tried to hint at the importance of philosophy and philosophers. Holders of philosophical knowledge wrote in wisdom literature and Mirrors for Princes that contain biographies of famous ancient and Muslim philosophers and wisemen, with some anecdotes about them, their proverbs and sayings.[941] They even historicised this intellectual solution by putting some prominent philosophers, wise kings and caliphs in the context of historical works to cement and actualise their opinion on the importance of philosophy and its holders in human history. Aristotle and Alexander are clear example, alongside others like the Indian kings and Ardashīr with Tansar in ancient history, and al-Maʾmūn in Muslim history.[942] What Muslim writers with philosophical backgrounds seemed to want was not only to highlight the need and significance of philosophical knowledge, but also to convey to their readers and audience indications about the prestigious and spurious status of philosophy and philosophers over other people, including the rulers, as appears in al-Fārābī's book *Mabādiʾ Ārāʾ Ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* (*On The Perfect State*):

> But when it happens, at a given time, that philosophy has no share in the government, though every other condition may be present in it, the utopia will remain without a king and the city will be on the verge of destruction: and if it happens that no philosopher can be found who

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[940] For the title of *ḥukamāʾ*, see Mittwoch, E., "Ḥakīm" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition (1913-1936), eds. M. Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann. Consulted online on 16 October 2018 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-871X_ei1_SIM_2627 .

[941] For instance: Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikmah al-Khālidah*. Ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb Al-Falāsifah*. Al-Sijistānī. *Ṣiwān Al-Ḥikmah*.

[942] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 120-125, 183. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 324-325. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 99, 122. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408, 744

will be attached to the actual ruler of the city, then, after a certain interval, this city will undoubtedly perish.[943]

Yet such efforts would not have lasted without familiarising philosophy to the Muslim community by adapting it to Sharia, in which the spectrum of anachronism could be traced.

The last intellectual group is the belletrists. If we take it at face value, the literary aspects do not seem to be reflected in Alexander history as much as the religious and philosophical aspects. However, we should take into account multi-functional and intellectual facets that belles-lettres had in the Muslim world during third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries which included the art of writing, reading, general knowledge and also learning moral and ethical manners and behaviour.[944] The educational and ethical role of belles-lettres could be found in Alexander history and show the role of Indians wisemen and Aristotle in this matter. Al-Thaʿālībī recounts *khabar* in his book *al-Ghurar*:

> And Alexander was asked, 'Why do you glorify your teacher more than your father?' He said, 'Because my father is the cause of my temporal life and my teacher is the cause of my permanent life.'[945]

This *khabar* had practical resonance in the Muslim community that transformed it into actual and practical ways in that those who were in the political circle of power (caliphs, rulers, ministers, nobles) recruited belletrists to educate their children, which made belletrists an important intellectual groups in courtly life.[946] It was those who had literary backgrounds (like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, al-Dīnawarī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih and al-Thaʿālibī) who contributed to produce Mirrors for Princes and introduce the duality of Alexander and Aristotle to Muslim tradition. It seems that due to their abilities to educate, write and translate, belletrists clung to the position of secretaries (*kuttāb*) in

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[943] Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, *Al-Farabi On The Perfect State Mabādiʾ Ārāʾ Ahl al-Madīna al-Fāḍila*, trans and ed. Richard Walzer, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 253.

[944] S. A. Bonebakker, "Adab and the Concept of Belles-Lettres" in *Abbasid Belles Lettres*, eds. Julia Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham and R. B. Serjeanted, 16-30, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Defining *Adab* by (re) Defining the *Adīb*: Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Storytelling" in *On fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, ed. Philip F Kennedy, 287-304, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005). Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 96-104.

[945] Al-Thaʿālībī, *Ghurar*, 443.

[946] Albert Dietrich, "Some Aspects of the Education of Princes at the Abbasid Court" in *Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World*, ed. Claude Gillioted, 89-104 (New York: Routledge, 2016).

caliphates and ruling courts that enhanced their influence on the political sphere as 'people of pens' (*Aṣḥāb al-qalam*) who perceived themselves as those who, via their pens, change destinies of nations and kingdoms and the sayings, proverbs and *akhbār* in their written works confirm such perception.[947]

If scholars and philosophers had caliphs who represented them in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, so also did belletrists, though only for a short time. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz (296/909), an Abbasid prince, was a prominent person in Arabic poetry and rhetoric to the extent that he was the only Abbasid prince who compiled and wrote books that would eventually become significant in the field of Arabic literature.[948] Ibn al-Muʿtazz studied under famous grammarians and belletrists and used to host and support this intellectual group at court.[949] The flourishing of belletrists emerged again in the Buyid time through their ministers who were affiliated to the group and who sponsored and endorsed them. These officials are Abū al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd and his son Abū al-Fatḥ Dhū al-Kifāyatayn 366/976 (his title expresses his intellectual and political position) and al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād.[950] They might go further and prefer them at the expense of scholars (basically Sunni) or philosophers like Abū al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd, who it is claimed to have been ignorant of Sharia and humiliated jurists who spoke in his court. Likewise, it is alleged that al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād was biased against practitioners of philosophy and that which connected to it (logic, mathematics and music).[951] Whether these *akhbār* are true or not, it shows that it was used and accepted by those who criticise such belletrist officials for their attitude toward other intellectual fields.

6.5 Concept of unity and its historical reflections

We will anatomise the concept of unity *(al-waḥdah)* as it appears in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries in

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[947] For *kuttāb*, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasah*, vol. 1, 83-87. Abū Bakr Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-Kuttāb*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjat al-Atharī. (Baghdad: al-Maṭbaʿah al-ʿArabiyyah, 1341 AH), 21-28. J. M. Landau, "Kuttāb" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 14 March 2018 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4594 .

[948] For ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿtazz, al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, vol. 4, 1519-1526. Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 11. 302. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 13, 84- 90.

[949] Al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, Vol. 4, 1520. Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 11, 302.

[950] For Abū al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd and al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, al-Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāq al-Wazīrayn*.

[951] Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 16, 138. Al-Tawḥīdī, *Al-Imtāʿ wa al-Muʾānasah*, vol. 1, 61.

terms of its meaning, foundations (command, community, and religion), ancillary elements (effective ruler and knowledge), types (universal and regional) and the epistemological relationships among them, and finally the historical reflections of such concept during such centuries.

In the first paragraph of his Alexander story, al-Ṭabarī concludes a narrative corollary:

> Greek rule had become centralised, whereas before Alexander it was dispersed; (on the other hand) Persian rule was dispersed, whereas before Alexander it had been centralised.[952]

Miskawayh cites almost the same statement at the beginning of his Alexander history.[953] It is interesting that both Muslim historians decided to start with this statement before they explicated the details of the conflict between Alexander and Dārā and the other *akhbār*. The statement is like a purview (*matn*) that summarises the historical period in one intensive, abbreviated and dialectic text that needs to be followed by consecutive narration that would explain its parts. Al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh narratively design the statement by dividing it into two obverse parts (Greeks and Persians) that ironically illustrate dramatic and fundamental historical changes at the advent of Alexander's reign. This new era of *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* process led to the rise of a new empire whose people comprised before that of scattered and disunited people subjected to another empire whose people were unified before its decline. It is the concept of unity that seems to be centralised in the corollary statement. Nevertheless, the concept of unity clearly expresses (in comparison with the rest of concept) its opposite concept at the same time.[954] Al-Maqdisī, like the rest of historians (with the exception of al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Ṭabarī), sets out the disunity of Persians by narrating the political step carried out by Alexander, who followed Aristotle's advice not to eliminate Persian nobles but rather to appoint many of them as kings of their lands which would make them disunited regional kings (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*), similar to the situation of the Greeks before

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[952] Al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, vol. IV, 88-89.
[953] Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95.
[954] In jurisprudential theory, the opposite concept is called non-congruent understanding *mafhūm al-mukhālafah*. See appendix IV: *Dilālāt al-alfāẓ*.

Alexander.[955] Al-Masʿūdī likens the situation of the Muslim world in terms of weakness and disunity in the fourth/tenth century to regional kings in the aftermath of Alexander's plan of dividing the Persian Empire among them.[956] This is probably because of the pessimistic view toward the movement of history, as we have discussed earlier, which led him to make present anachronistic and realistic comparison.[957] The example of regional kings and Alexander helps Muslim historians to understand other similar historical examples, as when al-Aṣfahānī uses it to clarify disunity in ancient Yemen.[958] Al-Masʿūdī uses anachronism and realism when he likens turmoil in China in 264 to what happened with regional kings in the aftermath of Alexander and what was happing in the Muslim world at the time.[959]

There are also hidden and unspoken indications in these comparisons that might be found in other historical works. Both al-Dīnawarī and al-Aṣfahānī show that the reign of regional kings witnessed scientific, intellectual and cultural progress and this had its similarity in the Muslim world of the time in that many Muslim dynasties sought to attract people from various intellectual groups (scholars, philosophers, belletrists, poets and scientists) to their courts and sponsored them to compete with other dynasties and reinforce their rule, economically politically and intellectually.[960] The two historians do not actually make this comparison, but if we look at al-Dīnawarī in a textual context, he concludes the section on al-Maʾmūn by praising him for the flourishing of scientific and intellectual activities in his time and when he turns immediately after that to al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Dīnawarī, he compliments him for his endeavours to reclaim the unity of the caliphate.[961]

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[955] Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*. 408, Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 39. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 257. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 34. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 415-416.

[956] Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*, 362-363.

[957] See in this chapter, 6.2, The concept of *tadāwul* and its historical reflections.

[958] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 102-103.

[959] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Vol. 1. 158.

[960] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 39. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*., 34-35. For the civilisational dynamics in Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, see Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 410-472. Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. S. Khuda Bukhsh and D. S Margoliouth, (New York: AMS Press, 1975). Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Tārīkh al-Islam: al-Siyāsī wa al-Dīnī wa al-Thaqāfī wa al-Ijtimāʿī*, vol. 3, (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1996), 339-429.

[961] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 366-367. The above discussions and examples about the meaning of unity and disunity are *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil*.

The clear statements and their explanatory attendances through Alexander history suggest that one of the issues that lets Muslim historians pay attention to Alexander as a historical figure is the role of unity in his story. This also appears in other historical stories like the establishment of the Sasanid dynasty under Ardashīr and the prophetic experience of Muḥammad. The three historical examples show how Greeks, Persians and Arabs had been dispersed, weak and subordinate to others before the advent of Alexander, Ardashīr and Prophet Muḥammad, and that all three figures unified their people under new political entities that brought out new historical and civilisational changes. Ardāshīr was called the gatherer (*al-jāmiʿ*) and declared the need for political, religious and national unity over regional kingdoms, which Alexander had created, and this suggests the re-emergence of Alexander and his relationship to the issue of unity in another historical story.[962]

As for Prophet Muḥammad, the concept of unity is essential and is represented as a conceptual guiding tool that frames the narrative process of his story. It exemplifies in *al-Tawḥīd* (monotheism) which is the Islamic term that expresses the concept of unity.[963] This contextual comparison leads us to examine the foundations of the concept of unity, its ancillary elements and the types found in Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Regarding the foundations, they are command, community (*ummah*) and religion (*millah*).[964] Al-Ṭabarī and al-Maqdisī, despite their different theological backgrounds, agree about on the oneness of rule and the impacts of contention among the *ummah* on it. Both state clearly that the first dispute that took place among Muslims was about *imāmah* and the caliphate, which is the religious and political command of the Muslim community.[965] Yet they do not examine this in their history works (al-Ṭabarī) or the section of history (al-Maqdisī); instead, they do so in theological topics that discuss the issue of the difference in caliphate and *imāmah* and the multitude of

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[962] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 39. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 200-201. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 37. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 257. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 34. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 105, 126. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh,* 410. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 415-416.
[963] See for example: Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 293-657. Vol. 3. 9-199. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ*, ed. Akram al-ʿUmarī, (Riyadh: Dār Ṭaybah, 1985), 54-94.
[964] This is the process of *al-taqsīm al-istiqrāʾī al-iʿtibārī*.
[965] Al-Ṭabarī, *Al-Tabṣīr*, 154-155. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 627-628.

Muslim sectarians so as to logically and argumentatively demonstrate the discursive link between the disunity of *imāmah* and *ummah*. Their historical works are like the narrative representations that actualise the issue in Muslim history. This theological pattern seems to have been common in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries among Muslim scholars and denotes the effects of history on theology.[966] Al-Ṭabarī and al-Maqdisī use historical *akhbār* for theological topics to insist on the importance of the unity of rule by focusing on counter sequences of its absence. We notice overlap and correlation between the foundational angles of the concept of unity that indicate that the concept of the unity of *ummah* is important to the unity of religion (*millah*) and of the caliphate as the political umbrella that protects the unity. Political unity shows how it positively and negatively affects other angles of unity. These Muslim scholars and historians discuss this issue in an Islamic context, but its intellectual reflections on historical writings appears in Alexander history and even the Ardashīr story and how their unification of political rule led to the unification of their people and religion.

In the eyes of some Muslim historians who put Alexander in a doctrinal anachronistic pattern, they realised the importance of the unity of rule to stand up for the unity of religion and people.[967] Similarly al-Aṣfahānī explains that Ardashīr noticed that despite regional kings adoption of same religion, they were not united and therefore he realised the need for one king to achieve unity.[968] Preserving unity requires ancillary elements and within the context of Alexander history there are two main ones. The first is the effective ruler that we have seen in the concept of the event-making man. Yet greatness cannot work alone and needs to go hand in hand with knowledge (and its holders), whether philosophical (in the case of al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Masʿūdī, Miskawahyh and al-Maqdisī) or religious (in the case of al-Dīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī). The function of the event-making man and of knowledge assures their role

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[966] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (324/936), the founder of Sunni Ashʿārī School, confirms this issue in his book. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn wa Ikhtilāf al-Muṣallī: The essays of Islamists and The differences of Prayers*, ed. Hellmut Ritter, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980), 1-5. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jbbār uses such *akhbār* to demonstrate the importance of the unity of *imāmah*. Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Al-Mughnī fī Abwāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-ʿAdl*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Qāsim, vol. 20, (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa-al-Irshād al-Qawmī, al-Muʾassasah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah li al-Taʾlīf wa al-Tarjamah wa al-Ṭibāʿah wa al-Nashr, 1958-1965), 243-244
[967] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 33, 36. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 423, 442-444.
[968] Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 36-37.

in understanding the concept of unity and the reciprocal influences among the historical concepts in Alexander history.[969]

The last issue relates to the concept of unity that stems from Alexander history, and to whether all the eight Muslim historians present just one type of unity or more. In my view it is not about numbers of unities, but the nature of formations of the types of unity. The concept of unity has historical and epistemological formations. The historical refer to geographic, political and national (or cultural) ranges of unity that Alexander achieved in his time; whereas the epistemological refer to the ideal relational aspects among the three foundational angles of unity. Each has two modalities.

With the modalities of historical formations, Muslim historians tend to present them as universal unity and regional and national unity. Al-Diīnawarī and al-Thaʿālibī portray Alexander as Dhū al-Qarnayn, who had religious universal mission to spread monotheism and bring people under one kingdom. [970] This missionary narrative language in their works is shown in Alexander's epistles to kings around the world (in the case of al-Diīnawarī) to obey him and worship Allāh, and in his apologetic justifications to Indian Brahmen (in the case of al-Thaʿālibī) that he could not stop the wars because "I am the servant of Allāh and I am commanded to do what I have to do." [971] This answer is potentially a deterministic causality as the mode of argumentative explanation in the historiographical structure (see Chapter 4).

Other Muslim historians (al-Ṭabarī al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Masʿūdī, Miskawahyh, al-Maqdisī and to some extent al-Aṣfahānī) universalise the concept of unity in Alexander history irreligiously as they narrate his conquests of lands that had different civilisational backgrounds and his building cities in them, which suggests that his conquests were in themselves a uniting experience. [972] The historians employ words that have indicative and referential dimensions to the universal unity of Alexander, such as contain (*Iḥtawá*), stepped (*waṭiʾa*), subjugated to him all the earth (*dānat lahu ʿāmmat*

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[969] For political unity and knowledge, see Khalidi, *Arab Historical Thought*, 166

[970] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 33, 36. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 423.

[971] Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 423.

[972] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 184, 186. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1. 573, 577-578. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 319. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 64. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1. 100, 103. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh,* 408, 435.

al-araḍayn), overcame *(dhallalah),* went east and west *(sharraqah wa gharrab),* owned the lands of the earth *(ḥāz aqṭār al-arḍ mulkah)* and gained *(ẓafirah).*[973] There is kind of exaggerated language in these words that overshadows the belief of Muslim historians in the literal meaning of such words, or they probably deliberately intended to use them to show the universal historical impact of Alexander's conquests. In their universal conception of the unity of Alexander history, we find present and nostalgic anachronism to the universal unity carried out by Muslims initially under the Prophet, and then more clearly under caliphs who succeeded in unifying many nations under the caliphate. The striking feature is that Alexander history and his universal unity are put in universal historical writings and that this type of writing stopped at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century. Then the universal character of Alexander story (as far as I know) disappeared and it resurfaced when universal historical writings were revived in the sixth/twelfth century.[974] It is thought that the disappearance of Muslim universal historical writings was a result of the sharp deterioration of political unity in the Muslim world.[975]

Regional and national modality in historical representation can be found in Muslim historians' works and their attention to Alexander's role as the king whom Greeks gathered around, and this successful unity seems in the eyes of Muslim historians (even those who might have antagonistic attitude toward Alexander like al-Aṣfahānī) to be what brought Greeks onto the historical scene.[976] I assume that Muslim historians linked the civilisational existence *(al-wujūd al-ḥaḍārī)* of Greeks in the political sphere with the emergence of Alexander. These historians confirm the historical existence *(al-wujūd al-tārīkhī)* of Greeks in the political sphere before Alexander by noticing their emigration to what would be known as Greece, the establishing of Athens, their expansion in Europe and their subordination to the

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[973] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīk al-Yaʿqūbī,* vol. 1, 184, 186. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 573, 577-578. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 319. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 64. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 100, 103. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408, 435. Here is *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil*.
[974] See about the disappearance and revival of universal history: Gibb, *Studies on the Civilisation of Islam*, 126. Muṣṭafá, *Al-Tārīkh al-ʿArabī*, vol .1, 349.
[975] Andrew Marsham, "Universal Histories", 445-446.
[976] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*. vol. 1, 183. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 573. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 315-317. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 33, 64. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 407. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 399.

Persians.[977] Furthermore, by setting up a fixed calendar that started with his reign, Alexander, in the eyes of Muslim historians, nationalised Greek unity by using a temporal device that recorded this moment and made it a historical measure to what occurred later of events and affairs. The essential meaning of the word history (*tārīkh*) in Muslim Arabic tradition is the timing (*tawqīt*) of occurrences, and because of Alexander, the calendar performed this role and Muslim historians use it in their works to better understand history.[978] It is for the similarity between Alexander and Muslims in terms of setting up their own calendar as a mark of their independence and unity, that Muslim historians might therefore pay attention to the Alexander calendar.[979]

The strong link between Alexander and Greece leads us to the modalities of the epistemological formation of unity in Alexander history. The first is incarnation that conceives the unity of people within the scope of the unity of political authority and kingship, and this modality links with the incarnated view that is found in the concept of the event-making man. The second is representation and shows the opposite trend to incarnation in that rulers need to preserve the unity of people and religion, and so it is the guarantee of the unity of political authority and kingship and is what grants rulers their legitimacy and enhances the unity of political rule. Either way, to avoid being replaced by other people and rulers or even religions, people and rulers need to preserve their unity.

From a present anachronistic point, history repeats itself and Alexander history tells Muslims that he had a similar historical experience in that he succeeded in unifying

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[977] Al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 31-32. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 1, 183. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, 573. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 318. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*, 52, 64. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 1, 95. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 408. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Gurar*, 402-403. I have borrowed the idea and difference between civilisational existence and historical existence from ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ʿUways. The second one means to confirm the existence of a given people in the past, but the first one not only confirms this meaning. Yet also emphasises that such people had influence and contributions in the past. See: ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ʿUways, "al-Qurʾān wa al-Sunnah ka Mṣdar li Tafsīr al-Tārīkh" in *al-Manhajiyyah al-Islāmiyyah wa al-ʿUlūm al-Sulūkiyyah wa al-Tarbawiyyah*, vol. 2, (Virginia: al-Maʿhad al-ʿĀlamī li al-Fikr al-Islāmī), 1992. 57.

[978] See for examples: Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*. Vol. 1. 608. Al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh*. 212, 214, 364. Al-Aṣfahānī, *Tārīkh*. 118-119. For the meaning of *tārīkh*, see Al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-Kātib*, vol. 1, 178. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 13. See also our discussion of this term and linkage with *tadāwul* in this chapter, 6.2. *Tadāwul* and its historical reflections.

[979] The discussions of the two modalities of unity are *siyāq al-kalām al-munfaṣil* analysis and *siyāq al-ḥāl* analysis (*ḥāl al-mukhāṭib* + *ḥāl al-khiṭāb*).

the Greeks politically, and globalised this step by subduing other nations to civilisational harmony based on philosophical or religious foundation. Alexander's conquest geography, in the words of Anna Akasoy, 'coincides much more with the growing of Dār al-Islām' and 'can be said to represent the universal and cosmopolitan side' of Islam.[980] From a present realistic point, Alexander's unification tells Muslims how his unitary efforts led him and his nation to strengthen their rule and made it independent, and that would eventually assist them to overcome their enemies, unify other nations under their rule and spread their philosophical or religious perspectives.

6.5.1 The historical reflections of unity

Ideally and theoretically, whether from philosophical or religious or even regional national perspectives, political authority, people and religion consist of the foundational angles of unity and each of them ought to be united to reinforce the unity of others. It was commonly thought that caliphs possessed real powers in terms of appointing governors and judges, leading military campaigns, overseeing religious ceremonies, adopting and circulating a particular theological perspective, persecuting those they thought to be heretics, and economic issues such as imposing taxes.[981] The ability to exercise legislative and executive power indicates their efforts to sustain the unity of the Muslim world and put it under their control. Needless to say, there were other elements and circumstances that deeply contributed to unity alongside the caliphs, but the effectiveness and stability of the political institution is the apparent outcome that symbolises the unity and thus it was narrativised significantly by Muslim historians to express and comprehend (whether in incarnated or representative perspectives) the issue of unity as a historical phenomenon. In the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, the Muslim world witnessed historical phenomena that ranged between disunities of and counter efforts to regain or reshape the unity and its three angles. Historical writings at the time seem to revolve around such reverse directions by intensifying the narration of historical events that relate to the issue of unity.

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[980] Akasoy, "Geography, History and Prophecy", 31-32.
[981] Shihāb al-Dīn b. Abī al-Rabīʿ, *Sulūk al-Mālik fī Tadbīr al-Mamālik*, ed. Ḥāmid Rabīʿ, vol. 2, (Cairo: Dār al-Shaʿb, 1983), 401-427. Abū Yūsuf al-Qāḍī, *Al-Kharāj*, (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1979), 3-6.

The threads of the breakup of unity emerged after the killing of al-Mutawakkil, which resulted in the succession of the Abbasid caliphs, who was not depicted as being as effective as their predecessors in terms of the powers we mentioned. What may have worsened the situation was that Turkish leaders, many of whom may have been descended from slavery and nomadic backgrounds that probably did not enhance the idea of general and universal unity, controlled the central area of the caliphate which had good revenues – southern Iraq (*al-Sawād*).[982] The unity was exposed to threats and reached its climax in the reign of al-Muʿtazz, which al-Yaʿqūbī describes: "and the orders of al-Muʿtazz were weakening to the extent that he could not command or forbid and the regions (*aṭrāf*) revolted".[983] Although al-Yaʿqūbī only mentioned some rebellions against the Abbasid caliphate, other sources mention Alid rebellions (which al-Yaʿqūbī omits) that took over other areas including Mecca and al-Medina, which are regarded as symbolising the legitimacy of the caliph.[984] Not all these rebellions attempted to replace the Abbasid caliphate or eliminate the caliphate institution as the representative of unity; rather, they sought independence from the central area of caliphate. This changed considerably with the Zanj revolution in southern Iraq during the time of al-Muhtadī who succeeded al-Muʿtazz.[985] Information that reaches us about the Zanj revolution seems to be questionable since it comes from antagonistic writers and historians like al-Ṭabarī and Miskawayh, who had opposite religious and political views toward the revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, the hostile attitude to the Zanj revolution tells us that Muslim historians might have thought that the Zanj were threating the centrality of the caliphate by seizing its economic territories (southern Iraq and al-Ahwāz) and the religious unity of Muslims. The leader of Zanj claimed to be a prophet, which is completely against Muslim belief.[986] The pivotal position of unity in al-Ṭabarī is strongly attested to in his dealing with the Zanj revolution by stigmatising it and elaborating caliphal efforts to eliminate it, and this historiographical narrative strategy also appears in his dealing with Khārijī

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[982] Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies Of The* Caliphs, 120-124, 138-139.
[983] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, 468.
[984] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 12, 49-50.
[985] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 410. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 108. Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 3m 397. Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Badʾ wa al-Tārīkh*, 749.
[986] Shaban, *Islamic History*, 108, 112. Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves,* 130-132 Al-Sāmir, *Thawrat al-Zanj*, 75-83.

uprisings.[987] Elaboration in details of the historical *akhbār* of caliphal efforts to confront the Zanj revolution and other dissident movements was key in understating the counter unitary policy of the Abbasid heir al-Muwaffiq, his son al-Muʿtaḍid and his grandson al-Muktafī, all of whom strove to retain the unity of the Abbasid caliphate and control at least the central region of the Muslim world that extended from Barqah (Cyrenaica) to Fars between the second half of third/ninth century.[988] Although two of the three Abbasid figures (al-Muwaffiq and his son al-Muʿtaḍid) were depicted as brutal or to some extent absolute and despot, some Muslim historians and writers inclined to see them as legitimate heirs and caliphs because of their endeavours to preserve the foundational angles of unity and its universal dimensions.[989] Because the caliphate expresses the universality of unity, the Fatimids sought to claim it when the Abbasid caliphates started again to be weak due to ineffective caliphs and the resuming of *al-tadāwul al-tadāfuʿī* with regional rulers.[990] It appears that to unify people under their caliphate, the Fatimids realised they needed religious propaganda that called for the Ismāʿīlī doctrine as a new religious unitary discourse instead of the Abbasid one. The Fatimids succeeded in unifying many parts of the Muslim world under their caliphate,[991] yet such partial success widened, deepened disunity among Muslims and reaffirmed the role of disputes over *imamah* in causing disunity. It is interesting that the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus used the unitary caliphal policy to stand up to Fatimid policy and prevent it from permeating into their territory. It is reported that in 316 AH the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir declared himself caliph and the commander of believers (*Amīr al-Muʾminīn*):

> When the Abbasid Caliphate underwent turmoil, became weak and the Turkish state and the Daylam emerged, the leadership of the believers was fitting of his post and continued in his offspring.[992]

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[987] See, Straley, "*Perspective and Method in Early Islamic Historiography*", 91-92.

[988] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 484-488. Michael Bonner, "The Waning of Empire, 861–945" in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Chase F. Robinson, vol. 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 332-339.

[989] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 663, vol. 10, 9-10, 15, 28, 136. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 1119, 123, 143-145, 187-188, 192, Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, vol. 4, 426, 478-482. al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah*, vol. 1, 144-155. Also, al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 2, 493.

[990] See the epistle Fatimid commander Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī, when he conquered Egypt, Al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāz al-Ḥunafāʾ*, vol. 1. 103-106. See also in this chapter, 6.2.1 The historical reflections of *tadāwul*.

[991] See their conquests, Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwah*, 67-175.

[992] Ibn ʿAdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 2, 165-164.

This justification is the spoken and explicit side of this step and the unspoken and implicit side was a practical one in that he wanted to protect the unity of al-Andalus from internal rebellion and at the same time spread his leverage over al-Maghrib and make it a barrier against Fatimid expansion and unitary policy.[993] There were, in the fourth/tenth century, three caliphates for the first time in Muslim history, which means three unities. The presence of caliphal discourse in unitary policies denotes that the idea of caliphate as a symbol of unity was at that time the most effective and probably the only way to achieve the universal unification of political authority, religion and *ummah*.

The Umayyad step in al-Andalus points us to the regional national unity embodied in some dynasties that took place in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries: Saffarids in Sistān, Tulunids in Egypt, Samanids in Transoxina and Ghaznawids in Khurāsān. These dynasties seem not to have attempted universal unity (and were thus not alternatives to the existing Abbasid caliphate) and at the same time did not completely sever their bonds with the Abbasid caliphate. The reason behind this position lies in the need for universal unity that represents the institution of the caliphate and to keep their connection to the Muslim *ummah* as popular support for them. Despite this, some of them (Tulunids and Saffarids) got involved in military conflicts with the Abbasid caliphs, but they did not intend to overthrow it or replace it as they might have been uncertain of achieving consensus or popular approval from the *ummah*.[994] In addition, regional dynasties tried to present themselves as keepers and protectors of Muslim unity by conducting military campaigns against non-Muslim countries (Ghaznawids in India, Tulunids with the Byzantines, Samanids with the pagan Turks) or against separatist tendencies of local Muslims. There were regional dynasties that could separate themselves from the caliphate such as the Alids in Ṭabaristān, but they faced difficulties.[995] Others like the Qarāmiṭah movement chose to affiliate with the Ismāʿīlī and became part of their unitary project and therefore to legitimise and

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[993] Janina Safran, "The Command of the Faithful in Al-Andalus: A Study in the Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 02 (1998): 183-198.
[994] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*. vol. 10, 30. Also for Saffarids, Tor, *Violent Order*, 159, 178, 182-183. Also for Tulunids, ʿAbd Allāh Al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn*, ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, n.d), 357-363.
[995] See their political struggles in: Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh Ṭabaristān*, 232-297.

enhance their position, and yet when they were in dispute with the Fatimids, they were portrayed as a separatist movement that resembled the Khārijī.[996] These unitary and dis-unitary political phenomena reflect religious unity and disunity in the Muslim community in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Some political entities that emerged (such as the Fatimid, Alids and maybe the Ibāḍī in Oman) did so due to religious disputes, either with the caliphate and its representatives or with other religious groups, which reaffirms the overlapping role between religion and politics in Muslim history at that time and the reciprocal effectiveness of each other.[997]

It seems that there was a conceptual shift in the meaning of unity in the Muslim world that started at the end of third/ninth century and continued in the fourth/tenth century onward. It viewed unity from a geographical perspective in that there is *Dār al-Islām* (the land of Islam), where people shared similar religious, cultural and civilisational features that distinguished them from other people in other geographical domains, and *Dār Ḥarb* (the land of war), *Dār Kufr* (the land of infidelity) and *Dār Ṣulḥ* (the land of pact).[998] Such geographical unity constitutes universal modality and in parallel within it there were regional unities exemplified in the political entities.

6.6 Summary

This chapter began by outlining the meta-textual side of historiographical concepts that appear in present anachronism, which presupposes the similarity between various nations from different times in terms of dealing with the same historical issues and present realism which presupposes the need for reading historical past in present practical eyes by drawing beneficial lessons to the present. Both have analogous symmetrical and instrumental practical roles and function as the epistemic bridge between the historiographical and historical sides of the complementary model that underlies Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings of the time. It then

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[996] S. M. Stern, *Studies in Early Ismaʿilism*, (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1983), 293-296.

[997] For Ibāḍī in Oman at that time, John C. Wilkinson, *Ibāḍism: Origin and Early Development in Oman*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2010), 265-349.

[998] For these terms, see Sarah Albrecht, "Dār al-Islām and Dār al-Ḥarb" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3, eds. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. Consulted online on 19 November 2017 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_25867. ʿAbd Allāh al- Judayʿ, *Taqsīm al-Maʿmūrah fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī wa Atharuh fī al-Wāqiʿ* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Rayyān, 2008).

moved to some epistemological remarks on historical concepts and their reflections and explained how the subjective and ontological existences of the two sides (concepts and reflections) overlap, and the interaction between Muslim historians, their time, their sources and their historical themes. It also explained that identifying these concepts and reflections is inexact, relying on implicit and potential contextual indications since the eight Muslim historians prefer to narrativise in their historical works what they think concerned them. During our discussions and analysis of the historical concepts and their reflections, we witnessed the relationship among them.

The first concept is *tadāwul*, which places emphasis on the ephemeral and changeable nature of political entities. It has three natures in the Muslim tradition: cyclical, linear (which divides into salvific and pessimistic) and *tadāfuʿī*, which is the most common and meets the Arabic meaning of *tadāwul*. The *tadāwul* takes place in macro-generality level (that leads to fundamental civilisational changes) and micro-specificity level (that leads to less change). The identified historical examples confirm the importance of *tadāwul* in Muslim historical writings and in Alexander history.

The second concept is the event-making man, which denotes that Muslim historians in general conceive Alexander as a great influential ruler of his time. By contextual comparisons with other historical figures and writings from different fields, we found three angles to the concept: people, time and religion. They take incarnated or representative tendencies due to the intellectual and socio-political backgrounds of the Muslim writers and historians. The historical reflections start with al-Dīnawarī's romantic emplotment of al-Muʿtaṣim in saving the unity of the caliphate, and other sources explain his influence on political, social and economic aspects in Muslim history. Another event-making caliph was al-Muʿtaḍid because of his military and political efforts to retain the centrality of the Abbasid caliphate. There is also an incarnated view in terms of time and people in al-Muʿtaḍid's reign embodied in changing the calendar system and his religio-political edict against Umayyads. We saw that the character of event-making men appeared in the era of other non-Abbasid caliphs or Muslim rulers, such as Buyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawlah who sustained the unity of the central areas of the Abbasid caliphs, Muḥmūd al-Ghaznawī who revived the notion of jihad state and Sunni Islam and Umayyad Andalusian caliph al-Nāṣir and Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz who both used historical propaganda for self-glorification and stigmatisation of their opponents. Writing about Alexander as ruler

was part of historical writings about other kings and rulers from various eras and nations.

The third concept was knowledge, and we showed that there are ethical, political and religious types of it. In all, we notice the attendance of Aristotle as adviser, teacher and religious preacher in Alexander history, which suggests the crucial role of knowledge and its holders in the political sphere and their leverage over rulers and kings. It showed the existence of knowledgeable and philosophical kings like Alexander. The only one who seems not to mention this issue is al-Ṭabarī, who due to the link of philosophy and Aristotle with some historical circumstances in his time, alongside his intellectual background, neglected this matter. The historical reflections were embodied in three intellectual groups in the Muslim world – scholars, philosophers and belletrists – and such groups could be recognised for their roles by their relations to the network in the Muslim community.

The last concept was unity, which was the epilogue of the historical concepts in Alexander history and reaffirms the connection among them. We saw that some Muslim historians started with a statement that placed emphasis on the role of Alexander in unifying the Greeks and then other nations under his rule and ending Persian unity. This concept constituted of three elements – command, religion and nation – and they were interdependent. These elements shed light on theological discussions among Muslims about the link among political unity, religious unity and people unity and how they used history in this matter. The concept of unity via Alexander history presented two unitary modalities: universal and regional. Both had historical reflections in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The former appeared in the Abbasids, Fatmids and Umayyads, all of whom tried to achieve this unitary modality under a caliphal canopy, whilst the latter appeared in the Saffarids in Sistān, the Tulunids in Egypt, the Samanids in Transoxina and the Ghaznawids in Khurāsān who accomplished regional unification with nominal affiliation to the Abbasids. There were independent attempts from other political unities that sought to complete independence. The shadow of Alexander history attends in the anachronistic and realistic statement of al-Masʿūdī.

Table 4. Historical concepts

	Al-Dīnawarī	Al-Yaʿqūbī	Al-Ṭabarī	Al-Masʿūdī	Al-Aṣfahānī	Miskawayh	Al-Maqdisī	Al-Thaʿālibī
Tadāwul		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Event-making man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Knowledge	+	+		+		+	+	+
Unity			+			+	+	

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The thesis aimed to reveal the historiographical structure and concepts and historical concepts and reflections that underlie Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, by using two Western theories (Hayden White's and event-making man theories) and one concept (anachronism), beside the jurisprudential theory approach (basically *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*).

I started by tracing the historiographical structure and concepts and historical concepts and reflections that underlie these Alexander histories. The four parts eventually constituted the complementary model for understanding Muslim universal historical writings. After presenting the entrance, development and sources of Alexander tradition in Muslim tradition from the first/seventh century until the fourth/tenth century (see Chapter 3), I focused in Chapter Four on the historiographical structure, which is the composite of relationship and form between the parts of historical writing: rhetoric explanation and argument explanation. The first is concerned with lessons and has dualism (as rhetoric dominance of two parts through the narrative process of historical story that portray it in a certain light and permit some topics to be crucial in such story) with four modes (author/compiler, speech/act, two figures, and factuality and allegory). Besides dualism, there was emplotment (basically romance and tragedy), which is borrowed from Hayden White's theory. The second explanation is concerned with judgment and has four modes: contextualisation, causation, inductive probe and attribution. The two parts of explanation distinguished historical *akhbār* from literary *akhbār* and demonstrated the existence of intellectual endeavours for critical analysis and writings among Muslim historians, regardless of their right or wrong judgments and conceptions.

In Chapter Five I turned to the textual-side of historiographical concepts [999] of anachronism and realism.[1000] Both are part of the complementary model and deal with

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[999] Epistemological ideas that determine selections and judgments of given historical themes and *akhbār* and affect historical writings in form and style.
[1000] An aware acceptance of epistemological conditions or domains without being completely subject to them.

the inner system of historical texts. Anachronism has two modes: doctrinal, which showed how Alexander history was Islamised, and structural which showed some imitated narrations between Alexander history and some Muslim history. The historiographical concept of realism also has two modes. First, explanatory, which betokened that Muslim historians have tendencies to give argumentative explanations to Alexander history to recover not only the meaning but also the intention of historical actors. Second, narrative mode, which betokened that Muslim historians incline to range between expiating more narrative expression on a certain topic in Alexander's history or not. This showed the role of subjectivities in intervening in this matter.

Chapter Six presented the historical concepts – the ideas and issues that concern historians and people of their time – and could be reflected in their historical writings and reflections – the actualisation of historical concepts in their historical time. We discussed the relationship between the meta-textual side[1001] of historiographical and historical concepts. It sought to show how the historiographical concepts were a watershed in understanding the historiographical and historical sides of Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings of the time. Historiographical concepts in their meta-textual sides (present anachronism and present realism) permeated and existed within major historical concepts of Alexander history. Historical concepts that appear in Alexander history are *tadāwul* between countries and nations, the event-making man, ethical, political and religious knowledge, and lastly the unity of community, command and religion. All of these concepts found their historical reflections in the Muslim world in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and the many instances of historical *akhbār*, incidents and figures which we presented were echoes of such concepts that preoccupy Muslim historians' minds and redact Alexander history into specific patterns.

The aim of thesis was to address the scholastic and academic gaps in Muslim historical studies, whether with Alexander in Muslim history and historiography, or with applying methodologies to it or to other themes. Many contemporary studies

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[1001] Historical dimensions behind the structure of historical texts.

seemed to fall into methodological and thematic reductionism or marginalisation of other possibilities as a result of the lack of interdisciplinary triangulated perspectives.

This thesis proposed a new complementary model to study Islamic history and historiography. The model combines historiographical and historical aspects in a systematic frame that has four parts: historiographical structure, historiographical concepts, historical concepts and historical reflections. These parts allowed it to interact with historical issues and take into consideration its historical circumstances and tried not to impose prejudgments on it. This complementary model was a product of modern western theories (White's theory and event-making man theory), the concept (anachronism) and our general approach (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*). What distinguishes this model is its effort to strike a balance between the internal and external, textual and contextual and realistic and idealistic dimensions so that reading and analysing historical texts does not fall into simple reductive reading

The complementary model is historical by virtue of historiographical structure's modes, historiographical concepts, historical concepts and historical reflections which are interdependent with the nature of historical texts. They would be modified according to the details and contexts of the texts. This means that the complementary model is in harmony with the nature of history itself, generalities and specificities. The four major parts that constitute the model represent generality, while their modes represent specificity. In other word, the complementary model modelises history and history historises the model. Finally, the complementary model can connect between its parts via the double role of historiographical concepts (anachronism and realism) that reaffirm the balancing, integrative and complementary role of the model. All these crucial features of this model encouraged me to find my own theoretical way instead of accepting and imposing theories and premises that exist in the field of history. Since we see interactions among diverse theories and study historical writings, I think we need to give space and a chance to new models to engage in fruitful interactions when studying such writings.

I could not only use a theoretical and conceptual frame without a methodical one, and here is my second contribution. The thesis is the first (as far as I know) that benefits from jurisprudential theory and which applies it to Islamic history and historiography by using two jurisprudential theoretical tools (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* with its inductive

dimension and *dilālat al-siyāq*) as a general approach in a triangulated, dialogic, parallel and complementary manner. As with Western theories and concepts, I used for the complementary model, the jurisprudential theory approach and underwent a habituation process that accustomed it to the history field and hence avoided the kind of methodical anachronism that those who used a hadith or Western approaches became involved in. I argued that if we want more understanding of Islamic history and historiography, we need to apply methodical tools that have been produced within the same civilisational and cultural milieu. The epistemological balance of our complementary model was accompanied by the methodical balance of our jurisprudential theory approach. The approach (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq*) represents comparative and inductive, explanatory and interpretive, general and specific and universal and particular balances. Using *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq* in our thesis suggests that jurisprudential theory as a methodical and normative 'science' has more to offer to Islamic history specifically and history generally in a triangulated, interdisciplinary and habituated way. The essence of jurisprudential theory tells us that its emergence and formulation is the result of a triangulated, interdisciplinary and habituated process, which shows how it is a dynamic discipline. If scholars and researchers tried Western approaches and the hadith approach, then it is worth rediscovering jurisprudential theory and trying to benefit from it in the history field.

The last contribution is that thesis shows how important Alexander was as a cross-cultural historical figure in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries since his history held influential historical reflections on the Muslim world. The reason for choosing Alexander history was that it occupies a distinct position that endows him with a unique cross-cultural category in Muslim universal historical writings (prophets, Muslims and non-Muslim nations). In Chapter Three, we saw how early Alexander entered Muslim tradition (first/seventh century) and the increasing information and knowledge about him with the passage of time accompanied with the crystallisation of various intellectual disciplines and crucial changes and developments in the Muslim world. The thesis has sought to find the historiographical structure and concepts and historical concepts and reflections that underlie Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. Cross-cultural historical phenomena such as Alexander

history need cross-cultural methodological, epistemological and conceptual frames and this was the role of our complementary model and jurisprudential theory approach with their triangulated and interdisciplinary dimensions.

The task to delineate the parts of the complementary model (historiographical structure and concepts and historical concepts and reflections) in Alexander history in the subject of Muslim universal historical writings was a challenge. This came from adopting a new approach to Islamic history and historiography – the triangulated methodical tools from jurisprudential theory (*al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *dilālat al-siyāq* with their inductive and comparative hermeneutic dimensions respectively) applied to Islamic history and historiography. I have tried as much as possible to use them throughout my thesis, to show their distinctness from other approaches and their efficiency in achieving the aim.

Another challenge was to avoid imposing prejudgments on my case study (whether in anachronistic ways or otherwise). For instance, conceptualising some unnamed issues or historical phenomena (like the concepts of anachronism or event-making man) and attempting to unearth meanings, intentions, reasons and motives behind Alexander history in these Muslim universal historical writings. I explained how the epistemological and methical foundation of my jurisprudential theoretical approach provided me with flexible, practical and approximate tactics that induced and probed such writings within their historical and textual contexts. The process of habituation also helped me develop the approach, theories and concept so that they became familiar with those historical pieces.

Finally, al-Jāḥiẓ says, "دلائل الأمور أشد تثبيتا من أقوال الرجال the indications of matter are stronger affirmations than the words of men."[1002] Hence, my aim was not to identify what was said or what happened, nor to identify the binary of true or false. Instead, my thesis intended to reveal the unspoken elements behind Alexander history in these Muslim universal historical writings and their various indications as they appeared to us as a result of questioning via our cross-cultural, triangulated, interdisciplinary, methodological, epistemological, conceptual and complementary frame.

[1002] ʿAmr b. Baḥr Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Salām Hārūn, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Khānjī, 1964), 240.

Ultimately, my journey with this thesis has imprinted on me new impressions about Islamic history/historiography (and history/historiography in general), about the relationship or rather dialogue among various disciplines whether Islamic or Western, and finally, about Alexander the Great. My thesis may not proffer new information about Alexander, jurisprudential theory or Islamic history and historiography, yet I hope it brings new insights to the issues that will widen and improve our understanding (*fahm* and *fiqh*) of both historical studies and Arabic and Islamic studies. I encourage scholars and researchers to see how dynamic, diverse, and important it is to have a dialogue among various approaches, theories, concepts, historical figures and historical phenomena where each has different civilisational and cultural backgrounds with different spatial and temporal distances.

Appendix I: History, theory and model

Since it is a general issue in historiography that has been analysed and debated by many specialists, we will do so concisely. Many historians that might be labelled professionals have reservations about imposing theories, either from historians, philosophers or social scientists on history and have many reasons for holding this view. The reasons are that theories bear civilisational and ideological prejudices that make their "travelling" to other historical cases very problematic; theories have presuppositions with ready patterns that would divert historical evidence to fit with them; historians can analyse and reach the conclusion of their works without theories; and theories have utopian or "Platonic" essences that distance them from reality, which is the area of history.[1003]

Despite these rejections, some epistemological notes may mitigate such intensity and organise, frame and instruct the application of theory to history. First, many historians who refuse theories exercise them implicitly and unintentionally, but without abstract formulations. This status appears when historians conceptualise and generalise some points like contingency, chronology, heterogeneity and complexity and make them foundational features and elements of history and, consequently, they become the analytical and explanatory mechanism of history.[1004] Another perspective on this matter is W.W. Rostow's proposal, "each explanation depended entirely upon theoretical presuppositions. But more than that, the data selected as relevant depended upon these presuppositions."[1005] The second note is that we should distinguish between different types of theories in history according to their levels and roles. There are ontological theories that deal with the object of history, epistemological theories that deal with the nature of historical knowledge and methodological theories that

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[1003] Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory: And Other Essays*, (London: Merlin Press, 1978), 346–359. Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past*, (New York: Encounter Books, 2000), 16–17, 36. G. R. Elton, *Return to Essentials: Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27, 30.

[1004] William H. Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 6, 11–12. Hayden V. White, *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect,* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), vii–viii.

[1005] W. W. Rostow, *British Economy of the Nineteenth Century; Essays*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 3. See also: J. F. Cairns, "Some Problems in the Use of Theory in History", *Economic Record* 26, no. 51 (December 1950), 223–224.

deal with practical practice and modality of such knowledge.[1006] These theories have two choices, to seek to disclose the causal factors or universal characteristics and hence have mechanic dimensions, or to consider the intentions, meaning and representation of history.[1007] The third note is that it is true that we can reach our conclusions and support our arguments without theories and yet they could proffer contributions to them by clarifying, conceptualising them and, thus, they would fill some gaps in such conclusions and arguments. On the other hand, by using theories in history we test them and determine their validity and efficiency, as Peter Burke points out that "other historians are interested in theories rather than committed to them. They use them to become aware of the problem, in other words to find questions rather than answers."[1008] This mutual role between history and theory connotes the need for the dialogical relationship between them instead of a conflicting relationship that imposes one on the other.

As for "model", it can be defined as an "interrelated set of elements which fits together to represent something."[1009] However, so often there is conceptual and terminological confusion between model and theory, overlapping epistemological relationship between them and they are used interchangeably.[1010] On one hand, theories can be the epistemological foundation and framework to models. Secondly, when it comes to a certain case study some researchers point out:

> "A theory may be incompletely specified in the sense that it imposes certain general constraints but remains silent about the details of concrete situations, which are provided by a model."[1011]

[1006] Chris Lorenz, "History and Theory'" in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, eds. Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf. 1st edn. Vol. 5, (Oxford: Oxford University. Press, 2015), 20–21.

[1007] John Tosh. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History,* 5th edn. (London: Longman, 2010), 215.

[1008] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theories* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 20.

[1009] Roy G D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 152

[1010] Alessandro Duranti, "On Theories and Models", *Discourse Studies* 7, no. 45 (August/ October 2005): 417.

[1011] Roman Frigg and Stephan Hartmann, "Models in Science", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2018 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, URL https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/models-science/

Models do not predict or present deterministic causality, but seek to the conclusion through analytical, explanatory and interpretive examination to the historical case studies. Thirdly, it can be said that general systematic characteristics of models are a guiding tool, whereas their details and partials are subjected to the contexts of a given case study.

Some see in models a representation that simulates the reality via empirical, experimental and observational research. Therefore, models become common in social and economic history. [1012] Nevertheless, if the essence of models is representation, it can be in this case divided into two orientations. First is to represent historical phenomena (historical event or issues and its actors) and second is to represent historiographical phenomena (writing form of the historical phenomena) where the nature of each phenomenon determines its epistemological methods and methodologies. So models of historiographical phenomena do not necessitate being experimental, empirical and observational.

Finally, the above discussion of relationship theories and history applies to models and history as well. Josiah Ober states that:

> "Just as one cannot create a geometry without preliminary postulates, so it is impossible to write history without employing a priori of assumptions and analogies. Thinking about history, like all other cognitive processes, requires one to move from the simpler to the more complex, from the better known to the less well known. Consequently, all historians use models, whether or not they are conscious of the process."[1013]

[1012] M. I Finley, *Ancient History Evidence and Models* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books Viking, 1986). 61. Braudel, *On History*, 40. Fairburn, *Social History*, 2.
[1013] J. Ober, "Models and Paradigms in Ancient History", *Ancient History* 3, no. 6 (1989): 134.

Appendix II: Further issues about the complementary model

First is the influence of Greek rhetoric on Arabic rhetoric. It is argued that if we accept the existence of emplotment that tragedy and romance in such writings would mean that Greek literature (like poetry and epics) had an impact on historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.[1014] There are two historical and textual indications (*qarāʾin*) *that* lean in favour of the possibility of this influence. It is reported that during the translation movement in the early Abbasid period (from Abū Jaʿfar al-Mansūr till his grandson al-Maʾmūn and onward) the works of Aristotle were translated into Arabic and among them *Rhetoric* and *Poetry* that concerned aesthetic and eloquent aspects in written and oral literature. And as long as Muslims at that time availed from philosophical and scientific Greek works, so too they did so with literary Greek works.[1015] Another indication is that *Alexander Romance* in its Syriac version was used as one of the main sources of Alexander history in Muslim universal historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, this might mean that Greek modes of tragedy and romance infiltrated into such historical writings.[1016] Moreover, some of the Muslim historians with philosophical backgrounds such as Miskawayh and al-Maqdisī and others were acquainted with Greek heritage like al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Masʿūdī. Nonetheless, other historical and textual indications show opposite trend to the indications that overshadow strong obstacles over the influence of Greek literature on Muslim Arabic writings. If we look at the general textual context we will notice that the narrative style of Muslim universal historical writings liken their counterparts in the early period of Islam that is clearly exemplified in *Maghāzī* (plural of *ghazwa* conquest) or *futūḥāt* (plural of *fatḥ* conquest) writings, which recorded early Muslim conquests in Arabic Peninsula, Iraq, the Levant, Egypt, Persia, Transoxiana, Spain, North Africa and Sind.[1017] Such type of historical writing

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[1014] See the introduction of Ṭāha Ḥusayn in his edition to *Naqd al-Nath*. Psudo-Qudamāh b. Jaʿfar. *Naqd al-Nathr*, eds. Ṭāha Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAbbādī (Cairo; al-Maṭbaʿah al-Amīriyyah bi Būlāq, 1941), 1-51.

[1015] For the translation movement, see Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, trans. Emile and Jenny Marmorstein (London: Routledge & Began Paul, 1975), 1-14. Gutas, *Greek Thought,* 15-40. Yücesoy, Hayrettín, "Translation as Self-Consciousness: Ancient Sciences, Antediluvian Wisdom and the ʿAbbāsid Translation Movement", *Journal of World History* 20, no. 4 (December 2009): 523-57.

[1016] See in Chapter Three 3.1. The primary sources of Alexander tradition in Muslim tradition

[1017] For early *Maghāzī* and *futūḥāt*, see Donner, Fred McGraw, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 174-182. Josef Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, trans. Lawrence I Conrad

depicts the picture of wars and political interactions in colourful, eloquent and rhetoric language that contains climactic and *iltifāt* narration that can be found in later works in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. If we expand the general textual context further and take it back to pre-Islamic era we will notice similarity in terms of narrative strategy and rhetoric style between *ayyām al-ʿArab* and Arabic poetries on one hand and historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries on another that would probably emphasise the impact of "indigenous" Arabic literature on Arabic writings after the advent of Islam.[1018] David Margoliouth brings to light how poetries in pre-Islamic era is the "tribal method of recording history" for Arabic tribes who in general used to depend on orality instead of writing and thus they filled their poetries with past scenes that preserve and portray their battles in glorious or sorrowful ways.[1019] At the end, Margoliouth concludes that the answer to the question on the existence of any epic Arabic poetry, "If by the Epic is understood the historical poem, of which Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, or the great Indian Epics may be taken as examples, we have seen that the language shows certain efforts in this direction."[1020] This quotation leads to another indication that modes of emplotment like tragedy or others seem not to be exclusive to a given culture or society as long as we do not confine ourselves to the logical definition of Aristotle's and can find their spectrum and attributes in different cultures and societies. [1021] According to a contemporary study, historical and genealogical observation show that early translations of Aristotle's works in poetics did not have leverages on theoretical and normative Arabic works on rhetoric and poetics and on the contrary such works differentiate from the former in terms of categories, materials, analytical and interpretive perspectives.[1022] Finally, some of the eight Muslim historians strongly

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(Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 2002). Al-Dūrī, *Nashʾat ʿIlm al-Tārīkh*, 19-35. Khālidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 44-45, 62-66. Mulalić, *A Survey of Early Muslim Historiography*, 63-97.

[1018] For the influence of Arab battles, Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*,18-21. Jabr, *Al-Huwiyyah wa al-Dhākirah al-Jamʿiyyah*, 212-216.

[1019] D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians, Delivered before the University of Calcutta, February 1929*, (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1930), 59-60. Also Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought,* 2-5.

[1020] Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, 80-81.

[1021] For the critical objection to Aristotelian view, Boaz, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography,* 251-252.

[1022] Ighnāṭyūs Kratshkūfiskī [Ignaty Krachkovsky], *ʾIlm al-Badīʿ wa al-Balāghal ʿind al-ʿArab*, trans. Muḥammad Al-Ḥajīrī, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kalimah, 1983), 55-80, 121-124. Also ʿAbd al-Jabbār Al-Sharāfī, 'Al-Athar al-Yūnānī fī al-Balāghah al-ʿArabiyyah: Balāghat al-Naṣṣ wa Balāghat al-Khiṭāb', *Majalat al-Tasāmuḥ*, no. 6 (2004):, accessed April 18, 2017.

clung to Arabic language more than other linguistic traditions, for instance al-Dīnawarī (who wrote extensively in favour of Arabic) and al-Thaʿālibī and others like al-Ṭabarī, who had reservation to Greek tradition. Consequently, these indications imply that the issue between the modes of Greek emplotment and its counterparts in Muslim Arabic historical writings are accidental *ittifāqī* and not identical *taṭābuqī*.

Second point is that the meaning of dualism in the historiographical structure might resemble some contemporary theories such as dialectics and dialogism. The former is used in Hegelian (and eventually in Marxist thought) as a core intellectual and critical operation that produces a new idea by conflicting between two opposite ideas, while the latter that is coined by Mikhail Bakhtin, who used it as an implication to the existence of and the relation between more than one interlocutor in a given textual discourse.[1023] Dualism is more comprehensive than dialectics in the sense that it has four narrative frames that we mentioned above and has multi various functions that not only concentrate on the obverse relation between the two parts of narration as dialectics, but also look at consensual, integrative and reciprocal ones. Bakhtin in fact criticises Hegelian and Marxist dialectics and sees them as being monological.[1024] Nonetheless, we should notice that dialectics is concerned with abstract and intellectual ideas in history and not with narrative dimensions of writings. Similarly, dialogism is more comprehensive than dialectics but it differentiates from dualism because the latter seems to be concerned with actors and action. In addition, Bakhtin's dialogism has been driven from novels that concentrate on influential aspects (aesthetic and morals) rather than persuasive aspects (that are represented via argument explanation), which in turn historical writings seek to balance between them. We have mentioned already in the literature review that Paul Weinfield applies dialogism to Alexander in Arabic and Persians works.[1025]

[1023] For Hegelian dialectic, see Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Encyclopaedia Logic, Part I of the Encyclopaedia of philosophical sciences with the Zusätze*, trans. Théodore F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, and H. S. Harris (Indianapolis/ Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1991), 128-131. For dialogism, see: Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 5th ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

[1024] See: Leslie A. Baxter and Barbara M. Montgomery, *Relating: Dialogues and Dialectics* (New York- London: Guilford Press, 1996), 30-31.

[1025] See: Weinfield, "The Islamic Alexander", 7-8.

As for realism, Muḥammad Arkoun applies its Western meaning to Miskawah's historical thought and thinks that Miskawayh adopts positivist and empirical attitude toward history and that in Arkoun's perspective it is the rational bright face in Islamic civilisation in the fourth/tenth century.[1026] The problem here is that Arkoun seems to fall into extreme doctrinal and ideological anachronism by applying Western meanings (that he believes in their universality and certainty) to Miskawayh's historical thought, albeit the former calls for the importance of reading the language of Miskawayh's works within their historical cultural contexts. In fact Arkoun tends to neglect the general epistemological map of historical thought in the fourth/tenth century and reduce it not even into the general or various meaning of philosophy (which was one of the intellectual tributaries of Miskawayh's historical thought alongside others) but into the narrow meaning that exemplifies in positivism, which he equates with rationality.

The issue of realism and reality preoccupy the attention of contemporary studies in the Western world (basically the United States and Europe). Hayden White analyses this issue very extensively in his works, and casts his scepticism and critique on its relation to narration in that the ability of the latter to describe the past as was, neutrally and objectively, and on the other hand the ability of historians to apprehend and discover the past as it was by narration.[1027] In response to him, William Dray places emphasis that narrative explanation could be a logical and realistic process that is able to refer to historical past objects naturally.[1028] Between these obverse views, Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob in their book *Telling the Truth about History* try to reach reconciliation by suggesting a different kind of realistic mode which they call "practical realism" that means "the meanings of words are never simply "on our head", nor do they lock on to objects of the external world and fix reality for all time."[1029] Still, we do not intend to analyse the realism in Alexander history in Muslim historical writings in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries from

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[1026] Arkūn, *Nazʿat al-Ansanah,* 157, 567, 592.
[1027] See: White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, 170-186. White, *Tropics of Discourse*. 121-134. White, *The Content of The Form*, 1-25
[1028] See: Dray, *On History*, 131-163
[1029] Appleby, Jacob and Hunt, *Telling The Truth About History*. 247

these aspects.[1030] Rather, we prefer to present different aspects though we do not deny there are to some extent similarities between the third mode (present realism) and Western meaning of realism which is concerned with pragmatism.[1031] Plus, the modes of explanatory and narrative realism might have similarities with historical distance or subject-position.[1032]

The last point is that some might think that the historical concepts and their reflections have conceptual and functional similarities with the concept of trauma. The latter sheds light on how historians write about and perceive effective incidents in their time. One of the pioneer historians in this field is Dominic La Capra.[1033] Therewith, there are pivotal distinctions between trauma and the historical concepts and their reflections. The former deals with incidents that historians witness, which have direct impact on them and eventually write about them directly. A good example might be Muslim historians during the Crusades.[1034] In contrast, historical concepts and their reflections do not entail such conditions. They deal with present incidents indirectly by looking at (or writing about) past historical examples (that historians do not belong to) for understanding the similarity between them (and here is present anachronism) and getting lessons or benefits from the past to handle the present (and here is present realism).

[1030] For general discussion of this matter, see: Murray Murphey, "Realism about the Past" In *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography*, by Carlos Speorhase, ed. Aviezer Tucker. 181-198, (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

[1031] See: James T. Kloppenberg, "Pragmatism And The Practice Of History: From Turner And Du Bois To Today", *Metaphilosophy* 35, no. 1-2 (2004): 202-225.

[1032] For historical distance, see: Mark Salber Philips, *On Historical Distance*, (New Heaven; Yale University Press, 2013). For subject-position, see: Herman Paul, *Key issues in Historical Theory*, (New York; Routledge, 2015), 52-55.

[1033] See his collected essays: Dominic LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2014).

[1034] For instance, Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *Al-Nadādir al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsifiyyah*, ed. Jamal al-al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, (Cairo; Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1994).

Appendix III: Further issues about *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*

It appears that there is no agreement among jurisprudential theorists about setting an idiomatic definition of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*. In fact, some scholars define the first part of it, *al-sabr and* others define the second part, *al-taqsīm*, or they tend to define one type of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* at the expense of another.[1035] According to a recent study, *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* has two proponents in its use by theorists: one is a general one which describes it as a deductive process that is used in drawing out jurisprudential theory principles *qawāʿid*, settling disputes, objecting to other evidence or supporting other arguments, and the second is specific and is associated with *masālik al-ʿillah* or the ways of ratio, which is the core of judicial analogy, *qiyās,* which assists jurists to deduce a judicial opinion.[1036] Having said that, we note that the existence of two meanings and hence two different functions, necessitates having different definitions. The second can be defined as "the collection of attributes and revocation by evidence that it is not valid for issue and the rest will fit the *ʿillah.*"[1037] The definition shows that because of the clear presence of *ʿillah* and its centrality in the process of analogy, the *al-sabr* needs to revoke all attributes and retain only one, because one of the conditions of *ʿillah* is that it must be suitable for *ḥukm* and hence it can only accept one attribute.[1038] I think that the strong connection between *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* and *ratio ʿillah* might blur the general meaning of the former that is used in various jurisprudential theory fields. Some scholars do not link *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* with *ʿillah* when they expound on the former and yet they place emphasis on the elimination of all segments of a given jurisprudential theory or jurisprudential matter and keep only *ʿillah*.[1039] Such assertions seem to be problematic as the general meaning of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* does not stipulate a single attribute

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[1035] Aḥmad Al-Qarāfī, *Sharḥ Tanqīḥ Al-Fuṣūl Fī Ikhtiṣār al-Maḥṣūl Fī Al-Uṣūl*, ed. Maktab Al-Buḥūth Wa Al-Dirāsāt, (Beirut: Dār Al-Fikir, 2002), 352. Al-Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Al-Rawḍah*, vol. 3, 404–405. Al-Bannānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Bināni,* vol. 2, 270.

[1036] Al-Qaḥṭānī, ʿ*Al-Sabr Wa Al-Taqsīm*, vol. 1, 370-372. See also; Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr Al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 7, 292.

[1037] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭaliʿ fī Ḥal Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*, Ed. Murtaḍá al-Dāgistānī, vol. 2. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah Nāshirūn, 2005), 231.

[1038] Al-Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Al-Rawḍah*, vol. 3, 404–405. ʿAlī Al-Āmidī, *Al-Iḥkām Fī Uṣūl Al-Aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd Al-Razzāq 'Afīfī, vol. 3, (Beirut: Al-Maktab Al-Islāmī, 1402 AH), 210–15.

[1039] Abū Yaʿlá al-Farrāʾ, *Al-ʿUddah fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. Aḥmad Al-Mubārkī, vol. 4, (Riyadh, 1990), 1415. Al-Āmidī, *Al-Iḥkām Fī Uṣūl Al-Aḥkām*, vol. 3, 265.

and, furthermore, many jurisprudential theorists believe that a certain issue could have more than one *ʿillah*.[1040] Al-Gazālī goes further and argues that one of the ways of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* is to eliminate one attribute and keep the rest.[1041]

Al-taqsīm al-ḥāṣir is similar to what is known in logic as *al-qiyās al-sharṭī* (conditional analogy) or *burhān al-khulf* (*reductio ad absurdum*) and *al-istiqrāʾ al-tāmm* (complete induction).[1042] *Burhān al-khulf* is "the supporting proof: this is where one does not decide on the reference by oneself, but determines the reference between two proportions: positive and negative; the proof decided on the impossibility of negation, then the viewer decides on a positive, and vice versa".[1043] It is also known as *reductio ad absurdum* (reduction to absurdity) and can be defined as "the process of reasoning that derives a contradiction from some set of assumptions, and concludes that the set as a whole is untenable, so that at least one of them is to be rejected."[1044] *Al-qiyās al-sharṭī* is "the separated conditional issue is when the ruling is based on swaying between two possibilities via negating one of them or proving one of them."[1045] *Al-istiqrāʾ al-tāmm* refers to the complete assimilation of entire parts of a certain issue.[1046]

A contemporary writer claims that "the method of residue", which is one of the inductive ways that was suggested by John Stuart Mill, resembles *al-sabr* wa *al-taqsīm*, but we cannot agree with him that Mill took it from Muslims since there is no evidence, and plus, such an approach seems to be common among people with different theoretical views. [1047] René Descartes (1650 CE) states that dividing a

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[1040] Al-Āmidī, *Al-Iḥkām*, vol. 3, 236–238. Al-Gazālī, *Al-Mustaṣfá*, vol. 3, 723–727.
[1041] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Asās Al-Qiyās*, ed. Fahd al-Sadḥān (Riyadh: Maktabat al-ʾUbīkān, 1993), 32.
[1042] Al-Rāzī, *Al-Maḥṣūl*. vol. 5, 217. Al-Fattūḥī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr*, vol. 4, 229–230. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Baḥr Al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 7, 283.
[1043] Al-Juwaynī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 157.
[1044] Simon Blackburn, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 310.
[1045] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥabannakah Al-Maydānī, *Ḍawābit al-Maʿrifah wa Uṣūl Al-Istidlāl Wa Al-Munāẓarah*, 4th edn. (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1993), 101.
[1046] Ibid, 193
[1047] Muḥammad Ḥasan Bikhīt, *Manāhij al-Baḥth al-Muʿāṣirah: Ruʾyah Islāmiyyah* (Cairo: Dār Al-Kitāb Al-Ḥadīth, 2014), 136. For the method of residue, see John Stuart Mill, *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill: A System of Logic: Ratiocinative and Inductive: Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation*, ed. J. M. Robson, vol. 7, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 397.

problem into its parts is one of the main four methodical steps to deal with logical and reasoning issues.[1048] ʿAfāf al-Ghumrī claims that Muslims derived *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* from Stoicism but she does not give any evidence to support her claim.[1049]

Another point is that there is another term in the ways of ratio that is *tanqīḥ al-manāṭ*, similar to *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*. Some jurisprudential theorists like al-Subkī believed that there is a difference between these two tools and he states,

> "However, they might be differentiated with the notion that in division and separation, the inclusive must be set and the cause must be inferred. As for this (revising what is assigned), there is no need to infer the cause. The control is that it does not require exposure to the cause, but is exposed to the difference and demonstrates that there is no difference but to a certain aspect and has no access to the influence."[1050]

We also need to highlight the perspective of some Muslim judicial schools toward *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm*. Shiite scholars accept the first type of *al-taqsīm* because it is certain *yaqīnī* and refuse the second type of *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* because it is uncertain *ẓannī*; more clinging to *al-qiyās*, which is not accepted in Shiite thought.[1051] Besides Shiite, there is Zahirite *Ẓāhirī* (which is considered one of Sunnī schools) who reject using *qiyās*.[1052] As for the Ḥanafī school, some of them accept the first type of *al-taqsīm* that resembles *tanqīḥ al-manāṭ* instead of the second type, whereas others accept the two types of *al-taqsīm*.[1053]

[1048] René Descartes, *Discourse on Method and Meditations,* trans. Elisabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross, (Mineola, New York; Dover Publication, INC, 2003), 14.

[1049] ʿAfāf Al-Ghumrī, *Al-Manṭiq ʿind Ibn Taymiyyah* (Cairo: Dār Qubāʾ, 2001), 179.

[1050] Al-Subkī, *Al-Ibhāj*, vol. 6, 2397.

[1051] Muḥammad Mahdī Al-Nirāqī, *Anīs Al-Mujtahidīn*, ed. Markaz al-ʿUlūm wa al-Thaqāfah al-Islamiyyah, vol. 1 (Qom: Muʾassasat Bustān Kitāb, 1430), 484–485. For Shiite perspective toward *qiyās*, Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, *Al- Al-ʿUddah fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 1st edn. ed. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Qummī, vol. 2, (Qom: Maṭbaʿat Sitārah, 1417 AH), 647–719. Robert Gleave, *Inevitable Doubt: Two Theories of Shīʿī Jurisprudence*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000),103–105, 130–132. Al-Ḥakīm, *al-Uṣūl al-ʿĀmmah*, 320–357.

[1052] ʿAlī b. Ḥazm, *Al-Iḥkām Fī Uṣūl Al-Aḥkām*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir, vol. 7, (Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, 1983), 53–76. See also: Ignaz Goldziher, *The Ẓāhirīs: Their Doctrine and Their History, A Contribution to the History of Islamic Theology*, trans. Wolfang Behn, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 35–38, 145–147.

[1053] Abū Bakr al-Sarkhasī, *Uṣūl Al-Sarkhasī*, ed. Abū al-Wafā al-Afghānī, (Hyderabad: Lajanat Iḥyāʾ al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1993), 231–232. Al-Mardāwī, *Al-Taḥbīr*, vol. 7, 3360, 3363. See also: Aron Zysow, *The Economy of Certainty: An Introduction to the Typology of Islamic Legal Theory*, (Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press, 2013), 217.

Appendix IV: *Dilālāt al-Alfāẓ*

In general, jurisprudential theorists categorise *dilālāt al-alfāẓ* ways of significations into verbal *lafẓī* and non-verbal *ghayr lafẓī*. Their main focus is on the artificial verbal references *lafziyyah waḍʿiyyah* rather than the natural or rational ones. The artificial verbal references can be defined as, "the word when it is spoken or imagined, its meaning is understood".[1054] They are categorised it into three sections

1. *Muṭābaqah* consistent, which means, "the word indicates the precise meaning".[1055]

2. *Taḍammun* implicational, which means "the word indicates a meaning within the meaning designated for the word".[1056]

3. *Iltizāmī* bound, which means, "the word indicates a meaning outside the meaning for which the word is designated; but it is still bound by the word".[1057]

After that, artificial verbal references are divided (according to the majority of jurisprudential theorists) into two main considerations: uttered *manṭūq* and understood *mafhūm*.

The uttered *manṭūq* classifies to

1. Explicit uttered *manṭūq ṣarīḥ*, i.e. the meaning of the word is determined via consistent and implicational indications *muṭābaqah/taḍammun* (for the majority of jurisprudential theorists, the equivalent for Ḥanafī is the meaning of the phrase *dalālat al-ʿibārah*).

2. Non-explicit uttered *manṭūq ghayr ṣarīḥ*, the majority of jurisprudential theorists claim that the meaning of the word is not directly determined, but learned through bound indication *iltizām*. This non-explicit uttered is in turn divided into three types of indications:

[1054] ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-ʿUbayd, *Al-Dilālāt ʿind Uṣūliyyīn*, (Beirut: Dār al- Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2007), 20.

[1055] Muḥammad Ṣanqūr Alī, *Al-Muʿjam Al-Uṣūlī*, 3rd. edn. ([n.p] Manshūrāt al-Ṭayyār, 2007), 122–123. ʿAlī Al-Mashkīnī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Uṣūl wa Muʿẓam Abḥāthuhā*, 6th edn. (Qom: al-Hādī, 1373 AH), 132.

[1056] ʿAlī, *Al-Muʿjam Al-Uṣūlī*, 117. Mashkīnī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt Al-Uṣūl*, 132.

[1057] ʿAlī, *Al-Muʿjam Al-Uṣūlī*, 113. Mashkīnī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt Al-Uṣūl*, 132.

A- Required *iqtiḍāʾ*: "where the word denotes an implied meaning required for the speech to be truthful or sensible, legally or rationally" (the equivalent for Ḥanafī is the required text *iqtiḍāʾ al-naṣṣ*).[1058]

B- Signified *ishārah*: "this is the meaning required in the speech, when the context does not explain the immediate meaning" (the equivalent for Ḥanafī is the signified text *ishārat al-naṣṣ*).[1059]

C- Textually connotation *īmāʾ*: "understanding the reason from the sequence of the ruling in accordance with an appropriate characteristic" (the equivalent for Ḥanafī is indication of the text *dalālat al-naṣṣ*).[1060]

As for the concept *mafhūm*, jurisprudential theorists define it as, "What is understood from the word outside of the point of articulation". It is further divided into:

1. A congruent understanding *muwāfaqah*, i.e. "the meaning of the word in the position of silence matches the meaning in the position of utterance."

2. A non-congruent understanding *mukhālafah*, "the meaning of the word in a situation of silence is opposed to meaning in the situation of utterance". [1061] The Ḥanafī school agrees with the non-congruent understanding; yet, it is seen as "the similarity in meaning between the approximate textual meaning and the referential meaning".[1062]

There are further divisions in terms of clarity and ambiguity, which jurisprudential theorists divide into:

1. Text: *al-naṣṣ*: referring to "what is indicated by a meaning that cannot be interpreted differently".[1063]

2. The clear *al-ẓāhir*: referring to "what is interpreted in two probable meanings, one of which is more probable".[1064]

3. The interpreted *al-muʾawwal*: referring to "the word that is interpreted in light of a probability with evidence". [1065]

[1058] ʿIyāḍ al-Sulamī, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-ladhī lā Yasaʿ al-Faqīh Jahluh,* 1st edn. (Riyadh: Dār al-Tadmuriyyah, 2005), 375. Al-ʿUbayd, *Al-Dilālāt ʿind Uṣūliyyīn.* 150.

[1059] Al-Sulamī, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 377. Al-ʿUbayd, *Al-Dilālāt ʿind Uṣūliyyīn*, 150.

[1060] Al-Sulamī, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 377. Al-ʿUbayd, *Al-Dilālāt ʿind Uṣūliyyīn*, 150.

[1061] Al-Āmidī. *Al-Iḥkām.* Vol. 3. 66-69.

[1062] Al-ʿUbayd, *Al-Dilālāt ʿind Uṣūliyyīn*, 150.

[1063] Al-Sulamī, *Uṣūl Al-Fiqh*, 390.

[1064] Ibid, 391.

4. The overall *al-mujmal*: this indicates one of two meanings, where neither has advantage over the other.[1066]

The Ḥanafī school categorises this concept in terms of clarity into four sections:

1. The apparent *al-ẓāhir*: "the meaning intended is clear in form".[1067]

2. The text *al-naṣṣ*: "what is intended is clearer in light of a certain meaning communicated by the speaker".[1068]

3. The interpreted *al-mufassar*: referring to "what has grown clearer in the text with no probability of interpreting".[1069]

4. The accurate *al-muḥkam*: referring to "what is communicated in an accurate form with no probability of abrogation or exchange".[1070]

Further, in terms of invisibility, it is divided into four sections:

1. Hidden *khafī*: the meaning communicated is hidden due to a certain cause.

2. Overall *al-mujmal*: the meaning intended is general and probable.

3. Problematic *al-mushkil*: close to the overall meaning.

4. Similar *al-mutashābih*: there is no access for interpreting the meaning.

Also, words are further divided into general *ʿāmm*: "the word communicates all possible applications in one in one designation" and the specific *khāṣṣ*: "what refers to a specific instance". Finally, words are also divided into absolute *muṭlaq*: "what indicates a single meaning common to its type" and restricted *muqayyad*: "what communicates a specific item or description in addition to actual type".[1071]

[1065] Ibid.

[1066] Ibid, 396.

[1067] Abū al-Fidāʾ Ibn Quṭlubūghā, *Khulāṣat Al-Afkhār Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Al-Manār*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Thanāʾ Allāh Zāhidī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003), 84.

[1068] Ibid, 86.

[1069] Ibid, 88.

[1070] Ibid, 89.

[1071] Al-Sulamī, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 367.

Appendix V: Western contextual approaches

Most Arabic contemporary studies concentrate on Western contextual approaches in linguistic fields and omit others, including that in the field of history. This is understandable because their specialty is the former and so they have known this phenomenon in linguistics.[1072]

Western intellectual schools in the history field have developed the notion of context through other schools of thought. The beginning of the influence of context in historical writings can be traced to the late nineteenth century in the Western world with Wilhelm Dilthey who used a hermeneutic interpretation of historical phenomena. [1073] Later, some prominent English historians like Collingwood and Edward Carr emphasised the relevance of context to the interpretation of historical texts.[1074] Still, such endeavours did not conceptualise or theorise the concept of the context, and they did not become the central approach in their works. It was in the second half of the twentieth century that we witnessed the emergence of two major schools that heralded the crucial role of context and utilised it as a main analytic mechanism for history. The first is called the Cambridge School, and Quentin Skinner appears as an outstanding protagonist for context, and three elements could summarise his project.[1075] The philosophical and intellectual sources of this approach come from Ludwig Wittgenstein who claimed that people should not isolate the meaning of words from their specific use in a specific language-game, and this was echoed in John Austin's works which developed speech-act theory and centres on the

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[1072] Raddat Allāh Al-Ṭalḥī, *Dilālat Al-Siyāq*, 1st edn. Silsilat al-Rasāʾil al-Jāmiʿiyyah (33), (Mecca: Jāmiʿt Umm Al-Qurá, 1423 AH). ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Barkāwiī, *Dilālat al-Siyāq Bayn al-Turāth wa ʿIlm al-Lughah al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo: Dār Al-Manār, 1991).

[1073] Peter Burke, "Context in Context," *Common Knowledge*. Vol. 8, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 158–159.

[1074] Carr, *What Is History*, 29, 34, 38.

[1075] There are other influential thinkers in this school, like J. G. Pocock and John Dunn, but we focus on one of them because they share similar features and the notion of context in Skinner seems to be stronger than in the others. In addition, our work does not aim to analyse and criticise everything that relates to contextualisation; rather, we focus on the major subject that relate to our work in order to retain focus. Moreover, we found Elizabeth Clark's and James Tully's analyses of the elements of Skinner's approach very helpful. See: Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 138–139. James Tully, "The Pen Is Mighty Sword: Quentin Skinner's Analysis of Politics," in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1988), 7–25. For a general and comprehensive overview, see: Kari Palonen, *Quentin Skinner: History, Politics, Rhetoric* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2003).

idea of how words, per se, are actions by looking at their locutionary and illocutionary force.[1076] These philosophical linguistic theories became the foundation of Skinner's method which applies the notion of context in which he argues that if we want to understand what is said, we should know what the speakers were doing at that time and by recovering the historical context where the utterances took place.[1077]

This route leads to Skinner's claim that, by embracing philosophical visions and applying such methods, we could recognise the intentions of historical figures in a given period. [1078] What Skinner's approach shares with *dilālat al-siyāq* in jurisprudential theory is that both depend on linguistic and historical processes to understand texts, alongside the dynamic role of use (language-game in Wittgenstein's thought and *al-istiʿmāl* in Islamic thought) and of putting the notion of meaning and intention in a pivotal position. However, this latter approach classifies the texts with different systematic categories and levels of significance that are absent from the former approach we mentioned earlier.[1079] Moreover, *dilālat al-siyāq* distinguishes between two types of textual contexts and gives an account of the receivers or audiences of the speech as part of the context of circumstance, while Skinner is inclined to focus mainly on authors.[1080] Likewise, although Skinner seems to envisage intentionality as a bridge to his main aim that linguistic actions are behind texts, another difference is that Skinner excludes motive from his interest because he believes that it "is indeed irrelevant to the activity of interpreting the meanings of texts". [1081] However, if Skinner argues that comprehending linguistic actions necessitates recovering intentionality and thereby the existence of possibility, then it means such arguments should be applied to motive since the meanings and even linguistic actions need it. If motives are inner, so is intention and if the latter relies on external factors to be recovered, so do the former. Ayman Ṣāliḥ brings to light the

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[1076] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 98, 103–114.
[1077] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 87, 114–115. Clark, *History, Theory, Text*, 138. Tully, 'The Pen Is a Mighty Sword', 10–12. Also Pocock, *Political Thought and History*, 108–111.
[1078] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 114–115. Clark, *History, Theory, Text*, 139. Emile Perreau-Saussine, 'Quentin Skinner in Context', *The Review of Politics* 69, no. 01 (Winter, 2007): 106–22.
[1079] See Appendix IV: *Dilālāt al-alfāẓ*.
[1080] For the criticism of Skinner's concentration on authors, see Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts", *History and Theory* 19, no. 3 (October 1980): 254. Later Pocock differentiates from Skinner and gives a place to hearers. Pocock. *Political Thought and History*, 67–68, 98.
[1081] Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol.1, 98.

connected link between reasons, motives and intentions and argues that there is existential sequence among them that means the existence of one results in the existence of other, and there is a sequence that means that discovery of one leads to discovery of the others, regardless of order.[1082] Motives, in effect, are thus addressed in jurisprudential theory contextual discourse, because *dilālat al-siyāq* looks at the circumstances of the discourse (*ḥāl al-khiṭāb*) that includes the motives and reasons behind such speech or text. Thus, a correlation of all the elements that revolve around the meanings is established.

The second contextual school is the new historicism which can be described as "a mode of critical interpretation which privileges power relations as the most important context for texts of all kinds".[1083] It concentrates on literary history and art more than on other fields and envisages social powers as most dominant in helping to interpret singular anecdotes (rather than narrative histories) in a specific historical time.[1084] One of the problems of new historicism is that it is an extension of post-structuralism through Foucauldian and anthropological influences, though historians of this school deny such affiliation.[1085] Such an alignment with post-structuralism contradicts classic and medieval Arabic texts and overshadows the likelihood of applying new historicism to the latter because Islamic and Arabic tradition, unlike post-structuralism, do not adopt an epistemic separation between texts, writers, recipients and their historical time. Consequently, establishing the existence of the real meanings of texts that belong to their authors and additional meanings that belong to the audiences allows the latter to achieve the intentions of the former and the meanings of his texts.[1086] Similarly, while Skinner's approach concentrates on

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[1082] Ṣāliḥ, *Al-Qarāʾin wa al-Naṣṣ*, 369-370.

[1083] John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 6.

[1084] Louis A. Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture" in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser (New York: Routledge, 1989), 21–22.

[1085] Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our past*, (New York: Encounter Books, 2000), 14. Paul Hamilton, *Historicism* (London: Routledge, 1996), 153. Geoffrey Galt Harpham, 'Foucault and the New Historicism', American Literary History 3, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 360–75.

[1086] For the problem of the New Historicism, see Brook Thomas, *The New Historicism: And Other Old-fashioned Topics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 36. D. G. Myers, 'The New Historicism in Literary Study', *Academic Questions*, no. 2 (Winter 1988–1989): 27–36. For the view of Islamic tradition, Ibn al-Qayyim, *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn,* vol. 3, 116, vol. 4, 518. Al-Qarāfī, *Sharḥ Tanqīḥ Al-Fuṣūl*, 24–28. Al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt*, vol. 2, 151. See also: Yunis, *Medieval Islamic*

authors, new historicism, under the influence of post-structuralism, takes them away from their written texts and believes that readers can place meaning on them and understand them without the existence of the authors.[1087] This reductionism reflects their contextual approach in that it focuses on power relations as if they were the sole circumstantial context that could disclose the meanings of texts and hence omits the dynamic and diverse contexts of human history. For these reasons, it seems that using new historicism and its ideological biases as a general approach for Arabic and Islamic medieval historical texts, is problematic.

Thus, neither method is incapable of replacing *dilālat al-siyāq* because of some paramount methodological and epistemological gaps. Both contemporary methods have problems with contextual balance in that they tend to overrate the role of situational context at the expense of the verbal context that helps us pay attention to the structural and internal grounds of historical texts, while *dilālat al-siyāq* seems to have a contextual balance between the two major sides of contextual analysis. Such traditional methods are accompanied by another traditional one on the macro level – *al-sabr wa al-taqsīm* with its inductive dimension – and alongside theories and concepts on the micro level – White's theory, event-making man theory and anachronism – to overcome these deficiencies and enhance their efficacy. Finally, the theme of our case study is traditional and classic historical writings written in classical Arabic. Stemming from such a theme are the elements and procedures of the traditional method (*dilālat al-siyāq*) which evolved in the same culture and civilisation as where these historical writings were produced. There is an epistemological and thematic convergence between such traditional texts and approaches that may give a better understanding of the texts than the contemporary methods.

There is to some extent another school that utilises contextualisation that is known as the Discourse-Historical Approach which is one of the main approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis. Three conceptual keys: critique, ideology, and power remind us

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Pragmatics, 49–52. Tawfīq, *Dilālāt Al-Alfāẓ*, 34-42. Aḥmad, *Al-Taṣawwur Al-Lughawī,* 112. Weiss, *The Spirit of Islamic Law*, 57–58. Robert Gleave, *Inevitable Doubt*, 149.
[1087] Dwight W. Hoover, 'The New Historicism', *The History Teacher* 25, no. 3 (May 1992): 357, 361. Interestingly, Skinner responses to New Histpricism in this matter. See: Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. 1, 90-93.

of New Historicism and their epistemological reduction political power as a driving force in understanding discourses. Moreover, we notice the absence of intention and motivation in Discourse-Historical Approach in favour of power and ideology. Lastly, it is the absence of indication layers that categorise and measure the level and type of indication in any discourse and texts.[1088]

[1088] For this approach, see: Ruth Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach" in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyered, 63-94. (London: Sage Publications, 2001). Martin Reisigl, "The Discourse-Historical Approach" in *The Routledge Handbook Of Critical Discourse Studies*, eds. John Flowerdew and John E. Richardsoned, 44-59 (London: Routledge, 2017).

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