THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF THE INSTITUTION OF 

\textit{Hisbah} in Medieval Islam

BY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH FOR THE DEGREE OF
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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

DECLARATION

I, THE Undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is
written by myself and any references made to the
sources are duly acknowledged

AHMAD BIN CHE YAACOB
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Finally, I wish to dedicate this study to my family. I am very grateful and thankful to have Rajiah bte Udin and Che Yaacob bin Yusuf as my parents for without their guidance and kindness I would never come as far as I have. Words cannot express the gratitude which I owe to my wife, Safiah bte Mohamed who abandoned her own promising career by becoming a housewife and mother. I also would like to dedicate this study to my charming daughters, Mashitah and Sarah, who at their tender ages have suffered several difficulties and have been temporarily separated from their beloved father.

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ABSTRACT

The main focus of this study is to examine the development of the theory of the institution of *hisbah* in medieval Islam. In particular, the study will provide an analysis and paraphrase of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar (d. 289/901) which is considered the earliest source on the subject.

The study is divided into seven chapters, an Introduction and a Conclusion. The Introduction explains the aims of this study and is followed by the discussions on the origin of the role of market supervision and the definition of *hisbah*. Next, works of medieval Muslim scholars and studies made by the contemporary scholars are reviewed. Chapter One discusses the life and career of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, followed by an analysis of the two texts of his work; *Kitāb Alḥākām al-Sūq* and *Kitāb al-Alḥākām fī Jamāʿ Alḥwāl al-Sūq*. In Chapter Two, a paraphrase of these two texts is made. Chapter Three deals with the elements of *hisbah*, covering the discussions on the person carrying out the duty of *hisbah* (i.e. the *muḥtasib*), the person to be supervised, subject of *hisbah*’s supervision and stages of *hisbah*’s penalties. The remaining four chapters examine the duties of the *muḥtasib*. The duty of the *muḥtasib* to supervise the market is discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Five examines his duty to supervise moral and religious behaviour. The discussions in Chapter Six is concerned with the supervision of medical professions while Chapter Seven deals with the administration of the city. This is followed by a Conclusion which summarizes the discussions previously made and presents the findings of this study.
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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration system used in this thesis is that used by the Encyclopaedia of Islam with some exceptions for the sake of convenience. The exceptions are as follows;

(i) \( th \) instead of \( th \)
(ii) \( j \) instead of \( dj \)
(iii) \( kh \) instead of \( kh \)
(iv) \( dh \) instead of \( dh \)
(v) \( sh \) instead of \( sh \)
(vi) \( gh \) instead of \( gh \)
(vii) \( q \) instead of \( k \)
(viii) \( iyy \) instead of \( iy \)
(ix) \( tā' marbūṭah \) has been written as "\( h \)" at the end of a word when it is not part of the \( idāfah \) construction, in which it is written as "\( t \)".
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviation used below only to the works regularly referred to, and the bibliographical data of the other works are provided in their first occurrence.

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Wahbah Wahbah al-Zuhaylī, *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī wa Adillatuh*
INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to examine the role of market supervision and the development of the function of the muḥtasib\(^1\) who becomes identified with the market supervisor. In particular, the thesis will analyse the two texts of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar (d. 289/901)\(^2\), which are entitled Kitāb Aḥkām al-Ṣūq\(^3\) (Book on legal decisions related to the market) and Kitāb al-Nāẓar wa al-Aḥkām fi Jamiʿ Ahwāl al-Ṣūq\(^4\) (Book on supervision and legal decisions on matters related to the market). It should be noted here that this work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was the earliest of its kind dealing with the subject of market supervision\(^5\).


\(^{2}\)His life and career will be discussed in Chapter One pp. 38-47.

\(^{3}\)Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, “Kitāb Aḥkām al-Ṣūq”. ed. M.A. Makki, in Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos. vol. 4, 1956. pp. 59-151. This work of Yaḥyā will be referred to as a text of the first version throughout this study.

\(^{4}\)Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, Kitāb al-Nāẓar wa al-Aḥkām fi Jamiʿ Ahwāl al-Ṣūq, ed. Farḥāt al-Dashrāwī, et al. Tunisia, 1975. This work of Yaḥyā will be referred to as a text of the second version throughout this study.

\(^{5}\)See Cl. Cahen and M. Talbi, “Ḥisba”. EI(2). vol. 3, p. 486. However, the writers only mention one text of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, i.e. Kitāb Aḥkām al-Suq.
1. **Origin of the role of market supervision**

There have been many studies carried out by contemporary scholars to trace the possible origin of the role of market supervision in the early and medieval Islamic periods. Amongst these scholars was G.E. Von Grunebaum who suggests that *muḥtasib* was an Islamized version of the Roman *agoranomos* adopted by the Muslim which was known as ʿāhib al-sūq⁶. The same was the opinion of Schacht and he suggests that the transformation took place during the ʿAbbāsid period⁷. However, according to Cl. Cahen and M. Talbi, the last inscriptive record of the *agoranomos* dates about three centuries before the Arab conquest⁸. Thus, on this basis, Foster denies the idea of continuity of the Muslim ʿāhib al-sūq from the Roman *agoranomos⁹*. In a similar manner, R.P. Buckley traces the role of the market supervisor back to the time of the Prophet¹⁰.

---


⁷Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*. p. 25. Crone, however, suggests that Schacht was only repeating the idea putted forward by Gaudefroy-Demombynes without mentioning his name. Crone, loc.cit. A similar study is made by Nicola Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria*. p. 118.


It seems likely that the Prophet who was involved in all aspects of the lives of the Muslims would be concerned with wrongful activities in the market. In this way, al-Ṭabarī suggests that the reason for the revelation of sūrat al-muṭaffifīn (chapter 83) was that the Prophet had visited the market and had witnessed vendors dealing fraudulently. As a result of this, according to al-Ṭabarī, their conduct improved when the sūrah was revealed to them.\(^\text{11}\)

In fact, verses one to six of sūrat al-muṭaffifīn\(^\text{12}\) which strongly condemns unfair dealing in weights and measures, should give a good reason for responsible persons to ensure that such kind of behaviour and the like would not happen in their market. It was reported that the Prophet had visited the market and found a vendor had watered his grain so that its weight was heavier. So the Prophet said, "He who deceives us is not one of us".\(^\text{13}\) Similarly, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was also reported to have visited the market and punished those vendors who were found cheating or

\[\text{Al-Ṭabarī, } \text{Tafsīr. vol. 12, p. 483. In defining the word muṭaffif, al-Ṭabarī refers to him as a person who gives deficient weights and measures which would involve insufficiency in calculation (ḥisbah) and in quantity (ʿadad). Ibid.}\]

\[\text{The verses read, "Woe to those that deal in fraud. Those who, when they have to receive by measure from men, exact full measure. But when they have to give by measure or weight to men, give less than due. Do they not think that they will be called to account? On a Mighty Day. A Day when all mankind will stand before the Lord of the World ?". Al-Qurʾān. 83: 1-6. There are also other verses of the Qurʾān which dealt with the matter. In particular, sūrah 6: 182, which reads: "Use a full measure and a just balance" and in sūrah 7: 85, "Give just weight and measure, and do not withhold from the people the things that are their due and do no evil on the earth".}\]

\[\text{Ibn Majah, Sunan. vol. 2, p. 749.}\]
dealing fraudulently\textsuperscript{14}. The same action was taken by \textsuperscript{6}Ali ibn Abi al-Talib\textsuperscript{15}. Ya\~{h}y\~{a} ibn \textsuperscript{6}Umar regards the duty of checking the deficient weights and measures as one of the responsibilities of the market supervisor\textsuperscript{16}.

On another occasion, the Qur\~{a}n has condemned those who are hoarding their property when it says: "Those who hoard up (yaknizu) gold and silver and do not spend them in His way, announce to them a painful torment"\textsuperscript{17}. In relation to this verse, al-Bukh\~{a}r\~{i} reported a tradition from the Prophet which explains the meaning of the torment, that they will be resurrected in the form of bald-headed snakes (\textit{shuj\~{a}c} \textit{aqra}c\textsuperscript{18}). On this matter, the Qur\~{a}n also says in another verse: "What God has bestowed on His Messenger and taken away from the people of the townships, belongs to God, His Messenger, the kindred, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarer; so that the wealth would not be circulated among the wealthy among you"\textsuperscript{19}. This seems to be related to the Prophet’s denunciation of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{14}Al-\textsuperscript{T}abar\~{i}, \textit{T\~{a}rirh}. vol. 5, p. 23. Ibn al-Jawzi, \textit{Manaqib \textsuperscript{6}Umar ibn al-Khatt\~{a}b}. p. 112.
  \item \textsuperscript{16}In fact, much evidence of the practice of \textsuperscript{6}Ali on this matter can be found in a Zay\~{d}i manual of \textit{hisbah} by al-N\~{a}\~{s}ir li al-\textsuperscript{t}Haqq (d. 304 A.H.). Accordingly, Serjeant held that the Zay\~{d}i manual is in many occasions referring to the practice of \textsuperscript{6}Ali, whereas, the Sunnis’ works are mentioning the actions of \textsuperscript{6}Umar ibn al-Khatt\~{a}b. R.B. Serjeant, "A Zay\~{d}i manual". \textit{RSO}. p. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{18}Ya\~{h}y\~{a} ibn \textsuperscript{6}Umar, \textit{The text (first)}. p. 105. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 37, 38, 39.
  \item \textsuperscript{17}\textit{Al-Qur\~{a}n}. 9: 34.
  \item \textsuperscript{18}Al-Bukh\~{a}r\~{i}, \textit{Sa\~{h}i\~{h}}. vol. 6, p. 146.
  \item \textsuperscript{19}\textit{Al-Qur\~{a}n}. 59:7.
\end{itemize}
those vendors who were hoarding (iḥtikār) in order to obtain a higher price.
The Prophet was reported as saying: "No one hoards but the traitors (i.e.
the sinners)."\textsuperscript{20} ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb also deals with the matter, and
Mālik ibn Anas reports that he said:

"There is no hoarding in our market, and men who have excess
gold in their hands should not buy up one of God’s provisions
which he has sent to our courtyard and then hoard it up
against us. One who brings imported goods through great
fatigue to himself in the summer and winter is the guest of
ʿUmar. Let him sell what God wills and keep what God
wills."\textsuperscript{21}

In the same way, Mālik ibn Anas indicates that ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān
was also reported to have forbidden hoarding\textsuperscript{22}. The matter has also been
dealt with by Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar\textsuperscript{23}.

It seems that the Prophet’s actions were not only intended to protect
the purchasers from being victimized by greedy merchants, but also to
preserve the rights of the vendors. Thus, in Medina, the Prophet established
a free trade market without any tax being charged on the traders. It is
mentioned that the Prophet had stamped its ground with his foot and said,


\textsuperscript{21}Mālik ibn Anas, \textit{Muwaṭṭȧ} (riw. al-Laythī). p. 544. See also, \textit{Muwaṭṭȧ}, (riw. al-


\textsuperscript{23}Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, \textit{The text (first)}. pp. 134-5. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 113-7.
"This is your market; let it not be narrowed (fa lā yuḍayyaq) and let no tax (kharāj) be taken on it\textsuperscript{24}. It is believed that the market was established soon after the arrival of the Prophet in Medina\textsuperscript{25}. Similarly, in the case of price-fixing (tas"fr), the Prophet refused to fix the price for the vendors, even though it was demanded by the public, because such an act would be unjust to them\textsuperscript{26}. In the same way, \textsuperscript{27}Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had visited the market and commanded Ḥātib ibn Abī Baltaṭah to raise the price of his raisins or leave the market. However, \textsuperscript{27}Umar then had second thoughts, so he went to Ḥātib’s house and told him that he might sell his raisins as he wished.

Above are the evidences which have clearly indicated that the Prophet and his Companions, especially \textsuperscript{27}Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and \textsuperscript{27}Alī ibn Abī al-Ṭālib, had been involved in market supervision. In fact, the Prophet was also reported to have appointed Sa"īd ibn Sa"īd ibn al- Ṭāṣlaṭ over the market in Mecca (ista"mal Rasūl Allāh Sa"īd ibn Sa"īd ibn al-Ṭāṣlaṭ al-


fath 'alā sūq Makkah. Also, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb appointed al-Sa'd ibn Yazīd and 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utbah ibn Mas'ūd over the market in Medina. Later, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān is said to have appointed al-Ḥarīth ibn al-Ḥakam over the market in Medina. Thus, during this time, the person appointed to the duty of market supervision was known as ʿāmil 'alā al-sūq, as was mentioned by Sa'd himself when he said that he was an ʿāmil 'alā al-sūq in the time of ʿUmar. It is interesting to notice that the word istafmala which is derived from ʿamila was used to denote the appointment of Sa'd ibn Sa'id by the Prophet. The term ʿāmil had, in fact, been used to refer to other officials appointed by the Prophet and the early caliphs. In this way, it was reported that the Prophet sent ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib as an ʿāmil to collect taxes. Later the term ʿāmil had been used

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30 Al-Baladhurī, Ansāb al-Aṣhāf. vol. 5, p. 47.

31 Ibn Sallām, Kitāb al-Amwāl. op.cit.

32 In this manner, A. Aziz Duri maintained that the term ʿāmil signifies tax-collectors, agents and prefects who were appointed by the government. In its literal meaning, the word ʿāmil denotes the Muslim who performs the works demanded by his faith, and is often used in conjunction with the term ʿālim as an epithet of pious scholars. Technically, the term ʿāmil has two meanings: one of which signifies an active partner in a contract of muʿārakah and qirād, whereas the other meaning refers to a government agent or official, in particular the collector of taxes. In the second meaning, it is found that the Prophet had appointed representatives among the tribes or in the areas under his authority in order to collect zakāt from Muslims and the tribute from non-Muslims, some of whom had political duties. A.A. Duri, "ʿĀmil". EI(2). vol. 1, pp. 435-6.

to refer to a provincial governor or administrator. This meaning seems to be found during the caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.  

Apart from the ʿāmil ʿalā al-suq, there was another official known as ʿartif who was also believed to have been involved in some aspects of market supervision. Ibn Manẓūr defines the ʿartif as follows: "He is in charge of his group or clan, dealing with their social affairs and keeping the ruler informed of the particulars of his people". In fact, the position of ʿartif was known in the pre-Islamic period. Thus, Muhammad Yusuf Faruqi suggests that the Prophet maintained the practice of ʿarāfah as a social institution and utilized it in establishing the social system of Islam. The Prophet was reported to have appointed some of his Companions as ʿartif. During the time of the Prophet and the early caliphs, the ʿartif was the leader of his people and occasionally he collected the zakat from them. It seems that from the time of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb onwards the ʿartif had been given military authority and he was also responsible for the interests.

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34 A.A. Duri, op.cit.

35 Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān. 11: 143.


37 M.Y. Faruqi, loc.cit. p. 201.

of orphans and foundlings⁴⁹. On some occasions, it is mentioned that the carif was also concerned with ahl al-dhimma. However, the most frequent use of the title of carif in the medieval period is to denote the head of a guild, who is usually referred to in the West as amīn. It should be noted here that later during the 6th century A.H., carif and amīn were mentioned in hisbah manuals where they became assistants to the muḥtasib⁴⁰.

Earlier on, the āml carā al-suq was known as ẓāhib al-suq and occasionally nāzīr carā al-suq. The work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar (d. 289/901) has provided some useful evidences concerning the matter. It is mentioned that the market supervisor during his time was known as ẓāhib al-suq and nāzīr carā al-suq⁴¹. It is indicated that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked in person by the ẓāhib al-suq (market supervisor) of Sūsah (Sousse)⁴², while a written petition was made to him by the ẓāhib al-suq of Qayrawān⁴³. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar also referred to the market supervisor during the time of

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³⁹Thus, al-Bukhārī relates that a man called Abū Jamīlah went to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in order to apply for an allowance for a baby. The baby was a foundling (laqīt) of an unknown parent. At first ʿUmar suspected the veracity of his claim, but when his carif told ʿUmar that Abū Jamīlah was a good person (innahu rajul ẓāhib), ʿUmar was satisfied and he granted his request. Al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ. vol. 1, p. 231.


Malik ibn Anas as šāhīb al-sūq. As for the title nāẓir ʿala al-sūq, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar seems to refer to him when explaining the theory of the person responsible for carrying out the role of market supervision. Thus, it seems that the term nāẓir ʿala al-sūq was also used to denote the Governor (wālī) and the qaḍī who were supervising the market. This is because Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar maintained that the market supervision was the responsibility of the Governor, the qaḍī and the market supervisor. On this basis, it seems probable that during the time of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, the institution of ḥisbah was only at a preliminary stage. In this way we find that the later ḥisbah literature have shown some resemblances to this work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, especially in matters dealing with the duties to be carried out by the muḥtasib and the penalties for offenders. Thus, this work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar has provided evidence for the origin of the muḥtasib who was believed to have inherited the role of the former šāhīb al-sūq. However, there seems to be no clear evidence to suggest when the transformation from šāhīb al-sūq to muḥtasib took place.

Earlier on, al-Balādhūrī seems to indicate that the office of muḥtasib was introduced by the Umayyad Caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (reg. 105/724-125/743), who entrusted the duty of ḥisbah over the market to

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45Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, The text (second). pp. 47 and 73.
Mahdī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and later to Iyās ibn Muʿāwiyah. During the ʿAbbāsid period, al-Ṭabarī mentioned that in 157/774 caliph al-Manṣūr (reg. 136/754-158/775) appointed ʿAbū Zakariyyā ʿayyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh to be in charge of ḥisbah, and he was held responsible for the market of Baghdād. It should be noted that al-Ṭabarī referred to him as muḥtasib, and the post was known as ḥisbah. On another occasion, he also referred to ʿAbū Zakariyyā ʿayyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh as a muḥtasib. Al-Ṭabarī also indicates that the institution of muḥtasib continued during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (reg. 158/775-169/785), where ʿAbd al-Jabbār was known to be the holder of the position. Likewise, Stanley Lane-Poole suggests that Ismāʿīl ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī was believed to have been appointed to the office in 169 A.H. However, Ismāʿīl was also believed to be an ʿāmil al-kharaj (tax collector) or a șāʿib al-shurṭah (police). Perhaps the most celebrated ʿAbbāsid muḥtasib was ʿAbū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭākhri who lived during the reign of the caliph al-Muqtadir (reg. 295/908-320/932). However ʿAbū
Sa`íd was also a qādī.\(^{52}\) Earlier on, it is also mentioned that Saḥnūn ibn Sa`íd (d. 240 A.H.) had performed the function of ḥisbah when he was appointed as a qādī.\(^{53}\) It should be noted here that Saḥnūn ibn Sa`íd was a teacher of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Given the fact that the institution of ḥisbah seems to have originated during this period, it is more likely that the muḥtasib was affiliated to the office of a qādī. In other words, an independent office of muḥtasib seems not yet to have been created. Thus, we find al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq (d. 304/917), the author of Kitāb al-Iḥtisāb maintains that ḥisbah denotes a complete manifestation of the acts of the qaḍā.\(^{54}\) It should be noted that al-Nāṣir was the first author of a ḥisbah manual to use the word ḥisbah, iḥtisāb and muḥtasib.

Presumably, an independent office of muḥtasib could have been evolved by the time of al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058). In this connection, al-Māwardī points out that ḥisbah is equal to the institution of qaḍā, where the muḥtasib is capable of hearing complaints in matters concerning weights and measure, cheating in selling and non-payment of debt.

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\(^{53}\)Saḥnūn is said to have visited the market and penalised the vendors who dealt in fraud and were found cheating by removing them from the market. He also used to beat the litigants who caused harm to the opponent or the witnesses. Qādī ʿIyād, Tartib al-Madārik. 2: 600. Ibn Farḥūn, Al-Dibāj. p. 163. See Makhlīf, Ṭabaqāt. pp. 69-70. See also S.M. Abū Zayd, al-Ḥisbah fi Miṣr. p. 63. Pedro Chalmeta, "La Ḥisba en Iftiqiya et al-Andalus". Cahiers de Tunisie. p. 88. Thus, Yahyā ibn ʿUmar has clearly mentioned that market supervision was the responsibility of the Governor, the qaḍī and the market supervisor. Yahyā ibn ʿUmar, The text (second). p. 47.

\(^{54}\)Al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq, Kitāb al-Iḥtisāb. p. 11.
However, the *muhtasib* is not able to administer oaths or hear evidence. The *muhtasib* is in fact, considered as a subordinate to the *qāḍī*\textsuperscript{55}. On this basis, a conclusion could be drawn that when an independant office of a *muhtasib* was established it inherits not only the duties of the market supervisor but also some elements which were taken from the *qāḍī*, the Governor and the Caliph.

2. Definition of *hisbah*

2.1. Literal meaning of *hisbah*

According to Ibn Manẓūr, the word *hisbah* is an infinitive of the verb *iḥtasaba, yāḥtasibu, ihtisaban* which has several meanings. Firstly it means to anticipate God's reward\textsuperscript{56}. This meaning is found in the tradition of the Prophet concerning the fasting in *Ramāḍān*, in which he said, "He who fasts *Ramāḍān* because of his faith in God and that he is anticipating for His reward (*iḥtisāban*), God will forgive his previous sins"\textsuperscript{57}.

\begin{footnotes}
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The second meaning of *ihtasaba*, *yahtasibu* is to denounce (*inkār*) other persons’ wrongful behaviour\(^{58}\).

The third meaning of the word *ihtasaba*, *yahtasibu* is to contemplate by considering the possibility of its outcome. This meaning can be found in three verses of the *Qur’ān*. In the first verse, it reads, "... and the person who fears God. God prepares for him a way out and He provides (with things) from sources he never could imagine (*yahtasibu*)\(^{59}\). In the second verse, the *Qur’ān* says, "Even if the wrongdoers had all that there is on earth, and as much more, would they offer it for ransom from the pain of the penalty on the Day of Judgement, but something from God will confront them which they could never have expected (*yahtasibu*)"\(^{60}\). Finally, in the third verse, it reads, "... but (the wrath of) God came to them from quarters from which they never have expected (*yahtasibu*)"\(^{61}\).

The fourth meaning of the word *hisbah* which derived from *hasaba*, *yahsibu*, *hisāb* and *hastban* is to calculate, estimate and take an account\(^{62}\). In fact, this meaning is found in three verses of the *Qur’ān*. In

\(^{58}\)Al-Sunāmī, op.cit.

\(^{59}\)Al-Qur’ān. 65: 2-3.

\(^{60}\)Al-Qur’ān. 39: 47.

\(^{61}\)Al-Qur’ān. 59: 2.

the first verse, it reads, "If the guardian is well-off, let him claim no remuneration, but if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable. When you release their property to them, take witnesses in their presence, but all sufficient is God in taking account (ḥasiba)"⁶³. In another verse, the Qur’an says, "(It will be said to him:) Read your (own) record. Sufficient is your soul this day to make out an account (ḥastba) against you"⁶⁴. In the third verse it reads, "(It is the practice of those) who preach the messages of God and fear Him, and fear None but Him and enough is God to call (men) to account (ḥastba)"⁶⁵.

The word ḥāsaba, yuḥāsibu, muḥāsabah means to examine one’s conscience. This meaning can be found in the case of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who had ordered Ḥātib ibn Abī Balṭaḥah to either raise the price of his raisins or leave the market. However, when the two had departed, ʿUmar examined his conscience (ḥāsaba nafsahu), so he went to Ḥātib’s house and said to him that his previous statement was not correct and that he might sell his raisins as he preferred⁶⁶.

⁶³ Al-Qur’an. 4: 6.
Hisbah also means conduct, supervision or management (al-tadbir aw al-naźar)\textsuperscript{67}. In this way, the phrase fulān ḥasuna ḥisbatuhu can be translated as a person who has a good conduct or management of his subject\textsuperscript{68}.

Apart from the above meanings, the word hisbah has also been used to signify the contentment of a person in the face of misfortune. In this manner, Mālik ibn Anas has reported traditions of the Prophet which are referring to this meaning. In one of the traditions, the Prophet said: "If three of a Muslim’s children die and he remains content with that (yaḥtasibu) they will be a protection for him from the Fire"\textsuperscript{69}.

2.2. Technical meaning of hisbah

Al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq maintains that hisbah denotes a complete manifestation of the acts of the qaḍā\textsuperscript{1} and the source of knowledge which originates from the understanding of God’s supremacy\textsuperscript{70}. Al-Māwardī defines hisbah as enjoining what is right when it is found to be neglected


\textsuperscript{68}Ibn Manṣūr, loc.cit. Al-Sunāmī, loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{69}Mālik ibn Anas, \textit{Muwattā} (riw. al-Laythi). pp. 188-190. See also transl. pp. 115-6.

\textsuperscript{70}Al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq, \textit{Kitāb al-Iḥtisāb}. p. 11.
and forbidding what is wrong when it is found to be practised\textsuperscript{71}. The same 
definition was made by Ibn al-Farra\textsuperscript{72} and al-Sunāmī\textsuperscript{73}. Al-Ghazālī 
describes ūṣbah as a "comprehensive expression" ("ibārah shāmilah) for the 
duty of enjoining the good and forbidding evil\textsuperscript{74}. Al-Shayzarī maintains 
that ūṣbah is an act of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil as well 
as making an improvement to the living condition of the public\textsuperscript{75}. This 
definition was then adopted by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah\textsuperscript{76}. According to Ibn al 
Khalīdūn, ūṣbah falls under the religious obligation "to enjoin the good and 
forbid evil"\textsuperscript{77}.

From the above definitions, it seems that the Muslim scholars in 
medieval Islam have one common technical definition of ūṣbah, that it is 
to enjoin the good and forbid evil. In relation to this, al-Sunāmī argues that 
this technical meaning of ūṣbah does correspond to its literal meanings.

\textsuperscript{71} Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥḵām}. p. 240.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibn al-Farra\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{Aḥḵām}. p. 268.
\textsuperscript{73} Al-Sunāmī, \textit{Niṣāb al-Iṭṭisāb}. p. 2. Al-Sunāmī has clearly indicated that the meaning 
was found in \textit{Kitāb al-Aḥḵām al-Sulṭānīyyah}; however, he did not mention whether he is 
referring to al-Māwardī or Ibn al-Farra\textsuperscript{1}.
\textsuperscript{74} It is therefore can be concluded that whenever al-Ghazālī mentions the word ūṣbah, he 
is referring to the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding evil. Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Iḥyā\textsuperscript{1}}. p. 398. Al-
Ghazālī also seems to give another description of ūṣbah. He says, "the function of ūṣbah is 
considered as a prevention against the wrongful acts involving the right of God (ḥaqq Allāh)". 
Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Iḥyā\textsuperscript{1}}. p. 418.
\textsuperscript{75} Al-Shayzarī, \textit{Nihāyah}. p. 6.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma\textsuperscript{2}ālim}. p. 7.
This is because the *muḥtasib* who is enjoining the good and forbidding the evil is in fact, anticipating God's reward. Similarly, the *muḥtasib* is also denouncing other people's wrong behaviour, so that he would be able to enjoin the neglected good deed and forbid the prevailing evil. Al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq maintained that the reason for the official being called *muḥtasib* is because he is in fact, examining his conduct (*muḥtasibun*) so that it would not be contradict God's wills. In this way al-Sunâmî argues that the *muḥtasib* is also managing (*tadbîr*) the conduct of his subject because he is maintaining the revealed law (*iqamat al-sharî'), As a result, al-Sunâmî held that according to some opinions, the institution of a *qâdî* is regarded as having some form of *ḥisbah*, i.e. because the *qâdî* also aims to preserve the revealed law (*sharî'ah*). The latter statement of al-Sunâmî seems to be quite true because *ḥisbah* had been translated by the medieval Muslim scholars by a general term of "enjoining the good and forbidding evil". This, in fact, was a term used by the Qur'ān to call all Muslims to their duty which reads, "Let there be among you, a people inviting others to do good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong." In this manner,

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79 Ibid.
81 Al-Sunâmî, op.cit. This statement of al-Sunâmî had then been referred to by later scholars, such as Ḥājî Khalîfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunûn*. vol. 1, p. 16.
82 *Al-Qur'ān*. 3:104. H.F. Amedroz goes further, suggesting that it is due to this Quranic verse which imposed the duty of enjoining good and forbidding evil, that the jurisdiction of *ḥisbah* is based upon. Amedroz, *JRAS*. p. 77.
al-Juwaynī held that the revealed law (shari‘ah) from the beginning to the end is about enjoining the good and forbidding evil\textsuperscript{83}. Similarly, Ibn Taymiyyah maintained that the purpose of all authorities (wilāyāt) in Islam is to enjoin the good and forbid the evil, whether it be the greater military authority (wilāyat al-ḥarb al-kubrā), the police (shurṭah), the qādā’, the treasury or the ḥisbah authority\textsuperscript{84}. Therefore, by defining ḥisbah as enjoining the good and forbidding evil, it would seem to generalise the meaning to embrace other institutions as well as the public. Thus, it seems this is not the specific definition of the institution of ḥisbah.

In relation to this, although the words ḥisbah and muḥtasib were not found in the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, there are, in fact, three main elements of the discussions which correspond to the later ḥisbah works. These elements are the person responsible for the duty of supervising the market and other related matters, the duties to be carried out and the penalties. Thus, judging by these three elements, the institution of ḥisbah could be defined as follows: An institution governed by public authorities and later entrusted to an official called muḥtasib to supervise matters mostly related to economic activities in the market, but also concerned with moral and religious behaviour, as well as the health and administration of the city. The aim of this supervision is to bring these matters into


\textsuperscript{84}Ibn Taymiyyah, \textit{al-Ḥisbah}. p. 13.
conformity with the applications of Islamic law and punish those who violate them. Based on this definition, it seems the word *ḥisbah* signifies a set of rules or systems involving the above matters, whereas *ḥtisāb* could refer to an act of a person who is applying the rule.

Crone suggests that *muḥtasib*, meaning calculator, is a loan translation of the Jewish term *hasban*. In this way she seems to suggest that it represents evidence for a strong Jewish influence on Islamic institutions. Her evidence for the early use of the term is non-existent. It will already have been noticed that the earliest evidence for the term which we have been able to find goes back to Hishām some a hundred year after the death of the Prophet. As we have already discussed, all the earlier reports of people involved in the supervision of the market use the words; *ʿāmil ʿalā al-suq*, ʿāḥib al-suq and *nāẓir ʿalā al-suq*. So far, Crone’s attempt to see this institution as an early Jewish influence on the formation of an Islamic institution is very weak.

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86 See previous discussion pp. 10-11.

87 See previous discussion pp. 7-10.
3. Review of literature by medieval Muslim scholars

Several prominent Muslim scholars have dealt with the subject of market supervision, usually under the title ḥisbah, and many of these were regarded as amongst the most celebrated jurists of their time. It is generally accepted that their works can be divided into two categories. The first are the works of the jurists focusing on the legal perspective, whereas the second deals with the subject from the practical point of view, and such books were mostly written for the muhtasibs, as a manual for them in carrying out the duty of ḥisbah. However, it seems probable that the works in the second category (i.e. the ḥisbah manuals) are substantially derived from those of the jurists. Thus, we find that the works of al-Māwardī and al-Ghazālī have been consistently referred to by the authors of ḥisbah manuals. Among the best known surviving works of these scholars of the two categories are the following:

i) Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq and Kitāb al-Naẓar wa al-Aḥkām fi Jamī' Ahwāl al-Sūq of the Mālikī scholar of North Africa Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar (d. 289/901). The first text which is entitled Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq (Book on legal decisions related to the market) was transmitted by Ibn Shibl. The second text was transmitted by Aḥmad al-Quṣarī with the title Kitāb al-Naẓar wa

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al-Aḥkām fī Jamī' Ahwāl al-Sūq (Book on supervision and legal decisions on matters related to the market). According to the editors of the two texts, the text of the second version is more complete than the first. However, this statement seems to be not accurate because both texts are, actually, very similar. In fact, on certain occasions, the first version has provided some useful information which is not found in the second. This work was a compilation of legal opinions of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar who was asked mostly by his students; these were transmitted by Ibn Shibli and Aḥmad al-Quṣarī and committed to writing by the students of the transmitters. An analysis of the two texts is provided in chapter one and a paraphrase is made in chapter two of this thesis.

ii) Kitāb al-Iḥtisāb of al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq (d. 304/917) the Persian Zaydī Imām of Āmul. This author seems to introduce for the first time the terms ḥisbah, iḥtisāb and muḥtasib89. He claims that the text is derived from the traditions of the Prophet and those of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib. The text was edited and analysed by R.B. Serjeant in 195390.

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89 However, see the previous discussion p. 10.

iii) Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Wilāyah al-Dīniyyah of al-Mawardi (d. 450/1058)\(^91\). The author has discussed ḥisbah in his final chapter entitled fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah (a chapter on the laws of ḥisbah). This is considered as the earliest comprehensive work on ḥisbah, which consists of the definition, the differences between an official and a voluntary muḥtasib, and the qualifications and the duties of the muḥtasib. This chapter was translated into English by H.F. Amedroz\(^92\). It should be noted here that al-Mawardi's discussion in an earlier chapter on the punishment of ta'zīr (discretionary punishment) is also significant and relevant to this study, for it is found that Ibn al-Ukhuwwah has frequently quoted from this section.

vi) Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah of Ibn al-Farrā\(^3\) (d. 458/1066)\(^93\).

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\(^91\)Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, a Shafiʿ jurist, born in Baṣrah in 364/974 and died in Baghdaḏ on 30 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 450/27 May 1058, aged 86 years. Upon completing his studies, he became a teacher. Later on, due to his notable expertise, owing to the extent and the variety of his knowledge, he was appointed as a qāḍī and was subsequently, awarded the honorific surname (laqab) of qāḍī al-qaḍāt or supreme qāḍī. Apart from that, he was the author of several works and perhaps his most celebrated one deals with constitutional law, entitled Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah, which is the subject of this study. It is also known that his father was a manufacturer and seller of rose-water which is believed to be the reason for his name. See EI(1). vol. 3. p. 416. EI(2). vol. 3. p. 869. First EI. vol. 5. p. 416. It is said that he studied law under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾī (d. 406/1015). See Muṣṭafā al-Saqqaṯ, Introduction to Adab al-Dunya wa al-Dīn of al-Mawardi. p. 2. See also Makdisi, Rise. p. 4. A.K.S. Lambton, State and Government. p. 83.


\(^93\)Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Farrā al-Baghdaḏī al-Ḥanbali, also known as qāḍī Abū Yaʿlā. He was one of the masters of the Ḥanbalī school in Baghdaḏ, born in Muḥarram 380/April 990 and died on 19 Ramaḍān 458/15 August 1066. His father (d. 390/1000), who was a Ḥanafī and held the office of notary (shahid), was said to have refused the office of qāḍī al-qaḍāt. It was in the Ḥanbalī doctrine, however, the young Ibn al-Farrā was trained and it is said that he even became the favourite disciple of Ibn
Al-Mawardi and Ibn al-Farrā' are contemporaries, and both deal with ḥisbah in a similar way. In fact, their works are almost the same, in both the title and the contents. The differences can only be found on a few points of law, for the former was a Shāfī', whereas the latter was a Ḥanbalī. However, both were said to belong to the entourage of the vizier Ibn al-Muslimah.

v) *Ihya* Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). The author's treatment on ḥisbah is found in the section entitled "Kitāb al-amr bi al-ma'rif wa al-nahy an al-munkar" (Book of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil). In fact al-Ghazālī is actually dealing with the requirement of all Muslims "to enjoin the good and forbid evil", but the fact is that this was the particular duty of the muḥtasib, so that al-Ghazālī frequently refers to the office of ḥisbah in this section and in fact the whole

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95Volume two. pp. 391-455.

discussion actually applies to the office. This is confirmed by the manual of hisbah by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, who frequently quotes passages from this section of al-Ghazālī. It should be noted here that al-Ghazālī has provided some significant contribution to the understanding of hisbah which al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrāj have neglected, particularly on matters dealing with elements of hisbah and its stages as well as on issues relating to the manners of the muḥtasib. This is clearly demonstrated in the work of Ibn al-Ukhuwwah who frequently refers to this section.

vi) Kitāb fi ādāb al-ḥisbah99 of al-Saqaṭī (ca. 500/1100)100, the Andalusian scholar of Mālaqa. Al-Saqaṭī’s full name is Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Saqaṭī and he was a muḥtasib. He speaks generally about the laws and practices for the industrialists,

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97 This is because al-Ghazālī defines hisbah as a “complete expression” (ṭibārah shāmilah) of the term “enjoining the good and forbidding the evil”. Al-Ghazālī, Ḥiyā. p. 398.


100 This is according to Cl. Cahen and M. Talbi. See “Ḥisba”. EI(2). vol. 3, pp. 485-489. F. Gabrieli also suggests that al-Saqaṭī was the contemporary of Ibn ʿAbdūn, who is believed to live between 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. F. Gabrieli. Ibn ʿAbdūn. EI(2). vol. 3. p. 681. However, S.M. Imamuddin maintained that he lived in 14th century. For that matter he added that, although al-Saqaṭī lived and worked in the 14th century, yet the customs and practices of the muḥtasib and merchants reflect their earlier practices in the 10th and 11th centuries with a little deviation due to the scarcity of goods during the time of the author. S.M. Imamuddin, “Al-Ḥisbah in Muslim Spain”. IC. p. 62.
artisans and vendors to ensure that their customers received goods of good quality and correct weight at reasonable prices. In short, the author gives information about the instructions given to the muḥtasib for strict vigilance such as periodical inspection of various articles, the muḥtasib’s seal, official measures and weights, the malpractices of different workshop owners, brokers, sellers of bread, horses and slaves, and finally the muḥtasib’s power to imprison.

vii) Risālat Ibn ʿAbdūn fī al-Qaḍāʾ wa al-Ḥisbah of Ibn ʿAbdūn (ca. 500/1100), the Andalusian scholar of Seville. Ibn ʿAbdūn’s full name is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. He was a ḥaqīḥ and was either a ṣaqī or a muḥtasib. He was born perhaps in Seville, and certainly spent a large part of his life there, in the second half of the 5th/11th and the first half of the 6th/12th centuries. His work, Risālah fī al-Qaḍāʾ wa al-Ḥisbah speaks not only on matters concerning commercial and marketing but also the maintenance of law and order. Thus, we find the text mentioning that it is disapproved for someone to carry a weapon in town, especially the Berbers, for this may cause a disaster. Similarly, musicians are not allowed to roam about without the permission of the ṣaqī because they are accompanied by

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people of undesirable character\textsuperscript{103}. The author maintains that \textit{hisbah} or \textit{iḥtisāb} has a close relationship to \textit{qāḍī}, for the \textit{muḥtasib} is regarded as a representative of the \textit{qāḍī}, and he will act in the absence of the latter\textsuperscript{104}.

viii) \textit{Kitāb Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah} of al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1193)\textsuperscript{105}, a Syrian author from Shayzar who was the contemporary of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193). This work was first discussed by Walter Behrnauer in 1860\textsuperscript{106} and later in 1946, al-Bāz al-\textsuperscript{2}Arīnī provided an Arabic edition to the text\textsuperscript{107}. This book contains 40 chapters, four of which deal with the supervision of \textit{hisbah} in general, such as the discussions on markets, weights and measures and the duties of the \textit{muḥtasib}. The rest of the book deals more specifically with the duties of the \textit{muḥtasib} as regards different artisans and crafts with full details on the rules and regulations which should be followed in each craft in order to maintain a clean and safe product, and prevent cheating. This book of al-

\textsuperscript{103}S. M. Imamuddin, \textit{IC}. pp. 25-26.

\textsuperscript{104}Ibn ściAbdūn, \textit{Risālah}. p. 20. Ibn ściAbdūn said: \textit{wa al-Iḥtisāb akhū al-Qāḍī wa huwa lisān al-Qāḍī wa ḥājibuhu wa wasīruhu wa khaliṣātuḥu.}


\textsuperscript{107}Al-Bāz al-\textsuperscript{2}Arīnī, \textit{Kitāb Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah}. \textit{Maṭba‘at al-Ṭalīf wa al-Tarjamah wa al-Nashr}. Cairo, 1365/1946.
Shayzarî had since become the basis for many of the hisbah manuals, particularly in the cases of Ibn al-Ukhuwwah and Ibn Bassâm.  

ix) *Al-Ḥisbah ǧī al-Islām* of Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328). Unlike earlier jurists, with the exception of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, Ibn Taymiyyah’s discussion on hisbah is found in one book. However, his work mostly is, in fact, reiterating the discussions of previous jurists. Part of his discussion also shows some similarities to the work of his contemporary, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah (d. 729/1329), *Maʿālim al-Qurbah ǧī Ahkām al-Ḥisbah*, particularly in matters concerning the discretionary punishments (*tafzīr*). Nevertheless, credit should be given to him for his effort to reexamine some controversial issues like price fixing which was initiated by Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar but was left out by al-Mawardî and al-Ghazâlî. In fact, his discussion is more comprehensive because his reference is not limited to the opinions of his school of thought, i.e. Ḥanbali, but also takes into account those of the Mālikîs and the Shafîʿîs. However, the author still has difficulty

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109 Taqiyy al-Dîn Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah was born in 661 A.H. and died in Damascus on 728 A.H. Even though he was a Ḥanbali theologian and jurist, his influence is not confined to any one school of Islamic thought. Perhaps this is due to his respect for other scholars of different schools as shown in his work, particularly the treatise on hisbah. See Khurshid Ahmad, "Editor preface to *Public Duties in Islam: The Institution of the Ḥisbah*. "p. 8.

in arranging the subjects of his discussions, though this seemed to have been settled by al-Māwardī and al-Ghazālī.

x) *Kitāb Maʿālim al-Qurbah fi Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah*, by the Egyptian Ibn al-Ukhuwwah (d. 729/1329) in seventy chapters. Even though some great resemblances are found in his work to that of al-Shayzarī, the author has provided further information on the subject under discussion. Furthermore, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah has also made references to the works of al-Māwardī and al-Ghazālī. Thus, the work can be regarded as one of the best of its kind.\(^{111}\)

xi) *Niṣāb al-Iḥtisāb* of ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿIwaḍ al-Sunāmī (d. about 734/1333-4)\(^ {112}\). Al-Sunāmī lived and died in India. He was a Ḥanafī jurist and his work consists of sixty four chapters. Unlike other ḥisbah manuals, this work of al-Sunāmī was mainly concerned with moral and religious behaviour which is contradictory to the correct teaching of Islam, and only on some occasions did he mention the supervision of economic occupations. Thus, Izzidien holds that the work of al-Sunāmī provides rich information about popular practices in Indian Islam during

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the medieval period. Although the work discusses many social innovations, manners, customs and ceremonies, it cannot be considered merely as a work on social history, because the main intention of the book is to draw a clear distinction between what is lawful and what is unlawful according to Islam\textsuperscript{113}. Thus, al-Sunāmī himself explains that he seeks to assist the muḥtasībs in the fulfilment of their duty so that his work becomes a guide for them\textsuperscript{114}.

xii) \textit{Nihāyat al-Rutbah fi Ṭalāb al-Ḥisbah} of Ibn Bassām (7th/13th century), who was of Syrian or Egyptian origin. According to Partington, this work of Ibn Bassām remains unedited. The only study on the text was made by Loius Cheikho in 1907 and 1908, and consists of some extracts and an analysis of the work\textsuperscript{115}. There seem to be two copies in manuscript of this work of Ibn Bassām. According to Reuben Levy, a copy of the MS was held at British Museum MS Or 9588\textsuperscript{116}, while al-Bāz al-ŠArīnī maintained that another copy was found in the \textit{Taymūr} collection in the

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{113} Izzidien. p. 22.
\bibitem{114} Al-Sunāmī, p. 1.
\bibitem{116} Reuben Levy, "Introduction to \textit{Maʿālim al-Qurbah} of Ibn al-Ukhūwwaḥ". p. xvii.
\end{thebibliography}
Bibliotheque Egyptienne in Cairo. Ibn Bassām was believed to be a muḫtasīb. Even though, he had copied some of the chapters from al-Shayzārī’s Nihāyah, and had borrowed the title of the book, in fact, he had extended the discussions into one hundred and fourteen chapters, whereas al-Shayzārī included only forty chapters.

xiii) Risālat ʿAhmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿūf fi Adab al-Ḥisbah wa al-Muḥtasib of Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿūf. Little is known about Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿūf. However, he is believed to an Andalusian.

xiv) Risālat ʿUmar ibn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbbās al-Jārsīfī fi al-Ḥisbah of al-Jārsīfī. Levi-Provencal suggests that al-Jārsīfī’s nisba derives from Guercif in Eastern Morocco, some 100 miles east north-east of Fez. His date is certainly not earlier than 1250-1300 A.D. to judge by his references to al-Nawāwī, the latest author he quotes.

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118 Partington, op.cit.
120 S. M. Imamuddin. IC. p. 25.
121 E. Levi-Provencal. Ibid. This treatise was also translated into French by Rachel Arie in Hesperis-Tamuda, i (1960), while G. M. Wickens has translated it into English in IQ, 1956. See also commentaries drawn on by J. D. Latham in JSS, v (1960).
It should be noted here that there are other works of lesser importance which include *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal wa al-Ahwāl wa al-Niḥal* of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). According to the author, the Muslim scholars were unanimous in making the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding evil obligatory on every Muslim. However, in carrying out the duty, the person responsible should be patient and recognise other people’s rights. Therefore, it is unlawful for him to harm another person or confiscate his property except by law\(^{123}\).

Al-Juwaynī (d. 499/1105) in his book *al-Ghiyāthī* had also treated the subject in his chapter on enjoining the good and forbidding evil. According to al-Juwaynī, although the obligation of enjoining the good and forbidding evil falls on every Muslim, ordinary people are only allowed to carry out the duty by giving advice without being rude (*fażāzah*) or making flattering (*malaq*) remarks\(^{124}\).

Apart from these, there are other works of the jurists who have discussed the issues relating to *ḥisbah*, such as *Kitāb al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyyah fi al-Siyāsah al-Sharīyyah* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751 A.H.) and *Kitāb Tabṣirat al-Ḥukkām* by Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 A.H.).

\(^{123}\)It should be mentioned here that neither the word *ḥisbah* nor * ihtisab* is found in the text. Instead, the author has used the term *al-amr bi al-maṣūf wa al-nahy’an al-munkar*. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl*. vol. 4, pp. 171-6.

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406)\textsuperscript{125} also deals with the subject of ʰɪsbaḥ in his \textit{al-Muqaddimah}. He considers ʰɪsbaḥ as one of the major institutions of the Islamic caliphate that fall under the religious obligation "to enjoin the good and forbid evil". According to Ibn Khaldūn, ʰɪsbaḥ was under the jurisdiction of the ʰqāḍǐ. However, later, it became part of the office of the Caliph\textsuperscript{126}.

Al-Qalqashandi (d. 821/1418)\textsuperscript{127} also deals with the subject in \textit{Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā}, particularly in volume 12, where he lists several of the letters of appointment (\textit{tawqrāt āt}) that were sent to the designated \textit{muḥtaṣibs}. These letters give an idea about the qualifications of the \textit{muḥtaṣib} and the importance of the office in comparison with other governmental institutions. \textit{Ḥisbaḥ} was considered a religious office and was placed next to ʰqāḍǐ\textsuperscript{128}.

4. \textbf{Studies on works of ḥisbaḥ by later scholars}

The earliest study on ḥisbaḥ was made by Walter Behrnauer in 1860, who examined al-Shayzarī's \textit{Kitāb Nihāyat al-Rutbah fi Aḥkām al-Ḥisbaḥ}.


\textsuperscript{128}Al-Qalqashandi. \textit{Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā}. Cairo. 1964.
Despite the fact that the study has mistakenly referred to al-Shayzarî as al-Nibrawî, it has been recognised as one of the most significant studies on the subject.

1975, Farḥāt al-Dashrāwī with the help of Ḥasan Ḥuṣnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb edited another version of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar.

Perhaps one of the best known contemporary scholars describing ḥisbah is Nicola Ziadeh in his two books "Al-Ḥisbah wa al-Muḥtasib fī al-Islām"129 and "Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks"130, in which he discusses the office of ḥisbah and the duties of the muḥtasib. Benjamin Foster discusses the relationship between the Roman agoranomos and the muḥtasib, in which he concludes that agoranomia and ḥisbah were words applied at different times to an office that dealt with many similar functions but with widely different bases of authority and roles in different administrative systems, even within the same civilization131.

Apart from him, a study was carried out by Thomas Glick. The author discusses the question of continuity of market inspection, particularly from Islam to later Christian Spain and the Latin East132. There are other studies carried out by scholars such as by S.M.

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Imamuddin\textsuperscript{133}, Ishaq Musa al-Husaini\textsuperscript{134}, Zāfir al-Qāsimī\textsuperscript{135} and R.P. Buckley who traced the role of market supervision during early Islam\textsuperscript{136}. Much information on the literature and history of hisbah can be derived from a study by Claude Cahen and Muhammad Talbi in the \textit{Encyclopaedia of Islam}\textsuperscript{137}.


CHAPTER ONE

An analysis of the work of the Mālikī scholar Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar al-Kīnānī al-Andalusī

1.1. Sources

The name Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was mentioned by Claude Cahen and Muhammad Talbi in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*¹ together with his work entitled *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq* (Book on legal decisions related to the market). In fact, the work was first edited by Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* (Ṣaḥīfah al-Maḥād al-Miṣrī), in 1956² and later on was translated into Spanish by Emilio García Gomez, in *al-Andalus* in 1957³. The work was transmitted by Ibn Shībīl al-Andalusī⁴. There is in fact another version of the work which was transmitted by Aḥmad al-Quṣārī al-Qayrawānī⁵ which is entitled *Kitāb al-Naẓar wa al-Aḥkām fi Jamīʿ Ahwāl al-Sūq* (Book on supervision and legal

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decisions on matters related to the market). This work was edited by Farḥāt al-Dashrāwī, Tunisia, 1975 with the help of Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who owns the manuscript. These two versions of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ṬUmar will then be referred to as the first and the second version throughout the study. It is the intention of this study to analyse and summarise the two versions of the texts.

1.2. Life and career of Yaḥyā ibn ṬUmar

His name is Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā ibn ṬUmar ibn ṬUmar ibn Yūsuf al-Kinānī al-Andalusī. He was born in Jayyān6 in Andalusia7. There are two different accounts of when Yaḥyā was born. As mentioned in Shajarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikīyyah, Yaḥyā was born in 223 A.H. and died in 298 A.H. This, in fact, is not correct and cannot be accepted because the book also mentioned that al-Dimyāṭī8 the Mālikī scholar in Egypt, who died in 226 A.H. was one of his teachers9. The same account was given by Ibn Farḥūn that Yaḥyā ibn ṬUmar is also said to have studied in Egypt

6Jayyān or Jaen as known at present is a city in Andalusia. See Muʾjam fi al-Aʿlām. p. 179.

7Ibn Farḥūn, Al-Dībāj. p. 351.


9In fact, the book also stated that he had studied with Ḥabāgh ibn al-Faraj who died in 225 A.H. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. p. 73.
with al-Dimyāṭī and bearing in mind that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had studied before this from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb¹⁰ in Córdoba and from Sahnūn ibn Saʿīd¹¹ in Qayrawān¹². The more acceptable account on this matter could be derived from those of Ibn al-Farāḍī¹³ and Ibn Farḥūn¹⁴.

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¹⁰Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (174-238 A.H.). He studied with Ibn al-Majishūn, Aṣbāḥī ibn al-Faraj and others. He took over the leadership of the Mālikī school in al-Andalus from Yaḥyā al-Laythī when the latter died. Ibn Farḥūn regards him as the most learned man of his time. The same was the opinion of Ibn al-Majishūn and he even considered Ibn Ḥabīb as more competent than Sahnūn ibn Saʿīd. According to Ibn Farḥūn, whenever he went out from the mosque, there were about 300 students waiting for him. Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dībāj, pp. 154-6. Ibn al-Farāḍī, Tārīkh. pp. 312-5. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. See also, Ibn al-Farḥūn, al-Dībāj. p. 361.

¹¹Abd al-Salām Sahnūn or “Sahnūn” ibn Saʿīd al-Tanukhī (160-240 A.H.), the famous qaḍī and jurist of the Mālikī school of law. He started his rihlah at the age of 18 in the year 175 A.H. He studied with Ibn al-Qāsim when he was 25 years old. He also studied with Ashhab and Ibn Abī al-Ghamar. All his teachers spoke very highly of him and considered him as their best student who came from the West. However, Ibn Abī al-Ghamar prefers Ibn Ḥabīb because of his eloquence. He returned to Qayrawān in 191 A.H. at the age of 31. After much persuasion from the amīr Muḥammad ibn al-Aghlab, he agreed to become a qaḍī in Qayrawān in 234 A.H. at the age of 74, on condition that he would not be receive any salary and that he would execute justice even though it would involve the amīr and his family. He continued in his position until he died in 240 A.H. According to Muḥammad Makhlūf, Sahnūn had carried out the duty of hisbah along with his official occupation as a qaḍī. He wrote al-Mudawwānah which he narrated from Ibn al-Qāsim. Amongst his most senior students and associates were his son, Muḥammad ibn Sahnūn, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs, Ḥamdīs, ʿIsā ibn Miskīn and Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dībāj, pp. 160-6. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. pp. 69-70. Hasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhab, al-Imām al-Māżārī. p. 24.


¹⁴Burhān al-Dīn Abū ʾĪsāḥāq Ibīrāhīm ibn al-Shaykh Abī ʾĪlī ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 A.H.). He was a great Mālikī jurist and was a qaḍī in Medina. He was also the author of many famous books such as, Taḥṣīrat al-Ḥukmāt fī Usūl al-Aqīdah and Al-Dībāj al-Mudhhāb fī Maʿrifāḥ Āyān ʿUlamāʾ al-Madhhāb. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. p. 222. See Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dībāj. pp. 351-3.
According to them, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar who died in 289 A.H. at the age of 76\textsuperscript{15}. However, with regard to his riḥlah, it could be assumed that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was born earlier than 213 A.H. because when his teacher Saḥnūn died in 240 A.H., Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar would not have been more than 27 years old. Furthermore, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar is said to have studied with his teacher Saḥnūn and was regarded as one of his most senior students and associates. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Ibn Farḥūn and Ibn al-Faraḍī have indicated that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had begun his riḥlah to the East earlier than 226 A.H. when he was not more than thirteen years old. He then returned to Qayrawān before Saḥnūn died in 240 A.H. which concluded the duration of his riḥlah to Egypt, Ḥijāz and Qayrawān for about fourteen years. Thus, it could be accepted that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was born earlier than 213 A.H. However, there seems to be no proof for that.

As illustrated by figures 1.1. (the relationship between the Mālikī scholars and their teachers)\textsuperscript{16} and 1.3. (the riḥlah of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar)\textsuperscript{17} which were drawn from the available sources, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was believed to have grown up in Cordova and began studying with the most celebrated Mālikī scholar of his time, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb. Yaḥyā ibn

\textsuperscript{15} Ibn Farḥūn however, clearly stated that the author was born in Andalusia in 213 A.H. Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{al-Dībāj}. Ibid. Ibn al-Faraḍī. \textit{op.cit.}

\textsuperscript{16} See Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{17} See Appendix C. See also Appendix D: Figure 1.4. (The Presumed Age of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar). These accounts were, in fact, an assumption made by the present study based on the facts derived from figures 1.1 and 1.3.
Umar then travelled to Ifriqiyyah (North Africa) and studied with Saḫnūn ibn Saʿīd in Qayrawān. It is believed that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar stayed in Qayrawān for a short period of time because he then continued his riḥlah to the East with his brother Muḥammad. The same thing occurred in the case of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs who studied with Saḫnūn ibn Saʿīd when young, then travelled to the East to study with various Mālikī scholars, but later returned to Qayrawān to continue his study with Saḫnūn and later was regarded as one of his most senior students and associates. In the case of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, he was also regarded as one of the most senior students and associates of Saḫnūn ibn Saʿīd.

It is believed that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had travelled to Egypt before 226 A.H. when he was not more than thirteen years old because, amongst his teachers in Egypt, was al-Dimyāṭī who died in 226 A.H. The fact that Yaḥyā has only referred to al-Dimyāṭī through al-Walid ibn Muʿāwiyah could be because he was too young at that time. This does not mean that

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19 Al-Khushānī, loc. cit.

20 See Appendix D, figure 1.4. (The Presumed Age of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar).

21 The study has not been able to locate him. However, Ibn Farḥūn had indicated that he was one of the students of al-Dimyāṭī who died in 226 A.H. in Egypt. Therefore, it could be assumed that he was in Egypt during that year. See Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dībāj. p. 148.

22 The text (second). p. 111.
he did not meet al-Dimyāṭī, since on another occasion he has referred to Ibn Abī al-Ghamar who died in 234 A.H. through his nephew Aḥmad. According to one source, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar is said to have studied with Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj who died in 225 A.H. However, the book itself held that he was born in 223 A.H. Furthermore, from the two texts, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had only referred to Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj through ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya. In fact, Yaḥyā is said to have written a treatise on the teaching of Aṣbagh in al-Faraj which he had narrated from Ibn al-Qāsim. The treatise then was transmitted to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar by ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya. Therefore, it could be assumed that Yaḥyā did not study with Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj, but might have come to Egypt during the year the latter died. In Egypt, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar also studied with Ibn


24See The text (second). p. 94.

25Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj ibn Saʿīd ibn Nāfiʿ (150 - 225 A.H.). One of the great Mālikī scholars in Egypt. At the age of 29, he had made his riḥlah to study with Mālik, but the latter died when he arrived in ʿIlām. He then studied with Ibn al-Qāsim, Ibn Wahb and Ashhab. Later he became the secretary to Ibn Wahb. Ibn Farḥūn, ʿal-Dībāj. p. 97. Makhlūf, ʿTabaqāt. p. 87. Al-Ziriklī, al-ʿAlām. 1:333.

26Makhlūf, ʿTabaqāt. p. 73.

27The two texts referred to him as ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥāwiya and ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥāwiya. However, it seems more likely that he was ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya. There seems to be no evidence showing that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had had any relation with either ʿAbd Allāh or ʿUbayd Allāh. However, according to qaḍī ʿIyāḍ, ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya was one of Yaḥyā’s teachers. Also, from ʿUbayd’s biography, we learn that he was the student of Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj. ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya died in 250 A.H. and his full name is ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya ibn Ḥakam al-Jafnāwī. Qaḍī ʿIyāḍ, ʿTabīḥ al-Madārik. vol. 3, pp. 86 and 234.
Bukayr\textsuperscript{28} and the students of Ibn al-Qāsim\textsuperscript{29} Ibn Wahb\textsuperscript{30} and Ashhab\textsuperscript{31}. Amongst them were Abū al-Ṭāhir ibn al-Sarah\textsuperscript{32} and al-Ḥārith ibn Miskin\textsuperscript{33}. It should be noted here that from the text of the second version, Yaḥyā had referred to his teacher al-Ḥārith ibn Miskin fourteen times, which, in fact, was the most frequent type of isnād found in the text\textsuperscript{34}. Although he was considered as an associate to his teacher Saḥnūn ibn Saḥid, which could be due to the fact that both of them were teaching in Qayrawān, Yaḥyā seems to have attached himself to his teacher


\textsuperscript{29}Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Qāsim al-Miṣrī (d. 191 A.H.). One of the most senior students of Mālik who had studied with him for twenty years. Amongst his students were Ašbagh, al-Ḥārith ibn Miskin, Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, Asad ibn Furat, Saḥnūn and others. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. p. 58.

\textsuperscript{30}Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb ibn 'Abd 'Al-Latif ibn Muslim al-Qurashī (d. 197 A.H.). One of the most senior students of Mālik who was with him for twenty years. His students are almost the same as those of Ibn al-Qāsim. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. pp. 58-9.

\textsuperscript{31}Abū al-ʾUmar Ashhab ibn ʾAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Miṣrī (145-204/762-819). One of the most senior students of Mālik. He took over the leadership of the Mālikī school in Egypt from Ibn al-Qāsim when the latter died in 191 A.H. He was a prominent jurist of the Mālikī school of law in Egypt. Al-Shafīʿī regards him as the most learned scholar in Egypt at his time. His students were almost the same as those of Ibn al-Qāsim and Ibn Wahb. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt. p. 59. Al-Ziriklī, al-Aclam. 1:333.

\textsuperscript{32}Abūṣamud ibn ʾUmar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Sarah (d. 250 A.H.). He was known as Abū al-Ṭāhir. He narrated from Ibn Wahb and studied with Ibn ʿUyaynah. He was one of the great scholars of the Mālikīs in Egypt. Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dibaj. pp. 35-6. Yaḥyā also mentioned that Abū al-Ṭāhir was one of his teachers. See The text (second). p. 42.


\textsuperscript{34}See Appendix B.
al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn rather than Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd. Thus, from his work, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had referred to the teachings of Mālik, Ibn al-Qāsim and Ibn Wahb through al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn and some others, but not from Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd. He only referred to Saḥnūn in relation to a tradition concerning price-fixing, which he had also narrated from al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn and Abū al-Ṭāhir. On other occasions, he and sometimes the transmitters gave the opinions of Saḥnūn without relating them to Mālik or any other scholars. Therefore, it could be concluded that Yaḥyā had spend most of his period of study in Egypt in the company of his teacher al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn. This is illustrated in Appendixes.

He then travelled to Ḥijāz to study with Abū Muṣʿab al-Zuhri and others. He may have been here for a short period because he only referred to the opinions of the Medinans on one occasion. On his return, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar stayed at Qayrawān to continue his study with Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd but later remained there. It is believed that Yaḥyā had also studied with

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35 See The text (second). p. 42.


37 See the discussion on chapter three (price-fixing) in the summary below. The text (second). p. 44.
qādī Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā\(^3\). Although Yaḥyā had studied with Ibn Ḥabīb in Cordova when he was young, it seems obvious from the text of the second version that he had acquired most of the teaching of Ibn Ḥabīb through qādī Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā\(^3\). Soon after that, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar began to conduct public teaching in the Great Mosque of Qayrawān. He should have started teaching before 250 A.H., because Abū Bakr ibn al-Shibl who came from al-Andalus studied with him that year\(^4\).

During the time of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, Qayrawān was under the control of the dynasty of the Aghlabids who ruled Ifrīqiyyah (North Africa), Algeria and Sicily from 184-296/800-909. It is believed that the ruler of the Aghlabids at that time was ʿIbrāhīm ibn Aḥmad II (261-289/875-902)\(^4\) because the amīr was the person responsible for removing the Mālikīs jurists from the public offices and replacing them with the Ḥanafīs. He had terminated Ibn Ṭalib\(^4\) from his qādī’s position and replaced him with Ibn ʿAbdūn. The former qādī Ibn Ṭalib then was sentenced to imprisonment and


\(^4\)Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭalib al-Tāmīmī (d. 275 A.H.). He was an associate of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar and was appointed as a qādī of Ifrīqiyyah twice (from 257-259 A.H. and from 267-275 A.H.). After he had been removed from the office, he was sent to prison and later died in the same year. Al-Khushani, Quḍāṭ. pp. 186-8. Al-Zirikli, al-ʿIlam. 4:93.
later died in prison in 275 A.H. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was a close friend of ʿaḍī Ibn Ṭālib. In fact, the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar cited several legal decisions made by the ʿaḍī and it is clearly indicated that Yaḥyā had agreed to all of his statements. Thus, probably Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had fear that he might be receiving the same treatment as his friend and he in fact had already suffered some adversities which were coming from ʿaḍī Ibn ʿAbdūn⁴³, so that he had to flee to his brother Muḥammad in Tūnis. However, ʿaḍī Ibn ʿAbdūn was informed of Yaḥyā’s presence in Tūnis, so he went into hiding in a ribāṭ in Sūsah (Sousse). The amīr, Ibrrāhīm ibn ʿAbīmad II then had changed his mind in giving favour to the Ḥanafīs, so he had removed Ibn ʿAbdūn from office⁴⁴. It is believed that soon after that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar started his teaching at the Great Mosque in Sūsah.

From the source, it is mentioned that there were two most distinguished jurists who conducted their teaching at the two Great Mosques. They were, ʿaḍī Ibn Ṭālib who was in Qayrawān and Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar in Sūsah⁴⁵. It seems probable that this work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was based on his teaching at the Great Mosque of Sūsah. Thus, it is mentioned in the texts that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had received a written

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petition from the market supervisor (ṣāḥib al-sūq) of Qayrawān. Instead, he was asked in person by the market supervisor of Susah. It should be noted here that during this period, people had made their riḥlah from al-Andalus, Qayrawān and the surrounding districts to study with Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Amongst his students were his brother, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar, the transmitters of the two texts, Abū Bakr ibn al-Libād, Abū al-ʿArab and Aḥmad ibn Khālid al-Andalusī.47

1.3. The transmitters

As previously mentioned, there are two versions of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. The first version was transmitted by Ibn Shibl and the second by Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. With regard to Ibn Shibl, M.A. Makhlūf held that the only available source on him was a brief account by Ibn Farḥūn. According to this source, the transmitter’s full name is Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad

46Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar (214 - 310 A.H.). His teachers were almost the same as his brother Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. He was in Tūnis when his brother went into hiding from qāḍī Ibn ʿAbdūn. However, after the death of his brother he had travelled to Egypt and later died there in 310 A.H. Ibn al-Faraḍī, Tarikh. vol. 2, p. 37.

47See the discussion below.


Ibn Sallām ibn Shībl al-Ifrīqī. He is said to have studied with Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd and Muḥammad ibn Rumḥ. He died in 307 A.H. However, there was another person who was known as Ibn al-Shībl and his full name is Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Shībl ibn Bakr al-Qaysī. He was born in al-Andalus and started his education in Cordova. He then travelled to Qayrawān in 250 A.H. to study with Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar and later on to Sūsah. After completing his study he returned to al-Andalus and was appointed as an Imām to lead prayers. He died in 353 A.H. when he was more than a hundred years old. Although it is possible that he might be the transmitter of the first version, because it is mentioned that he had studied with Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, it seems more likely to be Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Shībl since the text had clearly indicated that the kunyah of Ibn Shībl was Abū ʿAbd Allāh, not Abū Bakr.

The second version was transmitted by Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. His full name is Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Saʿīd

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51 The study has not able to locate him. However, he was also one of the teachers of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar in Egypt. He had studied with the student of Ibn al-Qāsim, Ibn Wahb and Ashhab. See Ibn al-Farāḍī, Tārīkh. vol. 2, p. 181.


54 See The text (first). p. 103.

55 See The text (second). p. 31. His name also frequently occurs throughout the text. See summary of the text.
al-Quṣarī. He studied with Ishāq ibn ʿAbdūs and transmitted the works of several scholars including those of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, qaḍī ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭālib and others. Aḥmad al-Quṣarī was known for being devoted to learning, writing and compiling books. He was known for his honesty and accuracy in his writing of what he transmitted from the scholars of his time. In an account given by his student, Aḥmad al-Quṣarī is said to have made several inquiries of his teacher Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Aḥmad al-Quṣarī asserted that Yaḥyā would give the same answers even though the inquiries were made on different occasions. Among his students who narrated from him are Ibn al-Libād and Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥārith al-Khushani. He died in 322 A.H.

1.4. **An analysis of the texts**

1.4.1 **The Isnād**

The text of the first version has clearly indicated that it consists of legal opinions of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar who was asked about various matters

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related to the market. These legal opinions were then compiled by an unidentified person based on what had been transmitted to him by Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Shībl from his teacher Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. As for the second version, at the beginning of the text, we read "Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reported to us from Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar (ḥaddathana Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān qāl samīʿtu Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar yaqul). It is clear that this text was transmitted by Aḥmad al-Quṣarī and was compiled later on by his students who took it from him.

1.4.2. The styles and the approaches

According to the editors of the two texts, the second version is more complete than the first. This, in fact, was an assumption made by M.A. Makkī, the editor of the first version, based on the fact that the word mukhtasarah (an abridged or summary) was found at the beginning of the text. This word is not found in the second version. M.A. Makkī also points out that his assumption was confirmed by Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb who had a copy of the manuscript of the second version which he thought to be a "complete version" of the text. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb also

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60 The text (first). p. 103.

61 The text (second). p. 31.

stated that he intended to edit the manuscript, which in fact, only appeared in 1975. However, it seems possible that the word mukhtasarah was an introduction to the text. This is because it outlines the relevant subjects that are to be described in detail in the text. It should be noted here that the word mukhtasar was also used by al-Shayzarî in his introduction. Thus, probably, the word mukhtasarah was a mistake in editing the text and could be replaced by the word munhasarah (consisting of).

There seem to be two different approaches found in the texts. The first consists of questions and answers. As for the first version, the questions are mostly derived from unidentified persons and only on three occasions do they appear to be from the transmitter Ibn Shibl. However, in the second version most of these questions are derived from the transmitter Ahîmad al-Qusherî. Thus, on most occasions, we read qîla, qîla and su‘îla Yaḥyâ in the text of the first version, whereas, the words qultu and sa‘altu Yaḥyâ were found in the second version. Therefore, it seems probable that the text of the second version was a series of discussions between Ahîmad al-Qusherî and his teacher Yaḥyâ ibn ʿUmar. However, on certain occasions, both texts have indicated that the questions were derived

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63Ibid. See the commentary made by M.A. Makki. in RIEEI. p. 62.
64Al-Shayzarî, Nihâyah. p. 3.
65The text (first). pp. 138-9 (the sale of figs), 140 (slaughtering an animal) and 142 (qadhf).
from the market supervisor (ṣāḥib al-sūq). These questions were mostly in form of verbal inquiries, but occasionally, written petitions were also made to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. On some occasions, Yaḥyā gave the statements made by his teachers in order to support his opinions. This includes the statements of Mālik, Ibn al-Qāsim, Ibn Wahb, Ashhab, Ibn Mājishūn, Aṣbagh, Ibn Ḥabīb and Saḥnūn. As a matter of fact, it is in this matter that the two texts have demonstrated a very significant contrast between them. This is because the second version has provided full chains of isnāds of the transmitters involved, which are not to be found in the first version. Thus, the second version has also produced valuable information about the teachers of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. From the text of the second version, it is obvious that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar has consistently attached himself to his teacher al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn, even though he was considered as an associate of Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd.

The second approach includes statements made by Yaḥya ibn ʿUmar without being asked by anyone. Sometimes, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar referred to verses of the Qurʾān and the traditions to support his arguments. However, some of the traditions found in the second version have been omitted by the first version⁶⁶. On other occasions, there are also statements made by the transmitters regarding certain legal decisions made mostly by qāḍī Ibn al-

⁶⁶See the tradition on determining the unit of measure of capacity and the tradition on price-fixing. See The text (second), pp. 39 and 42-3.
Tālib, where Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked for his opinion regarding those matters. There are also statements made by the contemporaries of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, such as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs, Ḥamdīs al-Qaṭṭān and qāḍī Ibn Marwān. However, in the case of Ḥamdīs al-Qaṭṭān, his statements were made without being referred to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar.

Therefore, it seems possible that these statements were derived from the transmitters and not from Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Moreover, the two texts have differed in this matter. Thus, the statement made by Ḥamdīs al-Qaṭṭān on immoral behaviour cannot be found in the first version. On the other hand, the first version had referred to his opinion on a matter related to the method of slaughtering of an animal, which is omitted by the second version.

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67Abū Jaʿfar Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ashʿarī known as Ḥamdīs al-Qaṭṭān (d. 289 A.H.). Ibn Farḥūn and Makhlūf have suggested that he was born in 230 A.H. This seems to be not acceptable because on the account of Ḥamdīs himself he had made a statement that he was in the company of his teacher Saḥnūn from the year 223 A.H. until the latter died in 240 A.H.. This statement can be found in the first version of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Moreover, Makhlūf is a position to consider Ḥamdīs as one of the most senior students and associates of Saḥnūn. Thus, it seems that this statement of Ḥamdīs is more acceptable in this matter and it is believed that he was born much earlier than 230 A.H. Furthermore, he was a contemporary of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar and died in the same year as he. Ibn Farḥūn, al-Dībāj, p. 31. Makhlūf, Ṭabaqāt, p. 71. The text (first). p. 141.

68Ḥamās ibn Marwān ibn Samāk al-Ḥamdānī (222 - 304 A.H.). He was born in Qayrawān and had studied with Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd. He became a qāḍī in 290 A.H. Al-Khusnānī, Qudāt, p. 153.


70See The text (second). pp. 133-5.

71See The text (first). p. 141.
Even though the subjects of the discussions found in the two texts have been divided into separate chapters, they were not properly arranged. The issues discussed in the two texts can be classified into three parts:

a) The first part in the text of the first version is from the beginning to chapter thirty\(^{72}\), and in the text of the second version from the beginning to chapter nineteen\(^{73}\), where the issues are concerned with unlawful sale transactions.

b) The second part in the text of the first version is from chapter thirty one to chapter thirty nine\(^{74}\) and in the text of the second version from the discussion found from chapters twenty to thirty\(^{75}\) which involves unlawful conduct, mostly not related to the acts of selling and buying, except for chapter twenty one\(^{76}\) (the sale of tops and dolls) and twenty two\(^{77}\) (the making and selling of nabīdh). However, in the text of the first version, these topics are discussed

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\(^{72}\)The text (first). pp. 103-119.

\(^{73}\)The text (second). pp. 31-76.

\(^{74}\)The text (first). pp. 119-128.

\(^{75}\)The text (second). pp. 76-98.


\(^{77}\)The text (second). pp. 85-6.
in chapters twenty eight\(^7\) (the sale of tops and dolls) and thirty two\(^7\) (the making and selling of nabidh).

c) The third part in the text of the first version is from chapter forty to chapter fifty seven\(^8\), except for chapter fifty four\(^9\) (on gifts for the bride) and chapter fifty five\(^10\) (on qadhf), whereas in the text of the second version the discussions are from chapter thirty one to the end of the text\(^11\) which is again concerned with unlawful sales transactions, except for chapter forty five\(^12\) (on immoral behaviour). The discussions found in this part are sometimes a repetition from those of the first part, for example the discussions regarding weights, measures and fixing the price of goods. The repetition is obvious not only in terms of the arrangement of the chapters, but also the issues mentioned. The text has also repeated a number of issues in separate chapters, like matters relating to weights and measures, cheating by selling figs rubbed with oil, bread which was insufficient in weight

\(^7\)The text (first). pp. 117-8.
\(^8\)The text (first). p. 123.
\(^9\)The text (first). pp. 129-143.
\(^10\)The text (first). pp. 141-2.
\(^11\)The text (first). p. 142.
\(^12\)The text (second). pp. 98-135.
\(^13\)The text (second). pp. 133-5.
and disapproval of women entering public baths who are regarded as not having a proper reason.

The two texts have also differed in terms of the arrangement of chapters. Thus, the first version puts the discussion on sellers of grain after the chapter on rubbing the figs with oil, contrary to the second version. Even though the first version consists of fifty seven chapters and the second version has only forty five chapters, in fact, both texts are very similar. This is because sometimes the first version has divided some of the questions and answers into two separate chapters, whereas the second version combined them in one chapter. Furthermore, on some occasions the second version has merged some of the chapters of the first version into one chapter.

The contents of the two texts are very similar, except for some omissions in both of them. The first version has omitted the chapter on selling fruit and salted fish in jars and containers, the chapter on what it is permissible for the market supervisor to receive from the vendors and the chapter on immoral behaviour. Sometimes, the discussion for

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86 The text (second). pp. 120-4.

87 The text (second). pp. 131-2.

88 The text (second). pp. 133-5.
certain chapters in the second version is more complete, as for example in the chapter on weights and measures\textsuperscript{89}, the chapter on price-fixing\textsuperscript{90}, the chapter concerning the mixing of meat\textsuperscript{91} and the chapter discussing the "permissible monopoly"\textsuperscript{92}. However, on some occasions the first version has also provided further information which cannot be found in the second version. They are the discussion on the sale of bitter cucumbers\textsuperscript{93}, selling by a person suffering from leprosy\textsuperscript{94}, the discussion on a person who had dug a pit\textsuperscript{95}, the chapter on slaughtering of animals and selling their hide\textsuperscript{96}, the sale of clothes infested with lice\textsuperscript{97}, the chapter on basic house equipment and wedding outfit for the bride\textsuperscript{98} and the chapter on qad\textit{h}ah\textsuperscript{99}. Based on the above discussions, it seems the statement made by the editors of the two texts that the second version is more complete than the first is not acceptable. In fact, on certain occasions, the first version has

\textsuperscript{89}The text (second). pp. 38-40.

\textsuperscript{90}The text (second). pp. 44-47.

\textsuperscript{91}The text (second). pp. 69-70.

\textsuperscript{92}The text (second). p. 72.

\textsuperscript{93}The text (first). p. 114.

\textsuperscript{94}The text (first). pp. 129-130.

\textsuperscript{95}The text (first). p. 127.

\textsuperscript{96}The text (first). pp. 140-1.

\textsuperscript{97}The text (first). p. 137.

\textsuperscript{98}The text (first). pp. 141-2.

\textsuperscript{99}The text (first). p. 142.
provided some valuable information which are not found in the text of the second version. Thus, in this matter references to the work of Yahyā ibn "Umar should be made into the two texts. Further differences between the two texts will be made clear in Table 1.1 and in the paraphrase in a following chapter.

Table 1.1. The differences between the two texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects of the discussions</th>
<th>First version</th>
<th>Second version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>Found in chapter one (p. 103)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matters which require market to be supervised</td>
<td>Found in chapter two (pp. 103-4)</td>
<td>Found in chapter one (pp. 31-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of different weights and measures</td>
<td>Separated the question in <strong>chapter three</strong> and the answer in <strong>chapter four</strong> (pp. 104-5)</td>
<td>Combined the question and answer in <strong>chapter two</strong>. Included also the question on price-fixing in <strong>chapter two</strong> (pp. 35-40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price-fixing</td>
<td>Separated the question in <strong>chapter eight</strong> and the answer in <strong>chapter nine</strong> (p. 106)</td>
<td>Separated the question in <strong>chapter two</strong> and the answers in <strong>chapter three</strong> (pp. 40-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchandise-tax levied by the millers</td>
<td>Found in <strong>chapter five</strong> (p. 105)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negligence of the millers</td>
<td>Found in chapters six and seven (p. 105)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markets in two different places</td>
<td>Discussed markets of <em>misr</em> and Qayrawân in chapter ten (p. 108)</td>
<td>Discussed markets of <em>qaṣr</em> and Qayrawân in chapter four (pp. 47-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adulteration of figs rubbed with oil</td>
<td>Found in chapter eleven (p. 109)</td>
<td>Included also the discussions on milk added with water and bread insufficient in weight in chapter six (pp. 50-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sellers of grains</td>
<td>Included also the discussions on milk added with water and bread insufficient in weight in chapter twelve (p. 109)</td>
<td>Found in chapter five (pp. 48-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of unripe fruit and those sold in basket</td>
<td>Found in chapters thirteen and fourteen (pp. 110-111)</td>
<td>Found in chapter seven (pp. 52-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers selling bread that contains stones</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifteen (p. 111)</td>
<td>Found in chapter eight (pp. 54-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread insufficient in weight</td>
<td>Found in chapter sixteen (p. 111)</td>
<td>Found in chapter nine (pp. 56-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakers mixing the wheat of good quality with the lesser</td>
<td>Found in chapter seventeen (p. 112)</td>
<td>Found in chapter ten (p. 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millers grind the wheat with remnants</td>
<td>Found in chapter eighteen (p. 112)</td>
<td>Found in chapter eleven (pp. 59-60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adulteration in weights and in food sold</td>
<td>Found in chapters nineteen and twenty (pp. 112-3)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twelve (pp. 60-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixing cows' milk with goats</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty one (pp. 113-4)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirteen (pp. 63-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of bitter cucumber</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty two (p. 114)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of spoiled eggs. Mixing honey of good quality with the lesser, the sale of clarified butter and oil. Mixing old oil with new</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty three (pp. 114-5)</td>
<td>Found in chapters fourteen and fifteen but omitted the discussion on the sale of spoiled eggs (pp. 65-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchers mixing the meats and the vendors mixing the oil and the butter</td>
<td>Found in chapters twenty four and twenty five (pp. 115-6)</td>
<td>Included also the discussion on blowing into carcasses in chapter sixteen (pp. 68-71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The disapproval of blowing into carcasses</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty six (pp. 116-7)</td>
<td>Included in chapter sixteen above (Butchers mixing the meats) (pp. 70-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Permitted monopoly&quot;</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty seven (p. 117)</td>
<td>Found in chapter seventeen (pp. 71-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of dolls and tops</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty eight (pp. 117-8)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty one (pp. 83-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of unripe dates</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty nine (p. 118)</td>
<td>Found in chapter eighteen (pp. 73-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of shrunken clothes</td>
<td>Included in chapter twenty nine above (The sale of unripe fruit) (p. 118)</td>
<td>Included also the case of missing vendors in chapter nineteen (pp. 74-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action taken against missing vendors</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty (pp. 118-9)</td>
<td>Included in chapter nineteen above (The sale of shrunken clothes) (pp. 75-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitation to a wedding banquet and playing with musical instruments</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty one (pp. 119-122)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty (pp. 76-83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The making and selling of nabīlḥ</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty two (p. 123)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty two (pp. 85-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of public baths</td>
<td>Found in chapters thirty three and fifty six (pp. 123-4 and pp. 142-3)</td>
<td>Found in chapters twenty three and included in chapter thirty seven (hoarding) (pp. 86-9 and p. 117)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crying aloud over the death of relatives</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty four (pp. 124-5)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty four (pp. 89-91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting graves</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty five (p. 125)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty five (pp. 91-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing shoes that make noises</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty six (p. 126)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty six (pp. 93-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spilling waters and cleaning the market place</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty seven (pp. 126-7)</td>
<td>Found in chapters twenty seven and twenty eight (pp. 94-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liability against the person who dug a pit. Regulation concerning doors to houses in a narrow lane</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty eight (p. 127)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty. Omitted the discussion on digging a pit (p. 98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ahl al-dhimmah</em></td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty nine (p. 128)</td>
<td>Found in chapter twenty nine (pp. 96-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale by a blind person and those suffering from leprosy</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty (p. 129)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty one. Omitted the sale by those who are sick (pp. 98-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A person suffering from leprosy</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty one (pp. 129-130)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The deficient in weights and measures</td>
<td>Found in chapters forty two and forty four (pp. 130-2)</td>
<td>Found in chapters thirty two and thirty five (pp. 99-103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price fixing by force</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty three (p. 132)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty three (pp. 103-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving short weights and measures</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty five (pp. 133-4)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty four (pp. 108-111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoarding</td>
<td>Found in chapters forty six and forty seven (pp. 135-7)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty seven (pp. 113-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling to a stranger</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty eight (p. 137)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty eight (p. 118)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of fruit and salted fish in jars and containers</td>
<td>Not found</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty (pp. 120-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of clothes infested with lice</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty nine (p. 137)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of ashes</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty (p. 137)</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty one (pp. 124-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money-changers</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty one (p. 138)</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty two (pp. 125-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of beans, figs and the like. The rights of workers to receive their wages</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty two (pp. 138-140)</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty three (pp. 128-131)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughtering an animal</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty three (pp. 140-1)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic house equipment and wedding outfit for the bride</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty four (pp. 141-2)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects of the discussions</td>
<td>First version</td>
<td>Second version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A discussion on <em>qadhf</em></td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty five (p. 142)</td>
<td>Not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things that can be</td>
<td>Not found</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty four (pp. 131-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taken by the market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supervisor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral behaviour</td>
<td>Not found</td>
<td>Found in chapter forty five (pp. 133-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixing the meats with</td>
<td>Found in chapter fifty seven (p. 143)</td>
<td>Found in chapter thirty nine (pp. 119-120)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearts and</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.3. **The important elements in the texts**

There are three main elements in the discussion: One of these is concerned with the person who is regarded as responsible for carrying out the duty of supervising the market. The second is regarding the duties to be carried out and the third deals with the punishments for offenders.
Regarding the first element, the texts make it clear that the duty of supervising the market was the responsibility of the Governor\textsuperscript{100}. He then would entrust this duty to a special officer known as \textit{nāzīr ʿalā al-sūq} and also \textit{ṣāḥīb al-sūq}\textsuperscript{101}. Regarding these two terms, the texts have used the term \textit{ṣāḥīb al-sūq} when they are referring to the market supervisors of Qayrawān\textsuperscript{102} and Susah\textsuperscript{103}. The same term was used to refer to the market supervisor during the time of Mālik ibn Anas\textsuperscript{104}. However, the term \textit{nāzīr ʿalā al-sūq} was applied when Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was explaining the theory of the responsible person to carry out the duty of supervising the market. Thus, this term was used together with the terms \textit{wālī} (the Governor) and \textit{qāḍī}\textsuperscript{105}. On that basis, it could be assumed that the term \textit{nāzīr ʿalā al-sūq} is more general than the term \textit{ṣāḥīb al-sūq}. It should be noted that at this stage, the duty of the supervision of the market and those related matters were carried out by the Governor, the \textit{qāḍī} and the market supervisor (\textit{ṣāḥīb al-sūq} and \textit{nāzīr ʿalā al-sūq}).

\begin{footnotes}
\item[100] The text (first). pp. 103 and 105. The text (second). pp. 31, 39 and 47.
\item[104] The text (first). p. 132. The text (second). pp. 73, 103.
\item[105] The text (second). pp. 47, 73.
\end{footnotes}
With regard to the second element, the texts mention various duties which can be classified into two separate categories:

i) the duties that are concerned with unlawful sales transactions in the market,

ii) the duties which do not involve sale transactions.

Regarding the duties that are concerned unlawful sales transactions, they are as follows:

a) Price-fixing (tas\(\text{"ir}\))\(^{106}\), (Further discussion on this matter will be made at the end of chapter two of this thesis)

b) Administering the use of standard weights and measures and punishing those who falsify them after a warning has been given\(^{107}\),

c) Supervising the vendors so that they can be prevented from conducting unlawful sales transactions. Thus, the public will be protected against cheating, adulteration of the goods and negligence of the vendors. [This is the main discussion of the work of Ya\(\text{"y\text{"a}\) ibn c\(\text{"Umar}].

d) Observing the rights of the purchaser concerning the repayment, the right of option (khiyar) and the right of workers to receive their wages\(^{108}\).


Matters relating to unlawful conduct which do not involve sales transactions are as follows:

a) Obligation to respond to an invitation of a wedding and playing with musical instruments\textsuperscript{109}

b) The use of public baths\textsuperscript{110}

c) Crying aloud over the death of relatives\textsuperscript{111}

d) Visiting graves\textsuperscript{112}

e) Wearing shoes that make noises\textsuperscript{113}

f) A door of a house situated in a narrow lane. However, the first version has also included the discussion on the person who digs a pit in front of his house\textsuperscript{114}

g) Ahl al-dhimmah\textsuperscript{115}

h) A person suffering from leprosy (judhām). However, the second version omits this\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{109} The text (first). pp. 119-122. The text (second). pp. 76-83.


\textsuperscript{111} The text (first). pp. 124-5. The text (second). pp. 89-91.

\textsuperscript{112} The text (first). p. 125. The text (second). pp. 91-2.

\textsuperscript{113} The text (first). p. 126. The text (second). pp. 93-4.

\textsuperscript{114} The text (first). p. 127. The text (second). p. 98.

\textsuperscript{115} The text (first). p. 128. The text (second). pp. 96-7.

\textsuperscript{116} The text (first). pp. 129-130.
i) Slaughtering an animal. However, the second version omits this\(^{117}\)

j) Basic house equipment and wedding outfit (jiḥāz) for the bride. However, the second version omits this\(^ {118}\)

k) Immoral behaviour. The first version omits this. However, it includes the discussion on qadḥ\(^ {119}\).

The third element of the discussion is concerned with the punishments for offenders, which are as follows:

a) Returning defected goods

b) Paying compensation

c) Destroying unlawful musical instruments and pots for making nabūdḥ

d) Confiscating the goods

e) Beating

f) Parading in the market area

g) Banning from the market

h) Detention

i) Being chained and detained at home. This punishment is for young offenders. However, the first version omits this.

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\(^{117}\)The text (first). pp. 140-1.

\(^{118}\)The text (first). pp. 141-2.

Further discussion on this third element will be made in chapter three of this thesis.

Based on the above information, the texts seem to suggest that there are two important aspects of the supervision: One of these is concerned with economic activities in the market and the second deals with moral and religious behaviour. However, in some cases, the texts have included some discussions on matters related to the health and the basic administration of the town. Examples of these are in the cases when Yaḥyā ibn ’Umar disapproved of the sale of unripe dates soaked in vinegar and the practice of the vendors who were blowing into the carcasses because such acts might have spoiled the food and be harmful to the person who had eaten them. Also, the disapproval of a person who is suffering from leprosy to take ablution and wash himself in a running water because other healthy person might be affected by him. With regard to the basic administration of the town, Yaḥyā did not allow the house owners who are living in a narrow lane to create a door or an entrance to their house which would obstruct the passers-by. He also emphasised that the vendors should be held responsible to ensure cleanliness in the market place.

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120 The text (first), p. 118. The text (second), pp. 74-5.
121 The text (first), pp. 116-7. The text (second), pp. 70-1.
122 The text (first), pp. 129-130.
particularly in matters concerning with the cleaning the mud from it\textsuperscript{124}. Thus, it could be concluded that the subjects of supervision discussed in the texts involve four aspects; economic activities, moral and religious practices, health and basic administration of the town. It should be noted here that it seems that the purpose of the supervisions was to eradicate practices in those four aspects which are contradictory to Islamic law. Thus, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, who himself was one of the great Mālikī jurists in North Africa had rendered his legal opinions based on his understanding of the application of Islamic law and those of his teachers. He also referred to verses of the Qurʾān and the traditions of the Prophet to support the statements that he had made. Above all, both texts clearly indicate that they are a compilation of legal opinions, mostly made by Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar.

Although the words ḥisbah or muḥtasib are not found in the two texts, by referring to the three main elements mentioned above, the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar can, in fact, be considered as the earliest work on ḥisbah. Thus, similar discussions on these three main elements have been carried out by later jurists in their works on ḥisbah, which will be studied in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. Regarding the first element, according to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, the duties of supervising the market and other related matters which were later known as ḥisbah were carried out

\footnote{\textit{The text} (first). pp. 126-7. \textit{The text} (second). pp. 94-5.}
by the Governor, the qāḍī and the market supervisor (ṣāḥib al-sūq or nāẓir ʿalā al-sūq). This could be because the office of a muḥtasib did not exist at that time. Thus, his teacher Saḥnūn ibn Saʿīd had to assimilate some of these duties into his office of a qāḍī. Furthermore, the second and third elements of the texts had shown some resemblances to the later works on ḥisbah. Thus, the muḥtasib was then held responsible to carry out the duties that are extended from the market to cover all four aspects. The fact that there had been an increase in the duties of the muḥtasib in the later period in matters relating to the moral and religious aspects, health and administration of the town could be because during the time of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, the institution of ḥisbah was only at a preliminary stage.

\[\text{References: Questions: } 126\]

CHAPTER TWO

A paraphrase of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar

There is some difficulty in arranging the paraphrase of the two texts. This, as discussed earlier in the analysis is due to the fact that both texts have omitted some of the chapters, so that there are some discussions which can be found in the first version but not in the second and vice versa. Thus, it seems unacceptable for this study to follow the arrangement of chapters used by the two versions. Instead, an alternative classification is needed, that is by merging the two texts, which would eventually include the discussions that have been omitted by both of them.

Introduction

This book is a compilation of legal opinions on matters that are concerned mainly1 with the supervision of the market. It consists of various chapters on matters related to weights and measures, on price-fixing, on the sale of unripe fruit, on the bakers and the butchers, on the

1This word is added to the texts. This is because as mentioned earlier in the analysis that some of the discussions found in the texts are not related to the acts of selling and buying in the market. Instead, these matters are mainly involved with those practices contrary to the correct moral conduct and religious teachings of Islamic law. See pp. 73-4 above.
sale of tops and dolls, on adulteration and cheating with various goods, on musical instruments and nabīdh, on public-baths, on crying aloud over the death of relatives and visiting their graves, on shoes that make noises, on the person who had spilled the water and caused injuries to others, on cleaning the marketplace, on the person who had dug a pit that had caused injuries to someone else, on a door to a house, on ahl al-dhimmah, on persons who are suffering from serious illnesses, on cheating in weights and measures, on price-fixing and on hoarding. Inquiries in these matters have been made to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar who then gave his legal opinions and these were compiled based on what had been transmitted from Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn Shībl by his students who took it from him.

Chapter One: A statement on matters which require markets to be supervised

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar reported that it is necessary for the Governor (wāli) who is seeking justice for his people to supervise (naẓar) the market of his people and entrust a person who is the most trusted in his city with the duty of observing (ṣaḥīda) the market and carrying out tests to

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2 However, the second version omits this. The text (first). p. 103.

3 The second version held that this statement of Yaḥyā was narrated by the transmitter, Aḥmad al-Quṣarī to his students. However, the first version omit this. The text (first). p. 103. The text (second). p. 31.
determine the correct measures (ṣāyara)\textsuperscript{4} on the instruments for weighing (ṣanajāt)\textsuperscript{5}, the weights (mawāzīn) and the measures of capacity (makāyil)\textsuperscript{6}. If the official appointed finds someone who has changed them, he will punish him according to the offence committed and in consultation with the Governor. Then he should ban the offender from the market until his repentance and the transformation of his character (niyābah) has become apparent\textsuperscript{7}.

The Governor must not ignore\textsuperscript{8} a situation where counterfeit coins (mubahrajah) appear in the market, or coins which have been mixed with copper (nuḥās). He should be strict in the matter and investigate the person who produces them. When he achieves that and whether it involves only one person or a syndicate, he should warn (nakāl) them and give an order to punish them by parading them (tawāf)\textsuperscript{9} in the market area, by driving (sharada) them from behind so that they will fear the severity of the penalty in the Hereafter which has been revealed for them and they will


\textsuperscript{6}See EI(2). vol. 3, pp. 117-121.

\textsuperscript{7}The text (first). p. 103. The text (second). p. 33.

\textsuperscript{8}The first version reads this as yuqbal (to accept), whereas the reading of the second version was yughfal (to neglect or ignore). The meaning of the later seems to be more acceptable than the former. See The text (first). p. 103. The text (second). p. 33.

\textsuperscript{9}See also the penalty of public disclosure (tashhir). M.S. El-Awa, Punishment in islamic Law. 1982, pp. 102-3.
also be detained for a certain period of time according to the opinion of the Governor. The Governor then must entrust a trustworthy person to observe the matter so that the people’s darāhim⁸ and danānir⁹ will be sound (yaṭīb) and the coins (nuqūd)¹² will be protected¹³.

Chapter Two: Legal decisions on matters related to measure of capacity (mikyāl), weight (mīzān), amdād¹⁴, afqizah¹⁵, artāl¹⁶ and awāqi¹⁷

A written petition was made by someone to Yaḥyā ibn cUmar concerning the sale of wheat (qamḥ) and barley (shārīr) using measures of

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⁸Singular dirham, silver coin. Lane. 1:376.

⁹Singular dinār, gold coin. Lane. 1:919. See also EI(2) vol. 2, pp. 297-8 and 319-320.

¹²Singular naqd which is applies to both silver and gold coins. Lane. 2:2836.


¹⁴Amdād, singl. mudd. A certain kind of measure of capacity (mikyāl). It is mostly used to measure grain like corn. Lane. 2:2697. See also Munjid. p. 751. Hava. p. 712. Hans Wehr. p. 897.

¹⁵Afqizah, singl. qafiz. A certain measure of capacity consisting of ten makākīk, according to the people of ‘Iraq, or twelve times what is termed of the mann. See also qa’, which is a kind of measure of capacity but with different standard. Lane. 2:1746. See also Munjid. p. 646. Hava. p. 620. Hans Wehr. p. 781.

¹⁶Artāl, singl. raṭl. A weight in various quantities according to places. According to Lane, raṭl was used as an instrument for weighing or which one used as a measure of capacity, or rather both of them, as a pound-weight and a pint-measure. The half of what is termed as mann according to the standard of Baghdad is twelve awqiyyah (ounces). The awqiyyah being an istār and two thirds. The istār being four maḥāqīl and half. Lane. 1:1102. Hava. p. 266. Hans Wehr. p. 346.

¹⁷Awāqi, singl. awqiyyah. A certain weight and it is said that 12 awqiyyah are equal to 2564g. Munjid. p. 266. See also Lane. Ibid.
capacity devised by the vendors (ahl al-ḥawānīt), which differed from that of the authorities (sultān) whose origin was unknown and when some vendors used a measure small in size and others a bigger one, whilst the public had accepted the standard measures (maʿāyīr) laid down by the market supervisor.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar answered that such a situation where the wheat and barley were sold using different measures should not happen in the markets of the Muslim cities (ḥawāḏir). If the community had a ruler, he should fear God and he should inform his subjects of the standard weights and measures, so that they will be known to them. The same applies to the instruments for weighing, like the qanāṭīr, arṭāl, waybāt and aqīfah. According to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, the arṭāl are laid down on weights based on the tradition of the Prophet in relation to the payment of alms-tax on silver and gold (zakāt al-ṣayn)\(^{19}\), when he said: "There is no tax on less than five awāq\(^{20}\) of silver \(^{21}\), and there is no tax less than twenty dinār\(^{22}\). The awqīyyah is forty dirhams in weight and the amount of

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\(^{19}\)Lane. 2:2216.

\(^{20}\)See wariqa, plur. awāq or wirāq, silver coins which equal forty dirhams. See next sentence. Lane. supp. p. 3051. Hava. 864.


\(^{22}\)See Mālik ibn Anas, al-Mudawwanah al-Kubrā. 1: 242-3.
weight of danānīr is for every ten dirham equal to seven danānīr of mathāqīṭ. Therefore, the Governor should determine the unit of weights of the arṭāl and the qanāṭṭīr on that basis and he should command his subjects not to change them. As for someone who has changed the standard measure, he should be punished and banned from the market until his repentance has become apparent.

The Governor should lay down the unit of measure for the measures of capacity of his subjects, like waybāt and aqfīzah based on the measure of capacity imposed by the Prophet for the payment of the alms-tax on grains in a tradition, in which he said: "There is no tax on less than five awsūq." One wasaq equals sixty awṣā and one ṣā equals four amdād of the Prophet's measure of a mudd. The Governor has to determine the measures of capacity based on the interest of his people by introducing matters that are beneficial to them and removing any inconveniences. This would be applied to all kinds of measures of capacity, as had been decided for the unit of measure for the waybāt and aqfīzah. Then he should warn his subjects not to change any amount of the measures of capacity and the

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23The first version has omitted the discussion found from this section until the end of the chapter. The text (first). pp. 104-5. The text (second). p. 38.

24The text (second). p. 38.

person who does so is liable for punishment and will be banned from the market until his repentance has become apparent.²⁶

When the Governor neglects this duty, or when the city does not have one, members of the community who are regarded as the best amongst them, including the honoured and the pious, will gather together and decide on matters, so that their weights and measures of capacity will be as has been described. When the selected committee have determined the standard measures and weights, they will disclose them to the public and compel their use and warn the public not to change them either by adding to or reducing them. The penalties for those who violate the measures and weights determined by the selected committee are the same as those imposed by the Governor, where they will be punished and banned from the market until their repentance has become apparent.²⁷

Chapter Three: Legal decisions on price-fixing (tas’īr)

The petitioner then asked Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar on the matter involving the price (qīmah)²⁸ which had been laid down for the butchers (jazzārīn)

²⁶The text (second). p. 39.
²⁸It seems that this petition was made by the same person as in the above discussion which was concerning the weights and measures since they were putted together by the text of the second version. However, for the purpose of this study, this petition is placed next to the answers given by Yaḥyā which was in fact, the arrangement found in the first version. The
and the vendors who are selling butter (saman), honey (asal), oil (zayt) and fat (shahm). If they were to be left without being informed about the price, the public might be exploited because of the negligence (khiffah) of the authorities. The petition then required Yahyā to explain whether such an act is permitted to them and the public. If that is permitted, what action should be taken against the vendors who violate the rules that have been decided by the authorities.

In this matter Yahyā ibn ʿUmar maintained that it is obligatory for each Muslim to adhere to the Prophetic traditions and follow his commands. If the Muslims do this and behave accordingly, their God will grant them what they desire. This has been demonstrated by the Qurʾān which says: "If the people of the towns had but believed and feared God, we should indeed open out to them (all kinds of) blessings from the heaven and earth, but they rejected (the truth) and we brought them to book for their misdeeds." The Qurʾān also says: "If only they had stood fast by the Torah and the Gospel and all the revelations that were sent down to them by their Lord, they would have enjoyed happiness from every side."
With regard to price-fixing, Yahya ibn 'Umar then said that the matter has been explained by a tradition of the Prophet. This had been narrated to him by his teachers; Sa'ūd ibn Sa'id, al-Ḥārith ibn Miskin and Abū al-Ṭāhir from 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb from Ibn Lahirah\(^{32}\), from Sulaymān ibn Mūsā\(^{33}\) from Thābit al-Bunānī\(^{34}\) from Anas ibn Mālik\(^{35}\) saying that people came to see the Prophet and said: "O Messenger of God, fix the price for us". The Prophet replied: "O people, when the price is high or low it is by the Will of God and I hope to meet Him when no one will claim injustice against me either for property or blood"\(^{36}\).

Yahya ibn 'Umar then reported Ibn Wahb's account which he narrated from people different from the above mentioned, saying that one day the Prophet was angry and he said: "The market is in the hand of God, He will reduce the price and raise it". Then the Prophet walked towards the

\(^{32}\)Abd Allāh ibn Lahirah (97-174/715-790) who was a qāḍī of Egypt in 154 A.H., during the reign of al-Manṣūr the Abbasid caliph. Al-Zirikli, al-ʿAjlūm. 4:115.


\(^{34}\)Abū Muḥammad Thābit ibn Aslam al-Bunānī (d. 127 A.H.), the Successor (ṭabīʿūn) who was in company of Anas ibn Mālik for forty years in Baṣrah. Abū Saʻd al-Samʿānī, Al-Ansāb. vol. 2, pp. 329-330. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Al-Lubāb fi Tahdhib al-Ansāb. vol. 1, p. 145.

\(^{35}\)Anas ibn Mālik (10 before Hijrah - 93/612-712). After the death of the Prophet, he moved to Damascus and later on to Baṣrah. It is said that he was the last Companion who died in Baṣrah. Ibn Saʻd, Ṭabaqāt. 7:10. Al-Zirikli, al-ʿAjlūm. 1:24-5.

\(^{36}\)See Ibn al-Athīr, Nihāyah. vol 2, p. 368. In fact, this matter is disputed by the jurists. See the discussion below on the problem of price-fixing. However, the first version omits this tradition. The text (second). pp. 41-2.
people and asked them to take out their goods and put them on clay vessels (barānī) and sell them as they liked, but not speak and claim God’s support for the tradition that he has mentioned, instead they should ask Him for His bounty. Similarly, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was informed by one of his teachers from Ibn Wahb, he said: "I heard Mālik ibn Anas said: "It is not permitted to fix the price for the vendors because that is unjust (zulm). However, those vendors who had reduced their prices from that of the market will be banned from the market. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar holds that this is the opinion that he chooses for himself, that it is not permissible to fix the price but those vendors whose price is lower than that of the market, will be banned from the market. This was the practice of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he instructed a man selling raisins (zabīb) for a price lower than that of the market either to raise his price or leave the market. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar then said that he was informed by some of the Medinans that those governors (wulāt) who follow the practice of ʿUmar are correct, but as for someone who imposes on people by fixing the price of their goods, he is ignorant of the tradition and will be considered guilty on the day of

37See Kanz al-ʿUmmāl. vol. 4, p. 103. However, the first version omits this. The text (second). pp. 43-4.

38The text (first). p. 107. The text (second). p. 44.
Resurrection, because he is giving the purchaser things that are not lawful to him\(^{39}\).

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar then said that if the vendors were unanimous not to sell their goods except according to what they wanted, which will cause inconveniences to the public and destruction to the market, the Governor has a right to ban them from the market. In this matter the Governor should act in the interest of the public which will bring them benefit by replacing the vendors with other law-abiding vendors. This would in turn contribute towards the vendors with a good profit and the purchasers will also be pleased with that profit because of the benefit they have received and the inconveniences that had been removed from them\(^{40}\).

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar argued that the reason for not allowing the dissimilarity in price is to avoid other vendors who are selling the same item at a higher price to feeling annoyed (taťawal) when they saw someone

\(^{39}\)The text (second) p. 44. However, the first version omits this. This matter was in fact, disputed by the Malikīs and the Ḥanbalīs, on whether the public authorities has a right to determine and fix a standard price for the vendors who in fact, have accepted the common price of the public. Malik and Ibn al-Qasim held this as not permissible because it would be unjust to the vendors. The same was the opinion of Yahyā ibn ʿUmar. However, some of the Malikīs like Ibn Ḥabīb and the Ḥanbalīs maintained that the public authorities are allowed to fix the price for the vendor. They argue that this matter was, in fact, a settlement for an equivalent price (thaman mithl), which will be achieved through a meeting held by the public authorities attended by the vendors and the public in order to negotiate for an agreed price amongst them. Ibn Qayyim, al-Ṭuruq. pp. 264-5.

\(^{40}\)The first version has omitted this section and the rest of the sections in this chapter. The text (second). p. 45.
selling it at a cheaper price. This, according to him, is because the market is visited by all kinds of people and some of them do not know the actual price of the market. Therefore, when a person approaches the vendor who is selling at a cheaper price and asks for the price, the person will believe that it is the actual price of the market and so he will buy from him. Then another person comes after him who bought from that same vendor without asking the price from other vendors or knowing that vendor. When the other vendors know this, they will reduce their prices from what they were previously selling at. They might withhold some of their goods and refuse to sell them at their previous price but settle at that cheaper price. Alternatively if nobody wants to buy their goods except at that cheaper price, they will withdraw them. This will therefore, inflate the price (ghalā'), causing harm to the public in general, by just allowing that person to sell at a lower price and refuse to follow the market's price which is in use by the other vendors. For that matter Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar chooses to adopt the action of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he instructed the seller of raisins to increase the price or leave the market. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar then emphasises that the person who was banned from the market will only come back when he agrees that his price will be the same as that of the market.\footnote{The text (second). pp. 45-7.}
According to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar these duties are to be carried out by the Governor, the qāḍī and the market supervisor (nāẓir) based on the above mentioned ruling\textsuperscript{42}.

Chapter Four: A legal decision on merchandise-tax (maks) levied by the millers on the public

On this matter, the millers (ṭaḥḥān) cannot impose the tax unless the grain is measured according to the standard measure of capacity which had been known to the public\textsuperscript{43}.

Chapter Five: A legal decision on the negligence of the millers

The millers may employ any person to grind the grain. The person should then be responsible for his action. Thus, if the mill had been broken and had damaged the food, he is liable for the compensation, when it was due to his negligence\textsuperscript{44}.

\textsuperscript{42}The text (second). p. 47. However, the first version omits this.

\textsuperscript{43}The text (first). p. 105. However, the second version omits this.

\textsuperscript{44}The text (first). p. 105. However, the second version omits this.
Chapter Six: Legal decisions on a matter related to markets that are near to the city

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked\(^{45}\) about the market of Qaṣr\(^{46}\), whether it should follow the market of Qayrawān concerning the price of all kinds of goods, edible and non-edible, which are sold at its market. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar replied that he did not think so and he assumed that the market of Qaṣr was different from that of Qayrawān. Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭālib also mentioned the same thing as Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. However, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs\(^{47}\) disagreed and he maintained that it should follow the market of Qayrawān\(^{48}\).

\(^{45}\)According to the first version the question came from an unidentified person, whereas the second version held that it was asked by the transmitter Aḥmad al-Quṣārī. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 108. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 47.

\(^{46}\)A place in Tunisia about two miles from the city of Qayrawān. \textit{Munjīd}. p. 417. However, the first version referred to it as miṣr (Egypt). \textit{The text (first)}. p. 108.

\(^{47}\)See previous note on Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs, the famous jurist of Qayrawān and contemporary of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. However, the first version referred to him as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbās Allāh, a Mālikī scholar in Egypt who died in 214 A.H. This seems to be not acceptable because neither Yaḥyā nor Aḥmad al-Quṣārī had met him. See Ibn Farḥūn, \textit{al-Dībāj}. p. 134.

\(^{48}\)\textit{The text (first)}. p. 108. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 47-8.
Chapter Seven: Legal decisions on matters related to figs which are rubbed with oil *(madhūn bi al-zayt)* and milk when water was added to it{49}

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked{50} whether the vendors should be prevented from rubbing figs with oil. Yaḥyā replied that they should be prevented. Yaḥyā then was asked{51} about the legal action that should be carried out against those vendors who had been warned but continued to violate the law: whether a contract with them should be considered as void and a penalty should be inflicted on them. He also asked what happened to the purchaser who bought the figs when he knew of their adulterated condition. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar replied that the vendor should be prevented from such an act and if he had been warned but did not abstain himself from selling figs which are rubbed with oil, the figs should be donated to the poor as a penalty for him. Yaḥyā then said that the same rule applied to milk when water was added to it: it should be donated to the poor and not poured on the ground. Similarly, with bread which fell short of the standard

{49}However, the first version included the discussion on milk when was added with water and bread insufficient in weight in a separate chapter. *The text (first)*. p. 106.

{50}According to the first version the question was derived from an unidentified person, whereas the second version held that it was asked by the transmitter ʿAbd al-Quṣṭarī. *The text (first)*. p. 109. *The text (second)*. p. 50.

{51}The first version maintained that the question was asked by an unidentified person, whereas the second seems to suggest that it came from the transmitter. Thus, we find the first version reads *qila*, whereas the second *qultu*. *The text (first)*. p. 109. *The text (second)*. p. 51.
measure; the vendor should be warned and if he did not abstain himself from doing such an act, the bread would be donated to the poor and he would be banned from the market.  

Chapter Eight: Legal decisions on a matter related to sellers of grain (ḥannāṭin)

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar was asked whether the sellers of grains should be prevented from selling wheat, barley, beans (fūl), lentils (ʾadas), chickpeas (ḥimmis or ḥimmass) and all kinds of al-qatānī until they had been sieved. Yahyā ibn ʿUmar replied that the matter had been reported to him by al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn from ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb from Mālik saying that those things cannot be sold without being sieved. Yahyā ibn ʿUmar then said that he thought the sellers should be compelled to do so.

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53 Lane. 1:657. The first version included the discussion on milk when water was added to it and bread insufficient in weight in this chapter. The text (first). p. 106.

54 The first version held that the question was derived from an unidentified person, whereas the second seems to suggest that it was from the transmitter. Thus, we find the first version reads suʿila, and the second saʿaltu. The text (first). p. 109. The text (second). p. 48.

55 Any kinds of pulse, or seed that are cooked. Lane. supp. 2991.

56 However, the first version omits this isnād. The text (second). p. 49.

Chapter Nine: Legal decisions on the sale of fruit in the market before it ripens

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked 59 about figs, apples (tuffāḥ), grapes (ʿinab) and all kinds of fruit sold in the market before they ripened. Yaḥyā replied that if the fruit is abundant in the city, there is no harm in doing so, but if the fruit is scarce, the owner should be prevented from picking unripe fruits (hiṣrim), because it would bring harm to the public in general. This is because when in demand, the fruit will not be available, as a result the price will increase. Therefore, the owner in this situation should be prevented from picking unripe fruit.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked61 about the case of a man who bought a basket (silāl) of figs which are either of the winter (shatwī) or of the summer (ṣayfī) season, and later on when he took out the fruit from the basket, he found that some of the fruit was unripe, whether the contract has become void, and whether the purchaser has an option (khiyar) so that

59The first version held that Yahyā was asked by an unidentified person, whereas the second version seems to suggest that the question was derived from the transmitter. Thus, we find the first version reads suʿīla, whereas the second saʿaltu. The text (first). p. 110. The text (second). p. 52.
61The first version held that he was asked by an unidentified person, whereas the second version maintained that it was from Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. Ibid.
he can keep the fruits if he wants or return them to the vendor. Yaḥyā ibn Umar replied that if the purchaser bought the fruit on the day before, he has the option.

Yaḥyā then was asked whether the vendor who sold fruit some of which was unripe or had been rubbed with oil, should be warned not to sell such kinds of fruit in the market of the Muslims; and if he had been warned, what action should be taken with the unripe fruit, should it be donated to the poor, or should the vendor be warned in the first place that such an act is banned in the market of the Muslims. If he repeated his offence and begun to sell such kinds of fruits which had been banned, should he be detained (ḥabs), or what action can be taken against him. Yaḥyā replied that if the purchaser bought such kinds of fruits they should return them to the vendor and the selling of such fruit should be banned from the market of the Muslims. If the fruit sold are those which the vendor has been warned about, the fruit will be donated to the poor as a penalty for him.

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63 The question in the first version came from an unidentified person, whereas in the second version it seems to suggest that it was from Ahmad al-Quṣari. Thus, the first version reads qaṣl, but the second qultu. The text (first). p. 110. The text (second). p. 53.

64 The text (first). pp. 110-111. The text (second). p. 54.
Chapter Ten: Legal decisions on the sale of bread that contains stones (ḥijārah)

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked65 about a man who bought a loaf of bread and he had eaten a bite (luqmah) or two of it, when he found that the bread had stones inside it, could the purchaser give back the rest of the bread to the vendor, and should he pay for what he had eaten and whether the vendor could return the bread to the baker who sold him the bread. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar said that the purchaser may return the remains of the bread to the vendor and he has to pay the amount for the part that he had eaten which contained stones, and the vendor will give him back the price that he had paid for the bread. The vendor then may take the bread to the baker and the baker should repay the vendor the amount that he had been paid, and the baker should be prevented from committing such an act66.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked67 if the baker should be compelled to sieve the wheat and clean it from stones. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar agreed and he

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65 The reading found in the first version was suʿila, whereas the second saʿaltu. The text (first). p. 111. The text (second). p. 54.
67 The reading found in the first version was suʿila, whereas the second saʿaltu. Ibid.
emphasised that the baker should not be given any allowance on this matter.⁶⁸

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar then was asked⁶⁹ about the bakers who are supplying the bread to the vendor which was found to have stones inside it, whether the bakers should be banned. He also was asked should the bread be donated to the poor as a penalty for the bakers and what would happen if they repeated the offence. Yahyā replied that the bakers should be warned not to sell bread that contained stones which came from the mill (raḥan). If a warning had been given and they continued to commit such an act, the bread would be donated as a penalty and they would be banned from making bread and selling it in the market for a period of time⁷⁰.

Chapter Eleven: Legal decisions on the sale of bread which was insufficient in weight

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar was asked⁷¹ about the bakers who had supplied the vendor with bread which is insufficient in weight, should the former be

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⁶⁸*The text (first).* p. 111. *The text (second).* p. 56.

⁶⁹The reading found in the first text was ʿuʿila, whereas the second saʿaltu. Ibid.


⁷¹The reading of the first version was ʿuʿila, whereas the second saʿaltu. *The text (first).* p. 111. *The text (second).* p. 56.
punished for making bread insufficient in weight and is the bread to be destroyed. If the bread crumbled, can the vendor receive back the full payment from the baker. If he had returned the money, is the baker liable for punishment for making bread that was insufficient in weight and to be held responsible for the repayment of the price to the vendors. Yāḥyā replied that the baker should be punished and be banned from the market because he had committed a wrongful act which there was no reason for him to do.\footnote{The text (first). p. 111. The text (second), pp. 56-7.}

Aḥmad al-Quṣarī\footnote{The text seems to suggest that this was the statement of Aḥmad al-Quṣarī, because Yāḥyā ibn ʿUmar had already died (d. 289 A.H.) when Ibn Marwān became a qāḍī in 290 A.H. The text (second). p. 58. However, the first version has omitted this section. The text (first). p. 111.} was asked by a market supervisor (ṣaḥīb al-sūq) about the matter, so he replied that when he was with Ibn Marwān\footnote{Ḥamās ibn Marwān ibn Samāk al-Hamdānī (222-304 A.H.), who was the student of Saḥnūn born in Qayrawān. He became a qāḍī in 290 A.H. Al-Khushani, Quṣāṭ. p. 153.} who was a qāḍī at that time, Ibn Marwān was asked about the case of unleavened bread sold by the baker to the vendor. Ibn Marwān replied that if the vendor knew that the bread was unleavened before he bought it from the baker, the contract is binding and that the vendor would be responsible for the payment of damages when demanded by the purchaser\footnote{Notice that the liability for the payment of the damage is now shifting from the baker to the vendor. The text (second). p. 58.} and both
the vendor and the baker were liable for punishment. The vendor should also be warned not to sell bread of such kind in the market.\footnote{The text (second). p. 58.}

When Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked\footnote{The first version held Yaḥyā was asked by unknown person (qīla ṭahu), whereas the second version indicated that the question was derived from the transmitter, Aḥmad al-Quṣārī (qultu ʿli Yaḥyā). The text (first). p. 111. The text (second). p. 58.} who should be punished, the baker or the vendor, he replied that if the vendor knew that the bread was insufficient in weight or was unleavened before he purchased it from the baker, both of them were liable for punishment.\footnote{The text (first). p. 111. The text (second). pp. 58-9.}

Chapter Twelve: A legal decision on bakers who had mixed wheat of good quality with a lesser

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked\footnote{The first version held that the question was asked by unknown person (wa suʾīla ʿan), whereas the second version indicated that it was derived from the transmitter (wa saʿaltu Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar). The text (first). p. 112. The text (second). p. 59.} whether it is necessary for the baker to be compelled not to mix wheat of good quality with that of a lesser and what action should be taken against him if he had been warned, but did not abstain from it and was found doing such an act. Yaḥyā replied that if a...
warning had been given to him and he continued to mix them, he should be punished and be banned from the market.  

Chapter Thirteen: Legal decisions on a miller who ground wheat together with remnants found in the grinder (mithanah)

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked whether the miller is allowed to grind wheat in a grinder containing remnants and what would happen if the public had employed him to do the job, should he be held responsible for replacing them with other wheat or a similar one. Yaḥyā replied that he should be punished and is liable to compensate for the damage by replacing the same value of wheat. This had been reported to him by ʿUbayd ibn Muʿāwiya from Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj, he said that he had heard Ashhab ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz being asked the same thing, to which he replied that the miller is liable for the damages and he should be responsible for replacing wheat of a similar kind to the owner. However, Aṣbagh argued that if the

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81 It seems that the reading found in the first version is more acceptable because the second version indicated that he was a baker (aṣḥāb al-faran) not a miller (aṣḥāb al-raḥan). The text (first). p. 112. The text (second). p. 59.

82 The second version indicated that Yaḥyā was asked by the transmitter Ahmad al-Quṣari, in contrast to the first version. The text (first). p. 112. The text (second). p. 59.

83 However, the first version omits the name ʿUbayd ibn Muʿāwiya. The text (second). p. 60.
owner of the wheat knew of the damage and he approved of it, the baker is therefore not liable for it\textsuperscript{84}.

Chapter Fourteen: Legal decisions on vendors who falsify the measures, cheating in food sold and other related matters

\textit{Ahmad al-Quṣarī} related from Yahyā ibn ʿUmar from al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn from Ibn Wahb, in which he said that he heard Mālik ibn Anas\textsuperscript{85} was asked about a vendor who had attached pitch (ṣift) to his measures so that they weighed more, even though the quantity of goods involved was small. Mālik then said that the vendors who have adulterated their goods should only be banned from the market. In this case, the beating is not approved by Mālik. However, Yahyā considered that the ban was more severe than the beating\textsuperscript{86}.

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar related to Ahmad al-Quṣarī that he heard from al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn who reported from Ibn Wahb from Mālik\textsuperscript{87} that he had

\textsuperscript{84}The text (first). p. 112. The text (second). pp. 59-60.

\textsuperscript{85}This is the reading of the second version. However, the first version only referred to the opinion of Ashhab, which was narrated by Yahyā from ʿUbayd ibn Muʿāwiyah from Aṣbagh ibn al- Faraj. The text (first). p. 112. The text (second). p. 60.

\textsuperscript{86}This sentence is omitted in the second version. The text (first). p. 112-3. However, on another occasion, the second version also agreed that the ban is more severe than the beating. See The text (second). p. 70. See p. 110 below.

\textsuperscript{87}This is omitted by the first version. Instead, the text mentioned the name Mālik only. The text (second). p. 60.
said more than once that he disapproved (makrūh) of a vendor selling unripe dates (busr) together with those which are ripe to obtain an immediate higher price. Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar then said that the same applied to figs which had been rubbed with oil.88

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar related to Aḥmad al-Quṣarı that al-Ḥārith reported from Ibn Wahb that he heard Mālik on being asked about a vendor who mixed food with that of different varieties, replying that he disliked the act of mixing food of different kinds while the price was the same. Ibn Wahb then said that Mālik was asked about a man who mixed the food of good quality with that of a lesser one. Mālik replied that, in fact, he should give away the food of good quality because this will harm the food. God said: "... You should not aim at getting anything which is bad, out of it you may give away something ...", while the vendor might think that this would bring him profit, in fact it would destroy his religion. Mālik maintained that it was necessary for that person to be punished so that he

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89 The text reads al-Ḥārith ibn Wahb, which is incorrect. It should read as al-Ḥārith ʿan Ibn Wahb. The text (second). p. 61.

90 The text (second). p. 61. However, the first version omits this. The text (first). p. 113.

91 This sentence and remaining part of this paragraph is omitted in the first version. The text (first). p. 113.

92 Al-Qurʾān. 2:267.
would not repeat such an act because the sale was considered an uncertain transaction (gharar)\(^{93}\).

Ahmad al-Qusari asked Yahya what kinds of food were not allowed to be mixed and should the sale conducted by the vendor who mixed and sold the food be considered void and should he be punished. Yahya replied that the vendor should not sell food which was a mixture of good and lesser quality, and when he had been warned he should be banned from the market and only be allowed to sell food when his repentance was obvious\(^{94}\).

Yahya ibn Umar reported to Ahmad al-Qusari that al-Harith ibn Miskin had narrated from Ibn Wahb that he heard Malik ibn Anas\(^{95}\) asked about whether when the vendor who was selling milk mixed with water, the milk should be poured away. Malik replied that someone might pour away the milk, but he preferred it to be given to the poor. They then asked Malik should it be given away without any charges. Malik agreed if he was the person who adulterated the milk. According to Yahya, this was transmitted by Ashbab from Malik and it is acceptable to him. Someone

\(^{93}\)The text (second). pp. 61-2.

\(^{94}\)The text (second). p. 62.

\(^{95}\)The isnad is omitted by the first version. Instead, reference to Malik was made by mentioning his name only. The text (first). p. 113. The text (second). p. 62.
asked Mālik whether adulterated saffron (za‘farān) and musk were to be treated the same as adulterated milk. Mālik replied that their treatment would be the same if the vendor was the person who had adulterated the saffron and the musk, but if they were bought from another person who had adulterated them, no legal action could be taken against the vendor because that would be considered as stealing other people’s property. Aḥmad al-Quṣarī then asked Yaḥyā96 whether the adulterated substance should be taken away from the vendor entirely. Yaḥyā agreed97.

Chapter Fifteen: **Legal decisions on the practice of mixing cow’s milk with that of goats (ghanam)**

Aḥmad al-Quṣarī reported that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had narrated from al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn from Ashhab ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that he had asked Mālik98 about cow’s milk which had been mixed with that of goats. Mālik replied that the vendor should inform the purchaser of the matter. Ashhab then asked Mālik whether the vendor should inform the purchaser about

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96 This is the reading of the second version. However, the first version held that Yaḥyā was asked by an unknown person. *The text (first).* p. 113. *The text (second).* p. 63. However, Ibn al-Majishūn disagrees and he is against confiscating the goods except when the value is nominal such as a amount of bread or milk. See pp. 128-9 above.


98 This is the reading of the second version, whereas the first version only mentioned that Mālik was asked by Ashhab on the matter. *The text (first).* p. 113. *The text (second).* pp. 63-4.
the fresh butter (zubd) and clarified butter (samn) produced from the milk which had been mixed. Malik agreed, but he preferred that the milk should not be mixed. Thus, the vendor will be punished for not informing the purchaser.

Yaḥyā then was asked if the contract should be considered void and the food be donated as a penalty for the vendor who had been warned but continued to mix fresh butter (zubd) made from cow's milk with that of goats, or when their milk were mixed and sold in the market and the vendor did not inform the purchaser of this condition. He agreed because the vendor had cheated the purchaser when he had been warned not to do so. Therefore, the food would be donated to the poor as a penalty. This is because such an act is considered as cheating which was prohibited by the tradition of the Prophet in which he said; "He who cheats us is not one of us".

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99 Butter can be clarified in various ways, such as by boiling, cooking or mixing it with a substance called sawiq. Lane. 1:1432.


101 However, the tradition is omitted by the second version. The text (first). p. 114. The text (second). p. 65. See p. 3 above.
Chapter Sixteen: A legal decision on the sale of bitter cucumbers (qiththā’)

Mālik held that he did not understand why some of the purchasers wanted to return the cucumber to the vendor, which they had found to taste bitter. However, according to Ashhab, if the sale involved only one or two cucumbers, the purchaser may return them to the vendor when they are bitter. In the case where the sale involved large amount of cucumbers, Ashhab considered that the purchasers may not return the cucumber, except when all or most of them had become defective in taste102.

Chapter Seventeen: Legal decisions on the sale of honey of good quality which had been mixed with that of a lesser and other related matters

Aḥmad al-Quṣārī related from Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar who had narrated from al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn from Ibn Wahb that he had heard Mālik103 being asked about a man who mixed honey of good quality with that of bad one and sold it in the market. Mālik replied that the sale was considered

102 The whole discussion is omitted by the text of the second version. It should be noted here that Yaḥyā had not been referred to in this matter. Presumably, this was added to the text by the transmitter. The text (first). p. 114.

103 This is the reading in the second version. The first version, however has omitted the name al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn and indicated that the matter was reported by Ibn Wahb who heard it from Mālik. The text (first). p. 114. The text (second). pp. 65-6.
as a kind of cheating (*ghashsh*) because he had mixed the good quality with that of a lesser. Mālik then said that the same applied to butter and oil, except when they are for his own use. Mālik was asked about a man who had mixed them for one’s own use, but later decided to sell them. Mālik replied that such an act was not permissible. Aḥmad al-Quṣarī asked Yaḥyā ibn Umar\(^{104}\) whether he agreed with all of these statements. Yaḥyā replied that he agreed with them\(^{105}\). Concerning the sale of eggs, the purchasers are entitled to return them to the vendors when they were found to be spoiled\(^{106}\).

Chapter Eighteen: A legal decision on a matter related to mixing old oil with new

Yaḥyā ibn Umar was asked\(^{107}\) about the practice of some of the vendors who had mixed old oil with the new and sold it in the market, whether the sale was permissible or should they be banned from doing so.

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\(^{104}\)This is found in the second version, whereas the first version held that Yaḥyā was asked by an unknown person. *The text (first)*. p. 114. *The text (second)*. p. 66.

\(^{105}\)The text (first). p 114. The text (second). p. 66.

\(^{106}\)The second version omits this. It should be noted here that the text did not indicate that Yaḥyā or any other jurists were asked on the matter. Thus, it seems probable that it was added to the text by the transmitter. Furthermore, the second version did not mention this. *The text (first)*. p. 115.

\(^{107}\)The first version held that the question was asked by an unidentified person, whereas the second version maintained that it was derived from the transmitter, Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. Thus, we find the first version reads *qila lahu*, whereas the words *qultu li Yaḥyā ibn Umar* was found in the second version. *The text (first)*. p. 115. *The text (second)*. p. 66.
If they had been warned but then admitted to committing such an act, should the sale be considered void and the oil be donated, and would the purchaser have a right for an option (khiyār) either to keep the goods or return them if he wanted to, or should the vendors be warned first because they might argue that they had no knowledge of the ban? Yaḥyā replied that if the quality of the new oil and the old were the same, the matter was easy and the vendor should inform the purchaser of that. Therefore if he sold the mixed oil without informing the purchaser, the latter had an option (khiyār) either of keeping or returning the oil. In the case where he had mixed the oils which were of different qualities, then it was a kind of cheating which was not permitted. If they claimed to have no knowledge, like the nomadic people (badawi), they should be given a warning that the sale was not permitted in the market of the Muslims. If they repeated the offence, they should be punished and the goods be donated to the poor.

Chapter Nineteen: Legal decisions on matters related to mixing the goods and action to be taken against butchers and others who practised such an act

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar reported to Aḥmad al-Quṣarī that he heard from ʿUbayd ibn Muḥāwiya from Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj that he asked Ibn al-

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Qāsim\textsuperscript{109} about the butcher who had mixed fleshy meat (\textit{samīn}) with that which had less meat (\textit{mahzūl}) and sold them together at the same weight and price. Even though the purchasers were able to distinguish the fleshy and the fleshless meat, but they did not know the actual weight for both of them. Ibn al-Qāsim replied that such a case is permissible if the difference in weights for these two meats is small, like five and six \textit{arṭāl}, as in the case of someone buying from the slaughter-house (\textit{majāzir}) with the difference of one \textit{dirham} or two. But if the difference involves twenty and thirty \textit{arṭāl} and the like, then there is no benefit in doing so. Thus, it was necessary for the purchaser to be informed of the weights of each of kinds of meat, because failing to do so would cause the sale to be considered as an uncertain transaction (\textit{gharar}) which has no benefit. Ibn al-Qāsim maintained that the matter was also a kind of cheating which was not permitted\textsuperscript{110}.

Ašbagh then asked Ibn al-Qāsim whether it was permitted for the vendor to mix the oil, butter and wheat of bad quality with that of good one. Ibn al-Qāsim replied that such an act is not permissible for there is no benefit in doing so and he did not understand why he was asked this kind of question. Ibn al-Qāsim then mentioned that Mālik once told him about

\textsuperscript{109}This \textit{isnād} is found in the text of the second version. However, the first version has omitted this and indicated that Ibn al-Qāsim was asked by an unknown person. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 115. \textit{The text (second)}. 68.

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{The text (first)}. p. 116. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 69.
the same thing in which he said: "Up to now you still ask me this kind of question!"\textsuperscript{111} Aḥmad al-Quṣarī asked Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar whether he agreed with these statements. Yaḥyā admitted that he accepted them\textsuperscript{112}.

Aḥmad al-Quṣarī asked Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar whether a sale, which involved someone who was unaware of the condition of the mixed meats as was mentioned by Aṣbagh and Ibn al-Qāsim, should be considered as void and whether he could return the meat to the vendor. In this case should the vendor be punished before a warning was given to him and the meat be donated to the poor entirely based on his first offence\textsuperscript{113}?

Yaḥyā replied that when a purchaser bought the meat and he was unaware that it had been mixed by the vendor, he had the right to return the meat to the vendor and receive repayment from him, and the vendor had to be warned not to conduct such a kind of sale. If the vendor was given a warning but he did not abstain from it, he would be banned from the market. This is, in fact, more severe than a beating\textsuperscript{114}. If he committed the offence for a second time, he would be punished and driven to the

\textsuperscript{111}The text (first). p. 116. The text (second). p. 69.

\textsuperscript{112}This is found in the second version. However, the text of the first version has omitted this statement. The text (first). p. 116. The text (second). p. 69.

\textsuperscript{113}This section is omitted by the first version. The text (first). p. 116. The text (second). pp. 69-70.

\textsuperscript{114}See p. 101 above.
market where he would be paraded and be banned from the market after that. If such actions were to be taken against him, it would frighten others from committing the same offence. The offender would also be banned from selling those goods, so as to deter others from doing the same thing, since such acts supposedly should have not happened in the market of the Muslims in the first place

Chapter Twenty: A legal decision on a matter related to blowing into carcasses

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked about the action to be taken against a butcher, should he be prevented from slicing (ṣarāḥa) and blowing (nafakha) into the carcasses. If he had blown and sliced the meat, should he be warned first? If he repeated the offence for the second time, what action should be taken against him, should he be detained, and should he be banned from the market if he repeatedly committed the

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115 The text (second). loc.cit.

116 The first version indicated that Yaḥyā was asked by an unknown person, whereas the second version held that it was derived from the transmitter. The text (first). p. 116. The text (second). p. 70.

117 This is omitted by the first version. The text (first). p. 116. The text (second). p. 70.

118 According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿuf, the butchers should be prevented from blowing into the carcasses, because a purchaser who was unaware of this might be thinking that it has plenty of meat. Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʿuf, Risālah. p. 94. Meanwhile, al-Saqaṭı regards that such an act is unhealthy because a person who is suffering from halitosis might corrupted the meat. Al-Saqaṭı, al-Ḥisbah. p. 32.
offence, and is he allowed to mix sheep's (ḍa'īn) meat with that of goat (ma'īz) for the purpose of selling them?

Yaḥyā replied by referring to the opinion of the learned people that it was a disapproved act (makrūh) to blow into carcasses. Thus, he should be vigorously prevented from such an act. If he repeated the offence, he should be banned from the market. Yaḥyā maintained that the meat of sheep and goat should be separated and be sold separately according to their prices.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar related to Aḥmad al-Quṣarī that he heard from al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn from Ibn Wahb that he had heard Mālik119 being asked about a man who blown into carcasses as in the case of the butcher, and he replied that he disapproved of such an act and the person should be prevented from doing so120.

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119This is the reading of the second version. However, the first version omitted Yaḥyā’s teacher al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn from the isnād. The text (first). p. 117. The text (second). p. 71.

Chapter Twenty One: A legal decision on a matter related to the butchers and the green-grocers (baqqālīn) who were exclusively permitted to sell their goods

Yahyā ibn ʿUmar was asked about the case of a butcher and a green-grocer who were exclusively permitted to sell their goods for a day or two, whilst the rest of the vendors were not allowed to sell them during that time. This in fact was an act of courtesy (rifq) for that particular vendor who had no money or when he wanted to get married, so that he could gain more profit since other vendors had abstained from the sales, whether this was permissible when the price remained the same, or was it not because if they were to allow him, that particular vendor would be the only person to sell the meat, and the market would be without meat except for what he had with him and a further demand of meat or vegetable could be met.

Yahyā replied that when the market had been exclusively made for such a person, it was not permissible if it caused inconveniences to the public in general. However, if the price remained the same and the public

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121 The first version held that he was asked by an unknown person (wa suʿila), whereas the second version maintained that it was derived from the transmitter ʿĀlmīd al-Quṣārī (wa suʿalīt Yahyā). The text (first). p. 117. The text (second). p. 71.

122 This is the reading of the second version, whereas the first version held that it was "and" (wa) instead of "or" (aw). The text (first). Ibid. The text (second). p. 72.

123 The next sentence until the end of the question is omitted by the first version. Ibid.
did not feel any inconveniences, then it was up to the vendors to decide\textsuperscript{124}.

Chapter Twenty Two: A legal decision on the sale of tops (\textit{duwwamāt}) and dolls (\textit{ṣuwar})

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked\textsuperscript{125} about the sale of tops and dolls for children. He replied that Mālik was asked about the sale of figures made from bone so that the children could play with them. Mālik replied that there was no benefit in them\textsuperscript{126}.

Chapter Twenty Three: Legal decisions on the sale of unripe dates (\textit{ruṭab}) soaked in liquid (\textit{ghamura})

Yaḥyā reported to an audience and one of them was Aḥmad al-Quṣarī, that he heard al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn reporting from Ibn Wahb, he said that he had heard Mālik was speaking to a market supervisor (\textit{ṣāḥib al-sūq}) requesting him to prohibit the sale of unripe dates soaked in liquid

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\textsuperscript{124}The first version provides a different account of the opinion of Yaḥyā. Instead of saying that the matter is to be decided by the vendors, it holds that Yaḥyā did not disapprove of such an act. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 117. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 72.

\textsuperscript{125}The two texts have indicated that the question was asked by an unidentified person. Thus, we find the first version reads \textit{mas’alah} and the second \textit{wa su’ila}. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 117. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 83.

\textsuperscript{126}\textit{The text (first)}. p. 117-8. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 83-4. However, see pp. 237-9 below.
because it was harmful to the stomach and that the offender should be punished. The same applied to melons and all kind of fruit sold at the market that they should not be sold until they were ripe\textsuperscript{127}.

On another occasion, Yaḥyā reported to an audience and one of them was Aḥmad al-Quṣarī that he heard al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn reporting from Ibn Wahb from Mālik\textsuperscript{128} that it was allowed to soak unripe dates in vinegar so that they would become moistened, as long as they were not harmful when eaten. However, Yaḥyā argued that he had heard another opinion of Mālik that it was harmful to eat unripe dates soaked in vinegar. According to Yaḥyā, the case is different from the sale of clothes that had shrunk, because it was not harmful to the person who wore them\textsuperscript{129}.

\textsuperscript{127}The first version omits this. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 73.

\textsuperscript{128}This is the reading of the second version. The first version, however, had only referred to the statement of Ibn Wahb who narrated it from Mālik. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 118. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 73.

\textsuperscript{129}Although, the first version had omitted this statement of Yaḥyā, in fact, it had indicated another opinion of Yaḥyā that the sale of shrunken clothes must be different from the sale of unripe dates. This is also found in the second version. See next chapter. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 118. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 73-4.
Chapter Twenty Four: Legal decisions on the sale of shrunken clothes

According to Mālik\textsuperscript{130} in the case of the sale of shrunken clothes after they had been worn, he maintained that the sale is binding as long as the vendor has informed the purchaser of the defect. Yahyā disagreed on the matter and considered that the case must be different from the sale of unripe dates soaked in vinegar, because it is harmful when eaten\textsuperscript{131}. In the case of shrunken clothes, the vendor should inform the purchaser of the defect because failing to do so would result in the contract becoming void and the offender could be banned from the market.

Chapter Twenty Five: Action taken against missing vendors

Aḥmad al-Quṣarī reported to Yahyā\textsuperscript{132} that a written petition was made to qāḍī Ibn Ṭālib regarding the butchers who were selling meat by mixing fleshy meat with that having less meat and the meat of sheep with that of goats. The petition also asked the qāḍī about the case of a baker who was selling bread which fell short of the standard measure. In these cases, the butchers and the bakers would run away each time the market

\textsuperscript{130}This chapter is, in fact, a continuation from the previous discussion on the sale of unripe dates. The text (first). p. 118. The text (second). p. 74-5.

\textsuperscript{131}The text (first). p. 118. The text (second). p. 74.

\textsuperscript{132}This is the reading found in the second version, whereas the first had indicated that it was a question (mas'alah). The text (first). p. 118. The text (second). p. 75.
supervisor came to inspect them and leave behind them the meat and the bread. The petition then asked the qāḍī what action should be taken against them and their goods. The qāḍī replied that their shops will be locked and the market supervisor is allowed to sell the meat and bread if he feared that they would become spoiled and the money he raised would be given to the treasury. When asked by Aḥmad al-Quṣarī, Yaḥyā replied that he agreed with the opinion of the qāḍī Ibn Ṭālib.

Chapter Twenty Six: Legal decisions on matters that are disapproved during a wedding banquet (walīmah)

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked about the case of a man who was invited to a party where musical instruments would be played and wines served, whether he was liable to accept such an invitation. Yaḥyā replied that a person was only required to accept an invitation to a wedding. However, he was not obliged to attend a wedding banquet where music was played, except for certain instruments like mizhar and kabar (drum). As for other instruments like būq (trumpet), ṭunbūr (a

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134 The first version indicated that he was asked by an unknown person (wa suʿila), whereas the second version held that the question was derived from the transmitter (wa sāʿītu Yaḥyā). The text (first). p. 119. The text (second). p. 76.

135 A kind of tambourine (duff). See p. 236 below.

136 Also known as tabl. See next paragraph.
stringed instrument like a mandolin) and ād (lute), they are not allowed and if played during a wedding banquet, a person was not compelled to accept such an invitation.

According to Yaḥyā, the reason for permitting the playing of musical instruments during the marriage banquet is to proclaim and make known the marriage (nikāḥ) in order to differentiate it from a fornication (ṣifāḥ). In relation to this, Ibn al-Qāsim when asked by Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj about the matter, replied that a person was allowed to attend a banquet (ṣanīn) where tambourine (duff) and drum (kabar) were played. The same was the opinion of Mālik. Aṣbagh then reported a tradition of the Prophet in which he said: "Proclaim the marriage and beat ghirbāl." Aṣbagh held that mizhar was also allowed because it was a kind of tambourine (duff). This was mentioned to him by Ibn Wahb from al-Layth ibn Saʿd, who said that ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had ordered musical instruments to be destroyed except for the tambourine which was played during the wedding ceremony. Yaḥyā maintained that he agreed with this decision.

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137 According to Yaḥyā it was a circular tambourine (duff mudawwar). The text (first). p. 121. The text (second). p. 78.

138 The two texts read al-Layth ibn Saʿd which was incorrect. He should be referred to al-Layth ibn Saʿd who was the teacher of Ibn al-Qāsim, Ibn Wahb and Ashhab in Egypt. He died in 175 A.H. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-Aʿyān. 1: 554.
According to Malik someone who was walking in a street where music was played should not use the street if he feared that he might be tempted to listen to it.

According to Yahyā, a man is not obliged to accept an invitation to a banquet where wine is served.

Aḥmad al-Quṣārī reported that Ibn Wahb narrated a tradition of the Prophet in which he told to his Companions to make a wedding (nikāh) known in order to distinguish it from fornication (ṣifāḥ) and such can be achieved by playing the tambourine and burning incense. Similarly, ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote a letter to Ayyūb ibn Sharāḥbīl instructing him to order his people to play the tambourine during the wedding banquet in order to distinguish it from fornication. The same was the opinion of Rabīʿah ibn Abī ṣAbd al-Raḥmān 139 to make a marriage known by playing musical instruments was a practice agreed upon by the Muslims140.

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139 He was one of the distinguished Successors (tābiʿīn) and had studied with Anas ibn Malik. He was the teacher to Malik ibn Anas. He died in 136 A.H. Al-Nawawi, Al-Tahdhib. 1: 189-190.

Chapter Twenty Seven: A legal decision on matter related to cooking pots (qudūr) used in making a fermented fruit juice (nabīdh)

Aḥmad al-Quṣarī reported to Yaḥyā that a written petition was made to qāḍī Ibn ʿAṭalib regarding whether the cooking pots, which were exclusively used for the making of nabīdh, should be destroyed or not. The qāḍī replied that if the pots cannot be used for other purposes, they should be destroyed and turned into copper, as in the case of a trumpet (būq). The market supervisor should prohibit the person who produced and purchased the drink. Yaḥyā, when asked, maintained that he agreed with the qāḍī's statements.

Chapter Twenty Eight: Legal decisions on the use of public baths

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked on action to be taken against the bath owners when women who were not sick or had not given birth had entered their baths. He replied that in this matter, the bath-owner had to

\[141\] This is omitted by the first version. The text (first). p. 123. The text (second). p. 85.

\[142\] The first version held that he was asked by an unknown person, whereas the second maintained that the question was derived from Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. The text (first). p. 123. The text (second). p. 86.


\[144\] The first version indicated that he was asked by an unknown person, whereas the second held that it was derived from the transmitter, Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. The text (first). p. 123. The text (second). p. 86.
be informed that such an act was not permissible. Thus, the public authorities could then consider appropriate penalties to be inflicted on the bath owners after a warning had been given to them. Similarly, they must ensure that men had covered themselves in the bath. Yaḥyā recorded that the same opinion was given by qādī Ibn Ṭalib and he emphasised that men who do not cover themselves in the baths should be punished and their testimony (shahādah) should not be accepted until they had repented. The qādī also maintained that the bath attendants (mutaqabbil al-ḥammām) should be informed about the matter and would then be liable for punishment if they ignored the rule.\textsuperscript{145}

Chapter Twenty Nine: Legal decision on crying aloud over the death of a relative

Yaḥyā, when was asked by Aḥmad al-Quṣarī\textsuperscript{146} regarding the crying aloud over the death of a relative, replied that loud lamentation over the death of a relative is a disapproved act. The disapproval applies whether it was accompanied by the mourners (nawwāḥ) or not. However, it is allowed to weep quietly, because ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb did not


\textsuperscript{146}This is the reading of the second version. However, the first version omits this and indicated that Yaḥyā was asked by an unknown person. The text (first). p. 124. The text (second). p. 89.
disapprove of women who were weeping over the death of Khālid ibn al-Walid\textsuperscript{147}.

Chapter Thirty: A legal decision on women visiting graves

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked\textsuperscript{148} about women who visited the graves of their relatives every Friday and lamented over their death. Yaḥyā replied that there were no grounds for them to visit the graves and ask for God’s mercy upon their deceased relatives\textsuperscript{149}.

Chapter Thirty One: A legal decision on women who were wearing shoes that make noises

Aḥmad al-Quṣarī asked Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar\textsuperscript{150} about the shoemakers who were making shoes for women that produced noises which would attract men. Yaḥyā replied that the shoemakers must be prohibited from making such kind of shoes and if a warning had been given and he did not

\textsuperscript{147} The text (first). pp. 124-5. The text (second). pp. 89-91.

\textsuperscript{148} The second version held that he was asked by the transmitter, Aḥmad al-Quṣarī, whereas the first version indicated that it was derived from an unknown person. The text (first). p. 125. The text (second). p. 91.

\textsuperscript{149} The text (first). p. 125. The text (second). pp. 91-2.

\textsuperscript{150} This is the reading of the second version. However, the first omits this and holds that he was asked by an unknown person. The text (first). p. 126. The text (second). p. 93.
abstain from it than he was liable for a punishment. Similarly, the women must be prohibited from wearing them.\textsuperscript{151}

Chapter Thirty Two: A legal decision on the act of spilling water in front the house and the shops and the responsibility of cleaning the market place

Yaḥyā reported that Ibn al-Qāsim was asked\textsuperscript{152} about a vendor who sprinkled water in front of his shop where a person or an animal might fall and hurt themselves. Ibn al-Qāsim replied that if it was a small quantity of water, no legal action could be taken against him, but if it was a lot he thought that the vendor might be liable to pay for compensation.\textsuperscript{153}

Yaḥyā was asked by someone whether the vendors were responsible for cleaning the mud caused by rains that has accumulated in the market area. Yaḥyā replied that he did not think so because that was not their


\textsuperscript{152} According to the text of the second version, Yaḥyā had related the statement of Ibn al-Qāsim from Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Rajā\textsuperscript{3} from Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd from Aḥmad ibn Akhī Abī Zayd from Abū Zayd ibn Abī al-Ghamar. However, this method of \textit{isnād} is not found in the text of the first version. The text (first). p. 126. The text (second). p. 94.

\textsuperscript{153} The text (first). p. 126. The text (second). pp. 94-5.
responsibility. However, if the vendors were the persons responsible for accumulation of dirt in the market area, they should clean it up. 

Chapter Thirty Three: Legal decisions on a door of a house in a narrow lane and on the liability of the person who dug a pit

Yaḥyā, when asked by Aḥmad al-Quṣari, maintained that it was not permissible to make a door to a house which is situated in a narrow lane (zuqāq) and where a neighbour’s house was on the opposite side. However, he is allowed to do so if the lane is wide, as long as it does not cause inconveniences to others. Yaḥyā was asked by someone concerning the case of a person who had dug a pit to bury his stock of crop, but had caused injury to other people’s cattle which had fallen inside it. Yaḥyā replied that the person will not be held responsible for that. However, as for someone who dug a pit to capture a burglar, he is liable when it had injured other persons.

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155 This is the reading found in the second version. However, the first version omits this. The text (first). p. 127. The text (second). p. 98.


157 However, the second version omits this. Ibid.
Chapter Thirty Four: Legal decisions on matters related to the Jews and the Christians

A written petition was made to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar by a market supervisor (ṣāḥib al-sūq) of Qayrawān about the Jews and the Christians who resembled the Muslims in their dressing because they were not wearing riqāʿ and zunnār in order to distinguish themselves. They were also seen to carry with them a wine-press. The petition then asked Yaḥyā what action should be taken against them. Yaḥyā replied to him in writing that he thought that they had be punished and be paraded in front of the Jews and the Christians so that it would deter others from committing such acts. The same was the opinion of qāḍī Ibn Ṭalib.\footnote{According to the second version, the matter was informed by Yaḥyā to Aḥmad al-Quṣarī. However, the first version omits this. The text (first). p. 128. The text (second). p. 96.}

\footnote{A patched clothes. \textit{Lane}. 1:1136-7.}

\footnote{A band or rope worn around the waist. \textit{Lane}. 1:1258.}

\footnote{The text (first). p. 128. The text (second). pp. 96-7.}
Chapter Thirty Five: Legal decisions on sale by a blind person and those suffering from serious illnesses

Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar was asked\(^{162}\) by a market supervisor of Sūsah about the case of a blind man selling oil, vinegar and other goods, whether he should be prevented. Yaḥyā agreed and he maintained the purchaser had to return the goods that he bought from him. However, he is allowed to sell his goods to someone who knows him and that person must not sell them to others\(^{163}\). Yaḥyā was asked by someone about the case of a person suffering from leprosy (judhām) found selling his clothes. Yaḥyā replied that the purchaser has a right to return the clothes if the dirt cannot be washed away and vice versa\(^{164}\).

Chapter Thirty Six: A legal decision on a matter related to people who are suffering from leprosy

Saḥnūn was asked by someone concerning the case of certain people who are suffering from leprosy in a town where it has only one source of water and one place for worship. Saḥnūn replied that they should not be

\(^{162}\)The second version held that the inquiry was made in the presence of the transmitter and he had listened to their conversation. However, the first version omits this. The text (first). p. 129. The text (second). p. 98.


\(^{164}\)However, the second version omits this. Ibid.
forbidden from sitting in the mosque and from praying. However, they should not be allowed to take ablution or wash themselves in running water, but will be helped by another healthy person, where the water will be poured out to them from a container.  

Chapter Thirty Seven: **Legal decisions on measures of capacity and weights**

Yaḥyā reported to Aḥmad al-Quṣarī that al-Ḥārith ibn Miskīn related to him from Ashhab ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Mālik that the vendor should not give deficient measure, as this has been demonstrated by the Qurʾān which reads: "Woe to those who give deficient measure". Regarding the sale by weight for goods like saffron and meat, the pointer (*lisān al-mīzān*) had to be balanced. According to Mālik in order to give full measure the vendor had to fill the measure of capacity with the goods without shaking it and remove what was in excess by using his hand.

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165 This discussion cannot be found in the text of the second version. *The text (first)*. pp. 129-130.

166 This is the reading of the second version, whereas the first version had only indicated that Mālik was asked by an unidentified person. *The text (first)*. p. 130. *The text (second)*. p. 99-100.

167 *Al-Qurʾān.* 83:1.


Chapter Thirty Eight: A legal decision on fixing the price by force

Ibn Wahb related from Mālik when the latter was asked by a market supervisor (ṣāḥib al-sūq) that it is not allowed to fix the price for the vendors by using force. An example of this was a case of a vendor who wanted to sell his goods of a lesser quality with a reduced price, but he was ordered by the market supervisor either to raise the price or leave the market. This, according to Mālik, is not acceptable.170

Chapter Thirty Nine: Legal decisions on the vendors who are cheating and giving short weight

Ibn Ḥabīb related from Ibn al-Mājishūn that it is the duty of the ruler to carry out an inspection of weights and measures of capacity from time to time and advise his subjects to give full measure. The same was the opinion of Mālik.171 As for the punishment of the offenders who had committed the same offence several times, Ibn al-Mājishūn holds that they are liable to be punished by beating, detention and being banned from the market. However, he is against confiscating the offender’s goods and donating them to the poor, except when the value of the goods is nominal.

171 However, the first version omits this section. The text (first). p. 133. The text (second). p. 108.
such as a small quantity of milk and bread. According to Ibn Ḥabīb, the adulterated goods will not be returned to the owner, but be given to a trustworthy person to be sold in the market on his behalf. As for bread, it will be broken up and returned to its owner\textsuperscript{172}.

Chapter Forty: \textbf{A legal decision on fixing the price of food during an inflation}

Yaḥyā ibn ḤUmar reported to Aḥmad al-Quṣarī that he had narrated from al-Walīd ibn Muḥāwiyah from al-Dimyāṭī\textsuperscript{173} that Ibn al-Qāsim was asked about the statement of Mālik who had instructed the vendors to take out their goods and sell them in the market when there was a public demand for them and the price had increased. Ibn al-Qāsim replied that the vendors should be allowed to sell their goods without fixing the price on them. Instead, they should be able to sell them according to their wishes because these are their property. He argued that the matter had been mentioned by Mālik who said that the vendors should be ordered to sell out their stock of goods for that year, except for the food for his own use. Yaḥyā

\textsuperscript{172}The text (first). pp. 133-4. The text (second). pp. 108-111.

\textsuperscript{173}This method of isnād is omitted by the first version. The text (first). p. 134. The text (second). p. 111.
defined the stock mentioned by Mālik as the vendor's annual stock of goods\textsuperscript{174}.

Chapter Forty One: A legal decision on hoarding

Ahmad al-Qusarī claimed he heard Yaḥyā saying that the vendors who were hoarding food and causing the market to be destroyed should be penalised by confiscating their goods and selling them in the market, so that the profit could be donated. A warning will then be given and if they repeat the offence, they will be punished by beating and being paraded in the market\textsuperscript{175}. With regard to the nomadic people who came to sell their goods and were sent to stay in public accommodation, the market supervisor must inform them to sell the goods in the market. According to Yaḥyā, it is not permissible for anyone to replenish his annual stock of grain when the price is high. Yaḥyā was asked by the people of al-Qaṣr that their market was too crowded so that the vendors did not have enough space to sell their goods in the market\textsuperscript{176}. Yaḥyā replied that in a normal situation when the price is not increased a person is allowed to sell his goods at his house as long as it does not destroy the market. However, if the price had


\textsuperscript{175}This section is omitted by the first version. The text (second). p. 113.

increased no one should be permitted to sell their goods except in the market\(^{177}\).

Chapter Forty Two: **Legal decisions on the sale to a stranger**

Yaḥyā reported that Saḥnūn was asked about a stranger who entered the market and bought goods such as oil or wheat but was not informed of their prices, whether the sale was considered as an uncertain transaction (gharar). Saḥnūn replied that the sale of such kind of goods was known to the public. Thus, it is allowed. However, according to Yaḥyā it is unlawful to the vendor to manipulate a stranger who do not know the price of goods\(^{178}\).

Chapter Forty Three: **A legal decision on the sale of food in jars (azyār) and containers**

Saḥnūn was asked about the sale of figs and salted fish (ṣir) in a jar where the purchaser after the contract of sale had been concluded claimed that the lower part of the jar contained a lesser quality of goods, compared to the upper part which was visible to him during the sale. The same was


the case for the sale of grapes, pomegranates and melons in containers and baskets. Saḫnūn replied that in this case the purchaser is regarded as the plaintiff and he is liable to provide proof. However, the vendor has a right to reject this accusation by taking an oath that the quality of goods he sold to the purchaser in the lower part of the container was as good as that of the upper one.\footnote{The whole discussion is omitted by the first version. The text (second). pp. 120-4.}

Chapter Forty Four: \textbf{A legal decision on the sale of clothes infested with lice}

Yaḥyā maintained that the sale of clothes infested with lice is binding if the lice can be detected and removed. However, he held that the purchaser has a right to return the clothes if the lice are too many and cannot be removed because the sale is considered a kind of cheating.\footnote{The whole discussion is omitted by the second version. The text (first). p. 137.}

Chapter Forty Five: \textbf{A legal decision on the sale of ashes used to whiten spun thread}

Yaḥyā was asked about the case of a woman who bought ashes from a vendor to whiten a spun thread and the vendor informed her that it was of good quality. However, when the woman used it, the thread had not
become whitened. He replied that a test should be carried out to determine the quality of the remaining part of the ashes. If the result shows that the thread had become whitened, no legal action can be taken against the vendor. In contrast, the woman will receive her repayment if the test was unsuccessful. However, if all the ashes have been used by the woman, the vendor may take an oath that the ashes he sold were of good quality. Instead, the woman may give evidence against what he had claimed.\textsuperscript{181}

Chapter Forty Six: A legal decision on a matter related to money-changing

According to Mālik\textsuperscript{182} if someone has given a dinār to a money-changer to be changed for dirhams, and the dinār is then stolen, the money-changer is liable for that. The same was the opinion given by Ibn al-Qāsim and Aṣbagh that the money-changer is responsible for the loss because money-changing is considered as a contract of sale and the money had been handed over to the money-changer. The same applies if the money-changer damages the money given to him, and he is liable for the damage, except when the damage was only slight. According to Yaḥyā, someone who intentionally breaks the coin is liable to repair it. However, if a person

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{181}]The text (first). p. 137. The text (second). pp. 124-5.
  \item[\textsuperscript{182}]Both texts indicate that Yaḥyā had referred to the statement of Mālik through "Ubayd ibn Muʿawiyah who narrated it from Aṣbagh ibn al-Faraj from Ibn al-Qāsim. The text (first). p. 138. The text (second). p. 126.
\end{itemize}
wanted to test the genuineness of a dinār by biting it and then damaged the coin, he is not liable for that.\footnote{183}{The text. p. 138. The text (second). pp. 125-8.}

Chapter Forty Seven: \textbf{Matters related to the sale of figs, beans (fūl) and the discussion of wages for the workers}

According to Yaḥyā, if the purchaser who bought beans demanded that the sale include stalks (qaṣab) but the vendor disagreed, the stalks must be given to the purchaser except when the practice of the place is different. In relation to the selling of figs\footnote{184}{The first version held for the first time that inquiry on this matter was made by Ibn Shibli to Yaḥyā. However, the second version maintained that it was derived from Almqad al-Qaṣarī. The text (first). p. 138-9. The text (second). p. 128.}, the purchaser who bought the fruit claimed that the sale also included the leaves. Yaḥyā maintained that this claim was not acceptable.

As for someone who was paid to remove the seeds of cotton, the seeds belong to the owner of the cotton and the worker will only receive his wage. The same rule applies to the grinder who grinds the wheat, that the bran (nukhālah) belongs to the owner of the wheat. Similarly, the remnant used by the tailor from making trousers and shirts, belong to the shirt's owner.
Yaḥyā then maintained that the same rule applied to other works carried out by workers\textsuperscript{185}.

Chapter Forty Eight: **Legal decision on the slaughtering of sheep**

Yaḥyā held that it is unlawful to eat sheep which had been slaughtered without proper conduct when the \textit{jūzah} (thyroid cartilage) remained as part of the animal’s body since it should be separated from it\textsuperscript{186}. Ibn Shībl asked Yaḥyā\textsuperscript{187} what would happen to the slaughterer? He replied that the slaughterer is liable to compensate the owner of the animal with an equivalent sheep. Ḥamdīs al-Qaṭṭān reported that Saḥnūn did not forbid the sale of the hide of an animal slaughtered during the festival of \textit{‘Id al-\textit{Aqhdā}}. Ḥamdīs also held that he was in the company of Saḥnūn since the year 223 A.H. until the latter died\textsuperscript{188}.


\textsuperscript{186}The jurists are unanimous that the correct method of slaughtering is by cutting the animal’s gullet (\textit{julqūm}) for breathing and for taking food. They also agree that the \textit{jūzah} had to be separated from the animal’s body. \\textit{Wahbah}. 3: 656.

\textsuperscript{187}This was the second occasion that the text of the first version had indicated that the question was asked by the transmitter, Ibn Shībl. However, the second version omits this. The text (first). p. 140.

\textsuperscript{188}Based on this information, it can be calculated that he was in the company of Saḥnūn for about 17 years (from 223 to 240 A.H.). This account seems to be more acceptable than what had been suggested by Ibn Faṭḥūn and Makhlūf that he was born in 230 A.H. who in fact, had considered Ḥamdīs as an associate of Saḥnūn. However, the whole discussion in this chapter is omitted by the second version. The text (first). p. 141. Ibn Faṭḥūn, \textit{al-Dibāj}. p. 31. Makhlūf, Ṭabāqāt. p. 71. The above statements were made without making reference to Yaḥyā, and thus it seems that they are added to the text by the transmitter.
Chapter Forty Nine: **Statements on basic house equipment and the wedding outfit (jihāz)**\(^{189}\) for the bride

According to Ibn Ḥabīb the jihāz should be prepared by the father of the bride. For that matter, if the father had made a confession that the jihāz was made on the basis of a loan (ḍariyah) to his daughter, which then was stolen or went missing and there were witnesses that the jihāz had been in her house, the matter can be classified in two situations. If the daughter was a virgin (bikr) before the marriage, she will not be liable for the loss, unless there are evidences to suggest that it was because of her negligence. As for a thayyib, if she knew of her father’s confession and was present on that occasion, she is liable for the loss, and vice versa. Ibn al-Majishūn held that the husband has no right to interfere in this matter if the jihāz which was provided by the bride’s family had been made it on the basis of other than a gift (ghayr ṭiyyah)\(^{190}\).

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\(^{189}\)Jihāz is a basic house’s equipment and it also includes the wedding outfit for a bride. The jurists differed as to whom should be responsible to provide this jihāz. According to the Mālikīs, it was the responsibility of the family of the bride, since the bridegroom had to pay the mahr for the bride. On contrary, the Ḥanafis held that the matter should be provided by the bridegroom. *Wahbah.* 7: 311. See *Lane.* 1: 476. *Hava.* p. 102. *Elias.* p. 127.

\(^{190}\)The whole discussion is omitted by the second version. *The text (first).* pp. 141-2. The above statements were made without referring to Yahya, and thus are believed to be added to the text by the transmitter.
Ibn al-Qāsim maintained that a person accused of the crime of slanderous accusation (qadhf) cannot be punished either by flogging or by imprisonment when the evidence against him was offered by only one witness. Instead, he can be detained for a short period until he confesses so that he can be punished. Thus, Ibn al-Qāsim held that he should be released if he had been detained for a long period of time and he did not make any confession of the slanderous accusation brought against him. Ibn al-Shibl then said that the person accused can be punished if the period of detention had been prolonged and he did not confess. However, he was not sure about the appropriate method of punishment to be inflicted on him. According to Aḥbagh, the person accused can be punished if he is a wicked man and is known for making abusive remarks on others. Therefore, if the person accused is not of that category, he will only be sent to prison until he has made a confession.

191. The whole discussion is omitted by the second version. The text (first). p. 142.

192. The text reads qultu. Thus, this is the third occasion of which the text of the first version had indicated that the statement was made by the transmitter, Ibn al-Shibl. The text (first). p. 142.

193. The whole discussion is omitted by the second version. The text (first). pp. 142-3. The above statements do not refer to Yaḥyā and are believed to be added to the text by the transmitter.
Chapter Fifty One: A statement on things that can be taken by market supervisor (ṣāḥīb al-sūq) from the vendors.

The jurists differed on this matter; some maintained that the market supervisor is prohibited (ḥaram) to receive any goods from the vendors, others said it is disapproved (makrūh) whilst the rest allowed it. However, the most acceptable opinion was that it is prohibited for the market supervisor who was not in need to receive goods from the vendors. Therefore, he is allowed to take them if he is in great need, on condition that he will not be dependant on them. Nevertheless, it is better for him not to do so.\(^\text{194}\)

Chapter Fifty Two: Statements on matters concerning immoral behaviour

A woman known as Ḥakīmah who had committed wrongful act with a man was sent to Saḥnūn, so he punished her by beating and detention. According to another report, her house was marked with a clay at the door. She was beaten with a whip (sawṭ) while sitting on a large basket. With

\(^{194}\text{The whole discussion is omitted by the first version. The text (second). pp. 131-2. It seems that this statement was added to the text by the transmitter.}\)
regard to young offenders, their feet were chained and they were detained at their parent’s house and not in the prison.\footnote{The whole discussion is omitted by the first version. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 133-5. Reference to Yaḥyā is not found, and thus these statements probably are added to the text by the transmitter.}

Chapter Fifty Three: \textbf{Legal decisions on the sale of meat together with hearts and stomach}

Ahmad al-Quṣarī reported\footnote{This is the reading of the second version, whereas the first version omits it. \textit{The text (first)}. p. 143. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 119.} that qāḍī Ibn al-Ṭālib prohibited the sale of meat together with heart, stomach or any other things. Yaḥyā explained that the sale was not allowed because a dirham can buy two \textit{raṭls} weight of meat or six \textit{raṭls} of stomach.\footnote{\textit{The text (first)}. p. 143. \textit{The text (second)}. pp. 119-120.}

The problem of price-fixing

As previously mentioned, the text deals with many issues. However, one of the most important matters that can be found in the text concerns price-fixing (\textit{tasʿīr}). In fact, arguments about price-fixing can be found much earlier than this.\footnote{See the arguments between Mālik and al-Shāfī. Ibn Qayyim, \textit{al-Ṭuruq}. pp. 261-7.} According to the Mālikīs and the Ḥanbalis, price-fixing is permissible and on certain occasions it becomes a compulsory act.
upon the ruler. On the other hand, the Shafiis and the Hanafis are against price-fixing\textsuperscript{199}. The dispute on this matter was, in fact, based on their understanding of the tradition of the Prophet, narrated by Anas ibn Malik, that the price had increased in the time of the Prophet, so people came to see him and said: "O Messenger of God, fix the price for us". The Prophet replied: "O people, when the price is high or low it is by the Will of God and I hope to meet Him when no one will claim injustice against me either for property or blood"\textsuperscript{200}. According to the Shafiis and the Hanafis the Prophet had refused to fix the price because it would have been unjust to the vendors. However, the Malikis and the Hanbalis argue that the tradition only applies to a specific situation. They maintain that the tradition did not mention any injustice committed by the vendors which had inflated the price. Instead, they held that the price increased due to natural causes. Thus, in this situation, the Prophet refused to fix the price for them because it would be unjust to the vendors\textsuperscript{201}. On that basis, in a situation where the price had increased because of an injustice by the vendors, the Malikis and the Hanbalis held that it is permissible to fix the price for them. Nonetheless, such an intervention by the public authorities must be made after a careful examination into each case. Thus, Ibn Ḥabīb maintains


\textsuperscript{201}According to Ibn Taymiyyah, the price rise in the time of the Prophet was due to a shortage of supply and an increase in the demand for the goods. Ibn Taymiyyah, \textit{al-Ḫisbah.} p. 27.
that price-fixing is, in fact, a settlement to an equivalent price (*thaman mithl*). Therefore, when the price has increased and the public has protested against it, a settlement can be achieved through a negotiation initiated by the public authorities. The meeting would attempt to reach a settlement at an agreed price for the parties involved which is known as an equivalent price\(^{202}\). Therefore, it can be concluded that price-fixing is not permissible in a normal situation. It is only applicable when it involves with injustice committed by the vendors. Thus, intervention by the public authorities in this matter must be made on the grounds of public interest\(^{203}\).

However, the question still remains unanswered here because the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar does not deal with the problem of vendors who have increased the price, but with those who reduce it\(^{204}\). According to Ibn Qayyim, in this matter Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī have differed. However, both are referring to the tradition of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who had ordered Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Balṭāḥah to either raise his price or leave the market. Based on this practice of ʿUmar, Mālik maintained that when a vendor has reduced his price and where such an action would destroy the market, will be instructed to raise his price or leave the market\(^{205}\). This is also


explained by Yaḥyā as meaning that variance in prices should be prevented in order to avoid the other vendors who are selling at higher prices feeling so annoyed that they might withhold their goods which would destroy the market²⁰⁶.

Meanwhile, al-Shāfi‘ī refers to an extended version of the tradition of ʿUmar. According to this tradition, ʿUmar met Ḥātib selling raisins in the market and asked him the price he was offering. When ʿUmar was informed about the price, he told Ḥātib either to increase the price or to bring his raisins to his house because a caravan was coming from al-Ṭāʾif with raisins and they might be misled by his price. When they departed and ʿUmar had examined his conscience, so he went to Ḥātib’s house and said to him: “Indeed, what I ordered you was not of my (correct) opinion or my (correct) legal judgement, so, sell your raisins as you like and do whatever you desire”²⁰⁷. On this basis, al-Shāfi‘ī maintained that each individual should be able to conduct his affairs as he wished. Even though a person may be constrained by law to comply with certain rules, this was not such a case in this matter²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁶ The text (second). p. 46. See pp. 88-9 above.

²⁰⁷ Al-Muzanī, Mukhtasar. in al-Shāfi‘ī’s al-Umm. vol. 8, p. 191. Ibn Qayyim, al-_TAGur. p. 263.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.
In the case of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, he is against price-fixing in normal situations. He even disagreed with fixing the price for the vendors who were hoarding goods at a time of scarcity, but instead favoured compelling them to sell the goods in the market. However, Yaḥyā held that it is wrong to leave one particular vendor selling at a cheaper price than the market. Thus, he should be ordered to increase the price by accepting the market price or to leave the market. Yaḥyā argues that such an action is justified for the purpose of maintaining stability in the market. In this connection, price-fixing should be discussed together with the issues of hoarding ( ihtikār) and "monopoly", i.e. where only one particular vendor who was in need of money had been allowed to sell in the market. The fact that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had neglected the issue of price-fixing when the price is increased could be for the reason that his work was a series of questions and answers. Presumably, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar would agree that the same action should be taken against the vendors who had increased the price.

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209 Presumably, this situation is similar to what has been visualised by Ibn ʿQayyim. According to him when the public have established a common price (ṣf r ghālib) and some of the vendors want to sell at a higher or cheaper price, Mālik holds this to be not acceptable and it should be prevented. Ibn ʿQayyim, al-Ṭuruq, p. 261.

210 See pp. 113, 129 above.

211 However, see pp. 130-1.
CHAPTER THREE

The elements of hisbah

3.0. Introduction

Perhaps al-Ghazālī’s treatment of hisbah in his famous Kitāb Iḥyā’ Ulūm al-Dīn, is the most elaborate work on this matter. According to him, there are four basic elements of hisbah; the muḥtasib (person carrying out the duty of hisbah), the muḥtasab ʿalaihi (person being supervised), the muḥtasab fīhi (subject of supervision) and hisbah or ihtisāb which consists of the stages of hisbah’s penalties and the manners of the muḥtasib. Much earlier than him, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar had already discussed similar main elements which have been dealt with in the previous chapter. However, his discussions on this matter are scattered throughout the text. The same was in fact, the case with latter jurists like al-Māwardī and Ibn al-

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1 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā’. vol. 2, pp. 391-455.
2 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā’. p. 397.
3 See pp. 70-5 above.
Farrā', who did discuss the issues, but without providing proper arrangements and giving sufficient information such as can be found in the work of al-Ghazālī. Thus, we find Ibn al-Ukhuwwah has cited most of the discussion found in this section of the work of al-Ghazālī on this matter, even though on many other occasions he had referred to the work of al-Māwardī. On that basis, it seems proper for this study to give much emphasis to the work of al-Ghazālī in order to provide a critical examination on the issue concerned which would be focusing on the following matters:

i) The person carrying out the duty of ḥisbah

ii) The person to be supervised

iii) The subject of supervision

iv) The stages of penalties of ḥisbah and the manners of the muḥṭasib

3.1. The person carrying out the duty of ḥisbah

The first element of ḥisbah is the person carrying out the duty of ḥisbah. Regarding this, the work of Yaḥyā ibn Ẓūmar has indicated that the duties of supervising the market and other related matters which was later known as ḥisbah are the responsibility of the Governor, the qāḍī and the

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market supervisor. This was so because during the time of the author, the institution of hisbah was at a preliminary stage⁶. However, later as was indicated by the work of al-Naṣir li al-Ḥaqq (d. 304 A.H.), the duties had been designated to an official called muḥtasib⁷.

3.1.1. **Qualification of the muḥtasib**

Regarding this matter, little has been discussed by Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. However, he has indicated that the Governor had to appoint the most trusted person in his town to supervise the market⁸. On another occasion, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar maintained that the Governor should entrust a trustworthy person to observe the coinage and protect it from being counterfeit⁹. The matter then has been elaborated by later jurists. According to al-Naṣir li al-Ḥaqq, the muḥtasib should be knowledgeable in law¹⁰. This is because, al-Naṣir considered hisbah as a complete manifestation to the acts of qaḍā¹¹. However, later, it seems the muḥtasib’s legal capability was less demanded. Thus, al-Māwardī states

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⁶See pp. 76-7 above.


¹¹Ibid.
that in order to qualify as a *muḥtasib*, one must be free (*ḥurr*), *ʿadil*,
capable of making an independent judgement, vigorous (*ṣarāmah*),
strenuous (*khushūnah*) in religious matters and knowing what are regarded
as obvious wrongful acts. With regard to the last condition, al-Māwārī
talks about how the Shāfiʿī jurists are in disagreement on whether a *muḥtasib*
has the right to enforce his view in cases where legal opinion is not unanimous.
Abū Saʿīd al-Īṣākhri for one is in favour of allowing the *muḥtasib* to enforce his own view (*raʾy*).
Therefore, in this situation the *muḥtasib* must be knowledgeable in law and
competent to decide on matters where the jurists are not unanimous. In
other words, he must be a legist (*min ahl al-ijtihād*), whereas others who
are against this, argue that the *muḥtasib* must not impose his own opinion
or that of his school of law on others, for all qualified men are at liberty to
come to their own decisions concerning these cases. On this basis, the

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12 A person who does not neglect the religious obligations and abstains from unlawful
activities and has not committed any of the grave sins (*kābāʾir*) or continuously committed
venial sins (*qāghārāʾ*). See Wahbah 8:232. Therefore, it excludes the sinner (*fāsiq*). However,
al-Ghazālī is in favour of allowing sinners to carry out the duty of *ḥisbah*, with limitation that
they may not admonish others for he argues that their action is useless. See the following

13 The same is the opinion of Ibn al-Farrāʾ, except for the first condition where according
to him the *muḥtasib* must have sufficient experience (*khabīr*) instead of being free (*ḥurr*).
However, Ibn al-Farrāʾ does not specifically mention that a slave is qualified to be a *muḥtasib*.

14 A Shāfiʿī jurist who was a *muḥtasib* of Baghdād under the Caliph Muqtaṣār (d. 320/932).
muhtasib’s legal ability is therefore, insignificant. All he needs to know are wrongful acts that the jurists have agreed upon\(^\text{15}\).

The same is the opinion of Ibn al-Farrā\(^\text{1}\). However, he does not mention the two opinions of the Shāfi‘īs, but he holds that the muhtasib may be required to be a legis so that he could decide on doubtful cases, and where he is not, he is only required to be acquainted with obvious wrongful acts agreed upon by the jurists\(^\text{16}\). A similar view is given by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. However, he discusses the case as to whether the muhtasib is capable of making personal reasoning (ijtihād) on matters involving revealed law or only in those involving the customary law (‘urf). According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, there are two opinions. The first is Abū Sa‘īd al-Iṣṭakhrī, who holds that the muhtasib is capable of ijtihād in both cases and he may impose his legal opinion on others. On the other hand, the second opinion allows the muhtasib to decide on cases involving the customary law only\(^\text{17}\).

Meanwhile, according to al-Ghazālī in order to qualify as a muhtasib, the person must satisfy three conditions that he must be a mukallaf\(^\text{18}\), a

\(^{15}\) Al-Mawārid, Akhkām. p. 241.

\(^{16}\) Ibn al-Farrā\(^\text{1}\), Akhkām. p. 269.

\(^{17}\) Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma‘ālim. pp. 8-9.

\(^{18}\) Mukallaf: a person who is obligated to observe the precepts of the religion, from which children and insane persons are excluded. Wahbah 7:364.
Muslim and have the capability of carrying out the duty of ḥisbah. This, therefore, includes sinners (fāsiq), slaves (raqqāq) and women. As for the first condition, i.e. being a mukallaf, al-Ghazālī holds that it does not mean that a person who is not one, is not allowed to carry out the duty of ḥisbah, it merely means that he does not qualify to be a muḥtasib. Therefore, a child who is rational and about to reach the age of puberty - though he is under no legal compulsion - may carry out the duty of ḥisbah, that is, he is to be allowed to spill wine or break forbidden musical instruments. However, his action is not considered as an authority (wilāyah) but as a voluntary act (qurbah) as in the case of him performing the rituals, such as praying. The same is the opinion of Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. It should be noted here that children below the age of puberty are under no compulsion to practice the rituals but they are encouraged to do so where their good deeds are considered as a voluntary act (qurbah) and will be rewarded accordingly.

It should be noted here that al-Ghazālī’s treatment on this matter, was in fact dealing with two different kinds of person carrying out the duty

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19 Further detail on this matter will be given in a later discussion. See pp. 159-162 below.

20 Al-Ghazālī, Ihya', p. 398.

21 Al-Ghazālī, Ihya', p. 398.

22 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma’alim. p. 8.

23 Wahbah. 4:754.
of hisbah: the official muftasib and the ordinary Muslim performing the duty. This is so because earlier than this, al-Ghazālī has indicated that the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil - which he regards as a comprehensive expression to the term hisbah\textsuperscript{24} - is a collective duty (farḍ kifāyah) on every Muslim\textsuperscript{25}. It would appear that insofar as there is a muftasib, he would have the individual duty (farḍ ʿayn) to carry out the obligation. Thus, al-Mawardī and Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1} in discussing the duty of the muftasib to carry this out make it farḍ ʿayn for him and farḍ kifāyah for other Muslims\textsuperscript{26}. It is probable that al-Ghazālī would have agreed with them in making this obligation farḍ ʿayn for the muftasib. However, on many occasions, al-Ghazālī seems to be giving a similar identity to these two kinds of person. In fact, the matter has been dealt with by al-Mawardī and Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1} and was then referred to by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. According to them there are nine differences between the official muftasib and the ordinary Muslim carrying out the duty\textsuperscript{27}:

a) It is the personal duty (farḍ ʿayn) of the muftasib, whereas others are only collectively bound (farḍ kifāyah).

\textsuperscript{24} It is therefore can be concluded that whenever al-Ghazālī mentions the word hisbah, he is referring to the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding evil. Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Ihya'}. p. 398.

\textsuperscript{25} Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Ihya'}. p. 391.

\textsuperscript{26} Al-Mawardī, \textit{Aḥkām} p. 240. Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 268.

b) The *muḥtasib*’s action is obligatory by virtue of his appointment and therefore, must not be neglected, whilst it is a recommended act for a person acting voluntarily, which might be carried out by others.

c) The *muḥtasib* is subject to complaints about the wrongful acts that he is liable to act upon, whereas a person acting voluntarily is not. [Al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā’] then explain that the *muḥtasib* is capable of hearing complaints involving the right of men in three cases: in short weights and measures, fraud in sale transactions and non-payment of debt.28.

d) The *muḥtasib* is liable to respond to such complaints, but others are not. [If the case is within his jurisdiction, i.e. the three cases mentioned in the previous note, the *muḥtasib* is able to compel the defendant to discharge his liability once admitted. It could be assumed that if the matter is not within his jurisdiction, the *muḥtasib* would bring the case to the attention of higher authority, such as the *qāḍī* or the official concerned. Thus, we find that in the matters were concerning funds needed to repair public buildings and a city wall, the *muḥtasib* may refer the case to the treasury.

Similarly, if the case involves a legal decision, he has to refer it to the qādir\textsuperscript{29}.

e) The muḥtasib must carry out an investigation of an obvious wrongful act, so that he will be able to denounce it. Similarly, he has to examine the reason for someone neglecting the performance of good deeds, so that he will be able to enjoin him. As for the person acting voluntarily, he may not carry out any investigations or examinations on these matters.

f) The muḥtasib may appoint assistants to assist him in carrying out the duty of ḥisbah, whereas others may not do so.

g) The muḥtasib may resort to discretionary punishment (taʿzīr), in cases involving obvious wrongful acts, without extending to those of the revealed punishments (ḥudūd). As for someone acting voluntarily, he may neither impose the discretionary punishment nor the revealed punishment. [However, al-Ghazālī goes further declaring that the public may convey the truth and give proper advice, as in the case of a child exercising ḥisbah towards his father and the

\textsuperscript{29} Al-Māwardī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā. loc.cit.
public towards the rulers. The same is the opinion of his teacher al-
Juwaynî\(^{30}\).

h) The \textit{muḥtasib} is entitled to a salary from the treasury (\textit{bayt al-
māl}), whereas a voluntary person is not.

i) Finally, in matters related to the customary practices (\textit{ṣurf}), the
\textit{muḥtasib} may impose his own personal judgement (\textit{ijtihād}), such as
the removal of extension (\textit{ajniḥah}) from one’s shop. [In a similar way,
Yahyā ibn ʿUmar states that in the case of a house situated in a
narrow lane, the owner should not be allowed to create a door or an
entrance to his home which would cause inconvenience to the
passers-by]\(^{31}\). However, the \textit{muḥtasib} is not capable of making legal
decision involving the revealed law. As for the person acting
voluntarily, he cannot impose his opinion in either case\(^{32}\).

Above are the differences between the \textit{muḥtasib} who is regarded as
an authority on ʿ\textit{ḥisbah} (\textit{wālī al-ḥisbah}) and a person acting voluntarily,
even though both are permitted to carry out the duty. However, al-Ghazālī
goes further to explain that such actions by the public are considered as


\(^{31}\) Yahyā ibn ʿUmar, \textit{The text (first)}. p. 127. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 98.

\(^{32}\) Al-Māwardi, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 242. However, see pp. 147-8 above.
qurbah (voluntary act), which includes the case of a child carrying out the duty of ḥisbah towards his father. On another occasion, al-Māwardī referred to the muḥtasib as nāẓir ṣalā al-ḥisbah. In fact, as mentioned earlier, a similar term was used by Yahyā ibn ʿUmar in explaining the person responsible to supervise the market and other related matters. According to him, the person responsible was known as nāẓir ṣalā al-sūq.

3.1.1.1. A sinner (fāsiq) carrying out the duty of ḥisbah

It seems that al-Ghazālī’s view of allowing a sinner (fāsiq) to carry out the duty of ḥisbah does not agree with the other jurists. Al-Māwardī and al-Farraḥ clearly state that the muḥtasib must be trustworthy (ṣādil). The authors of ḥisbah manuals such as al-Saqatī who in agreeing with the jurists emphasises that the muḥtasib must be well known for his trustworthiness (maʿlūm al-ṣādil). Al-Saqatī maintained that the official must be an expert in religion (faqih fī al-dīn), commandant of justice, having an honourable character, ambitious, well-known for his

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34 See p. 71 above.
trustworthiness (ma'ālūm al-ṣadālah), great patience, mild-tempered, cautiousness and understanding. Although Ibn al-Ukhuwwah states that a sinner may qualify, he has also clearly mentioned that the muḥtasib must be trustworthy (ṣādiq). In matters relating to the qualification of the muḥtasib, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah seems to follow the pattern of al-Ghazālī. This seems to be the case, particularly the wording and the arguments put forward, especially in the case of permitting children to carry out the duty of ḥisbah, but obvious disagreements can also be found for according to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah the official must be trustworthy (ṣādiq) and a free man. However, those who disapprove of a sinner exercising the duty of ḥisbah do not explain the reason for their disapproval. On the other hand al-Ghazālī explains the reason behind his view and suggests the reasons of those who disagree with him.

According to al-Ghazālī, those who (without mentioning their names) disapprove of allowing a sinner to carry out the duty of ḥisbah, perhaps based their arguments on Quranic injunctions and Prophetic traditions in condemning the person who asks others to do good deeds but forgets himself. They might also have based their view on an analogy (qiyās)

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37 Al-Saqaṭī, al-Ḥisbah. p. 5.
39 Al-Ghazālī, Ḥiyā. p. 399.
40 Al-Qur'ān. 2:44, 40:35 and 61:3.
based on doubting that someone is not capable of doing justice himself while being able to do so with regard to others\textsuperscript{41}.

Although al-Shayzarī does not mention that he disapproves of accepting a sinner as a \textit{muḥtasib}, he uses the arguments mentioned by al-Ghazālī where the \textit{Qur'ān} condemns those who ask others to do the right things but forget themselves. Al-Shayzarī maintains that the \textit{muḥtasib} must practice according to his knowledge and that his action must not contradict what he preaches. He then refers to the above Quranic injunctions\textsuperscript{42}.

Al-Ghazālī claims that his point of view is based on what has been legally accepted. According to him, it is against the consensus (\textit{ijmā'\textsuperscript{c}}) to exclude sinners from carrying out the duty of \textit{ḥisbah}, because since the time of the Prophet they have fought against the infidels and nobody disapproved of them taking part in these battles. Therefore, since they were allowed to take part in these battles against the infidels, they must also be accepted to carry out the duty of \textit{ḥisbah}. In this matter al-Ghazālī has referred to the sinner as a man who wears silk clothes and drinks wine\textsuperscript{43}. However, in relation to giving admonition (\textit{waḍū'}), the sinner is excluded. In this


\textsuperscript{42}Al-Shayzarī, \textit{Nihāyah}. pp. 6-7. See \textit{Al-Qur'ān}. 2:44, 40:35 and 61:3.

\textsuperscript{43}Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Iḥyā '}. p. 399.
situation, he argues that only a trustworthy (‘ādil) muḥtasib is allowed to admonish the wrongdoer⁴⁴.

Regarding the Quranic injunctions, according to al-Ghazālī, in the first verse the condemnation was because they have abandoned the duty of performing good deeds (maʿrūf), not because they have invited other to do so⁴⁵. The second verse is referring to those who do not keep their promise⁴⁶. While the other verse is condemning them because they have forgotten themselves, and not because they have invited others to do good deeds (maʿrūf)⁴⁷. It seems probable that al-Ghazālī’s treatment on this matter is in fact, dealing with ordinary Muslim carrying out the duty of ḥisbah. Thus, presumably, he would agree in making the appointed muḥtasib an ‘ādil person.

3.1.1.2. Ordinary people carrying out the duty of ḥisbah

Al-Ghazālī then discusses the situation whereby in order for a person to carry out the duty of ḥisbah, he must first have the permission of the Caliph (Imām) or the Governor (wālī). Al-Ghazālī does not describe to whom

⁴⁴Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā‘. p. 401.
⁴⁵Al-Qurʾān. 2:44.
⁴⁶Al-Qurʾān. 40:35.
⁴⁷Al-Qurʾān. 61:3.
this opinion belongs, but merely said "people" (qaum). However, he then mentioned the opinion of the Rawâfiḍ who disallowed the function of ḥisbah be carried out unless the "true Caliph" (Imām al-ḥaqq) has appeared and sanctioned it. The condition of having the permission of the Caliph or the Governor, therefore excluded ordinary people from the duty. However, according to him this condition is not valid since the Qur'ān and the traditions imposed the obligation of carrying out the duty of ḥisbah in general term (ṭāmm) - that someone who has witnessed a wrongful act but kept silent, has committed a sin. Thus, to limit (takhsīṣ) this obligation to those permitted by the Caliph has no legal grounds. It is clear that in this matter al-Ghazzālī is dealing with ordinary Muslims carrying out the duty of ḥisbah and not the appointed muhtasib.

Al-Ghazzālī goes on to discuss whether it is possible for a child to carry out the duty of ḥisbah to his father, a slave to his guardian, a wife to her husband, a student to his teacher and the public to their authority. On these matters, al-Ghazzālī agrees that they have a right to do so, but are restricted to informing the truth and to giving proper advice. In certain circumstances, they may, if necessary, take immediate action, as for example a child might break his father's musical instrument and return stolen money. These actions are permissible as long as they do not irritate

48Al-Ghazzālī, Ḥiyā', p. 402.
49Al-Ghazzālī, Ḥiyā', p. 402.
his father or cause him to suffer loss of money. However, it seems such actions need to be justified by legal reasoning which is not applicable to a child. Thus, we find al-Ghazâlî then continues to refer to the statement of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî (d. 110)\(^{50}\), who when asked about a child exercising this duty towards his father, said that the child may apply this duty by giving admonition as long as this will not irritate his father and if it does the child should stop\(^{51}\).

3.1.1.3. **Capability of carrying out the duty of hisbah**

A person must have the capability of carrying out the duty of *hisbah* before he can be qualified to be a muḥtasib. Based on this qualification, a weak person is excluded from this obligation, but he must perform *hisbah* in his heart. It should be noted that in this discussion al-Ghazâlî is relating *hisbah* directly to *amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*. According to al-Ghazâlî, mere weakness does not simply remove this obligation and rather the actual weakness should be determined. What he means by actual

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\(^{50}\) Al-Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî was born in Medina in 21/642. He grew up in Wâdî al-Qurâ and one year after the Battle of Siffin he went to Baṣrah. He is regarded as one of the most prominent early Muslims in the first century of the Hijrah. When other men, who were held in great esteem, such as Ibn Sirîn (d. 110 *EI(1)* 3:947-8) and al-Shâfîî (d. 110 most probably, *First EI*. 7:242-3), were being questioned on Yazîd’s succession, but did not dare give their opinion, Ḥasan frankly expressed his disapproval. It is also said that when he died on 1st of Rajab of 110/10 October 728, the whole city of Baṣrah attended his obsequies. Ibn al-Nadîm, *al-Fihrîst*. p. 202. H.Ritter, *EI(1)*. 3:247-8. *First EI*. 3:273. See Schacht, *Origin*. p. 87. Makdisi, *Rise* p. 162.

weakness is on occasions when a speech against a wrongful act becomes useless and in turn causes harm to the speaker. These two elements (useless and harmful) are further developed by al-Ghazālī, whereby according to him they can be divided into four circumstances which entail different legal actions:

a) His reaction towards the wrongful acts is useless and will invite danger to himself such as being hit. In this situation he is not required (wājib) to carry out the duty of ḥisbah, in fact in some circumstances he may even be prohibited (ḥarām). He should not be present at the place where the wrongful act is being committed and should stay at home. If possible, he should be thinking of migrating.

b) In the situation which is in contrast with the one mentioned above, he is categorised as having the capability of carrying out the duty of ḥisbah and therefore, he is required to do so.

c) He knows that his action is useless but he can cope with the possible danger. In this situation he is not required to carry out the duty of ḥisbah since his action is useless.

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d) In contrast to the third situation, where he knows that his action will create danger but he is able to stop the wrongful acts, for example to destroy a musical instrument and to spill wine. In this situation he is neither required to nor forbidden to carry out the duty. Indeed, it is a preferred action (*mustahabb*).

According to al-Ghazālī, his opinion is based on the Prophet's tradition concerning the honour of telling the truth to a tyrant Caliph\(^{53}\). However, this preference is subject to certain occasions and circumstances. According to al-Ghazālī, if he knows that it will put him in obvious danger and will create another wrongful act (*munkar*), he is prohibited (*ḥarām*) from carrying out this duty. An example of this is, if he is to forbid an armed transgressor who is carrying a cup (*qadāḥ*) containing wine, when he knows that the man will drink it and strike him if he tries to forbid him. This action according to al-Ghazālī, is like a blind person fighting in a war, where he already knows that he will be killed. Another example is when he spills heavy drinkers' wine knowing that they or their children will still be drinking it. In this situation his action is useless and will not prevent the wrongful act due to their addiction. However, if the *muḥtasib* knows that his action will frighten the wrongdoers, or will put a stop to their wrongful

\(^{53}\)Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā‘*. p. 408.
acts or will strengthen and raise the spirit of the Muslims, then he may or ought to do so⁵⁴.

With regard to the fourth situation, a person must be certain (yaqīn) of his knowledge and he cannot rely on probability (zann). Therefore, if he strongly believes that a danger will befall him and that his action will become useless, then he is not required to carry out the duty of hisbah, but if he has any doubt as to the outcome, then he is required to do so⁵⁵.

3.2. The person to be supervised (muhtasab ʿalaihi)

The second element of hisbah is the person to be supervised. According to al-Ghazālī, the only requirement needed to make someone required to be supervised is that the wrongful act is committed by that person. It is sufficient that the person is a human being and he does not require him to be a mukallaf. For that matter, wrongful acts committed by children must be corrected and they must be prevented from drinking wine, even though such an act is not considered as a sin (maʿṣīyah) with regard to them. In fact, the matter has been dealt with by the work of Yaḥyā ibn

⁵⁴Ibid.
⁵⁵Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyāʾ. p. 409.
'Umar that for as young offenders, they will be detained under the custody of their parent and will not be sent to prison\textsuperscript{56}.

According to al-Ghazālī, the person to be supervised is also not required to be mentally sound. Thus, wrongful acts committed by an insane person such as committing an adultery with a woman or a bestiality with an animal must be corrected. However, an insane person who has abandoned the daily prayer and fasting must not be denounced, because such omissions are not considered as wrongful acts\textsuperscript{57}. Presumably, this is because in the former situation, the matter had caused harm or injury to another living creature, whereas in the second case the wrongful acts did not involve others but the offender only.

Even though al-Ghazālī does not mention wrongful acts committed by a person acting involuntarily (ikrāh), perhaps he would agree that such an act has to be supervised by the muḥtasib. It is legally accepted that an involuntary act is one of three elements that is to be excluded from the punishment, the other two being actions committed by non-mukallafs and actions coming from an insane person\textsuperscript{58}. The fact that al-Ghazālī

\textsuperscript{56}Yahyā ibn 'Umar, \textit{The text (second)}. p. 135. See pp. 74, 138-9 above and p. 182 below.

\textsuperscript{57}Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Ihya'}. p. 418.

maintains that wrongful acts committed by the latter (non-mukallaf and an insane person) have to be corrected by the muhtasib, however, makes it seem justifiable to include wrongful acts committed involuntarily. Perhaps, this would also include wrongful acts committed by mistake (khaṭa‘) and in forgetfulness (nisyān). It seems probable that in the case of involuntarily act, the muhtasib has to forbid such an act and should then denounce the person who has imposed the duress. As for wrongful acts committed by mistake and in forgetfulness, the actions to be taken by the muhtasib are by informing the truth and giving advice which will be discussed in the fourth element of hisbah. This is a matter which is not far from what has been described in the tradition, when the Prophet said: "Help your fellow man who has been oppressed (maẓlūm) and the oppresser (zālim)."

Al-Ghazālī disagrees with the claim which would apply the duty of hisbah toward animals on the grounds that they must be punished for destroying human crops. He holds the claim as not valid because the function of hisbah is considered to be a prevention of wrongful acts involving the rights of God (ḥuqāq Allāh)⁵⁹. Al-Ghazālī argues that in the case of a man who destroys other people’s property, he should be forbidden from committing such an act for two reasons: Firstly, it is a sin for it involves the rights of God; and secondly, it involves the rights of men

⁵⁹Al-Ghazālī. Ḥiyāṭ. p. 418.
(ḫuqūq al-ʾibād) for the property does not belong to him. In the case where a man has injured another man with the latter’s consent, he is guilty only because it involves the rights of God. As for the case of an animal which destroys people’s property, it is wrong only because it involves the rights of men. Although, animals should be prevented from committing such an act, they must not be punished for their actions. In order to support his argument, al-Ghazālī maintains that in the case of an animal found eating carrion or drinking wine, it should not be prevented and it is even permitted to feed a dog trained for hunting on carrion. Also, al-Ghazālī argues that the function of ḥisbah involves the act of purifying the wrongdoer, which therefore is not applicable to animals.\(^{60}\)

3.3. **Subject of supervision (muḥtasab fīḥi)**

The third element of ḥisbah is the subject of supervision. Al-Ghazālī defines this as a wrongful act (munkar) which is obvious to the muḥtasib without spying (tajassus) and is commonly known without the need of personal reasoning (ijtihād)\(^{61}\). Therefore, it must conform to four conditions:

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\(^{60}\)Ibid.

a) It must be a wrongful act (munkar) which the public is prohibited by law from committing. Al-Ghazālī disagrees with restricting it to sinful acts, because according to him a wrongful act is more general. On that basis, the muhtasib is therefore, obliged to respond towards a child or an insane person who have been drinking, by spilling the wine and forbidding them from drinking wine. Similarly, if he finds an insane person committing adultery with a woman or an animal, he has to forbid him although these acts are not considered as sins. This condition covers both grave (kabā‘ir) and venial sins (ṣagḥā‘ir). Therefore, it includes the case of a man being alone with a woman who is not related to him (ajnabiyyah)⁶².

b) The wrongful act is continuing. However, precautions (iḥtirāz) must be taken against those who have finished drinking, for they might do it again. In a situation where, there is circumstantial evidence (qarinah) showing that the person is determined to drink wine later on, the only method of hisbah applicable is by giving admonition. However, in the latter situation, the ordinary Muslim is excluded from doing this⁶³.

⁶²Ibid.
⁶³Ibid.
c) The wrongful act should be obvious to the muḥtasib without the need of spying (tajassus). Thus, the muḥtasib is not permitted to spy on hidden sins as this is forbidden by a Quranic injunction. Al-Ghazālī then explains in further details the difference between obvious and hidden sins, for the muḥtasib is regarded as required to act in the former but not on the latter. According to al-Ghazālī, if someone commits a wrongful act in his house behind locked doors, the muḥtasib may not enter the house without the owner’s permission. However, when circumstantial evidence makes what is hidden obvious, the muḥtasib should carry out his duty. The evidence can be determined by three means; voices, smell and shape. As for example when the muḥtasib is able to hear reprehensible voices or to smell wine or to recognize the shape of a lute, he is then required to carry out the duty of ḥisbah by denouncing these wrongful acts.

d) The wrongful act should be commonly known and not require personal reasoning (ijtihād). Thus, the muḥtasib has no responsibility to act upon a matter which is subject to personal reasoning (ijtihād). For that matter, according to al-Ghazālī, a Ḥanafi

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64 Al-Qur’ān. 49:12.
65 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā‘. pp. 414-5.
66 However, see below pp. 209-211.
cannot denounce a Shafi'i eating a desert lizard (dabb) or meat over which God's name has not been proclaimed at slaughter. Likewise, a Shafi'i cannot denounce the practice of the Hanafi which gives the right to the relative on the maternal side (dhawā al-arḥām) to inherit, or of drinking nabīḍh which is not intoxicant, or dwelling in a house acquired by right of pre-emption (shufaḥ) as a neighbour.67

However, hisbah can be exercised within the same school of law. For example, a Shafi'i can denounce another Shafi'i marrying without a legal guardian (wali). Hisbah can also be carried out against a person of another school of law when his practice contradicts his school's teaching. Based on that, a Hanafi can denounce a Shafi'i marrying without a legal guardian. In this case the Hanafi may say to the Shafi'i that his action could be right, but it is wrong in his situation, because it contradicts his belief since he believes that his school of law is the most correct.68 Likewise, a Shafi'i can denounce a Hanafi who is joining him in eating a desert lizard (dabb) or meat over which God's name has not been proclaimed at slaughter. In this case the Shafi'i may say to the Hanafi; "Either you decide that the Shafi' school of law is the best to be followed so that you may eat it, or you have to leave it for it is against your opinion (mu'taqad)."69


68 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā', p. 416.

69 Al-Ghazālī. Ibid.
Despite of the conditions described above by al-Ghazālī, in fact, the subjects of supervision of ḥisbah cover almost all aspects of daily life. This is evident in the other ḥisbah works. As found in the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, the subjects of supervision include not only matters involving the market which cover all kind of economic activities, but also those relating to moral and religious behaviour, as well as health and the basic administration of the city. Further discussions on this matter are made in a subsequent chapter of this thesis.

3.4. Stages (darajāt) of the penalties of ḥisbah

It should be noted here that al-Ghazālī’s discussion on this matter is made on two separate occasions. First, he holds that the muḥtasib should observe five steps (marātib) of ḥisbah in carrying out his duty. Then, he maintains that there are eights stages (darajāt) of ḥisbah’s penalty. It seems that the other three stages (darajāt) are additions to the former five steps (marātib) of ḥisbah which he had discussed earlier. In this way, we

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70 See pp. 72-6 above.
71 See pp. 189-190 below.
72 Al-Ghazālī, Ḥiyā', pp. 402-3.
73 Al-Ghazālī, Ḥiyā', pp. 420-5.
find Ibn al-Ukhuwwah had referred to the five stages of *hisbah*\(^74\). However, we will discuss here the eight stages of *hisbah*.

a) The first stage is making an inquiry (*ta'arruf*), i.e. to carry out an investigation on information received about a wrongful activity. However, spying is not permitted\(^75\). This is achieved by acting upon information given by two just witnesses who have not been informed of that wrongful act previously. In these circumstances, the *muhtasib* can enter someone's house without permission so that he could investigate the wrongful activity. However, if the information was given by only one just witness (*'adl wāḥid*), it is preferable for the *muhtasib* to enter the house with the owner's permission. Al-Ghazālī then refers to a saying, "to conceal what you have seen is better than to reveal what you are suspicious of"\(^76\).

b) The second stage is to give information (*ta'rīf*) about what is right. This is because on some occasions the wrongful act is committed through ignorance and discontinued when the truth is revealed to the culprit\(^77\). An example is when an ordinary person performes prayer


\(^{75}\) Al-Ghazālī, *Ihya*, pp. 414-5. See also p. 80 above and p. 228 below.

\(^{76}\) Al-Ghazālī, *Ihya*, p. 420. See also p. 213 below.

\(^{77}\) Ibid. See p. 108 above.
incorrectly due to ignorance and not disbelief, as otherwise he would not carry out the duty in the first place. In these circumstances, the muḥtasib must inform him of the proper practice by using appropriate words and not condemning him. This is because a person might feel hurt when the truth about his wrongful act is revealed. Al-Ghazālī holds that to reveal the truth is actually revealing to someone his wrongful acts. He then makes a comparison between revealing these wrongful acts and uncovering the part of the body which should be concealed (ʿawrah). He considers that the former involves more severe harm than the latter, for the soul (nafs) is more dignified than the body (badan), therefore to insult the former is worse than the latter\textsuperscript{78}. Therefore, the muḥtasib should use appropriate language, as for example he may say; "Nobody is born perfect with the ability to know the correct way of performing the prayer, including myself. However, a wise person has taught me, so that I am able to know the truth. Therefore, I will do the same to you." According to al-Ghazālī, it is unlawful for a Muslim to annoy other Muslims in forbidding their wrongful actions. Al-Ghazālī argues that it does not make any sense for someone to wash a blood stain with blood or urine\textsuperscript{79}.

\textsuperscript{78}Al-Ghazālī, Ḥiyā\textsuperscript{1}. p. 421.

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid.
c) The third stage is to prohibit (nahy) by giving admonition (waṣf) using proper advice (nuṣḥ) and by frightening (takhwīf) the wrongdoer with God’s punishment. The way of giving admonition and frightening with God’s punishment is by telling stories that consist of warning (waṣfīd) and the achievements of the successors (salaf) and the pious. This third stage applies to those who commit a wrongful act knowing that it is wrong or continuing to do so after having being informed of the truth. However, the muḥtasib should carry out this function with compassion (shafaqah) and politeness (lutf) without harshness (ʿunuf) or anger (ghaadab). In this case, the muḥtasib must view the offender with the eye of respect by sharing the blame for his mistake, as Muslims are regarded as one nation. He must also be aware of his intention to seek God’s pleasure and not act out of hypocrisy (riya'). This is because the muḥtasib who is acting as an informer might intend to show off his knowledge so that he will be admired or to demoralize the offender. In this situation, al-Ghazālī suggests that the muḥtasib should exercise hisbah to himself first by examining his intention, so that it shall be for the purpose of pleasing God and not attaining his own pleasure. In relation to this, the muḥtasib needs to remind himself of what God has said to Jesus that he must admonish himself first,

80 Ibid.
81 Ibid.
then his people, or else he should be ashamed to face Him. Also it was reported that Dawūd al-Ṭā’ī, when asked about someone who visited the rulers to invite them to do good and warn them of their wrongful acts, replied by saying; "He should not fear the rulers' whip (sawt) or their sword, but should fear a hidden disease (dā'if) daifin) which is pride (‘ujub)\textsuperscript{82}.

d) The fourth stage is to insult (sabb) and reprimand (ta'nīf) by using harsh words. Here, al-Ghazālī gives an example from the practice of the Prophet Abraham who condemned his people. The Prophet Abraham said to his people as mentioned in the Qur'an; "Fie upon you and upon the things that you worship beside God. Have you no sense"\textsuperscript{83}. In this respect, the muḥtasib may call the wrongdoer, a sinner (fāsiq), stupid (ahmaq) or ignorant (jāhil). Al-Ghazālī argues that these words refer to the same meaning, that a sinner is also a fool and ignorant. That is because if he is a sinner, he is also a fool, for if he was not, he would not offend against God\textsuperscript{84}. He cannot use obscene language (fuḥš) or what can be interpreted as false accusation (qadhf) or fornication. However, in relation to this, there are two manners to be observed by the muḥtasib. First, he must not

\textsuperscript{82}Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Ihyā'}. p. 422.

\textsuperscript{83}Al-Qur'ān. 21:67.

\textsuperscript{84}Al-Ghazālī. op.cit.
use this stage unless the third stage, i.e. giving admonition and proper advice, has not succeeded. Second, he must not lengthen his speech, but restrict himself to what is relevant. In the event of him knowing that his speech is not capable of deterring the wrongdoer, it is unnecessary for him to speak but to express his anger or to humiliate and show his contempt. If he knows that the man, if addressed, will strike but will not do so if he is treated with stern and disapproving looks, then he must be so treated. It is not sufficient to disapprove mentally but to show his anger and his disapproval. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah seems to follow this procedure of al-Ghazâlî where he quoted the same wording as him. However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah referred to this as the third step (marâtib), not the fourth.85

e) The fifth stage is to take an immediate action (taghyîr bi al-yad), like destroying a forbidden musical instrument, spilling wine, removing silk clothes and forbidding anyone to sit on silk (i.e. a silk cushion), restraining and preventing someone from acquiring other people’s property unlawfully, sending away an unclean person (junub) from the mosque and the like. This fifth stage also include the term tażr fî amwâl (financial penalty) which has been used by

Ibn al-Ukhuwwah\textsuperscript{86}. However, this stage is applicable to specific sins, but not to others. In this respect, wrongful acts in relation to speeches and inner sins (\textit{ma\'ṣiyyat al-qalb}) are excluded. To carry out this action the \textit{muḥtasib} must observe two conditions\textsuperscript{87}:

i) that the wrongdoers are not capable of doing it themselves. Therefore, the \textit{muḥtasib} cannot spill the wine or send away unclean persons if they are able to do it themselves,

ii) that the \textit{muḥtasib} must confine his action to what is necessary and what is regarded as appropriate measures. Therefore, if he is able to remove it by hand, he should not use his leg or the other parts of his body, for it is forbidden to intensify the injury (\textit{ziyādat al-}adhā\textit{ fī hi mustaghnā ānhu}). He should not tear silk clothes or burn the musical instrument, but just break them so that they will become useless. Similarly, in the case of spilling wine, the \textit{muḥtasib} must observe the circumstances, so that he may break the container if it is difficult for him to spill the wine due to the container's small opening or if it will take a long time to do so. However, if the spilling can be easily done without damaging

\textsuperscript{86}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma\'ālim}. pp. 194-5.

\textsuperscript{87}Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Iḥyā'}. p. 423.
the container, the muḥtasib is required for compensation (qamān), if he breaks it. Regarding the case of breaking vessels containing wine or destroying the properties where wine is served, it is the prerogative of the rulers. Thus, the public is excluded, for it involves legal reasoning for which they are not qualified\textsuperscript{88}. The same is mentioned by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah who goes further to explain that it was the former opinion of Shāfiʿī permitting the rulers to impose the fiscal penalty. He then quotes the above passages from al-Ghazālī\textsuperscript{89}.

f) The sixth stage is threatening to inflict punishment (al-taḥdīd wa al-takhwīf), for example by saying to the wrongdoer, "Stop doing this or I will hit you". Manners that have to be observed here are that he should not threaten them with things that are not lawful. Therefore, he cannot threaten to hit their children or to rape their wives, for these actions are prohibited (ḥarām). According to al-Ghazālī, it is permissible for the muḥtasib to threaten the wrongdoer, even though he will not impose his threat (waʿīd), since not carrying out a threat

\textsuperscript{88}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṣālim. op.cit.
(waʿīd) is regarded as noble (karam). In contrast, it is bad for someone to break his promise (waʿād)\textsuperscript{90}.

g) The seventh stage is to inflict punishment (mubāsharat al-ṣarb) with hand, leg or anything without drawing a weapon. This action may be carried out by the public in emergency cases (ṣarūrat) but it is restricted to what is necessary. Thus, he should stop once the wrongful act has been eliminated. The muḥtasib should carry out this function step-by-step (tadrīj) and he should know when it is necessary to use weapons. An example of this is that when he sees a sinner grabbing a woman, he should tell him to leave the woman or he will be beaten. However, the muḥtasib should not have the intention of killing him, but only of hitting him on his thigh or leg. Al-Ghazālī then cites the opinion of the Muʿtazilīs\textsuperscript{91} which says that in matters related to the rights of God, ḥisbah can only be carried out by the Caliph, so that he may use appropriate language or force. According to them only the Caliph (imām) has this authority. In contrast, al-Ghazālī allows the common people to carry

\textsuperscript{90}Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Iḥyāʾ}. p. 424.

\textsuperscript{91}See the struggle between \textit{ahl al-kalām}, the rationalist Muʿtazilīs and \textit{ahl al-ḥadīth}, the traditionists. It should be mentioned here, that the former gained political support especially during the ʿAbbāsid caliphates from the reigns of al-Maʿmūn to al-Mutawakkil (from 198/813-232/847). It was then due to the heroic resistance of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) that the Muʿtazilīs's political strength was eliminated. See Makdisi, \textit{Rise}. p. 7.
out this duty, regardless of whether the case belongs to the human's right or God's right\textsuperscript{92}.

h) Finally, a situation where the \textit{muhtasib} is not able to perform his function on his own and he requires the help of his assistants (\textit{a`wān}). In doing so, the wrongdoers may also gather their aides and as a consequence, a war will break out between the two parties. In these circumstances, according to al-Ghazālī, there are two different points of view on whether the \textit{muhtasib} should obtain the Caliph's approval prior to his action. Those in favour of obtaining the Caliph's approval argue that the action will lead to devastation and destruction in the country, whilst the other party holds it as a holy war (\textit{jihād}) and if the \textit{muhtasib} is killed, he will die as a martyr (\textit{shahīd}). According to al-Ghazālī, this is a rare phenomenon. He concludes that whoever is capable of removing a wrongful act, is required to do so with his hand, or weapon, by himself or with assistants, which ever is appropriate\textsuperscript{93}.

It should be noted here that there are several different punishments which are found in other \textit{hisbah} works but have not been discussed by al-Ghazālī. As indicated by the work of Yahyā ibn Ħ∪mar, these punishments

\textsuperscript{92}Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā', pp. 424-5.

\textsuperscript{93}Al-Ghazālī, Ihyā', p. 425.
include returning defected goods, paying compensation, destroying unlawful things such as musical instruments and pots for making *nabīdūh*, beating, detention, parading in the market, banning from the market, and confiscating the goods. In some cases, Yaḥyā includes the penalty like rejecting a person testimony which is for the offence of men who do not cover themselves in the public baths⁹⁴ and in other occasion he maintains that the vendors who were hoarding during the time of scarcity will be instructed to take out their goods and sell them in the market⁹⁵.

Regarding the penalty of returning the goods it applies to bread insufficient in weight, bitter cucumber, spoiled eggs, mixing meat and clothes infested with lice⁹⁶. As for paying the compensation, it applies to negligence of the miller, mixing the goods, bread unleavened, mixing the milk, mixing oil, missing vendors, damages caused by sprinkling the water, damages caused by digging a pit, money-changing, slaughtering an animal wrongly and loss of wedding outfit and basic house equipment due to negligence⁹⁷. As for destroying unlawful things the penalties apply to the breaking of musical instrument and pots for making *nabīdūh*⁹⁸. Regarding

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⁹⁴See p. 121 above.
⁹⁵See p. 129 above.
⁹⁶See pp. 98, 106, 107, 110 and 132 above.
⁹⁷See pp. 90, 98, 100, 123, 124, 133, 135 and 136 above.
⁹⁸See pp. 118 and 120 above.
beating and detention, the penalties seem to be applied to almost all offences. However, on numerous occasions, Yaḥyā held that a warning must be given to the vendors before such an action can be taken against them.\(^99\) The same is the case for the penalty of parading in the market area. As indicated in the work of Yaḥyā, the penalty of parading in disgrace would be applied for offences like making counterfeit coins\(^100\) and ahl al-dhimmah resembling the Muslim in their attires\(^101\). Although, these two cases are mentioned, it seems probable that it would include other offences. This because the reason for this penalty is to publicise that such a person cannot be trusted and in order to deter others from committing the same offence\(^102\). Although banning from the market, is considered more severe than beating\(^103\), it seems to be one of the most common penalties found in the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. Thus, we find the penalty would be applied to the cases of adulteration of weights and measures\(^104\), price-fixing\(^105\), mixing the goods\(^106\), negligence of the bakers who were

\(^{99}\)See 80, 95, 97, 100, 105, 108, 110, 121 and 122 above.

\(^{100}\)See p. 80 above.

\(^{101}\)See p. 125 above.


\(^{103}\)See pp. 1001 and 110 above.

\(^{104}\)See pp. 80, 83 and 84 above.

\(^{105}\)See pp. 83 and 84 above.

\(^{106}\)See pp. 95 and 100 above.
making bread that contained stones or was insufficient in weight\textsuperscript{107}, mixing of meats\textsuperscript{108}, the sale of defected goods\textsuperscript{109} and giving short weights and measures\textsuperscript{110}. As for confiscating the goods, the penalty applies to a small quantity of oil, milk and bread\textsuperscript{111}. This will be made clear in Table 3.1. below.

Table 3.1. Types penalties according to Yahyā ibn ‘Umar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of penalties</th>
<th>Types of offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Returning the goods</td>
<td>Sale of unripe fruit, unleavened bread, bitter cucumber, spoiled eggs, mixing of new oil with the old of the same quality, mixing the meats, sale by a blind person, sale of clothes by a person suffering from leprosy, damaged food in container, clothes infested with lice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{107}See p. 98 above.

\textsuperscript{108}See pp. 110 and 111 above.

\textsuperscript{109}See p. 108 above.

\textsuperscript{110}See p. 128 above.

\textsuperscript{111}See p. 128 above. This is the opinion of Ibn al-Majishān. See also p. 104 above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of penalties</th>
<th>Types of offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paying the compensation</td>
<td>Negligence of a miller, mixing the goods, unleavened bread, mixing the milk, damages caused by sprinkling of water, damages caused by digging of pit, loss of money during money-changing, slaughtering an animal wrongly and loss of a wedding outfit due to one’s negligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroying the unlawful things</td>
<td>Musical instruments and pots for making a <em>nabīlī</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejecting a person testimony</td>
<td>A man found naked in the public baths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compelling a person to take out his annual stock and sell it in the market</td>
<td>A vendor who was hoarding foodstuff during the time of scarcity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of penalties</td>
<td>Types of offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating</td>
<td>Adulteration of goods, selling unripe fruit, cheating in foodstuff, falsifying the measures, hoarding the foodstuff, immoral behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in detention</td>
<td>Making counterfeit coins, cheating in foodstuff, giving short weights and measures, <em>qadhf</em>, young offender (will be detained under the custody of their parent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parading in the market</td>
<td>Making counterfeit coins, mixing the meats for a second offence, <em>ahl al-dhimmah</em> resembling the Muslims in attires, hoarding the foodstuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of penalties</td>
<td>Types of offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banning from the market</td>
<td>Adulteration of weights and measures, price-fixing, sale of unripe fruit, sale of bread contains stones, mixing the wheat, mixing the meats for a second offence, blowing into carcasses, sale of a shrunken clothes, cheating in weights and measures, mixing the good quality of food with the lesser, mixing the goods, negligence of the bakers who were making bread that contained stones or was insufficient in weight, mixing the meats, the sale of defected goods and giving short weights and measures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of penalties</td>
<td>Types of offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confiscating the goods</td>
<td>Figs rubbed with oil, milk when water was added to it, bread insufficient in weight, sale of unripe fruit, mixing of oil of different quality, missing vendors (sell their goods and the money will be given to the treasury), sale of bread contains stones, Hoarding foodstuff, adulteration of saffron and musk (This is the opinion of Mālik and was adopted by Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. However, Ibn Majishūn held that adulteration of goods of nominal value, such as bread and milk will only be confiscated).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to al-Ghazālī, the manners that had to be observed by the muḥṭasib which he has mentioned in discussing the stages of ḥisbah, originated from the muḥṭasib’s own character, namely; knowledge (ʾilm),
piety (warāʾ) and honourable personality (ḥusn al-khulq). Al-Ghazālī holds that knowledge is important, so that the muḥtasib will be able to know the subject of ḥisbah and its limitation in order to restrict himself to what is lawful according to the revealed law. As for being pious, al-Ghazālī maintains that it aims to prevent the muḥtasib from indulging in matters beyond his power and to eliminate his personal inclination and self-indulgence. However al-Ghazālī argues that having a knowledge and being pious are not sufficient, as these two cannot control his anger and feeling. Thus, it is necessary for him to have an honourable character, so that he will be able to perform the function of ḥisbah with compassion.

Similarly, we find Ibn Taymiyyah holds that the person performing this duty must have three elements: knowledge (ʿilm), gentleness (rifq) and patience (ṣabr). Al-Ghazālī argues that these three characters must exist in a muḥtasib, for the lack of them could turn his performance into a wrongful act (munkar). He then gives examples from the Prophet’s tradition and the practice of his predecessors. Among other things, he cites a case of Ibn cĀʾishah, who saw a drunk young man from Quraysh grabbing a

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112 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyāʾ. p. 425.
113 Ibid.
115 Ibn Taymiyyah, al-Ḥisbah. pp. 84-5. See also transl. p. 88. See also p. 32 above.
116 Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad (d. 228/842-3) was generally known as Ibn cĀʾishah, because he was the son of cĀʾishah, the daughter of Ṭālḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī, one of the Prophet’s principal Companions and who was slain at the Battle of the Camel (36/656). He was a traditionist and a transmitter of historical and literary information.
woman. Upon hearing the cries of the woman, the people gathered around and beat the young man. Then, Ibn ʿAḥishah spoke loudly "Go away and leave my nephew", and said "Bring him to me". He then took the young man to his house and informed him of his wrongful action after he regained his consciousness. The young man felt ashamed of himself and cried. He then promised to Ibn ʿAḥishah that he would not continue in his bad habit. According to al-Ghazālī the young man then became Ibn ʿAḥishah's student and wrote the Prophet's traditions from him.  

It was at Baghdad that he gave lessons. He was a great believer that the Qurʾān was not created for it is said that he was severely flogged by the order of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn. An incident which happened to him whilst undergoing this punishment gave the reprobate poet Abū Nuwās, the idea of composing on his misadventure a piece of verse. He died in 228/842-3. Ibn Khallikān transl. vol iv, p. 258, ft 1. However Ch. Pellat seems to refer to his father, (See Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ al-Taʾmī) who according to al-Isbahānī was the qāḍī of Basrah. Isbahānī, Aghānī, xviii, p. 4. It is also said that his father was a genealogist, collector of traditions and wit of Basrah, who owes his by-name Ibn ʿAḥishah (al-Akbar) to ʿAḥishah bint Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taʾmī, from whom he was descended. Ch. Pellat, EI(I), 3:698. He should also not to be mistaken with another popular Medinan singer of the Umayyad period who was also known as Ibn ʿAḥishah. See Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn ʿAḥishah (d. 100/718). Fuat Sezgin, i, p. 813. Al-Ziriklī, al-ʿAlāʾīm, 7: 48. See also Dr. D. Salloum. Shakhṣiyyāt Kitāb al-Aghānī. Baghdad, 1982 pp. 345-6. Isbahānī, Aghānī, ii, p. 62.

117 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyāʿ, pp. 427-8.
CHAPTER FOUR

The duties of the muftasib

4.0. Introduction

Al-Mawardi and Ibn al-Farra' maintain that the duties of the muftasib consist of two elements: enjoining what is right (al-amr bi al-ma'ruf) and forbidding what is wrong (al-na'ah 'an al-munkar). These two elements are then divided into three categories: matters involving the rights of God (huquq Allâh), matters concerning the rights of men (huquq al-'ibâd) and matters dealing with both rights of God and men. Matters involving the rights of God include three kinds: the acts of worship and prohibited acts. It should be noted here that the rights of God are defined as those matters which aim to increase spiritual consciousness of God's supremacy so that the believer would worship Him and obey and preserve His law. The rights of God also include the performance of certain obligations which are for the benefit of the public, such as the obligation of jihâd. These rights of God cannot be invalidated. On the other hand, according to al-Mawardi

3Wahbah. 4: 13.
and Ibn al-Farra\(^1\) matters concerning the rights of men include the maintenance of public utilities, conduct between neighbours and supervision over the skill of medical practitioners and teachers, the honesty of certain economic occupations and the quality of the work of craftsmen\(^4\). The rights of men are defined as those matters which are for the benefit of mankind, whether they involved the interest of the public or a particular person. These rights can be invalidated\(^5\). Matters that involved both rights of God and men include law of waiting period for a divorcée, law of maintenance involving a reluctant father, maintenance of slaves, care towards animals, foundlings, stray animals and \textit{ahl al-dhimmah}, castration of human beings and animals, dyeing of hair, fortune-telling and the like\(^6\). Ibn al-Ukhuwwah divides the duties of the \textit{muhtasib} in the same way, that is by classifying them into the rights of God, the rights of men and the rights of both of God and men\(^7\). After copying the work of al-Māwardī with some variances and comments, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah then expanded his work by including additional duties which in fact mostly derived from the work of al-Shayzari\(^8\). Meanwhile, al-Ghazālī deals with the matter by discussing various wrongful acts and dividing them according to places such as the


\(^5\)Wahbah. 4: 14.


\(^7\)Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma‘ālim}. pp. 22, 27.

\(^8\)See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 28, 29.
mosque, the market, the street, the public baths, public accommodations and the like\(^9\). However, al-Ghazālī has omitted some of the duties which have been discussed by al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā\(^1\) such as those matters concerning the supervision of medical practitioners and management of the city. In fact, in this way the authors of hisbah literature discuss the duties of the muḥtasib by mentioning various aspects of life without categorizing them. Thus, despite the above classifications made by the medieval Muslim scholars which seem to be rather ambiguous, they would perhaps agree that the duties of the muḥtasib can be divided - in the way which we have discussed in earlier chapters\(^10\) - into four categories: to supervise various kinds of economic activities in the market, to observe matters relating to moral and religious behaviour, to inspect health professions and to administer the municipal control of the city.

4.1. The duty to supervise the market

Market supervision had been the most important duty of the muḥtasib. Thus, almost all hisbah literature covers matters mostly related to economic activities in the market, except for the work Nisāb al-Iḥtisāb of al-Sunāmī which is concerned mainly with wrongful moral and religious

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\(^1\) See previous discussion in Chapter One pp. 75-6 and in Chapter Three p. 168.
behaviours. In this manner, we find the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar and other ḥisbah literature make market supervision the main focus of their attention. Thus, the titles of the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, i.e. Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq and Kitāb al-Nāẓar wa al-Aḥkām fī Jamīʿ Aḥwāl al-Sūq, suggest that the work deals with the duty of market supervision. This role is also considered as the most well-established duty of the muḥtasib. As we have discussed earlier, the institution of muḥtasib was a transformation of the previous office of ʿāmil ʿalā al-sūq and šāḥib al-sūq, whose major duties were concerned with the supervision of the market and this is evident in the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. In the same way, al-Māwardi maintains that the main duty of the muḥtasib (cumdat naẓarihi) is to prevent any deficiency in weights and measures because this has been warned against by God. Similarly, Ibn al-Farraḥ regards the responsibility to control the use of correct weights and measures as a necessary duty of the muḥtasib. In this way it seems that the duty of the muḥtasib to supervise the market involves many aspects but can be classified in three categories: firstly, the muḥtasib has to deal with the problem of price-fixing; secondly, he must control the use of correct weights and measures; and thirdly he has to supervise various kinds of economic occupations so that

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12See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 9-10.
the public will be safeguarded against cheating, adulteration of the goods and negligence of the vendors.

4.1.1. **The duty to supervise the price of the goods**

As we have mentioned in previous discussions, the jurists disagree on this matter, where the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanafīs disallow the practice of fixing prices, while the Mālikīs and the Ḥanbalīs permit it. However, we find that the authors of ḥisbah literature who belong to these schools of law agree in making the muḥtasib liable to supervise the prices of the goods sold in the market.

In this way, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, a Mālikī jurist, holds that it is unjust to allow a vendor to sell his goods cheaper than the market price which will annoy other vendors and cause disturbances and destruction of the market. In this case, Yaḥyā maintains that the vendor should be ordered to increase his price or leave the market. At this stage the matter was the responsibility of ṣāḥib al-sūq, the qāḍī and the Governor. However, later it became the duty of the muḥtasib. In this manner, al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq, a Zaydi Imām of Āmul, holds that price-fixing is not permissible and he

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15 See previous discussions in Chapter Two p. 139.

asserts that the matter is unanimously agreed upon by the jurists of his school of law (\textit{ulamā' ahl al-bayt}). Al-Nāṣir maintains that in relation to this in the situation where the goods are in demand, the \textit{muḥtasib} is liable to ensure that the vendors will not hoard them\textsuperscript{17}. Al-Māwardī who was a Shāfi‘ī jurist seems to agree with the statement of al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq in disallowing the \textit{muḥtasib} to fix the prices of goods sold in the market\textsuperscript{18}. Although al-Sunāmī does not mention price-fixing, perhaps he would agree with the statement of al-Shaybānī that Abū Ḥanīfah and the Ḥanafīs disallow fixing the price\textsuperscript{19}. On the other hands, Ibn Taymiyyah, a Ḥanбалī jurist, argues that the Prophet had refused to fix the price when it was increased because it would be unjust to the vendors. However, in a situation where the price had increased due to injustice of the vendors who refused to sell their goods except by increasing the price and had caused inconveniences to the public when there was a demand for the goods, an equivalent price (\textit{qīmat al-mithl}) will be imposed on them. In this manner, his diciple, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah referred to the opinion of Ibn Ḥabīb, a Mālikī jurist, that a settlement for an equivalent price can be achieved through negotiation between the vendors and the public\textsuperscript{20}.

\textsuperscript{17}Al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq, \textit{Kitāb al-Iḥtisāb}. p. 14.

\textsuperscript{18}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkam}. p. 256.

\textsuperscript{19}See al-Shaybānī’s statement in Mālik ibn Anas, \textit{Muwaṭṭa’} (riw. al-Shaybānī). p. 279.

4.1.2. **The duty to supervise the use of correct weights and measures**

According to Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, an official appointed by the Governor should observe the market and carry out tests to determine the use of correct weights and measures\(^{21}\). Although Yaḥyā does not clearly indicate the title of the official appointed, he held that the matter was the responsibility of the Governor, the qaḍī and nāẓir al-sūq\(^{22}\). However, later the muḥtasib became in charge of this duty. In this way, al-Naṣir li al-Ḥaqq maintains that the vendors should only be allowed to sell their goods by using weights (arṭāl) made of steel. The weights and measures should also be stamped with a seal. Al-Naṣir then held that the muḥtasib should carry out thorough inspection in the market to ensure that the above matters are implemented\(^{23}\).

As mentioned earlier, al-Mawardī and Ibn al-Farraj\(^{24}\) hold that deficiency in weights and measures was the muḥtasib's main concern\(^{24}\). Al-Ghazālī also discussed the matter and he holds that the public should also be involved by asking the vendors to adjust the scales, or by informing

\(^{21}\) Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, *The text (first)*, p. 103. *The text (second)*, p. 38. See also previous discussion in Chapter Two, pp. 76-7.

\(^{22}\) Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, *The text (second)*, p. 47.


the authorities. Al-Mawardī argues that the punishment for giving deficient weights and measures should be severe because the matter has been warned against by the Qurʾān. One that basis, when the muḥtasib is in doubt about the accuracy of weights and measures, he should test them. Al-Mawardī then suggests that it would be beneficial for him to mark the correct weights and measures with a seal which is well known to the public as this will provide more protection. Thus, in the case where unmarked weights and measures are used by the vendors, they could be condemned for two reasons:

a) that the vendors had refused to use the sealed weights and measures and that their practice is contrary to that of the authorities,

b) that the vendors had opposed the revealed law by giving deficient weights and measures.

In the case where the unmarked weights and measures are correct, then the muḥtasib’s denunciation should be for the first reason only. As for someone who falsifies (tazwīr) his seal, he should be treated the same as those who counterfeit money. In this way, Ibn al-Farrāʾ mentions the

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25 Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyāʾ. p. 432.


opinion of Ahmad ibn Hanbal that minting of money is not permissible unless sanctioned by the ruler\textsuperscript{28}. If the falsification entails cheating in selling, the \textit{muhtasib} should denounce it on both grounds stated above\textsuperscript{29}.

In this manner, al-Saqatî holds that it is the responsibility of the \textit{muhtasib} to mark the measures and weights, as well as the weight containers, with a seal known to the public. In relation to the sale of bread, the \textit{muhtasib} has to ensure that the bakers have their own seal with their names on it and stamp it on their bread, in order to differentiate each one of them so that it will be a proof for their owners\textsuperscript{30}.

Although Yahyâ ibn Ûmar regards the duty to supervise the use of standard weights and measures as the responsibility of the Governor, he also maintains that the Governor should appoint the most trusted person in his city to enforce the use of standard weights and measures. The appointed person should then punish those who falsify the official weights and measures\textsuperscript{31}. In this way, according to al-Mawardî, when the population grows and there is a need for official testers for measures (\textit{kayyālîn}), scales (\textit{wazzānîn}) and coins (\textit{naqqādîn}), the \textit{muhtasib} should

\textsuperscript{28}Ibn al-Farrâ‘, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 283.

\textsuperscript{29}Al-Mawardî. op.cit. Ibn al-Farrâ‘. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{30}Al-Saqatî, \textit{al-Hisbah}. p. 10.

\textsuperscript{31}Yahyâ ibn Ûmar, \textit{The text (first)}. p. 103. \textit{The text (second)}. p. 33. See previous discussion in Chapter Two pp. 79-80.
only appoint those who are trustworthy and reliable\textsuperscript{32}. Al-Māwardī also suggests that the official testers should receive salaries from the treasury (bayt al-māl). If the fund is inadequate, they will share the amount that is available between them equally, in order to deter them from any partiality and injustice while carrying out their duties in dealing with weights and measures. On some occasions, the official testers were selected and appointed by the rulers (umara\textsuperscript{3}), and their names are recorded in the register books (dawāwīn) so that they will not be confused with other persons who cannot be trusted. Those testers who deal unjustly (hāyf) or are involved in deficiency (taijīf) will be dismissed and shall be prohibited from taking any part in dealing with the people's transactions\textsuperscript{33}. The same rule applies to the selection of brokers (dallālīn) where the muhtasib has to ensure that only those who are trustworthy should be appointed\textsuperscript{34}.

Al-Māwardī maintains that the duty to appoint the official testers and the brokers is to be governed by the muhtasib, if the matters had not been dealt with by the rulers (umara\textsuperscript{3})\textsuperscript{35}. As for the selection of valuers for the purpose of partition between those entitled (qassām) and of surveyors (zurrā\textsuperscript{3}), the duty lies with the qāḍī rather than the muhtasib, because they

\textsuperscript{32}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 254.

\textsuperscript{33}Al-Māwardī. Ibid. However, Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{3} omits this. Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{3}. op.cit.

\textsuperscript{34}Al-Māwardī. loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{35}However, Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{3} omits the latter injunction. Al-Māwardī. Ibid.
might be dealing with the property of the orphan and the absent owner (ghā'ib). However, it is the duty of the police (ḥumāh and ʿaṣḥāb muʿāwin) to select the watchmen (ḥurrās) for the tribes and the markets36.

According to al-Māwardī, the muḥtasib may deal with cases between individuals involving deficiency in weights and measures as long as there is no dispute, for then, the case will be decided by the qāḍī, whilst the muḥtasib’s duty is to impose the punishment (taḥṭīb)37. In the case of the measures being unusual to the town’s inhabitants, though they are known to other communities, the muḥtasib can denounce them, when they involve the general public. However, if the two parties involved have agreed on using those measures, he must not interfere with them38.

4.1.3. The duty to supervise various kinds of economic occupations

The discussions on this matter involve numerous economic occupations, and as a result we find a large section of ḥisbah works normally occupied by it. In this manner, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar discusses these matters in many chapters. In the first text, the discussions are from chapter five to chapter thirty, and from chapter forty to chapter fifty seven, except

37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
for chapters fifty four and fifty five. In the second text, the discussions are from chapter four to chapter nineteen, and from chapter thirty one to chapter forty four\(^{39}\). Even though the discussions on this matter involve many aspects, there seem to be two mains functions of these supervisions: firstly to ensure that Islamic law is observed by eradicating unlawful sale transactions; and secondly to protect the interest of the public by investigating the adulteration of goods, and cheating and negligence by the vendors.

4.1.3.1. The duty to prevent unlawful sale transactions

According to al-Mawardi, prohibited commercial transactions can be found in numerous cases, such as in the case of usury (\(\text{riba}\))\(^{40}\). In this way al-Saqatī refers to a tradition of the Prophet cursing those who take usurious interest, who give it, who draw up its contract and those who are witness of it. The Prophet then said: "They are all equal". On another occasion, the Prophet was reported as saying: "Usury will lessen (spiritual gain), although it increases (material profit)"\(^{41}\). Al-Mawardi held that

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\(^{39}\)See previous discussion in Chapter One pp. 54-5. See also Table 1.1. pp. 58-69.

\(^{40}\)Perhaps the correct reading of al-Mawardi is \(\text{riba}\) not \(\text{zina}\) because Ibn al-Ukhuwwah has referred to it as \(\text{riba}\). However, Ibn al-Farrā'\(^\prime\) seems to omit this and he refers to it as \(\text{shīrā}\) (commercial transaction). Amedroz also suggests that the correct reading should be \(\text{riba}\) and he refers to what is found in 1,6. B.M. Or. 3117. Amedroz, JRAS. p. 93. Al-Mawardi, \(\text{Aḥkām}\). p. 253. Ibn al-Farrā', \(\text{Aḥkām}\). p. 282. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \(\text{Ma'ālim}\). p. 52.

\(^{41}\)Al-Saqatī, \(\text{al-Ḥisbah}\). p. 5. See Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, \(\text{Musnad}\). vol. 1. pp. 395, 424.
other unlawful practices include invalid sales (al-buyuʿ al-fāsidah) and those which have been prohibited by the revealed law, even though the purchaser and the vendor have approved of them. In this way al-Māwardī maintains that the muḥtasib should forbid the contract of taṣrijah because it is prohibited by law for it is regarded as a kind of cheating (tadlis). The same was the opinion of al-Saqatī and he regards the contract as unlawful. In fact, al-Saqatī has mentioned various kinds of unlawful contracts prohibited by the Prophet which are as follows:

a) The Prophet forbids the sale of food before it is ready.

b) The Prophet forbids two contracts for one sale which can be found in two situations: firstly when someone asks another person to purchase something on his behalf and he purchases that commodity from that person with a delayed payment; secondly when someone...

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43 A sale transaction of an animal by allowing the milk to accumulate in the udder, so that the potential purchaser will think that the animal produces plenty of milk and that the vendor could ask for a higher price. Muʿjam Lughat al-Fuqahā, p. 132. In this case, the purchaser has an option to return the animal, but he must pay the vendor one gā (a cubit measure). Hans Wehr. p. 530) of dates if he had taken some milk from the animal. Bukhārī, Sahīh. vol 3, pp. 200-3. Muslim, Sahīh. vol 9, pp. 158-162. Ibn Qudāmah, al-Mughni. 7:234.


45 Al-Saqatī, al-Ifisbah. p. 4.

46 Al-Saqatī, al-Ifisbah. p. 4.

sells his goods with two optional prices or two optional items. As for example, a seller says, "I sell you this cloth for the price of 10 or 15 dirhams" or "I sell you one of these two garments".48.

c) The Prophet forbids the sale of a postponed debt. As for example someone purchases something with a delayed payment for a certain period and he cannot pay his debt by the given date. So he says: "Buy this from me for an added period with an added amount".49.

d) The Prophet forbids a sale of meat in exchange for an animal, that is, to sell dead meat in exchange for a living animal.50. However, the sale is allowed when they are of the same type and on condition that they are similar in weight and exchanged immediately without delay.51.

e) Al-Saqatî held that the selling of a dog is unlawful by virtue of the tradition of the Prophet.52. It is reported that the Prophet forbade


52Al-Saqatî, al-Ḥisbah. p. 4.
the sale price for a dog. However, Abu Ḥanīfah sanctions this sale transaction.

f) The Prophet forbids a person to bargain for goods which another has agreed to buy, until the latter has bought or withdrawn. He also forbids the contract of al-najsh that is to bargain for a raise in price without an intention of buying.

g) The Prophet forbids a person to buy from someone who has not reached the market because the latter does not know the current market price and he forbids a townsman to sell on behalf of the nomads.

h) The Prophet forbids the contract of al-muzābanah, that is a sale of dried dates in exchange for fresh dates hanging on trees, selling fresh grapes for dried grapes or raisins, selling wheat in field for

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54See Ibn Qudamah, al-Mughni. 7: 278.


dried wheat, selling cooked green wheat for dried wheat and selling wet wheat for dried wheat\textsuperscript{57}.

i) The Prophet forbids selling fruit until it is ripe\textsuperscript{58}. He also forbids selling wool on the back of an animal and milk in the udder\textsuperscript{59}.

j) The Prophet forbids al-muḥāqalāt and al-mukhābarah that is a contract of renting land together with its product\textsuperscript{60}.

k) The Prophet said: "A sale of al-muḥāfīlāt is cheating, and it is not permissible for a Muslim to cheat another Muslim"\textsuperscript{61}. It should be noted here that the term al-muḥāfīlāt is also used to mean a sale by keeping an animal unmilked for a long time to cheat the potential buyer. However, as we have mentioned earlier this contract is commonly known as al-taşriyah\textsuperscript{62}.


\textsuperscript{58}Malik ibn Anas, Muwaṭṭa\textsuperscript{d} (riw. al-Laythi). p. 517.

\textsuperscript{59}Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ. vol. 9, pp. 193-4.

\textsuperscript{60}Malik ibn Anas, Muwaṭṭa\textsuperscript{d} (riw. al-Laythi). pp. 521-2. Muwaṭṭa\textsuperscript{d} (riw. al-Suyūṭī). vol. 2, pp. 54-5. Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ. vol. 9, pp. 192-3.

\textsuperscript{61}Al-Saqāṭī, al-Ijāb. p. 5.

\textsuperscript{62}Ibn Mājah, Sunan. vol. 2, chapter 42, Kitāb al-Tijārah, hadith num. 2241.
4.1.3.2. **The duty to protect the public from adulteration of goods, and cheating and negligence by the vendors**

The *muḥtasib* was not only concerned with denouncing unlawful sale transactions. We find that he took measures to protect the public from being victimized by the greedy vendors. In this way al-Ḥāmidī and Ibn al-Farrā\(^1\) hold that the other matters to be included as prohibited commercial transactions are frauds on items sold (*ghash mabīṭāt*) and cheating on price\(^{63}\). In this respect they held that the Prophet is reported as saying, 'He who cheats is not one of us'\(^{64}\). Al-Ḥāmidī and Ibn al-Farrā\(^1\) argue that if the cheating was done without the purchaser's knowledge, the offence is grave, and thus the *muḥtasib*’s denunciation and the penalty for it would be more severe. On the other hand, if the purchaser knows about the cheating, then the gravity of the offence is less and the *muḥtasib*’s denunciation would be less severe. The *muḥtasib* must also investigate the intention of a person who bought an adulterated commodity, because he might sell it and cheat another person who is not aware of it, which should be denounced. However, if it is for his own use, only the vendor is liable to be denounced. The same is the case with cheating in price\(^{65}\).

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\(^{65}\)Al-Ḥāmidī, op.cit. Ibn al-Farrā\(^1\), *Aḥkām*. p. 282.
Similarly, al-Ghazālī holds that among the most common wrongful acts in the market place are cheating on the price and hiding defects. Thus, someone who knows about these wrongful acts should inform the purchaser, lest he might be considered as an associate, which is forbidden by law\textsuperscript{66}.

In relation to this, according to al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1}, there are three kinds of professions that the muḥtasib must supervise with regard to skill (ṣīḥa), honesty (fī ṣīḥa) and quality of work. The first includes the medical practitioners (ṣīḥa) and the teachers (muṭallimūn)\textsuperscript{67}. The second are those vendors whose occupations depend on their honesty and trustworthiness which includes the goldsmiths (ṣīḥa), weavers (ṣīḥa), fullers (ṣīḥa) and dyers (ṣīḥa). The third are the craftsmen who can be considered as having a good or bad quality of work\textsuperscript{68}. We will discuss the second and the third kinds of professions in this section, while the first profession will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

As for the second group, al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1} argue that the muḥtasib is entitled to supervise them because they might have taken people’s property unlawfully. Therefore, the muḥtasib should only allow those who are honest and he has to forbid the dishonest and proclaim their

\textsuperscript{66} Al-Ghazālī, \textit{Iṭyā}. p. 432.

\textsuperscript{67} However, Amedroz refers to them as the students. Amedroz, \textit{JRAS}. p. 97.

\textsuperscript{68} Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 256. Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 286.
deceit. On the other hand, al-Māwardī had referred to one opinion which claimed that the matter is the responsibility of the police (ḥumāḥ and aṣḥāb al-muʿāwin), rather than the muḥtasib, because dishonesty may lead to thievery⁶⁹. However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah seems to reject this opinion and he includes the above mentioned economic occupations under the supervision of the muḥtasib⁷⁰.

As for the duty to supervise the third kind of professions who are the craftsmen whose works could be considered as having a good or bad quality, al-Māwardī held that it is the specific function of the muḥtasib. Although al-Māwardī does not specify any kind of craftsmen, presumably it would involve almost all kinds of craft occupations such as manufacturers of foodstuffs, clothing and receptacles of various kinds, carpenters and the like. We find this matter had been dealt with by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah⁷¹. In these cases, the muḥtasib should inspect the quality of their work and denounce those vendors who have provided a bad quality of production. In other words, the muḥtasib has to set a certain standard of work in order for him to decide in each case. In doing so, he was assisted by the head of a guild. As we have mentioned earlier in the Introduction, the muḥtasib was

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⁶⁹Al-Māwardī, loc.cit.

⁷⁰Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. pp. 144-7 (goldsmiths), 136-7 (weavers), 137-140 (tailors, repairers, fullers and qalansuwah makers) and 141-2 (dyers).

assisted by the head of a guild who was known as "artif in the East and amin in the West. In this way, al-Saqati held that it is necessary for the muhtasib to appoint an amin to assist him. On the other hands, al-Shayzarî holds that the official appointed was known as "artif. Al-Saqati then explained by saying that a person who is well-known for his trustworthiness will be appointed as an amin for one of the corporations. He is selected from the trustworthy and the honourable artisans, from whom the Muslims took benefit from his advice and knowledge. The official appointed should also caution the Muslims to protect them from wicked vendors. In this way, al-Saqati maintains that the Muslims could gain information from him about the vendors and the artisans' secret thoughts. As a result, al-Saqatî holds that the vendors' evil character will be revealed and their cunning will be stopped so that their damage upon the Muslims will be removed.

In this way, al-Saqati suggests that the muhtasib should inspect from time to time the conduct of his men and he should not appoint one of them on a specific matter, for instance to take a weight of a bread from the

72See previous discussion in the Introduction p. 7.
73Al-Saqati, al-Ifisbah. p. 5.
74Al-Shayzarî, Nihayah. p. 12.
75Al-Saqati. op.cit.
76Ibid.
bread-seller, because he would be exposing his assistant to the possibility of bribery. In relation to this, al-Saqaṭī holds that the muḥtasib’s subordinates should never know the time the muḥtasib goes out for inspection because such information might be transferred to the owners of the business which he is going to inspect. In this way, a wicked vendor and a person who practises a doubtful thing will be able to escape or a defective thing will be removed and it would not be possible to produce it as an evidence against him. On other occasions, al-Saqaṭī maintains that even if a defective thing is found in the presence of that vendor, he may claim that it does not belong to him, but was put at his premises when he was away and as a result the muḥtasib will not be able to bring him to justice. It is interesting to note here that al-Saqaṭī seems to suggest that elements of surprise and secrecy are necessary to ensure that inspection in the market will succeed. However, one should not forget that periodical inspection was also in use.

According to al-Māwardī, in the case of bad quality of craftsmen, the muḥtasib may denounce them in general, even though he did not receive any complaint from the purchaser. However, in the case of malpractice of the craftsmen, such as when a manufacturer who had been requested by the purchaser to complete a certain task and deliberately does it unsatisfactory

\[\text{\textsuperscript{77}}\text{Ibid.}\]
and in a deceiving way, the purchaser needs to make a complain so that the muḥtasib can denounce and admonish him. On the other hand, if the case involves liability or when an estimation is needed, then it is to be decided by the qāḍī. However, the muḥtasib may enforce the liability if a valuation previously made on a similar situation (mithl) is sufficient and where personal reasoning is not needed\(^7\).

Al-Māwardī maintains that in the case of forbidden commercial transactions, the muḥtasib should denounce these acts and forbid them, but for him to impose a punishment (taʿḍīb) would depend on the circumstances and severity of each case. According to al-Māwardī, the muḥtasib has no right to penalise those wrongful acts where the jurists differ as to whether to sanction or disapprove of them, except when there is a minor dispute and as a preventive measure against committing prohibited acts agreed upon by the jurists. An example of this is the case of ribā al-naqd\(^7\), because the difference is small and in order to prevent oneself from committing ribā al-nasī'ah\(^8\) which the jurists unanimously agreed to be unlawful. As to whether the muḥtasib should forbid the vendor from committing ribā al-naqd or not and include it under his authority, there are two opinions. The

\(^{7}\)Wahbah. 7:89. However, according to Amedroz, he refers to it as a reasonable estimation. Amedroz, JRAS. p. 97.

\(^{7}\)Profit arising from an excess in quantity of the equivalent on a sale, like that of gold, silver, wheat, barley, salt and dates. This is also known as ribā al-faqīl. Wahbah. 4:270, 670.

\(^{8}\)Profit due to deferred payment (ribā nasī'ah). Wahbah. 4:673.
first was the opinion of Abū Sa‘īd al-Iṣṭakhrī who maintains that the muḥtasīb is capable of deciding and enforcing his opinion on matters where the jurists differ. However, Abū Sa‘īd holds that the muḥtasīb should be legally qualified. On the other hand, the second opinion which has not been identified by al-Māwardī holds that the muḥtasīb should not impose his opinion or the opinion of his school of law upon others. In this understanding al-Māwardī asserts that an unlawful contract of marriage is to be considered as amongst the prohibited commercial transactions (muṣāmalāt), even though such a contract is not one of them. In this respect, the muḥtasīb’s denunciation depends on whether the jurists have unanimously agreed that such a marriage is unlawful. Therefore, he must not denounce a marriage where the jurists have differed on its illegality, except when there is a minor dispute and in order to prevent someone from committing a prohibited act. An example of this, is the case of muṯ‘ah marriage, because it can be used as a means to approve adultery. As mentioned before, there are two views on whether the muḥtasīb should denounce this practice or not. Nevertheless, as an alternative he may request them to seek a lawful contract of marriage which the jurists have unanimously agreed upon.

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Al-Ghazālī seems to agree with the second opinion mentioned by al-Māwardī. In this way, we find that al-Ghazālī does not allow sales transactions without verbal agreement (bayʿ al-taʿāṭ). However, he then maintains that the muḥtasib is restricted in acting on this matter because it is based on personal reasoning (ijtihād). As a result it is not applicable to those who are against it. It should be noted here that with regard to this kind of sale, there are three opinions of the jurists. The first is the opinion of the Ḥanafīs and the Ḥanbalīs, which maintains it as a lawful contract regardless of the value of the commodity. The Mālikīs hold the contract as lawful on the condition that obvious agreement between the vendor and purchaser has been established. The third opinion, which is the most strict, belongs to the Shāfīʿīs, the Shīʿīs and the Ṣāḥīḥīs. They declare the contract to be inconclusive. However, some of the Shāfīʿīs like al-Nawawī, regard it as lawful on account of local practice.

83Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyāʾ. p. 432.

84Wahbah 4:100-1.
CHAPTER FIVE

The duty to supervise moral and religious behaviour

5.0. Introduction

As we have mentioned earlier, the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar has dealt with the matter. This can be found in cases of playing musical instruments, using public baths, crying aloud over the dead, visiting graves, women wearing shoes that make noises, slaughtering an animal, the loss of wedding outfit and basic house equipment and immoral behaviour¹. Later, we find the authors of hisbah literature normally discuss this duty under the muḥtasib’s responsibility in matters dealing with the rights of God. In this way, the discussions include acts of worship, immoral behaviour and possession of unlawful property.

¹See pp. 73-4 above.
5.1. The acts of worship

The acts of worship include prayer, calls to prayer, alms-tax (zakāt) and fasting. The discussion on this subject also deals other aspects which are concerned with heresy².

According to al-Māwardī, Ibn al-Farrā' and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah in the cases of prayer, ablution and the call to prayer, the muḥtasib has to prevent any attempt to change the valid procedure, such as uttering the silent prayer aloud and vice versa, or making additions to prayer and the call to prayer which are not approved by the tradition³. The muḥtasib should denounce these acts and punish (ta‘dīb) those who are stubborn (mu‘ānid) when their actions are not approved by an authoritative religious leader (imām matbū²)⁴. The same is the case of improper washing of the impurities off one’s body, garments and place of praying⁵.

According to al-Māwardī, in the cases of worship, the muḥtasib cannot denounce these acts unless he is certain as he cannot rely on

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⁴The latter injunction is found in both al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, whereas Ibn al-Farrā' omits it. Al-Māwardī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā'. loc.cit. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. loc.cit.
suspicion (ṣann). Al-Māwardī then cites the story of a muḥtasib who questioned a man entering a mosque with his shoes on, whether he did this at his house. The man denied this, but the muḥtasib insisted that he must take an oath to support his denial. Al-Māwardī held that the muḥtasib had shown his ignorance and had exceeded the ḥisbah jurisdiction by his bad opinion (ṣū al-ṣann) of others⁶. Although al-Ghazālī does not make the same statement as al-Māwardī, he seems to agree with him, for in this respect he refers to a saying that "to conceal what you have seen is better than to reveal what you are suspicious of"⁷. Similarly, al-Māwardī argues that when he suspects that someone has not performed the ritual washing (ghusl janābah), or has abandoned the prayer or the fasting, he must not denounce him, but he may admonish and warn him of God's punishment. In other words, suspicion does not justify a denunciation, but allows him to admonish and give warning⁸.

According to al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā¹, in the case of the Friday prayer, the muḥtasib must ensure that the duty is enforced and its omission punished when the total number of inhabitants reaches a sufficient number, i.e. forty and upwards⁹. It should be noted here that this was the opinion

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of the Shafi'is and the Hanbalis, while the Malikis hold that the minimum number is twelve, and Abu Hanifah declares three men excluding the *imām* are a sufficient number to perform the Friday prayer. In this way, al-Mawardi holds that if the number is insufficient, there are four possible situations:

a) The *muḥtasib* and the community both agree that the prayer should be performed. Here, the *muḥtasib* must enforce the duty but the penalty for non-compliance should be lighter than that in the situation where the number of the congregation is sufficient.

b) The *muḥtasib* and the community both agree that it should not be performed. In this situation, the *muḥtasib* must not enforce the duty but it is preferable for him to prevent those who practise it.

c) The community views that it should be done, but the *muḥtasib* disagrees. In this situation, the *muḥtasib* must neither impose the duty, for it is against his own opinion, nor forbid them from what they regard as a duty.

d) The *muḥtasib* approves of it but the community is against it. Here abandonment, if persisted in, may cause the Friday prayer to be

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neglected indefinitely even if the number of the population increases. According to al-Māwardī in this situation there are two opinions of the Shāfiʿis:

i) Abū Saʿīd al-Īṣṭakhrī holds that he may lawfully act on the account of public interest, for he fears that the younger generation will be misled into thinking that the duty can be dropped with a greater population as it had been when the population was less. According to al-Māwardī, the same precaution was given by Ziyād who ordered the courtyard of the mosques of Baṣrah and Kūfah to be strewn with pebbles in order to avoid possible misunderstanding among the younger generation who might think that the act of rubbing the face after prostration is part of the prayer, when the fact is, it was to remove the sand.

b) an anonymous opinion of the Shāfiʿīs which maintains that the muḥtasib should not denounce them because he is not entitled to bring people into his way of thinking, nor to impose his opinion on them in matters of religion when they are able

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11According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, he was Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim, p. 23.

to do so themselves, for according to their opinion the obligation falls due to insufficient numbers\textsuperscript{13}.

In relation to this, Ibn al-Far\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{rā} declares that the muhtasib may enforce the duty by virtue of the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that he may do so on the account of public interest lest the young should grow up to neglect the duty thinking that it can be dropped with a greater population as it had been when the population was less. However, according to another opinion, the muhtasib may not enforce the duty for he should not impose his opinion on others in a matter of religion, when they are capable of doing so themselves. For this, Ibn al-Far\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{rā} cites another opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal which declares that one should not impose his school's teaching upon others\textsuperscript{14}.

According to al-Māwardī, in the case of 'Id prayer, there are two opinions of the Shāfiʿīs, the first regarding it as a recommendable act (masnūnah) and the second as a collective duty (farḍ kifāyah). On this basis, if the muhtasib accepts the first opinion, he may recommend the performance of the prayer. Whereas, he is obliged to order such an act if he agrees with the second opinion\textsuperscript{15}. Meanwhile, Ibn al-Far\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{rā} maintains that

\textsuperscript{13}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 244.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibn al-Far\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{rā}, \textit{Aḥkām}. pp. 271-2.

\textsuperscript{15}Al-Māwardī. op.cit.
the muhtasib should order the performance of the ‘Id prayer, because he regards it as a collective duty (farḍ kifāyah)\textsuperscript{16}.

As for prayer in congregation (ṣalāt al-Jamā’ah)\textsuperscript{17}, and call to prayer at a mosque, al-Māwardī argues that they are parts of the established Islamic rites and signs of worship by which the Prophet distinguished the Islamic country (dār al-Islām) from that of polytheism (dār al-shirk). In the event of the inhabitants of a town deciding to suspend the performance of the congregational prayer at their mosque or to omit the call to prayer, there are two opinions of the Shāfī\textsuperscript{13}s. The first holds that it is recommendable (mandūb) for the muhtasib to enforce these duties, whereas the second regards it as obligatory (wājib). Ibn al-Farra\textsuperscript{1} agrees with the second opinion of the Shāfī\textsuperscript{13}s and holds that it is compulsory for the muhtasib to enforce the performance of these duties. This is because the Ḥanbalīs maintain that the performance of prayer in congregation is an individual duty (farḍ ‘ayn). It should be noted that the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs consider this as the most recommendable act (sunnah mu‘akkadah)\textsuperscript{19}. However, according to al-Māwardī, the neglect of prayer

\textsuperscript{16}Ibn al-Farra\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{Ahkām}. p. 272.

\textsuperscript{17}However, Amedroz and Levy have translated this as the Friday prayer. See Amedroz. \textit{JRAS}. p. 82. Levy, transl. \textit{Ma‘ālim}. p. 7.

\textsuperscript{18}However, according to the more reliable opinion (ażahh) of the Shāfī\textsuperscript{13}s, the performance of the congregational prayer is a collective duty (farḍ kifāyah). \textit{Wahbah}. 2:150.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibn al-Farra\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{Ahkām}. p. 272. See \textit{Wahbah}. 2:149-150.
in congregation (jumā'ah)\textsuperscript{20} and the call to prayer by an individual should not be denounced by the muḥtasib, because these are considered as recommended (nadāb) and can be missed with a justifiable excuse\textsuperscript{21}. However, the muḥtasib has to denounce those who neglect these duties on a habitual basis for they might be imitated by others. Even so, the muḥtasib must comply with the standard procedure of law and hear the reason for their non-compliance. Al-Māwardī then cites a tradition of the Prophet who seriously considered setting fire to the houses of those who failed to attend the congregational prayer at the mosque\textsuperscript{22}.

In the case where the individual has delayed the prayer until the time has expired, the muḥtasib should take into account his defence. If the cause was forgetfulness, the muḥtasib should admonish, not punish; if it be negligence and carelessness, he should punish and compel performance; but delay is not punishable when the specified hour is not yet past on the grounds of the diversity of legal opinions for some hold delaying to be recommendable\textsuperscript{23}. Where the general consensus decided to delay the prayer to its utmost time limit, and the muḥtasib holds that it is better to

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{20}Perhaps this is the correct reading jumā'ah (prayer in congregation), instead of jumāh (Friday prayer), because to neglect the Friday prayer by an individual is wrong and must be objected by the muḥtasib. Ibn al-Farrā' and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah also refer this as ṣalāt-jumā'ah (prayer in congregation). Ibn al-Farrā', \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 272. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma'ālim}. p. 24.

\textsuperscript{21}See \textit{Wahbah}. 2:169-172.

\textsuperscript{22}See \textit{Wahbah}. 2:151.

\textsuperscript{23}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. pp. 244-5. Ibn al-Farrā', \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 272.}
be performed earlier, the jurists have two different views. The first is to follow the opinion of the majority, but this might lead to a misconception among the younger generation so that they think that this is the specified time for the prayer. The second is to ignore the consensus, but this will bring about disintegration, because some will perform the prayer at a later period while others will have done it earlier. Ibn al-Farraq agrees with the second opinion and holds that the muḥtasib may enforce his own view, in order to avoid the misunderstanding of the younger generation.

The muḥtasib must denounce an imām (i.e. the leader of prayer) who prolongs the prayer in public and in much frequented mosque, because it will cause the weak to suffer and discourage the busy. In this respect the Prophet reminded Muṣādh ibn Jabal, who lengthened the prayer not to become a tester (fattān) of men’s belief. However, the muḥtasib must not punish, but replace him with a less prolix imām.

With regard to the call to prayer, the muḥtasib must not interfere with the individuals whose view differs from his, if their decision is supported by a legal opinion. Thus, he should not enforce his own view on

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24 According to Levy, this is the question whether the muḥtasib must submit to common view. Levy, transl. Maṣālim. p. 7.


them or prevent their practice. Similarly, in the case of ablation and purification, he must not denounce their practice when it is in accordance with a legal opinion, even though his view is different. Examples that can be included are the removal of impurity by liquids and ablution with water mixed with other substances or rubbing only part of the head, or neglecting to remove as much as a dirham weight of impurity - none of these are matters for constraint or prohibition. However, the muḥtasib should denounce the practice of making ablution with fermented date juice (nabīdḥ al-tamr) when water is not available, with regard to two possible consequences. The first is that this may lead to people regarding such drink as always permissible and the second is that this may lead to people becoming intoxicated by drinking it.

The muḥtasib should not punish someone whom he finds eating during the day in Ṣaman, until he is certain of their reason for breaking the fast. If the reason was because of sickness or that they are travelling, then they should not be denounced. He may make an inquiry, if circumstantial evidence with suspicious indications (imārāt al-rayb) exists. In other words, suspicious indications justify inquiry. In this respect, if the excuse is legitimate, the muḥtasib must approve of it and should not

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condemn him, but he may ask the person to eat in privacy. However, the 
muhtar may not make the man take an oath, if he is in doubt as to the 
truth of the statement made to him. On the other hand, if the wrongful act 
be without a valid excuse, the muhtar should admonish the offender 
openly and punish him. Even though there may be a valid excuse, the 
muhtar should not permit the man to eat openly in order to prevent any 
suspicion arising among ignorant people who are unable to differentiate 
between the situation of a valid excuse and an invalid one.

In the case of someone who refuses to pay alms tax, it should be dealt 
with by the tax official (‘āmil al-ṣadaqāh)30, if it is a visible property (al-
ammāl al-ẓāhirah). The muhtar may perhaps intervene if it is concealed 
property (al-ammāl al-bāṭinah) because the tax official is not entitled to 
look into this type of property. It should be noted here that al-Māwardī 
divides the property liable for alm-taxes into visible and concealed. The 
former are the agricultural products (zar) and livestocks (mawāshī) which 
are difficult to conceal, in contrast to the latter which can be easily hidden 
and include properties such as gold, silver and some commodities (‘urūd 
tijārah). According to al-Māwardī, the tax official is not liable to impose 
payment for concealed properties because that is the duty of its owner, but


30The ‘āmil al-ṣadaqāh is the zakāt official who collects the tax and receives one part of it 
for himself. This has been illustrated by the Qur’an. Al-Qur’ān 9:60.
he may collect them when the latter has voluntarily declared them\textsuperscript{31}. However, in this matter perhaps it is the duty of the tax official because he should know of any payment made to him. The punishment should be based on the man’s evidence and if he claims to be paying it in secret, his statement should be accepted\textsuperscript{32}.

In the case of a jurist (\textit{faqīh}) and a preacher (\textit{wāqī‘}) found applying the revealed law without having the requisite ability, and when the public might be misled by their wrong interpretation (\textit{ṣūrā ‘arwī}) or misleading opinion (\textit{ṣūrā ‘awāb}), the \textit{muḥtasib} must denounce them\textsuperscript{33}. If he is in doubt of the person’s legal ability, he cannot denounce him, but must hold an inquiry. Al-Māwardī then cites the case of \textsuperscript{3}Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib (d. 40) who interrupted al-Ḥasan al-Ḵāṣī (d. 110) while the latter was speaking in public because he wanted to test him. He then asked him what the foundation of the religion and the cause for its destruction. Al-Ḥasan replied that the first is piety (\textit{waṣa‘}) and the second is greed (\textit{ṣama‘}). ḤAlī then allowed him to continue with his speech\textsuperscript{34}. The same is the case with a student who introduces a view which is in contrast to the unanimous

\textsuperscript{31}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 113 (Chapter Twelve on the jurisdiction of the tax officials (\textit{wilāyat al-ṣadaqah})).

\textsuperscript{32}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. p. 248.


\textsuperscript{34}However, neither Ibn al-Farrā’ nor Ibn al-Ukhuwwah mention this story. Al-Māwardī, \textit{Aḥkām}. pp. 248-9.
decision of the jurists (ijma'), or which is against the revealed law (al-
naṣṣ), or where his opinion is rejected by the contemporary scholars. In
these circumstances, the muḥtasib should reprove and the student should
either repent, or if not, the case will be brought to the Caliph. This is
because it is the duty of the caliph to purify the religion35.

Likewise, the muḥtasib should denounce some of the interpreters of
the Qur'ān who may delude men from the clear revelations and lead them
to secret heresy or when transmitters of traditions deal exclusively with
those of no authority who are repugnant to the mind or corruptive to sound
exegesis. However, the muḥtasib can denounce such acts only if he is able
to distinguish between the right and the wrong. This can be achieved in two
ways, either by the muḥtasib's own learning and his personal reasoning
(ijtihād) to elucidate the matter, or by the fact that the jurists of the time
have agreed in declaring it as heresy. Thus, the muḥtasib can denounce
such acts by depending upon the opinion of the jurists, and prohibit them
based on their agreement36. However, according to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah the
situation is very perilous (ḥaṭṭar ʿazīm) for an ignorant muḥtasib to
indulge in these matters, for he might create more harm than good. It is for
this reason that it has been said "An ordinary man may not carry out the

36 Al-Māwardi. loc.cit Ibn al-Farrā', loc.cit.
duty of ḥisbah, except in an obvious case". Thus, if the case requires a personal reasoning (ijtiḥād), the ignorant person is therefore, prohibited⁴⁷.

5.2. Immoral behaviour

The prohibited act (mahzūr) is defined as an action for which a person who practises it will be punished and in contrast he will be rewarded for abstaining from it. These acts are also considered the same as ḥarām (forbidden acts) and they are in contrast to mubāḥ (permissible acts). In discussing the matter, al-Māwardī refers to mahzūrat as those acts to which the muḥtasib must deter the public from exposing themselves. He then refers to the tradition of the Prophet which said, "Abandon what occasions doubt for certainty"⁴⁸. Al-Ghazālī defines mahzūr as all kinds of wrongful acts which are forbidden by law and he maintains that it is more severe than the makrūh (abominable acts). Thus, in the latter situation, the muḥtasib is not required to denounce it on a compulsory basis and to keep silence about it is not prohibited either⁴⁹.

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According to al-Mawardi and Ibn al-Farraj, the prohibited acts include the matters of segregation between sexes, the possession of wine, forbidden dolls and musical instruments, and the case of spying for hidden matters. The muhtasib must begin by denouncing such an act. He cannot inflict a punishment (ta'dib), unless a warning has been given. Al-Mawardi then cites a story reported by Ibrâhîm al-Nakha'i where ā'Umar prohibited men from performing the circumambulation (tawâf) of the Ka'bah with women. ā'Umar then saw a man praying with a woman, so he hit him with a whip (dirrah). The man said to him, "By God! If I am right, you are doing injustice to me and if I am wrong, you should warn me". ā'Umar then asked him, " Didn't you notice my strict order?". The man replied, "No, I did not know of that". ā'Umar then gave him the whip and said, "Retaliate on me (and hit me back)". The man replied, "No, I will not retaliate today". ā'Umar said, "Forgive me". The man said, "No, I will not forgive you". Then they separated. On the next day, they met again and ā'Umar's face changed. The man said, "I think what happened to me has hastened the change in you". ā'Umar agreed. The man then said, "Indeed, I testify that I have forgiven you".

40 See pp. 173 and 179 above.


The muḥtasib must insist on segregation between sexes in public especially in the street, but not in a crowded street (ṭarīq sabīl) for such occurrence is unavoidable. As for a secluded street (ṭarīq khāliyah), the muḥtasib may compel segregation between men and women who are in doubtful circumstances, but he cannot punish them because they might be related. Nevertheless, he may advise them not to do so because they might be wrongly accused. If they are not related, the muḥtasib should ask them to fear God as their action might lead them into committing a sin. In this matter, his attitude towards them is based on their indications (imārāt)\(^{43}\).

According to al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā\(^1\), the muḥtasib must not hasten to denounce someone until he has made an inquiry into the matter\(^{44}\). The same is the opinion of al-Ghazālī, that the first stage of ḥisbah is to make an inquiry (taʿarruf)\(^{45}\).

The muḥtasib must not spy (tajassus) on prohibited acts which are committed in secret. Thus, he should not uncover these wrongful acts but protect such concealment. In this respect, the Prophet said, "Those who commit these kinds of disgraceful acts (qadhūrāt), they must conceal them


\(^{44}\)Al-Māwardī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā\(^1\), Ḩākīm. p. 277.

\(^{45}\)Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā\(^2\). p. 420. See p. 169 above.
with God's cover (i.e. to turn to God in repentance), because he who reveals to us his own wrongful act, we will impose on him God's punishment”⁴⁶.

However, if evidence (imārāt) have shown that such wrongful acts are likely to have been committed, the case can be divided into two situations:

a) The muḥtasib is satisfied that such a wrongful act has been committed. This is the case where he was informed by someone who can be trusted, that a man is in isolation with a woman to commit adultery, or with another man to kill him. Here, the muḥtasib may inspect these acts. Likewise, persons acting voluntarily may carry out an investigation of such wrongful acts that come to their knowledge, as was the case with al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah⁴⁷. In Basrah, he was frequently visited (kalafa) by a woman from the Banū Hilāl known as Umm Jamīl bint Miḥjam ibn al-Afqam, who had a husband from Thaʿīf named al-Ḥajjāj ibn ʿAbīd. The case then came to the attention of Abū Bakrah ibn Māṣrūḥ, Sahl ibn Maʿbad, Nāfiʾ ibn al-Ḥārith and Zayyād ibn ʿAbīd. They then watched (raṣāda) for him until she had entered the house and they caught them by surprise (ḥājama), and gave the evidence before ʿUmar. ʿUmar did not disagree with their assault, even though he had inflicted on them the


qadhf punishment due to the withdrawal of evidence of one of them⁴⁸.

b) The second situation falls short of the first one, and here spying is not permitted and investigation cannot be carried out. An example of this is the case of ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, when he visited people who were addicted to drinking and had been making fire in hovels (akḥṣāḡ), so he reminded them that he had prohibited them from drinking and lighting fire. They then replied by saying that God had prohibited him from spying and from entering someone’s house without permission. ʻUmar accepted their arguments and left them without making any denunciation⁴⁹. As for someone who hears sounds of musical instruments from inside someone’s house, he should denounce him from outside but must not enter the house without permission (ḥajama). This is because such wrongful acts are obvious to the muḥtasib and he is not required to investigate them⁵⁰.


The castration of human beings and animals should be prohibited and the offender should be punished. If it involves the rights of retaliation or blood-money, the mu'tasib can compel this as long as there is no legal dispute. He is also responsible for prohibiting the dyeing of grey hair except for those engaged in fighting in a holy war. As for someone who does this for the purpose of gaining a woman's favour, he should be denounced. However, dyeing with henna is permitted, so is katm. It is not permissible to earn money by fortunetelling (kahânah) and by playing forbidden musical instruments. Here, the person who gives and receives such money will be punished.

As for someone who interrupts other people's lives by begging for charity, if he is rich either because of his property or his occupation, the mu'tasib should denounce him and punish (ta'dîb) him if necessary. Here, it is the duty of the mu'tasib rather than the tax official. Al-Mawardî claims that such an act was practised by the caliph ʿUmar. A beggar who appears to have signs of wealth (āthār al-ghinā) should be told that

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52 According to Hava, katm is used to dye the hair black. As for henna it is a red dye. Hava. p. 146, 644. See also Abu Ḥanifah al-Dinawari, Book of Plants. p. 179. Al-Mawardî. loc.cit. Ibn al-Farraʿ. loc.cit. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. pp. 197-8.


54 However, Ibn al-Farraʿ does not mention this. Al-Mawardî, Aḥkâm. p. 248. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. p. 29.
begging is unlawful if one is not in want, but he should not be actually prohibited, as he may be in secret a needy person. In the case of a beggar who is strong and able to work, the muhtasib should warn him and ask him to work, and if he persists in begging he may be punished\textsuperscript{55}.

5.3. **Possession of unlawful property**

The discussion on this matter includes possession of wine, selling musical instruments, toys with animal figures, silk clothes and hats made of gold and silk which are specially designed for men and other kinds of wrongful activities which are forbidden by law\textsuperscript{56}.

In the case of open possession of wine by a Muslim, the muhtasib should punish him and the wine should be poured away. However, if he is an ahl al-dhimmah, he shall be punished for publicly exposing the wine. The jurists differed on whether the wine should be poured away. Abū Ḥanīfah regards it as their property and therefore, entitled to protection. Thus, he is against it being poured away. On the other hand, al-Shāfi‘i

\textsuperscript{55} Al-Māwarī. *loc.cit.* Ibn al-Farrā\textsuperscript{1}. *loc.cit.*

holds that there should be no protection for the unbeliever any more than the believer, and thus it should be poured away\footnote{Al-Māwardī, 
\textit{Aḥkām}. p. 251. Ibn al-Ukhūwwah, loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrāʾ omits this, but he agrees to the statement that a non-Muslim can be punished and the wine be poured over him. Ibn al-Farrāʾ, 
\textit{Aḥkām}. p. 278.}.

As for fermented fruit-juice (\textit{nabīḍh})\footnote{\textit{Wahbah}. 6:154-5, 165. Ṭ̣āhir b. Abd al-Qādir, 
\textit{Tashrīʿ}. 1:582.}, Abū Ḥanīfah is against it being poured away and punishment, because according to him the Muslims have accepted it as lawful property\footnote{\textit{Wahbah}. 6:165-6. Ṭ̣āhir b. Abd al-Qādir, 
\textit{Tashrīʿ}. 1:581-2.}. However, according to al-Shāfiʿī it is not lawful property and it is considered the same as wine. Thus, there is no liability (\textit{ghurm}) on someone who pours it away. It should be noted here that this is also the opinion of the majority of the jurists, except for Abū Ḥanīfah and Abū Yūsuf\footnote{\textit{Wahbah}. 6:156.}. Ibn al-Ukhūwwah claims that fermented fruit juice (\textit{nabīḍh}) is prohibited by the tradition of the Prophet which said, "Wine is prohibited because of its substance, so is every kind of intoxicating liquor". In fact, this is actually the argument of Abū Ḥanīfah which allows the taking of \textit{nabīḍh} as long as it does not intoxicate\footnote{\textit{Wahbah}. 6:154-5, 165. Ṭ̣āhir b. Abd al-Qādir, 
\textit{Tashrīʿ}. 1:582.}. There are other traditions of the Prophet which prohibit every kind of intoxicating liquor. An example of this is, "Every kind of intoxicating liquor is wine (\textit{khamr}) and every kind of wine is prohibited (\textit{ḥaram}). On another occasion the
Prophet said, "Whatever causes intoxication when consumed in large quantities is prohibited, even the slightest amount of it." Ibn al-Ukhuwwah also refers to the tradition of 'Umar who was reported as saying that wine is prohibited by the revelation and that it is of five kinds, coming from grapes ('inab), dates (tamr), wheat (burr), barley (sha'ir) and raisins (zabīb). According to the tradition of the Prophet five kinds of wine can be produced which are from grape, honey (ḥasāl), raisins (zabīb), wheat (ḥintah) and dates. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah then argues that the Prophet curses ten groups of people related to wine. On that basis, according to him some of the jurists did not allow the selling of fruit juice (ḥasāl) to anyone who proposes to convert it into wine. Al-Shāfi‘ī declares it to be a disapproved act (makrūh) parallel to the sale of arms to brigands (qāṭi‘ al-ṭariq) or to enemies at war. However, al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farraj do not make these statements. According to al-Māwardī, the muḥtasib has to take into consideration the circumstances of the case and to prevent its exposure. He should not pour away intoxicating liquor unless ordered to do so by a judge (ḥākim) who is competent to decide on legal matters, so that he will not be held responsible for the payment of compensation because it had been decided by the court. A drunkard shall be punished (ta'dīb) for

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64 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma‘ālim. pp. 32-3.

revealing his drunkenness and acting foolishly. However, he shall not be punished according to the revealed penalty (ḥadd) but that of the discretionary punishment for lack of self-control and exposing his stupidity.\textsuperscript{66}

However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah seems to disagree with the jurists. He goes further by saying that as for someone who drinks intoxicating liquor (\textit{muskir}) and is of full age (bālīgh), sane, Muslim and acting on free will (\textit{mukhtār}), he shall be punished according to the revealed punishment. If he is a free man, he shall be punished by forty stripes being inflicting on him. This is on the authority of \textsuperscript{6}Alī saying that the Prophet and Abū Bakr inflicted forty, while Umar is declared to have inflicted eighty stripes.\textsuperscript{67} However, for slaves it is half the number, parallel to the case of fornication (\textit{zinā}). The caliph may increase the penalty up to eighty stripes based on the authority of Umar. However, according to the jurists of Khurāsān this is not permissible, except if the extra stripes are considered as a discretionary penalty. This is also the opinion of al-Shafi’i.\textsuperscript{68} Ibn al-Ukhuwwah then refers to the opinion of Shaykh Izz al-Dīn ibn Abd al-Salām\textsuperscript{69} that it is permissible to combine the revealed and the

\textsuperscript{66} Al-Māwardī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā’. loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{67} Nayl al-Awṭār. vol. 7, p. 138. Wahbah. 6:152


\textsuperscript{69} d. 577/1181. See Brockelmann, GAL. supp. i, pp. 766-7.
discretionary punishments. An example of this is the case of a man committing adultery while performing a lesser pilgrimage (ʿumrah) in the midst of the Kaʿbah during Ramadān while he is fasting, where he shall be punished according to the revealed penalty for the crime of adultery. In addition to that he is punishable at the discretion of the judge for breaking the rule of the ʿumrah and his indecent behaviour at the sanctuary. It seems that this case cannot be applied to that of drinking wine, because it involves more than one offence. Thus, the combination of the two penalties is justified in this case but not in that of drinking wine. If the free man was beaten forty one stripes and died, the jurists differ. Some maintained that the muḥtasib is liable to pay half the blood-money (diyāh), on the grounds that the death was caused by a discretionary penalty inflicted in excess, and that it may give rise to action for compensation. Stripes for wine-drinking can be inflicted with hands, sandals or the other end of a piece of material. Some declared that it is also permissible to use a whip (sawṭ), on the basis of ʿAlī having Walīd ibn ʿUqbah beaten with a whip. However, the clear precedent was reported by ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Azhar, that beating was done by hands, sandals and the end of a cloth, in the presence of the Prophet. In the case of the muḥtasib using a whip and the man dying, he is liable for half of the blood-money. The jurists agree that the penalty can be inflicted if the accused has admitted to the offence of drinking\textsuperscript{70}, or if

\textsuperscript{70}Wahbah. 6:167
proof is established that he has committed such a crime. It should be noted here that the evidence of two male witnesses is needed. However, they differ in the case of someone found intoxicated or having the smell of wine. Some argue that the person should not be convicted, while others like Abū ʿAlī ibn Abī Hurayrah and Ibn Masʿūd were of the opinion that the penalty should be exacted. The majority of the jurists except for the Mālikīs are of the view that a faint smell of wine or vomit is not punishable. The Mālikīs are of the view that the penalty should be inflicted when two just witnesses smell the wine from the accused and gave evidence against him to the judge. This opinion is based on the authority of Ibn Masʿūd. However, there is no ḥadd penalty on the unprotected non-Muslim (ḥarīf), insane person and children. It is not compulsory on the dhimmi and a person acting under compulsion (mukrah).

In the case of open possession of forbidden musical instruments (malāḥi), Ibn al-Ukhluwwah gives some examples. They are zamr or mizmār, ṭunbūr, ʿūd and ṣanj. It should be noted here that

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71Ibid.

72Wahbah. 6:167-8.


74A wind instrument similar to a flute. Lane. 1:1251. Hans Wehr. p. 382.

75A stringed instrument resembling the mandolin, Lane. 2:1885. Hans Wehr. p. 570

with regard to these examples neither al-Māwardī nor Ibn al-Farraj have mentioned them. However, Levy has mistakenly quoted that al-Māwardī has include the first example. According to al-Māwardī, the muḥtasib should dismantle them in order to invalidate their original form and to punish (*ta'dīb*) the person who exposes them. If the instrument is made of wood and can be put to other uses, the muḥtasib must not break it. Ibn al-Farraj does not allow the muḥtasib to dismantle the instrument regardless of whether the wood can be put to other uses or not. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah goes further declaring that it is not permissible to sell the musical instruments. However, according to one view the sale is permissible providing that it is a profitable sale.

According to al-Māwardī, playing with dolls (*lu'ab*) is permitted when no intention of committing a sin is involved. He argues that it is an introduction to children’s upbringing and part of their basic training. However, from another perspective, playing with toys can be included as a sinful act, because they take the shape of living creatures and resemble idols which are worshipped. Thus, according to al-Māwardī and Ibn al-

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80 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, *Ma'ālim*. pp. 35-6

81 However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah has a slight different version. He says, "As for toys which (*al-latt*) are not intended for committing sin...". Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, *Ma'ālim*. p. 36.
Farrā', these are the reasons for their approval and disapproval. Here, for the *muḥtasib* to exercise his power whether to allow such acts or not would depend on the circumstances of the case. Presumably, the *muḥtasib* may ban playing with toys when they have been taken as idols⁸².

In the light of this, al-Mawardi cites a tradition where the Prophet on one occasion found his wife Ḥaishah playing with dolls (*baṇāt*) and did not disapprove of her⁸³. Ibn al-Farrā' seems to disagree with him and he refers to the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that such an act is not permissible if the dolls are in the shape of a living creature. Ibn al-Farrā' then quotes another opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that a legal guardian (*waṣīl*) must not buy any toys in the shape of living creatures even though the child demanded them⁸⁴. According to Ibn al-Farrā', Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal regards the tradition which approves of playing with dolls as *ḥarīb*. However, it should be noted here that the tradition is mentioned by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*⁸⁵.

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⁸⁴Ibn al-Farrā', loc.cit.

Al-Māwardī then reports the action of Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhri, a Shāfiʿī jurist and the muḥtasib of Baghdād during the Caliph al-Muqtadir, who closed the market of al-dāḏī and banned its selling, but sanctioned toys. However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah reads this as al-dāḏḥī, which perhaps is the correct version for Martin Levey has mentioned al-dāḏḥī or al-dāḏḥīn (Judas tree) and considered it as a useful remedy to ease a fistula, for itching and for a serious wound. It is believed that the name was derived from Greek and the tree was well-known in Spain. Abū Saʿīd argues that the former is exclusively used for the making of nabīḍh which in his view is unlawful. As for playing with dolls, it is permissible by virtue of the tradition of ʿA‘īshah. Al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah claim that the argument concerning the permission to sell dolls does not violate the rule of legal reasoning. As for al-dāḏḥī, it is mainly used for the making of nabīḍh, though it may on certain occasions be used in medicine, but this is rare. Therefore, the sale is permissible for those who considered the nabīḍh as lawful property (i.e. the Ḥanafis). The sale may also be permissible to those who consider it as unlawful property (i.e. the Shāfiʿīs) on the grounds that it can be used for medical purposes. Al-

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89 See p. 232 above.
90 See p. 232 above.
Mawardi claims that Abu Sa‘ıd al-Iṣṭakhrī prohibited the sale not because *al-dādhī* is an unlawful property, but for the reason that the market had been exclusively allocated to the selling of that item, so that the public might be misled to regard it as the same as other lawful properties. Al-Mawardi argues that on certain occasions, it is wrong to reveal even lawful matters, and thus it should be denounced, as in the case of exposing the sexual relationship between husband and wife (*mubāsharah azwāj)*\(^ {91}\).

In this way, Ibn al-Farra\(^ {9} \) refers to the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal which was narrated by Abū Ẓālib, that he disapproves of the sale of *al-dādhī* to be used for the making of intoxicating liquor (*muskir*) and that the contract cannot be concluded. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal also disapproves of the sale of dates and raisins (*zabīb*) to someone who is addicted to *nabīdh* and has been seen drinking intoxicating liquor (*muskir*), because he might turn the dates and raisins into *nabīdh*\(^ {92}\).

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\(^ {92}\) Ibn al-Farra\(^ {9} \), *Aḥkām*. p. 278.
CHAPTER SIX

The duty to inspect health professions

6.0. Introduction

Even though Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar does not mention the duty to inspect health professions as parts of the role of market supervision, there are some legal decisions made by him which seem to be related to this matter. As we have mentioned earlier, Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar disapproves of the sale of unripe dates soaked in vinegar and the practice of vendors who were blowing into carcasses\(^1\). According to Yaḥyā, such practices are unhealthy because they can spoil the food and harm the person who had eaten them\(^2\). Similarly, al-Saqaṭī also disapproves of vendors blowing into carcasses because he argues that a person who is suffering from halitosis might have corrupted the meat\(^3\). On another occasion, the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar refers to the opinion of Saḥnūn ibn Saṭīd who forbids a person suffering from leprosy to wash and take ablution by himself in running water because other healthy

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\(^1\)See previous discussions in Chapter One p. 75 and in Chapter Two pp. 111-2, 114-5.

\(^2\)Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, *The text (first)*. pp. 116-7 (blowing into carcasses), 118 (the sale of unripe dates soaked in vinegar). *The text (second)*. pp. 70-1 (blowing into carcasses), 74-5 (the sale of unripe dates soaked in vinegar).

\(^3\)Al-Saqaṭī, *al-Ḥisbah*. p. 32.
persons might be affected by him. In this case, Saḥnūn suggests that the sufferer should be helped by another person where the water will be poured out for him⁴. These cases seem to suggest that the work of Yahyā intends to ensure that the products sold in the market are safe and healthy as well as to maintain the hygiene and well-being of the public. We find this matter has been developed even further by later ḥisbah literature especially in the works of al-Māwardī, Ibn al-Farrā, al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. It is also obvious that these works have this as the duty of the muḥtasib.

As we have mention earlier, al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā held that there are three types of profession which are under the supervision of the muḥtasib⁵. We have dealt with the second and the third types of profession which in fact, are dealing with all kinds of economic activities in the market. As for the first type of profession, al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā refer to it as the medical practitioners and the teachers. We will discuss the duty of the muḥtasib to supervise the medical practitioners in this chapter, while the discussion on the teachers will be made in a subsequent chapter.

According to al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā, medical practitioners require skill and sufficient knowledge with regard to their professions

⁴Yahyā ibn ʿUmar, *The text (first)*. pp. 129-130. See previous discussions in Chapter One p. 75 and Chapter Two pp. 126-7.

⁵See previous discussion in Chapter Four p. 205.
because they are, in fact, risking other people's lives\(^6\). Therefore, the function of the *muḥtasib* in this matter is to ensure that only those who are competent be allowed to carry out treatment. However, neither al-Māwardī nor Ibn al-Farrā\(^7\) explain the skill needed by those medical practitioners. In fact, we find this matter has been discussed by al-Shayzari and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. The discussion on this matter can be found in several chapters which are concerned with the supervision of the *muḥtasib* over the pharmacists (*sayādilah*)\(^7\), the druggists (*aṭṭārīn*)\(^8\), the syrup makers (*sharrābīn*)\(^9\) and the physicians (*aṭṭābā*)\(^10\). According to Sami Hamarneh, there seems to have been three classes of medical professions involved in dispensing drugs. The first were the *sharrābīn* or sellers of liquid medication and electuaries prepared with syrup or honey. They were often uneducated and required to have beside skill, an adequate training in the theory of uses of drugs under the direction of well-qualified pharmacists (*sayādilah*). The second class were the druggists and herbalists (*aṭṭārīn*). In addition to collecting and dispensing herbs, they sold all kind of spices

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\(^6\)Ibid.


for cooking, or in cosmetics and medicines. The third class were the qualified pharmacists (ṣayādilah), well trained in the knowledge of the techniques of preparation and preservation.\footnote{Sami Hamarneh, "Origin and function of ḥisbah system in Islam and its impact on the health profession". Arch. Gesch. Med.. 1964. p. 140.}

Ibn al-Ukhuwwah maintains that medicine (ṭibb) is a science (ʿilm) which is both theoretical (naẓarī) and practical (ʿamalī). It is permitted by the sacred law (sharīʿah)\footnote{Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. p. 165. Al-Shayzari, Nihāyah. p. 97.} on the basis that thereby health is safeguarded and illnesses (ṣilāl) and sicknesses (amrād) repelled. He reports the permission to acquire it is mentioned in many traditions, one of them is related by ʿAṭāʾ ibn al-Sāib, he said; "I visited ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Aslamī who was sick and his servant (ghulām) wanted to cure (yudāwī) him but he was not permitted. So I said: "Leave him for I have heard ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿūd reporting from the Prophet that God does not send down a disease (ḍā?) without providing it with a cure (dawā'). Ibn al-Ukhuwwah adds that according to Sufyān, perhaps the tradition also mentioned: "It is an art of healing (shifā') known to someone who learned it and unknown to those who ignored it. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah also quotes among similar traditions one in which it is reported from ʿAṭāʾ ibn Abī Hurayrah that the Prophet said; "O you people! Cure your illnesses for God
does not send down a disease without providing it with a cure (dawā\(^{14}\)). He also reports from Jābir that the Prophet has sent a physician to Ubayy ibn Ka'\(\text{b}\), so that he can cauterise (kawā\(\)) him. In another tradition from Jābir, he reported: "A man was injured in the battle of Aḥzāb and the Prophet cauterised (kawā\(\)) him with his own hands". In another tradition narrated by Abū Hurayrah he said; "A man from Anṣār who is one of the Companions of the Prophet was injured in the battle of Uḥud, so the Prophet called for two physicians from Medina and ordered them to cure him. The two physicians replied; "O Messenger of God, verily it is true that we used to cure people's illnesses in Jahiliyyah's time, but when Islam came we only rely on God's destiny (tawakkul)". The Prophet then said; "Give him medical treatment because God does not send down a disease without providing it with a cure and He then heals it (shifā\(\)). The two physicians cured and he soon recovered"\(^{15}\).

Ibn al-Ukhuwwah maintains that the practice of medicine is one of the duties for which the community is responsible (farḍ\(\) kifāyah) but despite that there were no Muslims to fulfil it. Many towns had no physician who did not belong to ahl al-dhimmah, and whose evidence about physicians is not accepted in the courts. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah holds that the Muslims do not

\(^{14}\)In another reading of Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, it reads shifā\(\). Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma\(\text{\'}\)ālim. p. 165.

\(^{15}\)Ibid.
occupy themselves with studying it. Instead, they preoccupied (hafata) themselves to the study of the law (‘ilm al-fiqh), especially to the disputable (khilāfiyyāt) and controversial (jadaliyyāt) cases. Thus, the town is full (mashṣūn) of legists occupied with granting fatwā and giving replies to legal queries on points which arise. According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, the situation is, in fact, contrary to the teaching of Islam because it does not permit a situation where large numbers of people occupy themselves with a particular duty while another is neglected. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah also argues that by ignoring the duty to study and practise medicine, it would not be possible to claim superiority (taqaddum) over rivals (aqrān) and to acquire authority (tasalluṭ) over enemies.16

6.1. The duty to supervise the makers of syrups (sharrābīn) and the pharmacists (ṣayādilah)

According to al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, fraud and adulteration of drugs and syrups are numerous and it is not possible to identify them because they are of various natures (tābā‘ī) and mixtures (amzajah).17 Thus, al-Shayzarī holds that adulteration of the syrups is the most harmful act of all.18 These syrups are of benefit for certain illnesses

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16 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma‘ālim. p. 166.
18 Al-Shayzarī, Nihāyah. loc.cit.
(marāḍ) and temperaments (mazāj), but when other ingredients are added they change the quality of the mixture and inevitably do harm to the sufferer\textsuperscript{19}. It is therefore the duty of the muḥtasib to admonish the pharmacists and the syrup makers with fear of God and warn them of divine punishment and earthly punishment (taʾzīr)\textsuperscript{20}.

Ibn al-Ukhuwwah maintains that the muḥtasib should inspect (yaʾtabir) their syrups and drugs at any time without warning (ḡalā ḥīn ghaflah) and after their shops are closed, at night. Al-Shayzarī, however, suggests that the muḥtasib must inspect their drugs weekly. Perhaps this is because he is speaking about the qualified pharmacists (ṣayādilāh) not ordinary syrup makers (sharrābīn)\textsuperscript{21}.

According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, the muḥtasib must regulate the makers of syrups to prepare the syrups (ashribah) by using only a good and pure Egyptian sugar (sukkar ṭayyib naqṭ miṣrī). Other kinds of sugar like unclear (tarnīq) or imported (jalabīr) honey mixture must not be used. The muḥtasib should also regulate them to follow the medical regulations (dustur ṭibb) that for every ten ṭaṭl of sugar, three and one-third ṭaṭl of fruit juice must be added. They also must not add lemon juice to the syrups

\textsuperscript{19} Al-Shayzarī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{20} Al-Shayzarī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{21} Al-Shayzarī. loc.cit.
mixtures of apple (*tuffāḥ*), *injībār*\(^\text{22}\), violets (*banafṣāf*) or other similar syrups, because it will cause the loosening (*jarada*) of the patient’s bowels (*amfīyā‘*) and harm him\(^\text{23}\).

In this manner, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah holds that the names of the syrups are numerous. Thus, he will mention only the best known varieties and those which are commonly used\(^\text{24}\). The names of the syrups mentioned by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah are shown in the Table 6.1. below.

Table 6.1. Names of the syrups mentioned by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the syrups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb julāb</em> (rosewater syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb laynūfār</em> (syrup of nenuphar)(^\text{25})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb wārdī ṭari</em> (fresh-rose syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb wārdī azrār</em> (rose-buds syrup)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{25}\)Perhaps the correct word is *naylūfār* (nenuphar or water-lily). *Nīlūfar* or *nailūfar* is the Arabic form of the Persian *nilūfar*, derived from Sanskrit *nilotpala* meaning "blue lotus". This *nilūfar* (transformed into "nenuphar" in French and English) today designates both the white nenuphar and the blue one. Maimonides. *Glossary of Drug Names*. p. 171. It is used by Ibn Jazlah for epilepsy. J.S. Graziani, *Arabic Medicine in the Eleventh Century*. p. 212.
### Names of the syrups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb wardi mukarrar</em></td>
<td>(concentrated syrup of rose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb tuffāḥ sadhij</em></td>
<td>(plain apple syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb tuffāḥ mukhāṣab</em></td>
<td>(dyed apple syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb tuffāḥ fathī</em></td>
<td>(apple syrup as an appetizer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb laymūn murammal</em></td>
<td>(flowing lemon syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb iskanjabīl sādhiṣ</em></td>
<td>(plain <em>iskanjabīl</em> syrups)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb iskanjabīl buzūrī</em></td>
<td>(spiced oxymel syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb iskanjabīl rummānī</em></td>
<td>(pomegranate oxymel syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb ijjāṣ</em></td>
<td>(pear syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb qarāṣiyā</em></td>
<td>(prune syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb maybah ṭūfāḥ sadhīṣ</em></td>
<td>(plain quince syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb maybah muṭayyībāh</em></td>
<td>(sweet quince syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sharāb safarjal mumassak</em></td>
<td>(musk-scented quince syrup)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the syrups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharāb laymūn safarjali (lemon syrup with quince)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb dīnārī (a kind of wine syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb uṣūl (roots syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb qashr aṣl hindibā (peeled endive root syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb rummān ḥalw (sweet pomegranate syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb rummānt (pomegranate syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb shāhtiraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ṣandal ṣandalayn (syrup made of two kinds of ṣandal-wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʿawd (aloes-wood syrup)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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29 Sharāb dīnārī, a kind of wine or beverage so called in relation to Ibn Dīnār al-Ḥakīm, or because it is like the dīnār in its redness. *Lane.* 1:919.

30 See hindibā, hindabā. *Lane.* 2:2884.


32 ʿSandal, a species of trees, or a kind of wood, of sweet odour beneficial as a remedy for palpitation and for headache and for weakness of the hot stomach and for fevers. *Lane.* 2:1732.

### Names of the syrups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharāb balīlaj</td>
<td>myrobalana bellerica, a certain well-known Indian medicine very beneficial to the stomach. <em>Lane</em>. 1:246. Today, in the Middle East it is used to stimulate appetite. Graziani, <em>Medical</em>. p. 196.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ānnāb</td>
<td>jujube syrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ās</td>
<td>myrtle syrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb hilyawun</td>
<td>asparagus syrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʾistakhūdāj</td>
<td>coriander syrup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Names of the syrups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharāb zufā</td>
<td>(hyssop syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb nirjis</td>
<td>(narcissus syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb khauk</td>
<td>(peach syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb mufarriḥ</td>
<td>(a kind of anti-depressant syrup)²¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb fākiḥah</td>
<td>(fruit syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb rāwand</td>
<td>(rhubarb syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb kāfūr</td>
<td>(camphor syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb basbāyiṣ</td>
<td>(a kind of syrup for stomach etc.)²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb naʻnaʻ</td>
<td>(mint syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb marāqayā</td>
<td>(?)²³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁰Perhaps the correct word was *kuzbara barrī*, a wild coriander. The term is used by Maimonides, which is known as *shāhtiraj* (fumitory) by others. Martin Levey, *Al-Kindi Medical Formulary*, p. 289. See also Maimonides, *Glossary*, pp. 128-9.

²¹A certain well-known (exhilarating) medicine which is given to a person who is in grief and in consequence of which he becomes happy; thus called by the physicians, and by others called *sulwān*. *Lane*. 2:2362. According to Martin Levey it was known as syrup of bugloss. Martin Levey. *Med. His.*, p. 181. See also Martin Levey, *Early Arabic Pharmacology*, p. 87.

²²Basbāyiṣ: common polypody, originally in Greek and Persian terms means "many feet". Maimonides calls this drug *salāraghī" having many feet". The root is aperient, alterative, used for intestinal digestion, rheumatic pains etc. Martin Levey, *Al-Kindi*. p. 243.

²³Perhaps it was *maraq*, a kind of grapes, which are white, juicy and very sweet and are made into raisins. *Lane*. 2:1391-2. According to Martin Levey it was syrup of "soft ones". Martin Levey, *Med. His.*, p. 181.
### Names of the syrups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syrup name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharāb khall</td>
<td>(vinegar syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb anjabār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ḥummad</td>
<td>(sorrel syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb īrq sūs</td>
<td>(licorice root syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb idhkhir</td>
<td>(syrup of aromatic rushes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb nāranj</td>
<td>(bitter orange syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb najīl</td>
<td>(syrup of couch grass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb qaṭam</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb kushūt</td>
<td>(custuta syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb marās</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb tīn</td>
<td>(fig syrup)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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44 According to Martin Levey it was syrup of honeysuckle. Martin Levey. loc.cit.


46 Perhaps it was katam (phillyrea). Al-Kindī considers it as a drug for fatigue and watering of the eyes. Martin Levey, *Al-Kindī*. p. 323.


48 Or marsin, myrtle-tree, (rose of Jericho). *Hava*. 716. According to Martin Levey it was syrup of juniper and the text should read rāsin. Martin Levey. loc.cit.
### Names of the syrups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syrup Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharāb aqsantīn</td>
<td>(absinthe syrup)&lt;sup&gt;49&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʿawsaj</td>
<td>(buckthorn syrup)&lt;sup&gt;50&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb shīr khashak</td>
<td>(syrup of manna)&lt;sup&gt;61&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ṭīlt</td>
<td>(mulberry syrup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʿunasul</td>
<td>(syrup of squill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb lisān thawr</td>
<td>(syrup of borage)&lt;sup&gt;52&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʿasal</td>
<td>(syrup of honey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʿadhbaḥ</td>
<td>(syrup of tamarisk fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb jummār</td>
<td>(syrup of the honey in the pit of the date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb iskanjābil ʿunasūl</td>
<td>(syrup of squill oxymel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ḥaṣram munāʿnaʿ</td>
<td>(syrup of verjuice with mint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ʿaṣāt rāʾt</td>
<td>(syrup of knotweed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>49</sup>Martin Levey. Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>African tea tree. *Elias*. p. 466. According to Martin Levey it was syrup of lycium. Martin Levey. Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Shīr khashak. Martin Levey. loc.cit.

Names of the syrups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sharāb amlaj (syrup of emblic myrobalan)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharāb ibrīsam (?)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These syrups vary in character according to their purposes. Each is composed of julep (julāb) with juice of the fruit (mā' fākiḥah) from which it takes its name or extract of the flower (mā' zahr), or what it includes of herbs or drugs. The julep is not the required ingredient for medicine. It is only used as a medium (wasīlah) for administering the fruit-juice, flower-water or drugs. The function of the julep is to convert the syrup to sweetness (ḥalāwah) which makes the taking of it more pleasant and its acceptance is quicker 55.

The medicine must not be prepared to be used in pastilles, electuaries and medicinal powder (safūfāt) 56 until they had been inspected by a person who is well known for his experience and training in dealing with them. Beside that, the person is also required to have a good personality

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54Perhaps it was barṣīm or birṣīm, the round or kidney shaped reddish seed of barṣīm baladī (indigenous barṣīm) which is sold in the bazaars of Cairo as fortificant and tonic. Maimonides, Glossary. p. 243. See under Qurt.

55Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maḏalim. p. 117.

56Martin Levey, Early. pp. 81-2.
(ahl khayr wa ṣalāḥ). In this manner, Ibn al-Ukhuuwah suggests that the _muḥtasib_ had to compel the pharmacists and syrup makers to use the drugs mentioned in the _Dustūr_ of Ibn Bayān⁵⁷, or that of Ibn al-Tilmīdh⁵⁸.

As we have mentioned earlier, adulteration of syrups and drugs occurs frequently. In this way, we find _ḥisbah_ literature serves as a guide book for the _muḥtasib_, so that he would be able to identify the adulterated syrups. On some occasions, the works of _ḥisbah_ also suggest various methods of testing the syrups. The works also provide some information concerning the types and methods for preparing the commonly known syrups.

With regard to rhubarb, according to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, there are three kinds; two of them are known as old varieties, while the third is the new one. The two old varieties are the Chinese and the Zanjī⁵⁹, and the new one is the Turkish. Chinese rhubarb is the best variety and it is

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⁵⁹Negro or perhaps the Indian variety. Martin Levey, _Al-Kindī_. p. 337.
imported from China. Those who bring it from China relate that it is the root of a plant resembling colocasion (qulqās). In appearance it resembles thick pieces of wood, each about the size of a man's palm or less. It is dust-coloured (aghbar) with blood-red (ḥamrah qāni'ah) from the outside, and the colour of its joint (maqta') is yellow. As for the substance (jawhar) it is light (khiffah), soft (rakhawah) and delicate (hashāshah). When some of it is chewed (muḍigha), it becomes sticky (lazujah), and when eaten, it is found to have a depressive (qabq), bitterness (mararah) and sharpness (ḥiddah). When some portion of the chewed substance has been rubbed into one's hand, its colour changes to saffron yellow. The best variety is that when its substance is not thick (kathīf), its taste is not too strong and the joint is free from woodworm (sūs). Whenever the substance is thick and the taste is strong, then it has been adulterated. As for the Zanjī and the Turkish varieties, their colour, taste, smell and effect are inferior to the Chinese, and thus the muhtasib must inspect and be able to identify all of them.

As for agaric (ghāriqūn), the pure one can be known to have a white colour, lightness in weight and a bitter taste. It should not be

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60 According to Martin Levey rhubarb is grown in China, Turkey, Russia, and in parts of India and Tibet. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 337. See under manj.


62 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma'ālim. p. 118.

63 It is said that it grows in the interior of a rotting cedar. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 309.
distinguished by white colour only, because this can be adulterated by the use of a white dye, but with the taste and lightness of its weight as well. The drug also can be tested by putting it into the water, then stirring it until the solution is mixed. If it floats (ṣafā) then it is pure, but if most of it sinks (rasaba) to the bottom of the solution, then it is adulterated. The best variety of its kind is white smooth (āmlas) and easily divided. Despite its acridity (ḥarāfah) it has a sweet taste, which is the female. In contrast, the male is not good in taste, hard and has very dark-coloured.64

With regard to an unadulterated taranjabin65, it varies from white to rather red, the seeds are red and round, and the sap (duhn) is light. The taste is sweet inclined to the taste of mann (honey dew or manna) and it causes nausea (taghthiyah). It is also similar to the taste of calamus aromaticus (qand). When dissolved in hot water, it produces a small amount of fatty substances (duhniyyah) on top of the solution and at the bottom with a substance like a fine ground (maqshur) almond (lawz) and has the smell of the almond. An adulterated substance does not have this kind of smell. The best of its kind is fresh and white, which is in a moderate warm

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64 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma‘ālim. pp. 118-9.

65 Manna: taranjabin in Persian means “honey of the dew” which may be found on a variety of plants. It is that which is called manna (mann) and one also calls it rizq (“provision”). Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 275-6. Graziani, Medical. p. 220.
condition, the mixture (mizâj) is deficient of sugar, and it is much sweeter and moist\textsuperscript{66}.

\textit{Shîr khushk}\textsuperscript{67} is of two kinds and brought from Khurâsân. Its good variety is white, light in weight and has a "true" sweetness. When a small amount of it has been put on the tongue, its taste is very cool. The other is known as \textit{bîrakhshak}\textsuperscript{68}, which is white in colour, but is darker than the first. When some of it has been put on the tongue, it has only a slight sweet taste. Only a small amount of it can be sieved out (\textit{nakhalâ})\textsuperscript{69}, and it leaves lots of dregs which look like gum (\textit{şamgh}). Sometimes it has been adulterated with a substance known as \textit{fanîdā}\textsuperscript{70}, and the pure can be recognized as having a leaf from its tree and a shell (\textit{qashr}). These are not to be found in the adulterated. Sometimes it had been sprinkled with a flour of \textit{hawwârî}\textsuperscript{71}, when it becomes emaciated (\textit{fûrîra}). This should be tested by putting it on a white cloth (\textit{khirqâh}) between two hands, and the flour of an adulterated substance will then remain in the cloth, or to break

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\textsuperscript{66}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma'âlîm}. p. 119.

\textsuperscript{67}Type of \textit{taranjubin} (manna) called by the Persian "siracost" or dry milk. Maimonides, \textit{Glossary}. p. 276.

\textsuperscript{68}In another reading of Ibn al-Ukhuwwah it was \textit{shîr khushk}. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma'âlîm}. p. 119.

\textsuperscript{69}Perhaps the correct reading is \textit{nakhalâ} (to sieve out) not (\textit{naḥala}) to be emaciated. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{70}\textit{Fanîdā}, a sugar candy or sweetmeat. Al-Kindî employs sugar candy as a vehicle for simples in an electuary for a cough from catarrh. Martin Levey, \textit{Al-Kindî}. p. 312.

\textsuperscript{71}\textit{Hawwârî}, a white farina without the bran. Martin Levey, \textit{Al-Kindî}. p. 263.
it into pieces, and if the inside (dākhil) and the rest (ḥaul) are the same then it is good, if not, it is adulterated. This is obvious to an expert\textsuperscript{72}.

As for cassia fistula (khiyār shanbar)\textsuperscript{73}, the sale of new flakes (fulūs) must be forbidden as being harmful. It should be matured and be from three to ten years old and the same is applied to its honey\textsuperscript{74}.

With regard to sharāb fuqqa\textsuperscript{75}, it is of two kinds, khaṣṣ (special variety) and khārījī (foreign variety). The khaṣṣ is made of sugar (sukkar), pomegranate seed, aromatic spices (afāwīh) and perfume (tiḥ), and it is known as aqsimā ("the portion"). The khārījī is made of qaṭṭārat al-ḍāl\textsuperscript{76}. Calamus aromaticus (ʿasal al-qāṣab) and mursal should be used in preparing them. Therefore, the makers of this kind of syrup should be compelled to use for every jug (kūz) of the khaṣṣ variety with one ʿaqīyah\textsuperscript{77} of sugar (sukkar), a quarter ʿaqīyah of pomegranate seeds and

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\textsuperscript{72} Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maṭālim}. pp. 119-120.

\textsuperscript{73} A well known kind of tree, resembling a peach-tree and have a yellow flower, which is an Arabized Persian word. Lane. 1:831

\textsuperscript{74} Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maṭālim}. p. 120.

\textsuperscript{75} A kind of syrup made of barley (shaʿār) or fruits. Munjīd. pp. 540-1.

\textsuperscript{76} Regarding the qaṭṭārah, according to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah some of the cooks (ṭabbākh) have adulterated muhallabiyaṭ (a halwa made of rice flour, milk and sugar) with a calamus aromaticus (ʿasal al-qāṣab) and said to the customer that it was a qaṭṭārah. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maṭālim} chapter 18, p. 107. In al-Shayzarī, some of the halwa-makers have mixed the honey with a calamus aromaticus (ʿasal a-qāṣab), which they called qaṭṭārah. Al-Shayzarī, \textit{Nihāyah}. p. 40.

\textsuperscript{77} An Egyptian weight equals to 37.44g. Hans Wehr. p. 34.
perfume. The mixture (ḍarībah) of the kharijī is that for every one hundred jug, one-third and eight ḥaṭṭ of Egyptian weight of the qaṭṭārah, together with aromatic spices and perfumes must be added.

Barley-water (māṣhāṭr) should not be prepared expect in warm condition (ḥārr), that is to take clean barley and to sieve (thufl) it, then to crush and boil it into the fire. The substance will then be left to cool down. Then it should be purified and 'asal qaṭṭārah, aromatic spices, perfumes and rue (sadḥāb) are added to it. It is said that these substances are good to regain health and digest the food.

In the preparation of the syrups, the muhtasib should compel the syrup makers to have beside them a fly-wisk to chase away flies because they would contaminate the jug and water container (wīḍār). This is because someone might take a sip (maṣṣ) in that contaminated jug and it would cause him to be nauseated.

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78 An Egyptian weight equals to 449.28g. Hans Wehr. p. 345.
79 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṭālim. pp. 120-1.
80 Perhaps the correct reading is sadḥāb not sadāb. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṭālim. p. 121.
81 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṭālim. p. 120.
82 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṭālim. p. 121.
The muḥtasib should compel the syrup makers to wash their containers everyday. He should also require them to cover the containers and clean them with a rough palm-fibre (khashn al-layf) from the inside of the jug before filling it with syrups. The same is to be done to the containers of the barley-water. The muḥtasib must inspect the syrup makers of their receptacles (qirāb) for their syrups of rose (wardī), nenuphar (laynūfar) and rose-water (julāb). When the muḥtasib finds that their receptacles had became soil with grease (zafrān), he should warn the person concerned and compel him to wash them.

The syrup makers should shut their shops during the night with a gate to be made of cane (qaṣāb) or palm branches (jarīd) in order to keep out the dogs. The same is applied to the containers, when grown old and smelling, the muḥtasib should order them not to use it and to change its tin (qaṣdir) for every three months and to evaporate it before refilling. All these must be inspected by the muḥtasib.

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83. Ibid.

84. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maḥālim. p. 120.

85. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maḥālim. p. 121.
6.2. The duty to supervise the druggists (ʼattārīn)

Ibn al-Ukhuwwah states that the discussion on this matter is amongst the most important matters with which the muḥtasib must pay attention (iʿtinā) and scrutiny (kashf). The muḥtasib must not permit anyone to buy drugs (ʼaqāqīr) and kinds (ašnāf) of perfumery (cīr)\textsuperscript{86}, except for those who have knowledge (maʿrifah), experience (khibrah) and practical skill (tajribah). They must also be trustworthy (thiqah) and reliable (amīn) in their religion with fear of God. This is because drugs (ʼaqāqīr) are normally bought from the druggists (ʼattārīn) in a simple form (mufradah), which then will be compounded. Sometimes an ignorant person might buy a drug with the intention that it was what he needed and then sell it to another ignorant person convinced of its benefits. However, it may be the opposite of what is required and cause harm. The situation is very perilous because as mentioned before drugs are of various natures (ṭabāʾi) and mixtures (amzajah), and the cures (tadāwī) are dependent on the type of mixed ingredients. Thus, when another substance is added to them it changes the quality of the mixture. Therefore, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah suggests that the muḥtasib must inspect these adulterations of the drugs

\textsuperscript{86} Iṭr synonym of ṭub; denotes perfumes, an odoriferous or fragrant substance. ʼIṭarah in the present day and in the medical books signifies perfumes and drugs. Lane. 2:2078. Hava. p. 480. Munjīd. p. 512. Lane. 2:1669. Šaydalah designates to the trade of ʼiṭarah (i.e. drugs and perfumes).
by the druggists (‘affūrīn)\(^87\). Ibn al-Ukhuwwah then begins by elaborating various methods of adulterating the drugs and the ways to identify them.

Some of the druggists have adulterated ṭabāshīr,\(^88\) with burnt bone (‘izām māḥrūq) and this can be distinguished by putting it in water, where the bone will sink (rasāba) and the ṭabāshīr will float (ṭaфа). The best of its kind is light in scale, white in colour, can be easily skinned (sarī tafarruq)\(^89\) and crushed (ṣaḥaq). It is cold and is astringent in taste (qabq\(^90\)) with slight dissolution (yasīr taḥlīl)\(^91\).

With regard to male frankinsence (lubān dhakar)\(^92\), some of the druggists have adulterated it with gum (ṣanīgh)\(^93\) and colophony

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\(^87\)Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma‘ālim. pp. 121-2.

\(^88\)Ṭabāshīr is a Persian word which designates “bamboo manna”, crystalline concretions that one extracts from the internodes of bamboo. They are composed of silica, potash, lime and organic substances. Some say that the term (ṭabāshīr) is also used for ivory or calcinated bone with which one falsifies the true bamboo manna. According to Maimonides it is called “ash of the serpent” ramād al-ḥayya. Maimonides, Glossary, p. 122. It is also said that the ṭabāshīr is a bluish white, hard, light substance and forms a kind of glass when fused with alkalines. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. p. 300.

\(^89\)faraka. Hava. p. 559.

\(^90\)Qabq\(^\); a medicine, food etc, that is astringent. Lane. 2:2482. Hava. p. 584.

\(^91\)Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma‘ālim. p. 122.

\(^92\)Also known as kundur in Persian. Maimonides, Glossary. p. 132.

\(^93\)Ṣanīgh: Gum arabic, Dioscorides calls it Aqaquya. In Egypt, it is gum arabic of Acacia sperocarpay. It may be obtained from Acacia nilotica, Minosa nilotica - true Egyptian acacia and Acacia Senegal. Maimonides calls the Acacia tree, al-shawkah al-miṣrīyyah, al-shawkah al-arabiyya and aghaylan. Tuḥfāt al-Əḥbāb gives a synonym of the tree as al-Talh. Graziani,
However, this can be identified by putting it in the fire, where the colophony will burn and its smoke produces a pleasant smell (faḥa). The druggists also have adulterated tamarind (tamr hindi)\(^94\) with wax (shama\(^c\)), salt and vinegar (khall). The adulteration becomes apparent when the drug decays (caFUNa). They also have adulterated costus (qaṣṭ ḥalw)\(^95\) with elecampane roots (ašl al-rāṣin)\(^96\) and signs of its adulteration can be known because the former has a certain smell and taste when put on the tongue as opposed to the latter\(^97\).

As for zaghab\(^98\) of nard (sunbul)\(^99\), some of the druggists have

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\(^94\)There are two suggestions, thamar hindi (Martin Levey and Graziani) and tamr hindi (Maimonides). Both are referring to tamarind Tamarindus indica L., Leguminous plants indigenous to India. Maimonides calls the tree al-jumar and the fruit, al-ṣubar. Tamarind yields a very astringent substance prescribed for chest complaints, acute fever etc, and also used as a laxative and mouthwash. Maimonides, Glossary, pp. 271-2. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 251. Graziani, Medical. p. 220.

\(^95\)Qaṣṭ; costus. According to Maimonides it is al-bustaj, which is derived from the Persian bustah, meaning “incense”. In the account of Meyerhof, the aromatic odour of the costus reminds one of the carnation. It is used in fumigation and as an expectorant and antiasthmatic. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 316. Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 236-7. Lane. 2:2523. Munjid. p. 628.

\(^96\)Rāṣin; elecampane which had been prescribed since Dioscorides for the stomach. Maimonides says it is the ginger of Syria (zanjabīl shāmt). According to Meyerhof, this drug is the thick and fleshy underground portion of the stem, not the root, as Ducros claims. It is aromatic, tonic and stimulant. In Egypt, the druggists sell the dried, brown and wrinkled stem under the name ʿIrq al-janāḥ. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 270. Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 248-9. Lane. 1:1086.

\(^97\)Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. p. 122.

\(^98\)A kind of down that covers flowers of a plant (barāʾim nabāt) when they first appear especially that of grapevine. The Arabs and the Indians used this kind of down from date palm to make fabrics. Munjid. p. 299.
adulterated it with colocasia (qulqās)\textsuperscript{100}. The adulteration can be known by putting the substance into the mouth, where the person will become nauseous (ghathā) and it stings (jāraqa)\textsuperscript{101}.

Opium (afyūn)\textsuperscript{102} which is a soporific (marqād)\textsuperscript{103} is usually adulterated with plain pounded herbs (bāqalā' yābis mādqūq). Some say that lentils (cadas) were used instead of that. It is made from the juice of a black Egyptian poppy (cašārat khashkhash aswad misrī). The best of its kind must be thick (kathīf), sedative (razīn) and bitter (murr) with a very strong smell which can be easily dissolved (sahl inḥīlāl) in hot water and softens (hashsha) in the heat of the sun. It is white inclining toward slight redness and its taste has a certain bitterness (marārah) and astringency

\textsuperscript{59}Sunbul; nard, which is of many kinds, namely the Greek, Indian etc. The word nard is derived from the Sanskrit nalada meaning "fragrant". According to Meyerhof, in Egypt the ear of the true Celtic nard is rarely sold in the bazaars. More frequently sold is the "rhizome" of the Indian nard, which is the Valerianaceous plant, an Indian drug originating from the mountain of Nepal. It is used for epilepsy, convulsion etc. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. pp. 286-7. Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 177-8. Lane. 1:1440.

\textsuperscript{100}The colocasia or arum colocasia; the root of a plant which is eaten and used medically. The word qulqās has not been mentioned by Kindi or Maimonides, only the Tuhfat al-Aḥbāb gives synonyms as irni and lāf (arum). It is used to destroy nasal polyps, to cause abortion, and is good for convulsion, coughs and gout. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. p. 331. See Maimonides (lāf), Glossary. pp. 145-6. Lane. 2:2560. Hans Wehr. p. 787.

\textsuperscript{101}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma'ālim. p. 123.

\textsuperscript{102}Afyūn; opium is the milky exudation of the poppy obtained by incising the unripe capsules of the family Papaveraceae when approaching maturity. The juice is allowed to harden overnight, then is scraped into a receiver. It turns greyish in colour, tough like plastic when fresh and it hardens by age. It has a strong characteristic odour, bitter taste and is a narcotic. According to Maimonides some people call it al-marqād instead of al-murqīd "the soporific". Graziani, Medical. p. 193. Maimonides, Glossary (Ufyūn). p. 26.

\textsuperscript{103}An opium which is lulling and soporific. Munjid. p. 274. Hava. p. 265.
(qabd). It is easy to dissolve (ha'il) and purified. The adulterated substance can be known when there are dregs (thufl) remaining in it. It is adulterated with māmīthāh,104 wild milk of lettuce (laban kḥass barri) and gum (ṣamgh).106 What is adulterated with gum becomes very sparkling and pure107.

The druggists also have adulterated blue bdellium (muql azraq)108 with strong gum (ṣamgh qawt). This can be distinguished because the Indian variety has a certain strong pure smell (rā'īhah tāhirah).109 Some of them have adulterated lubān bark with that of pine (ṣanawbar).110 This can be tested and distinguished by throwing it in the fire, when it

104 Māmīthāh: Horned poppy or corn poppy; Ibn Jazlah describes it as yellow to black with fragrant odour and bitter taste. Tuhfat al-ʿAbdāb states that it is a juice extracted from a medicinal plant of good odour, bitter in taste, and having a colour between yellow and red. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī, p. 332. Graziani, Medical, p. 209.

105See kḥass or kḥash (lettuce). Martin Levey, Early, p. 65.

106See previous note.

107Ibn al-Ukhuwaw, Maʿālim, p. 123.

108According to Abū ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz al-Dīnawarī, muql is a type of gum arabic (ṣamgh) and its tree is known as kār. Abū ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz al-Dīnawarī, Book of Plants, p. 89. Maimonides states that muql is applied to the resin of this type of tree (kār) and there are Indian, Arabic and Sicilian. The resin is called muql azraq ("blue bdellium") and muql Yahūd ("Jewish bdellium"). One sells both types in the bazaar of Cairo under the name ṣamgh muql. They are used against coughing, snake bites, haemorrhoids and for the purification of the uterus, etc. Maimonides, Glossary, pp. 158-9. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī, p. 336.

109In another version of Ibn al-Ukhuwaw, this can be translated as by means of evaporation (ṭabkhir). Ibn al-Ukhuwaw, Maʿālim, p. 123.

110There are two types, male and female. The male has no fruits and the female is of two types; one produces large seeds, the other small seeds. The small seeds are those which are called qadm Quraish and kirkir and bttus (pits). Apart from being prescribed as a remedy for all sorts of illnesses, the pine (ṣanawbar) was used for its resin in fumigation. Maimonides, Glossary, p. 216. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī, p. 299.
burns, if it exhales a pleasant odour (fāḥā), it is unadulterated (khālis), if not, it is adulterated\textsuperscript{111}.

Some of them have adulterated hairy saffron (\textit{al-za'farān al-sha'ārī})\textsuperscript{112} with chicken or cow flesh after it had been boiled in water, then sprinkled it with salt, dried it out and mixed them together. The sign of its adulteration is to take out some of the substance and soak it in a vinegar, if it becomes agitated (\textit{taqalluq})\textsuperscript{113} then it is adulterated, and vice versa. They have adulterated ground wheat (\textit{maṭḥūn})\textsuperscript{114} with safflower or coarsely crushed grain (\textit{jarīsh})\textsuperscript{115}. The adulteration is obvious by dissolving some of the mixture and putting it in a piece of cloth (\textit{khirqah}), whereby some of the mixture which does not descend will remain in there. The test can be made by taking some of the saffron and dissolving it in water, whereby the adulterated substance will sink\textsuperscript{116}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{111}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma'ālim}. p. 123.
\item \textsuperscript{112}\textit{Za'farān}; saffron. According to Maimonides, it is also known as \textit{al-jādir} and \textit{kurkum}. The saffron was a precious material and consequently subjected to falsification. The deep orange colour of a dried stigma of saffron is used as a stimulant in medicine. Saffron yellow or other colour substances were used in alchemy. Also the dried red stigmas is used as a colouring agent in medicine. Graziani. \textit{Medical}. p. 222. Maimonides, \textit{Glossary}. p. 97. Martin Levey, \textit{Al-Kindi}. pp. 275-6.
\item \textsuperscript{113}becomes agitated by tendency to vomit, synonym to \textit{ghathā}. Lane. 2:2559. \textit{Hava}. p. 624.
\item \textsuperscript{114}which had been finely ground and fit to eat. \textit{Lane}. 2:1832.
\item \textsuperscript{115}\textit{Hava}. p. 85. \textit{Munjid}. p. 87.
\item \textsuperscript{116}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma'ālim}. pp. 123-4.
\end{itemize}
Some of the druggists have adulterated musk (misk)\textsuperscript{117} with Turkish rhubarb (rāwand turki)\textsuperscript{118} or "dragon blood" (dam al-akhawayn)\textsuperscript{119} and rāmik\textsuperscript{120} al-qāṭir\textsuperscript{121} placed in musk-pod (nāfṭjāh). The adulteration can be distinguished by crushing (sahāqa) them in the rose water (mā wardī), whereby the water will turn to red and the Turkish rhubarb will float in the surface of the rose water because it is a wood (khashab). When crushed, an unadulterated musk will have strong

\textsuperscript{117}Musk is the dried secretion from the preputial follicles of the musk deer, Moschus moschiferus. The musk deer is a small animal which inhabits a large area in Central Asia. The male animal, which alone produces the musk, bears on its belly, a small sac produced by an infolding of the skin. This sac is the musk sac or musk pod, and it contains a soft, unctuous, brownish substance, musk, which is remarkable for its intense, penetrating and persistent odour. The animals are snared or shot, and the musk pods cut out trimmed and dried; they are then wrapped singly in paper and packed about twenty-five together in a small rectangular box covered with silk; this box is known as a "caddy". Most of the musk is obtained from Tibet and Chinese provinces of Szechuen and Yunan. The musk pods are examined by probing them with a knife and classified them into piles. Musk is liable to gross adulteration. The pods are skiffly opened, part of the musk is removed and replaced by some worthless substitute. Inorganic substances, such as small stones, leaden shot, etc are easily detected. Dried blood would yield a red ash, whereas the ash of genuine musk is whitish. Rosin and other substances in soluble spirit would be recognised by the increase in the alcoholic extract. Henry G. Greenish. Textbook of Materia Medica. London 1909. pp. 607-610. See Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. pp. 310-11. Graziani, Medical. p. 210.

\textsuperscript{118}Rāwand; rhubarb, see also manj; rhubarb. Manj is a Persian word. Rhubarb is grown in China, Turkey, Russia, and parts of India and Tibet. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. p. 397. Graziani, Medical. p. 214. However, according to Greenish, the term of Turkey and East Indian rhubarb indicate nothing more than the routes by which the drug formerly found its way to the European market. He added that the drug was collected in Tibet and China. Henry G. Greenish, Materia Medica. pp. 415-7.

\textsuperscript{119}Dam al-akhawayn; a resin from various plants of the lily family. Maimonides gives other names such as qāṭir "the distilled". This resin brought from Malacca, Indochina and Somaliland, is still used today in powder form as a hemostatic and cicatrizing agent in Egypt. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. p. 268.

\textsuperscript{120}An electuary of gallnut with aromatic drugs. According to Ibn Ḵabīr, rāmik consists of gallnut, unripe dates, bark of pomegranate, musk and others. In the Tuhfāt al-ʿAḥābā, rāmik is considered to be a confection composed of gallnut, such aromatic drugs as mastic, benjamin and others. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. p. 270.

\textsuperscript{121}Qāṭir is a term used by Maimonides to designate dragon blood (dam al-akhawayn). Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 74-5.
odour and percolate (rashāḥa). Another method of the adulteration of musk is when the musk-pod (nāfijah) is made of bark (qushūr) of amlaj \(^{122}\) and Indian (hindī) shīṭaraj \(^{123}\) with sādarwan \(^{124}\). Then they knead the mixture with water and pine gum resin (ṣamīgh ṣanawbar), and they produce the musk from this and other similar substances. They collect the musk-pod (nāfijah) from this and they cover the top of it with gums, then dry it out in the oven (tannūr). Signs of adulteration of all kinds of musk-pods can be recognized by opening them and striking (lathama) them like mutaḥassā \(^{125}\). If it appears to have a certain sharpness (ḥiddah) like fire, then it is of an outstanding quality (fāḥl) \(^{126}\) and free from adulterated substances like blood and others. If it is the opposite, then it is adulterated. In order to distinguish the adulteration of all kinds of musk, it is necessary to put some of it in your mouth, then to spit (tafala) it on a white shirt and to shake it off. If after the shaking, the shirt does not change its colour,

\(^{122}\) Emblic myrobalan, fruit of Phyllanthus emblica L. Al-Kindi uses emblic myrobalan in musk recipes. The drug is originally imported from China and India. Martin Levey, _Al-Kindi_. p. 235.

\(^{123}\) Shīṭaraj or sīṭaraj; pepperwort or rose-coloured leadwort. This must not be confused with šāḥṭaraj. The plant is indigenous to Java, Ceylon and India. Martin Levey, _Al-Kindi_. pp. 296-7.

\(^{124}\) Uncertain. The _Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb_ calls it the gum of an old oak, and gives a synonym as al-sindiyān. Al-Kindi uses it in drug for canker, looseness of the gum and for a fistula. M. Levey, _Al-Kindi_. pp. 278-9. According to Maimonides it is a kind of cherry and also known as sarāsīya and ḥubb al-mulāk (seed of the kings). Others say sādurwān or syyād dawārān is a gum which furnished a black colouring material. Maimonides, _Glossary_. pp. 263-4.

\(^{125}\) Uncertain; perhaps it is to dig (ḥasiya syn. ʾiṭtafara) or to put something to test (ḥasiya syn. ikhtabara). _Munjid_. p. 134. However, al-Shayzarī reads it as al-mutaḥaththā (i.e. to scatter). Al-Shayzarī, _Nihāyah_. p. 48. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, _Maʿālim_. p. 124.

then it is unadulterated either by blood or the like and vice versa. Some of the druggists have ground the musk together with gazelle blood and gather it in the animal's guts (muṣrān). Others have adulterated it with burnt bread and others with burnt liver (kubūd)\textsuperscript{127}.

As for Damascus rose-water (al-mā ward al-dimashqī), the druggists have adulterated it by applying a small amount of water with ten raḥl of ḥanṣal\textsuperscript{128} and shabb\textsuperscript{129} pulp (shaḥm) until it is given an astrigence (ʿufūṣah) and bitterness (marārah). The adulteration can be distinguished by taste\textsuperscript{130}.

Ambergris (ʿanbar)\textsuperscript{131} paste (maṣjūn) is adulterated by adding wax (šamān) to it. The adulteration can be determined by heating a large needle

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\textsuperscript{129} Shabb; alum, a kind of tree with a bitter taste and a certain well known medicine. Lane. 2:1493. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. pp. 291-2.

\textsuperscript{130} Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. p. 125.

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(misallah) and piercing (shakk) it into a bead (kharzah)\footnote{There are two other optional readings and both are rather inaccurate; jazrah: blood sacrifice, and ḥirzah: amulet. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maˈalim}. p. 125.} of the ambergris, if it flows (sāl) over the large needle, then it is a wax, but if the bead breaks (inkasara) and a green herbage (cushb) became apparent, then it is ambergris. The druggists also have adulterated the ambergris with a substance called \textit{lisān ḥubb al-ṣuṣfūr}\footnote{\textit{Lisān al-ṣuṣfūr}; a type of plant called honey-wort. \textit{Hava}. p. 685.}. The adulteration can be known by putting it into a fire, where the \textit{lisān al-ṣuṣfūr} will become hardened (tasalaba). It can also be known by putting it into water, if it becomes emaciated (nahala) then it is \textit{lisān ʿuṣfūr}\footnote{Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maˈalim}. p. 125.}.

Some of the druggists have adulterated \textit{zubdah}\footnote{Perhaps the correct term is \textit{zabad} meaning civet. Civet is secreted by the civet cat, in follicles near the anus. Its smell is unpleasant unless diluted and is used in perfumery to augment the smell of other substances. Al-Shayzari also uses the term \textit{zabad}. Al-Shayzari, \textit{Nihāyah}. p. 51. \textit{Hans Wehr}. p. 372. Gray. \textit{Pharmacology}. p. 233. \textit{Hava}. p. 283.} with \textit{ṣufr maḥlūt}\footnote{Uncertain. Perhaps it is similar to \textit{ṣufr al-ṭayyib} and \textit{ṣufr al-ṣifrīt} which are an odoriferous substance added to incense (unguis odoratus). \textit{Lane}. 2:1913. \textit{Hava}. p. 446.}. The adulteration can be known because those with \textit{ṣufr} will become solid and only a pure civet will produce a delicate substance in one's hand with such a strong odour\footnote{Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maˈalim}. p. 125.}. 

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item There are two other optional readings and both are rather inaccurate; jazrah: blood sacrifice, and ḥirzah: amulet. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maˈalim}. p. 125.
\item \textit{Lisān al-ṣuṣfūr}; a type of plant called honey-wort. \textit{Hava}. p. 685.
\item Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maˈalim}. p. 125.
\item Perhaps the correct term is \textit{zabad} meaning civet. Civet is secreted by the civet cat, in follicles near the anus. Its smell is unpleasant unless diluted and is used in perfumery to augment the smell of other substances. Al-Shayzari also uses the term \textit{zabad}. Al-Shayzari, \textit{Nihāyah}. p. 51. \textit{Hans Wehr}. p. 372. Gray. \textit{Pharmacology}. p. 233. \textit{Hava}. p. 283.
\item Uncertain. Perhaps it is similar to \textit{ṣufr al-ṭayyib} and \textit{ṣufr al-ṣifrīt} which are an odoriferous substance added to incense (unguis odoratus). \textit{Lane}. 2:1913. \textit{Hava}. p. 446.
\item Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Maˈalim}. p. 125.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Preserved (murabbā) halīla{j} is adulterated by putting it in a bright green watermelon (baṭṭīkh) for one day. When this has become tender, honey (cāsal nahl) and pulp (rubb) of carob (kharrāb) are added to it. The adulteration can be known by taste and colour because normally it has a black colour and abundance (ṭīzār) of fleshy substance. As for the adulterated substance the fleshy substance is scarce and the colour changes, also it has a strong taste.

As for ambergris (cānbar), some of the druggists have produce it from a brownish liquor of the cuttle fish (zubd al-baḥr), a black gum (ṣamīgh aswād), a white wax (shama ṣabyaq), a sandarach (sandaras), an aloe-wood (cūd) and a nard (sunbul). It may be produced on its own or to mix it with other similar substances as a

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138 Halīla{j}: Black or kabul chebulic myrobalan. Probably Terminalia chebula Retz or T. citrina Roxb. It is generally used as a purgative. The Persians call it halīlaḥ siyāḥ, in Arabic it is sometimes alīlaḥ aswād. The tree is indigenous to India. Maimonides gives the Indian synonym as hārsar. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 342.

139 See baṭṭīkh aḥḍar ("green melon") called by the Egyptian which is of several species. Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 41, 76. See Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. pp. 314-5.


141 This also signifies a cuttle fish bone, jellyfish and others. The Arabic name meaning "ecumen of the sea" may refer to many different things. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 272.


143 Sandarəs; the sandarach of Callitris quadrivalvis, indigenous to northwest Africa is a resin exuding from the stems. It is used today as incense and as a remedy for diarrhea in Morocco and Egypt. Martin Levey, Al-Kindi. p. 287.

fraudulent substitutes. It should be mentioned here that according to al-Shayzarî, the adulteration can be known by heating the ambergris which will produce a certain distinct smell. Meanwhile, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah suggests three kinds of tests; by piercing a hot needle into it, by putting it in water and by smelling it.

Some of the druggists have adulterated Indian aloe-wood (cud hindi), by using a sandalwood (sandal) instead. First they let it cool down until it looks similar to the Indian aloe-wood, then they soak (naqa'a) it in a cooked old grape vine (karm), put some perfume on it (rawwa'ha) and mix it with the Indian aloe-wood. The adulteration can be known by throwing them in a fire, where the smell of the sandalwood will be obvious. Some of the druggists produce the aloe-wood from a certain bark of wood, which is called al-iblin by soaking it in rose water prepared with musk.

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145 Al-Shayzarî, Nihâyah. p. 51.
146 Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma'âlim. p. 125.
147 In India, for centuries sandalwood has been prescribed by Vytians in remittent fever and gonorrhea. The white sandalwood grows in Sumatra, Siam and Malacca. The sandalwood of the eastern islands is inferior to that of Malabar. In India, the Arabs place sandalwood among their cardia. Al-Kindi employs sandalwood in many types of perfumery operations. In modern Egypt, the white sandalwood is used as an aromatic for gonorrhea. Martin Levey, Al-Kindî. pp. 298-9.
149 Unknown. In another version of Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, al-ibili has been suggested but it seems rather inappropriate because the word means a kind of clay used in medicine. Maimonides, Glossary. p. 122. Hava. p. 45. Munjid. p. 48. However, al-Shayzarî has given another reading; al-ibiliq: a kind of wood that has two colours, white and black. Al-Shayzarî, Nihâyah. p. 54.
and camphor (kāfür)\textsuperscript{150} for one day. They then remove it from the mixtures, boil it and put some perfume on it. Similarly, some use a wood from an olive tree. The adulteration can be known by putting it in a fire and the result cannot be concealed\textsuperscript{151}.

As for camphor (kāfür), some use a splinter (nahātah) of kharrāṭīn\textsuperscript{152}, while others knead the camphor with water of a white gum and evaporise them on a sieve (gharābīl). Some have used salt taken from stones of sal ammoniac (nūshādir)\textsuperscript{153} by breaking it into small pieces and mixing it with the camphor. Some have employed a stone (nawan) of a date (balah) by crushing it until it looks like froth (zabad). Then they patterned the crushed date stone similar to the shape of the camphor by kneading it with camphor liquid and spreading it out thinly like camphor. Adulterations of the camphor, which have been mentioned and those which have not can be known by throwing them in the water, if the camphor sinks, then it is adulterated. If the camphor floats, then it is pure. The adulteration can also

\textsuperscript{150}Kāfür; Camphor. The tree is indigenous to China, Japan, Sumatra and Borneo. In Sanskrit it is called kappūra, kaafur in Malay, and kupoor in Hindu. Ibn Masawih considers camphor as one of the five most important aromas. Martin Levey, \textit{Al-Kindī}. p. 321. Maimonides, \textit{Glossary}. pp. 142-3.

\textsuperscript{151}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma'ālim}. pp. 125-6.


be known by putting some of it on a piece of cloth (khirqah), then putting it over a fire, where a pure camphor will disperse (tāra) and does not remain firm (thabata). An adulterated one, however, will burn and turn to be sandy.\textsuperscript{154}

As for lapis lazuli (lāzuward)\textsuperscript{155}, if thrown in a fire, the pure one turns to be blue in colour and does not evaporate (ṣa'ada). If adulterated, it will evaporate and burn. The adulteration is prepared by heating (mashwi) it up in a Moroccan glass (zujāj maghrib) with Indian indigo (nil hindī) and soft limestone (jīr\textsuperscript{156} rukhāmi\textsuperscript{157}) at a moderate heat. However, the adulteration will become apparent in the fire.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{154}Al-Shayzarī, Nihāyah. p. 51. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma'ālim. p. 126.

\textsuperscript{155}Lāzuward or lāzaward; lapis lazuli. Ibn al-Bayṭār makes a distinction between lāzuward and armāniyā, where he said the former is a solid stone and the latter is the soft stone of Armenia. It is prescribed for pain in the bladder (mathānah), to remove warts (ma'ālī), beautify eyelids (ashfār) and to curl the hair. Ibn al-Bayṭār, Al-Jāmiʿ li mufradāt al-adawiyyah wa al-aghiyyah. 2:360-1. See S. Frederick Gray, Pharmacology in general. London, 1824. p. 434. Hans Wehr. p. 852.

\textsuperscript{156}Jīr; limestone. See nārah (quicklime). The lime or quicklime is a white substance obtained by heating limestone. Maimonides, Glossary. p. 175. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. pp. 340-1. See Lane. 1:493.

\textsuperscript{157}Hava. p. 246.

\textsuperscript{158}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Ma'ālim. p. 127.
Scammony (maḥmūdah)\textsuperscript{159} is adulterated with a milky juice of the latex plants (yuttā)\textsuperscript{160}. Sometimes, vetch flour (al-kirsannah) is added. It is then kneaded in gum water and designed to resemble the figure of scammony. The best of its kind is delicate in colour like ghırā\textsuperscript{161}. What is adulterated with a milky juice of the latex plants becomes very sharp in taste and produces a white colour\textsuperscript{162}.

Wax (sham\textsuperscript{5}) is adulterated by many substances such as a coarse olive oil. Sometimes broad-bean (bāqillā)\textsuperscript{163} flour and ground chick-pea (ḥummuṣ) are added when the wax melts. The adulteration can be known by putting the substance in water, if it floats on the surface of the water, then it is pure. If the substance sinks in the water, then it is adulterated. What is adulterated with the course olive oil can be purified with ushnān\textsuperscript{164} and water\textsuperscript{165}.

\textsuperscript{159}Perhaps the correct reading should be maḥmūdah, not maḥūmadaḥ, as been used later on. Maḥmūdah; scammony is also known as saqamūniya designates a convolvulus that grows in oriental east of Mediterranean etc. The root is sold as a drastic purgative. The name maḥmūdah ("the commendable") is still in use in Egypt and it is probably related to the salutary effect of the drug. Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 187-8.

\textsuperscript{160}Yuttā; latex plants which is of numerous kinds, all of which have in common the property of producing a milky juice (labaniyyah). The milky juice is viscous and very sour and burns the body on contact. Maimonides, Glossary. pp. 124-5.

\textsuperscript{161}I have not been able to trace this term.

\textsuperscript{162}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṭālim. p. 127.

\textsuperscript{163}Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. p. 240.

\textsuperscript{164}Ushnān; plant ash or alkali plant. A mixture of sodium and potassium carbonates used for washing. Martin Levey, Al-Kindī. pp. 231-2.
Some of the druggists have adulterated the wax by covering the inside with a black wax known as verdigris (zanjārī) or wax dirt (wasakh), and covering the top with a clear white wax, so that the purchaser will think that it is the characteristic of the whole wax. They also have adulterated the wax by covering it with a cotton when it is cheap and selling it as a true wax. Finally, al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah point out that all of these are adulterations and fraudulent practises; and the muḥtasib must inspect them without neglecting (ihmāl) any of them\textsuperscript{166}.

6.3. **The duty to supervise the physicians (atībbā')**

According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, the physicians should know the structure (tarkīb) of the body, the temperament (mazāj) of the organs, the diseases which occur in them; their causes (asbāb), manifestations (aṣrāq) and symptoms (ālāmāt), the remedies which benefit them, the methods of procuring substitutes (ītiyāq) for those remedies which are unobtainable and the means of extracting (istikhrāj) them and the ways of treating diseases, so as to procure a balance (tasāwī) between sickness and remedy in their chemical compositions (kimmiyāt) and the way to oppose the sickness with the properties of the remedy. The physicians who do not possess these qualities are unfit to have treatment of the sick entrusted to

\textsuperscript{165}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, *Ma‘ālim*. p. 127.

\textsuperscript{166}Ibid.
them and it is not permissible for them to undertake any treatment involving a risk. They also should not intervene in matters in which their knowledge is incompetence\textsuperscript{167}.

Ibn al-Ukhuwwah then quotes a tradition narrated by \(^6\)Amr ibn Shu\textsuperscript{ay}y from his father and from his grandfather saying that the Prophet said; "A person who engages in medical practice without having adequate knowledge of the medicine is liable (\(q\d a\min\)) for his injuries"\textsuperscript{168}.

Physicians must have a chief (\(muqaddam\)) of their own craft. It is said that the Greek kings (\(m\text{ul}"\(\dot{k}\) al-\(Y\text{n\text{"}an}\)) placed in every city a chief physician (\(hak\text{"}m\)) who is renowned for his wisdom and before him were presented the other physicians in the city for him to examine. Anyone whose science he found defective he ordered him to devote himself to study and he forbade him from undertaking any medical treatment\textsuperscript{169}.

When the physician comes to visit a patient, he must inquire from him the cause of his sickness (\(mara\d q\)) and the pain (\(alam\)) which he experiences. He must then prescribe (\(r ATA\d b\dot{a}\)) a regimen (\(q\d n\text{"}n\)) for him of syrups and other compounds of drugs and should write a copy of it for the

\textsuperscript{167}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma\'\d alim}. p. 166.

\textsuperscript{168}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{169}Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, \textit{Ma\'\d alim}. pp. 166-7.
near relatives with the witness of those who are present with the patient. On the next day he should inquire into the progress of the disease, inspect the urine-flask (qārūrah) and ask the patient if the sickness has diminished or not. He should then prescribe in accordance with the requirements of the case and write a copy which he should give to the relatives. Similarly, he must treat the patient on the third day and the fourth until either the patient is healed or dies. If the patient recovers (bāri'a) the physician should receive his fee (u'raḥ) and honorarium (ka'rāmah). If the patient dies, the nearest relatives should present themselves before the noted chief physician and lay before him the copies of the prescriptions which the physician wrote. If, in his opinion, they meet the requirements of science and the art of medicine without negligence (tafrīt) or fault (taqṣīr) on the physician's part, he should say, "This man's life was ended by the term of his allotted span (ajāl)." But if he is of the opposite opinion, he should say, "Exact the blood-money for your kinsman from the physician, for it is he who slay him by his poor skill and negligence." In this way the muḥtasib should took precaution so that no one could engage in the practice of medicine who was unfit for it and no physician could be neglectful (tahāwun).

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171 Ibid.
The *muḥtasib* must compel the physicians to take the oath of Hippocrates (*Abqirāt*), causing them to swear that they will not administer a harmful medicament to anyone or compound (*rakaba*) a poison for anyone, or describe (*waṣafa*) poisons to any member of the public. They also will pledge not to mention to any woman a medicament for procuring abortion of the embryo or to any man which will prevent procreation (*nasl*). They should cast down their glances from the women’s quarters (*maḥārim*) when they come in to visit the sick and they should not disclose (*fashā*) any secret. The physicians should not tear apart (*hataka*) the patient’s clothes (*astār*) or venture upon anything which has been forbidden to them.\(^{172}\)

\(^{172}\)Ibid.
CHAPTER SEVEN

The duty to administer the municipal control of the city

7.0. Introduction

As we have mentioned earlier in Chapter One, the fourth aspect of supervision discussed by the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar is a matter concerning the basic administration of the town. The cases involved are creating a door of a house situated in a narrow lane, ensuring cleanliness of the market, supervising *ahl al-dhimma* and responsibility of a person who digs a pit\(^1\). We find this matter had been developed even further by later works of *hisbah* and the discussions include the duty of the *muḥtasib* to maintain the public utilities, settle disputes between neighbours and preserve law and order.

\(^{1}\text{See pp. 73-4, 75-6.}\)
7.1. The duty to maintain the public utilities

According to al-Māwardī, the discussion on this matter can be found in cases of repairing the water supply (ṣarb)\(^2\), the city walls (ṣūr), the mosques (masājid wa jawāmi') and public buildings, as well as in the case of providing sustenance for needy wayfarers (banū al-sābīl). It is the duty of the muḥtasib to look into these matters and where funds are needed he should draw the matter to the attention of the treasury. Failing this, he is entitled to raise the money from persons of substance (dhawū al-muknah) within the community, but not to place the responsibility on any one of them. In this case, the muḥtasib is not required to obtain the permission of the ruler\(^3\). However, al-Māwardī raises an interesting point about the need to obtain permission from the ruler to demolish part of a building which is going to be rebuilt. Here, the ruler’s permission seems to be necessary in order to secure the completion of the work. However, if the building belongs to a small community or tribe, al-Māwardī maintains that such permission is immaterial\(^4\).


\(^4\)Al-Māwardī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā’. loc.cit. However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah does not mention this.
7.2. The duty to settle disputes between neighbours

Al-Māwardī holds that this duty includes cases that involve encroachment on someone's boundary, or the privacy of one's house and erecting beams (ajdhā') beyond one's outside walls. In these matters, the muḥtasib can denounce them when a complaint is made to him by the neighbour. Here, the muḥtasib may order the offender to remove the things complained of and in certain circumstances punish him. However, if there is a dispute, the case should be decided by the legal authorities. In a case where the neighbour allowed such encroachment, but then changes his mind before the construction has begun and complains to the muḥtasib, his complaint will be accepted and the disputed construction will not be built. However, if the work has already begun with the consent of the neighbour who then disagrees, the muḥtasib cannot compel the second person to cease his work. In a case when branches of a tree extend to the house of a neighbour, the neighbour can make a complaint to the muḥtasib, so that the owner will be compelled to cut them down, but he must not be punished because it is not his fault. If it is the roots of the tree which are entering the neighbour's ground, the owner cannot be compelled to remove them and the neighbour cannot be prevented from digging them up. Likewise in the case of smoke coming from an oven which irritates the neighbour, it shall not be prohibited. The same goes for inconveniences caused by mills, or
blacksmith's and fullers' shops, because these are legitimate occupations and that the owners are allowed to do what they wish with their property\(^5\).

7.3. **The duty to preserve law and order**

According to al-Māwardī, in order to maintain law and order the *muḥtasib* may be involved in cases of maintenance for relatives and children, attempt to postpone settling debts without excuse\(^6\), acceptance of legacies (*waṣāyā*) and deposits (*wadā‘i*) of property, marriage of a *thayyib*\(^7\), the law of divorce concerning the waiting period, the law of maintenance involving the case of reluctant father, and care towards slaves, animals, foundlings and stray animals, overlooking someone's houses, *ahl al-dhimmah*, rules in the market place and street, removal of corpses and supervision of the masters of ship and the teachers\(^8\).

It should be noted that the *waṣāyā* is defined as the change of ownership of a property or a right after death by the act of endowment (*tabarru‘*). It should be differentiated from that of *hibah*, for the latter is a

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\(^6\) It is wrong for someone who is rich and able to delay the payment of debt. *Wahbah*. 5:462-3.

\(^7\) *Thayyib*, a woman who is not virgin. *Wahbah*. 7: 210-211.

gift during lifetime. The only essential requirement (rukn) for making the contract of legacy (wašiyyah) is the offer (tjáb) of the legator. As for the acceptance (qubul) by the legatee (mūsā lahu), it is regarded as a condition (sharṭ) to give the full effect of the legacy. Meanwhile, the deposit (wadi'ah) is the commission given by the owner to another to hold his property in safe custody. It is a fiduciary relationship (amānah). It should be noted that a Muslim is recommended to make a legacy before he dies. However, the maximum amount allowed is one-third of the estate for it is better for him to leave his family wealthy rather than them asking from other people (i.e. begging). The jurists agree that there is no specific time required for the acceptance of the legacy by the legatee, but it should be concluded after the death of the legator. Some of the Shāfi‘īs and the Ḥanbalīs consider that the heir (warith) has a right to demand that the legatee signify either his acceptance or his refusal. The legacy becomes void if the legatee dies before the legator. According to al-Māwardī, in the case of the acceptance of legacies and deposits of property (qubul wašāyā


11 Al-Qurʾān. 2:180. See also 2:240, 4:12.


wa wadā').\(^{14}\) the muḥtasib may not compel the wealthy (a'yān al-nās) or any individual in particular, but he may encourage them in general terms to do good deeds to each other and fear God\(^{15}\).

In the cases of neglecting paying debts, the muḥtasib should take the necessary action following the complaint from the plaintiff who is the owner of the property (ṣaḥīb al-ḥaq). However, he cannot detain (ḥabs) the accused because that is a legal action (ḥukm) which is to be decided by the court, but he can restrain him to secure his attendance at the trial (mulāzamah)\(^{16}\). However, Ibn al-Farrā\(^{1}\) does not allow the muḥtasib either

\(^{14}\)Qābāl in legal terminology can be translated as the acceptance of one of the two parties involved in a contract including that of a marriage. Al-Tahānawi, Kitāb Kashf Iqtiṣāḥat al-Funūn, vol. 2, p. 1204. See also Aḥmad Riḍā, Muṣjām Matn al-Lughah, vol. 4, p. 486. Lane, supplement, p. 2984. It is a recommendable act (musṭahabb) for someone to accept a deposit of property, because he is fulfilling his friend's wish. However, he must return the property when demanded by its owner as this has been ordered by the Qur'ān, "Indeed, God commands you to render back your trust (amanah) (given to you) to those to whom it is due". Al-Qur'ān 4:58. Ibn Qudāmah, al-Mughnī, op.cit.

\(^{15}\)Perhaps al-Māwardī is referring to the Quranic injunction asking the Muslims to help each other in righteousness and piety (tāʿawwāḍ al-birr wa al-taqwā). Al-Qur'ān 5:2. However, Amedroz gives a different translation. He said, 'Bequests and deposits of property, he must not deal with as against persons of eminence and importance, but he may as against ordinary people, as an incentive to mutual kindness and confidence. Amedroz, JRSA, p. 85. Al-Māwardī, Aḥkām, p. 247. Ibn al-Farrā', Aḥkām, p. 274-5. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maṣālim, p. 26.

\(^{16}\)The term mulāzamah is defined as to secure the defendant's attendance at the court, is suggested by Amedroz. Amedroz, JRSA, p. 85. See also Amedroz on maṣālim pp. 142-5. JRSA, 1911, pp. 642-3. A similar description was given by the jurists. According to Abū Ḥanīfah, the creditor (da'im) has a right to restrain the debtor (madān) so that the former may follow the latter wherever he goes, but he cannot prevent him from taking a job or travelling. He must also not be restrained in one place, because this is considered as a detention (ḥabs). Wahbah, 5:462. Al-Māwardī, Aḥkām. p. 246.
to detain (*habs*) or restrain (*mulâzamah*) the defendant\(^{17}\). As for maintenance of relatives, the *muhtasib* must not interfere with the duty, for the case is to be decided by a legal opinion, but he may compel it when the court has given the order\(^{18}\).

In the case of the marriage of a *thayyib*, the *muhtasib* has a right to compel the legal guardians (*awliyâ*) to sanction it, on the request of the *thayyib*\(^{19}\), on condition that the spouse to be is from the same class (*kufû*). In the case of divorce, the *muhtasib* has to ensure that the divorcée observes the law of waiting period (‘*iddah*). Consequently, he may impose a punishment (*ta’dib*)\(^{20}\) on those who disregard them. However, the *muhtasib* may not punish the reluctant guardians\(^{21}\).

\(^{17}\)This is the opinion of the Hanbalis as was reported by Ibn al-Qayyim where ṢAli refused to detain or restrain the person accused, even though he was asked to do so by the plaintiff. ṢAli viewed such actions as unjust, because the accused has denied the charge. It is not sufficient to detain or restrain the accused on account of the plaintiff claiming that the defendant has borrowed some money from him and that he is rich and a squanderer. Ibn Qayyim. *al-‘Uruq*. p. 71.


\(^{20}\)Presumably, the kind of punishment to be imposed is admonition (*waç*) since abstinence from sexual activity (*hajr*) cannot be applied here, as in the case of a disobedient wife (*nushûz*). This, as demanded by the Qur`ān, "As to those women from whom you fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds (*hajr*) ..." *Al-Qur`ān*. 4:34. However, since this is a discretionary punishment, the case is to be decided by the courts. See ṢAbd al-Qādir ṢAudah. *Tashrif*. 1:702-4.

In the case of someone denying his paternity to a child which has been proven to belong to a marriage bed (thabata firāsh ummihi)\(^{22}\), he is considered as a lawful father and is responsible for providing the maintenance. Thus, if he refuses the muḥtasib should punish him by banishment (nafy)\(^{23}\).

Similarly, the muḥtasib must compel the master to observe the right of his slaves\(^{24}\), that they are not overburdened with their work\(^{25}\). According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, the servants should also be allowed to take a break in the middle of the day (waqt al-qaylūlah) to prevent any sickness. However, al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā\(^{3}\) do not mention this\(^{26}\). The muḥtasib must denounce the master who overburdens them with work beyond their strength. He may go even further to forbid the master, when complaints are made by the slaves. The same is the case with owners of animals. However here the complaint is not necessary. If the owners argue that the animal is able to carry out its work, the muḥtasib may make an

\(^{22}\)See the discussion in Wahbah. 7: 567-571. See also Schacht, Origin. pp. 181-2.

\(^{23}\)Al-Māwardī. op.cit. Ibn al-Farrā\(^{3}\). op.cit. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. op.cit.

\(^{24}\)Ibn al-Ukhuwwah adds that the master is responsible to provide the maintanence of his slaves, such as food and clothing. He then refers to the tradition of the Prophet which said, "It is the right of the slave (mamlūk) to have food and clothing (to be provided by his master) according to the customary practises". See Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ. vol 2, p. 87. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. p. 27.

\(^{25}\)See Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ. loc.cit.

\(^{26}\)Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, Maʿālim. p. 27.
investigation and deduce on the basis of his personal reasoning because the matter involves custom and not the revealed law. Where the masters withhold (*imtinā*) the rights of slaves including food and clothing, the *muḥtasib* can compel their provision when complaint is made. However, the *muḥtasib* is not capable of enforcing their rights when the slaves's complaint is of insufficiency, because that matter requires a legal decision.  

Al-Māwardī maintains that animals should be adequately fed by their owners and not overworked. However, Ibn al-Ukhuwwah goes even further and he suggests that the *muḥtasib* should compel the owner to provide proper care for his animal. In the case where the owner is not capable of doing so, the *muḥtasib* may ask him to hire it out, or else to sell it. As a last resort, the *muḥtasib* may appeal to the treasury or the public generosity. According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, the case is similar to that of a husband who is not capable of providing necessary maintenance for his wife. Here, the husband may be compelled to sell his property so that he could feed his wife. The animals must not be overburdened and their milk may not be taken except for what is in excess of that required by their young. This is because according to Ibn al-Ukhuwwah the purpose of milk is to provide sustenance for the young. The *muḥtasib* is also responsible to


supervise those who fail to provide adequate maintenance for a foundling \(\text{laqīf}\)^{29}, and if they are not capable, he must compel them to transfer the child to someone who will accept the responsibility. The same is the case of stray animals \(\text{dāwall}\)^{30}, and the finder \(\text{wājīd}\) must feed it accordingly, or else he should be compelled to hand it over to someone who is able^{31}.

Al-Māwardī holds that the \textit{muḥtasib} is also entitled to look into matters involving insufficiency of the payment of wages and the excessive work imposed on workers \(\text{ajīr}\) by their employer \(\text{musta'jīr}\). Here, he can compel the payment and correct the situation by examining the case when he receives a complaint from the workers. However, if it involves legal matters, the case is to be decided by the \textit{ḥākim}^{32}.

The \textit{muḥtasib} must forbid anyone to overlook other people's houses. Al-Saqaṭī mentions a story of a \textit{muḥtasib} at Kūfah who did not allow a \textit{muḥadhdhin} to make a call to prayer unless his eyes were blindfolded because of the people's houses and their women. He also mentions similar

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^{31}Al-Māwardī. loc.cit. Ibn al-Ukhuwwah. loc.cit. However, Ibn al-Farrā\. omits this statement. Ibn al-Farrā\. loc.cit.

^{32}Al-Māwardī, \textit{Ajhām}. p. 255.
cases in Marrakesh when a *mu'adhdhin* cheated the owner of a house which he had overlooked because he was envious of his worldly wealth and the story of a *mu'adhdhin* in Granada who was tempted by a beautiful maid he saw from his minaret so that he performed the *adhān* wrongly.

However, it is not compulsory for someone who has a tall building to cover his roof terrace (*sāṭḥ*), though he is not allowed to overlook other people's houses. In relation to this Ibn al-Farrāʾ holds that those who have a tall building are not required to cover their roof terrace. *Ahl al-dhimmah* must not raise their buildings higher than those of the Muslims, and if they own a tall building, they are allowed to retain their ownership but they must not overlook their Muslim neighbours. They must also observe the terms of agreement, to maintain the differences (*ghiyār*) in their attires and appearances (*ha'lāh*) from the Muslims, and not to speak openly on matters concerning Ezra (*al-ʾUzair*) and the Messiah (*al-Masīḥ*). The *muḥtasib* must forbid any Muslims from offending or insulting them, and punish those who do so.

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In the event where the qādī denies litigants a hearing, so that it remains unsettled and both parties suffer inconveniences, the muḥtasib should demand that he discharge his duty, when there is no legitimate excuse\(^{38}\). Here, al-Māwardī argues that although the qādī is of higher rank than the muḥtasib, the latter is allowed to denounce the former's negligence\(^{39}\). He then mentions the story of Ibrāhīm b. Baṭḥā\(^{1}\), the muḥtasib of Baghdād who saw litigants in front of the house of the chief qādī \(^{6}\)Umar b. Ḥammād waiting for his legal sitting to hear their cases. The muḥtasib then summoned the doorkeeper asking him to inform the chief qādī that the litigants were gathering at his door and suffering inconvenience for it was almost midday, that he should decide on whether to adjudicate or inform them of his excuse (CLUDHR) so that they might go away and come back at another time\(^{40}\).

A person who is entrusted with women’s affairs in the market should be supervised by the muḥtasib for his conduct and honesty. Therefore, he must forbid those who are not reliable and dissolute. Some say that this is the jurisdiction of the police because it is related to the crime of adultery

\(^{38}\)According to Amedroz, "... the muḥtasib should, with a full apology, enforce on him his duty...". Amedroz, op.cit.

\(^{39}\)Amedroz says, "... nor should the qādī’s dignity be a bar to disapproval of his shortcoming...". Amedroz. Ibid.

The muḥtasib must ensure that the benches (maqāʿid) in the market do not cause any inconvenience to the passer-by. He should approve or disapprove of such things based on complaints made to him; however, Abū Ḥanīfah takes the opposite view. Similarly, the muḥtasib must forbid anyone from constructing a building in the street, even though it is wide. He should order the building to be pulled down, even if it is a mosque building, because the purpose of the street is for the benefit of the passer-by not for the building. It is permissible to unload goods and building materials in the streets or the markets which are to be removed gradually as long as they do not cause any harm to the passer-by. The same goes for the extension of buildings, dumping sites, watercourses and privies. Here, it is left to the muḥtasib’s discretion to approve or disapprove of such things because they are regarded as customary practises on which he is capable of making personal judgements.

The muḥtasib is also responsible for ensuring that corpses are not removed from their graves if they had been buried in a ground owned by or permitted to the owner. If the land was unlawfully possessed the actual owner may make a request to remove the corpse to be buried elsewhere. There is a dispute on whether it is permissible to remove the corpse from

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42 According to Amedroz it is reserved sites. Amedroz, JRAS. p. 100.
land which is affected by a flood or rain. Al-Zubayrī permits it, while others hold the opposite.\footnote{Al-Māwardī, loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā', loc.cit.}

The muḥtasib is also entitled to look into matter involving insufficiency of the payment of wages and the excessive work imposed on workers (ajīr) by their employer (musta'jīr). Here, he can compel the payment and correct the situation by examining the case when he received a complaint from the workers. However, if it involves legal matters, the case is to be decided by the ḥākim.\footnote{Al-Māwardī, Ḥākim. p. 255. See p. 134 above.}

The muḥtasib must forbid owners of ships from carrying passengers beyond their capacity so that this endangers their lives, for there might be a ship wreck. They must also be prohibited from travelling when the wind is strong. Separation between the sexes must be exercised on board the ship by putting up a partition.\footnote{Al-Māwardī, loc.cit. Ibn al-Farrā', loc.cit. Ibn al-Ukhwawāh, Ma'ālim. p. 222.}

As we have mentioned earlier, al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farrā' maintain that there are three kinds of professions that the muḥtasib must supervise with regard to their skill, honesty and quality of work.\footnote{See p. 205 above.} In this
way, they hold that the muḥtasib is liable to supervise the teachers because they are affecting the young towards adopting an attitude which is difficult to change when they have grown up. Thus, the muḥtasib should only allow those who are competent and having good behaviour to practice their teaching profession. We find the matter had been developed further by Ibn al-Ukhuwwah where the discussions not only concerned with the requirement of having honourable character and educational skill, but also detail instructions and guidelines for the teachers.


CONCLUSION

To conclude, it is clear from the sources that market supervision was in practice in the early period of Islam. In fact, we have found that the Prophet and his Companions had been involved in various aspects of market supervision. Thus, the Prophet not only had carried out inspection of the goods sold in the market but also had been involved in the issues of price-fixing, hoarding and the like. He also denounced various unjust and fraudulent sale transactions as well as making improvements on the rules governing the conduct of the vendors\(^1\). Similar practices are found during the time of the early caliphs\(^2\). We have also learned that a special official was appointed with the role of supervising the market. At this stage, various names had been given to the official. In the early period, he was known as c\'amil c\'al\=a al-s\=uq. However, later he was called by the titles s\=ahib al-s\=uq and n\=azir c\'al\=a al-s\=uq\(^3\). The fact that the roles of c\'amil c\'al\=a al-s\=uq; s\=ahib al-s\=uq and n\=azir c\'al\=a al-s\=uq are very similar makes it justified to believe that the latter two are a later development of the former. Presumably, the change of the title c\'amil c\'al\=a al-s\=uq could be for the purpose of distinguishing him from other government officials because the

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\(^1\) See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 3-7. Chapter Four pp. 199-202.

\(^2\) See previous discussion in the Introduction. loc.cit.

\(^3\) See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 7, 9-10.
term ‘āmil was also applied to the collector of taxes and provincial administrators⁴.

In relation to this, in order to discuss the role of market supervision, it seems inevitable that one should refer to the work of Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar. The importance of this work lies not only in the fact of its being the earliest source on the subject, but also because of the information that can be obtained from it. In this way we have found that Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar has clearly indicated that the role of market supervision was the duty of the Governor, the qāḍī and the market supervisor (nāżir ʿalā al-suq)⁵. The reason for this could be that the role of market supervision discussed in the work involves matters beyond the capability of the ordinary market supervisor. An example of this is that the work has included the duty to determine the value of weights and measures so that standard and official measures can be established⁶. Yaḥyā maintains that this was the responsibility of the Governor⁷. This is because an ordinary market supervisor seems to lack the authority to determine such cases. Thus, Yaḥyā demands that in the case of a Governor who had neglected this duty,

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⁴See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 7-8.


the matter would be decided by a special committee selected from trustworthy and competent members of the community. The same applied in cases involving legal reasoning such as a dispute between the purchaser and the vendor. It seems that an ordinary market supervisor was unfit to adjudicate the case. Thus, we have found that al-Māwardī and other authors of hisbah literature maintain that even the muḥtasib was also held unqualified. Even though Yaḥyā does not clearly indicate on whom the responsibility lies, it is understandable that it is the authority of the qāḍī.

It should be noted at this stage that, Yaḥyā has included matters which are not related to the acts of buying and selling. In fact, these matters deal with immoral and wrongful religious behaviour as well as health and the basic administration of the city. It is very interesting to note that the discussion on these matters was continued and was further developed when the institution of a muḥtasib was established. In this way it represents a strong evidence that the muḥtasib was a continuation of the former ṣāḥib al-sāq and nāzir ḍalāl al-sāq. In some aspects, the muḥtasib

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8Yaḥyā ibn ʿUmar, The text (second), p. 40. See previous discussion in Chapter Two p. 84.


11See previous discussion in Chapter One pp. 75-6. See Chapter Seven passim.
had adopted some elements which were taken from both the Governor and the qāḍī, so much so that it provided him with greater jurisdiction to appoint his assistant and decide on cases where the former ẓāḥib al-sūq and nāẓir ʿalā al-sūq were seen to be incapable of doing so. Regarding this matter, al-Māwardī holds that the muḥtasib is equal to the qāḍī in two situations. Firstly, the muḥtasib has a right to hear complaints involving the rights of men (ḥuqūq ādamiyyin) in three cases:

i) concerning deficiency in weights and measures,

ii) cheating or fraud on an item sold (mabṭ) or its value (thaman),

iii) and withholding a debt due by one who is able to pay.

Al-Māwardī argues that the muḥtasib is given the same right as the qāḍī because these three cases are clear as to what is right and what is wrong.

Secondly, the muḥtasib may compel the defendant (mudāʿiʿ ʿalaihi) to discharge his liability towards the person entitled once it has been admitted12. In this way we have found that the role of market supervision had then been designated to a muḥtasib who now became identified with the market supervisor.

However, it is unclear when the institutions of ẓāḥib al-sūq and nāẓir ʿalā al-sūq were transformed into a muḥtasib. The view of some historians that muḥtasib was appointed since the 6Umayyads period and

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continued under the early ʿAbbāsids seems to be improper and it is rather unsafe to maintain that the transformation had already been completed then, mainly because there seems to be no clear evidence regarding his duties and the fact that the official was also performing the functions of the tax official and the qādī\(^\text{13}\). In this way we have found that the work of Yahyā ibn ʿUmar has provided some significant information on the matter. He maintains that the duties were not only concerned with the role of supervising the market but were also involved with matters relating to observing immoral and unlawful religious behaviour as well as maintaining health and regulating basic administration of the city\(^\text{14}\). Yahyā ibn ʿUmar does not mention that the official was called muḥtasib. Instead, he demands that the duties should be carried out by the Governor, the qādī and the market supervisor\(^\text{15}\). Thus, the work seems to suggest that the institution of ḥisbah was only at a preliminary stage. However, later, as was indicated by the work of al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq, these duties were carried out the muḥtasib. In this way, the transformation could have taken place by the time of al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq. However, al-Nāṣir maintains that ḥisbah is a complete manifestation of the acts of a qādī\(^\text{16}\). Thus, at this stage it seems that ḥisbah was not separated from the qādī. In this way it seems more

\(^{13}\)See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 10-12.

\(^{14}\)See previous discussion in Chapter One pp. 75-6.

\(^{15}\)See above note number 5.

likely that by the time of al-Māwardī the institution of a muḥtasib had become independant from the qaḍa'\(^{17}\). As a result we have found that further development had been made with regard to the function of the muḥtasib in matters dealing with immoral and wrongful religious behaviour as well as health and the management of city together with his traditional role of supervising the market\(^{18}\). Presumably, the reason for these additional duties could be because of the introduction of the terms ḥisbah, ihtisāb and muḥtasib. As we have discussed earlier, literally ḥisbah means to anticapate God’s reward\(^{19}\). In other definitions, ḥisbah denotes the act of someone who denounces another person’s wrongful behaviour and is also referred to the person who examines his conscience\(^{20}\). In this domain, it seems obvious that the term ḥisbah is a kind of religious act. As a result the function of the muḥtasib in this matter would be for the purpose of denouncing immoral and wrongful religious behaviour. We have found that this connection has been made by al-Nāṣir li al-Ḥaqq and al-Sunāmī\(^{21}\).

17See previous discussion in the Introduction, loc.cit.

18See previous discussions in Chapter Four (The duty to supervise the market), passim. Chapter Five (The duty to supervise immoral and religious behaviour), passim. Chapter Six (The duty to inspect health professions), passim and Chapter Seven (The duty to administer the municipal control of the city) passim.


20See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 13, 15.

(administration), so that it seems justifiable to include the duties to supervise the health professions and administer the control of the city as part of the functions of the muḥtasib. We have found that this connection had been made by al-Sunāmī.

As we have discussed earlier, al-Ghazālī maintains that subject of ḥisbah’s supervision includes cases which are obvious to the muḥtasib without spying (tajassus) or for him to make personal legal reasoning (ijtihād). This seems to limit the authority of the muḥtasib. However, we find the muḥtasib had been involved in almost all aspects of daily life. In fact, al-Ghazālī’s opinion on this matter is based on the authority of the Qurʾān which forbade spying. However, he then explains that the restriction is only applied to hidden sins and those wrongful acts committed behind locked doors. On the contrary, al-Ghazālī argues that the muḥtasib is liable to investigate these wrongful acts when he had received information concerning such activities, or when circumstantial evidence; such as smell, voice and shape, make these cases obvious to the muḥtasib. We have found that according to al-Māwardī, Ibn al-Farrā'

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22See previous discussion in the Introduction pp. 15-16.
23Al-Sunāmī, Niṣāb al-Iḥtisāb. op.cit. See previous discussion in the Introduction. op.cit.
25Al-Qurʾān. 49:12.
26See previous discussion on Chapter Three. pp. 166-7, 169.
and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, the *muḥtasib* may be incapable of making personal legal opinion, but he is competent to decide cases involving customary law\(^{27}\). As a result we have found that al-Māwardī and Ibn al-Farra\(^{3}\) hold that the functions of the *muḥtasib* include the supervision of medical practitioners and teachers, and the administration of the municipal control of the city\(^{28}\). We have found that these matters had been developed by the works of later scholars such as al-Shayzarī and Ibn al-Ukhuwwah, which in fact contain detailed descriptions involving adulteration of various drugs and the method of testing them\(^{29}\).

It should be noted that from the legal perspective, the nature of *ḥisbah* literature seems to create a new approach in writing. In this way, the work of Yahyā ibn ʿUmar was, in fact, a compilation of legal opinions\(^{30}\). The fact that these legal opinions are made based on a clear understanding of the applications of Islamic law which derived from the *fiqh* (law) books, is not a reason for it to be considered as an exclusive work of *fiqh*. In fact, the writing of these legal opinions should be differentiated from ordinary works of *fiqh*. An obvious reason for this is that the *fiqh*


\(^{28}\)See Chapter Four p. 205.

\(^{29}\)See Chapter Six passim.

\(^{30}\)See previous discussion in the Introduction p. 22.
literature on many occasions deals with speculated events and theoretical cases. In contrast, the work of Yahyā and other ḥisbah literature are discussing current phenomena. Another aspect of ḥisbah writing which differentiates it from the fiqh books is that the discussion is not concentrating on the disputes between the different schools of law or focusing on certain legal controversies between the jurists. In fact, the writing of ḥisbah literature is concerned with providing a practical solution to contemporary problems of the muhtasibs so that the literature becomes a guide book for them in carrying out their functions. It should be noted that most of the authors of ḥisbah literature indicate that this was the purpose of their writing. In this understanding, these works of ḥisbah seem to provide a firm ground for the codification of Islamic law.

APPENDIX A
FIGURE 1.1: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MĀLIKĪ SCHOLARS AND THEIR TEACHERS
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 1.3: THE RIHlah OF YAHYĀ IBN UMAR AL-KINĀNI AL-ANDALUSĪ

JAYYĀN (JAEN)  
(Place of birth, born in 213 A.H.)

CORDOVA  
IBN ḤABĪB (d. 238)

SŪSAH (SOUSSE)  
Continued to teach at the mosque and died here in 289 A.H.

QAYRAWĀN  
SAHNNŪN IBN SAʿĪD (d. 240)  
YŪŠUF IBN YAHYĀ (d. 288)  
(Started teaching in Qayrawān before moving to Sūsah. From Qayrawān, he had travelled to Cordova on several occasions.)

QAYRAWĀN  
SAHNNŪN IBN SAʿĪD (d. 240)

EGYPT  
AL-DIMYĀṬĪ (d. 226)  
IBN BUKAYR (d. 231)  
IBN ABĪ AL-GHAMAR (d. 234)  
ABŪ AL-ṬĀHIR (d. 250)  
AL-JĀRĪTH IBN MISKĪN (d. 250)  
ʿUBAYD IBN MUʿĀWIYAH (d. 250)  
AL-WĀLĪD IBN MUʿĀWIYAH (uncertain)  
AḤMAD IBN AKHĪ ABĪ ZAYD (uncertain)

HIJĀZ  
ABŪ MUṢʿAB AL-ZUHRĪ (d. 242)
**APPENDIX D**

**FIGURE 1.4. THE PRESUMED AGE OF YAHYA IBN ‘UMAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>JAYYAN (JAEN)</strong></td>
<td>0 - 2 years old</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>- 213 - 215 A.H. (2 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 - 8 years old</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>- According to Ibn Farhun, he grew up in Cordova. Here, he had started studying with Ibn Habib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CORDOVA</strong></td>
<td>2 - 21 years old</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>- 215 - 221 A.H. (6 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QAYRAWAN</strong></td>
<td>8 - 12 years old</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>- 221 - 225 A.H. (4 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 - 21 years old</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>- 225 - 234 A.H. (9 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EGYPT</strong></td>
<td>62 - 76 years old</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>- 275 - 289 A.H. (14 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUSAH (SOUSSE)</strong></td>
<td>62 - 76 years old</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>- 275 - 289 A.H. (14 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QAYRAWAN</strong></td>
<td>23 - 27 years old</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>- 236 - 240 A.H. (4 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 - 27 years old</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>- 234 - 240 A.H. (4 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HIJAZ</strong></td>
<td>21 - 23 years old</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>- 234 - 236 A.H. (2 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the above, it can be concluded that Yahya ibn ‘Umar had spent 21 years of his life (from 6 - 27) studying, and 49 years teaching (from the age of 27 - 76).
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