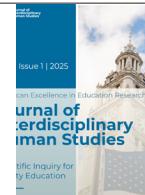




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## THE NARRATORS OF THE WORK «FUTUH AL-BULDAN» AND THEIR SPECIFIC ASPECTS

**Annotation.** The article mentions the sources of the work «Futuh al-buldan» by the historian Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balozuri, who lived in the 9th century. During the time the author lived, it was widespread to narrate historical events by verbally. Thus, most of the sources of the work shape the narrative from al-Balozuri's teachers. In some places, you can also find the narration of people who took part in the historical event. Although the author does not mention in the work that he used written sources from his method of presenting information, one can recognize that he also used historical works.

**Keywords:** al-Balozuri, Futuh al-buldon, muhaddith, narrator, sanad, narration, Hisham ibn al-Kalbi, Muhammad ibn Ishaq, Abul-Hasan al-Madoini, Al-Waqidi.

### INTRODUCTION

The identification of the sources of any work is the main factor determining the value of the information presented in it. The source under study also provides information about the scientific environment of that period and its specific features.

The work "Futuh al-buldan" by Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balazuri (d. 892) reflects the scientific and cultural life of the 8th-9th centuries, the aspects of the science of history related to the science of hadith. The 3rd century AH/9th century AD is considered a golden age in the science of hadith, and during this period other sciences emerged besides the science of hadith[10:9]. One can also include the science of history. However, it is observed that historians, like the hadith scholars, cite the chain of transmission of narrators and all the narrations related to the topic when describing events. The fact that the names of the persons who reported on a historical event according to the source are mentioned in the text is a criterion for determining the reliability or unreliability of that information. For example: the terms «ilm ar-rijal» and «jarh wa tадil» in the science of hadith study how reliable the chain of narrators is. The terms sanad and isnad mean almost the same thing in hadith studies[11:17].

### MAIN PART

In his coverage of historical events, Al-Balazuri includes Ismail ibn Ayyash (726-797), Abdurrahman al-Awzai (707-774), Abu Bakr ibn Ayyash (714-809), Bakr ibn al-Haytham (816-929), Hassan ibn Salih al-Hamadani (718-785), Husayn ibn Ali ibn

Aswad al-Ajali (d. c. 9th century), Hammad ibn Salama (d. 783), Ibn Abi Sabra (d. 779), Sa'id ibn Abdulaziz Abu Muhammad at-Tanukhi (d. 783), Sa'id ibn Abi Maryam (762-839), Sufyan as-Thawri (716-778), Sharik ibn Abdallah an-Nakhai (713-794), Shayban ibn Abu Shaybah al-Habati (757-850), Abbas ibn Hisham al-Kalbi (died approx. IX century), Abdullah ibn Salih ibn Muslim al-Ajali (768-836), Lays ibn Sa'd's secretary Abdullah ibn Salih al-Misri (755-838), Abdullah ibn al-Mubarak (739-798), Abdullah ibn Wahb al-Misri (743-812), Abdur Razzaq ibn Hammam al-San'ani (744-826), Abu Ubaid Muammar ibn al-Musanna (728-825), Amr ibn Muhammad al-Naqid (d. 849), Awwana ibn al-Hakam (d. 775), Abu Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Salam (774-838), Abu Makhnaf Lut ibn Yahya (d. 774), Muhammad ibn Ishaq (699-769), Al-Waqidi's Muhammad ibn Sa'd (784-845), Abu al-Hasan al-Madaini (752-843)[7:408] narrated from hadith scholars and historians such as Hisham ibn al-Kalbi (729-820), Haytham ibn Adi at-Tai (738-822), Muhammad ibn Umar al-Waqidi (747-823), Waqi ibn al-Jarrah (746-812), Yahya ibn Adam (757-818), Abdulmalik ibn Qarib al-Asmai (740-831) [3:713-736].

Among the narrators in the work «Futuh al-Buldān» is also mentioned Ibrahim ibn Muslim al-Khwarizmi from Transoxiana. He narrated hadith from Waqi' ibn al-Jarrah al-Ru'asi (746-812) and Sa'id ibn Sa'id al-Harawi (d. 855). Ahmad al-Baladhuri and Muhammad ibn Abdullah al-Dinawari (d. 901) heard hadith from him [2:71]. The fact that Ibrahim ibn Muslim al-Khwarizmi was a teacher of hadith scholars who lived in the Middle East, such as al-Baladhuri and al-Dinawari, is another proof of the contribution of Central Asian scholars to the development of science. At the same time, hadith scholars such as Abdullah ibn Salih al-Misri and Sa'id ibn Abi Maryam, who taught al-Baladhuri, were also teachers of hadith scholars from Transoxiana, who made a great contribution to the development of hadith, such as Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Bukhari (810-870) and Muhammad ibn Ismail at-Tirmidhi (d. 893).

Nur Sa'd Muhsin (born 1980) in his article «Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balathuri and his work Futuh al-Buldān» cites the following hadith narrators as the narrators who have the most narrations in the work. Al-Balathuri's teacher who narrated the most is Husayn ibn Ali ibn Aswad al-Ajali, from whom he has narrated 82 narrations. Most of them provide information about the news of the people of Najran and the administration of the regions of Egypt, Iraq, Jazira, and Sham. The second level of al-Balathuri's teachers is Muhammad ibn Sa'd, from whom he has narrated 68 narrations. His narrations are related to the history of Mecca and Medina, the conquest of countries such as Sham, Jazira, Nubia, and the Maghreb, and are narrated from Muhammad ibn Umar al-Waqidi. The narrator next in rank to Muhammad ibn Sa'd is Abu Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Salam, from whom al-Balathuri has narrated 62 narrations. The narrations are related to economic matters, and cover the rules of the kharaj and jizya, and the issue of land transfer in the form of iqta [8:507-508]. Among the narrators of Futuh al-buldan are state officials, including caliphs and judges. Al-Baladhuri narrated the narration about

the Ammuriyya campaign from Caliph Mutawakkil (847-861), who in turn narrated it from his father al-Mu'tasim (833-842) [3:199]. This information indicates that the historian had close relations with the leaders of the state. Ahmad ibn Yahya narrated some information from city judges. In particular, he cited several narrations about the conquest of Caliqla by Hubayb ibn Maslama (d. 662) from the cities of Urminia, and he said that the first of them is reliable because it was narrated by a group of the sheikhs of Caliqla and the city judge [3:279].

The narrators narrated by the historian were not only his teachers. In the history of some regions, he used the narrations of local hadith scholars. The sentences in the work, such as “A sheikh from Kufa told me” [3:391], “A sheikh from Hira told me” [3:402], “Sheikhs from Baghdad told me” [3:417], “A group of people from Basra told me” [3:515], “A sheikh from Homs told me” [3:182], “Sheikhs from Antioch told me” [3:217], indicate that al-Baladhuri used the narrations of hadith scholars from different regions in his description of historical events. Ahmad ibn Yahya also used the words of the people who participated in some events when describing them. A sentence beginning with the conjunction *نَمْ تَعْمَلُ* (I heard from someone) is an example of a narration in this category. The capture of Kairouan by Muhammad ibn Ash'as al-Khuza'i during the reign of Abu'l-Abbas al-Saffah (750-754) and the conflict with the pro-Umayyad army there were narrated by a person who participated in the historical event. [3:325] The author does not elaborate on the identity of the hadith narrators from different regions and the individuals who participated in the historical event.

Although Ahmad al-Balazuri did not provide information about the works of the narrators narrated in his work «Futuh al-Buldān», information about the scientific legacy they left behind can be obtained from the books of *tazkīra*. For example, Abdullah ibn Wahb al-Misri's «Al-Maghazi» and «Ar-riddah»[12:14], Abdurazzaq al-Sanani's «Musannif Abdurazzaq», «Al-Amali fi asor as-Sahaba», «Al-Maghazi»[5:318], Abu Ubayda Muammar ibn al-Musanna al-Basri (728-825) and «Futhu Urminiya» Futuhu Ahwaz [14:239], Abu Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Salam's Al-Amwal [12:500], Lut ibn Yahya's Futuhu Sham, Futuh al-Iraq, Kitab al-Jamal, Kitab al-Siffin, Kitab an-Nahrawan, Maqtal al-Husayn, Kitab al-Azoriqa»[6:225-226], Muhammad ibn Ishaq's “Kitab al-siyra wal-mubtada wal-magazi”[15:9], Muhammad ibn Sa'd's “Kitab akhbar an-Nabi”[5:145], “Tobaqat al-kabir”[13:60], Abul-Hasan al-Madoini's “Kitab futuh”, “Kitab akhbaru Quraysh”, «Akhbaru ahl al-bayt», «Tarikh al-khulafo», «Akhbar al-Hajjoj»[12:446], «Jamharat an-nasab», «Kitab al-Buldan», «Kitab al-Aqalim» and other works of Hisham al-Kalbi[5:142], «At-Tarikh» and «Siiratu Muawiya wa banu» by Awwana ibn al-Hakam. Umayya”[5:134], Muhammad ibn Umar al-Waqidi's “al-Magazi”, “Futuh al-Iraq”, “Futuh ash-Sham”[5:144], etc.

Dr. Abdulaziz al-Dawri (1919-2010) in his work “Nash'at al-ilm at-ta'rih inda al-'arab” provided information about the works written by Muslim historians in the early medieval centuries but not yet extant, and cited some excerpts from them based

on Muhammad ibn Jarir at-Tabari's "tarih ar-rusul wal-muluk", Muhammad ibn Sa'd's "Tabaqat al-kabir", Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balazuri's "Futuh al-buldan" and "Ansab al-ashraf", Ismail ibn Kathir's "Al-bidaya wa an-nihaya" and other works. "Nash'at al-ilm at-ta'rikh", «Futuh al-buldan» contains topics such as «Fathu Andalus» [1:242] from the work of Muhammad ibn Umar al-Waqidi, «Wilayat al-Bahrain» from the work of Abu Makhnaf Lut ibn Yahya, «Fath ar-Ray» [1:266-267], «Futuh as-Sind» from the work of Abul-Hasan al-Madoini [1:318]. However, it is not clear which of their works Al-Balazuri used.

Abdulaziz al-Dawri's use of «Futuh al-buldan» in quoting some passages from the works of early medieval historians shows that al-Balazuri referred to written sources during his work.

Al-Baladhuri's narration with words such as يُنْثَدِح (he told me), يُلْأَقْ (he told me) indicates that he did not obtain the details of the events from a written source, but rather from hearing them from his teachers. However, in some places, the historian described the events after phrases such as يُبَلِّغُ كُلَّ مَا شَهِدَ لَاقْ (Hisham al-Kalbi says) or يُدْقُّ أَوْلَى لَاقْ (Al-Waqidi says). The fact that the chain of narrators is not mentioned here, and that Al-Baladhuri did not use words such as يُنْثَدِح (he told me), يُلْأَقْ (he told me), اَنْ لَاقْ (he told us) to indicate that he heard them directly, but that the narrator's name is mentioned after the word لَاقْ (he said) or رَكَذَ (he mentioned) and the narration of the event indicates that Ahmad ibn Yahya also used a written source. In Abdulaziz al-Dawri's work, the passages quoted from al-Waqidi, Abu Mahnaf, and al-Madaini also begin with the sentence qaal (he said). Ahmad ibn Yahya used these sentences to narrate from historians such as Hisham ibn al-Kalbi, Abdulmalik ibn Qarib al-Asma'i, Abu Ubaydah Mu'ammar ibn al-Musanna, al-Waqidi, Yahya ibn Adam, Awwana ibn Hakam, Abu al-Hasan al-Madaini, Muhammad ibn Sa'd, and Abu Mahnaf. At the same time, he analyzed their information and cited the most reliable [9:236].

The historian did not quote information from other sources verbatim, but rather used it in an abbreviated form, emphasizing mainly conclusions and results. This can be seen by comparing «Futuh al-Buldan» and «Futuh ash-Sham» by Muhammad ibn Umar al-Waqidi. In "Futuh al-buldan", the subject of the conquest of the territories of Damascus, Palestine, Busra, Homs, Qinnisrin, Ajnadin and Busra, which are part of the territory of Syria, is consistent with the information in al-Waqidi's work "Futuh al-Sham", but it is distinguished by the fact that it covers the events in a concise form and does not provide details [3:149-208]. The author here avoided repeating information and drew attention to new information. Along with written sources, historical documents also have a special place in the study of history. From them, one can obtain accurate and reliable information about the socio-economic life of a certain period. In "Futuh al-buldan", the author says that he used diwan documents in some places. In particular, on the subject of the amount of tax to be collected from Nubia, an ancient region located south of Egypt, the historian stated that he could not find information in

the documents of the Diwan he had, and that he found it in the Diwan of Egypt [3:333].

Thus, the sources of the work *Futuh al-Buldān* can be classified as follows:

1. Narrations from narrators who were muhaddis and historians;

Al-Balazuri in most places cited the chain of narrators who narrated the event. Only in some places, in cases known to be reliable among historians, did he present the information in the form of “qalwa” (they say) without citing the chain of narrators. In the process of studying the topic, it was found that among the teachers from whom al-Balazuri narrated hadiths were also muhaddis from Central Asia, such as Ibrahim ibn Muslim al-Khwarizmi. The work quotes the narrations of narrators such as Husayn ibn Ali ibn Aswad al-Ajali, Muhammad ibn Sa'd, and Abu Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Salam in many places. In addition to muhaddis, the historian also narrated the narrations he heard from state officials, including caliphs and judges.

2. Historical sources written in the late 8th and 9th centuries;

Although the author does not provide information about which source he used in the work, his method of describing events indicates that he turned to sources in the process of writing the book. Al-Balazuri did not fully cite information from other sources when covering any topic, but simply gave a brief summary and conclusions. He did not describe the details related to the event. At the same time, the author also used historical documents of his time.

3. Narrations narrated by persons who participated in the historical event;

In addition to the sources listed above, socio-political events that occurred during the author's own lifetime are also of great importance. The fact that Al-Balazuri lived and worked in the Abbasid palace allowed him to be well informed about the state administration of the Abbasid caliphs and the internal situation in the Arab Caliphate in the 9th century. He was aware not only of the political situation in the regions of Khorasan, Transoxiana, the Middle East, the Caucasus, and Egypt, which were under the influence of the Abbasids, but also of the events that took place in the Aghlabids in North Africa and the Umayyads in Andalusia, which had become independent from the caliphate. [3:328] This is why this work of the historian is significant. The fact that various sources are used in the work “*Futuh al-buldan*” and the fact that the author reflects the historical processes that took place in his time in the book shows the significance of al-Balazuri's work. At the same time, the fact that the historian uses the method of hadiths in describing events indicates that the work is one of the reliable sources.

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