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A study of intellectual-cultural aspects of Abu Hanifa Ahmad Ibn Davood IbnVanand Dinavari

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ABSTRACT

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Abu Hanifa Dinavari is one of the most prominent scholars of Islamic civilization and the glories of Iranian history and culture with a venerable and high position in various branches of science especially botany, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics, atmosphere science, climate change (Elm al-Anvae), lexicology, literature, grammar and syntax, interpretation of Quran sciences, historiography, and other branches of intellectual sciences and traditional knowledge. His brilliant knowledge and ample publications made him one great scholar among several scientists and knowledgeable scholars of his time, so that he influenced many sciences. However, his scientific status is not as high as what he deserves to be. What has influenced his character more than anything in scientific circles and among scholars is his historiographical approach due to the publication of the complete text of Al-Akhbar at-Tiwal. While criticizing this viewpoint, the present paper attempts to study the scientificcultural status and function of Abu Hanifa Dinavari in Islamic civilization. Also using a new and comprehensive approach, and by a complete and more deeply approach and in proportion to the effective position of such scholar in Islamic civilization, the study aims to analyze intellectual thinking and different scholarly and scientific aspects of this distinguished scholar. In addition, with a careful and thorough review and introducing Abu Hanifa Dinavari works, different aspects of his knowledge and character will be further clarified in the study.

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Introduction

Islamic civilization is one of the great human civilizations which came into being in the seventh century with the rise of Islam in South-Western Asia and the Arabian Peninsula, and the establishment of Islamic rule, and quickly covered vast areas ranging from the China borders to the North Africa and Europe borders. Bright and golden age of Islamic civilization began from the late second century and early third century, which this process was the result of Muslims inspiration from rational and universal teachings of Islam and also mixing and familiarity of Muslim Arabs with culture, civilization and sciences of the conquered lands. Subsiding conquests, Islamic civilization reached its peak first by serious intellectual reflections in the revealed teachings of Islam and second (at the first period of Abbasid Caliphate) with an approach to the study and translation of scientific and cultural works of Muslim-dominated nations including Iran, Egypt, and Shaam (Servanyan) and also taking advantage of science and cultural heritage of other countries such as Greece and India. This golden age lasted until the end of the fourth century, so that some European Orientalists and scholars named "third and fourth centuries AD, the era of the great cultural cosmopolitan or philosophical humanism and the Renaissance of Islam".¹

Islamic civilization with such an approach has some characteristics including having religious law derived from the Quran and prophetic tradition, having a Monotheistic attitude as a unifying element and tool, invite individuals to wisdom reflection and thought on the worldly affairs, deep reflection on the achievements of earlier societies, promoting science and knowledge seeking, and a spirit of tolerance. Some call this tolerance as the "mother of human civilization "and knows it as the main cause of cooperation, collaboration and progress of the various races and nations in the realm of Islamic civilization.²

In this context, the seekers of truth and Muslim scholars in the vast territories of the Islamic World were in search of various fields of human knowledge and hidden rational, natural and human secrets and achieved tremendous gains, which today most of the great heritage of humanity is indebted to their efforts. One of these great scholars which his constellation of thoughts and ideas have not well understood, and not only is a pioneer in many traditional and rational sciences but also is innovative and creative, is Abu Hanifa Ahmed Ibn Davud Ibn Vanand Dinavari as the prominent scholar in state of Djibal Western Iran, the land of Mai (Median) and newly-emerged Islamic Iranian "Mah al-Kufa" or Islamic Dinavar. It is true that Dinavar had an ancient history, but what made this ancient anonymous city famous to play significant roles in building a new civilization in the name of Islamic civilization, was not its history rather it was its new inspiring nature which had penetrated into the heart and soul of residents and people living in that city including both Arabs and Persians. These influences made anonymous and ancient Dinavar a scientific, civilized city with a new culture and great scholars to contribute to its prosperity and greatness and Abu Hanifa the great Persian scholar is one of its glorious figures.

Dinavar: the origin of Abu Hanifa Ancient city of Dinavar

Dinavar is one of the historic cities of Iran. Some see it as one of the oldest human habitats known in the Middle East.³The word "Dinavar" by "*Fatheh*" on "n" and "v" has been recorded in modern and ancient sources by the same form and pronounciation⁴. It is narrated that the reason for naming



Dinavar is that Dinavar residents accepted Zoroastrianism wilingly and without duress and then the city was named "Mah Dinavaran" and Dinavar is an abbreviated form of "Dina Avar"which itsnew recordings are the same shape and pronunciation.⁵Jacques de Morgan visited ancient ruins of the city in the year 1895 and achieved some works of different periods, including the Achaemenid.⁶ In Seleucid era, some institutions and temples were built in Dinavar and some works in this field have been derived from the Greek Civilization. In ancient times, ruling families ruled at different parts of Iran, among them is the family of Karen (Qarn) which at the time of the Parthian and Sassanian ruled within the borders of Dinavar, Nahavand and Hamadan.⁷ Masudi considers the Dinavar rulers as the followers of Parthian.⁸ Having a mild and pleasant climate and enjoying beautiful scenery and the natural and abundant water resources, Dinavar City became summer resort of some Sasanian kings.⁹ Although no information is available on the scientific-cultural life of Dinavar in ancient times, considering the limitations associated with the political and social structure of Sassanid era -compared with Islamic tolerance- it could be said that this city did not take advantage of a remarkable and thriving background in this regard.

Mah al Koufah or Islamic Dinavar

Dinavar in Islamic times became a large and prosperous city and according to the geographers in the early centuries of Islam, it was regarded as one of the cities of Djibal state [Median]. Dinavar location is near the Qarmisyn (Kermanshah), twenty miles away from Hamadan, and its distance to Zoor City has known as four miles.¹⁰ Islamic era, especially the third and fourth centuries AD, i.e. the era of philosophical humanism and Islamic Renaissance was considered as the peak period of political, economic and cultural life of Dinavar. This boom declined for different reasons and Dinavar was limited to a small part consists of several villages.

The entrance of Islam to Iran was started by the attack of Muslim Arabs at the time of the caliphate of Abu Bakr (11-13 AD) and took more and more momentum at the time of Umar (13-23 AD). Dinavar was conquered in the year 21 AH during the caliphate of Umar and by Abu Musa al-Ash'ari.

Accompanied by a legion of Basra, Abu Musa spent for five days Dinavar and the war ensued just one day between the parties. The townspeople finally gave up and accepted the ransom and pay tribute to the life of their family and property. Abu Mousa accepted and stationed his agent was with a group of riders there.¹¹ At that time, the Arabs, called the land of the Mah (Median) as Djibal (Jabal) and Dinavar was one of the cities of Djibal State (in climate IV)¹² which some rulers were sent there by caliphs and sometimes it was governed by Djibal State ruler. Dinavar name was changed into Mah al-Koufa at the time of Mo'avieh because its levy and the income were sent to Kufa.13 However Dinawar was not abandoned and its name was used alongside the name of Mah al-Kufa. During the Bani Umayvad era, caliphs from Bani Umayvad rulers were sent to Dinavar.¹⁴At the first period of Abbasid Caliphate, coincided with the rise of Iranian semi-independent governments and political and military quarrels over power, Dinavar and its surrounding areas were subject to murder, plunder, invasion of power claimants. Apparently most persistent attacks and damages took place at time of Mardavij the founder of the dynasty Al Zyar. In 319 AD, he sent out one of his commanders named Ibn Alan Qazvini alongside an army into Dinavar during which about seventeen to twenty-five thousand inhabitants of the city were killing and about fifty to one hundred thousand

people of Dinavar and Kermanshah -men and women- were captured. $^{\rm 15}$

The end of the first period of the Abbasid dynasty (132-232 AD), is considered as the beginning of the cultural development of Dinavar which reached its peak at the time of Hasanavids reign (Kurds of Barzikany 348-406 AD) coincided with the period of the Abbasid dynasty (222-447 AD). The formation of more or less independent dynasty of Hasanavids in the fourth century -coincided with the golden age of Islamic civilizationmust be seen as a turning point in Dinavar history, because at this time Dinavar having good geographical and climatic characteristics, achieved other characteristics of civilization and urban planning such as economic prosperity, urban structures and political organization, relatively stable security and strive in the way of moral traditions and the knowledge and wisdom. Placement of Dinavar at the direction of Great Khorasan highway which connected east to west¹⁶ led to the development of economic and political trade, also resulted in cultural exchanges, and scientists and scholars from different regions could commute Dinavar and had discussions with its distinguished scholars¹⁷. This important factor gave rise to the further development of Dinavar, as well. The high potential of Islamic religious teachings in seeking for knowedge, learning, civility and high culture¹⁸ of Dinavar people and rulers and their support of cultural and development affairs, nearness of Dinavar to the main cultural centers such as Baghdad, Koufa, Basra and Isfahan¹⁹ are considered as other growth factors of Dinavar. In addition, Dinavar theosophers and scholars were famous in Islamic world and many refered to their considerable number.²⁰ Following Hasanavids, Dinavar gradually due to some reasons such as local conflicts on power and the attacks of the governments around like Dailamyan, Seljuks, and the resulting conflicts, invasions and looting of Ghozha, Turkmen and Mongols over Dinavar.²¹ At the eighth century AD, Dinavar had not same booming situaion as Hasanavids era and was limited to a small town. The city experienced serious injury and nearly destroyed²² during the invasion of Timur and less say about this city in historical sources than the past. Natural disasters, particularly earthquakes in Dinavar are another cause of destruction and decay in Dinavar.²³Abu Hanifa emerged at the time of development of Dinavar and is a perfect example in Islamic culture and civilization.

The identity and authenticity of Abu Hanifa

Ahmad Ibn Dawud Ibn Abu Hanifa Vanand Dinavari was born in Dinavar. Although his birth year is not mentioned in sources, the first half of the third century could be regarded as his birth year. Dinavari was originally an Iranian and his grandfather's name is Vanand, a Persian name for one of the stars. Dehkhoda regards the name of Vanand as one of the Nasr VagheStars.²⁴ Another reason is that Dinavar as his palce of living is Iranain and Kurdish and could be regarded as one of the main Kurdish centers of Mai (Median) tribe and Djibal State in ancient Islam. The scholars have assertedly confirmed that Dinavari is originally from Dinavar.²⁵ Ibn Nadim proves that Abu Hanifa is a non-Arab.²⁶ Among Kurdish writers and scholars, Abu Hanifa is regarded as a well-known and distinguished scientist and celebrity, as well.²⁷ He spent his childhood and adolescence in Dinavar with a cultural environment and simultaneously learnt the basics of science. Then, in order to achieve information and add to his knowledge left Iran for the scientific centers of its time namely Basra, Kufa and Isfahan.²⁸Abu Hanifa life coincided with the late first and early second period of Abbasid Caliphate, i.e. the era of scientific-cultural development of civilization of Islam and

translated works from other cultures such as Iran, India, Egypt and Greece. The scientifc movement and the rise of translation resulted in the development and progress of the golden age of Islamic civilization and numerous cultural centers in different parts of the territory were created. Scientific discussions and debates among scientists took place and emerged religions and different theological and religious religions and schools and many books were written. To acquire knowledge and the sciences of the time, Abu Hanifa traveled to Iraq, Hijaz, Syria and the Persian Gulf regions and spent a while in Isfahan for performing astronomical studies and observing stars.²⁹ Then he returned to Dinavar and did research and composition and apparently spent the remaining year of his life there. The date the year of his death is controversial, but it seems the year 282 AD is more valid. Zahabi Believes that Abu Hanafite was a follower of Hanafi doctorine³⁰ but his passionate love to Iranian culture and people, his Shia proclivities and also teaching under the guidance of Shia scholars created doubt and question in his Sunni beliefs. In historical sources, less information is on his teachers and students, but he is most influenced by the school of Basra and Kufa, and among the scholars of these cities, he was more influenced by Sakit and his son Yaeghub (Ibn Sakit) as a great Shia scholar. Abu Hanifa learned science and specially literature (vocabulary, grammar, poetry) in those cities.³¹In historical sources, the masters and pupils of Dinavari have not been mentioned. However, independent thinking and innovation is one psychological and intellectual characteristic of Abu Hanifa.

Intellectual and scholarly dimensions of Abu Hanifa Dinavari

The era of Abu Hanifa was coincided with the dominance of Arabic literature in Muslim world and most of the books written at that time were in Arabic language. Thus, according to the sources, Abu Hanifa wrote over thirty books in his time on different fields of science, which some of them were dozens of volumes. Lack of access to the works of Dinavari and historians' focus on his historicism thinking have led to an insufficient knowledge of his thinking aspects and intellectual nuances and also cultural and philosophical status of this prominent scholar. Carefully review and consider these issues can remove the veil from the face of a prominent character and a wise and creative scholar which is the leading indicator of Islamic culture and civilization in the third and fourth centuries AD. Here, Dinavari's intellectual constellation, works and influences and also his intellectual services to the Islamic civilization are examined

Traditional sciences

Before considering Dinavari's intellectual aspects and his tendencies towards natural, experimental and traditional sciences, his attention to the more general field of knowledge, i.e. traditional science is investigated. He was a master of these areas alongside different branches of traditional knowledge in third century and had authored influential works. Literature, lexicology and linguistics, rhetoric and eloquence, history, folklore, religious sciences, theology and jurisprudence, Quranic sciences and exegesis are among the sciences which Dinavari has written some works on them, and many scholars have asserted his unique or at least unmatched mastery. Below we refer to some of these branches.

Literature and Literary Sciences

Abu Hanifea Dinavari was a prominent literary man and lexicologist of his time and was adequately skilled in different branches of literary sciences. Regarding literary rhetoric, he was superior to Jahez great Arab scholar and writer of prose, and

despite Dinavari was not an Arab racially and linguistically, his prose and speech in literary texts and even non-literary works was sweeter, more eloquent and closer to Arabic spoken word and lexicology, and his scientific ability and scope of information and knowledge in terms of philology and words knowledge exceeded from his contemporaries.³² Dinavari had a tendency toward a systematic approach derived from his influence from the school of Basra and Kufa during his studies. In terms of literary and lexical characteristics and features, Dinavari works were of a high level and was acclaimed and appreciated for future generations, and some later scholars followed its way and procedure. Dinavari's Islah al-Mantegh was edified and abridged by Abu al-Ghasem Hussein Ibn Ali known as *Vazire Maghrebi*³³ so that laity, students and novices are able to use it more easily. Dinavari attempted to study Arabic common lexical errors between people and tried to rectify them based on pure Arabic language appropriate measures and standards and gathered all his results in a book entitled Maialhan Fihe al-Ameh. Some authors attributed to Dinavari for expressing the meaning and concept of of some words.³⁴ Dinavari was among the first scholars who composed a book on poetry and poets in the form of a biography and translation. His work can be seen as a role model and an introduction to the next biographers. Rejecting and replying the poetry books (Divan) of some of his contemporaries (Laghzhe Isfahani) entered into a field of literary criticism. Another literary book by him is called Al Baian in sixty volumes and later scholars and authors have cited it to define the concept and meaning of some words.³⁵Although a book with such a huge size may be exaggerated, it is definitely a great book on speech and rhetoric, and it has probably undergone fate that Masudi narrated. Great historian and geographer Masudi, praised Dinavari works in these categories, and believed that some of his works have been plagiarized by other authors.³⁶

Interpretation of the Quran and Islamic Sciences

Abu Hanifa was a pious and virtuous person³⁷, so it is natural that such a person with strong religious tendencies turns toward the religious sciences and Quranic exegesis. Apparently Quranic exegesis written by Dinavari is in thirteen volumes³ and due to its excellent content integrity has earned the admiration and amazement of scholars. Due to the integrity and reliability of Dinavari in expression news and stories³⁹, it can be said that this exegesis was a correct trustable interpretation among scholars and contemporaries. It is not clear the exegesis is narrative (final end) or judgmental (reason). However, as this interpretation is among the first Islamic ones, apparently it is narrative same as Al-Baian by Tabari. On the other hand, at that time, Abbasid dynasty had not good relations with the partisans of personal opinion (Ahl Raei), and most interpretations were narrative rather than other types which were not acceptable to the Mu'tazilites. In addition to interpretation, Dinavari gave special attention to other Quranic sciences such as lexical and syntactic features and difficult and abstruse words of some verses. At that particular time, the recognition of valid and obsolete verses was an important obsession of Muslims and there were books in this area called Ma'ani al-Quran.⁴⁰ Dinavari was adept in this area as well and wrote a book called Zamaer al-Quran.⁴¹ Since the early Islamic era to First Abbasid Caliphate, Kufic writing book was popular in writing the Qur'an but a gradual tendency began towards rules for the vowel endings (*Eerab*) and punctuation in third century AD, and books were written on this subject.⁴² In this area of the Quranic Sciences, Dinavari wrote a book named Fi al-Noghtateh va al-Shekl⁴³ (On Points and Forms) on rules for the vowel endings

(Eerab) and punctuation which is considered to be among the first books written on this subject. Therefore, Abu Hanifa Dinavari could be regarded as one of the first commentators to interpret the Quran and he apparently provided a complete interpretation on Quran. He wrote on the meanings and other branches of understanding the Ouran version and made the way for subsequent commentators to be smoother. It could be said that his efforts regarding rules for the vowel endings (*Eerab*) and punctuation of Kufic writing in the area of along with other contemporary commentators paved the way for creating Naskh, Sols and Taeligh writings and a transition from Kufic writing in the next decades in Abbasid era. He is also expert in the field of jurisprudence and religion, and as he wrote a book on the rules regarding inheritance (Kitab al-Vasaia and Kitab Hisab al-*Dour*),⁴⁴heis among the first pamphleteers of jurisprudential and legal prescriptions.

Dinavari's History and Historiography

In ancient sources of Islam and the Muslim scholars of previous centuries, the Abu Hanifa Dinavari is recognized more as a literary man, scholar, botanist and astronomer rather than a historian.⁴⁵ Regarding his translations and biography, his recognized book "Akhbar at-Tiwal" is mentioned and he is regarded as a reliable narrator and historian in different narratives and reports.⁴⁶ But in modern times, and today, he is best known for his history book Akhbar at-Tiwal that some of the orientalists -in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries -did proofread and publish. Although this brought fame for Abu Hanifa, it overshadowed other dimensions and capabilities because Akhbar at-Tiwal is currently his only full text and book which is available to readers. So it is natural that this edification, completeness, amendment and publishment led to the fame of have Dinavari's historical thinking in the modern era

Issues, sources and methods: Akhbar at-Tiwal is one authentic historical books and one of the primary sources of Islam and Iran. This book is a general history and reviews and reports on the events of the prophets, kings, Arabs, some caliphs, etc. This book does not describe the life of the Prophet and events of the time. Some believe that probably because prior to Dinavari, some books such as Al Sirat al-Nabovieh by Ibn Hisham, Maghazi by Vaghedi and Tabagaht by Ibn Saed were written and did not provide a detailed description of Prophet Muhammad's life and the events of that time, Dinavari avoid describing the events of the Prophet era.⁴⁷ Another possibility is that there can be a tendency in Abu Hanifa towards the history of Iran. Dinavari in Akhbar al Tiwal after addressing Sasanian history, describing its late events, series of adventures after death of Shirouyeh and the rise of Pouran the girl of Khosrow Parviz, immediately narrates wars between Arabs and Iranians, without any refrence to the life, companions and battles of the Prophet or the caliphate of Abu Bakrand Ahle Radeh. It could be said that one of the reasons for Dinavary's inattention to the life of Prophet and his battles or the ongoing events after the caliphate of Abu Bakr is Dinavary's tendency toward Persian history.

Content and context: Akhbar al-Tiwal can be divided into three sections. The first section includes stories about the Adam and his early descendants and some prophets, such as Idris, Noah, Hud, Abraham and Ishmael, and the children of Israel, and the kingdom of David and Solomon, until the rise of Jesus. The advent of Zoroaster and his religion and the children of Israel's salvation by Iranian kings are also discussed, and perhaps Dinavari's book is one of the most ancient ones that deal with this issue. The second part covers the history and story of the kings of Persia, Rome, and Yemen, the triumph of Zahhak (Biorasb) on Jamshid, and Manouchher, Keyqobad and Goshtasb, Bahman, Dara, Alexandre, Molouk al-Tavayef and Sasanians. The third part begins with the struggles of the Iranian and Arabs since the caliphate of Umar and deals with the ongoing events of later Caliphs and ends with Moetasem Abbasi caliphate in 227 AH.⁴⁸

Dinavari's historical sources: most of the sources used by Dinavari in writing Akhbar al-Tiwal have been missing but Dinavari in some parts of the book refers to the authors of the sources used including Ibn Kis Namri the author of Kitab al-Ansab, Obid Ibn Alsharieh al-Jahromi the author of Kitan Al-Molouk and Akhbar al-Mazi, Zaid Ibn Vahab, Gheghae Zafari, kolbi, Hais Ibn Odai, etc.

Dinavari avoids referring to the series of documents and only mentions a source and narrator. For example, says "al-Kalabi said..., al Haisam said..., Al Asmaei said..." and sometimes suffices to say just "said".In his book, Dinavari mentions 21 narrators including Ibn al-Sharieh, Ibn Abbas, Ibn al-Kis Namri, Ibn al-Moghfae, al-Asmaei, Hamid Ibn Muslim, Reja Ibn Hiva, Zaid ibn Vahab, Sha'abi, Abdollah Ibn Samet, Hasam Ibn Odai, etc.⁴⁹ In his narrations, Dinavari may use Nasr Ibn Mozahim Manghari (d. 212 AH) Arab Shia historian because Dinavari in Akhbar al-Tiwal refers to the Zayd Ibn Wahab and Oaeqae Zafari in reporting on the events of Seffin war. Also Nasr Ibn Mozahim in his book entitled "the Seffin War" refers several times to these names. Perhaps it can be said that Dinavari had achieved the narrations of both through Nasr Ibn Mozahim but did not mention the intermediary narrator's name -Nasr Ibn Mozahim- due to the political considerations, because Mozahim was Shia, and due to political and religious climate of the time and ruling dogmas, Shia narrations were considered as obsolete; And if someone was quoting a Shia tradition, he/she was forced to avoid mentioning Shia intermediary in order to prevent other narrators from naming it an obsolete one. So Dinavari did not refer to the name Nasr Ibn Mozahem.⁵

Features and method of writing of the Akhbar at-Tiwal: Dinavari, in writing of this great work, uses writing in terms of topics, rather than events, i.e. he narrates the events in terms of subject from beginning to end to by a continuous narrative without interruption, unlike historians like Tabari and Ibn Athir which narrated events based on the year of happening. However, Akhbar at-Tiwal as a general history book is too short, and is not comparable with the general history books such as Tarikh al-Rosol and al-Moluk by Tabari or al-Kamel by Ibn Athir. Dinavari's work is a precious and rich treasure of first-hand information from the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic history that has recieved the attentions of historians following Dinavari, because in addition to having first-hand knowledge, the author himself is well known for honesty and truthfulness in mentioning famous narrations so called "reliable". Among the historians who followed Akhbar at-Tiwal and quoted from Dinavari several times, is Fareqi Ahmad Ibn Yousef Ibn Ali Ibn Al-Razagh(d. 577 AH) as the author of the historical book entitled Miaf areghin. At the time of describing the events and wars between Romans and Persians or the events happened between them and Muslims, as well as in the book the History of "Diar Bakr, Diar Rabieh and Miafareghin" has relied mostly on Akhbar at-Tiwal and repeatedly referenced it in his book.⁵¹Mir in his book Habib Al-Sair frequently cites Dinavari.52 While describing reports, Dinavari usually does not report on a series of documents and has not mentioned the name of narrators. Deleting some documents in Akhbar at-Tiwal resulted in its

eloquence and expressiveness and thus the non-specialist and general reader can enjoy the book and easier to read. On the other hand, as Dinavari was well known to the honesty and reliability, it was not so important and necessary for him to mention the series of the documents. It could be said that both general and specialized reader can enjoy Akhbar at-Tiwal according to their needs. Since Dinavari was both astronomer and mathematician, he had certainly a scientific reason required by his own time - and this has been effective in Dinavari's historiography. He organized the order of events based on subjects rather than details of events and apparently he aimed to explain historical events from beginning to end without interruption and thereby achieve better indicators of events and their outcomes and finally contribute to a unity of the subject. It could be said that the selection of name "Akhbar at-Tiwal" (long versions) was in agreement with Dinavari's aims and methods of historiography. Another advantage of Akhbar at-Tiwal, despite its writing in Arabic atmosphere of the period, was influence of the style of the historiography on it from an Iranian point of view and having patriotic concerns and also having reports which are not found in other sources.⁵³Some researchers believe that one of the factors and causes of the emergence of Sheoubieh movement among Iranians is the expression of Persian ancient traditions and narrations by some historians such as Abu Hanifa Dinavari and Hamza Isfahani, and Dinavari is regarded as one of the Iranian nationalist historians.⁵⁴Some signs of the spirit of patriotism and nationalism and patriotic sentiments can be seen in his book, in a time when national unity and political geography as two main characteristics of the Sasanian or Safavid era, did not exist. Dinavari could also use Iranian sources, including the epic stories of pre-Islamic and Arabic references. He also attempted to establish systematically a link between the history of pre-Islamic tribes, people and different countries to communicate and establish a match between them in terms of chronology, a technique which Rosenthal believes Dinavari has adopted from Christian and Greek-Syrianic historiography. Because earlier Iranian writers who have attempted to find such chronological match between Iranian and Solokian histories, were failed.⁵⁵However, apparently Dinavari was successful in this regard and we can make this successa another success of Akhbar at-Tiwal and his historiography.

Abu Hanifa Dinavari is a pioneer in Iranian and Islamic historiography that his efforts in removing hisriography from the limited fence of Arabic unreliable and incredible stories and traditions contributed to the scientific and philosophical prosperity of this critical area and paved the way for some contemporary historians such as Yaeghoubi, Tabari, etc., and also future historians including Abu al-Hassan Masoudi (d. 345 AH) as the author of Moravej al-Mazhab and Ma'aden al-Johar and Hamza Isfahani (d. 360 CE) as the author of Molouk al-Arz and Anbia.⁵⁶

Dinavari's works in various branches of traditional science Quranic Sciences

-Tafsir Al-Quran: apparently, 13 voumes⁵⁷

-Zamaer Al-Quran⁵⁸

-Fi al-Noghteh al-Shikl on the E'erab and phenology of verses.⁵⁹

On jurisprudential and religious sciences:

-Alvasaia: on the rules of inheritance

-Hesab al-Sodour: on the rules of inheritance⁶¹

-Albah: on marriage and marital issues⁶²

3- Literature (rhetoric, poetry and words)

-Alshe'er o Alshoara': on poetry and the life of poets and has been written in the same way of the classified books on poets and poetry.⁶³

- Maialhan fi Al-Ameh: on common lexical errors among $\operatorname{people}^{64}$

-Alfasahah: on rhetoric sciences⁶⁵

-Aljame Valtafrigh: on rhetoric⁶⁶

Albaian: it is narrated that this book has been written in sixty volumes⁶⁷ and apparently its subject was rhetoric and language. However, Krachovski, taking into account the number of the volumes and word forms, considers al-Baian as the manipulated version of al-Nabat.⁶⁸

-Al-Rad Al al-Sho'ara by Abu Ali Laghza al-Isfahani⁶⁹

-Islah al-Mantegh or Islahe Islah al-Mantegh: the theme and title of this book is controversial⁷⁰; some regard it as a literary book and some as a book on logic.⁷¹ Mahdavi Damghani in the introduction of Akhbar at-Tiwal believes that the original name of the book was Islahe Islah al-Mantegh and it was a reformed version of Islah al-Mantegh by Ibn Sekkit, and as Abu Hanifa was a disciple of Ibn Sekkit for a while, so has amended and completed the book of his master.⁷²

History and narrations: in the area of history, some works such as "Al Akhbar", "Kitab al-Akhbar", "Akhbar at-Tiwal" and "Abu Hanifa History" have been attributed to him, which historians regard all these names as a book, and this book is the only book in the traditional sciences which has been currently proved as that of Abu Hanifa and published by the title Akhbar at-Tiwal. Akhbar at-Tiwal, which has been referred to in many sources⁷³, is a general history book which considers history of prophets and kings, the pre-Islamic Iranian history, and then explores the history of Islam and Iran in the Islamic period, and apparently it is the only book that has remained completely from Abu Hanifa Dinavari.

Other works attributed to Dinavari regarding traditional sciences

Kitab al-Mjaleseh⁷⁴: Carl Brockelman in *Tarikh al-Adab al-Arabi* claims that"Almjals" is written by Abu Hanifa Dinavari. Brockleman's evidence in the attribution of this work to Abu Hanifa Dinavari is the *Sharhe Shavahed al-Moghni by Sioti*⁷⁵. According to some studies, we reached this conclusion that both Sioti and Ibn Hojr Asghalani have attributed a book entitled "Almajaleseh" to Dinavari, but have not specified which Dinavari. With further study, it was specified that Brockleman was wrong in this area, while Yaghout Hamavi, Zahabi and Baghdi regard the author of Almajaleseh someone other than Abu Hanifa, and an author called Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Marwan al-Maliki Dinavari who had died in the late third or early fourth century⁷⁶. So it is wrong to attribute "Almajaleseh" to Abu Hanifa.

Alansab or Ansab al-Akrad: it is obvious from its name that it reports on Kurdish ancestry which this book also have been attributed to himin most recent sources⁷⁷. But this attribution is dubious as well, because there was no evidence of such a thoughtful work at the ancient sources.⁷⁸

Rational and Natural (Experimental)Sciences

Abu Hanifa Dinavari is considered as one of the rarest scholars of third centuries, due to his focus on rational sciences and the multiplicity of his knowledge and scientific and specialized interests and also variety of his works in different rational and natural areas. In addition, he has an independent method alongside scientific creativity and innovation. He is considered as the founder of Iranian-Islamic knowledge and the father of meteorology and climate change or *Elm al-Anvae*.⁷⁹

His vast knowledge of geography, astronomy and astrology, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, along with the adoption of experimental methods in the analysis, especially in natural sciences is another issue that their further analysis and appreciation is not possible at least up to the present time due to some reasons such as inability to access to his original works. However, based on existing sources and documents, the present paper aims to review some aspects of his mental and natural thinking in various branches of rational sciences.

Botany

The most influential factor which brought fame forAbu Hanifa in his time and even for centuries was a book entitled al-Nabat on botany and linguistics, so that scholars remember him as the author of al-Nabat.⁸⁰ Ibn al-Nadim quotes⁸¹ that this book brought great fame and popularity for Dinavri.In this book, he mentions the characteristics of different plants with some examples by old Arab poets, and then he has described different types of soils, Arabic lands, required conditions for the growth of plants and a classification of plants including 1) wild and desert plants, 2) Plants with food and nutritional properties, and 3) plants with economic properties (aromatic, coloring, etc.). Dinavari did not rely only on Arab land plants and investigated the plants of other lands too. He used his literary talent for a better description of plants and also the climate and atmosphere of various territories⁸². Through his systematic research-based efforts, Dinavari compiled an Encyclopedia which covers a large variety of plants in different territories and established a basic structure for next botanists in Islamic civilization. His work was of particular interest of lexicographers and botanists and used as one of their main sources to obtain information about a variety of plants. Some call this work as a botany encyclopedia.⁸³It should not be ignored that in an era when the Muslims showed less interest in natural history⁸⁴, Dinavari'd focus on this significant field is striking. Through his works, Dinavari added many drugs to the science of pharmacology. A. Zajaji (d. 339 AH) in his book al-Amali has used and quoted from al-Nabat.⁸⁵ It seems that the first lexicographer who used al-Nabat in his works was Ibn Sideh, Andalusian linguist (d. 458 AH) and the author of the great dictionary named al-Mohkam Val-Mohit al-Aezam al-Mokhsas. Ibn Manzour Arab philologist (d. 711 AH) also used al-Nabat in his great collection Lisan al-Arab and quoted from Dinavari in several cases. Abu Raihan Biruni (d. 440 AH) in his book Al-Saidaneh Fi a-Teb uses over two hundred thirty citations from Dinavari, and three times he mentions the name of the Kitab al-Nabat.⁸⁶

Ibn Manzour as an Arab Lexicologist (711 AH) in the compilation of his great collection "Lisan al Arab" uses Dinavari's Farhang, and has cited several times to Dinavari. Mohammad Morteza Zobaidi (1205 AH) the author of Taj al-Arous has cited aslo to Dinavari several times. ⁸⁷ Abu Raihan Birouni (440 AH) in his book Al-Saidana fi al-Teb cites to Dinavari more than two hundred times and cites three times to "al-Nabat".88 This shows that al-Nabat was one of the main sources of Abu Raihan for writing his work. Also, Birouni in his book Al-Jamaher fi-Javahir on mining studies and precious stones cites several times to Dinavar.⁸⁹Johari Naishabouri (6th century AD) in his book Javaher Nameh Nezami makes several references to this valuable book.⁹⁰ Ibn Bytar Arab botanist and pharmacologist (d. 646 AH) refers to Dinavari about one hundred thirty times and quotes about fifty types of plants from him which were unknown to predecessors.⁹¹ Ibn Bytar abridged the book "al-Nabat" and has referred to it in his book "Mofradat". 92 Yaghout Hamavi in Maejam al-Boldan refers to Dinavari and al-Nabat in describing some geographical words and plants.⁹³Sarten regards al-Nabat as the best example in the area of Islamic Biology and believes that the main aim of this book was its lexical aspects but it contains invaluable information for the historian of botany, and the introduction of this work is of special significance as well.⁹⁴ LeClerc considers Abu Hanifa Dinavari as the Orient's greatest botanist.⁹⁵ the book, if not unique in its kind, is very rare and Abu Hanifa should be known as the father of Islamic and Persian botany. A piece of al-Nabat entitled "Ghata men Joze Samin men Kitab al-Nabat" was published by Bernard Luis in 1953 in Uppsala University Publications. This part of book covers the names of plants in the order of alphabetical letters from A-Z.⁹⁶ A part of this book which includes the names of plants was published in Egypt by Mohammad Hamid Allah.⁹⁷Another part of the book underwent a scholarly scrutiny as a doctoral dissertation by Silberg which includes the description of four hundred plant species with formal, environmental and climactic characteristics, and an analysis of vegetation conditions from birth to demise. So al-Nabat must be regarded as a masterpiece which elaborates on a variety of sciences such as climate change (Elm al-Anvae), rhetoric, botany, geography, meteorology, geology, pharmacology, philology and natural history.

Astronomy and Mathematics

Abu Hanifa Dinavari among his contemporaries, and long after, achieved his fame not only for his mastery over botany but aslo his astronomical reaserch and the distinguished work "Al-Anvae". He established an observatory in 225 to 235 AD in Isfahan and carried out some astronomical resaerch.99There are some dubious stories narrated by Mostofi and Haji Khalifeh on designing astronomical tables by him in Isfahan. These two historians refer to Dinavari's astronomical tables in Isfahan in the year 335 AD for Rokn Al-Douleh Hasan Ibn Bouveh Dilami.¹⁰⁰ If they mean Abu Hanifa Ahmad Ibn Davud Dinavari (d. 282 AH), they have arguably gone wrong because he was not a contemporary of Ale Bouveh and there is nearly half a century period between the death of Abu Hanifa Dinavari in the year 282 to the rise of Ale Boouyeh in the year 320 AH.Two points comes to mind, either Mostoufi or Haji Khlaifa have gone wrong in recording year 335 instead of 235 AH, or they mean another Abu Hanifa other than Abu Hanifa Ahmad Ibn Davud Ibn Vanand. However, so far name of such person is not mentioned in resources, and only Mostoufi in his famous book Tarikhe Gozideh refers to Abu Hanifa Dinavari, the contemporary astronomer of Rokn al-Douleh Hasan Ibn Bouveh, and Haji Khalifa refers to this story by quoting from Mostoufi; "Zekrah Saheb al-Kazida"¹⁰¹. In addition to Mostoufi and Haji Khalifam, Khandmir refers to this story, as well. ¹⁰²Krachovski believes that Dinavary composed the result of its observations of the stars and astronomical studies in Isfahan in a book entitled Al-Kosouf.¹⁰³ One branch of astronomy is Elm al-Anvae that has been common among various nations, including Arabs. This science is the recognition of moon's states and its relationship with stars and how it affects the weather forecast and determining proper farming seasons; and in that year, one year was divided into twenty-eight lunar states (moon's state).¹⁰⁴ The scholars following Dinavari attributed striking knowledge of Dinavari in al-Anvae to his extraordinary talents regarding astronomy. ¹⁰⁵ Great astronomer of fourth century Abd Al-Rahman Sufi, regarding Al-Anvae says: "although we have seen many books on Elm Al-Anave (climate change), the most complete and comprehensive book in this regard is that of Abu Hanifa, because Abu Hanifa was more knowledgable than anybody else on this matter".¹⁰⁶Abu Raihan Biruni who is among the most distinguished scientists and astronomers of

Islamic civilization, in a book entitled Asar al-Baghieh Anghoroun al-Khalia, chapter 21 on the moon stages, sunrise and sunset and the image of these stages, regards Al-Anvae as one of main resource in writing his book.¹⁰⁷ Ibn Sida(Andalusia scholar of 5th century AD) in his book Almokhsas has used Al-Anvae by Dinavari and has composed an extract of it in his work.¹⁰⁸ According to Abd Al-Rahman Souri who personally went to Dinavar in 335 AH, Abu Hanifa had an observatory on his roof and he did astronomical research and observation of stars for years.¹⁰⁹ So in line with these studies, he wrote a book entitled al-Ghiblat al-Zaval on Direction to Mecca, legal moments and relevant canonic rules.¹¹⁰ Dinavari is among the first Islamic astronomers and the masters of this area in the Islamic civilization. He was cited by many astronomers on Elm al-Anvae and he wrote the most comprehensive book in this field. He can be considered the greatest scholar of Elm al-Anvae in Islamic civilization. He also established an observatory which is regarded among the first observatories in the Islamic history. He actively contributed to the development of different sciences, particularly astronomy and the enrichment of Islamic civilization.

Mathematics (arithmetic, geometry, algebra)

Abu Hanifa has always been known as a leading astronomer and mathematician, and his interest in astronomy and precise mathematical calculations in his thought has an unbreakable bond with each other because the separation of astronomy and mathematics is impossible and an astronomer is both mathematician and astronomer. Although Dinavari's impact on Islamic civilization in mathematics (arithmetic, geometry, algebra) was not same as astronomy, botany, history and literature, he was the first Muslim scholar who wrote books on mathematics including Al-Bahs fi Hesab Al-Hend, Al-Jabr al-Moghabele, Navader al-Jabr and Fi Hesab Al-Khatein.¹¹¹He is one of the pioneers in this area and one of the first Iranian-Islamic engineers which his mathematics (algebra) works had received the attention of the Europeans.¹¹²

Geography

Due to his special interest in understanding the properties of plants and their environmental chracteristics and also his talent in atmospheric sciences and meteorology, Dinavari was highly knowledgable, creative and a great theorician in the area of geography and geographic and climatic changes. Therefore, next scholars have referred to Al-Boldan by Dinavari as a geographical great book in their writings, a book which mainly focused on geographical issues, cities and roads.¹¹³ Also, some scholars have interpreted Dinavari's Kitab Kabir or Alboldan al-Kabir.

Logic and Philosophy

Although accurate information is not available on Dinavari's philosophical thought and works, later scholars and great philosophers very much admired him and recognized him as a philosopher. However, the only work which has been attributed to him in this regard is a book entitled "Al-Mantegh". However, comments of some sages and philosophers such as Abu Haian about Abu Hanifa and putting him alongside Hakim Abu Zayd Balkhi and Jahez represent the interests of Abu Hanifa in this area. Regarding the interests of Abu Hanifa and his knowledge on Greek philosophy and science, Ahmed Amin has written that: "Abu Hanifa was more knowledgable on Greek education and edification, philosophy and science than Ibn Ghotaiba and Jahiz".¹¹⁴Some European orientalists have appreciated his book "Islah al-Manteq"¹¹⁵ and it also has been mentioned in historical sources¹¹⁶; however, it is said that this book is about literature, rhetoric and eloquence rather than logic.

Because it is said that Abu al-Ghasem Hossein Ibn Ali Ibn Hossein had given it to Vazir Maghrebi to edify it. However, Vazir was a scribe of the fourth century and had no relation to logic and philosophy.117

Medicine and Medical Botany

Another Dinavari's scientific field of interest which was more in connection with botany was medicine and understanding of the properties of herbs. Dinavari was a pioneer in this area in Islamic Civilization and among other Islamic scholars. Because as mentioned in the previous lines, botanists, naturalists and physicians which have spoken about medicinal plants and their healing properties introduced Al-Nabat as their main source of knowledge. Dinavari's knowledge in medicine was not limited to herbal medicine or medical botany. He wrote a small treatise on medicine¹¹⁸ which did not brough the same fame for him as his other works.

Works of Dinavari in the field of rational and natural science

Botany (Elm al-Nabat)

Al-Nabat: as most famous work of Dinavari throughout history, on identifying plants.¹¹⁹ According to Will Durant, in writing his book, Dinavari had refered and utilized the book Dioscorides entitled "herbal material", the first century AD Greek physician and pharmacologist.¹²⁰Some botanists such as Mohammad Ibn Maemar Maleghi presented a description of Al-Nabat in sixty volumes under the title of "Kitab al-Nabat"¹²¹ and others such as Abd Al-Latif Baghdadi presented a concise version of Al-Nabat under the title of "Ikhtesar Kitab Al-Nabat".122

Astronomy

Al-Anvae: on the recognition of the sky and the stars, the origin of the winds, and the description of the times, etc.¹²³

Algheblat al-Zaval: apparently on determining the Direction to Mecca and canonical times.¹²⁴

Alkosouf:¹²⁵Krachovski believes that this book is the same observation performed by Abu Hanifa in Isfahan.¹²⁶

Al-Rad ALal Rasad Al-Isfahani: a book on replying and rejection of claims by Abu Ali Esfahani, one of the authors of the time which had established some correspondences with Dinavri.127

Kitab Al-Zij: Kennedi believes that Abu Hanifa has written this book in Isfahan¹²⁸

Mathematics

- Kitab Al-Bahs Fi Hesab Al-Hend¹²⁹
- Kitab Al-Jabr va Al-Moghabeleh¹³⁰

- Kitab Navader Al-Jabr¹³¹

- Kitab Fi Hesab Al-Khatein: on calculus & mathematics¹³²

Geography

-Alboldan: on geographic topics and understanding of cities and roads.¹³³ However, this book has been listed under other titles such as Al-Boldan Al-Kebir and Al-Boldan . Logics

Islah al-Mantegh¹³⁴

A treatise on medicine: very concise and without any fame¹³⁵

Science and miscellaneous information on scientific issues

- Javaher al-Elm: the concise Encyclopedia of various sciences¹³⁶

-Al-Darat al-Mofidat Fi al-Dorous al-Mofidat in nine volumes apparently about the sciences and different issues.¹³⁷

Other commentators and interpreter's' view on Abu Hanifa Dinavari on his scientific and moral status

In his time, Dinavari had proficiency and fluency in the sciences of the age, including vocabulary, grammar, poetry, history, interpretation, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and wrote some books about these fields. Ibn al-Nadim writes that Dinavari was skilled in syntax, vocabulary, geometry and calculus and was reliable and trustable in narrating news and reports.¹³⁸ According to Masudi, Ibn Ghatibeh Dinavari has plagiarized and snatched many subjects and materials of Dinavari's book and has attributed them to himself. He admires the scientific status of Abu Hanifa and praises him as scholar with a high and distinguished scientific status.¹³⁹Abu Haian Tohidi admires the scientific status of Dinavari. He believes that the book Al-Nabat by Dinavari on rhetoric and eloquence is unique.¹⁴⁰ Abu Haian, in one of his works regards Jahez, Dinavari, and Abu Zayd Balkhi as unique scholars.¹⁴¹Ibn al-Anbari comments on al-Nabat by Dinavari and says that the book is unrivalled on its own kind.¹⁴² Hamavi considers Dinavari as a knowledgable scholar on syntax, vocabulary, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and credible and authoritative in narration of news and stories.¹⁴³ Hamavi narrates a story which shows the greatness and excellence of Dinavari in the area of philology, compared to Abu al-Abas Mobarred (great literary man and philologist of third century AD). In this case, he says. Mobarred entered Dinavar and went to visit Issa Ibn Mahan. At this meeting, Issa asked him what is the meaning of "Shah al-Mojasameh" which Prophet has prohibited us from eating its meat. He answered "the sheep whose milk is low such as Lajebeh". Jesus said "do you have any proof"? He said: "Yes" and he recited a line of poem. Meanwhile Abu Hanifa Dinavari entered the house. Issa asked him the meaningof "Shat al-Mojasamah". Hanifa answered the sheep which is forced to seat on the knee and beahead it from back. Issa said that Mobarrad says it means the sheep whose milk is low, and has recited a line of poetry as proof of his saying. Abu Hanifa said: "I swear that he has never heard that line, and he has composed it at the moment. Mobarrad said "you are right because I did not like to come from Iraq with all my fame and donot know the first question they ask me". Abu Hanifa admired his confession.¹ Mobarrad has a book named "al-Kamel Fi al Adab" in the field of literature (word, poetry, etc). Ibn Khaldun considers it as one of the fundamental pillars of the literature.¹⁴⁵ Zahabi considers Dinavari as a great scholar, Zu al Fonoun, and praises his works.146 Haji Khalifa considers Dinavari equivalent to Jahez, great Arab scholar.¹⁴⁷Above examples shows the exalted position of Abu Hanifa Dinavari among contemporary scholars and his posterity.

The influential thinking of Dinavari on other scholars, which each in turn were leading scientific figures, was so that many of whom would use Dinavari works as a scientific reference. Abu Raihan Biruni in his three famous works namely Al-Sidanafi fi al-Teb, Al-Jamaher fi al-Javaher, Asaar al-Baghieh An al-Ghoroun al-Khalieh, has utilized Dinavari works so much.¹⁴⁸ Johari Neishabouri in Javaher Nameh, Sobki in his Tabagaht al-Shafieh, Ibn Manzour in Lesan al-Arab and Zobidi in Taj al-Arous have refered to Dinavari works.¹⁴⁹Intellectual influence of Dinavri was not just limited to the great scholars of the time. Many literary men, journalists, historians of medical herbs and natural history historians and botanists, etc. edified, summarized, and even interpreted his works. Islah al-Mantegh was edified by Vazir Maghrebi.¹⁵⁰ Abd al-Latif Mooseli Baghdadi edified and summarized al-Nabat.¹⁵¹ Mohammad Ibn Moamar Ibn Abdallah Malaghi (524 AD) presented a comprehensive commentary on al-Nabat by Dinavari in a sixtyvolume series.¹⁵²Abu Abdullah Mohammad ibn Suleiman Al-Nafzi the geographer of sixth century wrote a detailed description of Alboldan al-Kebir of Dinavari and called it Sharh al-Kabir ala Kitab al-Boldan la Abu Hanifa Dinavari.¹⁵³Theodore Noldkeh argues that the book entitled Sair al-Molouk or Nahaiat al-Arb fi al-Tarikh al-Fors al-Arab is a rewriting of Akhbar at-Tiwal by Dinavari.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

Addressing the scientific life of Abu Hanifa Dinavari and his status and role in the Islamic civilization have led to incorrect or at least incomplete and unscientific results due to incomplete reports, useless generalizations and descriptive interpretations and commentaries. By taking into account all the intellectual aspects of Abu Hanifa Dinavari in the field of traditional and rational sciences and their various branches and with a focus on critical and analytical recognition of his different works in terms of cultural-scientific role and function of this great scholar in the Islamic civilization, the present study followed a comprehensive and new approach for understanding the intellectual constellation of Abu Hanifa Dinavari and compared his works and intellectual aspects in different fields in conjunction with each other. In the present study, it was shown that Dinavari is undoubtedly one of the greatest Iranian geniuses and scientists and a cultural and effectual phenomenon in Islamic civilization who, for a long time and even decades, has influenced the Islamic scholars' scientific thought in different fields, in particular, botany, astronomy, mathematics, geometry, algebra, geography, meteorology, historiography, literature and philology, religion and the Quran, and has been a focal center for scientists and the source of grace and adoption. He was actually an Encyclopedia which his scientific activities, as well as Islamic sciences, include rational and experimental sciences. His scientific potential and scope of information was so much that he had attracted attention of other contemporary scholars so far as some plagiarized his works and published his books by their fake name. He could be one of many great scientists in the Muslim world and the greatest scientist of Djibal Land and western half of Iran at that particular era. He could share a high rank alongside such great scholars as Abu Haian Tohidi, and the distinguished Persian sage and philosopher of third century Abu Zayd Balkhi and also Jahez as one pillar of the knowledge triangle in third century. He was at least the founder of biology and scientific and empirical botany in the Islamic civilization, the world's largest scientist of Elam al-Anvae (climate change) and father of the climate science and climate changes. Concerning historiography, he is among the first who seek to write a general history with Iranian views and interests, with influential roles in the formation and awakening of national and patriotic sentiments of Iranians - within its time, the activity which reached its peak by some scholars such as Sa'alebi, Hamzeh Isfahani and Birouni. Therefore, Dinavar must be considered as a distinguished icon in the assessment and recognition of Muslims' scientific and scholarly fields in Islamic culture and civilization in the third century. Notes

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