

History of the Arabic Written Tradition

SUPPLEMENT VOLUME 1

By

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Chapter 9. Dogmatics

Biographies of the Ash‘arīs also in ‘Abdallāh b. As‘ad al-Yāfi‘ī, *Marham al-‘ilal* II, 177.

1. See p. 343.

3. Abu ‘l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī travelled in the East in 426/1034, worked as a *qāḍī* in a number of places after his return, and died in 474/1081 or 494.

Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’r. Dim.* VI, 248/50, Yāqūt, *Irsh.* IV, 251, Ibn Bashk. 449, Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā’id al-‘iqyān* (Paris 1277) 215, Ibn Taghr. (J.) 764, al-Dhahabī, | *Tadhk. al-huff.* III, 349/54, Ibn al-‘Imād, *ShDh* III, 344/5, Maqq. I, 504/11.—2. *Sharḥ fuṣūl al-aḥkām etc.*, additionally Fez Qar. 1392 (title corrupted).—4. *Waṣīyya* Esc.² 732,4.—5. *Risāla fi ‘l-ḥudūd* ibid. 1514/6,3.—6. *Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭa’*, see p. 298.—7. *Mukhtaṣar Mushkil al-āthār*, see p. 293.

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4. Abū Shukūr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Sayyid b. Shu‘ayb al-Kashshī al-Ḥanafī al-Sālimī, fl. second half of the fifth century.

Kitāb al-tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd etc., additionally Berl. 2456, Br. Mus. Or. 7708,2 (DL 29), Pet. AM Buch. 294, Rāḡīb 726, ‘Āšir I, 524/5, Selīm Āgā 587, ‘Āṭif 1222, Šehīd ‘A. 1153, Pesh. 823, Āṣaf. II, 1296,381,201,452, Rāmpūr I, 286,34/5, II, 585,358, Bank. IX, 494/6, Bat. Suppl. 214, print. C. 1338.

4a. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-‘Āmirī Abu ‘l-Ḥasan.

Inqādh al-bashar min al-jabr wal-qadar wal-taqrīr li-awjuh al-taqdīr, MS dated 592/1195, Bārūdī library, Beirut, *RAAD* IV, 34.

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5. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī,¹ d. 505/1111.

1 The purported testimony of al-Sam‘ānī in Ibn Khall. no. 37 concerning the pronunciation ‘al-Ghazālī’ and its derivation from a place named al-Ghazāla is missing from facs. 407/8; on the other hand, according to al-Ṣafadī *al-Wāfi* I 277,15 al-Ghazzālī himself asserted this etymology in his own writings and one of his eighth generation descendants asserted the same to al-Fayyūmī in Baghdad in 710/1310 on which see his *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr* II 51,16. The apparently

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Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* 291/306, Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 101/82 (116ff. is a list of his writings), Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba in *Wüst. Ac.* 13, no. 9, Yāqūt, *GW* III, 561, al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* I, 274/7, Ibn Jubayr² 118, 266, al-Marrākushī, ed. Dozy 128, *Rawḍ al-qartās* (Fez 1305), 120/6, al-Murtaḍā, *Ithāf* I, 7ff., Ibn al-'Imād, *ShDh* IV, 10/3, *al-Ta'l. al-san.* 101, Barhebraeus, | *Chron. Syr.* 276/7, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 422, Schefer, *Chrest. pers.* II, 212.—D.B. Macdonald, The life of al-Ghazzali with special reference to his religious experiences and opinions, *JAOS* XX, 70/132, idem, *Development* 215/41, idem *EI* II, 154/7, Carra de Vaux, Paris 1902, M. Asín Palacios, *Algazel, dogmática, moral, ascética con prólogo de Menendez Pelayo*, Zaragoza (Coll. est. ar. VI), 1901, idem, La mystique d'Al-Ghazzal, *MFO* VII, 67/104, Beirut 1914, idem, *La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano* (Publ. de las Esc. de Est. ár. ser. A, No. 21), 2 vols., Madrid 1935. W.R. Gardner, *An Account of G.'s Life and Works*, Madras 1919. T.W. Rhys Davids, Does al-G. use an Indian metaphor?, *JRAS* 1911, 200ff. H. Frick, *Ghazalis Selbstbiographie, ein Vergleich mit Augustins Konfessionen* (Veröffentl. des Forschungsinst. für vergl. Rel. No. 3), Leipzig 1911. J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna and Leipzig 1921. S.M. Zwemer, *A Moslem Seeker after God Showing Islam at its Best in the Life and Teaching of al-Gh. Mystic and Theologian of the IXth Cent.*, London 1920. M. Smith, The Forerunner of Gh., *JRAS* 1936, 65/78 (showing that his eschatology in *al-Durra al-fākhira* and his doctrine on suffering are based on al-Muḥāsibī's *Kitāb al-ba'th wal-nushūr*, *Kitāb al-tawahhum*, and *Ri'āya bil-ḥaqq*, see p. 352). A.J. Wensinck, *On the Relations between G. s Cosmology and his Mysticism*, Med. Kon. Ak. van Wet. Afd. Letterk., 75, Ser. A, no. 26, Amsterdam 1933, idem, *La Pensée de Gh.*, Paris 1936 (not published yet), Bouyges, *Al-Gazaliana* I, *MFO* VIII, 8. M.'A. 'Aynī, *Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Gh.*, n.p. and n.d., Jamīl Bak, *'Uqūd al-jawhar* I, 3/12, A. Ḥilmī, *Imām Gh.*, Istanbul 1322. S.M. Zwemer, *al-Ghawwāš wal-la'ālī' aw tarjamat ḥayāt Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Gh.*, C. 1921, Sherefeddīn in *Ilāh. macm.* I, 39ff. *Abū Ḥamid al-Gh. ḥayātuhu wa-ār'uhu wa-muṣannafātuhu*, by Muḥammad Riḍā', C. 1924. Zakī

correct derivation from *ghazzāl* or 'spinner' is advocated by, among others, Ibn Khall. loc. cit., Ibn Ṭiḡtaqā *Fakhrī* 206f, al-Murtaḍā *Ithāf* I 18,14, citing al-Sam'ānī, Ibn al-'Imād *ShDh* IV 11; al-Subkī *Ṭab.* IV 102,23 claims that his father had been a poor weaver. The Persian poets too consistently scan the name with zz (e.g. 'Atṭār in Hoceyne Azad *Sobhe ommīd* 74,5 Zawzanī in Dawlatshāh 71,23). The pronunciation with a single z is meant to obscure a humble origin in the same way in which the aristocratic Spanish family of al-Ḥadhhdhā' ('shoemaker') changed its name to al-Ḥaddā' (Ibn Farḥūn *Dibāj* C. 272 11) and al-Maqqarī from Muqri' II 296; see also M. b. Cheneb *RAAD* VII 244.

Mubārak, *al-Akhlāq 'inda 'l-Gh.* diss. C. 1924 (see Snouck-Hurgronje, Een lit.-phil. proefschrift der Cairosche Universiteit in *Kon. Inst. voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde v. Nederl.-Indië, Gedenkschrift uitg. bij gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan op 4 Juni 1926*, 'sGravenhage 1926, no. 2).

A chronology of his works according to the prefaces (see Massignon, *Textes* 93): 1. 478/84 *Kitāb al-wajīz* (no. 50).—2. 484/8 *Maqāšid, Tahāfut* (487), *al-Mustazhirī*.—3. 492/5 *Ihyā', Mustasfā, Kīmiyyā', Minhāj* (?).—4. 495/505 in *Tūs: Mi'yār, Miḥakk al-naẓar, Maqṣad, Ajwiba musakkita, Naẓm al-'amal, Jawāhir al-Qur'ān, Maḍnūn* (?), *Mishkāṭ, Qustās, Iljām, Fayṣal, Munqidh, Laduniyya* (see also Goldziher, *Streitschr.* 27, n. 3).

Collective editions: *Majmū'* (no. 11, 57, *al-Maḍnūn al-ṣaghūr*), C. 1303, *Majmū'* (11, 57, 58, *al-Awrād*), Bombay 1891.—*al-Jawāhir al-ghawālī min rasā'il al-imām al-Gh.* (10 ras.), C. 1343, 1934.—*Farā'id al-la'ālī' min rasā'il al-Gh.* (*Mī'rāj al-sālikīn, Minhāj al-'arīfīn, Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*), ed. Farajallāh al-Kurdī, C. 1344/1925.

An alphabetical inventory of his writings is in al-Murtaḍā I, 41ff.

| I. Theology: 1. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, additionally Br. Mus. Or. St. Browne 137, n. 5, AS 1753/4, Selīm Āġā 108, Cairo² I, 44, 284, Teh. II, 63, Aligarh 13, 1, Āṣaf. I, 364, 580, Bank. XIII, 843, lith. Tehran n.d., print. Bombay 1311, C. 1328 (with no. 3); Part 1, Ambr. C 44, i, ii (RSO VII, 63); Part 3, *Kitāb al-arba'in fī uṣūl al-dīn*, additionally Vat. v. Borg. 162, Esc.² 1568, Manch. 72, Brill-H.¹ 495, ²1145,¹ Cairo² I, 264, Z. 51, 21,⁷ Mashh. IX, 5, 18, Rāmpūr I, 327,^{21/3}, II, 592,³⁶⁸, Bank. XIII, 845, Āṣaf. I, 312, lith. Bombay 1311/1893, print. C. 1320, 1328, 1344, 1933, Mecca 1302, Lucknow 1898.—1a. *Risāla fī tafsīr qawlihi* sura 39,²³, Leipz. 110, i, 4/5, v.—2. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* Cairo² I, 135.—3. *Aqīda*, probably *Qawā'id al-'aqā'id* (in Ibn 'Asākir), Gotha 666, Algiers 574,³, Faiz. 29, *Qawā'id 'ilm al-kalām* Āṣaf. II, 1322,¹¹⁷, *Daqā'iḡ al-ḥaqā'iḡ fī 'l-'Aqā'id* Aligarh 107,⁷⁴, *Qawā'id daqīqa* Āṣaf. I, 380,^{10,21,4}, *al-Qawā'id (Q. al-ṭarīḡ) al-'ashara* in *Majmū'at al-rasā'il* C. 1316, 1328, no. 20, 1343, no. 3, Cairo² I, 314.—Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Zarrūq al-Burnusī (d. 899/1493, see II, 253), Cairo² I, 189, printed in the margin of 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 928/1574, see II, 339), *Sharḥ Bidāyat al-hidāya*, C. 1296.—b. *al-Ḥiṣn wal-janna 'alā 'aqīdat ahl al-sunna* by Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Kāfī, C. 1324 (on which was based *al-Sayf al-Yamānī li-man qāla bi-ḥall samā' al-ālāt wal-aghānī*).—4. *al-'Aqīda al-Qudsiyya* read: Berl. 1948, Tüb. 138,⁴ (see 8.) = *Faṣl* 1 of the *Qawā'id al-'aqā'id* in the *Ihyā'*, translation by H. Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Gh.*, Halle 1912, 8ff.—4a. *Risālat al-tajrīd fī 'aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd* C. n.d., in *Majm.* 1325.—4b. *Miṣbāḥ al-'aqīda* Cairo² I, 207.—5. *Kitāb al-maqṣad al-asnā fī asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*, additionally Vienna 1893, Br. Mus. Or. 7357 (DL 9), Browne Cat. 10, Manch. 71A, Vat. v. Borg. 166, Naples 98 (Cat. 238), Cairo² I, 362, Fez Qar. 1452,², Selīm Āġā, *Majm.* 108,⁷, Köpr. 732, Teh. II, 781, print. C. 1322, 1324 = (?) *Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* Selīm Āġā 493.—6. *al-Durra al-fākhira fī kashf 'ulūm*

al-ākhirā also Berl. 2735ff., Leipz. 118, Br. Mus. Suppl. 195, Paris 1381/2, Princ. 313, Ambr. A 44 (RSO II, 144), 63, ii (ibid. III, 577), Pet. AMK 929, Fātiḥ 2617, Qilič 'A. 1026₁₀, Mosul 158₁₃₈, Pesh. 848₅, Rāmpūr 11, 576₃₄₈, ed. Gauthier, reprint Leipzig 1925, print. C. 1280, 1323, 1925, *Die kostbare Perle über Tod u. Jenseits, übers.* v. M. Brugsch, Hannover 1924, anon. commentary from the 9th cent., Bank. x, 497.—8. *al-Risāla al-Qudsīyya* (see 4.), additionally Cambr. 471, Manch. 71K, Pet. AMK 933, 2052_{330/526}. Another treatise with that title is in *Ihyā'*, Book II (1, 90ff.); for yet another, that he sent to Mosul, see Murtaḍā 11, 85, where the ending is quoted.—8a. *al-Rasā'il al-murshidiyya fī 'ilm al-'aqā'id* Köpr. 11, 149.—9. *al-Iqtisād fī 'l-i'tiqād*, additionally Esc.² 1273, 1468, 1486, Fez Qar. 1578, M. Murād 292, Faiz. 60, Cairo² 1, 164, Pesh. 765, ed. Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Qabbānī, C. 1320, 1327 (*wa-yalihi Ḥadā'iq al-fuṣūl li-Ibn Hiba al-Makkī*), in the margin of *al-Insān al-kāmil* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, C. 1328, together with the *Munqidh, Maḍnūn, Tarbiyat al-awlād*, Bombay n.d., anon. abstract entitled *al-Ma'lūm min 'aqā'id ahl al-rusūm* Cairo² 1, 360, M. Asin Palacios, EI *justo medio en la creencia* (Inst. da Valencia de Don Juan), Madrid 1929.—10. (authentic?) l. 747 Gotha 3₁₃.—11. *Kitāb iljām al-'awāmm 'an | 'ilm al-kalām*, additionally Manch. 71J, Qilič 'A. 1026₉, print. also C. 1303, 1351, Istanbul 1287, in *Majm.*, n.p. and n.d., more detailed recension, from the *Kitāb al-wazā'if*, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1243₁ = 12. *Risāla fī madhāhib ahl al-salaf* Berl. 2301, AS 2200₂ (see Ellis II, 861).—13. *Kitāb al-tafriqa bayna 'l-īmān wal-zandaqa*, additionally Ambr. A 64, viii (RSO III, 578), Manch. 72D, Brill–H.¹ 496, ²1140, AS 2246_{73/107}, Qilič 'A. 1026₂, Sarāi A. III, 1419_{68a/71b}, Selīm Āgā Majm. 108₆ (*faṣl*), a part in Ambr. A 43 (RSO II, 143), print. C. 1319, 1325, as *Risāla fī 'l-wa'z wal-'aqā'id*, 1319, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Qabbānī al-Dimashqī, C. 1328 (cf. no. 58).—14. See 11.—16. *Risālat al-taswiya* or *Risālat al-nafkh wal-taswiya* or *al-Ajwiba al-Ghazzālīyya fī 'l-masā'il al-ukhrawīyya*, also called *al-Maḍnūn al-ṣaghīr*,² an explanation of the terms *taswiya*, *nafkh*, and *rūḥ* in suras 15₂₉ and 38_{71/2}, Berl. 999, 1722, Gotha 70₁₀, 1158₃₃, Vat. v. Borg. 65₃, Sarāi A. III, 1419_{59b/63b}, Bank. XIII, 848, print. in *Majmū'a* C. 1309, 1313, in the margin of al-Jīlānī's *al-Insān al-kāmil*, C. 1328, p. 89/98.—16a. *Khawāṣṣ al-āya* 3₁, Rabat 502, ii.—16b. *Sirr al-'ālamīn fī tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf* Ind. Off. 114, 1087, Br. Mus. Suppl. 127 Cat. 60, Pesh. 30, As. Soc. Beng. Govt. Coll. 1908/10, 3, Āṣaf. I, 534₃₁₅, 536_{6,301}, III, 222_{274,286} (*al-Durra al-bayḍā'*), Rāmpūr 1, 31₁₂₂, Būhār 10, Aligarh 96₂₂, print. Tehran n.d., 1312, with the title *Baḥr al-maḥabba*

2 This title, formed as the counterpiece to no. 58, is also transferred to nos. 38 and 54. According to Ibn Ṭufayl *Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān* ed. Gauthier 14₄ he himself was the cause of this because he mentioned a *Kitāb maḍnūn bihā* in his *Kitāb al-jawāhir* (no. 1) without describing it any further.

asrār al-mawadda fī tafsīr sūrat Y., Bombay 1894, with the title *Aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ*, Delhi 1900 (also attributed to his brother).—17. = (?) *Risāla fī maʿrifat al-naḥw wa-maʿrifat Allāh wa-maʿrifat al-dunyā wal-ākhhira* Dam. Z. 46, 49,3.—18. See 16.—21. See Sherefeddīn, *Ghazzālīn taʿwīl hakkinda bastirilmamish eseri* (Welieddīn 1075), *Ilāh. fak. macm.* 1930, iv, 46/158.—21a. *Kitāb al-taʿwīlāt* AS 2246,3.—22. *al-Radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿĪsā bi-ṣarīḥ al-Injīl* AS 2246,1, 2247, see Massignon, *REI* 1932, 523ff.—23. To be excised, for which see Goldziher, *Streitschr.* 29, above p. 389.—23a. *Kitāb al-mustazhirī fī faḍāʾih al-Bāṭiniyya*, composed after the accession of the caliph al-Mustazhir in Muḥarram 487/February 1094 but before he left Baghdad in Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 488/November 1095, Br. Mus. Or. 7785, see I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des G. gegen die Batinijja-Sekte* (publications Stichting De Goeje no. 3), Leiden 1916. Excerpts from it are in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* 113,22ff.—23b. *Risāla fī manbaʿ al-Islām* Qilič ʿA. 1026,6.—23c. *al-Risāla al-dīniyya* C. 1328.—23d. *Ghāyat al-imbān*, in Arabic and Persian, Br. Mus. Or. 7721,6 (DL 7, 53).—23e. *Gh. s Streitschrift gegen die Ibāhiyya, pers. hsg.* v. O. Pretzl, Munich 1933.—23f. Queries on dogmatics and the Bāṭiniyya, Manch. 171E, F.—

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11. Ethics and Sufism. 24. *Jāmiʿ al-ḥaqāʾiq etc.*, also Esc.² 715, print. Lucknow 1869.—25. *Ihyāʾ ʿulum al-dīn*, the title of which expresses his belief that he was the renewer of religion who was promised and sent by God (see H. Bauer, *Isl.* iv, 159); MSS (of which Berl. Wetzst. 11, 19 is not the oldest, see Heffening, *Fremdenr.* 153, n. 1) additionally in Leipz. 116, Bern, *ZDMG* I, 212, Paris 5125, 5812, 6670, 6717, Ind. Off. 1226/34, Manch. 73, Madr. 137. Esc.² 715, Fez Qar. 1540/4, Tunis Zayt. iv, 420,2882/6, Pet. AM Buch. 68/9, AS 1629/38, Köpr. 697/700, Fātiḥ 2543/52, Cairo² I, 262, Dam. ʿUm. 64,26/30, Mashh. ix, 2,24, Pesh. 894/900, Aligarh 117,25, Rāmpūr I, 325/6, Āṣaf. I, 358,1/3, Bank. XIII, 33/40, As. Soc. 61, Būhār 117, lith. also Lucknow 1864, print. Tehran 1293, Nawalkishōr 1281, Būlāq 1279, 1282, C. 1312, 1316, 1346, 1348, Urdu transl., *Madhāq al-ʿarifīn*, Lucknow 1331. Self-justification entitled *al-Imlāʾ ʿalā kashf (mushkilāt) al-Ihyāʾ* in Berl. 1714, Fol. 4249, Ind. Off. 1235, Sarāi A III 1419,71b/72a, printed, based on al-Murtaḍāʾs *Ithāf*, C. 1311, with the title *al-Ajwiba al-musakkita ʿani ʿl-asʿila al-mushkila (mubhita)* in Qilič ʿA. 1026, Cairo² I, 268, another defence, entitled *al-Intiṣār bi-mā fi ʿl-Ihyāʾ min al-asrār* is cited in Murtaḍā I, 31,33, 64,31; against this Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munayyir al-Iskandarī (d. 683/1284, see p. 738) wrote *al-Ḍiyāʾ al-mutalaʾi fī taʿaqqub al-I. lil-Gh.* ibid. I, 33,10. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAydarūs (d. 1038/1628, see 11, 419), *Taʾrīf al-aḥyāʾ bi-faḍāʾil al-I.*, printed in the margin of

ed. C. 1348.—D.B. Macdonald, *Emotional Religion in Islam as effected by Music and Singing*, *JRAS* 1902, 1ff. H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, I (Book 37), II (Book 12), III (Book 14), *übers. u. erl.*, Halle 1916/22. *Iḥyāʾ*, *the Book of Worship*, *Transl. from the Ar. with Cmt. and Introd. by E.E. Calverley*, Madras 1925. *Some Religious and Moral Teachings of al-Gh.*, *being Brief Extracts from his I. u. al-D.*, *freely rendered into Engl. by Seyid Nawab Ali, with an introd. by A.G. Widgery* (Gaekwad Studies), Baroda 1920. E. Tscheuschner, *Mönchsideale des Islams nach Gh. s. Abh. über Armut u. Weltentsagung*, Diss, Berlin 1933. L. Massignon, *Le Christ dans les évangiles selon al-G.*, *REI* 1933.—Commentary entitled *Iḥāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn*, by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā (d. 1205/1791, see II, 287), additionally Fez Qar. 1545/63, print. Fez, 1301/4.—Abstracts: 1. *Lubāb I. ʿu. al-d.* by either his brother Aḥmad (no. 6) or the author himself, Esc.² 731, print. *OB* IV, 5242, in the margin of ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Munīr Taqī al-Dīn al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, *Nuzhat al-nāẓirīn*, C. 1308, 1328.—1a. Yaḥyā b. Abi ʿl-Khayr b. Sālim al-Yamanī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 558/1163, Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 324, Ibn al-ʿImād, *ShDh* IV, 185/6), Bank. XIII, 841 (whose *al-Intiṣār fi ʿl-raddʿ ala ʿl-Qadariyya al-ashrār* is in Cairo² I, 165).—1b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī, AS 2097.—2. *Minhāj al-qāṣidīn*, by Ibn al-Jawzī (see p. 500), additionally Čorlulu 298, Fātiḥ 2872, Dam. Z. 51 (ʿUm. 64,54), second abstract by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 742/1341) in Cairo² I, 356, print. Damascus 1347; anon. excerpts Brill—H.² 1056.—7. Anon., additionally Vat. v. 1108, Pet. AMK 921, *Bughyat al-qāṣidīn* print. C. 1329 (with the *Munqidh* and the *Maḍnūn* in the margin), *Irshād al-ʿamma fi mā jāʾa bihi ʿl-Qurʾān wal-sunna*, Tunis 1342.—8. *al-Murshid al-amīn ilā mawʿizat al-muʿminīn* by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Qāsim b. | Ṣāliḥ al-Qāsimī al-Dimashqī, composed in 1322/3, 2 vols., C. 1331, 1342, 1348, 1929.—9. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān: a. *Kitāb al-ṣidq*, Agra 1305; b. *Kitāb al-ḥaqīq*, *ibid.* 1305.—10. *Rūḥ al-I.* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bilālī al-ʿAjlūnī, Heid. ZS VI, 226.—11. *Talkhīṣ* by Abu ʿl-Qāsim b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī, Qilič ʿA. 584.—12. *Dhakhīrat al-muntahā fi ʿilm al-ghayb wal-khafāʾ*, by Jamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmi, Cairo² I, 299.—13. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī (see II, 200), Berl. Fol. 3104.—14. *Amal al-ʿilm*, with a commentary by Ākhund Muḥammad Mūsā al-Kashmīrī, Pesh. 944, 1945a = (?) *ʿilm al-ʿamal*, Cairo² I, App. 46.—15. *Ṣafwat al-I.* by Maḥmūd ʿAlī Qurʾa al-Muḥāmī, C. 1935.—16. *al-Maḥajja al-bayḍāʾ fi iḥyāʾ al-I.* by Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā Muḥsin al-Kāshī (d. 1106/1694, see II, 413), Kenturi no. 2765, Berl. Oct. 3026.—17. *ʿAyn al-ʿilm wa-zayn al-ḥilm fi ʿl-tawḥīd wal-ādāb al-dīniyya* (under the title *Zubdat al-fahm* Cairo² I, 333) by Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Balkhī (ca. 800/1397, see II, 193), Paris 6721, Manch. 101 (confused with p. 362, II, 3), Pesh. 941/3, 1279, Aligarh 116,10, Āṣaf. I, 376,502, 555,877, Rāmpūr I, 352,222/5, see ḤKh IV, 282, no. 8440, according to Ind. Off. 680

(contra Stewart, 139) an independent work, but according to al-Qāri' al-Harawī's commentary it is an abstract of the *Ihyā'* by an unidentified Indian scholar, (see HKH. VI, 159), *Dhayl tartīb al-ibāna*, Berl. 3604, by 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Madā'inī entitled *Manāhij al-'arīfīn* Cairo² I, App. 49, Bank. XIII, 842/3, with a commentary by al-Qāri' al-Harawī (II, 394) in Faiz. 134, Cairo¹ II, 92, Dam. 'Um. 65₃₃, Pesh. 945b, Rāmpūr I, 347_{182/3}, ²I, 324, Āṣaf. I, 129₆₉₆, Bank. XIII, 844, ed. Gottwaldt, Kazan 1856, Istanbul 1292, Lahore 1309, with a Persian interlineary translation Bombay 1875, with a Hindustani commentary entitled *Baḥr al-'ilm* by Muḥammad Shāh Rāsapūrī Lucknow 1302, with a Persian translation by Muḥammad Rāfi' al-Dīn, completed in 1186/1773, As. Soc. Beng. 11, 503, with a Turkish translation by Ibrāhīm Ḥaqqī, Istanbul 1886.—18. *Ihyā' al-Ihyā'* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bālī (d. 1024/1615), Fātiḥ 2604.—19. Just the *ḥadīth*, in abstract, *al-Mughnī 'an ḥaml al-asfār fī takhrīj mā fi 'l-Ihyā' min al-akhbār*, by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1404, see II, 65), Esc.² 1466, Yeni 295/6, NO 1270/1, Dam. 'Um. 24₃₄, Cairo² I, 150, Mosul 54₁₀₀, Āṣaf. I, 674₁₃₀, printed at the bottom of the *Ihyā'* ed. C. 1348.—20. *Takhrīj* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (see II, 67), Rāmpūr II, 198₅₃.—26. *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, additionally Manch. 419/21, Ind Off. 1225, Ambr. B 19, iii (*RSO* IV, 99), Pet. AMK 924, AS 1677/80, print. also Lucknow 1893, C. 1306, 1326, Bombay 1326.—Commentaries: a. *al-Kifāya* by 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad al-Fākihi (d. 982/1574, see II, 339), Bank. XIII, 850, Rāmpūr I, 362₂₈₀, print. C. 1296.—b. Muḥammad Nūrī al-Baghawī, C. 1306.—c. *Marāqi 'l-'ubūdiyya* by Muḥammad al-Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Makkī (II, 501), C. 1291, 1293, 1298, 1304, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1327, 1345.—d. Anon. abstract in Br. Mus. Suppl. 127.—27. *Kitāb mizān al-'amal* Madr. 59, Esc.¹ 133 (Casiri, 1125) f. 88/105, Sarāi A. III, 1419_{37b/51a}, print. C. 1327/8, on a Hebrew translation see J.J. Günzburg, *Zap. Inst. Vost. Ak. Nauk* VI, 141/68.—28. *al-Qusṭās al-mustaḥqīm*, a polemical dialogue with an Ismā'īlī, one of his final works, written after *al-Mustaṣfā* but before *al-Munqidh*³ | (see Goldziher, *Vorl. Isl.* 277, *Streitschr.* 27, n. 3), additionally Manch. 271G, Qilič 'A. 1026, Selīm Āgā Majm. 108₃, Āṣaf. I, 378₁₂, print. C. 1328, commentary by Muḥammad Qāḍī b. Sayyid Muḥammad al-Lālazārī Ṭāhir, written in Istanbul around 1199/1785, autograph in Bank. x, 498.—29. *Kīmīyyā' al-sa'āda*, additionally AS 2023/5, Fātiḥ 2791/2800, Köpr. 769, NO 2532/8, Cairo² I, 350, Rāmpūr I, 362_{282b}, 364₂₅₈, printed as no. 19 in *Majmū'at ras.* ed. Ṣabrī, C. 1328, 1343 (with the *Risāla laduniyya*), Persian text, additionally Rieu 37/8, Browne, Cat. 154, N 2, Halet 190/3, Teh. II, 581/2, lith.

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3 Apart from the *Kitāb al-mustaḥqīm* (no. 23a) there are three other works in which he criticises the Bāṭinis: 1. *Hujjat al-ḥaqq* following a debate in Baghdad; 2. *Miṣṣal al-khilāf* in Hamadhān; 3. *Kitāb al-daraj* in tabular form on another dispute, one that took place in Ṭūs (*Munqidh* 10).

Lucknow 1311/1894, Turkish transl. by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī (d. 1000/1591) or al-Nawālī, print. Istanbul, see Brussalī M. Ṭāhir, *Osm. Mü'ell.* 11, 48. *Al. Gh. The Alchemy of Happiness, rendered into Engl. by Cl. Field* (Wisdom of the East), London 1910, *Das Elixier der Glückseligkeit aus pers. u. ar. Quellen in Auswahl übers. v. H. Ritter*, Jena 1923, L. *Čahār unwān.*—30. *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk* see Goldziher, *Streitschr.* 97ff., the Persian original in several MSS in Istanbul in Horn, *ZDMG* 54, 314, no. 384, *ibid.* for the Arabic translation in countless copies, further among others Berl. 5610/1, Qu. 423, Leipz. 395, Paris 2035,³ 2424,³⁰, 5992, Cambr. 220, Ambr. C. 126, 11 (*RSO* VII, 600), Cairo² 1, 278, Bat. Suppl. 129, excerpts Br. Mus. Suppl. 700, ii, print. also C. 1317, vol. 2 (see Asín, 11, 251) entitled *al-Farq bayna 'l-ṣāliḥ wa-ghayr al-ṣāliḥ*, ed. Sa'd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Āmili, *Lughat al-ʿArab* 1, 69/73, based on a copy at Columbia University, R. Gottheil, *JAOS* 43, 85/9. Turkish translation Cambr. Suppl. 259.—31. *Sirr al-ʿālamayn wa-kashf mā fi 'l-dārayn*, the work of a Muslim Neoplatonist that has wrongly been attributed to al-Ghazzālī, and in which the worshipping of the planets by the Ḥarrānians also plays a role (see Goldziher, *Livre de M. b. Toumert*, Algiers 1903, 8, *Kitāb maʿānī al-naḥs*, 12 n. 2), additionally Berl. Oct. 2049, Ind. Off. 1239/40, Manch. 429, Shehid ʿA. 1217, Cairo² 1, 316, Sbath 1312,², Cat. Boustany, 1936, 99, Būhār 118, Āṣaf. 1, 370,²⁵, print. Bombay 1314, C. 1327, Tehran n.d.; part of it is the *Kitāb taflīs arbāb al-nawāmīs* Berl. 4095, Ambr. C 61 (*RSO* VII, 72). Al-Ghazzālī's authorship was disputed by Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dihlawī in *Tuḥfat ithnā ʿashariyya* 87.—32. *Ayyuha 'l-walad* additionally, among others, Leipz. 878, vi, Paris 2405,⁹, 3973,¹⁰, 4932, Brill-H.¹ 493, ²558,², Browne Cat. 282, x, 8, Pet. AMK 924, Bol. 242,², 243,², 244,², 433,², Rāmpūr 1, 329,^{44/5}, printed as no. 4 in *Majmūʿa*, C. 1328, with a Turkish translation by M. Rāshid, Kazan 1905, Istanbul 1305, ed. and transl. by G.H. Scherer, Beirut 1933, see Muḥammad b. Cheneb, *Lettre sur l'éducation des enfants*, trad. *Rev. Afr.* 45, 101/10.—Commentaries: a. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh, composed in 756/1355, additionally Qilič ʿA. 589, 590, Cairo² 1, 321.—b. *Ayyuha 'l-akh* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ṣabrī,⁴ Cairo² 1, 271.—c. ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb al-Āmidī, Istanbul 1281.— | 32a. *al-Adab fī 'l-dīn* Cairo² 1, 263, print. as no. 3 in *Majm. ras.* C. 1328.—33. *Maʿārij al-sālikīn*, additionally Ambr. A 64, iv (*RSO* III, 577), Sarāi 1419,⁵, probably identical with *Maʿārij al-Quds wa-madārij maʿrifat al-naḥs*, Welīeddīn 1814,¹⁰, Āṣaf. 1, 388,²⁰, psychology, together with two *qaṣīdas*, ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ṣabrī al-Kurdī, C. 1346, 1927, as *Miʿrāj al-sālikīn*, Sarāi A. III, 1419,^{52a/59b}, print. together with 38, 47b (see there), see *Lughat al-ʿArab* 11, 107ff.—34a. *Mishkāṭ*

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4 Who in 1123/1711 also wrote *al-Rashād fī sharḥ al-Irshād al-muḥtawī ʿalā mā yajibu ʿitiqāduhu min al-uṣūl al-diniyya wa-mā yuḥtāj ilayhi min al-furūʿ al-ʿamaliyya* Tunis Zayt. IV 128,²⁰⁷².

al-anwār wa-miṣfāt al-anwār, the most extreme explanation of his mystical doctrine of the divine light, with an explanation of the lightverse (*sūra* 24,35) and the *alf hijāb*-traditions, in *3 faṣl*, composed after the *Mihakk*, see Gairdner, *Isl.* v, 121/53, Berl. 3207, Leid. 1988, Ind. Off. 613/4, 1237/8, Brill–H.² 1053, Ambr. A 64, v (*RSO* III, 578), Vat. v. Borg. 65, Manch. 71, i, Šehid ‘A.P. 1377, Bešir Āgā 650, Sulaim. 734, Köpr. 860, 1603,103a/147a, AS 1711,3, 4801,1, Ġārullāh 1092,1, 2075, Welieddīn 1829 (Bouyges, *MFO* VIII, 484), Cairo² I, 359, App. 18, Teh. II, 77, Rāmpūr I, 697, print. C. 1322, 1325 (in *Majmū‘a*) 1329, Aleppo 1922.—34b. *Mishkāt al-anwār*, ḤKh v, 558,12086, despite a similar opening and structure, another kind of account of the same subject matter, whose authenticity was questioned by ḤKh, who was followed in this by Derenbourg; Esc.² 631,2 (*M. al-a. fī riḡyād al-azhār*), 1030,7.—34c. *Mishkāt al-anwār fī laṭā‘if al-akhbār lil-taḥdid ilā sunan al-sayyid al-mukhtār*, ḤKh v, 557,12084, an edifying work based on the Qur‘ān and *ḥadīth*, Berl. 8745, Brill–H.¹ 536, Algiers 878,1, Bol. 110, Pet. AM 88, Buch. 5941, Cairo² I, 197. According to Rosen, *Not. somm.* no. 88, it cites Ibn al-‘Arabī and al-Ghazzālī himself; like ḤKh, Fraehn attributed the work to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḡammad al-Miṣrī (d. 877/1472). In those catalogues which only have *Mishkāt al-anwār*, such as Pet. AMK 941, Selīm Āgā *Majm.* 1058, Āṣaf. I, 388,14/5, identification of the author is currently not possible.—36. *Madkhal al-sulūk ilā manāzil al-mulūk* Br. Mus. Suppl. 1089, ii, Esc. 734, 763 (excise: comment. etc.; Cas. 730 = Esc.² 734, see p. 433, 2, I), Sarāi 1419,3.—38. *Minhāj al-‘ābidīn ilā jannat rabb al-‘ālamīn*, arranged in 7 *‘aqabāt*, also called *al-Maḡnūn al-ṣaghīr* (see ad no. 16), as *Irshād al-muridīn ilā minhāj al-‘ābidīn*, Āṣaf. III, 188,1509, supposedly his last work, but according to Ibn ‘Arabī, *Kitāb al-Musāmarāt* I, 158/9, it was written by the mystic and poet Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Musaffir, who lived around 600/1203 in Ceuta, as was the *Kitāb al-nuṣḡ wal-tanbīh* (see ḤKh VI, 211, 5, Massignon, *Ṭawāsīn* 182, n. 4, *Essai* 102, n. 2), which is sometimes also attributed to al-Ghazzālī, additionally Leipz. 162, Dresd. 206, Upps. II, 160, Ind. Off. 1326, Manch. 99, Paris 4863, 6671, Bol. 241,2, Vat. v. 1384,7, 1374,3, 1401, Madr. 58, Tunis Zayt. III, 173,1584,2, 183,1593, AS 2114/6, 2118, Sarāi A. III, 1419,15a/37b, Cairo¹ II, 138, ²I, 366, ¹VII, 116, Mosul 176,8 (which has *M. al-‘ā. fī laṭā‘if al-akhbār*), Mashh. XI, 13,44, Āṣaf. I, 390,27 161,2, Rāmpūr II, 697, Bank. XIII, 847, Pesh. 1045, probably also Fez Qar. 1437,2 (which has *M. al-‘arīfīn*), print. also C. 1288, 1306, 1313, 1316, 1322, 1327, 1342.—Abstracts: b. *Maqāṣid al-‘ābidīn* by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 973/1565, see II, 335), Bank. XIII, 848, on which are glosses by Muṣṭafā Bakrī in Berl. 3268.—c. *al-Mudhākara ma‘a ‘l-ikhwān* by ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥaddādī (d. 1132/1720, see II, 408), Būhār 130, print. C. 1319.—d. Ilyās b. ‘Abdallāh, Berl. Oct. 2309.— | e. *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* by Aḡmad b. Zaynī Daḡlān (d. 1303/1886, see II, 500), C.

1298.—Persian paraphrase by Yūsuf Bedh (?) of Irič (d. 834/1430), Bibl. DMG 49, Br. Mus. III, 107, Ind. Off. Éthé 1865/6, As. Soc. Beng. 1165, II, 404, 1.—39. *Fī 'l-‘ibādāt* also Princ. 296b.—40. *Fī bayān ‘ilm al-ladunī* or *al-Risāla al-laduniyya* also Esc.² 763.4, ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Ṣabrī, C. 1328.—42. *al-Kashf wal-tabyīn fī ghurūr al-khalq ajma‘īn*, additionally Vat. v. 1143.8, Cairo² I, 348, Rāmpūr I, 362.278, printed in the margin of al-Sha‘rānī’s *Tanbīh al-mughtarrīn*, C. 1315.—43. *Kitāb al-ḥikma fī 'l-makhlūqāt*, print. C. 1321, 1905, 1908, cf. Yahuda, *al-Hidāya des Bachya*, Leiden 1912, 63ff.—47. *Risālat al-ṭayr* (the model for ‘Aṭṭār’s *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*), additionally Tüb. 89.12, ‘Āšir I, 451.42/46a, Beirut 410.9, see *Mashriq* VI, 918ff., Āṣaf. II, 1718.12.6, print. in *Majmū‘a*, C. 1328, no. 21, 536/44.—A Persian translation, attributed to his brother Ḥamīd, in 1447.20, As. Soc. Beng. Suppl. 875.10.—47a. *al-Awrād wal-adhkār* (authentic?), Pet. AMK 922, print. in *Majm.*, Bombay 1891.—47b. *Rawḍ al-ṭālibīn wa-‘umdat al-sālikīn*, Cairo² I, 314, together with nos. 33 and 38 in *Farā‘id al-la‘ālī’ min rasā’il al-Gh.*, C. 1925.—47c. *al-Bahja al-saniyya fī sharḥ da‘wat al-Jaljalūtiyya* (see p. 75) in *Majmū‘a latīf*, lith. C. 1863.—47d. *Mawā‘iz*, a letter to Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Nahrmalkī, Brill—H.¹ 502, 2982.4.—47e. *Risāla fī qawlihi šl‘m afḍalu 'l-mu‘minīn imānan aḥsanuhum khulqan* Dam. Z. 51, 21.4.—47f. *Irshād al-‘ibād* Dam. Z. 51 (‘Um. 65), 34.—47g. *Naṣā’ih al-Gh.* Mosul 124.49.—47h. *Ḥuḍayrat al-quds* ibid. 157, 120.4.—47i. *al-Fikr fī kayfiyyat khalq Allāh* ibid. 5.47.—47k. *Dhikr al-mawt* (apocryphal), Pet. AMK 930.—47l. *al-Kashf al-yaqīn*, printed in the margin of al-Sha‘rānī’s *Kitāb al-mughtarrīn*, C. 1321.—47m. *Najāt al-insān min ‘adhāb Allāh ma‘a ba‘d rasā’il C.* (*Maktabat al-‘Arab*, 1920, 69, no. 551).—47n. *al-Futūḥ al-rabbānī fī naḥḥ al-rūḥ al-insānī* AS 2245.6.—47o. *Ma‘rifat ‘unwān al-naḥs*, Manch. 71C, Mosul 88.28.—47p. *Tahqīq ru‘yat al-bārī’ fī 'l-manām* Cairo² I, 183, Pesh. 639.9, Rāmpūr I, 301.155, Bombay n.d.—47q. *Sharḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā* Pesh. 997.—47r. *Risālat al-istidrāj* Āṣaf. I, 366.8.—47s. *Qaṣīdat ishtaddī* ibid. 378.26.—47t. *Risāla fī tahqīq kalimat al-tawḥīd* Pesh. 1773.4.—47u. *Maw‘izat murīd* Āṣaf. I, 392.12.—47v. *Naṣīhat al-tilmīdh* ibid. 392.19, Tunis Zayt. III, 234.1699.2.—47w. *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* Cairo² I, 290, 345.—47x. *al-Kawkab al-mutala‘lī’ sharḥ qaṣīdat al-Gh.* by ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (II, 345), Cairo² I, 350.—47y. *Sharḥ manzūmat ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* Āṣaf. III, 20.266.—47z. *Risāla fī bayān al-rūḥ* Rāmpūr I, 339.132.—47aa. *Risāla fī 'l-sulūk* ibid. 341.143.—47bb. *Kashf al-asrār fī faḍā’il al-a‘māl* Cairo² I, 347.—47cc. *Khulāṣat al-taṣānīf* C. 1327.—47dd. *‘Uddat al-‘ibād ila 'l-ma‘ād* Köpr. 1601.66a/85b.—47ee. *Risālat al-‘anqā’* ibid. 85b/88b.—47ff. A letter to al-Hakkārī (see below, p. 434.8), ‘Um. 3750.

III. Fiqh. 48. *Kitāb al-basīṭ fi 'l-furū'*, additionally Sulaim. 629, Qilič 'A. 327, Dam. 'Um. 44,174/7.—49. *Kitāb al-wasīṭ al-muḥiṭ bi-aqṭār al-basīṭ*, additionally Sulaim. 629, Dam. 'Um. 43,124/31, Cairo² I, 546.—Commentaries: a. *Sharḥ mushkil al-W.* by Taqī al-Dīn 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), additionally Cairo² | I, 539, Dam. 'Um. 43,133/4.—b. *Muntaqa 'l-ghāyāt fī mushkilāt al-W.* by Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Ḥamawī al-Tanūkhī (d. 670/1271), Cairo² I, 540.—d. *al-Baḥr al-muḥiṭ*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qamūli (d. 727/1327, see II, 86), additionally Sulaim. 516, abstract by the author entitled *Jawāhir al-baḥr*, Cairo² I, 508.—e. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Skyl(?), al-Sijazī, an abstract by Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Aksīhī(?) al-Sijazī in Ambr. B. 114 (RSO IV, 1043).—f. *Īdāḥ al-aghālīṭ al-mawjūda fi 'l-W.* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī b. Abi 'l-Dam (d. 642/1244, see p. 588), Cairo² I, 540.—Abstracts: a. *al-Ghāya al-quṣwā*, by al-Bayḍāwī (see p. 738), additionally Brill—H.¹ 442, ²871, Cairo¹ III, 246, ²I, 526, Dam. 'Um. 48,312.—Commentaries: a. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī (d. 743/1342, see II, 198)? Paris 1024.—b. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umayrī, Selīm Āgā 268.—c. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yamanī, Āṣaf. II, 1156,38.—d. Anon., Mosul 198,160.—50. *Kitāb al-wajīz*, print. also C. 1316/7, 2 vols.—commentary: b. *Faṭḥ al-'azīz*, by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī (d. 623/1226, see p. 678), additionally Paris 986/9, Br. Mus. Or. 5971 (DL 30), Cambr. Suppl. 1353, Cairo² I, 528, 546, Dam. 'Um. 43,135/60, Mashh. v, 91,291/5, Teh. Sip. I, 482/4, Rāmpūr I, 212,297; thereon *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī gharīb al-sharḥ al-kabīr*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fayyūmī (d. after 770/1368, see II, 25).—An abstract by Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Anṣārī (ca. 889/1484), Paris 1032.—Abstract of just the *ḥadīth*, entitled *al-Talkhīṣ al-ḥabīr fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Rāfi'ī fi 'l-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449, see II, 68), additionally Leipz. 376, Br. Mus. Or. 6275 (DL 30), Cairo² I, 98, Fez Qar. 571, Rāmpūr I, 70,60, print. Delhi 1307.—b. *Khulāṣat al-badr al-munīr fī takhrīj al-aḥādīth wal-āthār al-wāq'ia fi 'l-Sharḥ al-kabīr* by 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401, see II, 92), Cairo² I, 114.—bb. *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, by the same, also Dam. 'Um. 44,161/71.—c. *Rawḍat al-tālibīn*, by al-Nawawī (see p. 680), additionally Brill—H.² 876, Yeni II, 108/9, Dam. 'Um. 45,207/30, Cairo² I, 518, Mashh. v, 64,210/1, print. Delhi, 1307, cf. Heffening, *Isl.* XXII, 175.—Glosses: α. *al-Muḥimmāt* by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī (d. 772/1370, see II, 90), additionally Leipz. 379, Tüb. 120, Br. Mus. Or. 6484 (DL 30), Cairo¹ III, 328, ²I, 542, Dam. 'Um. 51,388/91.—Abstracts: 1. al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1403), Dam. 'Um. 51,392/3.—2. *Mukhtaṣar muḥimmāt al-Muḥimmāt*, by 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Yamanī, a student of Ismā'īl b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muqri' (d. 837/1433, see II, 190), Mosul 113,205.—Critique: 1. *Ta'āqqubāt* by Aḥmad b. 'Imād b. Yūsuf al-Aqfahsī (d. 808/1405, see II, 93), additionally Dam. 'Um. 51,394/6.—2. *al-Mulimmāt*

bi-radd al-Muhimmāt, by ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403, see II, 93), Cairo² I, 540.—β. *Khādīm al-Rāfiʿī wal-Rawḍa*, by Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1393, see II, 91), additionally Hamb. 67, Gotha 982, Br. Mus. Or. 6718 (DL 23), Bodl I, 206 (see II, 572), Flor. Ricc. 8, Dam. ʿUm. 51,408/13.—γ. *al-Tawassuṭ wal-faṭḥ bayna ʿl-Rawḍa wal-Sharḥ*, by Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥamdān al-Adhraʿī (d. 783/1381), HKh III, 508,27, Dam. ʿUm. 50,356.—d. ʿAlī b. al-Bahāʾ al-Baghdādī, Dam. ʿUm. 44,172/3.—e. *Mawāhib al-ʿazīz*, by ʿAlī b. al-Faḍlallāh b. Muḥammad al-Marʿashī (d. 1134/1721), AS 998.—supplements to the *Kitāb al-wajīz* entitled *al-Tadhniḥ fi ʿl-furūʿ* by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226, | p. 678), HKh II, 272,2784, Dam. ʿUm. 50,363.—Abstract *Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa* by Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī (d. 751/1350, HKh III, 508), Dam. ʿUm. 46,233/5.—51. *Kitāb al-mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, additionally Berl. Qu. 1197, Rabat 128, Fez Qar. 1379, 1403, Sulaim. 609, Mosul 64,128 113,206, Āṣaf. I, 102,64, print. Būlāq 1322, 2 vols. (with *Fawātiḥ al-raḥamūt* by al-Anṣārī in the margin), composed after his return from his Sufi period, when, for a brief period, he taught in public again (see Goldziher, *Streitsch.* 27, n. 3); a commentary by al-Nasafī, completed in 665/1266, in Berl. Qu. 1198. In this work, I, 175,3 he cites his *Tahdhīb al-uṣūl*.—52. *Kitāb al-mankhūl fi ʿl-uṣūl*, composed during the life of his tutor, Imām al-Ḥaramayn (see Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 116,6, Murtaḍā I, 42,1, Macdonald, *JAOS* XX, 106), or published by one of his students on the basis of his lectures, additionally Mashh. VI, 27,90, Bank. Hdl. 708; according to Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī in *Hidāyat Ḥusayn* on Buhār 156 the work in question, which constantly attacks Abū Ḥanīfa, was not written by the Ḥujjat al-Islām, but by a al-Muʿtazilī by the name of Maḥmūd al-Ghazzālī; for a Ḥanafī rebuttal by al-Kardārī see p. 654,39.—53. (*Bayān*) *Ghāyat al-ghawr fi masāʿil (dirāyat) al-dawr*, on the *Dawr al-ṭalāq*, on the validity of a conditioned declaration of divorce, composed in 484/1091 after his arrival in Baghdad and later revised (see Goldziher, *Streitschr.* 79, n. 4), also Hamb. 59.—53a. *Khūlaṣat al-mukhtaṣar fi ʿl-fiqh al-Shāfiʿī* (see Subkī, IV, 116,4), Sulaim. 442.—53b. *al-Farāʿiḍ al-wasīṭa* Mosul 113,197,3.—53c. *Ḥaḳīqat al-qawlayn* (Subkī, op. cit., 9: *Bayān al-qawlayn lil-Shāfiʿī*), a defence of al-Shāfiʿī, Yeni 865, f. 775a—98a (Spies, *BAL* 21, as in Berl. 4859).—53d. *Baḥr al-ʿulūm al-munazzam fi madhhab al-imām al-aʿzam* Sbath 384.—53e. *al-Maqṣad al-aqṣā* Āṣaf. I, 390,14,4.—53f. *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fi ʿl-qiyās wal-taʿlīl (fi masāʿil al-taʿlīl)* Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 116,8) is cited in Murtaḍā I, 3 penult., 42,3, Ambr. A 78 (*RSO* III, 99), see Goldziher, *Streitschr.* 29, who prefers the variant reading *al-ʿalīl*.—53g. *Asrār al-ḥajj*, C. n.d. (Sarkis, 1410, Rämpür II, 384).

iv. Philosophy and encyclopaedias. 54. *Kitāb al-ma'ārif al-'aqlīyya wa (lubāb) al-ḥikma (ḥikam) al-ilāhīyya*, additionally Ambr. A. 64, iv (*RSO* III, 578), Mashh. I, 78,²⁴⁸. As is the case with no. 16 and the *Masā'il majmū'a*, this work was known in Spain under the incorrect title of *Kitāb al-maḍnūn*; see Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān* C. 8, 6, Gauthier 14,^{4ff.}—55. *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, composed immediately after 56, additionally Gotha 1164 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 6540, 6630, Vat. v. 1291, Pet. AM Buch. 305, 674, print. also Bombay 1304, C. 1319, 1321, see Kračkovsky, *Dokl. Ak. Nauk* 1925, 72ff. Carra de Vaux, *La Destruction des philosophes*, transl. in *Muséon* XVIII, Asín Palacios, Le sens du mot *tahāfut* (= précipitation irréfléctive) dans les oeuvres d'El Gh. et d'Averroes, *Rev. Afr. L* (1906), 185/203. *Algazel, T. al-f. Texte ar. accompagné d'un sommaire latin et d'index par A. Bouyges*, Bibl. ar. schol. | II, Beirut 1927.—56. *Maqāsid al-falāsifa*, an explanation of Neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophy, composed in 488/1095, additionally Br. Mus Suppl. 724, Or. 6498 (DL 9), Vat. v. 357,², C. 1331. *Algazels Metaphysics, a Medieval Translation*, ed. J.F. Muckle, Toronto 1933 (see D.B. Macdonald, *Isis* XXV, I, 1936, 9/15, Sarton, *Hist.* II, 171, 877, Bouyges, *MFO* VII, 398ff., 404ff.). Excise: comment. etc., see II, 216,¹⁰.—57. *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, additionally Vienna 1894, Manch. 71H, Brill–H.¹ 494, ²963, Ambr. A 64, iii (*RSO* III, 577), Bol. 141,³, AS 2106/7, 4801, Welieddīn 1829, Pesh. 796,⁷, Āṣaf. I, 396,^{21,71}, print. also Istanbul 1286, 1289, C. 1309 (together with no. 11 and *al-Maḍnūn al-ṣaghīr*), in the margin of al-Jīlānī, *al-Insān al-kāmil* C. 1328, in *Majmū'a*, Alexandria n.d., Damascus 1934, with a Hindustani translation Amritsar 1306, Turkish translation by Muḥammad Sa'īd-i Dhihnī (Brussali M. Ṭāhir, I, 312), Istanbul 1286, French by Barbier de Meynard, JA, s. VII, vol. IX (1873), 1/93. *Al-Gh. Confessions, transl. for the first time by Cl. Field* (Wisdom of the East), London 1909.—58. *al-Maḍnūn bihi 'an ghayr ahlihi*⁵ read: Leid. 1984/5, additionally Ambr. A 64, vii (*RSO* III, 578), Manch. 71M, AS 2246,⁵, (*EI* I, 157), Qilič 'A. 1026,⁶, Welieddīn 1829, Cairo² I, 359, Jer. Khāl. 77, 2,², Āṣaf. I, 388,^{12,3}, also printed in the margin of al-Jīlānī, *al-Insān al-kāmil*, C. 1328. Commentary by 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Majid al-'Ubaydī (d. 749/1348, see II, 239), C. 1913.—59. *Fātiḥat al-'ulūm*, additionally Qilič 'A. 1026,⁸, Fātiḥ 2860, Cairo² I, App. 45, Aleppo, *RAAD* VIII, 371,³⁵, Pesh. 439,⁶, ed. M. Badr al-Na'sānī, C. 1322, 1329, see Asín Palacios, *Compendio musulmán de pedagogía, el Libro de la introducción a las ciencias de al-G.*, Universidad Zaragoza 1924.—61. *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarriba ilā ilām al-ghuyūb*, Berl. 8836, print. also C. 1306, 1323, 1327, abstract Būlāq 1300.—62. *Mi'yār al-'ilm fi fann al-mantiq* also Bat. Suppl. 591, ed. Ṣabrī al-Kurdī C. 1329, 1927.—64. *al-Ajwiba al-Ghazzālīyya* Serāi A III, 1419,^{63b/68a}.—An

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5 Zakī Mubārak in *Akhlaq* 120 questions its authenticity but perhaps without sufficient grounds.

abstract of 62 and 64a, *Miḥakk al-naẓar fī 'l-mantiq*, *Kitāb al-mustaṣfā* I, 10/55, see Goldziher, *Streitschr.* 27, n. 3, Cairo¹ VII, 700, ed. Badr al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Na'sānī al-Ḥalabī and Muṣṭafā al-Qabbānī al-Dimashqī, C. n.d.—64b. *al-Ḥikma al-mashriqiyya* C. (Maktabat al-'Arab, 1923, *Mulḥaq*, 17, no. 11).—64c. *al-Jawāhīr wal-anwār wa-ma'dīn al-ḥikam wal-asrār* Madr. 153₃.—64d. *Risālat al-ḥudūd* (ḤKh III, 390), Algiers 939₂, Qilič 'A. 1326.—64e. *Ghāyat al-'ulūm wa-asrāriḥā (al-mawāhib)*, on the theory of knowledge, Berl. Oct. 1491, AS 2244₄.—64f. *R. dar bayānī i'tiqādi sunnati jamā'a* AS 2052_{123a/130b}.

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v. Occult sciences. 66. *Maqālāt al-fawz* also Rāgīb 963 (*Islca* IV, 548).—67. *Khātām al-Gh.* or *Waqf zuḥal* or *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, additionally Berl. 4110, with the title *al-Sirr al-maṣūn al-mustanbaṭ min kitāb Allāh al-maknūn* Paris 2741₂, Vat. v. 938₅, Cairo² I, 316.—67a. *al-Taḥbīr fī 'ilm al-ta'bīr* | Qilič 'A. 1326₁₃.—67b. *Mukhtaṣar fī tarkīb al-ḥurūf al-ma'rūf bil-simiyā wa-tarṭībihā 'ala 'l-asmā' wal-aflāk wal-kawākib wal-amlāk wal-burūj* Ambr. A 75, xv (*RSO* III, 586).—67c. *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz fī asrār khawāṣṣ kitāb Allāh al-'azīz*, ḤKh III, 336, no. 5829, Vat. v. 1140₃.—67d. *Shajarat al-yaqīn* Cairo² I, 320.—67e. *Fawā'id wa-adwiya* ibid. 339.—67f. *Risāla fī 'l-ṣun'a* Āṣaf. II, 1414_{30,4} (probably all pseudepigraphs).

VI. Poems. 69. A *qaṣīda* in admonition and consolation of his students, composed shortly before his death, additionally Leipz. 889, Cairo *Taṣ.* 253, 121, ed. J. Pederson, *MO* XXV, 230/49, with a commentary by al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731, see II, 345), completed on 24 Sha'bān 1094/14 August 1695, *ZDMG* XI, 665, no. 37; a forgery, according to Ibn 'Arabī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār* I, 125ff. by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Musaffir al-Sabtī (see p. 751₃₈), according to Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 173, it was by al-Suhrawardī.—70. *Qaṣīda munfarīja*, similar to that by al-Tawzarī (p. 473), Gotha 2219, f. 3b, 2242, Paris 3198₃, 4530, Bodl. I, 155₆ II, 570, Sbath 1161₃.—71. In Rom. Ang. 7 (Cat. 66), he is credited with a legend about Joseph.—72. Letters AS 4821.43^a/46^b, 4301, 4792_{692b/726b} (see 47ff.).

6. His brother Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, who died in 517/1123.

Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 54, Ibn Qāḍī Shubha, Wüst, *Ac.* 20, 4, Ibn al-'Imād, *ShDh* IV, 60. 1. *Kitāb al-tajrīd fī kalimāt al-tawḥīd* (= 5?), additionally Paris 1248₂, Ind. Off. 1241, Brill–H.¹ 522, ²1148₁₉, Vat. v. 1253₁ (attributed in the introduction to his brother Muḥammad, as in Berl. 2389, Ind. Off. 694v), Esc.² 762₁, 1566₁, AS 4868, Fātiḥ 5389, Selīm Āgā 606₇, 'Ashir. II, 432_{6a/24b}, Cairo² I, 167, Dam. Z. 51, 35₁₁, Bank.

XIII, 959, Rāmpūr I, 331₅₈, Āsaf. I, 362_{22/3}, print. Istanbul 1285.—3. (= ?) *Kitāb fī zīq (sic) al-faqr* Bank. xv, 959, vi, is spurious; see Massignon, *Textes* 356.—4. *Bawāriq al-ilmā' etc.*, additionally Landb.—Br. 421, Nafiz 390, Cairo² I, 274, print. together with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tūnisī b. Zaghdūn (see II, 253), *Faraḥ al-asmā'*, Lucknow 1317.—6. *al-Dhakhīra li-ahl al-bašīra*, additionally Fez Qar. 1452, 1.—8. *Sirr al-asrār fī kashf al-anwār* Vat. v. 1470₁₁, Esc.² 763₃, Cairo² I, 316.—9. *Risāla 'ayniyya*, sermons and dicta, Teh. II, 655.—10. *Laṭā'if al-fikar* Berl. Oct. 3707.—11. *Natā'ij al-khalwa wa-lawā'ih al-jalwa* Cairo² I, 368.—12. In Vat. v. 299₂ he is credited with a *Mukhtaṣar al-salwa fī 'l-khalwa*, probably = *al-Salwa fī sharā'ih al-khalwa*, Bol. 250, 1, (which mentions al-Muwaffaq b. al-Majd al-Khāṣṣī, see p. 773, 1 as its author).—13. Persian letters to 'Ayn al-Quḍāt 'Abdallāh al-Hamadhānī (see p. 674, 18), Halle, BDMG 68, Paris, Suppl. pers. 483, Br. Mus. pers. I, 411/2, Ind. Off. Éthé, 1793, Welieddīn 819, to Sultan Sanjar, Ḥamīd. II, 205.—14. *Baḥr al-ḥaqīqa* Paris, Suppl. pers. 1337, f. 123/59.—15. *Ishqīyya* ibid. 185, f. 102, 147/75.—16. *Sawānih*, in Persian, on the subtle psychology of love that had a large impact, As. Soc. Beng. Ivanow 406, Bodl. 1267₂, AS 4821, Köpr. 1589, anon. commentary and versification in NO 2647 (see Ritter, *Isl.* XXI, 94).—An Arabic translation by 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī, Paris, anc. f. pers. B, 38, see Massignon, *Textes* 95, 256.

| 6a. Abū Muḥammad 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-'Irāqī al-Ḥanafī, ca. 500/1106. 757

Kitāb al-firaq Sulaim. 791, see Yūsuf Ḍiyā in *Ilāh. fak. mecm.* 5/6, 221, see Ritter, *Isl.* XVIII, 45.

6b. Abū Turāb Murtaḍā b. al-Dā'ī, a contemporary of al-Ghazzālī.

Massignon, *Bibl. Hall.* no. 1081. *Kitāb tabṣirat al-'awāmm fī maqālāt al-anām*, lith. in Tūnakabūnī's *Qīṣaṣ al-'ulamā'*, Tehran 1312, 357/461, see Ritter, *Isl.* XVIII, 46.

6c. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Kirmānī, fl. sometime before 525/1131.

Maqāla fī sharḥ qawl rasūl Allāh wa-taftariqu ummatī etc. Rāḡib 1463, f. 65/8, see *Ilāh. fak. mecm.* 5/6, 221, *Isl.* XVIII, 46.

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