

History of the Arabic Written Tradition

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By

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3a. Saʿīd b. Dādhurmuz wrote before 471/1078 (the date of the MS):

1. *Kitāb fī faḍl al-ākḥira ʿala ʿl-dunyā*, against the claim that the pursuit of the sciences only serves the purpose of making money.—2. *Risāla fī ʿl-rūḥ wal-badan*, a continuation of the same.—3. *Risāla fī ʿl-tawḥīd* Bursa Ulu Cami Taş 11, f. 1–74b (Ritter).

4 (5). Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī² was born in 420 451/1059 and spent his youth in Ṭūs in Khurāsān. | He received his theological training in Nishapur under Imām al-Ḥaramayn, during whose lifetime he began writing. After the former's death in 478/1085 he joined the vizier Nizām al-Mulk, who assigned him a professorship at the al-Nizāmiyya academy that he had founded in Baghdad. While he was still in his youth he rejected *taqlīd*. He tried to live up to the obligations of his office by an intensive study of all the *madhāhib* and philosophical schools while also composing various works 536 on *fiqh* | and polemic pamphlets against the Bāṭiniyya, who had murdered Nizām al-Mulk in 485/1092. But none of these systems could satisfy him. In the end he did not only feel his faith falter, but despaired even of the possibility of achieving any knowledge whatsoever. An intense struggle for the salvation of his soul, which he saw threatened in the hereafter, shook him from Rajab until Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 488/July–November 1095. As a result of this he relinquished his professorship in favour of his brother Aḥmad and, as a wandering dervish, regained his inward peace through asceticism and mystical contemplation. Perhaps the conflict between the Sultan Barqyārūq and the latter's uncle Tutush had also precipitated his decision to step down from his post. He was a close ally of the caliph who had declared himself in favour of Tutush and who, after the elimination of the latter, had to fear Barqyārūq's revenge. He first went to Damascus, and in 490/1097 made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He then lived for nine years in silent reclusion in various places, rarely interrupted by visits to his kin. His spiritual crisis was resolved in a mystical experience of beatific vision, after which he not only rejected the sciences of the *fuqahāʾ* but also those of the *mutakallimūn* as being of no value. The only thing he would recommend as a means to purify the soul was asceticism, by which one acquired the power to depart from the earth, with all its impurities, towards the pure, uncontaminated sphere of the godhead. This turn towards Platonism

2 I.e. “the spinner” (see Suppl., *JRAS* 1902, 18/22, *OM* XV, 58). This is apparently also what is alluded to by a verse, quoted without source reference by al-Rayḥānī, *Rayḥāniyyāt* III, 110, 13/4: *ghazaltu lahum ghazlan daqīqan fa-lam ajid li-ghazli nassājan fa-kassartu mighzali*.

was for him connected to an ethics akin to the one of Christianity, and, vanquishing the sanctity of the praxis of Islamic deontology, he had released it from its impending ossification. This new way of thinking he developed in his *Ihyā'*, from which, even during his years of seclusion in Damascus and Baghdad.

| After the death of Baryārūq, the latter's brother Muḥammad assumed power in 498/1104. It was to him that al-Ghazzālī dedicated his mirror for princes *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, which he had originally written in Persian. He believed there was reason to regard Muḥammad as the prince who could make his religious ideals come true. His homeland of Khurāsān was governed by the latter's brother Sanjar, and his vizier was Fakhr al-Mulk, the son of Nizām al-Mulk. The latter succeeded in motivating al-Ghazzālī to resume his teaching at the Nizāmiyya of Nishapur. But he did not live a life in the public sphere for very long, and he soon retired to his hometown of Tūs. In the Ṭabarān quarter there he worked at a madrasa with a small circle of students, and also at a *khānqāh* that he had founded, until he died on 14 Jumādā II 505/19 December 1111. 537

While al-Ash'ārī had used Greek dialectic to deliver Islamic dogmatics from the naïve subtleties of the old *mutakallimūn*, al-Ghazzālī secured for Islam the vigour of its religious life. He did this by bringing about the recognition of a mysticism that had been purged of its excesses and which he had philosophically underpinned. That he was very much aware of his calling as a renewer of religion, who, according to *ḥadīth*, was expected at the turn of every century, is evident from the title of his magnum opus, *al-Ihyā'*.

Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, n.d., 520., Ibn Khall. 566, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 422, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* 75, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* I, 293, Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* II, 191/210.—R. Gosche, *Über Ghazzālīs Leben und Werke*, *Phil.-hist. Abh. der Berl. Ak. für 1858* (Berlin 1859), p. 239/311 (outdated). See Suppl. M. Umaruddin, *An Exposition of al-Ghazzālī's View on the Problem of the Freedom of the Will*, *Muslim Univ. Journal* III, 1, 1936, 31/51, A.J. Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris 1940, idem, Ghazzālīs Bekeering in *Semietische Studien*, Leiden 1941, 154/77.

| 1. Theology. 1. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, a systematic theology, in spirit often in agreement with the *Ihyā'*, Leid. 1986/7, Br. Mus. 143, Hayn. 59, Pet. 55, AS 338, Es'ad Efendi Medr. 182, Ğārullāh 1261,20, Amuča Ḥü. 451, Hüdāī Ṭas. 155, 246, Fātiḥ 5375,4, Šehīd A. 2795, 1254, 1362, Nafiz 354, Alex. Fun. 152,29, Cairo ¹VII, 198, Qawala I, 55, Mosul 156,16, Patna I, 130,1296, II, 448,2623/4, thereof especially the third main division *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī uṣūl al-dīn* Berl. 1715/8, Patna I, 128,1278.—1a. *Anwār al-asrār wa-hiya Risāla fī tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā* sura 2, 21 *wa-mā fī ma'nahā fī 'l-ḥadīth* Alex. Fun. 126,5.—2. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* Cairo ¹VII, 544, ²I, 538

- 135.—3. *Aqīda*, Creed, Berl. 1947, Bodl. II, 68, Tippu 140, no. 21, Alex. Fun. 164,⁴, Cavalla Ef. Cat. no. 1973, see P. Kraus, *Abstracta Isl.* v, *REI* 1936, ed. Pococke in *Spec. Hist. Ar.* ed. II, p. 269ff.—Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Zarrūq al-Burnūsī, d. 899/1493 (II, 253), Br. Mus. 126,⁹.—b. see Suppl.—4. *al-ʿAqīda al-qudsīyya*, on God's names and properties, Berl. 1948, Gotha 95, 661,⁴, 666, Ṣāhib Mollā 511.—5. *Kitāb al-maqṣad al-asnā fī asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, on the 99 most beautiful names of God, Berl. 2210/20, Gotha 716, Ind. Off. 337, Esc. 2631,⁴, 1130,², Garr. 1891, Alex. Ṭas. 35,⁹, abstract Gotha 99,³ by Ibn al-ʿArabī, d. 638/1240 (p. 441), Berl. 2226/7.—6. *al-Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ʿulūm al-ākhira*, eschatology (MSS see Suppl. Alex. Mawāʿiz 40,², Fun. 75,², Mosul 263,⁸), *La perle précieuse de Gh.* ed. L. Gauthier, Geneva 1878, print. C. 1308.—6a. *al-Jawāhir al-ghawālī lil-imām al-Gh.* C. 1924 (*Jāmiʿ al-taṣānīf al-ḥadītha* no. 766).—7. *al-Budūr fī akhbār al-baʿth wal-nushūr* Cairo 1^{VII}, 592.—8. *al-Risāla al-qudsīyya*, on God's nature, his properties, and the acts and truthfulness of the Prophet, abstract *al-Musāyara* by Muḥammad b. Humāmaddīn, d. 861/1456 (Suppl. II, 91), Berl. 1720, 1826, Gotha 652,³, Cairo 1^{VII}, 78, 555, 576.—9. *Kitāb al-iqtisād fi ʿl-ʿitiqād*, the way to religious understanding, Berl. 1719, Esc. 1, 517, 21273, Qawala I, 160.—10. *Kitāb al-mawāʿiz fi ʿl-aḥādīth al-qudsīyya*, of doubtful authenticity, Gotha 3,¹³.—11. *Kitāb iljām al-ʿawāmm ʿan ʿilm al-kalām* print. Madras 1306, C. 1309 and others (see Suppl.), fragm. Leid. 1492, excerpt Gotha 99,⁴, with the title *Risāla fī madhāhib ahl al-salaf* Berl. 2801, AS 2200,².—12. Creed in the form of a letter to Abu ʿl-Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Damīmī, published by al-Hakkārī, d. 558/1163 (p. 434), Berl. 1950/1, under the title *Mawāʿiz* Garr. 1544.—13. | *Kitāb al-tafriqa bayna ʿl-īmān wal-zandaqa*, against the accusation of heresy, Berl. 2075, Garr. 2005,¹² = *Fayṣal al-tafriqa bayna ʿl-islām wal-zandaqa* AS 2200, 4792 f. 733a/44b, ʿA. Emiri Fārisī 19 f. 17b/21b, Welieddīn 1819, Cairo 1^{VII}, 554, Mosul 75,¹, translated by H.J. Runge, Kiel 1938, paraphrased by Asín Palacios, *El justo medio en la creencia*, Madrid 1926, App. v, p. 499/540.—14. *Risāla fi ʿl-mawt* Alex. Fun. 65,¹.—15. Small treatise on the *Futūḥ al-Qurʿān*, i.e. a compilation of verses in which there is question of an opening by God, Berl. 2302.—16. See. Suppl. with Garr. 2167,².—17. *Risāla fī bayān maʿrifat Allāh* Leid. 1491 = *Risāla fī ʿl-maʿrifā* Berl. 3208.—18. *Sharḥ ʿalā qawl ḥujjat al-islām Abī Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī laysa fi ʿl-inkān abdaʿ min ṣūrat ḥādha ʿl-ʿālam etc.*
422 by Muḥammad al-Nashshārī, Qawala I, 200. |—19. *Risāla fī uṣūl al-dīn* Munich 885,⁴.—20. *Nuzhat al-sālikīn = al-Bayān fī masālik al-īmān*, on God's nature, the Last Judgment, Paradise and Hell, accounting for one's deeds, and the 10 ways to escape serious punishment, apocryphal, Berl. 3209.—21. *al-Qānūn al-kullī fi ʿl-taʿwīl* Cairo 1^{VII}, 231, see Suppl. ed. A.J. Casas y Manrique, Uppsala 1937.—22., 23. See Suppl.

II. Ethics and sufism. 24. *Kitāb jāmi‘ al-ḥaqā’iq bi-tajrīd al-‘alā’iq*, an exposition on ethics in 15 chapters wrongly attributed to him and in fact identical with the *Tuhfat al-safara* of Ibn ‘Arabī (p. 444, no. 26), Upps. 402.—25. *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*, his magnus opus (see above), Berl. 1675/1706, Vienna 1656, Leid. 2146, Br. Mus. 854/8, 1432, Suppl. 173/4, Ind. Off. 602/10, Bodl. I, 287, 295, 297, Algiers 554/8, Yeni 693/5, Garr. 1877/81, Patna I, 127, 12717, II, 513, 2760, print. Bülāq 1289, C. 1306, 1334, Istanbul 1321 (see Suppl.); see Carra de Vaux, *CR Congr. scient. intern. des catholiques* 1891, 2e sect. p. 209; on the history of the book under the Almoravids in Spain see Dozy, *Hist. d. mus. d’Espagne* ¹IV, 253ff., translations etc. see Suppl. and also H. Wehr, *Al-Gs. Buch vom Gottvertrauen, Das 35. Buch des I. ‘u. al-d.* Halle 1940 (Isl. Ethik 4), H.H. Dingemans, *Al-Gh.s Boek der Liefde*, Leiden 1938. Commentaries: a. *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaqīn* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Murtaḍā, d. 1205/1791 (II, 287), Munich 150, print. Fez 1301/4, 13 vols. (see Vollers, *ZDMG* 47, 538), C. 1311, 10 vols.—b. Anon., Ind. Off. 611.—Justification of the *Iḥyā’* by the author himself *al-Imlā’ ‘alā mushkil al-I. or al-Ajwiba al-musakkina (muskita?) ‘an al-as‘ila al-mubhama or al-Intiṣār li-mā fi ‘l-I. min al-asrār* Berl. 1714, Ms. or. fol. 4249,1.—Abstracts: 1. *Lubāb I. ‘u. al-d.* | by his brother Aḥmad (no. 5), according to others by the author himself, Berl. 1708/9, Bodl. I, 324 (see II, 578a), Garr. 1482, Esc. ²731.—2. *Minḥāj al-qāṣidīn*, omitting all weak traditions and unfounded Sufi teachings, by Ibn al-Jawzī, d. 597/1200 (see 500), Paris 1295, Fātiḥ 2872, from which *Kitāb ādāb al-nikāḥ* Garr. 2136, second abstract *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, d. 742/1341, Berl. 1711/2, Cairo ¹II, 132, ²I, 356, Alex. Taṣ. 43, Mawā‘iz 49.—3. *Rūḥ al-Iḥyā’*, by Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Yūnus, Bodl. I, 121,2.—4. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Rāzī, AS 2097.—5. Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Yamanī, Patna I, 142, 1378.—6. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khwārizmī al-Shāfi‘ī, d. 679/1280, Br. Mus. 740, Cairo ¹VII 297.—7. Anon., Cairo ¹II, 132, under the title *Khulāṣat al-taṣānīf fi ‘l-taṣawwuf* C. 1327 (see Suppl.), *Is‘ād al-umma fī-mā jā’a bi-hi ‘l-Qur‘ān wal-sunna* Tunis 1342.—8.—20. see Suppl. (17. *Ayn al-‘ilm* also Patna I, 138, 353, commentary by al-Qārī’ al-Harawī ibid. 135, 335, 18. = 10. read: al-Bilālī).—21. *Maw‘izat al-mu‘minīn min I. ‘u. al-d.* by Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī al-Dimashqī, d. 1332/1914 (Suppl. II, 777), C. 1331.—Introductory remarks with a biography of the author *Ta‘rīf al-ahyā’ bi-faḍā’il al-Iḥyā’* by ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Aydarūs, d. 1038/1628 (II, 419), Berl. 1713.—26. *Kitāb bidāyat al-hidāya*, composed after the *Iḥyā’*, Berl. 3263/4, Gotha 882, Munich 614, Paris 1293,1, Br. Mus. 739, 126,2, Bodl. I, 569, Algiers 876/7, Pet. Rosen 219,2, Garr. 921, Alex. Mawā‘iz 40,1, Patna II, 411, 2582, 2, print. Bülāq 1287, 1291, C. 1277, (in *Majmū‘a*) 1303; on which glosses by Muḥammad al-Nawāwī al-Jāwī (II, 501), C. 1308, Bülāq 1309, and others see Suppl. Abstract by

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Baṣrī, Br. Mus. 1594₂.—27. *Kitāb mizān al-ʿamal* Esc. 2875₂ (fragm.), Cairo 1^{vii}, 376 = *Mōzenē šedeq, Compendium doctrinae ethicae auctore al-Gazali Tusensi de arabico hebraice conversum ab Abrahamo Bar Chasdai Barcinonensi*, ed. J. Goldenthal, Leipzig-Paris 1839.—28. *Kitāb al-quṣṭās al-mustaqīm*, a polemical dialogue with an Ismaili, one of his last works (see Suppl.), Berl. 1724, Esc. 2631₃, Cairo 1^{vii}, 700³, anon. comm. *al-Mizān al-qawīm* Bat. 122₇, commentary by Muḥammad Qāḍī Patna I, 122₁₂₂₇.—29. *Kūmiyyāʾ al-saʿāda*, popular representation | of ethics with special regard to mysticism, 423
541 Berl. 312, according to ḤKh v, 10918 originally | written in Persian, this Persian text is preserved in Berl. pers. 288/90, Dresd. 255, fragm. ibid. 4, 87, Paris 13/6, Br. Mus. I, 37, Bodl. Pers. 1429/30, print. Calcutta n.d., Lucknow 1279, 1282, Bombay 1883, Turkish transl. Dresd. 15, Upps. 460, print. Istanbul 1260; after the Turkish transl. H.A. Homes, *The Alchemy of Happiness by M. al-Gh. the Mohammedan Philosopher*, Albany, NY 1873, Urdu transl. Lucknow 1313.—On this is based the Persian treatise *Chahār ʿumwān* by Bābā Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshī, d. 710/1310, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 829b.—20. *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, originally in Persian under the title *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, composed for Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (see above), in several MSS in Istanbul in Horn, *ZDMG* 54, 314, no. 384, and F. Meier, ibid. 93, 398, ed. Jalālī Humāʾī, Tehran, Majlis 1315/7, Arabic transl. by ʿAlī b. Mubārak b. Mawhūb for the *atabeg* Alp Qutluḡ of Mosul, d. 595/1199, Gotha 1874/7, where other MSS are listed, with Basle M. III, 4, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 37, no. 149, in Tunis, Alex. Mawāʾiẓ 48, Qawala I, 223, Patna I, 146₁₄₀₄ and MSS in Istanbul in Meier, op. cit., 399/402 (see Suppl.), print. C. 1277, and in the margin of *Sirāj al-mulūk* by al-Ṭurṭūshī, ibid. 1306, 1319, see Goldziher, *ZDMG* 50, 100, n. 2. The separately transmitted Persian introduction in Arabic transl. AS 2911; 5 Turkish translations in Meier, op. cit., 404/5.—31. *Sirr al-ʿalamayn wa-kashf mā fī ʿl-dārayn* see Suppl. also Alex. Mawāʾiẓ 23.—32. *Kitāb ayyuha ʿl-walad* Berl. 3975/6 Gotha 1165 (where other MSS are listed), see Suppl. with Alex. Mawāʾiẓ 35, Fun. 194₈, Qawala I, 234. *O Kind! Die berühmte ethische Abh. Ghazalis ar. u. deutsch v. Hammer* Purgstall, Vienna 1838.—Commentaries: a. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh, composed in 756/1355, Vienna 1842, Munich 174, fol. 110b.—b. *Ayyuha ʿl-etc.* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ṣabrī, composed in 1117/1705, Cairo 1^{vii}, 623, ²¹, 271.—c. see Suppl.—d. Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Khādīmī, d. 1160/1747, Berl. 3977, Vienna 1843, Qawala I, 245.—e. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ʿUmar Baṣrī,

3 Not—as assumed in Gosche, no. 14—the original of the *Mōzenē hāʾiyyūnīm*, the Hebrew translation of a lost treatise that is probably falsely attributed to al-Ghazzālī, see Steinschneider, *hebr. Übers.* § 194.

Qawala I, 245.—f. *Minḥat al-ṣamad* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥalabī al-Sāqizī, Garr. 784.—g. Turkish paraphrase Coburg III, b.—33. See Suppl., also Fātiḥ 2856.—34a–c. *Miṣhkāt al-anwār* see Suppl. (ad a., which still relies on a literal translation of Plotinus *Enneads* IV, see p. 222, see A.J. Wensinck, *Semietische Studien*, Leiden 1941, 192/212, and also Garr. 1892, Alex. Fun. 152,30, Qawala, I, 262, Mosul 176,8, Patna II, 412,2580,8).—35. *Nūr al-shamʿa fī bayān zuhr al-jumʿa* Leid. 483.—36. *Madkhal al-sūlūk ilā manāzil al-mulūk*, on Sufi life, the science of *ḥadīth*, | the Arabic language, and the history of the ancient Arabs, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1089,2, Esc. 2732,1, 763,1.—37. *Kitāb al-zuhd al-fātiḥ*, an admonishment, Br. Mus. 741.—38. *Minḥāj al-ʿabidin ilā jannat rabb al-ʿālamīn* (see Suppl.) Berl. 3265/6, BDMG 19, Leid. 2147, Paris 1248,3, 1292, Br. Mus. 165,6, Suppl. 229, Algiers 876,2, Garr. 2068, Qawala I, 267, Mosul 124,52, 155,66, 192,33, Patna I, 143,1386, print. C. 1305 (in the margin of the *Bidāya*), see Suppl. 1351 (with the *Bidāya* in the margin).—Abstracts by: a. al-Balaṭunisī, ca. 850/1446 (but see II, 320), Berl. 3267 and al-Shaʿrānī (II, 335), on which a commentary by Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī(?) ibid. 3268.—b.—e. see Suppl. (b. Patna I, 142,138), f. Anon., Berl. 3269.—Turkish translation by Nisānī (Nishānī, Nhānī, Nhālī) Gotha türk. 77, Vienna 168, Krafft 504.—39. *Fī l-ʿibādāt*, on religious duties, Berl. 3815, Garr. 2175,2.—40. *Fī bayān ʿilm al-ladunī*, on the deeper mystical knowledge of God, Berl. 3210 = *al-Risāla al-laduniyya* Ind. Off. 312, transl. by Margaret Smith, *JRAS* 1938, 177/200, 353/74.—41. *Maqāmāt al-ʿulamāʾ bayna yaday al-khulafāʾ wal-umarāʾ* Berl. 8537,1.—42. *al-Kashf wal-tabayīn fī ghurūr al-khalq ajmaʿīn*, | sets out the various 424 cases in which God's commands were neglected, discussing the unbelievers first, and then the believers, in four classes, Berl. 8744, Cairo 1VII, 79, 376, 418, 2I, 348, Qawala I, 259, Patna II, 411,2580,7.—43. *al-Ḥikma fī l-makhlūqāt*, on the miracle of Creation, Berl. 8747, Paris 2310, partly from the *Kitāb al-dalʿil wal-ʿtibār* attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ (Suppl. I, 247, no. 5), see Baneth, *Magnus Anniversary Vol.* Jerusalem 1938, p. 23ff.—44. A prayer, Berl. 3644,1.—45. On the submission to God's will and on resisting it, Berl. 2632.—46. *Maghālīṭ al-maghrūrīn*, of deceptions to which believers and unbelievers are exposed and their causes, Berl. 3167.—47. *Risālat al-ṭayr*, an allegory similar to the one by al-Maqdisī (p. 450/1), Leid. 2145, Alex. Taṣ. 35,8.—47. a.—ff. see Suppl. (w. *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn fī khawāṣṣ lā ilāha illa ʾllāh* Patna II, 447,2663,5.—x. also Alex. Fun. 90,20.—z. under the title *Risāla fī taḥqīq bayān maʿna l-rūḥ* Patna I, 132,1309).—gg. *Aṣnāf al-maghrūrīn* Taymūr, Akhlāq 164.—hh. *al-Jawāhir al-fākhira* Heid. 337, *ZDMG* 91,399—ii. *Wiqāyat al-sālik min al-āfāt wal-mahālik* Patna I, 144,392.—kk. *al-ʾIḷq al-nafīs* ibid. II, 411,2500,4.—

III. Fiqh. 48. *Kitāb al-basīṭ fī l-furūʿ*, based on the *Nihāyat al-maṭlab* of his teacher Imām al-Ḥaramayn, Ind. Off. 1766, Esc.¹ 1125, Cairo 1III, 197.—49. *Kitāb al-Wasīṭ al-muḥīṭ bi-āthār al-Basīṭ*, abstract of the above, | Munich 359 543

(?), Bodl. I, 233, II, 82, part IV, Ambr. RSO III, 277.—Commentaries: a. *Sharḥ mushkil al-W.* by ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāh, d. 643/1245 (p. 440), Cairo ¹III, 242, 275, ²I, 539.—b. *Muntaqa 'l-ghāyāt fi mushkilāt al-W.* by Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Ḥamawī al-Tanūkhī, d. 670/1271, Cairo ¹III, 278, ²I, 540.—c. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rafʿa, d. 710/1310 (II, 133), Cairo ¹III, 276.—d. *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qamūlī, d. 727/1327 (II, 86), part IV, Paris 1026. Abstract by the author, *Jawāhir al-baḥr*, Cairo ¹III, 215, ¹I, 508, Patna I, 79, 801.—e., f. see Suppl.—g. Anon., Cairo ¹III, 242.—Abstracts: a. *al-Ghāya al-quṣwā* by al-Bayḍawī (p. 530), Berl. 4597/8, Garr. 1789.—b. al-Masʿūdī, Cairo ¹III, 278.—50. *Kitāb al-Wajīz*, abstract of the above, Paris 985, Cairo ¹III, 289.—Commentaries: a. *Sharḥ ibhām al-Wajīz wal-Wasīṭ* by Asʿad b. Maḥmūd al-ʿIjlī, d. 600/1203 (Subkī, *Tab.* V, 50), Cairo ¹III, 235.—b. *Fath al-ʿazīz* by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāfiʿī al-Qazwīnī, d. 623/1226 (p. 493), Berl. 4470/1, Br. Mus. Suppl. 305, Cairo ¹III, 238, 251, ²I, 528, 546, Gotha 940 (where other MSS are listed).—a smaller commentary by the same, Berl. 4472/3, Patna I, 104, 1053.—Abstract by Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Anṣārī, ca. 890/1485, Paris 1032.—Abstract of the traditions in the larger commentary by ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 814/1401 (II, 92), Berl. 1345, Cairo ²I, 114, *al-Talkhīṣ al-kabīr etc.* (see Suppl.) by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, d. 852/1449 (II, 68), Berl. 1346, Alex. Ḥad. II, Cairo ¹I, 282, ²I, 98 Patna I, 82, 814.—c. *al-Rawḍa* or *Rawḍat al-ṭalībīn* by al-Nawawī, d. 676/1177 (p. 496), abstract of the great commentary by al-Rāfiʿī, Berl. 4474, Paris 990, 6451, Br. Mus. Suppl. 306, Garr. 1804, Patna I, 90, 913.—Glosses: *α al-Muhimmāt* by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī, d. 772/1370 (II, 90), completed in 769/1367, Cairo ¹III, 280, ²I, 542, *al-Kalimāt al-muhimma*, Br. Mus. Quart. x, 134; on which again glosses *αα al-Mubhamāt ʿala 'l-Muhimmāt* by Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī, d. 806/1403, thereto anonymous *Zawāʿid*, from which an abstract by Abū Yazīd al-Dawwānī, Paris 992.—*ββ al-Taʿaqqubāt* by Aḥmad b. ʿImād b. Yūsuf al-Aqfahsī, d. 808/1405 (II, 93), Berl. 4476, Cairo ¹III, 208, 280, Dam. ʿUm. 51, 394/3.—Rebuttal *al-Mulimmāt ʿala 'l-Muhimmāt* by ʿUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī, d. 805/1403 (II, 93), Pet. AM 125, Cairo ¹III, 278, ²I, 540.—*β.* *Khādim al-Rāfiʿī wal-Rawḍa* by Muḥammad al-Zarkashī, d. 794/1391, Paris 991.—*γ.* See Suppl., Patna I, 83, 838/40.—*δ.* Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīqī, *qāḍī* | of Alexandria, d. 891/1648 (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʿ al-lāmiʿ* VII, 284), Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 17.—Abstract of the *Rawḍa* by Ismāʿīl b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muqriʿ al-Yamanī, d. 837/1433 (II, 254), Gotha 941, on which a commentary by Zakariyyāʿ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Paris 993/5, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 4.—d., e. see Suppl., f. Anon. Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 26.—Abstract *al-Taʿjīz* by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, d. 671/1272 (p. 495, 28).—Versification of b. and c.: *Rumūz al-kunūz* by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Dīrīnī, d. 697/1297 (p. 451), Bank. XIX, 183, 8 = Patna I, 89, 96.—51. *Kitāb al-mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*

Gotha 925,⁴ Cairo 111, 275, Mosul 64,²¹⁶, see M. Schreiner, *Actes du 8e congr. intern. des or.* II, 97. |—52. *Kitāb al-manḥūl fi 'l-uṣūl* (see Suppl.) Cairo 111, 267, Patna I, 75,⁶⁹.—53. (*Bayān*) *Ghāyat al-ghawr fī masā'il (dirāyat) al-dawr*, on marital law, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1203, i, Rāḡib 569.—53a.—g. see Suppl. (ad 53a p. 180).—53h. *Risāla mā lā budd minhu* Patna II, 439,^{2616,3}.

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iv. Philosophy and encyclopaedias. 54. *Kitāb al-ma'ārif al-'aliyya wa (lubāb) al-ḥikma (ḥikam) al-ilāhiyya*, on logic, metaphysics, speech, writing, and decision-making, Paris 1331, Bodl. I, 133.—55. *Kitāb tahāfut al-falāsifa*, composed immediately after 56 (see Suppl. MS Pet. As. Mus., *Kračkovskij Dokl. Ak. Nauk.* 1925, 47/9) with the rebuttals of Ibn Rushd (p. 462) and Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf Khājazāde (II, 230) printed together C. 1302/3, 1319, 1320, alone lith. Bombay 1304. S.T. de Boer, *Die Widersprüche der Philosophie nach al-Ghazzālī und ihr Ausgleich durch Ibn Roshd*, Strassburg 1894. Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 184.—56. *Maqāsid al-falāsifa*, which attempts to give an account of the system of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics which the *Tahāfut* exposes in its inner contradictions, as an introduction to the same, composed in 488/1095, Berl. 5059, *M. al-F. Teil I, die Logik, Cap. 1 u. 2 nach der Berliner und der Oxforder Hds. zum ersten Mal hsg. und mit Vorrede und Anmm. versehen* v. G. Beer, Leiden 1888.—Latin by Dom. Gundisalvi, *Logica et philosophia*, Venice 1506.—Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 164.—57. *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl*, which he composed after resuming his teaching in Nishapur, gives an account of all his philosophical transformations, Berl. 1725, Leid. 1490, Paris 1331₂, Esc. 2694, 1130, Garr. 1572, Alex. Tawḥīd 45, Cairo 111, 57, VII, 146; ed. | Schmolders, *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes*, Paris 1842, p. 1/64, print. Istanbul 1870, 1287, 1289, 1293, from which transl. by Barbier de Meynard, *JA* s. III, v. 9, 1877, I, p. 1/93.—58. *Kitāb al-maḍnūn bi-hi 'an ghayr ahlihi*, dedicated to his brother Aḥmad, on knowledge of God and the angels, the nature of miracles, and the Afterlife, Berl. 1721, Leid. 1894/5, Paris 1331₃, Pet. 247₃, AS 2000₃, Cairo 111, 115, Taymūr, Majm. I, 12, Alex. Fun. 87₁, 151₉ (with the title *al-Ilq al-m. etc.*), print. in *Majmū'a*, C. 1309; with the same title but completely different Berl. 1722/3.⁵—59. *Faḥḥiyyāt al-'ulūm*, on the excellence, usefulness, and disadvantages of knowledge, reports of the lives of previous scholars, and the

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4 The MS Paris 408 = de Slane 790 mentioned there is not an abstract of it, but rather the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, p. 531.

5 Printed in the collective volume mentioned in *OB* v, 5134, with the subtitle *al-Ajwiba (al-Ghazzālīyya fī 'l-masā'il al-ukhrawīyya)*, Serāi A III, 1419,^{63b/68a}, Hebrew transl. Steinschneider § 192; in reality it is a work—published in his name—by the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Musaffir al-Sabṭī, ca. 600/1203, see Suppl. I, 751, no. 38.

hallmarks of the worldly and the pious scholar, Berl. 102, Paris 2311, Med. 190, Alex. Fun. 64,₁.—60. *Risāla fī ḥaqāʾiq al-ʿulūm li-ahl al-fuhūm* Paris 1337,₁₂.—61. *Mukāshafat al-qulūb al-muqarriba ilā ʿilm al-ghuyūb* Berl. 8836, print. C. 1323, 1327, anon. abstract Qawala I, 265, print. Būlāq 1300.—62. *Miʿyār al-ʿilm* Rāḡib 912.—63. A metaphysical work without title in 7 *maqālāt* Br. Mus. Suppl. 724.—64. *Die Abh. des a. H. al-Gh. Antworten auf Fragen, die an ihn gerichtet wurden, in hebr. Übers. hsg. von H. Malter*, Frankfurt a. M. 1896, which in many places touches on the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*. |—64a. *Maʿārij al-quḍs fī madārij maʿrifat al-naḥs* C. 1927.—64aa.—f. see Suppl. (e. AS 2200, 2446,₄).—64g. *Maʿārij al-quḍs*, on the soul, Welīddīn 1814,₁₀, Baghdad, *Lughat al-ʿArab* II, 107, 112, see Suppl. I, 973,

v. Occult sciences. 65. *Kanz al-qawm wa-sirr al-maktūm*, on the secrets of letters, Berl. 4123.—66. *Maqālāt al-fawz*, on alchemy, Berl. 4179, Rāḡib 963 (*Islca* IV, 548).—67. *Kitāb al-khātām*, a poem on the fabrication of talismans, Leid. 1214, Ambros. 254, Berl. 4110 (see Suppl.), under the title *al-Sirr al-maṣūn wa-l-durr al-maknūn*, Alex. Faw. 24,₁. Commentary, *Mustawjibat al-maḥāmid* by Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Anṣārī, Paris 2570/1.—67a.—f. see Suppl.

546 VI. Poems. 68. *Ghāya wa-nihāya*, three Sufi *qaṣidas* | in praise of the Prophet, Berl. 7633.—69. *Qaṣida*, supposedly written in consolation for and admonition of his students shortly before his death (see Suppl.), Berl. 3978/9, Gotha 28,₂, Br. Mus. 754,₂, Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 197, cf. M. Schreiner, *ZDMG* 48, p. 43.

VII. Letters collected under the title *Faḍāʾil al-anām*, AS 4821,_{43a/46b}, 4301, 4792,_{692b/726b}, from which *Risāla arsalahā ila ʿl-sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh*, C. 1325, a Persian letter to the son of Nizām al-Mulk, Ḍiyāʾ al-Mulk, ed. by Dhabīḥullāhi Ṣafā in the Tehrani Magazine *Mihr* VI, no. 5, p. 363/7 (Meier, *ZDMG* 93, 406), a letter to al-Hakkārī (p. 560) ʿUm. 3750 (cf. 12, Suppl. 47d).

6. His brother Shihāb al-Dīn (Majd al-Dīn) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī succeeded him when he gave up his teaching position in Baghdad. He shared Abū Ḥamid's penchant for mysticism but tried to work more practically as a preacher. He died in 520/1126 in Qazvin or, according to others, in 517/1123.

Ibn Khall. 37, Jāmī, *Naḥāḥāt* 426, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* a 520, *Lisān al-mizān* I, 293 (Ritter). 1. *Kitāb al-tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* Berl. 2396/2405, Ind. Off. 694,₃, Ambr. B. 75_{ix} (*RSO* IV, 1030), Garr. 2003,₁₉, Alex. Tawḥīd 6, Fun. 160,₁₁, Cairo ¹¹¹, 8, VII, 5, 47, 229, 359, 373, 518, 531, Qawala I, 162, Un. Egypt 11900, 15008, anon. comm. Cairo ¹¹¹, 5.—2. *Manhaj al-albāb*, Sufi instructions, Berl. 2832.—3. *Risāla fī faḍl al-faqr wal-fuqarāʾ*, on the fact that during the Miʿrāj the Prophet was clad in the garments of the poor, which then gradually devolved upon Ibn Junayd (p. 214), and that this is the reason why the donning of this attire is

regarded as foundational in Sufism, Berl. 3344.—4. *Bawāriq al-ilmā' fi 'l-radd 'alā man yuḥarrimu 'l-samā'*, on the permissibility of music, Berl. 5505, Paris 4580, Cairo ^{VI}, 118, VII, 228, ²¹, 274, *Nashr.* 6, ed. J. Robson, together with Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā's *Dhamm al-malāhī* in *Tracts on Listening to Music* (Or. Transl. Fund NS, 5), London 1938.—5. On the merits of *Lā ilāha illa 'llāh* Paris 1248, 2.—6. *Kitāb al-dhakhīra li-ahl al-baṣīra*, an overview of the system of his brother, Berl. 1726, Taymūr 'Aqā'id 252, Fez, Qar. 1452,¹—7. Abstract of the *Ihyā'*, see p. 539.—8.–16. see Suppl. (13. 'A. Emīrī Fārisī 199,⁴)—16. *Sawāniḥ, Aphorismen über die Liebe*, hsg. | von H. Ritter, *Bibl. Isl.* 15, 1942 (see *Isl.* XXI, 94). 6b. Suppl. see *ibid.* 769,²⁵.

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7. Abū Mu'īn Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Makḥūlī, who died in 508/1114.

Ibn Quṭl. 283. 1. *Kitāb baḥr al-kalām (afkār)* Berl. 1941/3,⁶ Gotha 100,³, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 402,⁶, Munich 892, f. 72b, Vienna 1523,¹¹, Paris 1232/3, 4599,⁴, Br. Mus. Suppl. 175, NO 2095, Alex. Tawḥīd 5, Fun. 80,², 86,³ Cairo ¹¹¹, 6, 42, 46, 50/1, VII, 537, ²¹, 167, Patna I, 113,¹¹³⁸, under the title *Mubāḥathat ahl al-sunna wal-jamā'a ma'a ahl al-firaq al-dālla wal-mubtadi'a* Leid. 1989/90, Bodl. I, 114, see A. v. Kremer, *Ideen* 470.—2. *Kitāb tabṣirat al-adilla*, a scholastic polemic, Algiers 619, Yeni 755, NO 2097, Cairo ¹¹¹, 8, ²¹, 167, Alex. Tawḥīd 6.—3. *Kitāb al-tamhīd li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd* Cairo ¹¹¹, 51, ²¹, 170, Baghdad, Makt. al-awqāf 2746 (see al-'Azzāwī, *Ta'riḫ al-yazīdiyya* 20, n.).—6., 7. See Suppl.

| 8. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, who died in Valencia in 521/1127 (see Suppl.).

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Ibn Khall. 320, Ibn Bashkuwāl 639, Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāj* 140/1, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* 11, 382. 1. *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq* in 7 chapters, theologico-philosophical questions, especially about thought, imagination, the nature and properties of God, and the survival of the soul after death, Berl. 2303, Land.-Brill 566 under the title *Sharḥ al-khams al-maqālāt min kalām al-falāsifa* Garr. 796, see M. Asín Palacios, Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz y su libro de los circo, *al-Andalus* IV, 45/54.—2. *Sharḥ adab al-kātib li-Ibn Qutayba* see p. 126.—4.–11. see Suppl. (4. Patna I, 66,⁶⁸⁶ 7 see Asín Palacios, *al-Andalus* III, 345/89, text of a *mas'ala* 380/3, = ? *Risāla fi ru'ūs masā'il al-falsafa*, AS 2415, 2, Krause).

6 In Garr. 1545 a work with the title *Mu'taqad fi uṣūl al-dīn* is identified with this, but from the incomplete description it is not clear whether we are perhaps not dealing with the *Aqā'id al-Nasafī* (no. 11), as Brill-H. ^{2982,5} would leave us reason to suspect.