

# History of the Arabic Written Tradition

Volume 1

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# History of the Arabic Written Tradition

VOLUME 1

*By*

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*Translated by*

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*with a Preface by*

Jan Just Witkam



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# Brockelmann's *Geschichte* Revisited Once More

By Jan Just Witkam

## Brockelmann's *GAL*

In 1898 and 1902, the publishing house of E. Felber produced two volumes entitled *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (*GAL*). The author Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) was a young German university teacher from Breslau (now Wrocław in Poland). His objective was to outline the external history of Arabic literature, excluding all internal developments. He had estimated then that it would take at least a further century of hard philological work before even the most important landmarks of Arabic literature would be known and accessible (I, p. iii). It is a sobering thought that a century has indeed passed without Brockelmann's expectations being realized. Brockelmann restricted his *Geschichte* to the surviving works of authors. Had he added the titles of those works that are only known from references and quotations, the size of his *GAL* would easily have doubled.

The basic idea of *GAL* was to provide a framework which divided Arabic literature into periods and subjects and then to add to this structure using information extracted from manuscript catalogues and bibliographies concerning extant texts, and subsequently to add supplementary information on the authors from the biographical dictionaries.

The first volume of *GAL* treated the classical period up to 1258 (the fall of Baghdad to the Mongol armies), while the second volume contained an account of Arabic literature produced in what Brockelmann styled as the age of decline. This age Brockelmann divided into three periods, firstly up to the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (1517), then up to the Napoleonic conquest (1798) and, finally, up to the present day (then 1902). Within each section there is usually a geographical division first, which is then subdivided according to subject. This division was used for the second edition, published forty years later, as well.

In using the term '*Litteratur*' Brockelmann understood literature in the broadest sense, that is, all verbal utterances of the human mind, and refused to limit the scope of this subject to just '*belles lettres*'. His main justification was that Arabic has been the vehicle of thought over a long period of time and has covered an enormous territory, all of which he wished to include in his *GAL*. The German language has another word for literature in that broad sense,

*Schrifttum*, meaning anything that is recorded in writing. There were two fields, however, which Brockelmann mainly excluded from his survey, namely, the Christian and Jewish Arabic literatures, as these did not address the wider Islamic audience, but only addressed their own limited denominational circles.

*GAL* is very much the work of a confident youth. Nowadays no individual would dare to start such a project since the number of sources to be surveyed is simply too large for one lifetime. But a hundred years ago the number of sources was limited. Then there were a mere thirty-four manuscript catalogues which Brockelmann had to peruse and make extracts from. These catalogues described the major collections in Europe, North-Africa and Istanbul. The European catalogues in particular offered a wealth of information both on the contents of the texts and on their authors. The best of these catalogues—which remains unsurpassed—was just being completed by a compatriot of Brockelmann. It is the ten-volume monumental catalogue of the Berlin collection by Wilhelm Ahlwardt. When one sees the detail of information on texts and authors in Ahlwardt's work, one understands why this work was the perfect basis for Brockelmann to found his *GAL*. But the Berlin catalogue was by no means an isolated effort. The detailed catalogues of such vast collections as the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the medium-sized collections of the Escorial, Oxford, Cambridge, Gotha, Leiden, Algiers, etc., together provided the material for Brockelmann to use in his *GAL*.

### A Word about the Author

Carl Brockelmann was born into a middle-class commercial milieu in Rostock, Germany, on 17 September 1868 as the fourth child in a family of six. At secondary school he was keen to devote himself to foreign studies. It was the period of the great discoveries and the carving-up of the world by the colonial powers, with which the newly-founded German empire had joined ranks. The geographical journals and accounts of discoveries in far-away regions of Asia and Africa were the source of young Brockelmann's romantic fantasies of the Orient. The German language has one compact word for this, *Fernweh*, the longing for distant places. The fact that quite a number of Rostockians, including his family's friends and acquaintances, had spread over the world only served to widen the youngster's cultural horizon. The young Carl must have been quite a prodigy. As a pupil of the secondary school he devised grammars for the Bantu language of Angola and the biblical Aramaic language. As a youth he hesitated between the careers of missionary, medical doctor and dragoman professions which had the common advantage of bringing him into

direct contact with exotic peoples. But they proved to be daydreams, nor were his grammars ever published, of course, and Brockelmann was later grateful that he never pursued these options.

Brockelmann's university career, first as student and later as a professor, was unimpressive. It was rather his wide scholarly interests, his incredible memory and the enormous energy with which he pursued his goals, that have made him an outstanding figure even today. In 1886 he enrolled as a student of Oriental studies and classical philology and history at the University of Rostock. In spring 1887 he moved to the University of Breslau, and a year later he moved again, this time to Strasbourg in order to complete his studies with the most famous German Orientalist of his time, Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930). In the course of these scholarly wanderings, young Brockelmann vigorously studied classical philology (Latin and Greek), Akkadian, Arabic, Ethiopian, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian, Sanskrit, Armenian, Egyptian and Indo-Germanic studies—and the list is probably far from complete. He engaged in classical philology as a sort of life insurance, should he be unable to find a job in Oriental studies. But apart from a short period (1890–1892) as an assistant-teacher in the Protestant Gymnasium in Strasbourg, Brockelmann was always employed in academic positions. In 1890 he had defended his inaugural doctoral thesis in Strasbourg on the relationship between Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* and al-Tabarī's *Tārīkh*. In the German university system it was, and is, normal to write two doctoral theses, the inaugural thesis, completing a course of study, and the habilitation thesis, which opens the road to a professorship. In 1892 he returned to Breslau as a private university teacher. This was basically an unpaid position, but Brockelmann's participation in projects such as E. Sachau's edition of Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqāt*, and other activities, mainly teaching, earned him a living. In 1893 he defended his habilitation thesis which contained a study on Ibn al-Jawzi's *Talqīh fuhūm ahl al-Āthār fī Mukhtasar al-siyar wa-al-akhbār*.

In 1895–1896 he made a journey to Istanbul, stopping in London and Paris. In 1900 he was appointed to the Institute of Oriental Languages in Berlin, but not for long. From 1900–1903 he occupied the extra-ordnariate chair in Breslau, and in 1903 he was appointed as ordinarius in Königsberg, now Kaliningrad in Russia, where he stayed until 1910. Next, he was appointed in Halle an der Saale where he stayed until 1922. It was there, as rector of the university, that he experienced the chaotic aftermath of the Great War and saw the German empire disintegrate and change into an unstable republic with the seeds of disaster already visible. It was also the pinnacle of his scholarly activities. In at least four specialized fields, Syriac studies, Arabic studies, Semitic linguistics and Turkish studies, his name had become famous throughout the world. But as author of *GAL* he was to earn eternal fame. From 1922–1923 he took

an appointment in Berlin, but this proved to be a bad move. He came into conflict with the minister of culture, the Islamologist C.H. Becker, who was to take the Berlin professorship to provide himself with an emergency exit from politics. Brockelmann never forgave him, and called him in the preface of his *GAL*, among other things, the minister *against* German culture. Brockelmann was lucky to be able to return to the university of Breslau, where he stayed until his retirement in 1935. In 1932 he had become rector of the university, but he was obliged to step down because of the vehement attacks on his views on academic liberty by the Nazi press. In 1937 he moved back to Halle, where he was able to use the library of the German Oriental Society (DMG) for the completion of the new edition he wished to publish of his *GAL*. Between 1937–1942 the three supplementary volumes came out, and these were followed in 1943–1949 by the publication of an updated version of the original two volumes. In 1945 he was destitute and he took up the librarianship of the DMG. In this job he was able to return most of the ‘evacuated’ books to their rightful place. In 1947 he was appointed honorary professor for Turkish studies in Halle (which was now in the Russian zone, later the German Democratic Republic), and in 1953 he retired once more, at the age of 85. He died in his sleep on 6 May 1956 in Halle.

Brockelmann has left us an autobiographical account, which he wrote in the course of 1947 for his son Carl, after the latter was reported to have survived Soviet captivity at Stalingrad in 1943. Johann Fück has used this account for his two *In Memoriams*, and large parts of it have been published by Rudolf Sellheim—but the text, valuable as it is, was for private use only and clearly not intended for publication. When one first reads Brockelmann’s invariably disgusted remarks on the Jewish scholars he had met and experienced, it is as if a hard-core Nazi is speaking. But Brockelmann was far too intelligent to indulge in simple anti-Semitic bragging. Being primarily an academic, he would have defended academic liberties against attack from any quarter, fascist and communist alike. However, when the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, he was in the comfortable position of being already 65 years old and was soon to retire. He survived the war as a private scholar, and was never compromised in any official capacity before, during or after the war.

### The Aims of Arabic Bibliography

Arabic literature by its very nature presents a problem of bibliographical control. It is as yet impossible to make even a rough estimate of how many works were written in Arabic by so many prolific authors over a period of



some fourteen centuries in an area ranging from China to deepest Africa and from Morocco to the Philippines, let alone to fully establish the links between those works. The vast scope of Islamic manuscript literature was only recently bibliographically defined for the first time ever. The *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* (Leiden 1992–1994) has provided us with an insight into the enormous potential of Islamic literatures, of which Arabic is the major component. The development of our learning is also clearly visible. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Turkish bibliographer Hājī Khalīfa (d. 1657) gave an account of his knowledge of Arabic literature. His *Kashf al-Zunūn* contains some 15,000 titles by about 9,500 authors. This is approximately the same proportion that one encounters in Brockelmann's *GAL*: the index in the third supplementary volume, which was published in 1942, contains some 25,000 titles and 18,000 authors. If the data contained in the bibliographical sources mentioned in *World Survey* were to be added to *GAL*, there would be an increase of many times the original number of titles and authors and there would be many additions of manuscripts to the references already known. Unique manuscripts would prove to be not so unique after all, and texts which fifty years ago were thought to be preserved in relatively few manuscripts would prove to exist in abundance. But the most considerable result of reviewing the data of *World Survey* would be our increased knowledge of Arabic literature as produced on the periphery of the Arab world and, even more important, that from Islamic countries outside the Arab world.

In the third supplementary volume to *GAL*, Brockelmann made a quite successful attempt to describe the modern literatures of the Arab world. An update of this covering the past fifty years would result in a reference work of unheard of dimensions. In fact, such an endeavor has not been attempted for any of the larger literatures of the modern age.

When Brockelmann compiled the final version of *GAL*, the manuscript treasures of peripheral areas such as Mauritania, Morocco and the Yemen, had barely been explored. The extent of Arabic literature in Sub-Saharan Africa, East Turkestan, the rest of China, South-East Asia's mainland and Indonesia is, even today, almost a closed book. The Indian subcontinent has had its own contribution to Arabic literature, but that branch of Arabic literature too is relatively little known. An additional complication is that the Arabic literature of these areas can only be put into true perspective if their complementary indigenous literary tradition is taken into account as well. For the bibliographer this poses additional, linguistic, problems.

Arabic traditional literature is probably the largest body of literature in the world. Incorporating all new bio-bibliographical information in one large database would be of prime importance. It has been tried, but so far it has

failed. It could never be the work of one man, but at best a dedicated institution with large and long-term funds might be able to perform that task.

Brockelmann's *GAL*, now more than half a century old, still stands out as the only successful comprehensive attempt at bibliographical control of the vast body of Arabic literature. Arabic bibliography must move forward, and this is happening, as can be witnessed by the numerous bibliographical surveys on specific subjects and areas and by the veritable boom of manuscript catalogues. *GAL* is still a safe point of departure for most of the bibliographical work that lies ahead.

One recent instance of creative use of *GAL* should be mentioned here. Some 1690 titles taken from the title-index of the third supplementary volume of *GAL* were the source material for A.A. Ambros for an enlightening analysis of the composition and function of rhyming titles in classical Arabic literature. It shows that *GAL*, apart from its obvious use as a bibliographical reference work, has more in store than probably even the author himself was aware of.

In many libraries all over the world copies of *GAL* are in use that contain numerous handwritten additions of generations of learned librarians and other users. Brockelmann's own interleaved copy, which he constantly updated until shortly before his death, lies in the library of the DMG in Halle. This is certainly not the only copy with extensive glosses; there must be at least a hundred copies of similar importance. It would be interesting to make a survey of those copies including the remarks and corrections of learned librarians, and to make an attempt to incorporate that cumulated bibliographical knowledge into a modern database.

### Updating and Reprinting *GAL*

Carl Brockelmann had always wanted to publish an updated reprint of the first edition of *GAL*. Alongside his numerous other activities he had recorded additions and corrections in his interleaved copy of the edition of 1898–1902. That first edition was published by E. Felber, a small publisher in Weimar and later in Berlin. He had agreed to publish Brockelmann's edition of Ibn Qutayba's *Uyūn al-Akḥbār* on the condition that he would have the right to publish another work by Brockelmann which would yield him more profit than Ibn Qutayba. Brockelmann agreed and offered him his *GAL*, a project about which he had already been thinking for quite a while. This decision would have far-reaching consequences for generations of students of Arabic literature. Felber proved to be a crook and Brockelmann was not his first and only victim. When the type-

setting and printing of half of the first volume of Ibn Qutayba's text had been completed, the work was stopped and Felber disappeared. Sometime later he re-emerged and fulfilled his engagements albeit in a reduced form, restricting the publication to four volumes, whereas Brockelmann had had ten volumes in mind. Brockelmann was forced to pay if he wanted the work to proceed, a classic trick. To appease Brockelmann's anger for a while Felber gave him a typewriter, his first. Brockelmann grudgingly accepted it. *GAL*, which in the contract with Felber was Brockelmann's subsidy to finance the Ibn Qutayba edition, was printed more or less simultaneously with the Ibn Qutayba edition, but instead of the one thousand copies which he was allowed to produce, Felber had three thousand copies printed, thereby cashing in for himself on a possible second and third edition. Three thousand copies is quite exceptional for any Orientalist publication where print runs usually do not exceed a few hundred copies. But there was more mishap to come. During several involuntary peregrinations, Felber (who was always on the run from his creditors and authors) had lost part of his stock, the printed sheets of about half of the second volume of *GAL*. Complete copies of *GAL* became a rare item and it took a long time before Felber made a photographic reprint of those lost sheets. *GAL* thereby became a work that, for many years, one could only procure through the antiquarian book trade, if at all. Later on, it was also Felber who hindered the publication of a new edition, since he had so much old stock left. Recourse to juridical action by Brockelmann was to no avail. The German copyright law apparently could not be applied. The book was considered a commodity that, once sold, transferred ownership. The author, who in such a situation was considered to be the former owner, could never again exercise a right to his work. The only way to regain the rights on the book was if someone was to buy the entire remaining stock. During Felber's lifetime this proved to be impossible, and also after Felber's death the successors to his estate asked such an extravagant price for the remaining copies of *GAL* that this possibility proved to be impractical.

Brockelmann then found the director of Brill's of Leiden, Mr. Th. Folkers, ready to publish the additional data in three supplementary volumes, which appeared between 1937–1942. In order to maintain the connection between the original two volumes and the three supplements, the page-numbers of the original edition were constantly referred to. At the end of each supplementary volume, additions and corrections to the original edition were included. The indexes in the third supplement had references to both the original two volumes of 1898–1902 and the three newly published supplements.

It was only after the publication of the third supplementary volume that it became possible for Brill to acquire the rights to the original work. Then nothing stood in the way of an updated second edition of the two original volumes. With ample reference to the supplementary volumes these were published in 1943–1949.

The pagination of the first edition of *GAL* had been the source of reference for the supplementary volumes and they had been included in the indexes of the supplements. Now, in the new edition of the two original volumes, it was to be that same, old, pagination that would be used. This is why the new edition of the two original volumes has the page-numbers of the first edition retained in the margins. And it is to those marginal page numbers that the indexes of the entire new set refer. It is all perfectly logical if one takes the printing history of the book into account, but for the newly initiated bibliographer it is a source of bewilderment and confusion. The use of the marginal page-numbers is, therefore, not just an innocent peculiarity in which Carl Brockelmann indulged, but a complication imposed upon each and every user of the book, now and in the future. With the English edition, which also retains references to the old page numbers, this problem does not exist anymore.

Whereas Brockelmann dared to undertake the compilation of his *GAL* single-handedly a hundred years ago, it is out of the question that anyone would do this now, not even Brockelmann himself. This is proven by the very fact that no one has indeed dared to make even an updated version. Attempts of a more limited nature have been made, of course. The most notable of these is Fuat Sezgin's *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* (*GAS*), which is still in progress (nine volumes published between 1967–1984, plus an index volume published in 1995). But although Sezgin treats all subjects and sciences, he has limited his work for the time being to the early history of Arabic literature, up to approximately the year 430 of the hegira, that is, mainly texts from the first millennium (plus later commentaries on these). If the literature of the second millennium were to be treated in the same way, the size of such a survey would amount to a great number of volumes.

Another attempt to further bibliographic control which deserves to be mentioned is the serial publication *Arabic Literature of Africa*, edited by J.O. Hunwick and R.S. O'Fahey. The first volume came out in 1994, and in the meantime volume 5, by Charles C. Steward, was published in 2015. The entire series is projected in six volumes. Here the regional element is the selective factor, and although Islam in Africa has a long history, the bulk of its literature dates from a relatively recent time. Even this limited approach required a team of authors, rather than relying on a soloist like Brockelmann.

Has Arabic bibliography come to a standstill? On the contrary, it is precisely because of the fast-growing and ever increasing output of manuscript catalogues over the past fifty years that the production of a new *GAL* has been hampered. The paradox is rather that the success of Arabic bibliography hinders the creation of a *GAL*-like synthesis. This has gone beyond the capabilities of a single scholar, but no project based on teamwork has ever yet been organized to address the problem in its entirety. New techniques of presentation, production and distribution will have to be decided upon if ever such a project for an updated 'History of Arabic Literature' should come into being. Perhaps the present English translation, which will make Brockelmann's still invaluable work more accessible world-wide, will stimulate the start of a project to create a new reference work which aims to comprehensively describe the Arabic manuscript culture.

### Literature Quoted in the Introduction

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- Arabic Literature of Africa*, edited by J.O. Hunwick and R.S. O'Fahey.
- Vol. 1. *The Writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, compiled by R.S. O'Fahey, Leiden 1994.
- Vol. 2. *The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa*, compiled by John O. Hunwick with the assistance of Razaq Abubakre, Hamidu Bobboyi, Roman Loimeier, Stefan Reichmuth and Muhammad Sani Umar, Leiden 1995.
- Vol. 3a. *The Writings of the Peoples of Northeastern Africa*, compiled by R.S. O'Fahey with the assistance of Hussein Ahmed, Lidwien Kapteijns, Mohamed M. Kassim, Jonathan Miran, Scott S. Reese and Ewald Wagner, Leiden 2003.
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- Geoffrey Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, 4 volumes, London (Al-Furqan Foundation), 1992–1994.
- Rudolf Sellheim, 'Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen von Carl Brockelmann, als Manuskript herausgegeben' (with portrait), *Oriens* 27–28 (1981), 1–65.
- Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, Vols. 1–9, Leiden 1967–1984; vols. 10–15. Frankfurt am Main, 2000–2010.

## Translator's Note

The present translation reproduces the original German of Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (*GAL*) as accurately as possible. Nevertheless, some minor changes were made:

Perhaps the most important change is the unabbreviated reproduction of all Arabic names, with the exception of 'b.' for 'ibn', 'Ibn' only being written in full at the beginning of a name, e.g. 'Ibn Rushd.' As an example, one may cite 'Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī,' which renders Brockelmann's 'Abu 'l-Ḥ. 'A. b. A. b. M. b. 'A. b. Mattūya al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī' (*GAL* I 524, no. 3). In connection with the names of Ottoman sultans, Turkish spelling has been used.

Brockelmann's transliteration of Arabic and Persian words was adapted to comply with the system of transliteration of Brill's *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, the changes being: 'j' for (Br. 'ǧ'), 'ch' for (Br. č), 'kh' for (Br. 'ḥ'), 'th' for (Br. 'ṭ'), 'dh' for (Br. 'ḍ'), 'zh' for (Br. 'ž'), 'sh' for (Br. 'š'), and 'gh' for (Br. 'ġ'); no sun letters (e.g. *al-salām* instead of *as-salām*). The following table lists all the characters with their transliterations as used in this work.

In transliterations of names, *GAL*'s 'o' and 'ō' were changed to 'u' and 'ū' (e.g. 'Ṭaybughā' for 'Ṭayboḡā,' and 'Rūzbihān' for 'Rōzbihān'), but 'Mollā' was left unchanged; 'ē' becomes 'ī' (e.g. 'Jamshīd' for 'Āmšēd'), while 'e' becomes 'a' (e.g. 'Zangī' for 'Zengī', 'al-Kardarī' for 'al-Kerderī'); when 'i' refers to an unvoiced consonant, it is changed to 'y' (e.g. 'Ṭaymūr' instead of 'Ṭaimūr,' and 'shī'riyya' instead of 'šī'riyya'); sometimes 'i' is changed to 'a,' as in 'Ṭabrīzī' instead of 'Ṭibrīzī'; finally, transliterations of the names of manuscript collections in Turkish libraries and Hebrew booktitles were left unchanged.

Whenever the name of a place or region has a modern spelling in English that is commonly known, this spelling will be used rather than *GAL*'s transliterations (with the exception of occurrences in people's names or booktitles or for reasons of emphasis), examples: 'Damascus' (Br. 'Dimašq'), 'Kairouan' (Br. 'Qayrawān'), 'Maghreb' (Br. 'Maġrib').

The article 'al-' is written as follows: 1) 'Al-' : a) at the beginning of a sentence, and b) whenever the name of an author mentioned at the beginning of a lemma dedicated to him/her starts with the article; 2) 'al-' : in all other cases, also in listings, whether these start with: 'l. al-', or with 'I. al-', or something similar, e.g. 'a. al-', and all items following starting with 'al-'; 3) 'l': in all cases where the article is read in conjunction with a vowel preceding it: u, i, a

(e.g. Abu 'l-‘Abbās, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, *Dhakhīrat man jarradahū 'l-ḥubb 'ani 'l-khawf*), but when connected to the conjunction 'wa' and the prepositions 'li' and 'bi' the article is rendered as 'l' and joined directly to 'wa', 'bi', or 'li' preceding it (e.g. *Kitāb al-ashbāh wal-nazā'ir*, *al-Wāfi bil-wafayāt*, and *al-Shāfiya lil-amrāḍ al-fāshiya*).

Against modern usage, Brockelmann's 'al-Ghazzālī' has been retained throughout. In *GAL* I, 535, note 1, and especially in *GAL* Supplement I, 744, note 1, the author explains this reading at length and, at the same time, he also rejects the other, now common, reading of 'al-Ghazālī' with a series of concrete arguments.

*GAL* often uses Arabic terms where English equivalents could have been used instead, such as 'qāḍī' instead of 'judge' or 'wazīr' instead of 'vizier' or 'minister'; Arabic terms like these have been retained while the term 'Tradition' was often translated with the contextually less ambiguous 'ḥadīth'.

Page numbers in blue in the margins of volumes 1 and 2 refer to *GAL*'s first edition. In *GAL*'s second edition, the placement of these numbers is often approximate, but sufficient to find one's way; in this translation, this situation has not changed. Page numbers in red in the margins of volumes 1 through 5 refer to *GAL*'s second, enlarged and supplemented edition.

Finally, the present work being a translation, no effort has been made to re-edit or revise any part of the text.

*Joep Lameer*

Rozendaal, May 2016



### Transliteration Table of Arabic and Persian Characters

Consonants	Short vowels		
ʾ	z	k	a
b	zh	g	u
p	s	l	i
t	sh	m	
th	ş	n	Long vowels
j	đ	h	ā
ch	ţ	w	ū
ḥ	ẓ	y	ī
kh	‘		
d	gh		Diphthongs
dh	t	◌	aw
r	q	◌	ay
-a (pausa) / -at (construct state)			
al- (article)			



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# | Introduction

1

## I The Task of Literary History

| In its widest sense, one may call “literature” everything that has been written, or spoken and then written down, for the purpose of having it remembered. For this reason, A. Boeckh suggested including inscriptions as part of a people’s literature. In cases where the history of a dead language is written using a limited number of monuments one can also employ charters, letters, and the like. But when a language has such a rich abundance of examples as does Arabic, then one will, from among these, only regard those that address themselves from the outset to a larger audience, with the aim of affecting its mood or enriching its knowledge, as literature. Among the “civilised” nations these manifestations have accumulated to such a degree that the literary historian is compelled to limit himself purely to poetry. However, Arabic poetry did not have the same significance for the development of human culture and knowledge as a whole compared to the achievements of scholars writing in Arabic for the development of the sciences. This is because the Arabic language was not limited to a single nation, but was the bearer of all culture and education in the vast area where Islam penetrated as a religion, from the banks of the Pontus to Zanzibar, from Fez and Timbuktu to Kashgar and the Sunda islands, ceding this role only belatedly to various national languages, and then only in part. | This is why the historian of Arabic literature must draw all these manifestations into his orbit; it is only for the outputs of the modern era, in which the world of Islam has become | more and more aligned with European culture, that one can limit oneself to poetry alone. 2

Given that Arabic literature will only be considered here insofar as it is a manifestation of Islamic culture, all works by Christians and Jews that were only directed at their co-religionists will be excluded. Furthermore, the amount of material, which is in any case enormous, forces us to focus mainly on those works that do survive, and, from the vast multitude of works that are no longer extant but known to us through later citations, to only draw attention to those that had an important impact and influence on the later development of literature.

The study of literature in the elevated sense of the word<sup>1</sup> is a means by which modern scholars try to understand both the literary heritage of a people

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1 B. Ten Brink, *Über die Aufgabe der Litteraturgeschichte* (rectorial address), Strasburg 1891. E. Elster, *Die Aufgaben der Litteraturgeschichte* (academic acceptance speech), Halle 1894, the

in terms of it being part of its culture as a whole, and how the circumstances of its composition and personalities of authors are reflected in individual works. This is why, at present, it is only possible to deal with individual areas of Arabic literature, employing the same methodology that was used by Goldziher in the field of *ḥadīth*. | Anyone hoping to give an account of the field as a whole will have to limit themselves, at least for the time being, to the outward phenomena of any literature as reflected in the lives and times of its authors and their works, thereby preparing the ground for future study of its origins and development.

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works mentioned in Supp. 1, 3, n. 1 and 934, and Horst Oppel, *Die Literaturwissenschaft in der Gegenwart, Methodologie und Wissenschaftslehre*, Stuttgart 1939.

## II Sources and Early Accounts of the Literary History of the Arabs

With the exception of those monographs that will be mentioned in their proper places throughout these volumes, the most important biographical and bibliographical sources for the field as a whole are as follows:

### | 1. Biographical works

3

Ibn Khall. = Ibn Khallikān (p. 326), *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Būlāq 1299<sup>1</sup>; *Vitae illustrium virorum*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1835–40; *Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary translated from the Arabic*, by MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris-London 1843–71.

*Fawāt* = Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (II, 48), *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, 2 vols., Būlāq 1299.

### 2. Bibliographical works

*Fihr.* = *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, hsgb. von G. Flügel, nach dessen Tode besorgt von J. Rödiger und A. Müller, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871/2.

HKh = *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustapha ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfa celebrato compositum*, ed. latine vertit et commentario indicibusque instruxit G. Flügel, 7 vols, Leipzig-London 1835–58; *Keşf el-Zunun, Birinci Cilt, Katib Çelebi elde mevcut yazma ve basma nüshaları ve zeyilleri gözden geçirilerek, müellifin elyazisiyle olan nüshaya göre fazlaları çıkarılmak, eksikleri tamamlanmak suretiyle Maarif Vekilliğın kararı üzerine İstanbul Üniversitesinde Ord. Prof. Şerefettin Yaltkaya ile Lektör Kilisli Rifat Bilge tarafından hazırlanmıştır*, Maarif Matbaası 1941.

Ellis, A.G., *Catalogue of Arabic books in the British Museum*, London I 1894, II 1901, III (indices by A.S. Fulton) 1938.

1 Since this edition is by preference cited according to the numbering of the vitae, the following short concordance with Wüstenfeld may be helpful: W 1–75 = K 1–75. Missing in K: W 76, 78, 133, 147, 149, 150, 154, 186–199, 201, 202 (= *Fawāt* I, 145), 213, 214 (= *Fawāt* I, 149), 217, 277, 278 (= *Fawāt* I, 171), 288, 291, 292, 293, 294, 303, 317, 318, 337–347, 364, 380, 381, 528; mostly just captions, but here and there they also have the date of death. On the other hand, 297 K is missing in W; 357 was misnumbered in W; 405 W as an appendix to 404 = 367 K is not counted separately. In the following vitae K is more elaborate than W: 220 K = 233 W; 223 K = 236 W; 230 K = 243 W; 233 K = 246 W; 248 K = 261 W; on the other hand, only 242 W is more elaborate than 229 K. As a result of a transposition, 181 K = 186 W. Because the order hā'-wāw of K is reversed in W, the correspondence is now W 778–90 = K 745–57 and W 791–96 = K 739–44.

- 4 Euting, J., *Katalog der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Strassburg, Arabische Literatur*, Strasburg 1877.  
 BO = J. Th. Zenker, *Bibliotheca orientalis, Manuel de bibliographie orientale*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1846, 1861.  
 Herrm. = Herrmann C.H., *Bibliotheca orientalis et linguistica, Verzeichnis der vom Jahre 1850 bis incl. 1868 in Deutschland erschienenen Bücher, Schriften und Abhandlungen orientalischer und sprachvergleichender Literatur*, Halle a. S 1870.  
 Fried. = Friederici K., *Bibliotheca orientalis oder vollständige Liste aller 1876–83 in Deutschland, Frankreich, England und den Kolonien erschienenen Bücher usw*, Leipzig 1877–84.  
 L. Bl. = *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, hsgb. von E. Kuhn, Leipzig 1883/8.
- 4 | OB. = *Orientalische Bibliographie, begründet von A. Müller*, hsgb. von L. Scherman, Berlin 1887ff.

Manuscript catalogues represent the most important source of information and are mentioned here according to the alphabetical order of their sigla:

Algiers: *Catalogue général des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Tome XVIII, Alger* par E. Fagnan, Paris 1893.

AS: *Defteri Kütübhâne'ī Aya Sofia*, Istanbul 1304.

Berl.: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Hdss. der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vols. I–X, Berlin 1887ff.<sup>2</sup>

Bodl.: *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codd. mss. or. Catalogus, pars I* a J. Uri, Oxford 1787. *Pars II, vol. I*, ab Alex. Nicoll, Oxford 1821, *vol. II* ab E.B. Pusey, Oxford 1835.

Br. Mus.: *Catalogus codd. mss. qui in Musaeo Britannico asservantur, Pars II, codd. arab. amplexens*, 3 vols., London 1846–79.

Br. Mus. Suppl.: Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1894.

Brill-H.: Houtsma M. Th., *Catalogue d'une collection de mss. arabes et turcs appartenant à la maison E.J. Brill à Leide*, Leiden 1886, 1889<sup>2</sup> (now in Princeton, Garrett Collection).

- 5 | Cairo, *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-mahfūza bil-kutubkhāne al-Khidīwiyya al-Miṣriyya*, vols. I–VII, Cairo 1306/9.

2 In the listings at the end of each entry the reference is: Ahlw. no. New acquisitions that have not yet been catalogued are cited according to the number of the manuscript.

Cambr.: Palmer, E., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge 1870.

Copenhagen: *Codices arabici Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis, enumer. et descr.* a F. Mehren, Copenhagen 1851.

Daḥdāḥ M—y Biṭār: Daḥdāḥ Rocheid, *Catalogue d'une collection de mss. ar. précieux et de livres rares*, Paris 1912, now in Berlin, cited here as Berl. Brill M.

Dresd.: Fleischer, H.L., *Catalogus codd. mss. or. Bibl. Reg. Dresdensis*, Leipzig 1831.

Escur.:<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis opera*, M. Casiri, 2 vols., Madrid 1760–70.

Escur.:<sup>2</sup> Derenbourg, H., *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, I, Paris 1884; II, fs. I. *Morale et Politique*, Paris 1903.

Gotha: Pertsch, W., *Die arabischen Hdss. der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, vols. I–V, Gotha 1877–92.

Ind. Off.: Loth, O., *Catalogue of the Ar. Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, London 1877.

Jong: P. de Jong, *Catalogus codd. or. bibl. acad. scient.*, Leiden 1862.

| Köpr.: *Köprülüzāde Mehmed Pāšā Kütübhānesinde mahfūz kütübi mevġūdenin defteri*, Istanbul n.d. 5

Krafft H.: *Die arab. pers. und türk. Hdss. der k.k. Orientalischen Akademie zu Wien*, Vienna 1842.

Leid.: *Catalogus codd. or. bibl. acad. Lugd. Bat. ed.* Dozy, de Jong, de Goeje et Houtsma, vols. I–VI, Leiden 1851–77. *Catalogus codd. arab. ed. II auctoribus M.J. de Goeje et M. Th. Houtsma*, vol. I, Leiden. 1888, vol. II *pars I, auct. M.J. de Goeje et W. Th. Juynboll*, Leiden 1907.

Leipz.: *Catalogus librorum mss. bibl. senatus Lipsiensis ed.* A.G.R. Neumann. *Cod. or. ling. descr.* H.O. Fleischer et F. Delitzsch, Grimma 1838.

Madr.: (Robles, F.G.) *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes exist. en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Madrid 1889.

Med.: *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codd. mss. or. catalogus*, St. Evodius Assemani recensuit, Florence 1742.

Munich: Aumer J., *Die arab. und pers. Hdss. der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, Munich 1866.

Nan.: *Catalogo dei Codd. Mss. or. della Bibliotheca Naniiana comp. dall' Ab. S. Assemani*. p. I, II, Padua 1792.

| NO: *Nūru Osmānīye kütübhānesinde mahfūz kütübi mevġūdenin defteri*, Istanbul n.d. 6

Paris: *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des mss. arabes par de Slane*, Paris 1883–95.

Patna: *Fihrist-i dastī-i kutub-i qalamī Library-i mawqūfa-i Khān Bahādur Khudābakhsh musammā bi-Miftāḥ al-khaftyya murattaba-i Maulawī ‘Abdalḥamīd*, 2 vols., Patna 1918, 1922 (=Bank.).

Pet.: *Catologue des mss. et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg* 1852.

Pet. A.M.: = Rosen, V., *Notices sommaires des mss. arab. du Musée Asiatique* 1, St. Petersburg 1881.

Pet. Ros.: *Collection scientifique de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères. I. Les mss. arabes par V. Rosen*, St. Pétersbourg 1877. VI *Les mss. arabes (non compris dans le no. 1) Karchounis etc. de l'Inst. d. l. or. décrits par D. Günzburg, V. Rosen, B. Dorn, K. Patkanoff, J. Tchoubinof*, 1st fs. St. Petersburg 1891.

Rāḡib: *Defteri kütübkhāne’i Rāḡib Pāshā*, Istanbul 1310 AH.

Ref.: *Die Refā’ija*, Fleischer, Kl. Schr. III, 366ff.

Upps.: Tornberg, C.J., *Codices arab. pers. et turc. bibl. regiae univ. Upsal.*, Lund 1849.

Vat.: *Bibliothecae apost. Vaticanae codd. mss. or. cat.* p. 1, vol. 1, Rome 1766.

Vienna: Flügel, G., *Die arab. pers. und türk. Hdss. der K.K. Hofbibliothek*. 3 vols., Vienna 1863–7.

Yeni = *Yeni Ğāmi’ kütübḥānesinde maḥfūz kütübi mevġūdenin defteri dir*, Istanbul n.d.

2. The first attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the history of Arabic literature was made by J. von Hammer-Purgstall.<sup>3</sup> The shortcomings of this work are so well-known | that we may ignore it in what follows. The same goes for the study by Arbuthnot.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the brief sketch by A. von Kremer is masterly,<sup>5</sup> and to him this study is indebted.

3 *Literaturgeschichte der Araber, von ihrem Beginne bis zu Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts der Hidschret*, 7 vols., Vienna 1850–56.

4 *Arabic authors. A manual of Arabian history and literature*, London 1890.

5 *Kulturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, vol. II, Vienna 1877, 341–484.

### | III. Division of the History of Arabic Literature

7

When Arab philologists separated the history of the poetry of their people into the two periods of the *jāhiliyya*<sup>1</sup> (pre-Islamic time) and Islam, this was not to disparage the former in an act of religious self-conceit. Quite the opposite, in fact, for its pre-Islamic exponents were regarded as unsurpassable models, and pedantecism often went so far that a poet whose achievement was highly regarded was nevertheless belittled merely because he was born after Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup> For this reason they created the intermediary class of the *mukhadramūn*, those who had spent their youth, at least, as pagans. In reality, Islam was not the decisive turning-point for Arabic literature that these critics would have us believe, and during the reign of the Umayyads poets continued to unconcernedly follow the paths of their heathen predecessors. It was only during the period of the ‘Abbāsids that the spirit of Islam took full control, turning not only against the religious indifference of the Arabs but also against their national identity. After all, the ‘Abbāsids had only come to power thanks to the backing of non-Arab, especially Persian, supporters of Islam. The consequence of this was that an Islamic | literature in the Arabic language came to be developed among them.<sup>3</sup> As such, Arabic literature will be divided into two main periods:

7

1. The national literature of the Arabs from its beginnings until the ‘Abbāsīd revolution in the year 132/750.

1. Before the appearance of Muḥammad.
2. Muḥammad and his lifetime.
3. The period of the Umayyads.

### | II. Islamic literature in the Arabic language

8

The flourishing of Arabic literature lasted less than three centuries. By the mid-fourth/tenth century, material prosperity and intellectual life were in rapid decline within the ‘Abbāsīd empire, reflecting its political disunity. Admittedly, it was to experience a second blooming that lasted another three centuries, before it was put to a definite end by the Mongol onslaught of the seventh/thirteenth century. While these problems did not completely destroy Arabic literature, in subsequent times it ossified into a rigid kind of schematism, with

1 See Goldziher, *Muhammed. Studien* I, 219/29.

2 Idem, *Abh. zur arab. Philologie* I, 136.

3 See A. Müller, *Der Islam* I, 470.

only poetry and historiography bearing some small pieces of fruit. It was only at the turn of the twentieth century that a new efflorescence appeared.

What Arabic literature lacked in originality in this period it made up by its civilising influence on the many peoples that were won over to Islam. The most important political event of this period was the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman sultan Selīm I in the year 1517, by which the Sunnī people on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean were united into a single state once more.

As such, the history of Islamic literature shall be divided into four periods:

1. The golden age under the ‘Abbāsids, from ca. 750 until ca. 1000
- 8 | 2. The second blooming, from ca. 1000 until the destruction of Baghdad by Hūlāgū in 1258
3. From the Mongol domination until the conquest of Egypt by Selīm in the year 1517
4. From 1517 until the present day.



**FIRST BOOK**

*The National Literature of the Arabs*





## From the Beginnings until the Appearance of Muḥammad

### Supplement I

1. The oldest preserved anthology is the *Muʿallaqāt*, i.e. those poems that, by their brilliance, had been elevated to a place of honour. As recognised by Nöldeke (*Beitr. xviiiff., Enc. Brit. xvi, 536*), a literal interpretation of this term gave rise to the belief that these poems had been recognised as masterpieces in pre-Islamic times, and as such had been suspended on the Kaʿba. In reality, however, this collection originated with Ḥammād al-Rāwiya. It is not unanimously agreed which poems belong to the *Muʿallaqāt*. Five are included by all, those written by Imraʿ al-Qays, Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, Labīd, and ʿAmr b. Kulthūm. ʿAntara and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza usually appear sixth and seventh, although al-Mufaḍḍal replaced them with al-Nābigha and al-Aʿshā. These are the poets who are usually also considered to have been the most famous. The only exception to this is al-Ḥārith b. Ḥasan. The reason for Ḥammād's including him in his collection was discovered by Nöldeke: Ḥammād was a client of the tribe of Bakr b. Wāʿil. In ancient times, this tribe was engaged in constant warfare with the Taghlib tribe. The poem written by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, included in Ḥammād's collection, was devoted to the glorification of this latter tribe, and due to the universal presence of the Taghlib this poem was held in high regard. Since there was no way for Ḥammād to avoid including this song in his collection, he was forced to counter it with another one that would glorify his own lord and master, Bakr b. Wāʿil. Thus, he chose a song by one of their common tribesmen, the otherwise little-known Ḥārith. Later compilers, who did not have the same tribal interests, replaced him with poets of greater fame. Furthermore, other compilers counted nine *Muʿallaqāt*, a figure they came to by adding the two selected by al-Mufaḍḍal to those chosen by al-Ḥammād.

*Septem Moallakat*, ed. F. Arnold, Leipzig 1850; L. Abel, *Wörterverzeichnisse zur altarabischen Poesie I*, Berlin 1891, on which see G. Jacob, *Dr. Abels Muʿallaqāt-Ausgabe nachgeprüft, Studien in arabischen Dichter I*, Berlin 1893/4. On the commentaries, see Supplement.

2. *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*. See Supplement I.

Commentary by al-Tabrīzi, d. 502/1108, p. 279, also Berl. Brill M 295, Fātiḥ 3963 (*MFO* V, 502).

4. The *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, commentary 2. *al-Tanbīh fī sharḥ mushkil abyāt al-Ḥamāsa*, also Patna I, 200,<sup>789</sup>.

- 21 | 7. Al-Sukkārī also compiled a work in which he collected the poems of famous Bedouin robbers. Among these was the *dīwān* of Ṭahmān b. ‘Amr al-Kilābī, who flourished under ‘Abd al-Malik. This *dīwān* was published by W. Wright  
13 in *Opuscula Arabica*, Leiden, London, and Edinburgh | 1859, pp. 76–95, on the basis of MS Leiden 582.

Ibn Ḥazm (*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, 65,<sup>17</sup>) studied the commentary by Abū Ja‘far al-Naḥḥās (no. 3) under Sa‘īd al-Fata’ l-Ja‘farī in a mosque in Cordova.

Other poems by Ṭahmān are found in Bodl. Nic. 315,<sup>1</sup> Esc.<sup>2</sup> 363,<sup>1</sup> 466.<sup>1</sup> Further fragments of the *Akḥbār al-luṣūṣ* are found in Yāqūt’s geographical dictionary, in Tabrīzi’s commentary on the *Ḥamāsa*, etc.

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1 But not in Berl. Ahlw. 496/8, as noted in connection with Leid. 582.

## | Chapter 7. The Six Poets

*For Chapters 1-6, see Supplement Volume 1.*

1. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī Ziyād b. Mu‘āwiya lived in the latter half of the century before Muḥammad, mostly in al-Ḥīra, under the kings al-Mundhir III and IV and al-Nu‘mān Abū Qābūs. He fell into disgrace with the latter, the story goes, because he had praised the beauty of the queen too openly in one of his poems. However, it is more likely to have been because he had developed friendly relations with the Ghassānids of Damascus, who were the enemies of the Lakhmid rulers of al-Ḥīra. He also found refuge in that city, at the court of ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith. It was only when the latter’s son al-Nu‘mān, who had showered him with honours, as his father had, passed away, that he decided to return to al-Ḥīra, where he succeeded in regaining the favour of Abū Qābūs. However, he did not enjoy this for long, as the latter was soon imprisoned by his overlord, the Sasanid ruler Khusraw II, where he died. Following these events al-Nābigha returned to his tribe, the Dhubyān, whose interests he had already represented to his various patrons, and remained with them until his death.

2. ‘Antara b. Shaddād (or ‘Amr b. Mu‘āwiya) al-‘Absī was the son of a black female slave by the name of Zabība, | which is why he is reckoned among the *aghribat al-‘arab*. However, he obliterated this birth defect by the courage that he displayed in the War of Dāḥis and Ghabrā.<sup>1</sup> He died in battle against the Ṭayyī’ tribe. His place as the most popular Arab hero continues today in the romance of ‘Antar, as well as in numerous geographical place-names. Even though his art, which we know mainly through his *Mu‘allaqa*, is that of a typical Bedouin poet, it does have some modern features, as, for example, it depicts a love scene in almost the same manner as ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a, while also connecting it, in the *nasīb*, like elsewhere in the poem (Ahlw. no. 20), with other themes.

14

*Agh.* <sup>1</sup>VII 149/53, <sup>2</sup>141/6, <sup>3</sup>VIII 237/45. W. Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872, 50/7, H. Thorbecke, *Antarah, ein vorislamischer Dichter*, Leipzig 1867, 1. Goldziher, *Der arabische Held Antar in der geographischen Nomenklatur*, *Globus* LXIV, 65/7.

1 A. Müller, *Der Islam* I, 5ff.

- 23 | 3. Ṭarafa b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Abd al-Bakrī lived at the court of al-Ḥīra as the boon-companion of Qābūs, the brother of king ‘Amr b. Hind, who reigned until 568 or 569 CE.<sup>2</sup> Arab critics greatly admire his verbal prowess, which is most clearly displayed in his description of the camel in his *Mu‘allaqa*, while some even call him the greatest poet of the Jāhiliyya.

*Khiz.* I, 414/8, A. Perron, *JA* s. III, v. 9. pp. 46, 215. Fr. Rückert, *Sieben Bücher morgenländischer Sagen und Geschichten*, books 1–4, Stuttgart 1837, p. 136, Ahlwardt, 15 *Bemerkungen*, pp. 57/61, B. Vandenhoff, *Nonnulla Tarafae | poetae carmina ex arabico in latinum sermonem versa notisque adumbrata*, Diss. Berlin 1895.

4. Legend has it that Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā Rabī‘a b. Rabāḥ al-Muzanī met the Prophet when he was himself a hundred years old. It is, however, more likely that at the time of the latter’s appearance the former had already been dead for a considerable period of time.

Ahlwardt, *Bemerkungen*, 61/5.

- 24 | 5. ‘Alqama b. ‘Abada al-Tamīmī al-Faḥl was a regular visitor at the courts of both the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith and the Lakhmid Nu‘mān III Abū Qābūs, although he did not permanently associate himself with either one of these. A real desert poet, he is especially famous for his depiction of the ostrich. The contest he is said to have had with Imra’ al-Qays is a myth.

*Agh.* 1<sup>XXI</sup>, 172/5, 2<sup>111</sup>/3, Ahlwardt, op. cit., 65/71, *Die Gedichte des ‘Alqama el faḥl mit Anmm. hsg. von A. Socin*, Leipzig 1867, on which see Ahlwardt, pp. 146/68, *Sharḥ dīwān ‘Alqama* by al-‘Alam (see p. 309) Cairo<sup>2</sup> III, 205.

6. Imra’ al-Qays b. Ḥunduj b. Ḥujr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī.

Ahlwardt, op. cit., 72–84, *Le diwan d’Amro’lkais par le baron de Slane*, Paris 1837. It was al-Riyāshī who confirmed that a large part of the poems attributed to him were not actually written by him but by *fityān* in his company, such as ‘Amr b. Qamī‘a and al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, 34<sup>10</sup>.

2 Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 170ff.

## Chapter 8. Other Poets of Pre-Islamic Times

The below list is limited to the most famous poets, as well as those whose independent collections have been preserved.

| 1. Ta'abbaṭa Sharran Thābit b. Jābir al-Fahmī. The son of a black female slave, he is counted | among the *aghribat al-'Arab*, just like 'Antara. Others, however, contend that his mother was the Fahmī woman Amīna. Fending for himself, he led an unsteady life. The descriptions of his adventures bear all the hallmarks of popular fiction, while most of the reports on the life of the ancient poets were teased out of their poems by literary scholars in later times. From among his works, which have only been preserved scattered through anthologies, there is an elegy for a relative, which is contained in *Ḥamāsa* 382/6.<sup>1</sup> 25 16

Baur, *ZDMG* x, 71ff., G.W. Freytag, *Carmen arabicum perpetuo comment. et versione jambica Germanica illustravit*, Göttingen 1814. Goethe, *Noten zum westöstl. Diwan, Werke*, Weimar 1888, vol. 7, p. 12, Jubil.–Ausg. v, 152. *Carmen quod cecinit Taabbata Sharran vel Chaleph Elahmar in vindictae sanguinis et fortitudinis laudem, Arabice et Suethice exhibet* Haquinus Hellmann, Lund 1834.

2. Al-Shanfarā was Ta'abbaṭa Sharran's companion in many of his exploits. Slightly older, he died before the latter and was commemorated by him in a song of mourning. On his *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, see Supplement 1.

S. de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*, ed. I. v. I, 309ff., ed. II v. II, 134ff. Shanfara, *Lamijāt ul Arab. A preislamic Arabian Qasida*, transl. into English verses by G. Hughes, 1896. Also, a commentary by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Turkī and Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Zākūr, *Tafriḥ al-karab 'an qulūb ahl al-'arab* (Alex. Adab 1355), B. M. Daḥdaḥ 233, Berl. Brill M 111. *Shi'r al-Shanfara al-Azdī*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī (based on Khusraw P., Ayyūb no. 149) in *al-Ṭarā'if al-adabiyya*, C. 1937, 26/42.

| 3. Less celebrated than these two real representatives of ancient Arab life, albeit better known because of the much greater volume of his output, is 'Urwa b. al-Ward | b. Ḥābis of the tribe of 'Abs, who must have lived shortly before the rise of Islam. His father, extolled by 'Antara as a brave man, played a role in the 26 17

1 Brilliant Arab critics have questioned its authenticity, attributing it to Khalaf al-Aḥmar instead. Their reasoning is, however, not conclusive, as pointed out by Rückert in his annotations to the *Ḥamāsa*.

War of Dāḥis. His mother came from the little-esteemed tribe of Najd, which cast a shadow over him. While the more famous ‘Antara was more appreciated because of his status as a hero, his tribe recognised Ibn Ḥābis as the greater poet. His songs are known to us through the recension of Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 243/857, see p. 117).

*Agh.* <sup>1</sup>II, 190/7, <sup>2</sup>II, 184/90, <sup>3</sup>III 73/8, *Die Gedichte des ‘Urwa b. al-Ward hsg., übers. und erläutert von Th. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1863, Abh. der Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss., vol. 11. R. Boucher, Notice sur Orwa b. al-Ward, JA s. VI, v. 9, p. 97.*

4. Quṭba b. Aws al-Ḥādīra, of the tribe of the Banū Tha‘laba b. Sa‘d, a subdivision of the Ghaṭafān, was involved in a bitter and prolonged quarrel with Zabbān b. Sayyār al-Fazārī and exchanged satirical verses with him. Only a few of his poems have been preserved, in the collection of Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Yazīdī, who died in 310/922.

*Agh.* <sup>1</sup>III, 82/4, <sup>2</sup>III, 79/81, <sup>3</sup>III 270/4. *Specimen litt. exhibens Al-Ḥādīrae Dīwanum, cum al-Yezidīi scholiis, e cod. ms. ar. ed. versione lat. et annotatione illustravit Dr. G. H. Engelmann, Leiden 1858; other MSS Br. Mus. 1525 and Suppl. I, 54 (where al-Fazārī should be excised).*

5. ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, of the Asad tribe, lived at the court of al-Ḥīra, where he enjoyed social relations with al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī. It seems he was killed in his old age by King Mundhir b. Mā’ al-Samā’ (d. 554), symbolically at the grave of two of his friends whom the king, in a fit of anger, had once ordered to be buried alive. His *dīwān* includes genuine Bedouin poetry, full of bold energy in its *fakhr*, combined with a sincere attitude to life and magnificent descriptive passages. | *Agh.* <sup>1</sup>XIX, 84/90, <sup>2</sup>84/9, *Khiz.* I, 322/4. Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu‘arā’*, 30. *Dīwān* in Hibatallāh al-Shajarī’s (d. 542/1147) *Mukhtārāt al-shu‘arā’*, Cairo 1306, pp. 87/108, see F. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abh.*, Munich 1890, pp. 52/92; a *qaṣīda* Berl. 7475,<sub>1</sub> Ind. Off. 801, iia. A. Fischer, Ein angeblicher Vers des ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, *MIFAO* LXVIII, 361/75, Fr. Gabrieli, La Poesia di ‘Abīd b. al-Abraṣ, *Reale Ac. d’Italia Rend. della Cl. di sc. mor. e stor.* s. VII, vol. I, 1940, XVIII 1/12.

27 | 6. Ḥātim b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d al-Ṭā’ī, famous as a paragon of largesse, had social relations with ‘Abīd and al-Nābigha. At the time of the Prophet, his son and daughter fell into the hands of the Muslims. Some of the poems that bear his name have certainly been misattributed to him.

*Agh.* <sup>1</sup>XVI, 96/110, <sup>2</sup>93/106. *Shi‘r Ḥātim wa-akhbāruhu* after Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī and Yaḥyā b. Mudrik al-Ṭā’ī, Br. Mus. 566,<sub>2</sub>. *Hatim Tai*,



*diss. praeside* J. Bolmeer *exhib.* P.E. Oseen, Lond. Goth. 1832. *Dīwān Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī wa-akhbāruhu*, London (R. Hassoun) 1872, on which marginal notes by Fayḍ al-Ḥasan, Lahore 1878. *Der Diwan des arabischen Dichters Ḥātim Ṭej*, ed. Fr. Schulthess, Leipzig 1897.—On Persian, Turkish, and Hindustani stories about Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, see C. van Arendonk, *EI* 11, 308.

7. Laqīṭ b. Ya'mar (Ma'mar) al-Iyādī belonged to the Arabs of Iraq and is particularly famous for a *qaṣīda* in which he warned his fellow tribesmen against Kisrā.

*Agh.* 1XXI, 23/5, *Mukhtārāt al-shu'arā'*, p. 2/7. Th. Nöldeke, *Orient u. Occident* 1, p. 689ff. Two poems, Berl. 7479/80.

8. Aws b. Ḥajar, of the tribe of Tamīm, was a contemporary of King 'Amr b. Hind of al-Ḥīra whose father had fallen in the Battle of al-Ḥijār, around 554 CE. He was a native of al-Baḥrayn and roamed as a travelling minstrel through all of northern Arabia and Iraq, spending most of his time at the court of al-Ḥīra. His adopted son and *rāwī* was the famous | Zuhayr (see p. 15). His poems were especially famous because of their hunting scenes. Collected by Ibn al-Sikkīt, they have nonetheless only been preserved fragmentarily. 19

*Agh.* 1x, 6/8, 25/8. R. Geyer, *Gedichte und Fragmente des Aws b. Ḥajar*. SB Wien. Ak. phil.-hist. Cl. vol. 126, Vienna 1892, on which see A. Fischer, *GGA* 1895, no. 5, *ZDMG* 49, pp. 85/144, 673/80, S. Fraenkel, *ibid.* 297, R. Basset *ZA* 26, 295/304. *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya* Patna 11, 425, 2598,1.

9. Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī; see Supplement 1.

| 10. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm of the Aws tribe, who played a prominent part in its ongoing conflict with the Khazraj, composed his poetry in Yathrib, the original name of Medina. He is particularly famous for the blood vengeance that he took against his father's and grandfather's Khazrajī murderers. In folklore, his story is adorned with familiar motifs of the wanderer. Although he lived to see the appearance of the Prophet, he died before the Hijra after being hit by an arrow as he rode past a Khazrajī stronghold. 28

*Agh.* 111, 159/70, 2154/64, 3111, 1/26, *Ḥamāsa* 1, 94, 111, 104. *Dīwān* MS Top Kapu Sarāi, dated 419 AH, copy Cairo 1V, 251, 2111, 144.

### Chapter 9. Jewish and Christian Poets before Islam

1. The Jewish colonies in the northern Hijaz were most probably founded by refugees from Palestine after the crushing of their revolt by the Roman emperors Titus and Hadrian. Even though they had been completely Arabised and had also adopted members of authentic Arab tribes into their midst they remained connected to their country of origin not only by their written laws, but also through the further development of these in Halakha and Haggada.

20 | Notwithstanding the fact that they were indispensable to the Arabs as farmers and craftsmen, notably goldsmiths, they were generally held in low esteem.

The most important of their poets was Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā'. However, some sources regard him as a true Arab while, according to others, his mother at least was from the tribe of Ghassān. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that he was committed to Judaism. He lived in the castle of al-Ablaq, in or near Taymā'. He did not owe his fame as much to his talents as a poet as to his loyalty to Imra' al-Qays, a loyalty that he upheld by sacrificing his own son, an act that was praised by al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 25,5ff. Apart from a number of fragments, we also find a beautiful, proud song in his name in the *Ḥamāsa*, pp. 49ff., a song that is, however, more justifiably attributed to 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥārithī. His son Gharīḍ, his nephew Sa'īd b. Gharīḍ (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq* VI, 157), and his grandson Shu'ba were also known as poets. It should also be mentioned here that at the time of the Prophet the Jewish tribe of Qurayza in Medina could boast of several poets, fragments of whose works have been preserved in the biographies of Muḥammad.

29 | *Agh.* <sup>1</sup>VI, 87/8, XIX, 94/102, XXI, 91/3. Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, pp. 52/86. Franz Delitzsch, *Jüdisch-arabische Poesien aus vormuhammedanischer Zeit*, Leipzig 1874. A commentary on the *qaṣīda* of Samaw'al from the *Ḥamāsa* by Aḥmad al-Sijā'ī (d. 1190/1776) is contained in Berl. 7465.

2. On the borders of the Syrian desert the Arabs were in constant touch with Christianity, which, in Syria, they encountered in the form of a state religion, and in Mesopotamia as the religion of the—culturally superior—Aramaic rural population. | Because of this, the Ghassānids of Damascus had converted to Christianity at an early stage, while the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra later also converted. In Muḥammad's time Christianity was widespread among the tribes of Quḍā'a, Rabī'a, Tamīm, and Ṭayyi', while in the Hijaz and Najd most people had at least heard about this new religion. The Christian hermit or *rāhib* is a popular figure in poetry.

21

It may well be that the Christians, and in particular the 'Ibādīs of al-Ḥīra, should be given the credit for having been the first to use the Arabic script. They had also developed their own literature, with 'Adī b. Zayd as its main representative. He belonged to a family of good standing that had been living in al-Ḥīra from time immemorial. His father had been brought up and educated at the Persian court and, after the death of the first Nu'mān, he had temporarily been in charge of the government in al-Ḥīra, before the appointment of al-Mundhir. When the latter made himself loathed because of his greed, the former again assumed the civil administration in his stead. Together with the son of a *marzbān*, 'Adī was brought up in the tradition of the Persian aristocracy, living at the court of al-Madā'in where he was held in high esteem by King Kisrā b. Hurmuz (Khusraw II Parvīz). Apparently, the latter once even sent him on a diplomatic mission to Byzantium. This trip included a stop in Damascus, where his first poem is said to have seen the light of day. When he returned to his homeland his father and the *marzbān* who had educated him had both passed away. He could have taken the place of his father, but instead he preferred to live according to his fancy, wandering between al-Ḥīra, al-Madā'in, and the hunting-grounds of Jafir. When al-Mundhir | was on his deathbed, 'Adī was the one who recommended to him his son al-Nu'mān, whom he is said to have brought to the throne by deception, thus earning him the hatred of the Banū Marīna, who had taken the side of al-Mundhir's other sons. | Once, when he was again in al-Madā'in, his enemies succeeded in raising al-Nu'mān's suspicion by the accusation that he had scornfully referred to al-Nu'mān as "his creation." Using a fake invitation, al-Nu'mān enjoined him to come to his territory and then threw him in prison. When the king of the Persians received news of this he sent an emissary to al-Ḥīra to obtain his release but, when the latter arrived, 'Adī had already been murdered in prison.

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22

Initially, 'Adī's genre was the drinking song (*Agh*. <sup>1</sup>VI, 123). Even after 150 years, his poems were still popular among his countrymen. One of them, the 'Ibādī al-Qāsim b. al-Ṭufayl, introduced the caliph Walid II, whose boon-companion he was, to 'Adī's songs. This induced the ruler to come up with his own songs, which formed the basis for Islamic wine poetry. Often, however, 'Adī also struck a more serious note, and it is in the surviving fragments of his poems that notions of death and the transient nature of existence predominate.

*Agh*. <sup>1</sup>II, 18/43, <sup>2</sup>17/40, <sup>3</sup>II, 97/154, *Khiz*. I, 184/6, *Jamhara* 103. His *dīwān* is also mentioned in *Khiz*. II, 20, 5.

A fair number of Christian ideas are also found in al-Nābigha and Zuhayr, and, especially, in Labid and al-A'shā, who both lived some time after them, which

suggests that Christianity played a silent role in the spiritual formation embodied in poetry. However, to be familiar with a religion does not imply that one adheres to it, and for this reason it was wrong for Cheikho to claim that almost all major poets of pagan times were Christians.

J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und vorarb.* III, 197ff., L. Cheikho, Les poètes arabes chrétiens. Poètes ante-islamiques. Qouss évêque de Najrān, *Études relig. phil. et lit.* 1888, pp. 592/611; idem, *Shu'arā' al-Naṣrāniyya. Les poètes arab. chrétiens*, | fs. 1/6, Beirut 1890/1. Baumgartner, Die altarabische Dichtung und das Christentum, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* XLIV, pp. 325/46.

## | Chapter 10. The Beginnings of Arabic Prose

31

Besides poets, storytellers also played an important role in the nightly conversations or *samar* of pagan times, be it in the encampments of the wandering tribes or in the gatherings of the townsfolk. Of course, we do not possess any contemporary account of their stories, but reports in ancient works of literature, the *Kitāb al-aghānī* in particular, provide an authentic image of their spirit.

Storytellers drew their material in part from the fairytales and fables of international folklore, while also relying on the historical and legendary traditions of their own people and their neighbours. With his stories taken from heroic Persian sagas, al-Naḍr b. al-Hārith of Mecca is said to have competed successfully against the Prophet when the latter wanted to edify and convince his fellow citizens with legends. In the aftermath of the Battle of Badr, he paid for this with his life.

Of all the stories, it was the accounts of the great battles of old, the *Ayyām al-ʿArab*, that were the most popular. These stories were collected numerous times by later generations, especially by Abū ʿUbayda (see p. 102), and these have been preserved in great abundance in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* and in the commentaries on *Naqāʾid Jarīr wa-Farazdaq*. Here, too, the storytellers were more interested in suspense and glorifying their own tribe than in historical facts. A comparison between the Roman and Arab accounts of the story of Zenobia is indicative of this. Here (*Agh.* 2xvi, p. 70ff.), Zenobia (Zaynab) | is turned into a minor character. Her Syrian general Zabday, whose name was probably more feared by the inhabitants of the border zone than that of the sovereign herself, has turned into her sister and now plays the leading part. The story is moved from Palmyra-Tadmur, which only receives a mention in passing, to two unnamed cities along the Euphrates. | The underground tunnel that connects the two symbolises the hole in the wall through which Zenobia tried to escape from Aurelian. Odenatus's death at the banquet is replaced by the death of the enemy of the Zabbā'. As such, in the same way in which all the essential features were altered in this story, the facts in other tales may have been altered as well.

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32

Redhouse, Were Zenobia and Zebbā identical?, *JRAS* XIX, 583/97, A. Müller, *Der Islam* 1, 11ff.

Proverbs, many of which may very well date back to pagan times, may also be included amongst the traces of the earliest prose. These often allude to events that have long since been forgotten. Nevertheless, the learned compilers never

failed to explain them, although they are not to be believed any more than the accounts that they tease out of many a recondite, ancient verse.

It is possible that collections of proverbs by individual tribes were already in existence at an early date; at least, there is a verse—ascribed to the pagan poet Bishr b. Abī Khāzim (Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.*, 145), but which Abū ‘Ubayda declared must be by al-Ṭirimmāḥ (Suppl. I, 97)—which cites a proverb with an introductory “*wajadnā fi kitābi banī Tamīmin*” (Maydānī I, 137<sub>12</sub>). Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d. 395/1005, see p. 126), *Jamharat al-amthāl*, Bombay 1306/7, and in the margin of al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124, see p. 289), *Majma‘ al-amthāl* C. 1310; see Goldziher, *ZDMG* xxxii 355, *MSt* II, 205. On possible foreign borrowings see S. Fraenkel, *ZDMG* 46, 737ff; R. Pischel, *ibid.* 47, 86ff.

- 25 | It can also be assumed that the art of affecting the opinions or decisions of one’s fellow men by means of well-chosen words flourished in ancient Arabia, an art that also bore the seeds of later literary growth.

I. Goldziher, *Der Chaṭīb bei den Arabern*, *WZKM* VI, 97/102.

# Muḥammad and His Time

## Chapter 1. Muḥammad the Prophet

Arab paganism, with its primitive worship of power and raw animism, had left deeper spirits dissatisfied for a long time, especially those who had become acquainted with “higher” forms of religion such as Judaism and Christianity. | There are reports about a number of such *ḥanīfs*<sup>1</sup> who, turning away from paganism, had nevertheless not gone so far as to join either of the monotheistic religions. Driven by a stronger kind of religious need, it was only Muḥammad, a Meccan trader, who succeeded in clarifying his relationship with the Allāh that was already known to his contemporaries as a universal god, over and above the deities,<sup>2</sup> and who urged his compatriots to worship no other god but Him. As such, he employed the practices of the *kāhin* or soothsayer that the people were familiar with and, just like him, he attributed his ecstatic states and ramblings to a companion spirit. Later, he identified this spirit as the angel Gabriel, whom he regarded as his intermediary with | God. Here, we need not go into the history of his preaching that he had, while still in Mecca, adapted to match the style of Christian sermons, a style that Nestorian missionaries must have made him familiar with. His preaching brought him into conflict with his compatriots, for whom his struggle against idolatry represented a threat against the flourishing state of their business, dependent as it was on the festivals of the Meccan cult. He found a refuge, away from them, in neighbouring Yathrib, which had been torn apart by decades of internal strife, and where he was taken on as an arbitrator. From there he did not only conquer his hometown but, before his early death, his belief, Islam, was to win over or subjugate the greater part of northern Arabia and almost all of the East.

33

26

1 Fr. Buhl in *ET* 11, 274/5.

2 Brockelmann, *Arch. f. Rel.* XXI, 1922, 99/121.

Th. Nöldeke, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Hannover 1863. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, second edition, Berlin 1869. W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet and history of Islam*, 4 vols., London 1858/61. L. Krehl, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammed*, Part 1, *Das Leben des Muhammed*, Leipzig 1884. H. Grimme, *Mohammed (Darst. a. d. Gebiete der nichtchristl. Religionsgesch. 7)*, Münster 1892, 1895, on which Snouck Hurgronje, *Revue de l'hist. des rel.* xxx (1893), 48/70, 149/78, *Verspr. Geschr.* 1, 321ff. Harris Birkeland, *Muhammed Allahs Sendebud*, Oslo 1942.



## Chapter 2. The Qur'ān

| In the earliest period of his religious activity, the Prophet emptied his soul in true ecstasy; in passionately emotional, and, for the most part, short and incoherent phrases in *saj'*, i.e. the rhyming prose of the *kāhin*. Later, when he transformed himself more and more from an ecstatic into a preacher, reciting his admonitions in long phrases that were often adorned with stories from the Old Testament and the Haggada, he continued to employ this form. Traditions about Muḥammad's life in Mecca do not provide us with any firm indications on which to base a chronology, which is why the Meccan suras can only be classified, on the basis of stylistic features, roughly into three groups; suras that are characterised by the frequent use of the divine name al-Raḥmān are placed in the middle, between the earliest and the latest ones. This classification is complicated by the fact that many suras were apparently only put together by later compilers, joining various elements that were initially independent. In contrast, other suras, especially the narratives, leave the definite impression of homogeneous compositions. 34

| In Medina, on the other hand, where the Prophet assumes the role of a supreme ruler and acts as a legislator, his sermons and commandments, though preserving a rhyme that is badly maintained, became an unadulterated prose whose style he had to invent from scratch, even though he did not have any proper linguistic skills or schooling. The Medinan suras mostly involve events with which we are more or less familiar, so that it is possible to place the majority of these in chronological order. His observations and admonitions often indulged in violent polemics against the Jews and sceptics within his own community. In addition, he issued decrees on all ritual matters, on civil and penal law, in accordance with the needs of the moment. Similarly, he took also care of the business of his harem, which he also traced back to divine inspiration. 27

Even though some of the revelations may have been committed to writing during the Prophet's lifetime, it is certain that they were principally transmitted orally. However, when the source of these revelations, which were all-important for the continuance of the flock, ran dry upon the Prophet's death, it was decided that all of the parts and pieces that were still available should be written down for posterity. It is, however, doubtful that the decisive battle against Musaylima in the year 12/633, and in which many of those who had first-hand knowledge of the Qur'ān had perished, was the cause of this, as maintained by tradition, as a number of suras had apparently been joined together into groups at an earlier stage. At the top of the text, each of these groups was marked by a letter from the alphabet, by which they were also held together in 35

later times. It seems that the Ḥ-M group must have been particularly old and important, so much so that even Ibn Mas‘ūd, who had separated and arranged all the others on the basis of their length, kept these together and called them the *Dībāj al-Qur‘ān*. Yet it was not until the time of the caliph ‘Umar that the young Medinan Zayd b. Thābit, who had previously served the Prophet on several occasions as a scribe, received the order to collect all these records. His work remained in his possession and was bequeathed to his daughter Ḥafṣa. While this collection appears to have been composed of loose leaves only, Zayd probably created a second one as well, in which he arranged the suras according to their length, starting with the longest one, with the exception of the Fātiḥa, which was placed at the beginning. Others, too, collected the suras on the basis of the same principle: Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Miqdād b. ‘Amr, ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd, and ‘Abdallāh al-Ash‘arī. The latter two individuals distributed their texts in Kufa and Basra where they worked, while the people of Damascus followed Ubayy and those of Homs Miqdād.

However, disparities between the texts in circulation frequently gave rise to disputes. This is why Ḥudhayfa, the conqueror of Nihāwand, much annoyed by such disputes during his military campaigns in Armenia, asked the caliph ‘Uthmān to ensure the official recognition of a standard edition. Again it was Zayd who was entrusted with the task, in which he was assisted by three prominent | members of the Quraysh. Falling back on the leaves that were in Ḥafṣa’s possession, they must have based themselves on Zayd’s collection, copies of which were then sent to Basra, Kufa, and Damascus, where they were duplicated. Without there being any need to revert to more violent means, this text soon acquired canonical status; only in Kufa were the people said to have continued to use the text of Ibn Mas‘ūd for a time. The imperfect script nevertheless gave ample opportunity for variant readings, the more so as its vocalisation | had not yet been specified in any way. This was the job of the reciters of the Qur‘ān, about whom we shall learn in the second book.

For the literature, see Suppl. 1, 64, 937, with H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qur‘ān*, Gräfenhainichen n.d. [1939].

### Chapter 3. Labīd and al-A‘shā

In the period of transition from paganism to Islam there were two eminent poets, both of whom had touched upon religious themes even before the coming of Muḥammad, one of whom was to adopt the latter’s teachings.

1. Abū ‘Aqīl Labīd b. Rabī‘a came from a distinguished family of the Banū Ja‘far, a branch of the Kilāb, which belonged to the Banū ‘Āmir, a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribe. Since he died of old age in the year 40/660 or soon after, with his age something to which he refers from time to time in his poetry, he may have been born around 560. In his younger days he played an active role in the feuds of his tribe, while later he prided himself on having rendered much good service through his verbal prowess. Thus, even while a famous poet he remained faithful to his kinsmen and rejected the calling of a | minstrel. When the Prophet rose to power in Medina, Labīd was part of a delegation of his tribe that went there, and which put its affiliation with the new state into effect. This happened in the wake of a private mission to the Prophet on behalf of his uncle Arbad that had taken place the previous year, and which had left him full of enthusiasm about the Prophet’s teachings. He then stayed on in Medina before moving to Kufa during the caliphate of ‘Umar, where he died. 30

| His works, one of which is included among the *Mu‘allaqāt*, are usually counted among the best that Bedouin poetry has produced, and whose traditional themes he ably presents in an attractive fashion. Occasional religious overtones give his poems additional force. The myth that he did not compose any more poetry after his conversion to Islam is disproved by various passages from his *dīwān* that were apparently inspired by the Qur‘ān, even if these do contain some interpolations. From among the editions of his *dīwān*, which were prepared by the very best philologists, only that by ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭūsī, a student of Ibn al-‘Arabī, d. 231/844 (see p. 116)<sup>1</sup>, has survived, with a commentary on the first 20 poems. 37

*Dīwān Labīd al-‘Āmirī riwāyat al-Ṭūsī. Al-Ṭab‘a al-ūlā bi-ḥasab al-nuskha al-mawjūda ‘inda tābi‘īhi al-Shaykh Yūsuf Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Khālīdī al-Maqdisī, Vienna 1297/1880. A. v. Kremer, Über die Gedichte des Labyd, SBWA, phil.-hist. Cl. xcviII, ii, 565/605. Die Gedichte des Lebīd, nach der Wiener Ausg. übers. und mit Anmm. versehen, aus dem Nachlass des Dr. A. Huber, hsg. von C. Brockelmann, Leiden 1891. Dīwān des Lebīd, nach den Hdss. zu Strassburg und Leiden mit den Fragmenten, Übersetzung und Biographie des Dichters aus*

1 *Fihrist* 71, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā’*, 241, Flügel, *Die grammat. Schulen*, 256.

*dem Nachlasse des Dr. A. Huber, hsg. von C. Brockelmann, Leiden 1891.* There are two thusfar unused MSS, one from Mecca dated 1287, and another one from the Maghreb dated 1293, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 144.

- 31 | 2. Al-A'shā Maymūn b. Qays of the Qays b. Tha'labā tribe was born in Manfūḥa in al-Yamāma, which is where his grave was also said to be in later times. Like his sovereign and patron Ḥawdhā b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī he was Christian, and he also paid frequent visits to the bishop of Najrān; his *rāwī* Yaḥyā b. Mattā was an 'Ibādī from al-Ḥīra. However, al-A'shā's Christian belief was not deep, and even though he spoke at times of one God, the last judgment, and resurrection, he stood firmly in the poetical tradition of his time. As a travelling minstrel he traversed the whole of Arabia, from Hadramawt to al-Ḥīra, honoured and richly rewarded as a panegyrist, and feared for the sting of his mocking poems. What people particularly admired in his writings, apart from the music of his language and its smart versification, were his descriptions of wine and the wild ass, the refinement of his praise, and the sharpness of his wit. However, his song in praise of the Prophet, which was appreciated the most by posterity and which was therefore also transmitted outside of his *dīwān*, has been proven to be spurious.

*Agh.* <sup>1</sup>VIII, 77/87, <sup>2</sup>74/84. *Dīwān*, collected by Tha'lab, d. 291/904, Esc. 303 (photograph from Thorbecke's estate in the library of the DMG). *Carmen Ashae arab. et sueth. propos.* M.F. Brag et T. Thorelius, Lund 1842. H. Thorbecke, Al A'shās Lobgedicht auf Muhammed, in *Morgenl. Forsch.* (Festschrift for Fleischer), Leipzig 1875.

### Chapter 4. Ḥassān b. Thābit

was born in Yathrib, later Medina, and belonged to the tribe of Khazraj. In his youth he had tried his luck as a wandering poet, in both al-Ḥīra and Damascus. | When the Messenger of God settled in his own hometown as a ruler, Ḥassān b. Thābit soon made himself indispensable as a court poet. Even though, at heart, Muḥammad had a strong aversion to poets and their art, | because they often were a part of the delegations to Medina by which individual Arab tribes displayed their conversion and submission, he needed someone who could answer them. The fact that Ḥassān did not hold a particularly honourable station within the community was a result of his weak character, which manifested itself most glaringly in his extramarital affair with ‘Ā’isha. He cannot have been very old at that time, since during the campaigns following the murder of ‘Uthmān he was still intervening with various fiery stanzas. He died in 54/674. On the whole his poems, with their simple and sometimes even common language, are not of a very high calibre, and if they remained popular for such a long time, this was solely due to the fact that praise of the Prophet was their central theme.

*Agh.* IV<sup>1,2</sup> 2/17, <sup>3</sup>134/70, XIV<sup>1,2</sup> 2/9. *Dīwān* Tunis 1281, based on dictations by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, d. 245/859, Berl. 7507; other collections Paris 3004, Br. Mus. 1065, Pet. AM 258, AS 3916, Köpr. 1256, Top Kapu 2613 (*RSO* IV, 721), Cairo<sup>1</sup> IV, 244, <sup>2</sup>111, 126; individual poems Berl. 7518. H. Hirschfeld, Prolegomena to an edition of the *dīwān* of Hassan b. Thabit, *Transact. Congr. Or.* London 1892, II, 99/103.

## Chapter 5. Ka'b b. Zuhayr

had inherited his talent as a poet from his father (see p. 15). He flourished during the time Islam conquered the whole of Arabia in its unstoppable, victorious march. Both his tribe, Muzayna, and his brother Bujayr adopted the new faith, and as such the poet made fun of this in mocking verse. When Muḥammad learned of this he pronounced the death sentence on him. In order not to fall victim to a random fanatic, Ka'b now had to obtain the Prophet's pardon at any price. || Through a daring gambit, he succeeded in doing so. Out of gratitude, he composed a song in praise of the Prophet, for which the latter rewarded him by giving him his personal cloak. Called *Bānat Su'ād*, after the poem's opening words, or *Qaṣīdat al-burda*, after the cloak by which he was rewarded, this one poem earned him eternal fame.

*Agh.* xv, <sup>1</sup>147/51, <sup>2</sup>140/4. *Kaab ben Zohair, carmen panegyricum in laudem Muhammedis etc.* ed. G.J. Lette, Leiden 1748, *C. b. Z. carmen in laudem Muhammedis dictum etc.* ed. G.G. Freytag, Bonn 1822. Commentaries: 1. Ibn Durayd, d. 321/933, Berl. 7489.—2. al-Tabrīzī, d. 502/1108, Berl. 7490/1, abstract Ind. Off. 802.—3. 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jazūlī, d. 607/1201 (p. 308), Algiers 1830,<sub>2</sub>.—4. 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām, d. 761/1360 (II, 23), also Berl. Brill M. 198, ed. I. Guidi, Leipzig 1871/4, with glosses by Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī in the margin, Cairo see Suppl.—5. Bakr b. Ḥijja, d. 834/1433 (II, 17), Berl. 7493.—6. al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Berl. 7495, Brill M. 214,<sub>2</sub>, Copenhagen 249.—7. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Haytamī, d. 973/1565, see Suppl., also Berl. Brill M. 167.—8. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣiddīq al-Khazrajī, ca. 975/1567 (Suppl. II, 555), Esc.<sup>2</sup> 304,<sub>1</sub>.—9. al-Qāri' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1606, Berl. 7498/9, Munich 886, fol. 209b.—10. 'Abdallāh al-Hitī, Berl. 7596.—11. *al-Is'ād* by Ibrāhīm b. Abi 'l-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, Patna II, 445,<sub>2621,7</sub>.—12. Luṭf 'Alī, Berl. 7500.—13. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Su'ūdī, Munich 542.—14. 'Abdallāh al-Mawṣilī, Paris 3078,<sub>1</sub>.—15. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Kaffawī, 12th cent. (Ahlw. IV, 544), *ibid.*, 2.—16. Abū Bakr b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Berl. Brill M. 298, 2, who also has a work on music, *ibid.* 1 (= Suppl. I, 37 z. 7?).—17. Anon., Berl. 7942, 7501/2. *Takhmīs*: 1. Maḥmūd al-Najjār, ca. 1088/1677, Berl. 7503.—2. Ṣadaqatallāh al-Qāhirī, d. 1115/1703, Berl. 7502.—3. Sha'bān b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī, d. 828/1452 (II, 180), Algiers 1830,<sub>3</sub>.—4. al-Saktānī, *ibid.* 4.—5. Shams al-Dīn al-Badamāṣī, Paris 3080,<sub>1</sub>.—6. Anon., Goth. 2227, Paris 3248,<sub>4,5</sub>, Ind. Off. 1044/6.—*Tashtīr* 'Alī Āghā al-Jalīlī, d. ca. 1180/1766, and 'Abd al-Razzāq b. al-Jundī, d. 1189/1775, Berl. 7505.

**| Chapter 6. Mutammin b. Nuwayra**

34

Mālik b. Nuwayra, chieftain of the tribe of Yarbū', a subdivision of the Tamīm, adopted Islam and was appointed by Muḥammad as a tax collector. But after Muḥammad's death he was one of the first to join the uprising through which most of the tribes tried to break away from Muslim domination. When Khālīd b. al-Walīd invaded his territory Mālik surrendered after a brief fight. But even though Mālik adopted Islam, the general broke his word and had him executed. His brother Mutammim bewailed his death in deeply emotional elegies, several of which have been wholly or partially preserved.

*Agh.* XIV, <sup>1</sup>66/76, <sup>2</sup>63/64, *Khiz.* I, 234/8, *Mufaḍḍ.* no. 8 (9), *Jamhara* p. 141. Nöldeke, *Beitr.* 87/151.

## | Chapter 7. Al-Khansā'

The poetic genre of the *marthiya* seems to have first developed out of the inchoate wailings of women, which is also why its cultivation remained primarily in the hands of women. Among these, al-Khansā' attained the highest fame. Her real name was Tumāḍir (as in Abū Tamāḍir or Tamāḍur, *Khiz.* III, 403, 22ff.) and she belonged to the tribe of Sulaym, a branch of the Qays, which pitched its tents from the northern Hijaz all the way to Najd. When she was a girl, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, the most eminent man of her tribe and himself a poet (*Agh.* IX, 1<sup>1</sup>/20, 2<sup>2</sup>/19, Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.*, 470, *Aṣma'īyyāt* no. 8, 15, see Suppl. I, p. 938 ad 70), asked for her hand in marriage but was turned down. Later, she married Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir—whose son 'Abbās (*Agh.* XIII, 164/72, 262/70, 35 Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.*, 467) was also | a poet—and, when he died, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. Both of her brothers, Mu'āwiya and Ṣakhr, had been killed in pagan times, and as a poetess she owes her fame primarily to her elegies on them. Shortly after the Battle of Badr she settled in Mecca. When, later in life, she went to visit 'Umar and 'Ā'isha in Medina, she had already reached the age of 50. The year of her death is uncertain. Her poetical talent was inherited by her daughter 'Amra, several of whose poems have been preserved in her mother's *dīwān*.

*Agh.* XIII, 1<sup>1</sup>36/47, 2<sup>2</sup>9/44, Nöldeke, *Beitr.* 152/82. *Anīs al-julasā' fī dīwān al-Khansā'*, Beirut 1888, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1895, ed. and French tr. by P.V. de Coppier, Beirut 1889. *Riḡāḍ al-adab fī marāthī shawā'ir al-'Arab*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1896. Idem, *Diwan de trois poétesses arabes, Ḥirniq, sœur de Tarafa, Amrah fille d'al-Ḥansā' et Laila l'Aḥialite*, Beirut 1897.



### Chapter 8. Abū Miḥjan and al-Ḥuṭayʿa

A younger contemporary of Muḥammad was Abū Miḥjan—whose real name is sometimes given as ʿAmr, though at other times as Mālīk or ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥabīb—of the tribe of Thaqīf in the Hijaz. When the Prophet, after his capture of Mecca, also wanted to conquer this tribe, Abū Miḥjan took part in the defence of al-Ṭāʿif, the capital. However, when his tribe surrendered he converted to Islam, on 9 Ramaḍān/December 630. Under ʿUmar he participated in the war against the Persians, in which he distinguished himself in the Battle of Qādisiyya.<sup>1</sup> His love for wine, for which he had incurred a prison sentence earlier in his life, sealed his fate once more: because of his constant relapses he was banished by ʿUmar to Bāṣīʿ, i.e. Maṣṣawa on the Ethiopian coast,<sup>2</sup> where he died not long after.

| From among his otherwise quite conventional poems, his winesongs— 36  
which have been only partially preserved and in which he defiantly opposes the prohibition—are the most famous of all.

*Agh.* XXI, <sup>1</sup>210/20, <sup>2</sup>137/42, *Dīwān* by Ibn al-ʿArabī, d. 231/846, Krafft 176; by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, d. 395/1005, AS 388, Cairo III, 200, Leid. 672, ed. C. Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, fs. 1, Leiden 1886, L. Abel, *ibid.* 1887.

2. Al-Ḥuṭayʿa, “the midget,” was the nickname of Jarwal b. Aws. He actually belonged to the Banū ʿAbs, though he only counted himself as a member of that tribe when it suited him and did likewise for other tribes. As a freeloading, wandering bard he blackmailed the elite of his time into paying for his upkeep—through flattering eulogies and, even more so, out of fear of his caustic wit. He caused so much harm with this that ʿUmar eventually threw him in jail. He is said to have died in the year 30/650. Among the ancient poets, he owed his fame primarily to his mastery of the *hijāʿ*, which also ensured the preservation of his poems.

1. Goldziher, *Der Dīwān des Jarwal b. Aus al-Hutejʿa*, *ZDMG* XLVI, 1/53, XLVII, 43/85, 163/201, also as offprint.

1 A. Müller, *Der Islam* I, 240.

2 L. Caetani, *Annali del Islam*, anno 16, III, § 348n.

### Chapter 9. Minor Poets

1. Abū Dhu'ayb Khuwaylid b. Khālid al-Qaṭīl was the most important poet of the Hudhayl tribe (see Suppl. I, 42). He took part in the wars of conquest, went with 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd to Africa in the year 26/646, and died some years later in Egypt while he and | 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr were on their way to the caliph 'Uthmān to inform him of the conquest of Carthage. His five sons had died one year before him in Egypt of the plague and are bewailed by him in a song of mourning.

37 | *Agh.* VI, <sup>1</sup>58/69, <sup>2</sup>56/62, <sup>3</sup>1 264/79. *Khiz.* I, 203; on cod. Landberg of his *Dīwān* see Goldziher in Fischer, *ZDMG* XLIX, 679, recension by al-Sukkarī, Berl. Brill M. 129. *Marthiya* for his sons *Jamh.* 128, Ref. 221 = Leipz. 510.

2. Al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār of the Dhubyān tribe was a contemporary of al-Ḥuṭay'a, who supposedly called him the greatest poet of the Ghaṭafān. He had taken part in the Battle of Qādisiyya and in the campaign to Azerbaijan. Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumaḥī (d. 232/847) ranked him in his *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* (ed. Hell, 26, 29) in the third class, together with Abū Dhu'ayb, al-Nābigha, and Labīd. His main strength lay in the description of the wild ass and the bow, as well as in improvisation and *rajaz*.

*Agh.* VIII, <sup>1</sup>109/9, <sup>2</sup>97/107, *Dīwān* Leid. 575, Cairo<sup>1</sup> IV, 247, <sup>2</sup>III, 134.

3. Suḥaym was a black Nubian slave of the Banu'l-Ḥaṣḥās who died in the year 40/660.

*Agh.* XX, <sup>1,2</sup>2/9, *Fawāt* I, 166, *Khiz.* I, 273, *Dīwān* Leipz. 505, 'Um. 118,<sup>2</sup> 5756, 'Āṭif 2777 (*MFO* V, 496), Yeni 1187.

4. Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī is particularly famous for his connections with 'Alī. In Basra he was respected as a traditionist and a jurisconsult. This is why, when his governor 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās went to the Hijaz, 'Alī appointed him the former's substitute, and, when 'Alī finally came to Iraq himself, Abu 'l-Aswad accompanied him in the Battle of Ṣiffin, although later he made his own peace with Mu'āwiya. His death is placed by some in the year of the plague, 69/688, while according to others he died under 'Umar II in 99/101–717/20. In Arabic literary history he is the legendary inventor of grammar (see al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* 5, 15ff., Ibn 'Asākir VII, 111, 17ff.), which is why the famous philologist

38 Ibn al-Jinnī (d. 392/ | 1002, p. 125) personally copied his poems. A copy of this

copy, made by one of his students when he was still alive, is extant. Apart from this, these poems are not of a very high calibre and do not provide us with any noteworthy historical pickings.

*Agh.* <sup>1</sup>XI, 105/24, <sup>2</sup>101/19, *Khiz.* I, 136/8; *Dīwān* Leipz. 505, and a *qaṣīda* Berl. 75<sup>1</sup>9.3.

## | Chapter 10. Two Forgeries

1. The manuscript Ref. 33 (Leipz. 505) contains, in addition to the two *dīwāns* just mentioned, another, supposedly by Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of Muḥammad, and the poems contained within it deal with relations between the Prophet and the Quraysh. Although some of the songs, whose tone is in accordance with the real situation in which Abū Ṭālib found himself, may actually be authentic, most of them were invented in later times. People did this because they wanted to embellish the earliest episodes in Muḥammad's biography with verses of the kind that were in abundant supply for the Medinan period. On top of this was the fact that the 'Alids had an interest in presenting the relationship between their forebear and the Prophet in as favourable a light as possible. The fact that they still represent the Banū Hāshim as being unified instead of having split into the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids is an argument in favour of the advanced age of these songs. This is also why Ibn Ishāq incorporated most of them into his biography of the Prophet.

Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* XVIII, 220ff.

2. The poems and sayings ascribed to the caliph 'Alī are more recent still. Nevertheless, 'Alī's poetical talent is well documented. However, it is doubtful that his *dīwān* contains any authentic pieces. In the majority of them Shī'ī fabrications are so conspicuous that they were easily spotted by Sunnī critics.

- 39 | 'Alī's *dīwān* was quoted as early as Ibn Qutayba, d. 276/889, *Uyūn* III, 5,7ff. The Turkish commentator Mustaqīmzāde Sa'daddīn Sulaymān (d. 1202/1788) ascribes the poems to al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044, see p. 404), see *JA* s. IV, v. 13, p. 7.— *Ali ben abi Taleb carmina arabice et lat. ed. et notis illustr.* G. Kuypers, Leiden 1745. *Dīwān Būlāq* 1251, Cairo 1276, 1311, Bombay 1883, under the title *Anwār al-ʿuqūl min ash'ār waṣīyy al-rasūl*, collected by Sa'dī b. Tajī in the year 897/1492, Vienna 448, Br. Mus. 577/8 (cf. Ewald, *WZKM* II, 192), Bodl. I, 1204, Copenhagen 242,<sup>10</sup> Kazan 167, AS 3937/42, Patna I, 195,<sup>749</sup>, selection, *ibid.* 204, Persian comm. by Ḥusayn al-Maybudhī, composed in 890/1485, Leid. 579, Br. Mus. 579, 1665, introduction only Gotha 2228, Turkish comm. (translated from Maybudhī?)
- 44 | by Sa'd al-Dīn b. Sulaymān, Būlāq 1255 (*JA* 1845, ii, 654, 186). | Individual poems Berl. 7513/5. *Al-Qaṣīda al-Zaynabiyya*, presumed by Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs (Suppl. I, 110), Berl. 7511/8, with comm. by 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī al-Simillāwī (Suppl. II, 444), *al-Tuffāḥa al-wardiyya*, in Berl. Brill M. 114, Alex. Adab 26/40 (see Suppl.), Brill, Cat. pér. no. 412, Cairo 1306, different from Cairo 1IV, 219, <sup>2</sup>111, 391, see *Transact. IXth Congr. Or.*, London 1893, II, 155, Goldziher, *Abh.* I,

126.—*Alis 100 Sprüche, arab. u. persisch paraphrasiert von Rešideddīn Waṭwāt* (d. after 578/1182, see p. 275), *nebst einem doppelten Anhang arab. Sprüche, hsg. übers. und mit Anmm. begleitet von H.L. Fleischer, Leipzig 1837*. Persian comm. by Maybudhī, Br. Mus. 1665, by Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī, Paris 3954,<sup>1</sup>—*Ghurar al-ḥikam wa-durar al-kalim*, in alphabetical order by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Āmidī al-Tamīmī (d. 436/1144, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* 464), Berl. 8861/2, Paris 2502,<sup>14</sup>, Brit. Mus. 721, Ind. Off. 162 (see Suppl.).—Collection of sayings by Ibn Durayd (see p. 111), Paris 3971.—*Sharḥ al-khuṭba al-Ṭaṭajjiyya* by Muḥammad Kāzim b. Muḥammad Qāsim, Patna 1, 201.—*Kitāb jafr*, a prophecy about things to come until the end of the world, Krafft 363, *Bayān mamālik Ifranj*, a prophecy in verse, *ibid.* 364.—*Aqīda*, Paris 667.—*Hijāb ʿazīm*, amulet, *ibid.* 1072, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila*, a prayer book (also attributed to Zayn al-Ābidīn, Suppl. 1, 76), *ibid.* 1174/5, Patna 1, 155,<sup>1471/8</sup>. *Urjūza* about the phases of the moon, Paris 2292,<sup>6</sup>.

# The Period of the Umayyads

## Chapter 1. General Characteristics

The first days of Umayyad rule, with their seemingly endless state of war, left no room for poetry to develop. However, when the heavy storms that had shaken the state founded by ‘Umar to its very core had finally died down, the life of the Arabs entered calmer waters. With his talents as a ruler and strong-arm tactics, ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded in unifying the tottering Islamic empire once again and overcoming the dissenting powers that would seal the fate of the ‘Abbāsīd empire later on. While preserving the Arab national character, he allowed the different tribes their independence on minor points, which were then all the more vigorously maintained. So, despite the fact that conditions had changed in many ways, Arab features of life were strongly maintained and had room to develop once again.<sup>1</sup>

45 | Under these circumstances poetry, too, went through a second blossoming of some importance. But the energy and boldness of the works of the pre-Islamic poets was gone. Although their descendants still followed the old format of the *qaṣīda*, they gave up any pretence at originality. The uniform technique of the ancient poets leaving little room for innovation any-  
41 way, | from the time that it froze into mannerism, all liberty to experiment had vanished. However, for most of the poets from the time of the Umayyads, the *qaṣīda* merely and inevitably formed the basis for poems composed in celebration of an event, poems that take a stand on contemporary issues, ones they often depict in a lively manner.

We know much more about this second blooming than about the intrinsically more appealing and important poetry of pre-Islamic times. Information about the conditions in which the poets lived had been gathered and recorded within a century, by scholars from the time of the ‘Abbāsīds. These were also able to produce editions of a much greater reliability than that which was possible for earlier poems.

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1 Cf. the apt description of the time of the Umayyads in al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān* ii, 154, 16.

## Chapter 2. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa

Up to this time, the tribe of Quraysh in Mecca had played hardly any role in poetry. However, in the first century of the Hijra there arose in their midst a poet whose skill was already—and deservedly—recognised by his contemporaries, | and which the modern Arab world has learned to appreciate once again after a long period of relative neglect. 46

ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa came from the famous house of Makhzūm. His father ʿAbdallāh, who was one of the richest traders of Mecca, had been appointed the governor of Janad in Southern Arabia, where he remained in office until ʿUmar's death, and, according to some, also under ʿUthmān. A female prisoner of war from Hadramawt bore him his son ʿUmar, supposedly on the same day that the caliph ʿUmar was murdered. This intrinsically dubious synchronism is proven completely false by the assertion of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see p. 66) that is linked with it. Nevertheless, he may still have been born around the year 23/643. ʿUmar seems to have spent his youth in Medina but | moved to Mecca at an early age, remaining in the city of his forebears until the end of his life. As a son of his father he had no material worries, and the sense of honour that drew his relatives into the wars raging during this period had no attraction for him. As a free man he enjoyed life to the full, pouring the emotions of his intense lovelife into songs. These are so lively and full of expression that they must have come from personal experiences, even though legend may have added various aspects, such as the presentation of his brother as a grumpy puritan, or the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and Sulaymān treating him disdainfully, or even banishing him, because he supposedly had the temerity to assault one of the female members of their household during the hustle and bustle of the celebrations concluding the pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup> There may, however, be some credence in the report that the pious ʿUmar II summoned him and his comrade in such arts, al-Aḥwaṣ, both in shackles, to his court in Damascus in order to demand they halt their activities. While al-Aḥwaṣ was banished to the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea, ʿUmar was released on the solemn promise that he would forever foreswear his art. Since he must have been over 70 years old at the time, it will not have been too hard for him to abide by his word. He must have died soon after, around the year 101/712. 42

| ʿUmar's poems are devoted purely to love. We do not know if he was the first to turn this theme—in the ancient *qaṣīda* only allowed in the *nasīb*—into an independent art-form. What is certain, however, was that he is 47

1 Apparently Sulaymān sent him to al-Ṭāʾif for the duration of his pilgrimage following his composition of a frivolous verse. Al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, 203, 14ff.

43 the first to have brought it fully to life, the reason being that it was the only artform that | was suitable for him. He usually sketches small, attractive genre scenes without a background of deeper passion. The full metre employed by the Bedouin poets did not suit his art as well as did the more pliable *khafīf* or *ramal*. They lent his poems that pleasant melody that would soon carry them on the wings of songs throughout the Arab world.

*Agh.* I, <sup>1</sup>30/97, <sup>2</sup>28/94, <sup>3</sup>61/247, Ibn Khall. 463, *Khiz.* I, 240. *Dīwān* (MSS also Patna I, 197,775) Cairo 1311. P. Schwarz, *Umar ibn abī Rebīʿa, ein arabischer Dichter der Umajjadzeit*, Diss. Leipzig 1893.



### Chapter 3. Other Poets in Arabia

1. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt, who apparently acquired that sobriquet because of his love for three women all called Ruqayya, mostly used his art in the service of politics, despite often being mentioned in the same breath as ‘Umar as a composer of love poems. See Suppl. I, 78.

*Agh.* IV, <sup>1</sup>155/67, <sup>2</sup>154/66, <sup>3</sup>v, 73/100. *Dīwān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 235, <sup>2</sup>111, 111, ‘Āšir Ef. 746, comm. by al-Sukkarī (see p. 108), Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 271.

| 2. Qays b. Dhariḥ (see Suppl. I, 81), of the tribe of Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt, was the foster brother of Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. He lived in Medina and died in 68/687. 48

*Agh.* VIII <sup>1</sup>112/37, <sup>2</sup>107/32, *Fawāt* II, 135. A *qaṣīda* with a commentary by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Rashīdī al-Umawī (9th cent.), Esc.<sup>2</sup> 132 (continuation of 409), different from Berl. 7519,<sup>1</sup> see P. Schwarz, *Escorialstudien zur arab. Lit. und Sprach*, Stuttgart 1922, 17ff., al-Qālī *Amālī* II, 318/21. According to al-Jāhīz, *Agh.* I, 169,<sup>20</sup>, all love songs of unknown origin in which there was mention of a Lubnā were ascribed to him, in the same way in which all songs dedicated to Laylā were ascribed to Majnūn b. ‘Āmir.

3. Qays b. Mulawwah, Majnūn b. ‘Āmir apparently died around 70/689; see Suppl. I, 81.

*Agh.* I, <sup>1</sup>167/89, <sup>2</sup>161/82, <sup>3</sup>11, 1/96, II, <sup>1</sup>2/18, <sup>2</sup>2/17, *Fawāt* II, 136. *Dīwān*, collected and explained by Abū Bakr al-Wālībī | (not al-Wālī), Berl. 7520, Copenhagen 285, Pet. AM 260/1, Ind. Off. 804, Paris 3672, Algiers 1818/9, Cairo<sup>1</sup> IV, 252, <sup>2</sup>111, 147, AS 3788, Köpr. 1265 (Rescher, *MSOS* XIV, 9), print. Beirut 1882, C., 1300, 1309 etc. 44

4. Jamīl b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Udhri, see Suppl. I, 78, III, 1193.

*Agh.* VII <sup>1</sup>77/110, <sup>2</sup>72/104, <sup>3</sup>VIII 90/154. Poems in Berl. 7523,<sup>2</sup>. *Dīwān* ed. Bashīr Yamūt, Beirut 1934.

5. Kuthayyiru ‘Azzata, see Suppl. I, 79.

*Agh.* VIII <sup>1</sup>27/44, <sup>2</sup>25/42, XI, <sup>1</sup>46/52, <sup>2</sup>43/55. *Khiz.* II, 381/3, Shahrastānī I, 111, Ibn Khall. 519. A poem with a commentary by ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Makhluḥ al-Rashīdī al-Umawī (9th cent., see above) Esc. 409. Individual

*qaṣīdas* Berl. 7574.—Fr. Gabrieli, *Rapporti tra poeta e rāwī: echi di Gamīl in Kuṭayyir ‘Azzah*, *ZDMG* 93, 161/8.

6. Medina was also the hometown of al-Aḥwaṣ ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī. Because of his amorous escapades with the wives of prominent Medinans under Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik he was captured and publicly made an example of by the latter’s governor, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr. Together with ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a he was summoned to Damascus during the reign of | 49 ‘Umar II and banished to the Dahlak Islands. He was pardoned by Yazīd II and returned to Damascus, where he died around the year 110/728.

*Agh.* IV, <sup>1</sup>240/59, <sup>3</sup>IV, 224/68, VI, 254/59, VI, <sup>1</sup>52/6, <sup>2</sup>51/6, *Khiz.* I, 232/4; *qaṣīda* Berl. 7528.

7. Yūnus al-Kātib was a composer of poems of Persian descent who was on the payroll of the *dīwān* in Medina and who had learned music from Surayj b. Muḥriz and al-Gharīd. During a business trip to Syria he made the acquaintance of the then-prince Walīd b. Yazīd (see p. 62), who called him to his court | 45 when he ascended the throne in 125/742. It is not known what happened to him when the latter died suddenly in the following year.

*Agh.* IV <sup>1</sup>114/8, <sup>2</sup>113/7 <sup>3</sup>398/404. He was the first to write a *Kitāb al-aghānī*, which is often cited in *Agh.*

8. The Umayyad ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, nicknamed al-‘Arjī after an estate near al-Ṭā‘if, and the great-grandson of the caliph ‘Uthmān on his mother’s side, was an emulator of ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a. He sang the praises of Jaydā’, the mother of Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. Apparently he did this not out of love for her, but rather to hurt her son. When the latter became a governor under ‘Abd al-Malik he arrested the former and, taking his revenge, made a public example of him by keeping him in jail for nine years until his death. According to other sources he incurred this punishment because of the brutal rape of one of Muḥammad’s clients.

*Agh.* I, <sup>1</sup>153/87, <sup>2</sup>147/61, <sup>3</sup>I, 382/417.

### Chapter 4. Al-Akhṭāl

While the offspring of the Islamic aristocracy that had stayed behind in Mecca and Medina pursued amorous adventures in inglorious passivity, jangling their languishing songs on the fashionable lute, the war against the infidels was raging along the borders. Furthermore, there was also civil war in Mesopotamia and Iraq as well as the never-ending strife between the various Arab tribes. The songs of the poets who rallied around the court in Damascus, singing the praises of the Umayyads and the leaders of the warring tribes, are therefore of an entirely different nature. Ghiyāth b. Ghawth, famous under the *laqab* of al-Akhṭāl (“the windbag”), | was born in al-Ḥīra and belonged to the | Taghlib tribe, which had a large presence in Mesopotamia. Like most of his fellow-tribesmen he was a committed Christian who stuck to his religion, despite how often he may have been tempted to convert to Islam in his later years. However, his commitment to Christianity was, at times, extremely useful for his Umayyad patrons because, as a Christian, he could both openly praise their deeds, even if these would be offensive to any good Muslim, while also being free to lavish his mockery on the pious gentlemen of Mecca, who were often a real nuisance to the rulers. However, in general, one should not think too highly of his Christian leanings. It is true that he bowed to the clerics in whom power (*baraka*) was invested<sup>1</sup> and that, fearing death, he abased himself to the performance of penitential exercises in his old age. But for most of his life he must have used the freedom that his religion granted him—particularly compared to Islam—more often than let himself be curbed by its moral codes.

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As a young man he had tried his luck as a wandering poet in his home province before going to Damascus, where his fellow-tribesman Kaʿb b. Juʿayl was a respected poet at the court of Muʿāwiya. In those days, even a man like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, from the Anṣār, could risk enflaming the Umayyads and their relatives; when he openly and publicly celebrated an amorous affair with the daughter of the caliph himself, the anger of her brother, Prince Yazīd, was aroused. Because his father did not want to provoke the Anṣār by punishing this poet, he turned to Kaʿb | b. Juʿayl with the request that he chastise him with a satirical poem. The latter recommended his fellow tribesman al-Akhṭāl for the job instead, and his criticism turned out to be so biting that he only narrowly escaped the revenge of the Anṣār.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the implication of the anecdote in *Agh.* VII, 183,7, 2174,4 (Lammens 17, Rescher, *Abr.* 1, 245), according to which it made no difference to him whether his pregnant wife could touch a passing bishop with her hand or just his donkey’s tail.

When Yazīd came to power in the year 60/679 he invited the poet to his court. His successors too, ‘Abd al-Malik in particular, held him in high esteem, and only the miser Hishām failed to reward him as generously as the others had done before. As a real Bedouin, al-Akḥṭal could not resist the call of the wild from time to time. In those days he would live with his tribe in Mesopotamia, where he also married. | At the time, it was just as easy for Christians to divorce as it was for Muslims, and al-Akḥṭal exercised his right to repudiate his wife several times. Like a true Bedouin, he also actively participated in the feuds in which his tribe was engaged. The Taghlib had fought for some time against the Southern Arabians on the side of the Qays, who had entrenched themselves at Circesium under their leader Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī. A series of small irritations between the allies led to a long and bloody war that only ended in the year 73/692. ‘Abd al-Malik had invited the leaders of both tribes to Damascus to bring about their reconciliation where, in his presence, the disputes flared up again, at first verbally. But when al-Akḥṭal recited a biting satire against the Qays, one of the latter felt so offended that he took it upon himself to seek revenge for his tribe. He organised a night raid on al-Akḥṭal’s encampment after the latter had returned to his tribe. While his son was butchered, al-Akḥṭal himself escaped death only because, wearing the dress of a slave, he was not recognised. Despite this, the leader of the Qays once more received a friendly reception from ‘Abd al-Malik. When al-Akḥṭal learned of this, he enraged the caliph | so much against the leader that the latter only escaped death by appealing to his right to safe conduct.

When the conflict between Jarīr and al-Farazdaq broke out in Iraq, al-Akḥṭal was at the peak of his fame. According to a report by his son Mālik, at first he took the side of Jarīr. Yet when he went to visit the brother of the caliph and governor of Kufa, Bishr b. Marwān, al-Farazdaq’s relatives purportedly persuaded him, by the use of presents, to turn his sarcasm on Jarīr. | A poetic rivalry that lasted for many years was thus ignited between them, even if they had never met each other in the flesh before then. This encounter only occurred when Jarīr made a courtesy call to the caliph in Damascus, but by that time they were already so embittered that it was only with great effort that the caliph could prevent them from coming to blows.

This conflict kept al-Akḥṭal busy until the very end of his life. Before dying at an old age around the year 92/710 he supposedly admonished al-Farazdaq—using his relatives as intermediaries—to grant no peace to Jarīr.

Arab critics have never been able to agree on which of the three quarrelling poets should have precedence, although many were inclined to grant it to al-Akḥṭal. Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ even thought he would have been elevated above all the other poets, if only he had lived just one day in pagan times. Al-Akḥṭal

took pride in never having descended to using the offensive language of his adversaries, although this claim is not entirely justified.<sup>2</sup> Pairing the humorous dexterity of satire with brilliant poetical technique, he nevertheless follows the ancients so slavishly that the Arab philologists were even able to identify the prototypes of many of his poems. 49

*Agh.* VII, <sup>1</sup>169/88, <sup>2</sup>161/79, <sup>3</sup>VIII, 280/320, X, <sup>1</sup>2/6, <sup>2</sup>2/5, *Khiz.* I, 220/1. Caussin de Perceval, Notice sur les poètes arabes, Akhtal, Férazdaq et Djérir, *JA* s. 2, v. XIII, p. 289, 570, v. XIV, p. 5ff. B. Dorn, *Muhammed. Quellen zur Geschichte der südl. Küstenländer des Kasp. Meeres* IV, St. Petersburg 1858, pp. 64/70. H. Lammens, Le chantre des Omiades, *JA* s. 9, v. IV, p. 94/176, 193/241, 381/459. Akhtal, *Encomium Omayadarum*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1878. *Le diwan d'al-Aḥṭal*, ed. P.A. Salhani S.J., Beirut 1891/2, see Th. Nöldeke, *WZKM* v, 160ff., VI, 340ff., an additional MS Berl. Brill M. 302. *Naqā'id Jarīr wal-Akhṭal ta'līf al-imām AbūTammām*, Istanbul 'Um. 5471.

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<sup>2</sup> See *Agh.* VII, <sup>1</sup>172, <sup>8</sup>, cf. Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 135.

### Chapter 5. Al-Farazdaq

Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣaṣa'a Abu 'l-Firās, nicknamed al-Farazdaq (the flatbread), from the Dārim tribe, a subdivision of the Tamīm, was born towards the end of the reign of 'Umar, in the year 20/641. His father, and especially his grandfather, were famous for their generosity, which for Ṣaṣa'a was a means to eradicate the barbarous custom of disposing of newborn girls.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the Battle of the Camel in the year 36/656<sup>2</sup> his father was able to present him to 'Alī as one of the poets of the Muḍar. Upon the advice of the caliph that it would be better for him to study the Qur'ān instead, al-Farazdaq supposedly chained his ankles together, swearing that he would not untie them until he knew the entire Qur'ān by heart. Soon after, at the beginning of the reign of Mu'āwiya, he lost his father, whose death he mourned in a *marthiya*. About ten years later he had to leave his hometown because he had angered the Banū Nahshal | with his satires and risked being punished by the governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, with whom the Banū Nahshal were held in high esteem. Since he did not feel safe in Kufa either, as it also lay in the sphere of influence of Ziyād, he went to Medina, where he was amiably received by the governor there, Sa'īd b. al-Āṣī. However, this patron was soon replaced by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, whom he had ridiculed in a poem. Since, in one of his poems, al-Farazdaq had boasted how, on one of his amorous adventures, he had scaled the walls of a harem with a rope ladder, Marwān could now take his revenge 54 by banishing him, in the best of pious traditions, | from the city of the Prophet. Yet, while making his way to Mecca, al-Farazdaq learned of the death of Ziyād and so he returned to his homeland, where he was even amiably received by Ziyād's son and successor 'Ubaydallāh.

His later life, such as it is reflected in his poems, was especially affected by his relationship with his wife Niwār and by Jarīr. Through a contemptible artifice he had forced his cousin Niwār, whose legal guardian he was, to marry him. When she wanted to divorce him in Basra there was no one who dared to confront the dangerous satirist. When she then sought refuge with different tribes, the verses with which al-Farazdaq disparaged her protectors drove her from one sanctuary to another. It was only in Mecca that she gained the protection of the wife of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, the caliphal opponent of 'Abd al-Malik. But al-Farazdaq came after her and gained access to his sons and, initially, was also listened to by 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr himself. However, when the latter let himself be brought around by his wife, al-Farazdaq did not shrink from verbally

1 See the anthology to my *Arab. Gramm.*, p. 50.

2 See A. Müller, *Der Islām* 1, 316.

assaulting him with his scorn. For this, he received a dishonorable punishment; indeed, the caliph offered to Niwār that he be banished or even killed, should she so | desire. However, because she did not consent to this, al-Farazdaq again 51  
 tried to win over ‘Abdallāh through his sons, while at the same time seeking to persuade Niwār to recognise their marriage after all. In the end she agreed to do so, and it was ‘Abdallāh himself who confirmed their marriage. However, as early as their trip home, the two broke up once again. Because Niwār confronted al-Farazdaq with his promiscuous lifestyle, he took his revenge on her by marrying a Christian woman from the tribe of Qays while they were still on their journey. | Niwār was all the more upset because she, the distinguished 55  
 lady, could not recognise this insignificant, plain Bedouin woman as a worthy rival. Since her own objections made no impression on her husband, she induced Jarīr to ridicule her rival. When the Bedouin woman died soon after, al-Farazdaq married someone else. As a result, his relationship with his wife became more and more intolerable until, in the end, he capitulated and was divorced from her by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. All these different episodes from his marital life are mentioned in his poems while Jarīr, too, often refers to them.

Al-Farazdaq probably died in the year 110/728 from pleurisy while on a journey in the desert.

The literary tradition has a very negative view of his character, and his poems do indeed not only bear witness to his recklessness, but also to his rather disgraceful actions. The only thing that contrasts with this was his loyalty to the house of ‘Alī, which he managed to maintain even in the most adverse of circumstances. When Ḥusayn was planning his move to Iraq, al-Farazdaq, who had just gone from Basra to Mecca on pilgrimage, supposedly warned him in vain of the disloyalty of the people of Iraq. When, at the age of 70, during the pilgrimage to Mecca, he ran into Prince Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, | he did not 52  
 hesitate to recite a poem in praise of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, ‘Alī’s grandson to him, a boldness for which he was punished with imprisonment.

Al-Farazdaq’s strength lay in the *hijā’*, and many anecdotes refer to his caustic wit. In later times people particularly praised the richness of expression in his poems. | The grammarian Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (see p. 97) used to say: 56  
 “If al-Farazdaq’s poems had not have been preserved, one-third of the Arabic vocabulary would have perished.” However, al-Aṣma’ī accused him, not without reason, of plagiarism. Even the verses by which he, in the mosque of Medina, once convinced a sceptic of his greatness as a poet were partly taken from Jamīl.<sup>3</sup> He even supposedly once forced Dhu ‘l-Rumma to hand over four verses to him that were so beautiful that he thought he should have composed

3 Cf. also *Agh.* 1VII, 80.

them himself.<sup>4</sup> When Ibn Mayyāda<sup>5</sup> recited a verse in praise of his own lineage al-Farazdaq misappropriated it without further ado by replacing the name Zālim by that of his own ancestor Dārim, instructing his *rāwī* to spread it under his own (al-Farazdaq's) name.

*Agh.* VIII, 186/97, 2180/90, XIX, 122/52, Ibn Khall. 755, *Khiz.* I, 105/8. *Dīwān*, compiled by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, d. 245/959, AS 3884, Cairo IV, 271, 2111, 206. *Divan de Férazdak, récits de M. b. H. d'après Ibn al-A'rābī, publié sur le ms. de St. Sophie de Cple avec une traduction franç. par R. Boucher*, Paris 1870 (incomplete), edition by al-Sukkarī (see p. 108), Bodl. II, 306, part III, Br. Mus. 1066 (?). *Dīwān*, together with al-Nābigha, 'Urwa, Ḥātim, 'Alqama, Cairo 1239. Poem on Zayn al-Ābidīn, Gotha, 14,26, Leid. 590. Individual poems, Berl. 7525.

4 *Dīwān* 313,9/11. *Agh.* XVI, 116, Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 137, n. 1.

5 I.e. al-Rammāḥ b. Abrad al-Murrī, see *Agh.* II, 188/120, 285/116, Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV, 212/4, *Khiz.* I, 77/8.



## | Chapter 6. Jarīr

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Abū Ḥazra Jarīr b. ‘Aṭiyya b. al-Khaṭafā, of the tribe of Kulayb, a subdivision of the Tamīm, was born in Iraq during the reign of ‘Alī. The story goes that in his early childhood he wrote a poem in which he criticised his father for his meanness, and which was then appropriated by the crown prince Yazīd to use it against his own father. When he came to power Yazīd is said to have rewarded the poet sumptuously for this. However, it was not long before Jarīr got involved in *hijā’* disputes with various poets from Iraq. He first tried his luck as a panegyrist with al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, an official working for the celebrated governor al-Ḥajjāj. The former recommended him to his master, who summoned him to al-Wāsiṭ, deciding that he would be useful for his political ends.

| In the meantime, Jarīr’s fame steadily increased because of his feuds with al-Farazdaq and al-Akhṭal, and the only thing that he still lacked was recognition at the Damascus court, so when his patron’s son Muḥammad went there on a political mission he went along with him. Having been set against him by his favourite al-Akhṭal, ‘Abd al-Malik at first refused to receive him. It was only when it was suggested to him that his faithful proconsul would take offence at such treatment of his court poet that he received him in audience without, however, granting him any special recognition. His successor al-Walīd did not wish him well either because he had to defend his own court poet, ‘Adī b. al-Riqā’,<sup>1</sup> against him on several occasions. When al-Walīd was once staying in Medina he heard about a dispute between Jarīr and ‘Umar b. Laja’. Because both had mentioned ladies of the court in the *nasīb* of their poems he had them exposed to public scorn, being chained up together. But when the pious | ‘Umar II ascended to the throne, it was, from among all the poets vying for his favour, only Jarīr who found this in his eyes,<sup>2</sup> apparently because of his chastity.

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| The feuds that Jarīr had started as a young man were to occupy the whole of his life. No less than 43 poets supposedly pitched their skills against his, but even to be defeated by him was still considered an honour. A single satire that he wrote sufficed to make remaining in Basra impossible for Rā’i ‘l-Ibil,<sup>3</sup> an

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1 *Agh.* VIII, 179/84, 2172/7, al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭab. al-shu‘arā’* 142.

2 *Tqd* I, 114, 116, cod. Goth. 1553, fol. 133r, 1589, fol. 70, cod. Landberg, Berl. 833, f. 48,2ff., Suyūṭī, *Mughnī* in Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.* I, 591.

3 I.e. ‘Ubayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Numayrī, who was known under this name because, following ancient custom, it was mostly the camel that he described in his poems; see al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭab. al-Sh.*, 103/5,2, *Agh.* XX, 1168/74, Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.*, 246ff.; a fragment from an *urjūza*, al-Aynī III, 457.

old and respected poet who had angered him with a negative judgment of his poetic achievements, although this did cause that poet's entire tribe to range itself against him, as he had also insulted their honour. His feud with al-Ba'īth,<sup>4</sup> who was seconded by al-Farazdaq, is supposed to have lasted for forty years. But most famous of all was his dispute with his great opponent, who was the only one who could measure up to him, a dispute which had started during the caliphate of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr 65–67/684–6 and in which al-Akhṭal also confronted him. The whole nation took part in this dispute. When 'Abd al-Malik's general al-Muhallab was fighting the Azraqīs in Persia a quarrel broke out among his troops over the pre-eminence of the two poets. Very wisely al-Muhallab declined to render a judgment, so as not to arouse the anger of one of the camps. He relegated the matter to his enemies, who were

55 bi-partisan and surely well-informed about poetry; | their leader was al-Qaṭarī (see p. 58), himself a respected poet. One of the latter's confidants decided in favour of Jarīr.

Towards the end of his life Jarīr retired to his estate in the Yamāma. He passed away there, probably in 110/728.

*Agh.* VII, 138/77, 235/72, 3VIII, 3/89, *Khiz.* I, 36/7, al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭab.* 86/108. *Dīwān*, compiled by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, d. 245/859, Leid. 589, Pet. AM 262, Beirut, *JA* s. 9, v. IV, 108, n. 1. *Naqā'id Jarīr wal-Farazdaq*, compiled by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, with a commentary by Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās al-Yazīdī (p. 109), Bodl. I, 1224,1.

4 I.e. Abū Yazīd Khidāsh b. Bishr b. Khālīd al-Tamīmī, d. 134/751 in Basra, see al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭab.* 121, Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r*, 312, Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV, 173.

### Chapter 7. Dhu 'l-Rumma

Ghaylān b. 'Uqba, nicknamed Dhu 'l-Rumma, belonged to the tribe of the Banū 'Adī. Although he generally led a nomadic existence as a Bedouin, he also came to Basra and Kufa from time to time, which is why he was considered to have been half-urbanised. From his life we know little more than the fact that he was in love with Mayya—which must have lasted for 20 years—and al-Kharqā', that he was friends with Bilāl b. Abī Burda al-Ash'arī, to whom he dedicated some of his poems, and the details of a number of minor events that occurred during his visits to the Damascus court. He died in the year 101/719 (or, according to others, later, in 117/735) and is said to have been buried in the desert. |

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Dhu 'l-Rumma was the last exponent of the old Bedouin poetry, which had been transmitted to him by Rā'i 'l-ibil (see p. 54), whose *rāwī* he was, but which caused his style to ossify into a state of rigidity. Apparently he was aware of this one-dimensional style himself; as he once said, after starting a comparison with *ka-annahu*, there was no way for him to stop. According to al-Farazdaq, Dhu 'l-Rumma could have been one of the greatest poets were it not for this shortcoming. Being the last exponent of ancient poetry he was held in high regard by philologists. Apparently, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' | had called Imra' al-Qays the first, and him the last, poet. Scholars were especially captivated by his preference for rare and remote expressions, which gave them an opportunity to shine with their knowledge and sharpness of wit. His *dīwān*, which comprises eighty, mostly rather long, *qaṣīdas*, was compiled and commented upon by al-Aṣma'ī (see p. 104), the most famous of the ancient philologists.

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*Agh.* xvi, <sup>1</sup>110/28, <sup>2</sup>106/23, al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭab.* 125/8. *Dīwān* Br. Mus. 580, Leid. 586, more inclusive *ibid.* 587, Cairo <sup>1</sup>iv, 245, <sup>2</sup>111, 129; individual poems Berl. 7528,<sub>2</sub>, Br. Mus. 561,<sub>5</sub>, Leid. 588, de Jong 211. Commentary by al-Aṣma'ī, Berl. Brill M. 278. The most famous *qaṣīda* has the beginning *mā bālu 'aynika*, on which R. Smend, *De Dsurrumma poeta arabico et carmine ejus*, Bonn 1874.

### Chapter 8. The *Rajaz* Poets

While in pagan times the *rajaz* (Suppl. 1, 22) had only been used in improvisations, under the Umayyads it received special attention from some poets, particularly as a way of honing their *qaṣīda* technique. They sought to compensate for the simplicity of the *rajaz* metre by embellishing it with rather  
 60 obscure expressions. | Indeed, the two most important representatives of this movement are rightly seen as having enriched the Arabic lexicon as a result of their daring coinages. The first poet who wrote longer *urjūzas* that will be mentioned is al-Aghlab b. Jusham b. Sa'd b. 'Umar ('Amr) b. 'Ubayda al-'Ijlī,<sup>1</sup> who perished in 21/641 at the Battle of Nihāwand. But this art form was only made to flourish by his fellow-tribesmen Abu 'l-Najm, his rival al-'Ajjāj, and the latter's son Ru'ba. Al-'Ajjāj 'Abdallāh b. Ru'ba, of the clan Mālik, was a panegyrist who was mostly active under 'Abd al-Malik, and who died during the reign of al-Walīd, in the year 97/715. Abu 'l-Najm al-Faḍl b. Qudāma al-'Ijlī was highly regarded by the caliph Hishām (105–25/723–42) and only died towards the end of the Umayyad dynasty; a *dīwān* by him has not come down to us. On Ru'ba (d. 145/762 or 147/764) and a number of other *rajaz* poets, see Suppl. 1, 90/1.

*Dīwān al-'Ajjāj* NO, see D.H. Müller, *SBWA* 1878, 335/42, with commentary Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 271, <sup>2</sup>III, 138, 205. *Das erste Gedicht aus dem Diwan des arabischen Dichters al-'Ajjāj, nach den Handschriften von Constantinopel, Cairo und Leiden, hsg. v. M. Bittner, Vienna 1896*, see Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 50, 523/8. This poem of 180 verses, known as *al-Gharrā'* (Wright, *op. ar.* 55), celebrates the victory of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, d. 82/701, over the leader of the Khārijites, Fudayk (see Ṭabarī II, 852).

Ru'ba, *Agh.* XXI, <sup>1</sup>84/91, <sup>2</sup>57/61, *Khiz.* I, 43/5. *Dīwān* with commentary by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Berl. 8155, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 270, <sup>2</sup>III, 203, cod. Spitta, Strasburg, *ZDMG* 40, 313.

Abu 'l-Najm, *Lāmiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī in *al-Ṭarā'if al-adabiyya*, C. 1937, 57/71.

<sup>1</sup> *Agh.* XVIII, <sup>1,2</sup>164/7, al-Jumāhī, *Ṭab.* 148/9 (with the *rajaz* on the prophetess Sajāh adopted from the *Agh.*, *Khiz.* I, 33, after Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.* 389, and al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif* 22).

### Chapter 9. Minor Poets

1. Ziyād b. Salmā (according to some sources, Salīm or Sulaymān) al-Aʿjam, a client of the ʿAbd al-Qays from the tribe ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith, see Suppl. 1, 92.

*Agh.* XIV, 102/9, 298/105, panegyric on ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh, *Ḥamāsa* IV, 148, *Marthiya* on Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, d. 82/701, which was regarded as the best of its time, Berl. 7519,5.

1a. Yazīd b. Ziyād b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrij al-Ḥimyarī, see Suppl., loc. cit. (read al-Jumaḥī, *Tab.* 143).

2. Khālīd b. Ṣafwān al-Qannāṣ was a friend of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, d. 102/720, who died in the year 90/709.

| *Qaṣīdat al-ʿarūs*, a panegyric devoted to a young girl, with commentary, Berl. 61  
7523, Leid. 585, Br. Mus. 565,2, Ind. Off. | 1043,14, Vat. v, 364,9, Cairo 1IV, 272, ed. 58  
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī in *al-Ṭarāʾif al-adabiyya*, C. 1937, 102/11ff.

3. Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾa, the leader of the Khārijites in Persia who perished in 78/697 in combat against Sufyān al-Kalbī, is almost more famous as an historical figure than as a poet. His works are distinguished by their belligerent vigour and the liveliness of their language.

Ibn Khall. 517, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna ʿl-firaq*, ed. M. Badr, 65/6 (transl. C. Seelye, New York 1919, p. 80), al-Shahrastānī 90 (Haarbr. 134), *Ḥamāsa* I, 49, 68, 11, 111. J. Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien* 36.

4. In the same way in which, before Islam, women occupied an important place in the matter of *marāthī*, so it was under the Umayyads. Laylā al-Akhyaliyya was the daughter of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Raḥḥāl of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa tribe. She was courted by her fellow tribesman Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir,<sup>1</sup> but her father gave her to a man from outside the tribe. Tawba remained faithful to her until, in the year 85/704, he was killed on a *ghazwa* by the Banū ʿAwf b. ʿUqayl. She then mourned his death in countless songs. Once she had become famous on account of this, she seems to have devoted herself entirely to the arts and to have frequented the royal courts in much the same way as did her male colleagues. This is how she came to ʿAbd al-Malik, who appears to

1 Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.* 269ff., *Fawāt* I, 95.

have been especially impressed by her witty repartees, but she was also much admired by al-Ḥajjāj. She died while on the way to visit her cousin Qutayba b. Muslim, who was a commanding officer in Khurasān, allegedly while on the trail of a *hijā'* opponent of her husband, Sawwār b. Awfā al-Qushayrī (for other versions, see Suppl. 1, 94).

*Agh.* x, <sup>1</sup>68/84, <sup>2</sup>63/80, *Hijā'* with al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī, *ibid.* iv, <sup>1</sup>133/4, 129/30, *Fawāt* II, 141. Poems, Berl. 7523<sub>1</sub>, see p. 35.

- 59 | 5. Nābighat Banī Shaybān 'Abdallāh b. al-Mukhāriq was, for the ancient philologists, a Christian because he swore by the Gospels and other things holy to the Christians. However, his *dīwān* shows him to have been a good Muslim. From the desert he often went to Damascus and composed songs in praise of 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd.

*Agh.* VI, <sup>1</sup>151/4, <sup>2</sup>146/9, <sup>3</sup>VII, 106/13; *Dīwān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 254, <sup>2</sup>III, 150, 'Āšir Ef. 981, print. C. 1932.

- 62 | 6. 'Umayr b. Shuyaym al-Taghlibī, who had the nicknames al-Quṭāmī and Ṣarī' al-Ghawānī, was also a Christian at first, and converted to Islam only at a relatively late point in his life. | He died in 110/728. He was actively involved in the battles between Qays and Kalb, and occasionally also tried his luck as a panegyrist of the Umayyads and their emirs.

*Agh.* xx, <sup>1,2</sup>118/32, *Khiz.* I, 392/3, al-Jumahī, *Ṭab.* 131/2, *Dīwān* with anonymous commentary, copy dated 364/974, collated by the famous philologist al-Marzūqī, d. 421/1030, Berl. 7327, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 250, <sup>2</sup>III, 143; on the edition by Barth see also Th. Nöldeke, *WZKM* XVI, 275/85.

7. A'shā Hamdān 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, of the southern Arabian tribe of the Banū Jusham and the brother-in-law of the famous traditionist and poet Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī (d. 104, 105, or 110/728),<sup>2</sup> lived in Kufa and started as a traditionist and reciter of the Qur'ān. He related the events in Iraq under Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr through his poems. During a campaign against the Daylamīs he was taken prisoner, but was liberated by a young Daylamī woman because of her love for him. In the year 83/702 he joined the

2 He prided himself on having given literary form to traditions without changing their sense; al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-ṣinā'atayn*, 172<sub>5</sub>, from below.

rebellion of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash‘ath,<sup>3</sup> fell into the hands of al-Ḥajjāj, and was | executed. As early as during his lifetime, his poems were put to music by 60  
Aḥmad al-Naṣībī.

*Agh.* v, <sup>1</sup>146/61, <sup>2</sup>138/53, <sup>3</sup>VI, 33/62, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. v, index; some *qaṣīdas* in Berl. 7524.<sub>1</sub>.

8. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Numayrī of al-Ṭā‘if had fallen in love with Zaynab, the sister of his celebrated fellow-countryman al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, and he even seems to have followed the latter to Iraq. Because the governor would not tolerate his sister’s name being mentioned in al-Numayrī’s poems the latter fled first to Yemen, and then by ship, via Aden, to ‘Abd al-Malik.

*Agh.* VI, <sup>1</sup>24/32, <sup>2</sup>23/30, *Dīwān*, compiled by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, AS 3978.

9. Ismā‘īl b. Yasār, from Azerbaijan, was a client of the Banū Murra Taym Quraysh and a supporter of the Zubayrids, and he accompanied ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr on his journey to al-Walīd and composed an elegy for his son Muḥammad, who died on the journey. Later he visited the caliph Hishām in al-Ruṣāfa, but forfeited his favour because, as usual, he prided himself too much on his Persian roots.

*Agh.* IV, <sup>1</sup>119/28, <sup>2</sup>118/27, <sup>3</sup>408/29, A. v. Kremer, *Streifzüge* 29, Goldziher, *MSt.* I, 100.

10. Al-Walīd, the son of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, lost his father early, in the year 105/723, when he was only 15 years old. From him he had inherited his artistic talent, his love for wine, and his cheerful enjoyment of life. | His uncle Hishām, who had at first taken the place of his father on the throne, wanted to change Walīd’s right of inheritance in favour of his own son 63  
Maslama; for this reason Hishām once sent Walīd as the leader of the pilgrimage to Mecca, hoping that he would make himself impossible there because of his wine-drinking. Walīd spent his youth in a desert fortress in Palestine. But after | Hishām’s death in 125/742, the caliphate was handed over to him and the 61  
people of Damascus cheered him in the hope that they would be freed from the oppressive rule of his predecessor. However, he soon retreated to his desert fortress again, in order to live a life dedicated to artistic expression and exercise. Because he did not demand less money than Hishām, he became estranged

3 See A. Müller, *Der Islām* I, 390, Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 146ff.

from the people, and because he appointed his two underage sons as his successors his relatives became ranged against him. For this reason, after two just years, a counter-caliph was installed: Yazīd b. al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik. On 17 April 744, in his stronghold of al-Bakhrā’, just south of Palmyra, after putting up a brave resistance during which he read the Qur’ān just as ‘Uthmān had done in earlier times, al-Walīd was butchered by the troops that had been sent against him. His contemporary, the Ibādī al-Qāsim b. al-Ṭufayl, had acquainted him with the songs of ‘Adī b. Zayd (see p. 21), and he adopted the latter’s style for his own wine songs that were later imitated by Abū Nuwās.

*Agh.* VI, 1101/41, 298/137, 3VII, 1/84, on his person as a singer and composer, *ibid.* VIII, 1161/2, 2155/6.

11. Born in 60/679, al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī of the tribe of Sa’d b. Tha’laba was an adversary of the southern Arabians and an ardent admirer of the Fāṭimids, who for him were the only rightful representatives of the house of Hāshim. Because of a song praising them, the caliph Hishām condemned him to death and had him incarcerated in Kufa by Khālīd al-Qasrī. However, a woman helped him to escape and Maslama, the caliph’s son, obtained for him his father’s pardon. In the year 126/743 he perished, nevertheless, in al-Ja’fariyya, during a revolt against Khālīd.

*Agh.* XV, 1113/30, 2108/25, *Jamhara* 187, *Khiz.* I, 69/70, 86/7. *Al-Hāshimīyyāt*, Leid. 518, Br. Mus. 1063, Suppl. 1034, excerpts Ambr. AF 429 v. A *Kitāb sariqāt al-kumayt min al-Qur’ān wa-ghayrihi*, by Ibn Kunāsa, d. 207/822, is mentioned in *Fihrist*, 71.

62 | 12. Abū ‘Aṭā’ Aflaḥ (or Marzūq) b. Yasār al-Sindī was born in Kufa, the son of a man from Sind, and lived there as a client of the Banū Asad. His poor pronunciation betrayed his origin. He composed songs praising of the Umayyads and ridiculed the ‘Abbāsids. He only died towards the end of the reign of al-Manṣūr in 158/774.

*Agh.* XVI, 1181/7, 278/84, *Ḥamāsa* 11, 150.

13. Hammād b. Ṣābūr (or Hurmuz or Maysara) al-Rāwiya should be mentioned here more as a transmitter and high-handed multiplier of ancient poetry than as a poet in his own right. He was born in Kufa in 75/694 and was of Daylamī stock, something that was often highlighted in later times by the many mistakes in his Arabic. | He had sought the favour of Yazīd and thereby aroused

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the displeasure of Hishām. When the latter came to power in 105/723, Hammād apparently did not leave his house for an entire year. Then, however, the caliph personally summoned him to Damascus and loaded him with presents. Under the ‘Abbāsids it was only during the reign of al-Mahdī that he gained favour, and it was during his reign that he died, in 155/771 (or, according to others, in 158/774).

*Agh.* v, <sup>1</sup>164/75, <sup>2</sup>156/66, <sup>3</sup>v1, 70/96, Ibn Khall. 197, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 31. He is the one who collected the *Mu‘allaqāt*, see p. 11. A book, the *dīwān* of ‘Amir b. al-Ṭufayl, is mentioned by him, schol. *Mufaḍḍ.* 33,14.

14.–18., see Suppl. 1, 98/9 (p. 99, line 1, better: “His daughter Ḥumayda”).

19. Another poet must be mentioned here, whose lifetime cannot be determined with any precision. The only thing that we know about al-Sarī ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Dumayna is that he killed a man who had committed adultery with his wife—a certain Muzāḥim b. ‘Amr from the Khath‘amī tribe Salūl—and | that he was incarcerated because of this by Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl. If—with Van Arendonk, *EI* 11, 397—this person is identical with the governor of Mecca mentioned in Ṭab. 111, 740, then he would belong to the era of Hārūn al-Rashīd. 63

*Agh.* xv, <sup>1</sup>145/50, <sup>2</sup>144/51, Ibn Qutayba, *Poes.* 458/9, the *Akhbār b. al-Dumayna* was composed by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (see p. 141) and Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (p. 138), *Fih.* 11,12, 147,1. *Dīwān* ‘Āšir Ef. 950 (*MSOS* XIV, 12, *MFO* V, 515), Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 107, ed. by ‘Abdallāh al-Hāshimī (Suppl. 111, 490), Cairo 1918. Individual poems *Ḥamāsa* 541, p. 598f., 604/6, 620, after Tha‘lab al-Zajjājī, *Amālī* 80, 101, 110, Berl. 7476,1, 8255,1.

### Chapter 10. Prose Writing at the Time of the Umayyads

Venerated as coming from God, the example of religious prose that Muḥammad had set out in the Qurʾān could not be imitated. Public statements were still couched in a traditional metric form, while recordings of religious and historical traditions were at first few and far between, and mostly directed at some inner circle. As such, direct traces of these have not generally come down to us.

1a. It is doubtful if Ziyād, half-brother and proconsul of Muʿāwiya, composed a work on suspicious family histories that was meant as a weapon for his sons against jibes about their lineage.

Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtenschreiber*, no. 2.

1b. ʿAbīd b. Sharya al-Jumhurī, see Suppl. I, 100.

According to al-Hamdānī, d. 334/945 (see p. 229), the various recensions of his book circulating during his life were so different that two identical copies could hardly be found. His younger contemporary al-Masʿūdī, 65 | d. 346/957 (see p. 143), calls it a well-known and widely available book; *Murūj* 64 | IV, 89, Goldziher, *MSt.* I, 182. | M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetis qu. d. legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893, 1/2, *Wüst.*, *Gesch.* no. 5.

1c. Wahb b. Munabbih, see Suppl. I, 101.

1d. Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā al-Azdī was, for the most part, active during the reign of the ʿAbbāsids. *Fihrist* 93 lists the titles of 32 tracts dealing with individuals and events.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 220/2 (places his death in the year 157/774), al-Yaʿqūbī, *Hist.* II, 486, 15 (mentions him among the men of learning of the time of al-Mahdī 158–69/775–85), *Fawāt* II, 140, *Wüst.*, *Gesch.* 19. Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich* III ff., Bartold, *Zap. VOIRAO* XVII, 147/9. The spurious *Dhikr maqṭal sayyidinā wa-mawlānā al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī* or *al-Maṣraʿ al-shayn fī qatl al-Ḥusayn*, ed. by ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāwūs al-Ḥusaynī, Goth. 1828, Leid. 909, 2, Pet. AM 78, Ros. 151, and the *Akhbār al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd* or *Akhdh al-thaʿr ʿalā yad al-sāda al-akhyār Ibrāhīm al-Thaqafī al-Mukhtār* Berl. 9039, Goth. 1838, 2, Leid. 909, 3, Bombay 1311, are very late concoctions. See Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod Ḥusains und die Rache*, *Abh. G.G.W.* 1883, xxx.

2. Born between 50–8/670–7, even Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, the court theologian of the Marwānids, was still open to worldly interests, having a special interest in poetry. As a young man he had been a driven collector of traditions in Medina, where he had not let himself be influenced by the opposition of the pious against the Umayyads. From Medina he went to Damascus, where he accepted the office of *qādī* from Yazīd II, before being entrusted with the education of the caliph Hishām's sons. In his old age he retired to his estate at Adāmā, on the road from Damascus to Medina, where he died on 17 Ramaḍān 124/25 July 742.

Ibn Khall. 535, Wüst., *Gesch.* 18, Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 38/39, Horowitz, *Isl. Cult.* II, 33. *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ḤKh 10513, 12464. Traditions stemming from him, Leipz. 320,2.

| His student Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Āmirī, d. 120/737, was apparently the first to have collected traditions in book form as the basis of *fiqh*. 65

| His *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭaʿ* is cited by al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-muwaṭṭaʿ*, C. 1279, I, 16,10. 66  
People valued this work more highly than the later one by Mālik (p. 176), but criticised its author for not being strict enough about his sources.

A work about dream interpretation with the title *Kitāb al-jawāmiʿ* is attributed to the famous traditionist Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, d. 110/728 (Ibn Khall. 576), Paris 2742/3, no. 3751, print. C. 1310 (on Greek and Latin translations and adaptations see Schöll, *Griech. Lit.-Gesch. transl. Pinder*, III, 487), abstract Gotha 842, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XVII, 227; on *Kitāb al-ishāra fi ʿilm al-ʿibāra*, Paris 2744, Copenhagen 295, see Suppl.

3. During the reign of the Umayyads, the Muslims of Syria were often in such close contact with Christians—who were indispensable for the purposes of administration and many of whom enjoyed high positions at the court—that the exchange of religious ideas became inevitable. The last great dogmatist of the Greek church, John of Damascus (b. 676), whose father was held in high esteem by the later Umayyads, wrote a defence of the Christian religion against Islam in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a Saracen. It is therefore hardly a coincidence if the teachings of precisely this John with regard to God's mercy, directed at the salvation of all human beings, and with regard to the free will, were adopted by the schools of the Murjiʿa and the Qadariyya in Syrian Islam. In Iraq, on the other hand, people clung rigidly to the fundamental

66 teachings of the Qurʾān. The head of the theologians there, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,  
 67 d. 110/728 in Basra, dodged dogmatic issues wherever possible. This notwithstanding, his ascetic devotion provided the basis for | the mystical movement in later theology. | Important literary works from this oldest period of Islamic theology have not been preserved.

A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgesch. Streifzüge* 5/6, M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op el Ashʿarī*, Leiden 1875. A commentary on the Qurʾān attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in the transmission of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, was still used by al-Thaʿlabī, d. 427/1035 (see p. 350), see Br. Mus. 821. Attributed to him is, amongst others, the *Risāla fī faḍl ḥaram Makka al-musharrafa*, which is a letter to a friend who wants to leave Mecca, Gotha 23,3, Berl. 6064, Paris 2250,1, AS 1849.

4. The recording of proverbs and maxims had already started under the Umayyads.

Goldziher, *MSt.* 11, 204. ʿIlāqa b. Karīm al-Kilābī composed a *Kitāb al-amthāl* under Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (60–4/679–83), *Fih.* 90, Wüst., *Gesch.* 11.

4b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (see Suppl. 1, 104). 2. *Tafsīr* also Patna 1, 25,284/5.

5. The Umayyad prince Khālid b. Yazīd, d. 85/704, occupied himself with the study of alchemy, in which the monk Marianus (?) was his teacher. There are three *rasāʾil* that are attributed to him, one of which is about his teacher and his teaching, as well as poems on alchemy.

*Agh.* XVI, 188/93, 284/90, Ibn Khall. 201, unjustly questioned by Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg. trad. de Slane*, p. 207. *Dīwān al-nujūm* Köpr. 924, Ğārullāh 1641 (Ritter in *Rescher*, Abr. 1, 330), *Dīwān firdaws al-ḥikma* ḤKh IV, 413, no. 9060, Beirut 255. *Liber de compositione alchemiae, quem edidit Morienus Romanus Calid regi Aegyptiorum*, transl. 1182 by Robert Castrensis, Leclerc I, 64, Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge* III, 2.

**SECOND BOOK**

*Islamic Literature in the Arabic Language*





# The Classical Period from ca. 750 until ca. 1000

## Chapter 1. Introduction

The thoroughly Arab and, to a certain degree, traditional rule of the Umayyads had already long been weakened by discord amongst the various tribes before it collapsed completely following the influx of the Persians, who, oppressed until then, had been shaken into renewed self-awareness by the successive upheavals of the 'Alids and 'Abbāsids. At the court of Baghdad, too, the Persians soon gained much influence, and the Iranian House of the Barmakids asserted itself in the highest public offices for almost half a century. In literature, too, it was not long before Persian influence made itself felt. Nevertheless, there was no independent literature in New Persian yet, which would only develop two centuries later, when Persia gradually regained its political independence. Arabic still remained the only literary language, and thus had to be used by Persians as well. Although they could not yet boast of their own representatives in poetry, their elegance and exquisite taste did permeate Bedouin poetry ever more until, within the space of three generations, Bedouin poetry was no more. Light prose was supplied with new material through translations from Pahlavī. Persian influence in various scientific fields, which now unexpectedly blossomed, was, however, no less important. || Even if philology was originally invented by the Arabs, some of its most important representatives were Persian. Historiography received an enormous impetus from Middle Persian annalists, and in theology and jurisprudence the Persians soon turned from the Arabs' students into their masters. The cultivation of the secular sciences, on the other hand, was mainly carried out by the Arameans, who transmitted their knowledge of Hellenistic culture to the Arabs. As such, in what follows the origin of every author must be determined.

70 72

The golden age of the arts and sciences under the 'Abbāsids of Iraq lasted hardly two hundred years. As early as the fifth century of the Hijra, the vast Islamic empire was in a state of total collapse. In the provinces, increasingly autonomous states came into existence, which strived to establish their own culture, independent from Baghdad. So even if it is true that cultural life was manifested in a great many ways, with the rapid onset of a decline in material conditions, original ideas and independent thinking soon disappeared as well.

## Chapter 2. Poetry

As early as the latter years of Umayyad rule, the *qaṣīda* had disappeared as a poetic art form. Considering that its limited, traditional subject matter was entirely linked to the life of the desert, it was no longer suitable for the entirely different conditions of the creolised, Arabo-Persian population of the big cities, which now formed the centre of intellectual life. The different elements of the old *qaṣīda*, to the extent to which these had retained their viability, now developed with the great poets into the separate genres of wine-, | love-, 71 and hunting-poems, among many others. | However, philology, which developed 73 at the same time, established the dogma of the inimitable superiority of old Bedouin poetry, thereby forcing poets of lesser talent time and again back into the ways of the ancients. Even in the fourth century, al-Ḥātimī,<sup>1</sup> himself a poet of some renown, wanted to impose the *qaṣīda* onto his contemporaries as the true artistic ideal—on condition that they first ennoble it by lending it an inner cohesion.<sup>2</sup> Yet it seems unlikely that the great poets allowed themselves to be constantly influenced by such prejudices. Before the end of the fourth century AH these prejudices were also overcome from a theoretical point of view, so that this new poetry came to be accepted by learned critics as a legitimate art form.

I. Goldziher, *Alte und neue Poesie im Urteile der arabischen Kritiker*, *Abh.* 1, 112/74.

### A *The Poets of Baghdad*

At the beginning of this period Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbāsid empire that al-Manṣūr had constructed from scratch, attracted all the great poets, for it was at the caliph's court that they could find full recognition of their talents.

1. The first representative of the new movement was Muṭī' b. Iyās. His father came from Palestine and was one of the troops that had been dispatched by 'Abd al-Malik to assist in the war against Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn al-Ash'ath. He 72 himself was born and raised in Kufa. During Umayyad rule he was | highly

1 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Muzaffar al-Ḥasan, a student of Ghulām Tha'lab (p. 123), d. 388/998, author of numerous works on literary criticism, see al-Tha'libī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* II, 273, 293, Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 501/18, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'ṣīr*, *Baghdād* II, 214, Ibn Khall. no. 621, Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 35, see Suppl. I, 136, 140 (also II, 1006, 98?); his *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* is still quoted in the *Dōwān Jarir* I, 88, 3.

2 See al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, in the margin of the *'Iqd*, C. 1305, II, 202/3.



regarded at the court of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, and after their downfall he went to al-Manṣūr who, in spite of a number of incidents, bestowed his favours upon him time after time. He died in Rajab 170/January 787. His poetry bears the full imprint of the new culture: softness, intimacy and sensitivity, combined with a cynical frivolousness.

*Agh.* XII, <sup>1</sup>81/111, <sup>2</sup>75/105, A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.*, II, 368ff.

2. Bashshār b. Burd al-'Uqaylī al-Mura'ath Abū Mu'ādh was born blind in Basra, the son of an Iranian slave from Khurāsān or Ṭukhāristān and who took pride in his royal descent. After he had been set free by his mistress, who was a distinguished Arab lady, he remained in his hometown, although every now and then he also travelled to the caliphal court in Baghdad. In his youth he apparently spent time with Wāṣil b. al-'Atā' (Suppl. I, 337), the founder of Mu'tazilī dogma, and other freethinkers. | Yet he did not want to sacrifice the Mazdaic belief of his ancestors to Islam. So long as he dedicated laudatory poems to the caliph al-Mahdī, though, he was left in peace, although his *hijā'* earned him many enemies. When he had the audacity to attack the caliph and his vizier Ya'qūb b. Dā'ūd in the year 167/783, he paid for it with his life. 74

*Agh.* III, <sup>1</sup>19/72, <sup>2</sup>20/70, <sup>3</sup>135/250, VI, <sup>1</sup>47/52, <sup>2</sup>45/51, Ibn Khall. 110, A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch. Streifz.* 57ff., Goldziher, *MSt.* I, 162, individual poems, Berl. 7530,2, Leid. 591. For the *qaṣīda* by Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī in praise of the earth, in answer to Bashshār's fire worship, see al-Jāhīz, *Bayān* I, 16/9.

3. Abū Dulāma Zand b. al-Jawn, a negro and client of the Banū Asad in Kufa, was more of a joker and court jester than a poet. Having participated in the wars of the 'Abbāsids against the Umayyads, | he was as a poet a frequent visitor to al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. He was, too, a bad Muslim, not out of conviction, but laziness. He was extremely funny, as well as a shameless beggar. He died in the year 161/777, although some claim he died only after Hārūn's ascent to the throne. 73

*Agh.* IX, <sup>1</sup>120/40, <sup>2</sup>115/39, Ibn Khall. 230, al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb*, C. 1927, 81/93.

4. Marwān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥafṣa was born in the year 103/721, the great-grandson of a Jew from Khurāsān who, after he had been enfranchised by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam when the latter was the governor of Medina, had made his way up the social ladder as a tax-collector in al-Yamāma, marrying a free

Arab woman. His father before him had also been a poet. He himself attained honours as the court poet of al-Mahdī. Having pronounced himself an opponent of the 'Alids in some of his verses (see Suppl. 1, 113), he was killed in revenge in 182/798.

*Agh.* IX, 1<sup>36</sup>/48, 2<sup>34</sup>/46, Ibn Khall. 687: his famous *marthiya* on Ma'n b. Zā'ida, Berl. 7530.

75 | 5. 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf was famous almost exclusively as a writer of love poems. His ancestors had been Arabs who had settled in Khurāsān and who must have been greatly mixed with Persian stock.<sup>1</sup> | He had grown up in Baghdad and was a regular visitor to the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whom he also accompanied on his campaigns to Azerbaijan and Armenia. He died in the year 191/806 (according to others, in 188/803,<sup>2</sup> and to yet others in 198/813) in Baghdad (or in Basra, or in the desert).

*Agh.* VIII, 1<sup>15</sup>/25, 2<sup>14</sup>/21, 3<sup>252</sup>/72. *Dīwān* Köpr. 1259/60 (see Rescher, *MSOS* XIV, 9), print. Istanbul 1298.

74 | 6. Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan b. Hānī' al-Ḥakamī was the greatest poet of this period and one of the greatest ever figures in Arabic literature. He was born in the year 139/756 (or, according to some sources, in 130/747 or 145/762) in Ahwaz, the son of an Arab who had been part of the army of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān, and a Persian wool laundress by the name of Jullubān.<sup>3</sup> He spent his childhood in Basra where he may have enjoyed the teaching of the philologists Abū Zayd and Abū 'Ubayda. As an adolescent he went with his teacher and lover, the poet Abū Usāma Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb al-Asadī, first to Ahwaz and then to Kufa, where he heard Khalaf al-Aḥmar speak. On the latter's advice he supposedly also spent one year in the desert to perfect his Arabic. He then went to Baghdad where he met Hārūn, following the recommendation of Ishāq al-Mawṣili. After the fall of the Barmakids in 187/803 he went for a time to Egypt where he tried to win the favour of the Head of the Exchequer, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Ajamī. However, he soon returned to Baghdad where he experienced a new period of courtly splendour under the successor of Hārūn. He did not only sing the praise of wine and pederasty, but also was enthusiastic about these subjects

1 See Th. Nöldeke, *Orient. Skizzen*, p. 117.

2 Suspect because of its synchronism with Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili and al-Kisā'ī, see *Agh.* 2<sup>v</sup>, 43, 20, Ibn Ṭaḡhr. 11, 130.

3 That he did not feel like an Arab is shown by the verse in *Ahw.* 26, 4.

in his own life. It is reported that a female slave by the name of al-Janān once captured his heart, though only for a limited period of time. However, in his old age he seems to have repented of his earlier ways. In revenge for a satirical poem he wrote against the Banū Nawbakht (see *Dīwān* 171/2) he is said to have been so severely beaten by a member of this distinguished family that he died of his injuries. According to others, he died in prison, where he had been thrown because of a blasphemous poem; this seems to have happened between 195/806 and 198/813.

| In his wine songs, which were his central theme, he followed | the example of Walīd b. Yazīd (see p. 60), and thus of ‘Adī b. Zayd. In this field he was a competitor of his contemporary Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Khalī‘ (Ibn Khall. 183, Suppl. I, 112), whose poems were partially attributed to him in later times. The attraction of his melodious language must all too often compensate for the shallowness of his ideas and imagery. “Less valuable from a poetical point of view are his laudatory poems, in which a certain artificiality makes itself felt rather strongly, while in the elegies deep emotions and a moving elegiac tonality make good for many shortcomings, notably the artificial language and oriental exaggeration. The love poems contain just as much tender feelings and things truly poetical as they do cynical and cruel elements. The satirical poems are crude and coarse at times, biting funny, but often malicious. This latter observation also applies to his buffoonery (*mujūn*) and his jokes, while his censoring poems (*‘itāb*) again, show a more serious attitude.”<sup>4</sup> The hunting poems developed out of the descriptions of the animals of the desert that had been very popular in ancient poetry. It seems, however, that Abū Nuwās found a definite precedent for his style of these, even though we have no further information on his predecessors.<sup>5</sup> The ascetic pieces (*zuhdiyyāt*) that conclude his *dīwān* should apparently not merely be understood as nice words, but as the expression of true and easily explainable moods.

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*Agh.* XVI, 148/51, 2142/6, XVIII 1,2/8 (in greater detail in the so-called “small *Aghānī*” of Gotha used by Ahlwardt), Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā’* 99/113, Ibn Khall. 163. Th. Nöldeke, in *Orient und Occident* I, 367ff., | A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 369ff., A. Wünsche in *Nord und Süd*, Febr. 1891, 182/97, | A. v. Kremer, *Dīwān des A. N. des grössten lyrischen Dichters der Araber*, Vienna 1855. *Dīwān des Abu nowas*, hsg. v. W. Ahlwardt, I, *Die Weinlieder*, Greifswald 1861. *Dīwān* lith. C. 1277, print. Beirut 1301, ed. Iskandar Aṣāf, C. 1898. Recension of al-Šūlī, d. 335/946 (see p. 143), in 10 chapters, Berl. 7531, Vienna 2016, Leid. 592,

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4 See A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 371.

5 *Ibid.* 372, n. 1.

Bodl. I, 1217, by Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī,<sup>6</sup> much larger, but with many falsely attributed or at least questionable poems, cod. Landberg (Goldziher, *ZDMG* 50, 128, n. 1.), Vat. v, 456, Pet. Am 263, Istanbul Un. R. 843 (*ZS* III, 253), Cairo<sup>1</sup> IV, 239, <sup>2</sup>III, 116, other recensions Leid. 593, Br. Mus. 1067, 1408 (see ḤKh III, 259), Paris 325<sup>1,7,10</sup>, 4829/30, Esc.<sup>2</sup> 311, Pet. AM 263,<sup>2</sup> (perhaps the recension by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī Tūzūn, see Suppl. I, 117, bottom page), Köpr. 1250/1 (*MSOS* XIV, 19, 1), AS 3880.

7. Abu 'l-Walīd Muslim b. al-Walīd al-Anṣārī, nicknamed Ṣarī<sup>c</sup> al-Ghawānī,<sup>7</sup> born between 130/747 and 140/757, lived at the court of Hārūn in Baghdad as a professional panegyrist and writer of celebratory poems, in particular of the Barmakids and, afterwards, of Faḍl b. Sahl, the vizier of al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ma'mūn appointed him as a postmaster in Jurjān, where he died in 208/823. In his laudatory poems he surpassed the style of the ancients through his excessive employment of metaphors. In a long-lasting feud with the poet Qanbar,<sup>8</sup> in which he defended the Anṣār against the Quraysh, he brought the style of the Umayyad period back to life again. Of his wine-songs that were much praised by the Arabs at the time, and of his love songs, too, very little has remained.

*Dīwān poetae Abu'l-Walid Muslim ibno'l-Walid al-Anṣari*, ed. (after Leid. 595) M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1875, see Nöldeke, *GGA* 1875, 705ff., A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 377.

77 8. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim, a *mawlā* of the ʿAnaza, was born in 130/748 in ʿAyn al-Tamar in the Hijaz | (or, according to others, near al-Anbār) and died on 8 Jumādā II 211/16 September 826 (or in 210 or 213). See Suppl. I, 119.

*Agh.* III, <sup>1</sup>126/82, <sup>2</sup>122/72, <sup>3</sup>IV, 1/112, Ibn Khall. 91, Ahlwardt, *Abu nowas*, 21. A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 372/6, *Dīwān Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya* Beirut 1887/8, Pet. AM 264.

9. ʿAlī b. Jabala, nicknamed al-ʿAkawwak,<sup>9</sup> whose family originated in Khurāsān, was born in 160/776 in al-Ḥarbiyya on the western side of Baghdad, and was blind at birth or, at least, from early childhood. In his laudatory poems on the generals Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. ʿIsā al-ʿIjlī and Abū Ghānim Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī he went so far that he actually aroused the envy and the wrath

6 *Khiz.* I, 168, incorrectly ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, see no. 15.

7 Already carried before him by al-Quṭāmī, see p. 59.

8 *Agh.* XIII, <sup>1</sup>9/12, <sup>2</sup>8/11.

9 Apparently given to him by al-Aṣmaʿī; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʿālī* I, 330.

of al-Ma'mūn, who supposedly had his tongue torn out. According to others, he had to live in hiding from the caliph until his death in the year 213/828.

*Agh.* XVIII, <sup>1</sup> 2100/14, Ibn Khall. 434. A *qaṣīda* with *takhmīs* Berl. 7535<sub>4</sub>, *ibid.* 5, attributed to al-Ḥasan b. Wahb al-Manbijī.

| 10. Dī'bil b. 'Alī, see Suppl. 1, 121.

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*Agh.* XVIII, <sup>1</sup> 229/61, Ibn Khall. 213, Wüstenfeld, *Gesch.* 60. *Dīwān* and *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, *Fih.* 161, cited as *Akhbār al-shu'arā'* by al-Akhfash on Mubarrad's *Kāmil* 122<sub>17</sub>; a long *qaṣīda* Berl. 7539<sub>3</sub>, see HKh III, 5420.

11. 'Umāra b. 'Aqīl b. Bilāl b. Jarīr, see Suppl. 1, 122.

*Dādīyyat 'Umāra b. 'Aqīl* (in praise of Khālīd b. Yazīd) *riwāyat Tha'lab 'an b. al-A'rābī*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī in *al-Ṭarā'if al-adabīyya*, C. 1937, 6/54.

11a. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī, the son of the sister of 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, was born in 176/792 or 167/783, served the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl as | his secretary, managed the finances of Ahwaz under al-Wāthiq, and was, during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, in charge of the *dīwān al-naḥāqāt wal-dīyā'* in Samarra, where he died on 15 Sha'bān 243/8 December 857.

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*Fih.* 126, *Agh.* 21X, 20/32, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'ṛ. Baghdād* VI, 117, Yāqūt, *Irshād* 1, 260/77, Ibn Khall., 10, Goldziher, *MSt.* 1, 112, Bartold, *Turkest.* 15. *Dīwān*, compiled by his nephew Abū Bakr (p. 143), MS Wehbi Ef. 1744, ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī, *al-Ṭarā'if al-adabīyya*, 118/88.

12. Al-Sāmī 'Alī b. Jahm, from Khurāsān, lived in Baghdad at the court of al-Mutawakkil where he eventually made himself *persona non grata* because of his libellous works. Owing to a satirical poem about the caliph (or his personal physician Bukhtīshū') he was thrown into prison and subsequently deported to his native country. There the proconsul Tāhīr had him arrested and tied to a cross for an entire day. He then went to Syria where he was ambushed by a group of horsemen from the Banū Kalb on his way back from Aleppo to Baghdad, dying in battle in the year 249/863.

*Agh.* IX, <sup>1</sup> 104/20, <sup>2</sup> 99/115, Ibn Khall. 435, HKh III, 5576; songs in praise of the 'Abbāsids, Esc. <sup>2</sup> 369<sub>3</sub>, another one on al-Mutawakkil, Berl. 7539<sub>4</sub>.

13. While social life in Baghdad became more and more dominated by female slaves who had been educated as singers, there appeared in their midst a poetess of some repute, Faḍl of Basra, whose mother hailed from Yamāma. Later she would become part of al-Mutawakkil's court, dying in Baghdad in 260/873. Her poems are mostly addressed to the poet Sa'd b. Ḥumayd,<sup>10</sup> and illustrate her changing love-life.

*Agh.* XXI, <sup>1</sup>176/85, <sup>2</sup>114/20, *Fawāt* II, 126, Cl. Huart, La poétesse Fadl, *JA* s. VII, v. 17, p. 5ff.

79 | 14. Ibn al-Rūmī 'Alī b. al-'Abbās b. Jurayj, born 27 Jumādā I 221/19  
80 May 836, | was poisoned at the instigation of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydallāh, the vizier of al-Mu'taḍid, out of fear of his *hijā'*, in the year 283/896 (though, according to others, this occurred in 284 or 276/889) (see Suppl. I, 123).

Ibn Khall. 436, *Dīwān*, alphabetically ordered by al-Ṣūlī, d. 335/946, Leid. 610, Esc. <sup>2</sup>277, NO 3859/60, Cairo<sup>1</sup> IV, 223, <sup>2</sup>III, 107.

15. Al-Buḥturī al-Walīd b. 'Ubayd Abū 'Ubāda al-Ṭā'ī was born in 206/821 in Manbij or a small settlement in its vicinity. As a young man he went to his fellow tribesman Abū Tammām, in those days highly regarded as a poet, who was staying in Homs at that time. Having convinced himself of his talent, the latter recommended him to the notables of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, who paid him well for his panegyrics.<sup>11</sup> He later went to Baghdad where he lived for a long time as a panegyrist for al-Mutawakkil and his entourage. He died around 284/897 in Manbij or Aleppo (see Suppl. I, 125).

*Agh.* XVIII, <sup>1,2</sup>167/75, Ibn Khall. 741, cod. Goth. 26, fol. 156a. His *Dīwān* was organised alphabetically by al-Ṣūlī, and according to subject by 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Berl. Brill M. 126, Munich 508, Vienna 450, Leid. 611/3, Pet. AM 267, Paris 3086, Köpr. 1252/3, Yeni 946, Cairo<sup>1</sup> IV, 241, <sup>2</sup>III, 120, print. Istanbul 1300, excerpts Berl. 7540, Paris 3300. *Ḥamāsa* see Suppl. I, 39.—al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana bayna 'l-Ṭā'īyyayn Abī Tammām wal-Buḥturī fi 'l-shi'r*, Istanbul 1287.

<sup>10</sup> Of Persian origin, *Agh.* XVII<sup>1,2</sup>, 1/9.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abi Tammām*, 66.

16. Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tazz (as caliph 252–5/866–9) was born 23 Sha'bān 247/2 November 861. Under al-Mu'taḍid he led the free life of a poet and scholar, but by the time of al-Muktafi's rule he became implicated in the intrigues of the court. When his nephew al-Muqtadir came to | power and left the administration entirely in the hands of his mother and her following of women and eunuchs, the disgruntled rallied around al-Mu'tazz as the most important representative of their clan. | On 12 Rabī' I 296/10 December 998 he was proclaimed caliph with the honorific name of al-Murtaḍā. However, al-Muqtadir's guards went after him on that very same day; he was forced to take refuge in the house of a jeweller, but was soon discovered, and strangled on 1 Rabī' II/28 December (see Suppl. I, 128). 80 81

*Agh.* IX, <sup>1</sup>140/6, <sup>2</sup>135/9, al-Ṣūlī, *Ash'ār awlād al-khulafā'*, ed. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1936, 107/296 (almost exclusively poems and examples of prose styles), Ibn al-Anbārī 299/301, Ibn Khall. 314, *Fawāt* I, 241, Wüstenfeld, *Gesch.* 84, A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 379. O. Loth, *Über Leben und Werke des 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tazz*, Leipzig 1882.—1. *Dīwān*, compiled by al-Ṣūlī, d. 335/946, Berl. 7542, Paris 3087, Copenhagen 251/2, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 235, <sup>2</sup>III, III, print. 2 vols., C. 1891; individual poems, Berl. 7543<sub>1-3</sub>, Gotha 26; Al-Mu'taḍid als Prinz und Regent, ein historisches Heldengedicht, ed. C. Lang, *ZDMG* XL, 563ff, XLI 232ff.—2. *Kitāb al-ādāb*, moral sayings, Br. Mus. 1530<sub>3</sub>.—3. *Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl*, about drinking and its etiquette, a natural history of wine, and similes for wine as prevalent in poetry, Berl. 8316<sub>1-38</sub>, Leipz. 512, Copenhagen 298<sub>2</sub>, Paris 3239, cod. Landberg in Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 166, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 653.—4. *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā' al-muḥdathīn*, reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript dated 1285/1869, with an introduction, notes, and variants, by A. Eghbal, *Gibb Mem.* N.S. XIII, 1939, anonymous abstract Esc. <sup>2</sup>279, excerpts in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's edition of Abū Nuwās, Berl. 7532, *Bāb* XV, see Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 166n.—5. *Ash'ār al-mulūk* Ahlw. 7434<sub>38</sub>.—6. *Sariqāt al-shu'arā'*, *Khiz.* I, 3087.—7. *Kitāb al-badī'*, the first work about poetics, Esc. <sup>2</sup>328.—Six other works are mentioned in *Fihrist* 116<sub>11-17</sub>.

17. His friend and, like him, one of the companions of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid, was Ibn al-'Allāf al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who d. 318/930 or 319.

His elegy for a cat, which served as a metaphor for Ibn al-Mu'tazz, al-Muḥsin b. | al-Furāt, or a female slave, was famous. Ibn Khall. 164, al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* II, 336. 81

18. Ibn al-Ḥajjāj Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, see Suppl. I, 130.

82 | Ibn Khall. 184, al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, II, 211/7c, Abu ‘l-Fidā’, *Ann. Mosl.* II, 604, Istanbul 1287, II, 142. *Dīwān* in 10 vols., ḤKh II, 244, no. 5174, <sup>21</sup>, 765, from which vol. II, Br. Mus. 584. Abstract by Jamāl al-Dīn b. al-Nubāta, d. 768/1366 (see II, 10), entitled *Taltīf al-mizāj min shi‘r Ibn al-Ḥallāj*, ḤKh II, 415, no. 3554, <sup>21</sup>, 480, Copenhagen 260, from which in turn *Latā‘if al-taltīf* by Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, d. 837/1433 (II, 15), Gotha 2235.

19. Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī was born in 359/970 in Baghdad, the son of a high official of ‘Alid stock. Under the mentorship of Ibn al-Jinnī (p. 125) and al-Sīrāfi (p. 115) he devoted himself to the study of philology and composed two works on Qur’ānic exegesis, which, however, fell short of his achievements as a poet. He died in his hometown on 6 Muḥarram 406/26 June 1016.

Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma* II, 297ff., Ibn Khall. 639. *Dīwān*, in 4 vols., arranged alphabetically, ḤKh II, 5483, <sup>21</sup>, 794, Berl. 7599/600, Br. Mus. 1072 (vol. III, arranged by ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Khabrī, d. 476/1083, see p. 388), 1526, Cairo <sup>1IV</sup>, 246, <sup>2III</sup>, 133, the *Bāb al-ghazal* Esc. <sup>2</sup>349, *al-Ḥijāziyyāt* Dam. Z. 85, <sup>15,2</sup>, selection Berl. 7601/2, Leid. 637 (incomplete), under the title *Insirah al-ṣadr* Cairo <sup>1IV</sup>, 208, <sup>2III</sup>, 28, 339; individual poems Berl. 7603, Br. Mus. 630, <sup>2</sup>, elegy for Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi’ Gotha 26, f. 151a.

20. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Mihyār b. Marzūya was a student of Sharīf. A Daylamī by birth, he professed Zoroastrianism until he was converted to Islam by Sharīf in 394/1003.<sup>12</sup> Following that, he seems to have lived in Baghdad. He died on 5 Jumādā II 428/27 March 1037.

82 | Ibn Khall. 726, Abu ‘l-Fidā’, *Ann.* II, 92, *Ist.* II. 168. *Dīwān* ḤKh <sup>1III</sup>, 316, <sup>21</sup>, 816, *qaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, and riddles, Munich 516, Gotha 2235, <sup>2</sup> (incomplete?), Köpr. 1243; individual poems, Berl. 7609, <sup>3,4</sup>, 8157, Gotha 26, Br. Mus. 630, <sup>2</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>467, <sup>1</sup>, cf. 524, <sup>1</sup>.

21. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Zurayq lived around 420/1029 and was a secretary in Baghdad.

12 See T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, Westminster 1896, p. 180. Brockelmann, *GAL* I.



| *Qaṣīda ‘ayniyya*, in 40 verses, Berl. 7606/7, comm. by ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Alawī, d. 1199/1785, *ibid.* 7607<sub>3</sub>, *Takhmīs* by Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Bā‘ūnī, d. 816/1413, *ibid.* 2. 83

### B *Poets of Iraq and the Jazīra*

In the heyday of the ‘Abbāsids there were only few poets in Mesopotamia who, for political or personal reasons, stayed away from the capital in order to bestow a certain literary splendour upon local governors’ courts.

1. Al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad Yazīd b. Mufarrij was born in Basra in 105/723. While his parents adhered to the Khārījī Ibāḍiyya sect, he himself joined the Shī‘ī Qaysāniyya movement in his youth, and had to flee to Kufa because of this. Even though he embraced their most radical views, such as the belief in reincarnation, he still paid homage to al-Saffāh on his entry to Kufa, in the same way he did later to al-Manṣūr and a number of local governors. He died in Wāsiṭ in the year 173/789. Like those of Abu ‘l-‘Atāhiya and Bashshār, his poems are distinguished by their simple language, but were never particularly popular due to his religious and political views.

*Agh.* VII, 1<sub>1</sub>/31, 2<sub>11</sub>/29, 3<sub>229</sub>/78, *Fawāt* I, 19, al-Shahrastānī III, Barbier de Meynard, *JA* s. VII, v. 4, p. 159ff., Brockelmann, *EI* IV, 81. For his *Qaṣīda mudhahhaba*, in praise of the Prophet and his family, Br. Mus. 886<sub>11</sub>, Ind. Off. 37<sub>1,12</sub>, see Suppl. I, 133.

| 2. Abu ‘l-Shīṣ Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Razīn b. Sulaymān, of the tribe of ‘Āmir b. Tha‘laba, was a nephew (or, according to others, an uncle) of Dī‘bil (p. 77). Because he was no match for the great poets of his days in Baghdad he joined the emir ‘Uqba b. al-‘Ash‘ath al-Khuzā‘ī in al-Raqqā as his panegyrist. However, he also composed wine songs and, when he became blind in his old age, songs of mourning for his eyes. In the year 196/811 he was killed by a drunken slave. 83

*Agh.* XV, 1<sub>108</sub>/13, 2<sub>104</sub>/8, *Fawāt* II, 225.

### C *Poets from Arabia and Syria*

1. Ibn Harma Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī, born in 90/709, lived for most of his life in Medina and died after 150/767. Although he was a supporter of the ‘Alids, he nevertheless recited a laudatory *qaṣīda* to al-Manṣūr.

*Agh.* IV, <sup>1</sup>102/14, <sup>2</sup>101/13, <sup>3</sup>367/97, *Khiz.* I, 204; *Akhbār b. Harma* by Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī (Suppl. I, 223), *Fihrist* 142.<sup>4</sup> Two *qaṣīdas*, Berl. 7529.<sup>2</sup> He is credited with a *qaṣīda* consisting only of undotted letters, *Agh.* <sup>1</sup>IV, 106/7, an artificiality whose invention is usually attributed to the metrician Razīn al-ʿArūdī, whose laudatory poem on al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, d. 236/850, is mentioned in Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 16/7, Abu ʿl-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, *Letters*, ed. Margoliouth, 75.

2. Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭāʾī was born in the year 192/807 (according to others, 172, 182, or 190) in Jaṣīm in the district of Jaydūr, north-east of Lake Tiberias, apparently the son of a Christian by the name of Tadūs (Thaddeus). Possibly he only claimed membership of the Ṭayyīʾ when, still a young man, he seconded the Ṭayyīʾ ʿAbd al-Karīm in Homs in an affair of *hijāʾ*. In Egypt he did not gain the success he had been hoping for, and so he went to Damascus, where he vainly attempted to gain access to the caliph al-Maʿmūn when the latter was touring Syria. | He settled in Mosul for two years because al-Ḥasan b. Waḥb had appointed him as a postmaster there.<sup>1</sup> It was probably from there that he went to Armenia, where the governor Khālīd b. Yazīd, famous for his wars against the Byzantines, showered him with gifts. After al-Maʿmūn's death in 218/833 he went to Baghdad, where he won the favour of al-Muʿtaṣim and his entourage.<sup>2</sup> Later he went to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāḥir, who had made himself almost completely independent as the governor of Khurāsān. On the way back to Iraq he was surprised by a huge snowstorm in Hamadan, forcing him into a long stay. | Abu ʿl-Wafāʾ b. Salama put his library of belles lettres there at his disposal, out of which he compiled four large anthologies, among them the *Ḥamāsa*. These were the major reasons for his fame, so that his commentator al-Tabrīzī could say of him: *Abū Tammām fī Ḥamāsatihi ashʿaru minhu fī shiʿrihi* (see Suppl. I, 134/7). He died in 231/846 (or, according to al-Khaṭīb, in 228, and according to others 229 or 236).

*Agh.* XV, <sup>1</sup>100/8, <sup>2</sup>96/104, Ibn al-Anbārī, 213/6, Yāqūt, *GW* II, 8, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, d. 243/851, see p. 143, *Akhbār Abī Tammām wa-bi-awwalīhi Risālat al-Ṣūlī ilā Muzāḥim b. Fātik fī taʿlīf Akhbār Abī Tammām wa-shiʿrihi*, ed. by Khalīl Maḥmūd ʿAsākir, Muḥammad ʿAbduh Gharām, Naẓīr al-Islām al-Hindī, C. 1937/1356, Ibn Khall. 143. *Dīwān*, arranged by al-Ṣūlī according to the alphabet and by ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī according to subject

1 Others place this episode towards the end of his life, something which was rejected by Ibn Khallikān, and rightly so.

2 His first visit to al-Muʿtaṣim in al-Maṣṣiṣa had been fruitless because the caliph disliked his hoarse voice. He was only successful when he let a well-voiced *rāwī* recite his famous *qaṣīda* on the conquest of ʿAmmūriyya; al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, 143/4.

(*Khiz.* I, 172), Berl. 7536, Leid. 596, Br. Mus. 581/2, Ind. Off. 806, Bodl. I, 1255, Pet AM 265/6, Paris 3085, Esc. 2290/1 (by al-Şūlī), 415 (by Abū ‘Alī Ismā‘īl al-Qālī, p. 132), *As. Soc. Calcutta*, p. 32, | Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 237, 2<sup>III</sup>, 113, print. C. 1292,<sup>3</sup> commentary by al-Tabrīzī, d. 502/1108 (p. 279), Leid. 597/8, 5 other commentaries in Ahlw. 7537. *Ḥamāsa* see Suppl. I, 39. *Kitāb al-Intiṣār min ẓalamat Abī Tammām* by al-Marzūqī, d. 421/1030, Ahlw. 7539. 85

3. Dīk al-Jinn ‘Abd al-Salām b. Raghbān, a descendant of Ḥabīb b. ‘Abdallāh b. Raghbān, the secretary of al-Manṣūr (al-Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā’*, 108,<sub>6</sub>), was born in 161/778 in Homs. He represented the patriotism of the Syrian people against the Arabs in the spirit of the Shu‘ūbiyya, which is why he could not bring himself to leave his native country. As a moderate Shī‘ī he composed elegies on al-Ḥusayn. He died in 235/849.

*Agh.* XII, 1<sup>42</sup>/9, 2<sup>136</sup>/43, Ibn Khall. 357, Goldziher, *M.St.* I, 156.

4. Kushājīm Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Shahāq was the grandson of an Indian, whence al-Sindī, and lived for a time in Ramla, whence al-Ramlī. He entered into the service of Sayf al-Dawla as an astrologer and kitchen-master and died in 350/961 or 360/971.

*Dīwān*, arranged alphabetically, Leid. 625, Garr. 23, Br. Mus. 1071, Pet. AM 269,<sub>2</sub>, Köpr. 1261, Cairo 2<sup>III</sup>, 144, selection Berl. 7584. *Adab al-nadīm*, a collection of anecdotes and verses, Berl. Oct. 1094, Paris 3301, Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 20, 2<sup>III</sup>, 9, Būlaq 1298. *Kitāb al-bazyara* Gotha 2091,<sub>2</sub> (fragm.). *Al-Ṭardiyyāt*, ḤKh IV, 158, no. 4954, *Kitāb al-maṣāyid wal-maṭārid*, quoted by Ibn Khall. I, 130,<sub>23</sub>, 151,<sub>25</sub>, al-Juzūlī, *Maṭāli‘ al-budūr* I, 217,<sub>11</sub>, see Suppl.

| 5. Al-Wa‘wā’ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī al-Dimashqī, see Suppl. I, 138. 86

6. Manṣūr b. Kaiḡylyḡ (?),<sup>4</sup> the son of a Syrian emir of Turkish stock of the fourth century, was famous, like his brother Aḥmad, because of his invention of unique similes.

86 | Al-Tha‘alibī, *Yatīma* I, 65/7, a love poem Esc. 2470,<sub>15</sub>, at the beginning of an anonymous anthology.

3 As the place of publication of the edition by Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn al-Khayyāt (see Suppl.) Sarkis gives Beirut, while *Akhbār*, 336, gives Cairo.

4 Probably for Kaiḡylyḡ, ‘of good character’, with a change of ‘q’ to ‘ḡ’, which often occurs in Turkish dialects.

7. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Tihāmī seems to have lived for most of his life in Syria. In the year 416/1025, while on a secret mission to Cairo on behalf of the emir al-Ḥassān b. al-Mufarrij al-Badawī, who revolted four years later against al-Zāhir, he was caught, and was killed in prison on 9 Jumādā 1/8 July of that year.

Ibn Khall. 444, see Suppl. 1, 147,7. *Dīwān* also Patna 1, 197,1769.

### D *The Circle of Sayf al-Dawla*

When the lustre of the caliphate in Baghdad had long since died out and control over Iraq had become something tossed about amongst various generals and proconsuls of mostly Persian and Turkish stock, the 'Alid-minded Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla succeeded—in the midst of the general confusion—to once more construct an imposing Arab state in northern Syria, with Aleppo as its capital. Even though he had to defend his empire in endless battles against external enemies, especially the Byzantines, his state nevertheless gave rise to a short flourishing of intellectual life among a number of distinguished men at his residence, from among whom only the poets shall be mentioned.

Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma* 1, 8/22, A. Müller, *Der Islam* 1, 570/8.

1. Al-Mutanabbī Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ju'fi was born in 303/905 in the Kinda quarter of Kufa but spent his youth in Syria. In tandem with the Qarmaṭian movements of his time he was active as a politico-religious agitator amongst the Bedouins of the Samāwa desert there, but he and his followers were soon put down by Lu'lu', the Ikhshīdid emir of Homs, and thrown into prison for a time. From this period stems the nickname | by which he became famous. In prison he seems to have become aware of his real calling as a poet.
- 87 | In the year 337/948 he came to the court of Sayf al-Dawla, to whose glory his talent unfolded so brilliantly that their names became inseparable. However, his stay in Aleppo only lasted nine years. For reasons unknown he fell out with Sayf al-Dawla,<sup>1</sup> and in 346/957 he went over to his enemy in Egypt, the Ikhshīdid Kāfūr. Because the latter fell short of his expectations, he ridiculed him and had to flee to Baghdad in 350/961. Here, the vizier al-Muhallabī wanted to draw him into his service, but when he refused to accept this, the former incited the poets who were dependent on him to an *hijā'* against him. Thus, he turned to

1 According to Ibn Khallikān it was as a result of a dispute with the philologist Khālawayh (p. 125), who had been against him all along.

the Būyid ‘Aḍud al-Dawla in Persia. On the way back, near al-Šāfiya, not far from al-Nu‘māniyya in the vicinity of Nahrawān, he was ambushed by robbers and killed, on 24 Ramaḍān 254/23 September 965 (see Suppl. 1, 139/40).

Al-Tha‘alibī *Yatīma* 1, 78/162, Ibn al-Anbārī 366/74, Ibn Khall. 49, *Khiz.* 1, 382/9. P. v. Bohlen, *Commentatio de Motanabbio*, Bonn 1824, F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbī und Seifuddaula*, Leipzig 1847, A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* 11, 380. *Dīwān*, now alphabetically, then chronologically arranged, available in almost any library, print. Calcutta 1230, Beirut 1860, Bombay 1310 (with marginal commentary)—Commentaries: 1. Ibn Jinnī, d. 392/1001, in three volumes, ḤKh 11, 307, Pet. AM, 275, 11, Esc. <sup>2</sup>309, Istanbul Un. R 615 (*ZS* 111, 253), not Leid. 630 (contrary to Juynboll, *Orient.* 1, 231ff.); against this work Abū ‘Alī b. Fūrāja (see Suppl.) wrote, ca. 437/1045, his *al-Tajannī ‘alā Ibn Jinnī*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>111, 308, <sup>2</sup>1, 810, Esc. <sup>2</sup>307.—2. Abu ‘l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ifilī, d. 441/1049, Berl. 7569 (?anon.).—3. Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, d. 449/1057, Munich 514, Br. Mus. 592/5, Pet. AM 276, NO 3980/1.—4. See Suppl.—5. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad | al-Wāḥidī, d. 468/1075 (see p. 411), also Berl. Brill M. 201, *Mutanabbī carmina cum cmtario al-W.* ed. Fr. Dieterici, Berlin 1861.—6. al-Tabrīzī, d. 502/1108, see p. 279, Paris 3101/4.—7. al-‘Ukbarī, d. 616/1219, see p. 282, Būlāq 1860, 1287, C. 1308.—8. Anon., Berl. 7573/4, Paris 3105/6, Esc. <sup>2</sup>272.—9. Nāṣif al-Yāzījī (11, 494), *al-‘Arf al-ṭayyib fī sharḥ dīwān Abi ‘l-Ṭayyib*, ed. by his son Ibrāhīm, Beirut 1888, 1325. Ahlwardt 7579 mentions 15 commentaries.—*al-Mukhtār min dīwān al-Mutanabbī* by Abu ‘l-Sanā’ Maḥmūd b. Salmān, d. 725/1325, Berl. 7575.—Ismā‘īl al-Ṭalqānī, d. 385/995 (see p. 380), who also wrote a supplement to the commentary by al-Jinnī (see *Khiz.* 1, 382,<sup>5</sup>), *al-Amthāl al-sā‘ira min shi‘r al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 207, <sup>2</sup>111, 23.—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥātīmī al-Baghdādī, d. 388/998, *al-Risāla al-Ḥātīmīyya*, sayings by Aristotle used by Mutanabbī and al-Riyāḍī, Gotha 2234, Algiers 566,<sup>4</sup> (without the passages from al-Riyāḍī, Gotha 1 f. 3b), print. in *al-Tuḥfa al-bahīyya wal-ṭurfa al-shahīyya*, Constantinople 1302, p. 144/59 (idem. Gotha 29, f. 174b).—al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Tinnīsī al-Wakī‘, d. 393/1003 (see p. 91), *al-Munṣif lil-sāriq wal-masrūq minhu*, against the overestimation of al-Mutanabbī’s originality, Berl. 7577.—Yūsuf al-Badī‘ī, d. 1073/1663 (11, 286), *al-Subḥ al-munabbī‘ ‘an ḥaythīyyat al-Mutanabbī*, on the life, work, genius, precursors, and emulators of al-Mutanabbī, cf. de Sacy, *Anth. gramm.* 476, de Slane, *Ibn Khall.* transl. 1, 110, Berl. 7516, Leipz. 873, Gotha 2233, Paris 3107, Br. Mus. 597, | Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 279, <sup>2</sup>111, 239.—Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Amīdī, *al-Ibāna ‘an sariqāt al-Mutanabbī lafẓan wa-ma‘nan*, Pet. Ros. 83, Bodl. 1, 108.—*Risālat al-ṣāḥib kāfi ‘l-kufāt Abi ‘l-Ḥusayn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī* (when?) *fī kashf ‘uyūb al-Mutanabbī* Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,<sup>1</sup>.

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2. Abū Firās al-Ḥārith b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥamdānī, born in 320/932, was the cousin of Sayf al-Dawla and governor for him in Manbij. He was taken prisoner in the struggle against the Byzantines in 348/959 and kept in a dungeon by the sea—which probably means near Constantinople—for two years. According to others, he had first been transported to Kharshana on the Euphrates in 348, whence he had escaped by a daring jump, only to be taken prisoner again in 351/962, on which occasion he was shipped off to Constantinople where he remained for four years. During his captivity he addressed several moving  
 89 | elegies to his loved ones, among them the famous song for his mother.<sup>2</sup> When Sayf al-Dawla died in 356/967 he tried to seize power in Homs, and in 357/968 he perished in combat near Mount Sanīr fighting the troops of Qarghūya, the legal guardian of his sister's son Abu 'l-Maʿālī (see Suppl. I, 143/4).

Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* I, 22/62, A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 381/6. R. Dvořák, *Abū Firās, ein arabischer Dichter und Held mit Tāʿālibīs Auswahl aus seiner Poesie in Text und Übersetzung mitgeteilt*, Leiden 1895, see J. Wellhausen, *GGA* 1896, 173/6, Dvořák, A.F. und seine Poesie, *Actes du Xème congr. des or. sect.* III, 69/83. *Dīwān*, ed. by Ibn Khālawayh, d. 370/980, Berl. 7580/1, Strasburg, Spitta 30, Leipz. 863, ii, Tüb. 139,1 frgm. *ibid.* 137,3, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1044/5, Bodl. I, 1298,5, Cambr. 375, 429, Palat. 507, Pet. Am 270/2, Patna I, 197,1765, print. Beirut 1873, 1910; individual poems Berl. 7582/3, Gotha 26, f. 204b, Leid. 631, Esc. 2408,2; German by Fr. Rückert in Lagarde, *Symmicta* 206/8.

90 | 3. Al-Zāhī ʿAlī b. Ishāq, born in 318/930, mostly lived in Baghdad, and occasionally in Aleppo, where he sang the praise of the ʿAbbāsids and their vizier al-Muhallabī. He died in the year 352/963.

*Yatīma* I, 171/3 (did not know of any *dīwān* by him), Ibn Khall. 440.

4. In the beginning, al-Raffāʿ al-Sarī b. Aḥmad al-Kindī had been a tailor in Mosul, which is how he got his nickname. As a poet, he lived at the court of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo and, after the latter's death,<sup>3</sup> in Baghdad, with the vizier al-Muhallabī. Statements about his year of death place it variously as

2 Ahlwardt, *Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, p. 44, v. Kremer, *op. cit.*, 383/4.

3 According to Ibn Khallikān. According to al-Samʿanī he had been forced to leave Aleppo before this time because the al-Khālidiyyān brothers (p. 146,2) had brought him into bad repute with Sayf al-Dawla.

shortly after 360 (al-Khaṭīb), in 362 (Yāqūt), and in 366/976 (Ibn Khall. based on Ibn al-Athīr, not in the *Taʾrīkh*).<sup>4</sup>

| *Yatīma* I, 450/507, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 255v, Ibn Khall. 243. *Dīwān*, mostly laudatory poems, Berl. 7587, Paris 3098,<sup>21</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 246, <sup>2</sup>III, 132, print. C. 1355 (288 pp.). *Kitāb al-muḥibb wal-maḥbūb wal-mashmūm wal-mashrūb*, in 4 books: 1. Descriptions of the appearance of the beloved, 2. Poems about love, 3. Perfume and flowers, 4. Wine and its names, Vienna 359, Leid. 448, *Scheidii Cat.*, p. 92. no. 28.

5. Abu ʿl-Faraj ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (ʿAbd al-Malik) b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī al-Naṣībīnī, also called al-Babbaghā because of a speech defect, lived at the court of Sayf al-Dawla and, after the latter's death, in Mosul and Baghdad. He died on 27 Shaʿbān 398/8 May 1008.

*Yatīma* I, 173/205, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 64sv. Ph. Wolff, *Abulfaragii Babbaghae carminum specimen ex cod. Gothano primum ed., lat. vert. adnot. illustr.; accedunt aliquot carmina Abu Ishaci* (see p. 95,d), Leipzig 1834. E.G. Schultz, *Variae lectiones e cod. ms. Parisino collectae ad A.B. carmina a. Ph. Wolffio edita*, diss. Königsberg 1838.

6. After al-Mutanabbī's departure, al-Nāmī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dārimī took over his role as court poet for Sayf al-Dawla, before dying in Aleppo in 399/1009 (or, according to other sources, in 370/980 or 371). He also composed dictates in the field of belles lettres (*Amālī*).

*Yatīma* I, 164/71, Ibn Khall. 50.

### | E *Egyptian and North African Poets*

In spite of the splendour of the material culture that blossomed under the Ṭūlūnids (254–92/869–904) in Egypt, neither this dynasty nor its successors the Ikhshīdids (321–58/933–69) and the first Fāṭimids could provide intellectual life with the kind of stimulus that would have allowed them to attract and retain foreign poets. Thus, we can only relate the works of a few mediocre talents.

4 According to cod. Pet. 579, f. 54b his *dīwān* also contains an elegy for Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʿ, d. 384/944, which would mean that his death would have to be placed even later; Ahlw. 7587.

1. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Rassī, *naqīb* of the 'Alids in Egypt who died on 25 Sha'bān 345/1 December 956.

91 | *Yatīma* 1, 328/30, Ibn Khall. 52 (see Suppl.).

2. Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī' al-Andalusī al-Azdī was born in Seville, where his father had emigrated from a village near al-Mahdiyya in Africa. As a poet he had gained the favour of the sovereign of his native country, but he then ridiculed him in verses in the style of al-Ma'arrī, which exposed him as a freethinker. At the age of 27 he was thus banished, whereupon he went to Jawhar, the general of the Fāṭimids in Africa, and thence to Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Rūmān in Masīla, in the Zāb. After his ascension to the throne in 341/953 al-Manṣūr's son al-Mu'izz gave him a position at his court. In 358/969 he took part in the conquest of Egypt. Once the situation had stabilised somewhat he returned to the Maghreb to fetch his family, but was murdered on the way in 362/973.

Ibn Khall. 640, A. v. Kremer, *ZDMG* XXIV, 481/94. *Dīwān*, for the most part panegyrics on al-Mu'izz, arranged alphabetically, Berl. 7385/6, Paris 3108, Bodl. 1, 129,1, see II, 618, Esc.<sup>2</sup> 443 Pet. AM, 80/1, Patna 1, 197,1763, print. C. 1276.

3. Tamīm, the second son of the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz, born in 337/948, composed love poems, mostly about his brother al-'Azīz (365–86/975–96). He died in Egypt in 374/984.

*Yatīma* 1, 347/55, Ibn Khall. 122. *Dīwān* Leid. 632.

92 | 4. Ibn Wakī' al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad was born in Tinnīs near Damietta, where he died in 393/1003.

*Yatīma* 1, 281/305, Ibn Khall. 163. A *qaṣīda*, Berl. 7589; for his work on al-Mutanabbī, see p. 88.

5. Abu 'l-Raqa'maq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad of Antioch composed laudatory poems for the upper classes of Egypt, dying in 399/1008.

*Yatīma* 1, 238/61, Ibn Khall. no. 53.



## | Chapter 3. Rhymed Prose

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As it had become quasi-sanctified by the Qurʾān, the profane use of rhymed prose, or *sajʿ* (see Suppl. I, 22), disappeared almost entirely in the first two centuries of Islam. It was only in the middle of the third century that it emerged again in the *khutba*, which in those days was left more and more in the hands of professional preachers, who developed it artistically. From there, *sajʿ* also penetrated into literature in the form of epistles (*rasāʾil*) and in the newly emerging genre of the *maqāma*.<sup>1</sup>

1. Ibn Nubāta ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥudhāqī al-Fāriqī, who was born in 335/946 in Mayyāfāriqīn, lived as a preacher at the court of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo and died in his native town in 374/984.

Ibn Khall. 346, de Slane, *JA* s. III, vol. 9, p. 66ff. *Khutab*, on death and resurrection, the death of the Prophet, contempt for the world, changing times, the months of Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, festivals, Hell, war against the infidels etc., at times drawing on dated events, further *Fuṣūl*, short orations held on important occasions, Berl. 3944 (compiled around 629/1223, also containing sermons by his son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, | ca. 390/999, cf. Paris 1289,<sup>2</sup> 93 and his grandson Abu ʿl-Faraj Ṭāhir ca. 420/1029), Brill M. 269, Munich 153, Bodl. I, 96, Leid. 2138, Copenhagen 71, Paris 1289,<sup>1</sup> Esc. <sup>2</sup>522, print. C. 1282, 1286, 1292, 1302, 1304, 1309, Beirut 1311.—Comm. by al-ʿUkbarī, d. 616/1219, Leid. 2138 and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Bārīzī, d. 683/1294 (see p. 349), Bodl. I, 139, see II, 570, excerpts by his son in Gotha 827, anonymous Paris 1290,<sup>3</sup>; other commentaries in ḤKh III, no. 4727, <sup>2</sup>I, 714, Ahlw. 3344.

2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Khwārazmī or al-Ṭabarkhazī<sup>2</sup>—his father being from Khwārazm | and his mother, the sister of the famous historian al-Ṭabarī, from Ṭabaristān—was born in 323/935. When he was young he lived for a time at the court of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo, then went to the vizier of the Sāmānids, Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī (see p. 143), in Bukhārā, whom he soon left, continuing on towards Nishapur and Sijistān, where he was incarcerated for a long period of time because of a satirical poem he had written about the proconsul Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad. After succesful tours of Isfahan

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1 See Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 62/8.

2 Thus in al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 366v, and subsequently Ibn Khall., cf. *Lubb* 167a, *Yatīma* IV, 123 al-Ṭabarkhazmī.

and Shiraz he settled down in Nishapur. But because he had the temerity to ridicule the vizier al-‘Utbī the local proconsul punished him by confiscating all his possessions and putting him in jail. However, he succeeded in escaping to Jurjān and, after the assassination of al-‘Utbī, the latter’s successor Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Muzanī called him back to Nishapur and compensated him for his losses. Towards the end of his life his younger rival al-Hamadhānī had thoroughly shaken his reputation. He died in 382/993 or, according to Ibn al-Athīr, in 393/1002. From his poems, only samples have survived, in the *Yatīma*; however, his epistles in rhymed prose on a wide variety of fields of belles lettres have immortalised his name.

*Yatīma* IV, 114/54, Ibn Khall. 636. *Rasā’il* Berl. 8626/7, Tüb. 71<sub>1</sub>, Vienna 279, Leid. 343/4, Köpr. 1274, Būlāq 1279, Istanbul 1297, Bombay 1301, 1891.

3. Badī‘ al-Zamān Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd Abu ‘l-Faḍl al-Hamadhānī was born on 13 Jumādā II 358/5 May 969 in Hamadan, where he  
 94 was educated by the philologist Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn b. Fāris. In the year 380/990 | he went to Jurjān, and then in 384 to Nishapur as the favourite of the *dihqān* Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Maṣūūr. As he writes in one of his letters, he once badly harrassed al-Khwārazmī, who was then at the height of his fame, in a verbal  
 94 duel there.<sup>3</sup> | Later he travelled through the whole of Khurāsān and Sijistān, where he enjoyed the favours of the prince Khalaf b. Aḥmad. In the end he seems to have settled in Ghazna. He died in 398/1007 in Herat, after he had been buried seemingly dead of a stroke (see Suppl. I, 150/2).

95 | *Yatīma* IV, 167/204, Ibn Khall. 81, *Khiz.* IV, 71, 175, de Sacy, *Mag. enc.* 1814, I, 195, v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 470/6, J. Kubat, Bedi el-Hamadani, ein arab. Dichterprofil, *Mag. für die Lit. des In-u. Auslandes* 1884, 91/2, 98/100. *Dīwān* Paris 2147<sub>2</sub>, poem in praise of Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Dāmaghānī, Berl. 7589<sub>3</sub>.—*Rasā’il* Istanbul 1298, *commentées par le cheikh Ibr. al-Ahdab*, Beirut 1890, *Risāla fi ‘l-‘ilm* Patna II, 427<sub>2600,5</sub>.—*Maqāmāt* Paris 3923, Copenhagen 224, Cambr. 118, Berl. 8535 (cf. *ZDMG* 45, 478, no. 103), NO 4270, Būlāq 1291, Istanbul 1298, C. 1304, *commentées par le cheikh M. ‘Abdo* (Suppl. III, 315), Beirut 1889. *Consessus Hamadanensis vulgo dicti Bedialzaman e cod. ms. fratris sui ejusdemque typis arab.* ed. J. Scheidius, n.p., n.d. (Euting 1572), de Sacy, *Chrest. ar.* III, 78/83, cf. 261, Grangeret de la Grange, *Anthol. ar.* 153/60, German by E. Amthor, *Klänge aus dem Osten* 1843.

3 See v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 471ff.

4. Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umar b. Nubāta al-Sa’dī, born in 327/939 in Baghdad, lived as a court poet with Sayf al-Dawla and with Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd in Rayy. He died in 405/1014 in Baghdad.

Ibn Khall. 359. A *maqāma*, Berl. 8536.

5. Collections of sample letters in rhymed prose that are still extant:

a. Abu ‘l-Husayn al-Ahwāzī, ca. 330/941.

| *Kitāb al-durar wal-ghurar*, letters to the emirs Abu ‘l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Farīghūn,<sup>4</sup> Abu ‘l-Asad al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir, Abu ‘l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, and Abū Manṣūr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (d. 331/943), arranged by subject, Leid. 346/7.—2. *Kitāb al-farā’id wal-qalā’id fi ‘l-isti‘āna ‘ala ‘l-af‘āl* | *al-maḥmūda*, an *adab* work, Leid. 451, Paris 2419,<sup>2</sup> wrongly attributed to Qābūs b. Washmgīr, d. 403/1012 (see Suppl. I, 154), in Vienna 1838 attributed to al-Tha‘ālibī, who partially summarised it in his *Sīḥr al-balāgha* (see *Anth. sent.* 128), Krafft 479, Paris 3956. 96 95

b. Abū Aḥmad Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Harawī, *qāḍī* of Herat and panegyrist for the caliph al-Qādir billāh, d. 440/1048.

*Munyat al-rāḍī bi-rasā’il al-qāḍī*, collected by al-Maydānī (p. 289), Berl. 8647 (see Suppl. I, 155).

c. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Yūsuf al-Shīrāzī, secretary and vizier to the Būyid ‘Aḍud al-Dawla (338–72/949–82) and his sons.

*Rasā’il* to various high-ranking people with interesting stories surrounding the reign of the Būyids, dating from the period 335–80/946–90, Berl. 8825.

d. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī al-Ṣābi’ (see Suppl. I, 153), d. 384/994.

*Yatīma* II, 23/86, *Fih*r. 134, Ibn Khall. 12, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 149.—1. *Rasā’il* a. *Fi ‘l-mu‘ātabāt*, b. *Fi ‘l-shafā‘āt*, c. *Mā nafadha ila ‘l-‘ummāl wal-mušarriḥīn wal-nawāḥī*, important for the history of the Būyids, Leid. 345, part II Paris

4 See Ibn Ḥawqal 208, 322/3, al-Iṣṭakhrī 148, 272, Ibn al-Athīr IX, 103, Mirchond, *Sāmān.* 67, Munajjim Bāshī II, 270.

3314,3.—2. Some poems, ed. by Ph. Wolff in *Carminum Abu 'l-Faraġii Babbaghae specimen*, Leipzig 1834 and *WZKM* III, 64/76.—3. He composed his lost history of the Būyids, the *Kitāb al-tāġī fī akhbār al-dawla al-Daylamīyya* (ĤKh II, 94, no. 2061, <sup>21</sup>, 370, Ibn Ḥassūl, *Tafḍīl al-atrāk*, ed. 'Abbās 'Azzāwī, 27ff.), at the request of 'Aduḍ al-Dawla Fannā Khusraw, as a means of being released from prison. He had angered the latter with his chronicles, and was to be trampled to death by elephants at the conquest of Baghdad in 367/977. He was, however, pardoned and imprisoned instead, where he stayed until 371/981. Because he had labelled the book that he had been forced to write as a fraud in later times he had to hide from the wrath of the sovereign until the latter's death in 372/982.

## Chapter 4. Philology

On the beginnings of Arabic linguistics see Suppl. 1, 155/8.

| G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, *Abh. f. d. C. d. Morg.* II, 4, Leipzig 1862, Muḥammad As‘ad Ṭalas, Ta‘rīkh al-naḥw, *RAAD* XIV 67/73, 227/31, 271/6.—On its dependence on Aristotelian logic see also Renan, *Hist. gén. des langues sémit.*, 4377ff., G. Hoffmann, *de herm.*, 128 (cf. F. Praetorius, *Zum Verständnis Sibawaihis*, Halle 1895, 30), I. Guidi, *Bollet. ital. degli studii or.* of 25 May 1877 (cf. *Nuova serie*, 1878, no. 6, 104/8), A. Merx, *Hist. artis gramm. apud Syros* 137/53. 96

### | I The School of Basra 98

In Basra, the capital of Iraq that had been founded by ‘Utba b. Ghazwān under ‘Umar I in 15/636, Arabs from many different tribes lived in close contact with the local Arameans and Persians. Differences between the tribal dialects, the language of the Qur‘ān and ancient poetry on the one hand and, on the other, the need for the non-Arabs who had converted to Islam to learn the language of the Holy Scripture and administration, must together have been what prompted the Muslims to undertake their first linguistic investigations. In a similar manner, differences between the Veda and the popular dialects of India, between the language of Homer, Attic and Koinē in Greece, between Sumeric and Akkadian in Babylonia, and between Ge‘ez and Amharic in Ethiopia, had all led to the development of linguistics. It remains, however, unclear who first inspired the Arabs in this; that which is reported about the supposed students of Abu ‘l-Aswad al-Du‘alī (see Flügel 27/9) is just as uncertain as the latter’s own connections with these studies.

1. It is only from the immediate predecessors of al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi onward that the history of Arabic linguistics is documented. | Their teacher seems to have been ‘Īsā b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī, d. 149/766, who also had a reputation as a reciter of the Qur‘ān.<sup>1</sup> | He was credited with two works, *al-Jāmi‘* and *al-Ikmāl* (or *al-Mukammal*), of which al-Mubarrad (Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 101,<sup>3</sup>, followed by Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* <sup>2</sup> II, 248,<sup>5</sup>) claims to have seen some folia, but of which the author of the *Fihrist* knew no more than their names. Apparently Sībawayhi used the first work as the basis for his *Kitāb*. 99 97

1 See Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qorans* 288, <sup>2</sup>III, 120.

Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'* 25/31, Flügel 29/32.

2. The tradition around his friend Abū 'Amr Zabbān b. 'Ammār b. 'Uryān b. al-'Alā' al-Māzinī offers a somewhat clearer picture, even though none of his works are extant. He was born in Mecca around the year 70/689 and lived in Basra, where he was already a scholar of some renown during al-Farazdaq's time, having social relations with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Returning from Damascus where he had tried to gain the favour of the governor 'Abd al-Wahhāb, he died around 154/770 (or, according to others, in 159) in Kufa. Throughout his life he had collected ancient Arabic poems, especially those from pre-Islamic times, and supplied them with linguistic observations. While early in his life he never cited a single verse in Ramaḍān, in old age he supposedly even burned his entire collection out of religious misgivings in order to devote himself exclusively to the reading of the Qur'ān from then on. He is counted among the seven canonical readers.

Ibn al-Anbārī 29/38, al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'* 1, 288/92, Flügel, 32/4, Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qor.* 290, <sup>2</sup>III pass. (see Index), Goldziher, *Abh.* 1, 138.

3. His student, and also of the older al-Akhfash (see p. 102, Suppl. 1, 162), was Yūnus b. Ḥabīb Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḍabbī, *mawlā* of Bilāl b. Harmī of the tribe Ḍubay'a b. Bajāla (comm. Naq. 1, 323<sub>2</sub>). He came from Jabbul, a small town on the Tigris between | Wāsiṭ and Baghdad. The author of the *Mafākhir al-'ajam* counted him as one of the Persians, perhaps because he confused his birthplace with al-Jabal = al-Jibāl, Media, but he may also have been of Aramaic stock. Like his teachers, he mainly collected interesting items: | *nawādir* (Suyūfī, *Muzhir*<sup>1</sup> II, 143, 16,22), *lughāt*, and *amthāl*, but a *Kitāb al-qiyās fi 'l-naḥw* is also attributed to him. He died at the age of 88 (see al-Jāhiz, *Hay.* V, 171) in the year 182/798 (though, according to others, in 152/769).

Ibn al-Anbārī 59/64, Ibn Khall. 823, Flügel 34/7, works in *Fihrist* 42,6–18.

4. New ground in Arabic linguistics was broken by Abū 'Amr's student al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Tamīm al-Farāhīdī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who belonged to the Azd 'Umān, and he is unanimously credited with the invention of metrics. In his *Kitāb*, Sibawayhi invokes his authority for almost each and every chapter on grammar. Following the example of the Syrians, he also seems to have been the first to introduce vocalisation and other diacritics. He was also the first to engage in collecting the entire Arabic lexicon in a single

work. He died at the age of 74 in the year 175/791 (or, according to others, in 170 or 160).

Ibn al-Anbārī 54/9, Flügel 37/42. The following works are attributed to him: 1. *Kitāb fi ma'na 'l-hurūf*, on the connotations of the names of the letters of the alphabet, Berl. 7015/6, Leid. 140.—2. *Sharḥ ṣarf al-Khalīl*, frgm. Berl. 6909.—3. *Kitāb fihī jumlat ālāt al-i'rāb* AS 4456 (after ZDMG 64, 508, *Kitāb al-jumal fi 'l-naḥw*).—4. Inquiry into the question of why the root *f-'l* is used as a paradigm.—5. *Kitāb al-'ayn*, a large dictionary, arranged on the basis of phonetic rather than alphabetical considerations, starting with 'ayn and ending with yā'. He supposedly started working on it in Khurāsān, and after his death it was completed by al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar b. Naṣr b. Sayyār, a grandson of the governor there (Ibn Durayd, *Gen.-et. Handb.* 107, Yāqūt, *Irsh.* VII, 222/7, al-Nawawī, *Biogr. Dict.* 231). It was only in 248/862 that the book went from the library of the Ṭāhirids | to Baghdad where it was revised several times, as has been inferred from the verses of later poets that are quoted as *shawāhid* (Goldziher, *Abhh.* I, 140), *Fihrist* I, 43, Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal* 191, Suyūṭī, *Muẓhir* I, 138, 247ff., II 2232,14 (where he is blamed for making many mistakes, which were corrected by a student of Tha'lab Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama b. 'Aṣim al-Kūfī in a work called *Kitāb al-istidrāk 'ala 'l-'ayn*, al-Anbārī 265, Yāqūt, *Irsh.* VII, 170, *Muẓhir* 21, 53/4), Flügel 39/42. The original was, in the fourteenth century, apparently still known to the Jews of Provence (Steinschneider, ZDMG VI, 414). Excerpt by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Zubaydī, d. 379/989, Berl. 6950/2, Esc. 2569/71, Köpr. 1574. 7, other revisions and supplements *Ahlw.* 6953. I. Kračkovsky, K istorii slovara al Xalila, *Izv. AC. Nauk SSR* 1926. On his lost musical *Kitāb al-iqā'* see Farmer, *JRAS* 1925, p. 72. The work on the different readings of the Qur'ān that has been attributed to him was written by al-Layth, see al-Azharī in *TA* II, 411,9.—Titles of 8 other works in see Flügel, 38.

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5. Al-Khalīl's most important student, and the composer of the first work that summarised the results of his own as well as of previous research, was the Persian Sībawayhi<sup>2</sup> Abū Bishr (or Abu 'l-Ḥasan) 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Qanbar,<sup>3</sup> who was born in Bayḍā' near Shiraz. As a *mawlā* of the Banū Ḥārith he had gone to Basra early in his life. After he completed his studies he tried his luck

2 In reality Sibūi, i.e. an affectionate form of, probably, Sēbokht, see Nöldeke, *SBWA* 116, 404; in popular etymology associated with *sīb* 'apple' and *būy* 'smell'.

3 This form is confirmed by a verse by al-Zamakhsharī, in which it rhymes with *minbar* (see *Bughya* 366), Ibn al-Anbārī: Qunbura.

at the caliphal court in Baghdad, but came off worst in a conflict with the Kufan grammarian al-Kisā'ī, the tutor of Amīn, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Exasperated, he returned to his native country and died there, aged only 40 (or, according to others, just 33) years old, in the year 177/793 (according to others 180/796, 188, or 194/809).<sup>4</sup> His *Kitāb* is the oldest coherent representation of Arabic grammar | whose assertions, though often rephrased along clearer and sharper lines, were never increased by new observations. Even though one can often see—by the clumsiness, indeed, obscurity of his expressions—that the author is struggling with the language—which even in daily life he seems never to have fully mastered—rather than with the difficulty of the subject matter, in the East his work has always been regarded as the most perfect example of its type (see *Khiz.* 1, 179). It remains to be ascertained to what extent his text was revised by later authors.<sup>5</sup>

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Ibn al-Anbārī 71/81, Ibn Khall. 477, Flügel 42/5. *Le livre de Sibawaihi, traité de grammaire arabe par Sibouya dit Sibawaihi, texte ar. publié d'après les mss. du Caire, de l'Escurial, d'Oxford, de Paris et de St. Pétersbourg et de Vienne par H. Derenbourg, 2 vols., Paris 1881/89* (MSS also Mosul 163,252, Patna 1, 172,1596). *Sibawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik, nach der Ausgabe von H. Derenbourg und dem Cmt. des Sīrāfī (d. 368/978), übers. und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sīrāfī u. a. Cmtaren versehen von G. Jahn, Berlin 1895/1900* | (see F. Praetorius, *GGA* 1894, no. 9). A. Schaade, *Zur Lautlehre des S.*, Leiden 1911. Comm. see Suppl. 1, 160; *Sharḥ 'uyūn K.S.* by Abū Naṣr Hārūn b. Mūsā, d. 401/1010 in Cordova, *Br. Mus. Quart.* x, 31; anon. *shawāhid*—Comm. *Sharḥ alghāz S. wa-ghayrihi min al-nuḥāt* Bank. xx, 2139; others mentioned in Ahlw. 6460.

6. Abū Fayḍ Mu'arrij b. 'Amr al-Sadūsī al-'Ijlī was also one of the students of al-Khalīl and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (p. 103). Born in the desert and familiar with the subtleties of his native language, he studied the methods of linguistics in Basra and devoted himself to the compilation of linguistic and geneological notes, as well as to Qur'ānic exegesis. If it is true that he visited the caliph al-Ma'mūn in Khurāsān then he cannot have died in 195/810 because al-Ma'mūn did not become caliph until 198. | In those days he was apparently teaching in Marw and Nishapur, and possibly also in Jurjān. According to al-Khaṭīb (*Ta'r.*

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4 According to Ibn al-Jawzī he died in Sāwa, and according to 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā', *Jawāhir* 1, 254, in Sinjār.

5 According to *Khiz.* 1, 178, 'Umar al-Jarmī (Flügel, p. 62) provided the names of the poets for all the verses that had been quoted anonymously by Sibawayhi.



*Baghdād* XIII, 258) he went with al-Ma'mūn to Baghdad—which must have been in Šafar 204/August 819—and then died in Basra.

Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif* 169, Ibn al-Anb. 179/84, Ibn Khall. 716, Flügel 52; 5 works are mentioned in *Fihrist* 48,8,9.

7. Likewise, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Naḍr b. Shumayl al-Māzinī al-Tamīmī was a student of al-Khalīl. Born in Marw, he had mastered the Arabic language after a long sojourn in the desert. He completed his studies in Basra and became a respected scholar. Nevertheless, he was unable to make a living and so returned to his homeland. There, al-Ma'mūn entrusted him with a judicial office, and he was the first person in Khurāsān to openly represent the doctrines of the Sunna. He died in 203/818.

Ibn al-Anb. 110/7, Ibn Khall. 735, Flügel 58/61. His works, of which the *Kitāb al-ṣifāt*—a comprehensive encyclopaedia of Bedouin life that was later imitated by the *Gharīb al-muṣannaf* of Ibn 'Ubayd (p. 105)—was the most famous, are listed in *Fihrist* 52,3–16. Al-Tha'ālibī, d. 427/1035, still used his *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, Br. Mus. 821, while Ibn al-Athīr, d. 606/1209, used his *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* in his *Nihāya*.

8. Abū Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr was a student of Sībawayhi who gave him the nickname Quṭrub. Born in Basra and enfranchised by Sālim b. Ziyād, he studied under Sībawayhi and al-Thaqafī. He was then appointed to oversee the education of the prince al-Amīn, but due to rumours concerning his alleged homosexual inclinations he was soon supplanted by Ḥammād 'Ajrad, although this did not stop Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī from entrusting him with the same responsibility for his own children. When al-'Ijlī died in 206/821 he became the tutor of the children of his son al-Ḥusayn. Quṭrub's fame rests on his lexical | collection which has been studied and revised right up to the present day. 102

| Ibn al-Anb. 119, Ibn Khall. 607, Flügel 65. Of the 28 works listed in *Fihrist* 52/3, the following have been preserved: 1. *Kitāb al-aḍḍād*, on words with opposite meanings, ḤKh I, 342, no. 871, <sup>2</sup>I, 115, Berl. 7091.—2. *Mā khālaḥa fīhi insān al-bahīma* Vienna 355,4, ed. R. Geyer, *SBWA*, 1888, 38off.—3. *Kitāb al-azmina* Br. Mus. 536.—4. *Kitāb al-muthallath*, about *fa'l*-, *fi'l*- and *fu'l* forms of the same root with different connotations which, according to Vilmar's preface, was, however, revised in later times, Berl. 7071/3, Leid. 42/3, Paris 825,4, 1206,6, 4067,2, 4230,1, Esc. <sup>2</sup>30,3, 143,4.—Versifications: a. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muhallabī al-Bahnāsī, d. 685/1286, see I. Guidi, *RSO* I, 326, Berl. 7074, Gotha 36,2, 61, 410/3, Leid. 44, ed. E. Vilmar, *Carmen de vocibus tergemini ad Quṭrubum auctorem* 103

*relatum*, Marburg 1857. Commentaries by Ibrāhīm b. Hibatallāh al-Maḥallī al-Lakhmī, d. 721/1321, Berl. 7075/6, Leid. 45, by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Zurayq, d. 803/1400 (Suppl. II, 157), Berl. 7079/80, Vienna 76,<sub>1</sub>, by al-Ramlī (d. 844/1440) or Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), Vienna 76,<sub>2</sub>, by Sa’d al-Dīn al-Bārīzī, *ibid.* 5, by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu‘aym al-Maghribī, Algiers 1836,<sub>8</sub>, by Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, Krafft 30, by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalyūbī, Paris 4230,<sub>2</sub>.—*b.* Ibrāhīm al-Azharī (II, 315), Berl. 7086/7, Gotha 43,<sub>2</sub>, Munich 558.—*c.* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dīrīnī, d. 694/1295 (S. 451), Bodl. II, 237,<sub>5</sub> prosified Berl. 7081, Gotha 408,<sub>3</sub>, Dresd. 254,<sub>3</sub>, Munich 558, comm. (on which version?) Berl. 7078, Br. Mus. 513, ed. by Cheikho, *al-Mashriq* 1909, 685/94.—*d.* Anonymous, Berl. 7082/4, Gotha 61,<sub>2</sub>, 408,<sub>1</sub>, 409, Vienna 76,<sub>3</sub>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 41.—*e.* Shams al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Ḥasan b. Barakāt, Brill-H. 126, <sup>2</sup>288 (not in Garr.).—Imitations in verse with commentary by: *a.* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, d. 1025/1616, ḤKh V, 557 no. 9520, Vienna 76,<sub>4</sub>.—*b.* Jabrā’īl b. Farḥāt, d. 1732 (Suppl. II, 389), *Boll. ital.* I 255, no. 13, Pet. Ros. 156, excerpt Vienna I, 490.—Ibn al-Athīr mentions his *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* in the preface to the *Nihāya*.

9. A contemporary of al-Khalīl and his school, but not directly influenced by him, was Abū ‘Ubayda Ma‘mar b. al-Muthannā. Born in 110/728 in Basra as a slave, he was the son of Jewish-Persian parents who hailed from Bājarwān.

103 A *mawlā* of the | Taym Quraysh, he received his primary education from Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb. He tried to compensate for the blemish of his non-Arab origin by joining the Khārijī Ṣufriyya sect and by writing tracts in the spirit of the Arab-loathing Shu‘ūbiyya movement. At the instigation of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘, in 188/803 Hārūn b. al-Rashīd invited him to recite his work to him. However, the harsh rhetoric contained within his *Kitāb al-mathālib* (ḤKh no. 11362, quoted by Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII 218,<sub>8</sub>) apparently made him so despised that when he died in 210/825 (according to others 207/9, 211, or 213) there was no one in Basra who would follow his corpse.

104 | Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif* 268, Ibn al-Anb. 137/50, Ibn Khall. 702, Flügel 68/70, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 45, Goldziher, *MSt.* I, 194/206. From among the nearly 200 historical and philological works he is said to have written, *Fihrist* 53 lists the titles of 105 works. Apart from the works mentioned in Suppl. I, 162 (on work 2., see Suppl. III, 1194) there also remain a *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur’ān*, Cairo 1<sup>2</sup>, 40 and a *qaṣīda* rhyming on *lām*, Berl. 7535,<sub>3,2</sub>. Apart from the works mentioned there, the following are also quoted: 1. *Kitāb ayyām al-‘Arab*, by al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 1<sup>1</sup>, 84,<sub>3</sub> and elsewhere, the main source of similar reports in the *Aghānī* and in the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr.—2. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, by Ibn al-Athīr in the preface

to the *Nihāya*.—3. *Kitāb al-dībāj*, by al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbih* 243,3 = *Kitāb al-dībāj fī alwān al-khayl*, in al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la‘ālī* 1, 157,8 = *Kitāb al-dībāja*, Suppl. 10 (?) *Kitāb al-khayl* ibid. 3 (?)—4. *Kitāb al-dir‘ wal-bayḍa*, by Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 11<sup>1</sup>, 105 penultimate, <sup>2</sup>130,4.—5. *Kitāb al-tamthīl*, ibid. 138 bottom.

10. Another student of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, but also of the Kufan scholar al-Mufaḍḍal, was Abū Zayd Sa‘īd b. Aws b. Thābit al-Anṣārī of the Khazraj tribe, who devoted himself almost entirely to collecting lexical material. When al-Mahdī ascended the throne in 158/774, he called him, along with many other scholars, to Baghdad. He died in his late nineties in 214 or 215/830.

Ibn Qutayba 270, Ibn al-Anb. 173/9, Ibn Khall. 249, Flügel 70/2. From his works (*Fihrist* 55,1–7) the following survive: 1. *Kitāb al-nawādir fī ‘l-lughā*, in the recension of Abu ‘l-Ḥasan | al-Akhfash, d. 315–6/927–8, which is why in *Khiz.* III, 199, 403 it is called a commentary by him, ed. by Sa‘īd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī, Beirut 1894 (without using Köpr. 1406), see Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* III, 471ff, Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 49, 318ff.—2. *Kitāb al-maṭar*, transcribed from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 4231,1) by R. Gottheil, *JAOS* XVI, 282/312. Also quoted: *Kitāb al-ibil*, in al-Jawharī *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v. *‘mthl* (see Suppl.).

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11. Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣma‘ī al-Bāhili, who was a student of Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ and Khalaf al-Aḥmar, see Suppl. 1, 163.

| Ibn al-Anb. 150/72, Ibn Khall. 352, Flügel 72/80. From his numerous works listed in *Fihrist* 55 the following have been preserved: 1. *Kitāb al-farq*, ed. D.H. Müller, *SBWA* 82, 1876, 235/88.—2. *Kitāb al-wuḥūsh*, ed. R. Geyer, ibid. 1888, 353/420 (without using Paris 3939,2).—3. *Kitāb al-khayl*, ed. A. Haffner, ibid. 1895, 132, x (Köpr. 1360).—4. *Kitāb al-shā’*, ed. Haffner, ibid. 1895, 133, VI (Esc. <sup>2</sup>1705,4, Cairo<sup>2</sup> 11, 28).—5. *Kitāb al-ibil* Vienna 355,5, ed. by Haffner, *Texte zur arab. Lexikographie*, Leipzig 1905, 66/157.—6. *Kitāb al-aḍḍād* ibid. 6, ed. by Ṣālḥānī in Haffner, *Drei arab. Quellenwerke*, Beirut 1913, 5/70.—7. *al-Ikhtiyār* see ad p. 116,4. Also cited: 1. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, by Ibn al-Athīr, in the preface to the *Nihāya*.—2. *Kitāb al-ajnās*, in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 1, <sup>1</sup>179,8.—3. *Kitāb al-abwāb*, in *Khiz.* IV, 200,4.—4. *Kitāb al-amthāl*, by al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la‘ālī* 1, 426f. (al-Qālī, *Amālī* 1, 250, Gotha 423?).

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12. A student of Sibawayhi, even if he was older than him, was al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Sa‘īd b. Mas‘ada of Balkh (thus probably of Iranian origin), a *mawlā* of the Banū Mujāshī‘ b. Dārim. His chief merit lies in his

preservation of the *Kitāb* of his master, even though he often disagreed with the latter's opinions.<sup>6</sup> He died in 221/835 (or, according to others, in 215/830).

105 *Fihrist* 52, Ibn Qutayba 271, Ibn Khall. 250, Ibn al-Anb. 184/8, Flügel 61. Of his works, *Fihrist* 52, 17–28, | only two have been preserved (see Suppl.). Al-Tha'ālibī, d. 427/1035, used his *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, Br. Mus. 821.

106 | 13. One student of Quṭrub was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, called thus after his mother, a freedwoman of Muḥammad b. 'Abbās al-Hāshimī. His unusual fecundity in the areas of philology and history caused al-Marzūbānī to accuse him of plagiarism, an accusation that we cannot verify. He died in Samarra on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 245/21 March 860.

*Fihrist* 106, Flügel p. 67, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 59. A fragment of his magnum opus, the *Kitāb al-qabā'il wal-ayyām al-kabīr*, which the *Fihrist* estimated at 40 *juz'* of 200 folios each, is probably the *Mukhtalif al-qabā'il* cited by al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif* 115, 20, and edited by F. Wüstenfeld, *Muhammed Ben Habib über die Gleichheit und Verschiedenheit der arabischen Stammesnamen*, Göttingen 1850. For works other than the *dīwān* of Farazdaq (p. 52) and the *Naqā'id Jarīr wal-Farazdaq* see Suppl. (broad overview in *Khiz.* I, 274, 4, 324, 9, II, 262, 24, IV, 231, 3). Also mentioned: 1. *Kitāb khalq al-insān*, by al-Suyūṭī in Berl. 7038.—2. *Sharḥ dīwān Dhi 'l-Rumma*, *Khiz.* I, 312, 14.—3. *Sharḥ Dīwān Jirān* (Suppl. 56), *ibid.* II, 160, 14.

14. From among the students of al-Aṣma'ī, 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī was the most significant. He was born in 154/770 in Herat as the son of a Greek slave. Apart from attending the lectures of al-Aṣma'ī, he also took the classes of Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Zayd in Basra, as well as those of Ibn al-A'rābī and al-Kisā'ī in Kufa. In addition, he studied *fiqh*, following al-Shāfi'ī.<sup>7</sup> He then became tutor to the children of the Harāthima,<sup>8</sup> and later to those of the proconsul of Tarsus, Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik. The latter appointed him to a judicial office, which

6 It was apparently out of greed that he wrote his works in a language that was difficult to understand, so that people would pay for his lessons. See Kremer, *Culturg. Streifzüge* 26.

7 Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭab. al-Ḥanābila* 190/2 on the other hand, claims that he was a Ḥanbali.

8 I.e. of the family of Harthama, who became governor of Khurāsān under Hārūn al-Rashīd.

he held for 18 years. | He also lived for some time<sup>9</sup> with ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, the governor of Khurāsān, who allegedly offered him a monthly pension of 10,000 dirhams for his *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*. He then went to Baghdad, before moving to Mecca in 214/829, where he resided as a *mujāwir*, passing away in 223/837 or 224 (although, according to some, he died in Medina). |

Ibn al-Anb. 188/98, Ibn Khall. 507, al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāf.* I, 270/4, Flügel 86, Wüstenf., *Schafiten* no. 2. Of his works (*Fih.* 71) the following have survived: 1. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, based on a work by Abū ‘Ubayda, Leid. 1725, see de Goeje, *ZDMG* XVIII, 781/817, Köpr. 378, II, 64, selection ibid. 455 (Weisweiler, *Istanb. Hdssstudien* 135), Qawāla I, 138, *Lughat al-‘arab* VI, 33ff.—*Mukhtaṣar gharīb al-ḥadīth* by Abū ‘Alī Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Astarābādī, Berl. Oct. 3162.—his own excerpt *Kitāb al-ajnās*, ed. by ‘Alī ‘Arshī, Rampur State Libr. Publ. Ser. 2. Bombay 1938.—2. *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*, in 1000 chapters with 1200 *Shawāhid*, his magnum opus, which he supposedly worked on for 40 years, AS 4706, Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 176.<sup>10</sup>—3. *Kitāb al-amthāl* (after *Khiz.* II, 11,<sub>2</sub>; on the title *al-Majalla* see Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 204, n. 4), Paris 3969, Köpr. 1219, Mosul 206, arranged alphabetically in *al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya*, Istanbul 1302, 2/16; E. Bertheau, *Libri proverbiorum Abu Obaid Elqasimi f. Salami Elchuzzami lectiones duo, octava et septima decima, arab. ed. lat. vertit, annot. instr. diss.* Göttingen 1836, is a later work, see Freytag, *Ar. Prov.* III, viii–ix.—Comm. *Faṣl al-maqāl* by ‘Abdallāh al-Bakrī, d. 487/1094 (see p. 476), Esc, 2526.—4. *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān wa-ādābuhu*, on the excellence of the Qur’ān in general and of particular suras especially, in addition to all kinds of matters related to the script, the reading, and the interpretation thereof, edited by an unknown student of the Qur’ān reciter Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj, ca 320/932, Berl. 451, Tüb. 95, see Bergstr.-Pretzl, *Gesch. d. Q.* III, Index.—5.–11. see Suppl.—12. *Kitāb al-amwāl*, an exposition of financial and fiscal law on the basis of *ḥadīth* material. Its relation to the *Kitāb al-kharāj* (see pp. 171, 181, 228), a work that had emerged from administrative | practice (see Suppl. I, 284) and other schools of *fiqh*, still needs to be investigated. Edition on the basis of the manuscripts in Damascus (Berl. sim. 31/2) and one from Cairo by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1353.—13. *Risāla fī-mā ishṭabaha al-lafẓ waikhtalafa al-ma’nā* Rāmpūr I, 510,<sub>31b</sub>.—Being a devout man, he tried to avoid causing umbrage as much as possible, and as such he went so

9 According to Ibn Abī Ya’lā and al-Subkī he went from Tarsus straight to Mecca. In that case, his sojourn with ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir must have taken place earlier.

10 Other MSS that cannot be checked in al-Nadwī, *Tadhk. al-nawādir* 107 (partly after Krenkow).

far as to replace all personal names in the *hijā'* verses that he would quote as witnesses in his linguistic collections with fictitious words, adapted to fit the metre. See Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Shifā'* II, 237, Goldziher, *MSt* I, 193, n. 4.

15. The second most important student of al-Aṣma'ī was Abu 'l-Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Sijistānī, who had also studied with Abū 'Ubayda and Abū Zayd, and who had read Sībawayhī's *Kitāb* twice under al-Akhfash. Because of some unpleasant experiences during a stay in Baghdad he spent most of his life in Basra, but turned more to the booktrade in later times. He died around 250/864 (according to Ibn Durayd in Yāqūt, 255).

Ibn al-Anb. 251/4, Ibn Khall. 266, de Sacy, *Anth. gramm.* 143 (162), Flügel, 87. Apart from his works (*Fih.* 58/9) as mentioned in Suppl. I, 167, there also remains a *Kitāb al-nakhl*, see S. Cusa, *Sopra il codice arabo sulle palme, Estratto del Arch. stor. Siciliano*, I, i, Palermo 1873, C.B. Lagumina, *Il libro delle palme di al-Ḥ. al-S.*, *Atti della R. Acc. dei Lincei*, ser. IV, vol. VIII, i, 6/41.—Also cited is a *Kitāb al-layl wal-nahār*, by al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* <sup>1</sup> II, 169, <sup>19</sup>, 263, <sup>23</sup>, <sup>2160</sup>, <sup>13</sup>, 317, <sup>16</sup>.

16. Other students of al-Aṣma'ī, of whom no works have remained, will be briefly mentioned here (see Flügel, 80/5):

a. Abū Naṣr b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī, d. 235/845.

*Fih.* 56, <sup>7-11</sup>, *ZDMG* 12, 595, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'riḫ Baghdād* IV, 114, Yāqūt, *Irshād* I, 405, Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 130, al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-jānān* II, 46, <sup>2</sup>; his *Kitāb al-ma'ānī* is quoted in al-Jurjānī, *Kināyāt* 93, <sup>13</sup>.

108 | b. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mughīra al-Athram, d. 231/844.

*Fihrist* 56, <sup>12-28</sup>, Ibn al-Anb. 218/21, Yāqūt, *Irshād* v, 451, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 355.

108 | c. Abū 'Umar Ṣālih b. Ishāq al-Jarmī, d. 225/839.

*Fihrist* 56/7, Ibn al-Anb. 198/203, Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV, 267/8, Ibn Khall. 278, Ibn Durayd, *Handb.* 302, 314, 318, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 216, see above p. 100, note 1.

d. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Tawwazī, d. 233/847.<sup>11</sup>

11 He was believed to have been two people by Flügel: al-Tawwazī, p. 82, and al-Thawrī, p. 84.

*Fihrist* 57/8, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 290. Apparently by him, *Kitāb al-taṣrīf*, with a comm. by Ibn Jinnī, d. 392/1001, Petersb. 211, identified by Dorn by the incipit rather than the title, see Suppl.

e. Abū ‘Uthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Māzinī, d. 249/863 or 236 (Ibn Khall. 115), see Suppl.

f. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān al-Ziyādī, d. 249/863.

Ibn al-Anb. 269, Yāqūt, *Irshād* 1, 162/3, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 181.

g. Abu ‘l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Faraj al-Riyāshī, d. 257/870.

*Fihrist* 58,8–17, Ibn Durayd 218, Ibn al-Anb. 262/5, Ibn Khall. 296, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 275, de Sacy, *Anth. gramm.* 316 (112), *ZDMG* XII, 59.

17. One of the youngest students of al-Aṣma‘ī, who also attended the classes of his student al-Riyāshī, was Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī, b. 212/827, d. 275/888. He rendered outstanding service as a collector and recensionist of ancient Arabic poems.

*Fihrist* 78,20–27, Ibn al-Anb. 274, Flügel 89. 1. *Kitāb akhbār al-luṣūṣ*, see above, p. 12, quoted with *isnād* by al-Tabrīzī in connection with | *Ḥamāsa* 103, top of page, excerpts *Khiz.* 1, 297/9.—2. *Sharḥ ash‘ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, see Suppl. 42.—3. *Sharḥ Dīwān Imra al-Qays*, see Suppl. 50. 4—*Sharḥ dīwān al-Quṭāmī*, quoted in *Khiz.* 1, 81,10.—5. *Ash‘ār Taghlib*, quoted *ibid.* 1, 304,11.—6. *Jāmi‘ shi‘r Nu‘mān b. Bashīr*, quoted in *Agh.* 1XIV, 119,9, p. 124,9 from below.—7. *Man qāla baytan fa-luqqiba bihi*, *ibid.* XVII, 107/8.

18. Al-Mubarrad<sup>12</sup> Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Azdī al-Thumālī, born in Basra around 210/825 (according to others in 220), was a student of al-Māzinī and Abū Ḥātim. He was the most important representative of the Basran school of his time, in the same way in which Tha‘lab was the undeclared head of the Kufans, and the rivalry between the two schools also determined their personal relations. As a grammarian he followed his own path and did not even shy away from deviating from such an authority as Sibawayhi, whose *Kitāb* he

<sup>12</sup> On this *laqab* see Suppl. 1, 168.

sought to refute in a separate treatise.<sup>13</sup> He spent his final days in Baghdad and died there in Shawwāl 285/November 898 (according to others in 286).

- 109 | *Fihrist* 59, Ibn al-Anbārī 279/93, Ibn Khall. 608, Flügel 93, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 80. From his numerous works, the following remain: 1. *The Kamil of el Mubarrad*, ed. by W. Wright, Leipzig 1864ff., Istanbul 1286, Cairo 1308, 1313, 1339.—2. *al-Fāḍil*, its counterpart, mainly chronicles from Umayyad times with grammatical explanations, Asʿad 3598.—3. *al-Muqtaḍab*, with comm. by Saʿīd b. Saʿīd al-Fāriqī, d. 391/1000, Esc. <sup>2</sup>111.—4. *Kitāb al-taʿāzī* ibid. 534,<sup>1</sup>—5. Aḥmad b. Wāthiq's letter to al-Mubarrad concerning the question of whether poetry or prose is preferable, with Mubarrad's answer, Munich 791, Berl. 7177 frgm.—6. *Nasab ʿAdnān wa-Qaḥṭān* (see Suppl. no. 3) print. C. 1936.—Also cited: 1. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, cited by Ibn al-Athīr in the preface to *al-Nihāya*.—2. *Kitāb al-rawḍa*, whence a typology of the poet al-Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf, *Agh.* VIII, 15,<sup>20</sup>—3. *Kitāb al-iʿtinān*, *Khiz.* I. 305,<sup>21</sup>—4. *al-Sharḥ* (i.e. *Sharḥ kalām al-ʿArab*?) | ibid. II, 193<sup>u</sup>.—5. *al-Fitan wal-miḥan*, cited by al-Šūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām* 158,<sup>6</sup>.

19. A student of al-Tawwazī (15, d) and the teacher of Ibn Durayd was Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Hārūn al-Ushnāndānī, about whom nothing is known other than that he died in 288/901.

*Fihrist* 60, 83, Ibn al-Anb. 266, Ibn Khall. transl. Slane III, 39, Flügel 96. *Kitāb maʿāni al-shiʿr* in the recension of Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, d. 368/978, after Ibn Durayd, d. 321/933, Esc.<sup>2</sup> 406,<sup>2</sup>, print. Damascus 1340/1922, C. 1932.

20. The house of the Yazīdiyyūn supplied students for the older school of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, as well as for the younger school of al-Aṣmaʿī.

*Fihrist* 50/1, Flügel 89/92.

a. The founder of this house, Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. al-Mubāarak al-ʿAdawī, a student of Abū ʿAmr and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, had taken part in the uprising of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan in Basra and because of this he had to spend time in hiding. His teacher recommended him to Yazīd b. al-Manṣūr

13 His *Masāʾil al-ghalaṭ*, too, though later repudiated by him as an immature and juvenile work, was a critique of the *Kitāb*; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*<sup>1</sup> 11, 188.



al-Ḥimyarī, the uncle of al-Mahdī, to be tutor to his sons, and it was after him that he took on the *nisba* of al-Yazīdī. He died at the age of 74 in 202/817 in Khurāsān.

*Agh.* XVIII<sup>1,2</sup> 72/83, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 599/600, Ibn al-Anb. 103/10, Ibn Khall. 770. His *Jāmiʿ shiʿr wa-adab* contained laudatory poems on the Basran grammarians and satirical ones on the Kufans. His *Nawādir* is quoted in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* II, 144,13, 2176,15.

*b.* Of his sons, Ibrāhīm was active as a writer. He went to Asia Minor as part of the retinue of al-Maʿmūn, and to Damascus with al-Muʿtaṣim. He died in 225/839.

*Agh.* XVIII, 1287/91.

*c.* His eldest grandson, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad Yaḥyā, was held in high regard by al-Maʿmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim.

| *Agh.* XVIII, 291/4, al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾr. Baghdād* v, 117, Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾr. Dimashq* II, 79/80, which contains the quite impossible statement that he died long before 160. III

*d.* His great-grandson Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was, in his later years, the tutor of the caliph al-Muqtaḍir's children. He died in 310/922.

Ibn al-Anb. 308, Ibn Khall. 612, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 97. *Sharḥ dīwān al-Ḥādīra* p. 17; *Kitāb al-naqāʾid*, quoted in *Agh.* x, 131,5 from below, *Kitāb al-jawābāt* ibid. xv, 3,6. Other members of the house *Agh.*, *Fihrist*, and al-Samʿānī, loc. cit., see Suppl.

21. A student of Mubarrad, but at the same time also of Thaʿlab, was Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Kaysān, who died in the year 299/911 (according to others 320/932, see Suppl.) after a successful teaching career.

Ibn al-Anb. 301, Flügel 98. Of his works, there remain extant: 1. *Kitāb talqīb al-qawāfi wa-talqīb ḥarakātihā* Leid. 264, ed. by W. Wright, *Opuscula arab.* 47/74.—2. *Sharḥ al-muʿallaqāt* see Suppl. I, 35, on Imraʾ al-Qays, ed. by F.L. Bernstein, *ZA* XXIX, 1/77.

22. Even more important was Mubarrad's student Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī b. Sahl al-Zajjāj, who started his studies with him when he still was a glass-cutter, and who committed himself to paying him a daily fee of 1 dirham until the end of his life. He upheld his word even when, on al-Mubarrad's recommendation, he became a private tutor with the Banū Māriqa in al-Šarāt, and later also when he held the same position under 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān, the vizier of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid. When his pupil al-Qāsim, the vizier's son, became vizier himself, he entered his service as a secretary, and remained with him until he died, at about 80 years of age, on 9 Jumādā II 311/25 September 923 (or, according to others, in 310 or 316).

Ibn al-Anb. 308/12, Ibn Khall. 12, Flügel 98. Of his works, there remain (see *Fihrist* 61): 1. see Suppl.—2. *al-Ibāna wal-tafhīm 'an ma'ānī bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* Gotha 727.—3. *Ma'ānī 'l-Qur'ān* or *I'rāb al-Qur'ān wa-ma'ānīhi* NO 115, 320, 'Um. 247 with continuation Ġārullāh 44, of the year 112 | 368/978, Cairo<sup>2</sup> I, 32 s. App. 3.—4, 5 see Suppl.—6. *Ḥurūf al-ma'ānī* Lāleli 3740,7, according to Rescher, *Abriss* 155, while in *MO* VII, 107 (after which Suppl. I, 171) he ascribed it to al-Zajjājī.—7. *Kitāb al-shajara al-musammā bi-Kiṭāb al-taqrīb* Kairouan, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, 186.<sup>50</sup>

23. His student Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq, called al-Zajjājī after him, was born in Nihāwand. He followed his master's lectures in Baghdad and later taught in Damascus, Ayla, and Ṭabariyya, where he died in 377/949 (or, according to others, in 339 or 340).

*Akhbār al-Z.* 'Āšir I, 879, Ibn al-Anb. 379, Ibn Khall. 340, Flügel 98. Of his works, *Fihrist* 80, there remain: 1. *Kitāb al-jumal fi 'l-naḥw*, his magnum opus that he is said to have written in Mecca, Berl. 6461, Esc. <sup>2</sup>30, 108,<sup>1</sup>, Algiers 38/9, Köpr. 1462, Bāyezīd 3026, Ḥamīd. 1277ff.—Commentaries (see Suppl. I, 171).—4. *b. Iṣlāḥ al-khalal al-wāqī' fi 'l-J.* by al-Baṭalyawsī, d. 521/1127 (see p. 427), Berl. 6463, Leid. 142.—7. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Uṣfūr al-Ishbīlī, d. 669/1270, Leid. 43, Ambros. 154.—21 commentaries are mentioned in Ahlw. 6464.—11—X, see Suppl.

111 | 24. Likewise a student of al-Zajjāj and Ibn Durayd was Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Āmidī who, being a poet himself, devoted himself to the critical study of poetry. In Baghdad he worked as a secretary for Ja'far Hārūn b. Muḥammad, the political adviser to the ruler of Oman, Abū b. Hilāl, and later in the administration of the *awqāf* in his hometown of Basra, where he died in 371/987 (see Suppl. I, 171/2).

*Al-Muwāzana etc.* also Berl. Brill M. 260.

25. The school of Basra was given a very special lustre by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd al-Azdī. Born in the city in 223/837, he excelled as both a poet and a scholar. In Basra he studied under Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, al-Riyāshī, al-Ushnāndānī, and others. When the Zanj perpetrated a terrible bloodbath in Basra in 257/871<sup>14</sup> he fled with his uncle | al-Ḥusayn to the homeland of his tribe, Oman, and stayed there for 12 years. He then went to Khurāsān where he gained the favour of the governor ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Mikāl and his son Ismā‘īl in Nishapur. He composed his famous *al-Qaṣīda al-maqṣūra* in praise of them, and his magnum opus *al-Jamhara* was also written for them. After Ismā‘īl had been removed from office in 308/920 Ibn Durayd went to Baghdad. There, the caliph al-Muqtaḍir granted him a pension so that he could devote himself entirely to scholarship and teaching. He died there on 18 Sha‘bān 321/12 August 933. 113

Ibn al-Anb. 322/6, Ibn Khall. 609, al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-shāfi‘īyya* 11, 145/9, *Khiz.* 1, 490, Flügel 101, Wüstenf., *Schaf.* 192. I. *al-Maqṣūra, Poemation Ibn Doreidi cum scholiis arabicis excerptis e codd. mss. ed. lat. convers. et observat. miscellis illustr. cura et ed.* A. Haitsma, Franeker 1773. *Abu Becri Mohammedis ebn Hoseini ebn Doreidi Azdiensis Katsijda 'l-Mektsoura sive Idyllium arabicum lat. redd. et brev. schol. illustr. ed.* E. Scheidius, Harderwijk 1786. *Carmen Maksura dictum Abu Becri Muhammedis ibn Hoseini ibn Doreidi Azdiensis cum scholiis integris nunc primum editis Abu Abdallah ibn Haschami ed. interpret. lat. proleg. et not. instr.* Nannestad Boysen, Copenhagen 1828.—Commentaries: 1. By his student Ibn Khālawayh, d. 370/980, Berl. 7574/5, Leid. 618, de Jong 86, Paris 4231,4, together with the commentary by al-Sīrāfi, d. 368/978, Leid. 619.—6. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hishām al-Lakhmī, d. 570/1174, Leid. 620, Paris 792,2, | Bodl. 1257,3, 112 Munich 564, Esc. 2476, Algiers 1831/2, fragments from this Berl. 7418.—16. Anon., Berl. 7550/3, Leid. 621, Munich 565, Paris 3088/9, Köpr. 1325.—Other commentaries Ahlw. 7558, Suppl. 1, 172/3.—*Takhmīs a.* Sa‘d b. ‘Alī al-Irbilī Leid. 623, *b.* ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar al-Anṣārī al-Wazīr, d. 777/1375, Berl. 7554/5, *c.* al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, *ibid.* 7556, *d.* al-Muṭahhar Fakhr al-Dīn, *ibid.* 7557.—11. Satirical poem on the philologist al-Bāhili (p. 107<sub>16,1</sub>), Leid. 624.—111. *Qaṣīdas* Berl. 7561.—IV. *Qaṣīda* rhyming in *ṭā’*, Bodl. 11, 380,7,2—V. Poem in praise of Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Baṣrī al-Kātib, *ibid.* 3.—VI. *al-Maqṣūra al-kubrā* or *Kitāb al-maqṣūr wal-mamdūd nazman*, 55 verses, each of which contains two identical words that only differ by an *alif maqṣūra* or *mamdūda*

14 Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 168.

114 and in part also in meaning, | in 7 chapters with headings, according to the vocalisation of the first two radicals and in part according to the meaning, Berl. 7559/60, Gotha 207,<sup>2</sup>, Munich 564, f. 123, Vienna 146, 1805,<sup>2</sup>, Leid. 615/7, de Jong 28/9, Paris 792,<sup>4</sup>, Pet. AM 268.—VII. 13 verses on the parts of the human body that are masculine or feminine, Paris 792,<sup>3</sup>.—VIII. *al-Jamhara fi 'l-lughā*, a large but impractical dictionary, circulating in different recensions, Leid. 52, Paris 4231,<sup>5</sup>, 4233, Köpr. 1541/2, Yeni 1124, Welieddīn 3100, Dāmād Ibr. 1117, Fātiḥ 5187, NO 4745/6, AS 4672, Cairo 1IV, 171, <sup>2</sup>II, 11.—IX. *Kitāb al-sarj wal-lithām* Leid. 53, ed. W. Wright, *Op. ar.* 1/14.—X. *Kitāb ṣifāt al-saḥāb wal-ghayth wa-akhbār al-ruwwād wa-mā ḥamidū min al-kala'*, Leid. 54, *Op. ar.* 15/46 = (?) *Kitāb al-maṭar* Berl. 7050.—XI. *Kitāb al-malāḥin* (linguistic tricks in swearing, MSS in Suppl. with Bešīr Āgā Ayyūb 193, *MFO* v, 535), ed. H. Thorbecke, *Festschr. der or. Section d. 36. Vers. deutscher Philolog. u. Schulm.*, Heidelberg 1882, C. 1347.—XII. *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq* (in refutation of the allegation—in disparagement of the Arabic language—that the names of the tribes have no etymology in it, see Goldziher, *MSt.* 1, 209), *Genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch aus der Hds. der Un.-bibl. zu Leyden hsg. v. F. Wüstenfeld*, Göttingen 1854 (only 100 copies and an anastatic reprint).—XIII. *Kitāb al-mujtanā*, sayings by the Prophet and his successors up to the time of al-Ḥasan, by sages and philosophers, ḤKh v, 146, Br. Mus. 723, Bodl. 11, 381, Hyderabad 1342.—His *Amālī* is quoted in al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 1, <sup>1</sup>62,<sup>19</sup>, 80,<sup>3</sup>, <sup>2</sup>76,<sup>10</sup>, 99,<sup>6</sup> and elsewhere.

26. From among al-Mubarrad's students the following also need to be mentioned:

a. Muḥammad b. al-Sarī b. al-Sarrāj, d. 316/928.

*Fihrist* 62, Ibn al-Anb. 313/4, Ibn Khall. 613, Flügel 103. His *Kitāb al-uṣūl* is quoted in *Khiz.* 111, 61, penult. 95,<sup>10</sup>.

b. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Durustawayh al-Fasawī was born in 258/871 in the Persian province of Fasā and died on 24 Šafār 347/18 May 958 in Baghdad.

113 | *Fihrist* 63, Ibn al-Anb. 356/8, Ibn Khall. 305, Flügel 105, | Wüst., *Gesch.* 122. His *Kitāb al-alfāz lil-kuttāb*, Bodl. 11, 354, is a handbook on phonetics and typography for secretaries.

115 | 27. Likewise of Persian origin was Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Marzubān al-Sirāfi, who was born in 280/893. His father, whose real name

was Behzād, had still professed Zoroastrianism. Al-Sirāfī began his studies in his hometown. He then studied jurisprudence in Oman and, in ‘Askar Mukram, under Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ṣaymarī, dogmatics, astronomy, and mathematics. He eventually went to Baghdad where he followed the philology classes of Ibn Durayd. Because of his knowledge of *fiqh*, the *qāḍī* Abū Muḥammad b. Ma‘rūf appointed him as his representative, first on the eastern bank of the Tigris, then on both banks and finally again on the eastern bank. There, in the mosque of the Ruṣāfa fortress, he issued Ḥanafī fatwas for almost 50 years. At the same time he was also a teacher of philology. He died on 2 Rajab 368/3 February 979.

*Fihrist* 62, Ibn al-Anb. 379/82, Ibn Khall. 153, Flügel 107, Wüst., *Gesch.* 142. Comm. on Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb*, see p. 100 and also Suppl. 1, 175. *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn* Shahīd ‘Alī Pāshā 1842 (Rescher, *Abr.* 163).

His son Yūsuf, d. Rabī‘ 1 385/April 995 at the age of 55, continued his father’s works and completed some of them.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII, 307, Ibn Khall. 809, Flügel 242. 1. *Sharḥ shawāhid Sībawayhi*, NO 4576, p. 120 n.—2. *Sharḥ abyāt Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, p. 120.

28. A student of Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Durayd was Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Rummānī al-Ikshīdī al-Warrāq, born in 276/889 in Baghdad, where he died on 11 Jumādā 1 384/24 June 994. His contemporaries criticised him for allowing logical speculation to have too much of an influence on his linguistics.

*Fihrist* 63, Ibn al-Anb. 389/92, Ibn Khall. 446, Flügel 108. 1. *Tawjīh i‘rāb abyāt mulghazāt al-i‘rāb* Paris 3303.—2. *Kitāb al-nukat fī majāz al-Qur‘ān* (Wehbī Efendi 62), ed. Dr. Abalalim, Delhi 1934 (*Isl. Cult.* 1933, 374), see Suppl. 1, 175.

| 29. Another student of Ibn al-Sarrāj and Zajjāj was the Iranian Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad (Muḥammad) b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fasawī al-Fārisī. Born in 288/900 in Fasā, the son of an Arab woman, he went to Baghdad in 307/919. After finishing his studies he went to the Aleppan court of Sayf al-Dawla in 341/952, and later to the Būyid ‘Aḍud al-Dawla in Persia, | for whom he composed his major works *al-Īḍāḥ* and *al-Takmila*. He died in Baghdad on 17 Rabī‘ 1 377/17 July 987. 116  
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*Fihrist* 64, Ibn al-Anb. 387/9, Ibn Khall. 155, Flügel 110. 1. *al-Īḍāḥ (wal-takmila) fī ‘l-naḥw* Esc. <sup>2</sup>42/3, 125, 194, AS 4451, Köpr. 1456/7, Patna 1, 161, <sub>522</sub> (see Suppl.).

Comm.: *b.* ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, d. 471/1078 (see p. 287), Esc. <sup>2</sup>44.—II. *Kitāb al-shi‘r* or *al-‘Aḍudī*, ed. by his student Ibn Jinnī, d. 391/1001, grammatical comments on poetical fragments, Berl. 6465.<sup>1</sup>—III. *Kitāb al-ḥujja* etc. (Suppl.) Patna I, 13, 114/5, see Pretzl, *Islca* VI, 17.—V. *al-Masā’il al-Shirāziyyāt* Rāḡib 1379.—VII. *Kitāb al-tadhkira*, grammatical comments on difficult verses, ḤKh II<sup>1</sup>, 2788, I, <sup>2</sup>384, quoted *Khiz.* IV, 390,<sup>7</sup> 392,<sup>9</sup>, 421 bottom and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

30. Abu ‘l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī, who attended the lectures of al-Mutanabbī in Baghdad and died in Sicily in 375/985.

*Kitāb al-tanbīhāt ‘alā aghlāṭ al-ruwāt* Br. Mus. Suppl. 841, Strasburg, *ZDMG* 1886, 313; Excerpts: against Ibn al-Sikkīt’s *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, Leid. 46, against al-Mubarrad’s *Kāmil*, *ibid.* 445.

Many of the men who have been mentioned towards the end could also be counted as representatives of the school of Baghdad. In this school, which dates from the fourth century A.H., the antagonisms of the two previous schools balanced one another. But before we turn to this new development in linguistics we must first consider the school of Kufa, which was the rival of that of Basra.

## 117 | II *The School of Kufa*

The beginnings of linguistic studies in Kufa, the second capital of Iraq, are just as murky as they are for Basra. It seems that they started somewhat later than in the latter and that, at their inception, they may even have been influenced by them. Unfortunately, we are very ill-informed on this school, which is mainly due to the fact that almost none of its works have survived. Reports on the rivalries between the two schools in later authors are not very positive for the Kufans. This is because the prevailing precisionist school of thought was not able to deal with other’s more practice-oriented studies.

Cf. *Kitāb al-inṣāf fī masā’il al-khilāf bayna ‘l-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wal-Kūfiyyīn* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Anbārī, d. 577/1181, Leid. 169, Esc. <sup>2</sup>119, Yeni 1060, ‘Alī Ṣehīd, P. 2340 (*MFO* V, 520), after which Koshut, *Fünf Streitfragen der Basrener und Kufenser*, Vienna 1878.

1 Contrary to Ahlwardt’s misgivings, the quotation at *Khiz.* IV, 372,<sup>14</sup> = Cap. 11 in Rödiger, *ZDMG* XXIII, 304 confirms the title of the Berlin MS. See also *Khiz.* IV, 425,<sup>12</sup> 427,<sup>23</sup> 437,<sup>21</sup>.

2 Against it, Abū Muḥammad al-Aswad al-‘Arabī (see p. 120, n. 1) wrote his *Kitāb nuzhat al-adīb*, *Khiz.* I, 21.

1. Regarded as the founder of the school of Kufa is Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Abī Sāra al-Ḥasan (Yāqūt 'Alī) al-Ru'āsī, a contemporary of Khalīl, who supposedly used one of the latter's works. It was he that Sībawayhi referred to in his *Kitāb* through the simple title al-Kūfī (al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* <sup>2</sup>11, 248, <sub>20</sub>).

Flügel 118.

2. 'Alī b. Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. Bahman b. Fayrūz al-Kisā'ī, who hailed from a small Iranian family, was a student of al-Ru'āsī and his uncle Abū Muslim Mu'ādh b. Muslim al-Harrā'. He also attended the lectures of al-Khalīl in Basra, and it was at the latter's advice that he went for a time to the desert to learn the unadulterated language of the Bedouins.<sup>3</sup> His teacher in the art of reciting the Qur'ān was | Ḥamza al-Zayyāt, d. 156/773. Later he developed his own way of reading, so that he is counted as one of the seven canonical readers. Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was himself one of his students, entrusted him with the education of his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. As mentioned earlier, Sībawayhi made a failed attempt to unsettle his reputation. He died in Ranbūya near Rayy in 189/865 (Fih. 179) (or, according to others, in 179, 182, 183, or 192).

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*Fihrist* 29, 30, 65, Ibn Qutayba, *Mā'ārif* 279, Ibn al-Anbārī 83/94, Ibn Khall. 406, Flügel 121/6, Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qor.* 291, Bergstr., *Pretzl* 111, Index. On his works see Suppl. 1, 178; in addition, *Kitāb mā tashābaha min alfāz al-Qur'ān wa-tanāzara min kalimāt al-furqān* Qawala 1, 28, q15,2.

| 3. The most important of al-Kisā'ī's students, who had nevertheless also attended the lectures of the Basran Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, was Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Manzūr al-Daylamī al-Farrā', like his teacher of Iranian stock. Al-Ma'mūn appointed him as the tutor to his sons. In Baghdad he also developed a very succesful public lectureship, mainly on the interpretation of the Qur'ān. He died on his way to Mecca in the year 207/822, aged 67.

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Flügel 129/36 (ibid. 134, table of contents of his lost grammatical magnum opus, the *Kitāb al-ḥudūd*). Other works Suppl. 1, 178/9. His *Ḥurūf al-mu'jam* is quoted by Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umda* 1, 100.

3 In the same way, for Abyssinian scholars it is the tribe of the Habab that is regarded as an authority on obscure words in Ge'ez (see Praetorius, *Gramm. der Tigriñaspr.* 4, n. 1), while there are also comparable reports from India.

4. Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (or Abu ‘l-‘Abbās) al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍabbī was born in Kufa and took part in the uprising of the ‘Alid Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Nafs al-Zakiyya<sup>4</sup> against the caliph al-Manṣūr. He was taken hostage, then pardoned and enrolled in the retinue of the crown prince al-Mahdī. It was for the latter that he compiled his famous | collections of poems *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* and *al-Ikhtiyār*. He died around the year 170/786.

*Fihrist* 68f, Ibn al-Anb. 67/9, Flügel 142/5. *Nukhaba min Kitāb al-ikhtiyārayn, ikhtiyār al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī wa-‘Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣma‘ī min ash‘ār fuṣṣahā’ al-‘Arab fi ‘l-jāhiliyya wal-islām mim mā ruwiya min mashāyikh ahl al-lughā al-mawthūq bi-riwāyatihim*, ed. and transl. by Dr. Syed Muazzam Hussain (based on the unique MS Ind. Off. Libr.), Univ. of Dacca, 1938. Of his other works there only remains the *Kitāb al-amthāl*, print. Constantinople, Jawā‘ib 1300, C. 1327/1909.

5. His student was Abū ‘Amr Ishāq b. Mirār al-Shaybānī al-Aḥmar, who occasionally also lived in Baghdad. Like his teacher he devoted himself primarily to ancient poetry and also to Tradition, for which he was considered so trustworthy that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal took much material from him. He is believed to have collected the poems of more than 80 tribes, which he deposited in the mosque of Kufa. He died of old age in the year 206/821.

*Fihrist* 68, Ibn al-Anb. 120/5, Ibn Khall. 83, Flügel 139/42. 1. *Kitāb al-jīm fi ‘l-lughā*, a large lexical compilation on Arabic dialects, Esc. <sup>2</sup>572.—2. *Ash‘ār Banī Ja‘da* quoted in *Agh.* XIX, 182 penult., 83,4.—3. *al-Nawādir*, Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 1261,23, II, 105,4 from below.

6. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. al-A‘rābī was born in 150/767 in Kufa, the son of a slave from Sind. He was enfranchised by the Hāshimī ‘Abbās b. Muḥammad. Later his mother married al-Mufaḍḍal, and he became the latter’s most assiduous student. After a very successful | teaching career he died in Samarra, at 81 years of age, in 231/844 (or, according to others, in 230 or 232).

*Fihrist* 69, Ibn al-Anb. 207/12, Ibn Khall. 605, Flügel 145/9, Wüst., *Gesch.* 54. On his works see Suppl. 1, 179/80; to no. 4, *al-Nawādir*, transmitted by Tha‘lab, allegedly in the Khālidiyya Library in Jerusalem, quoted in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 1, 1251,17, *Khiz.* III, 59 bottom page, | Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Aswad

4 See C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat*, p. 52.



al-A'rābī al-Ghandajānī<sup>5</sup> wrote addenda under the title *Ḍallat al-adīb*, *Khiz.* I, 516,<sup>14</sup> II, 364,<sup>3</sup> III, 83,<sup>9</sup> 84,<sup>5</sup> 166,<sup>7</sup> 263,<sup>19</sup>.

7. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. al-Sikkīt was the son of a schoolteacher from Dawraq in Khūzistān, probably of Aramaic origin, who had studied philology under al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā'. Abū Yūsuf, too, attended the lectures of the latter, and those of Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī and of the Basrans al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubayda, while further increasing his knowledge through interactions with Bedouins. When he had made a name for himself as an author the caliph al-Mutawakkil entrusted him with the education of his son al-Mu'tazz. But because he made no secret of his preference for the 'Alids the caliph had him trampled to death by his Turkish guards on 25 Rajab 243/18 November 857 (or, according to others, in 244 or 246).

*Fihrist* 72/3, Ibn al-Anb. 238/41, Ibn Khall. 798, Flügel 158/61. 1. *Kitāb iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* Berl. Brill M. 187, Leid. 46 (in the recension of al-Tabrizī), Bodl. II, 213,<sup>11</sup> Br. Mus. Suppl. 831, Esc. <sup>2</sup>29 (recension of Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl b. Abi 'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī al-Qālī, d. 356/966, p. 130), 112 (based on a copy that was made in the author's lifetime), Köpr. 1207/9, 256,<sup>3</sup> NO 4692, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 202, <sup>2</sup>II, 2, old MS Alex. Lugha 3, Āṣaf. II, 1428,<sup>152</sup>.—Commentary on the verses by Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Sirāfi, d. 385/995 (p. 115), Köpr. 1296, 1300, see Rescher, *MSOS* XIV, 13, in the defter wrongly attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Marzubānī, see *Khiz.* I, 405,<sup>11</sup> ḤKh I, <sup>1</sup>328,<sup>2</sup>108).—Excerpts: *a. Jawāmi' iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* by Zayd b. Rif'a'a (see p. 213), Berl. 6929, see A. Ahmedali, *ZDMG* 90, 201/8, print. Hyderabad 1354/1935.—*b.* under the title *al-Munakhkhal* by Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, d. 418/1027 (see 353), Esc. <sup>2</sup>605 (MS d. 486/1093), one folio ibid. 378 (wrongly attributed to Abū 'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn).—2. *Kitāb al-alfāz* Paris 4232, *Tahdhīb al-a.* by al-Tabrizī, | d. 502/1108, Leid. 44, *Kanz al-ḥuffāz fī kitāb T. al-a.*, *La Critique du langage par Ibn al-S. avec les cmt. du Cheikh Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' al-Tabrizī*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1896/8.—3. *Sharḥ dīwān al-Khansā'*, see p. 35. 3a.—12. Suppl. I, 180/1.—Cited are also: 1. *Kitāb al-amthāl*, *Agh.* XXI, <sup>1</sup>189,<sup>15</sup> 203,<sup>8</sup>.—2. *Kitāb al-mudhakkār wal-mu'annath*, *Khiz.* I, 377,<sup>22</sup> II, 310,<sup>17</sup>.—3. *Kitāb abyāt al-ma'ānī*, ibid. I, 487,<sup>14</sup> from below, II, 301,<sup>20</sup>.—4. *Kitāb al-aḍḍād*, ibid. II 147,<sup>9</sup> IV 200,<sup>10</sup>.—5. *Kitāb al-farq*, Jawāliqī, *Mu'arrab* 134 penult.—6.

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5 A protégé of Abū Maṣṣūr Bahrām, d. 433/1041, and of the Būyid vizier Abū Kalijār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla of Shiraz, and the author of a number of polemical tracts in philology; Yāqūt, *Irshād* III, 22/4, after which *Khiz.* I, 21. His *Kitāb farḥat al-adīb* against Yūsuf al-Sirāfi's *Sharḥ shaw. Sībawayhi* (p. 115), *Khiz.* II, 141,<sup>1</sup>; see p. 116 n. 2.

*Sharḥ dīwān Ṭarafa*, *Khiz.* I, 505<sup>13</sup>, IV, 139<sup>21</sup>.—7. *Sharḥ dīwān Ṭufayl*, *ibid.* IV, 246<sup>4</sup> from below.—8. *Kitāb al-maqṣūr wal-mamdūd*, Ibn Sida, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* I, 12<sup>4</sup> from below, Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* <sup>1</sup>I, 212<sup>4</sup>, II, 37 penult., <sup>2</sup>II, 160<sup>17</sup>.—9. *Kitāb al-muthannā wal-mukannā wal-mubannā wal-mu'ākhā wa-mā ḍumma ilayhi*, *Muzhir* I, <sup>1</sup>244<sup>5</sup>, 245<sup>6</sup>, <sup>2</sup>299<sup>19</sup>, 301<sup>3</sup>, II, 72, 93/7, 100, 102/3, 129, 168, see Seybold, *ZDMG* XLIX, 232.— | 10. *Kitāb al-aṣwāt*, Ibn Sida I, 12<sup>4</sup> from below, *Muzhir* I, <sup>1</sup>266<sup>18</sup>, <sup>2</sup>327<sup>14</sup>, 331<sup>18</sup>, II, 148<sup>9</sup>, <sup>2</sup>59<sup>9</sup>, 114<sup>8</sup>, 134<sup>5</sup>, 168<sup>9</sup>.

8. A student of his, and also of Ibn al-A'rābī, was Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama b. 'Āṣim al-Ḍabbī, who was part of the entourage of two of al-Mutawakkil's viziers, Faṭḥ b. Khāqān and Ismā'īl b. Bulbul. He died after 290/903.

*Fihrist* 73, Ibn al-Anb. 263, Ibn Khall. 551, Flügel 162/4. Of his numerous works there remain only: 1. *Kitāb al-fākhir*, see Suppl. I, 181.—2. *Kitāb al-malāhī*, *Ancient Arabic musical instruments in the handwriting of Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī*, *AD* 1298, *Text in facs. and transl. with notes* by James Robson, including notes on the instruments by H.G. Farmer, Glasgow 1938 (Collection of Or. Writers on Music IV).

9. The most important representative of the Kufan school was Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Tha'lab, a student of al-Farrā' and Ibn al-A'rābī and a *mawlā* of the Shaybān tribe. Even though he had also been to the lectures of Basran scholars he kept strictly to the Kufan school when it came to grammatical methodology. His rivalry with al-Mubarrad has already been mentioned. He was born in the year 200/815 and died in an accident on 17 Jumādā I 291/8 April 904.

122 | Ibn al-Anb. 293/9, Ibn Khall. 42, Flügel 165/7. Of his works there remain: 1. *al-Faṣīḥ*, on the form and meaning of obscure words, ed. J. Barth, Leipzig 1876 (see Lane, *ZDMG* III, 94). On this, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī, d. 375/985, see p. 116, wrote *al-Tanbīh 'alā mā fi 'l-Faṣīḥ min al-ghalaṭ*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>188; because he had criticised al-Farrā' at some points, an anonymous contemporary proved him wrong in ten cases, Berl. 6933.—*Dhayl al-Faṣīḥ* by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, d. 629/1231 (see p. 481), Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 267, <sup>2</sup>II, 14, print. in *al-Ṭuruf al-adabiyya* by Muḥammad Amin al-Khānjī, C. 1325.—Commentaries see Suppl. I. 81/2, and additionally Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Tha'lab al-Iṣfahānī, Rāmpūr I, 510<sup>38</sup>.—Versifications: *a.* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, d. 655/1257, see p. 249, Esc. <sup>2</sup>188, *b.* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghābir al-Hawwārī, d. 780/1378, see II, 13, cf. Suppl. Paris 445<sup>2,6</sup>. Other recensions in Ahlw. 6934.—11. *Kitāb qawā'id al-Shi'r* Vat. 357, Th. *L'arte poetica secondo la*

tradizione di a. ‘Ubaidallāh M. b. ‘Imrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384/993, Suppl. 1, 190/1), publ. da C. Schiaparelli, *Actes du 8ème congr. intern. des or.* Leiden 1890, 42 pp.—III. *Dīwān Zuhayr* see Suppl. 48.—IV. *Dīwān al-A’shā* p. 31.—V.–X. see Suppl.—Also quoted: XI. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, by Ibn al-Athīr in the preface to the *Nihāya*.—XII. *Kitāb majāz al-kalām wa-taṣārīfihī*, Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 11, 190,5.

| 10. Tha‘lab’s most important student was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. al-Anbārī, whose father, d. 304/916, had already established a reputation as a traditionist and philologist, and who educated his son himself. Born on 11 Rajab 231/3 January 885, al-Anbārī lived a completely ascetic existence, devoting himself purely to scholarship, and extending his learned activities beyond philology to the science of Tradition, Qur’ānic exegesis, and history. It was only at the beginning of the reign of al-Rāḍī in 322/934, when the latter entrusted him with the education of the prince ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Muqtadir,<sup>6</sup> that he became associated with the court in Baghdad. He died in Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 328/October 940.

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*Fihrist* 75, Ibn al-Anb. 330/42, Ibn Khall. 614, Flügel 168/72.—Of his writings the following are extant: 1. *Kitāb al-addād*, | *sive liber de vocabulis arabicis quae plures habent significationes inter se oppositas*,<sup>7</sup> *ex unico qui superest cod. Lugd. (no. 55)*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1881, repr. C. 1325.—2.–4. see Suppl.—5. On passages from the Qur’ān where a *tā* is written instead of a *hā*, Paris 651,2 (probably from the *Kitāb al-hā’āt fī kitāb Allāh*).—6. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in the preface to the *Nihāya*.—7.–9. see Suppl. (in connection with 9. read Bergsträsser, *Gesch. d. Qur’āntextes* [III] p. 2, n. 2).

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11. His student was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uzayr al-‘Uzayrī al-Sijistānī, d. 330/941.

Ibn al-Anb. 386, Flügel 173. *Nuzhat al-qulūb fī gharīb al-Qur’ān*, arranged not by root but alphabetically by word form, Berl. 684/94, Gotha 522/3, Leid. 1652, Br. Mus. 1188, Bodl. 1, 27, Upps. 388, Paris 590/1 (see Derenbourg, *Rev. crit.* 1882, 1, 206, n. 1), AS 426/8 (other MSS cf. Suppl. 1, 183, 943, with Garr. 1189/90, Qawāla 1, 85, Mosul 126,32, Patna 1 34345), print. C. 1325, 1355, arranged in the usual order

6 See al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-rāḍī* 9,6, ed. Heyworth-Dunne, who confuses master and pupil in his Index.

7 See W.C.F. Giese, *Untersuchungen über die Addād aufgrund von Stellen in altar. Dichtern*, Diss. Berlin 1894, but especially Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beitr. z. sem. Sprachw.*, 67/108.

and provided with some additions by al-Suyūṭī (?), Berl. 695, cf. J. Feilchenfeld, *Ein einleitender Beitrag zum gharīb al-qurʿān mit einer Probe aus dem Lexikon des Sijistānī*, Diss. Jena (Vienna), 1892.

12. The most faithful student of Thaʿlab, which is why he was also known as *ghulām* Thaʿlab, was Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahīd al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz al-Warrāq al-Bāwardī, who was born in 261/874. His exceptional memory aroused the envy of his rivals, who vainly tried to cast doubts on his trustworthiness a number of times. If he excessively venerated the Umayyads at a time when the power of the ʿAbbāsids had already sunk to an all-time low, this must have been due to his preference for the Arabs. Thus, he expected his students in philology to first take his class on *Fī faḍāʾil Muʿāwīya*, a work that he had written himself. He died on 13 Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 345/17 February 957 in Baghdad.

- 124 | Ibn al-Anb. 345/54, Flügel 174/8, al-Rājkūtī, *RAAD IX*, 601/16. From among his numerous writings (*Fihrist* 76) there only remain: 1. *Kitāb al-ʿasharāt*, explanations of ten words each that have the same ending, edited by his student Ibn Khālawayh, d. 370/980, Berl. 7014, see I. Kračkovsky, *Islca III*, 333. 2.—4. Suppl.; ad 4. *RAAD IX*, 532/44.

120 | III *The School of Baghdad*

From the third/ninth century onward the rival schools of Basra and Kufa became more and more integrated. Baghdad, the magnificent new capital of the caliphate, soon became the centre of all intellectual life and overshadowed the towns of the provinces. Nevertheless, even in the capital many scholars held fast to the traditions of the schools from which they had originated. But the younger generation, which had the opportunity of listening to representatives from both schools, was no longer interested in the old antagonisms and tried to unite the advantages of both schools using a new, eclectic method. Of course, this method developed only gradually at first, and with regard to some of those men whom we have already discussed, or who are still to be mentioned, one cannot be sure as to which school they were part of, the more so since it is only with great difficulty that we can have some sense of their actual grammatical ideas. In general, we shall have to be content to rely on the authority of the *Fihrist*.

1. The first representative mentioned here—as in the *Fihrist*—was a man whose importance spread far beyond the field of linguistics, but who himself wanted

his philological works to be regarded as the essence of his literary achievement. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (al-Qutaybī or al-Qutabī) | 125 was born in 213/828 in Baghdad (or, according to others, in Kufa). His father hailed from Marw—which is also why he had the *nisba* al-Marwazī—and he was thus of Iranian or Turkish stock. After extensive studies in philology and the science of Tradition, he held the office of *qāḍī* in Dīnawar, in the province of al-Jabal (Jibāl, i.e. Media), for some time, which explains his second *nisba*, al-Dinawarī. Later he was a teacher in Baghdad, which is where he died on 1 Rajab 276/30 October 889 (according to others in Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 270/May 884). The principal aim of his writing was to provide the (at the time) highly respected and influential class of secretaries, the *kuttāb*, the predecessors of the later *munshī*, | 121 with the tools of a belletristic and historical education necessary for their profession. But in two of his writings he also intervened in the theological disputes of his time,<sup>2</sup> as he defended the Qur‘ān and *ḥadīth* against attacks by philosophically educated sceptics.

Ibn al-Anb. 272/4, Ibn Khall. 304, al-Nawawī 771, Flügel 178/92, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 73. His extant works are: 1. *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*, which examines, in 10 books, sovereignty, war, aristocracy, learning and eloquence, asceticism, friendship, appeals, food, and women, while documenting individual themes by means of sayings from the *ḥadīth*, examples from history, and verses from ancient poetry, Pet. AM 691 (see V. v. Rosen, *Bull. de l’Ac. d. Sc. de. St. Pétersbourg* XXVII, 62ff, *Mélanges Asiatiques de St. P.* VIII, 1880, 777), Köpr. 1344, see Suppl. Going by the preface, we are to regard as an addenda to the aforementioned work: 2. *Kitāb al-ma‘ārif*, *Handbuch der Geschichte*, hsg. v. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1850 (on the | MSS, see Suppl. and on those in Istanbul, Cahen, *REI* 1936 SA 2). The book begins with the Creation and the Fall of Man, using passages that were taken straight from the Bible.<sup>3</sup> There then follows the history of the patriarchs, using biblical and Arab legends, and of the Arabs who had | 126

1 Thus Abū Nuwās calls himself once al-Nuwāsī, *Dīwān* ed. Aṣaf, 196,<sub>2</sub> and Ibn Ḥazm, *Faṣl* 1, 19,<sub>19</sub>, cf. 9, mentions a certain Ibn Shunayf al-Shunayfī.

2 According to al-Dhababī’s *Mizān al-‘itidāl*, in al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-janān* II, 191 (cf. Grünert, *Adab al-C.* VII, n. 1), and al-Bayhaqī (adopted in Flügel, 188), he had leanings towards the Karrāmiyya or the Mushabbihā. Following al-Dāraqutnī in Suyūṭī’s *Bughya*, 291, he wrote the *Kitāb al-radd ‘ala ‘l-Mushabbihā* (*Fihrist* 78,<sub>7</sub> Suppl. 1, 186,<sub>6</sub>) precisely to defend himself against accusations of this kind.

3 His knowledge of the Bible also shows itself in a hitherto unknown work in which he correlates passages that were given a messianic interpretation by the Christians with the person of Muḥammad, and which was incorporated by Ibn al-Jawzī (p. 503) in his *Kitāb al-wafā’* and

abandoned paganism before the time of the Prophet. A detailed genealogy of the Arab tribes is followed by the life of Muḥammad and his Companions, ending with the lives of the caliphs up to his own lifetime. Next follow brief notes on *fuqahāʾ*, traditionists, reciters of the Qurʾān, historians, and philologists, then on the *awāʾil*, *futūḥ*, and the *ayyām al-ʿarab*. The work is completed with a chronicle on the | pre-Islamic dynasties of South and North Arabia, and the kings of the Persians. Cf. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 419.—2. *Kitāb al-sharāb* or *al-ashriba wakhtilāf al-nās fihā* Copenhagen 291, or *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ʿulamāʾ fī-mā yaḥullu min al-ashriba wa-yaḥrumu wa-ḥujjat kulli fariq minhum* Br. Mus. 864,3, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 653, see Suppl. (cf. Goldziher, *Zāhir.* 67, n. 1).—3.—5. *Kitāb al-shiʿr wal-shuʿarāʾ*, see Suppl. Introduction, transl. by Nöldeke, *Beitr.* 1ff., ed. H.W. Chr. Rittershausen, *Verhandeligen over de poezie, Feestgave*, Leiden 1875; reprint by Muḥammad al-Saqqāʾ, C. 1350/1932.—6. *Maʿānī al-shiʿr* in 12 books, whose titles are mentioned in the *Fihrist*, part I *Abyāt al-maʿānī fī ʿl-khayl*, AS 4050, see Suppl.—7. *Adab al-kātib*, composed before the *ʿUyūn*, on the MSS and printed editions see Suppl., with Berl. Brill M. 104, Mosul 172,1, Bank. XX, 1962, C. 1355/1936, cf. W.O. Sproull, *An Extract from Ibn Kutaiba's Adab al-Kātib or the Writers Guide with Transl. and Notes*, Leipzig 1877.—Commentaries by: a. al-Zajjājī (see p. 112), Br. Mus. 426,8.—b. al-Jawālīqī, d. 539/1144 (see p. 280), Pet. AM 203, Esc. 2222, print. C. 1350.—c. al-Baṭalyawsī, d. 521/1127 (p. 309), Esc. 2222, 503, Köpr. 1297/9.—8. *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* Bodl. I, 1000, 1033, cf. II, 605 (quoted in Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir* 1<sup>II</sup>, 36,2).—9. see Suppl. I, 185/6.—10. *Kitāb (taʿwīl) mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* Berl. 1262, Leid. 1730 = *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyya* Rāḡib 1261. While trying to refute all the objections of the philosophers against the traditions from the | standpoint of orthodoxy, he is sometimes obliged to make use of rather desperate methods of interpretation in order to justify the preposterous, and to invoke parallels from the Old and the New Testament. In the end, he nevertheless has to set some limits to the credibility and the authority of the *ḥadīth*; see Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 136, Houtsma, *De Strijd* p. 13. Excerpts under the title *al-Mughīth min mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* by Maḥmūd b. Ṭāhir b. al-Muḏaffar al-Sanjārī, Ind. Off. 196, Āṣaf. I, 674,135.—11. *Kitāb mushkil(āt) al-Qurʾān*, Leid. 1650, Köpr. 211, Asʿad 101, Fātiḥ 232, Rāmpūr I, 58,4, print. C. 1935, tries to solve the same problem for the Qurʾān.—12. *Kitāb al-masāʾil wal-jawābāt*, mostly from the *ḥadīth*, Gotha 636.—13.—19. see Suppl.—20. *Kitāb fī manāqib al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidīn* Āṣaf. III, 658,121.—Falsely attributed to Ibn Qutayba is

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edited by Brockelmann in *BASS* III, 46/55, see Brockelmann, *ZATW* XV, 138/42, 312, Bacher, *ibid.* 309, Goldziher, *REJ*, 1895, 1ff., M. Schreiner in *Kohut Semitic Studies* 496ff.

the *Kitāb al-imāma wal-siyāsa*, Berl. 9412, Brill M. 221, 268, Paris 1566, Br. Mus 1272, 1649, Lund xv, Patna I 275,2291, cf. *Ex libro Ibn Kutaibae excerpta p. I. Expositio de quattuor primis khalifis*, ed. Petersson, p. 11, ed. Andersson, Lund 1856, partly translated by Gayangos in *The Muhamm. Dynasties in Spain by Makkari*, vol. I, App. E, vol. II, App. A. Part of the book was derived from a work of history that has been falsely attributed to Ibn Ḥabīb, d. 239/853, | see Dozy, *Recherches*, 2nd ed. vol. I, p. 23, 3rd ed. vol. I, 9, Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 1886, p. 316, see Suppl. 123

2. Just as wide-ranging in terms of subjects as Ibn Qutayba was his contemporary Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad b. Dāʿūd b. Wanand al-Dīnawārī. He was certainly of Iranian stock as is shown by his grandfather's name. Besides philology, in which the Kufan Ibn al-Sikkīt (see p. 120) was his teacher, he also added mathematics, astronomy, geography, and history to the range of his studies and literary works. However, his great work on plants seems to have arisen from the study of philology rather than natural history. If the numerous quotations in the *Khizānat al-adab* are to be trusted, it was especially concerned with plants mentioned by the ancient poets. Nevertheless, it also offered a number of observations that are independent from those made by the Greeks. He died on 26 Jumādā I 282/4 July 895.

| S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte*, 64, 78, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XXIV, 373, Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.* I, Paris 1876, p. 298, Flügel 190, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 79, Suter, *Math.* no. 60. 1. *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwāl* Leid. 822, 1122, Pet. Ros. 29, *Bibl. Italinsky*, see Hammer, *Lettere*, IV, 205, ed. W. Guirgass, Leiden 1888. After a brief overview of ancient history in which only Alexander and the Persians stand out, the history of the Sasanids is narrated in detail. This is immediately followed by the Muslim conquest of Iraq, with a lively description of the Battle of Qādisiyya. The battles between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and the Khārijis are reported in great detail, while from the time of the Umayyads there is only a description of the death of Ḥusayn and the uprisings of the Azraqīs and Mukhtār. At the end there is a brief history of the caliphs from 'Abd al-Malik to al-Mu'taṣim, in which only the fall of the Umayyads and activities of the 'Alids—especially in Khurāsān—are treated in greater detail.—2. *Kitāb al-nabāt* (see Suppl.), abridged in the *Mufradāt* of Ibn al-Bayṭār (see p. 492), quoted in the *Amālī* of al-Zajjājī, cod. Berl. Pet 111, 218/9 (not in the printed edition), *LA* XVI, 135,19, *Khiz.* III 39,15, 41u, 71,5vu, 93,5vu, 194,9, 244,2,17, IV, 22,9, 46,25, 175,4, 268, penult., 291,17, 504,23, 570,14. The work was criticised by 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī (p. 116) in a chapter of his *Kitāb al-tanbihāt 'alā aghlāṭ al-ruwāt*, see *Khiz.* I, 12,1, III, 128

344,5<sup>vu</sup>.—3.—4. see Suppl.—5. *al-Durra al-farīda fi 'l-durūs al-mufīda*, in 9 volumes, *Āṣaf*. II, 15,10, 126/34.

124 | 3. Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī al-Nāshī' al-Akbar b. Shirshīr was both a philologist and a poet. | Born in Anbār, he lived for a time in Baghdad, dying in Egypt in the year 293/906. Apart from grammar, which he liked to approach from a philosophical perspective, he was particularly interested in metrics and logic. As a poet, he gave a special attention to hunting scenes, *ṭardiyyāt*.

Ibn Khall. 318. A *qaṣīda* of 77 verses on Muḥammad, his merits over the rest of humanity, and on each and every one of his ancestors, Berl. 7540, Br. Mus. 1054, Algiers 613,14. His *Risāla fi tafḍīl al-sūdān 'ala 'l-bīd* and *Mufākhara bayna al-dhahab wal-zujāj* are criticised by Suyūṭī in Berl. 8413.

129 | 4. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b. Bashīr (Bishr) b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥarbī, Shaykh al-Islām, born in 198/813, one of the teachers of Ibn al-Anbārī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, was a philologist dedicated to theology and *fiqh*. He died in Baghdad in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 285/January 899.

*Fawāt* 1, 3, Flügel 197. His enormous *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, in 5 volumes, is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in the preface to the *Nihāya*, vol. v. Dam Z. 63,42.—A tract mentioned by Flügel is not devoted to the pigeon, *al-ḥamām*, but the bath, *al-ḥammām*, as indicated by the addition *wa-ādābihi*.

5. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Yaḥyā al-Washshā' was a student of both Mubarrad and Tha'lab. Even though he made a living as a school teacher, as an author he represented the elegant *adīb* of the old school. He died in 325/936 in Baghdad.

Flügel 212, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 87. Of his works (*Fihrist* 85) the following are extant: 1. *Kitāb al-muwashshā*, which, in 56 chapters, deals with upper-class lifestyles and is, therefore, a rich source for the culture of the time, Leid. 446, ed. by R. Brünnow, Leiden 1887, reprint Cairo, al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥusayniyya, 1324, Maṭba'at al-Taqaaddum 1342/5.—2. *Tafriḥ al-muhaj wa-sabab al-wuṣūl ila 'l-faraj* or *Surūr al-muhaj wal-albāb fi rasā'il al-aḥbāb*, a manual for writing letters, Berl. 8638.—3. See Suppl.—4. *al-Fāḍil min al-adab al-shāmīl*, Berl. 3351, Alex. (not in catalogue.), see *Lughat al-'arab* IX, 193, 674 (where the reference is to Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Washshā').



6. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Abī Ja'far al-Mundhirī al-Marwazī al-Harawī, an Iranian by birth, was also a student of Mubarrad and Tha'lab.<sup>4</sup> He died in 329/940.

Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 29, Flügel 216, see Suppl.

|| 7. To the same school belonged Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar. In 287/900 he went to Egypt, from where he returned to Baghdad by way of Aleppo in 306/918. He died there, at almost 80 years old, in 315/920.

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Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 338, Flügel 63, 224. He published the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad and commented on the *Nawādir* of Abū Zayd (p. 103) and the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (*Khiz.* II, 251,6).

8. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Baghdādī b. al-Marzubān lived in the Bāb al-Muḥawwal quarter of Baghdad and died in 309/921.

Flügel 238. 1. *Tafḍīl al-kilāb 'alā kathīr man labisa 'l-thīyāb*, on the baseness of man, Berl. 5425, Lening. Un. 911, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 338 (see Suppl.), attributed by ḤKh IV, 454,<sup>91</sup>65 s.v. *faḍl* to 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Marzubān, d. 366/976.—2. *Kitāb al-hadāyā* Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 388, excerpts Landb.-Brill 100.

9. Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Khālawayh of Hamadan came to Baghdad in 314/926 and attended the lectures of Ibn Durayd and Ibn al-Anbārī. He also studied *ḥadīth*. He worked for some time as a teacher of *ḥadīth* in the central mosque of Medina. Later, he joined the retinue of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo, where he took part in many a controversy with al-Mutanabbī, dying there in the year 370/980.

Al-Tha'libī, *Yatīma* I, 76, Ibn al-Anb. 383/5, Ibn Khall. 186, Flügel 230, Wüstenf., *Schaf.* 184. Of his works (*Fihrist* 84,<sub>3-11</sub>) the following remain: 1. *Risāla fī i'rāb thalāthīna sūra min al-Qur'ān (al-mufaṣṣal)* Br. Mus. 83, AS 69, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 32.—1b. see Jeffery, *Islca* (AKM XXXIII, 6) 130/55.—1c. *al-Ḥujja fī qirā'at al-a'imma*, MS d. 496, Egypt. Nat. Libr. Collection Ṭal'at Bey.—2. *Kitāb al-shajar* Berl. 7051, see Suppl.—3. *Kitāb laysa*, le Livre intitulé Laisa sur les exceptions de la langue

4 Flügel's assumption that al-Azharī, d. 370/980 (p. 134), was his teacher rather than his student is based on a misreading ('an instead of 'anhu) in the text of al-Suyūṭī.

arabe par Ibn Khalouya, dit Ibn Khalawaihi, texte ar. publié d'après le ms. unique du Br. Mus. (536,2) par H. Derenbourg, *Hebr.* x, 88/105 (only a part, after 131 Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* 11, 2,3 in three hefty volumes, exerpts ibid. | 211, 50/8).—4.–7. see Suppl.—8. *Ishtiḳāq al-shuhūr wal-ayyām*, of which 93 pages of the first volume ed. by v. Dyck, *Iktifāʿ al-qunūʿ* (? *Dharīʿa* 11, 101,395).

10. The son of a Greek slave (Γενναῖος?), Abu ʿl-Faṭḥ ʿUthmān b. Jinnī al-Mawṣilī was born in Mosul sometime before 300/912. While he was working as teacher of philology, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, passing through his hometown one day, made him feel like an absolute beginner. So he joined the latter, staying with him for the next 40 years, and eventually becoming his successor in Baghdad. He also lived for some time in Aleppo where he engaged in disputes with al-Mutanabbī. He died on 28 or 29 Ṣafar 392/15 or 16 January 1002 (see Suppl.).

126 | Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* I, 77, Ibn al-Anb. 406/9, Ibn Khall. 385. 1. *Kitāb sirr al-ṣināʿa*, on phonetics, Berl. 6469, Leid. 144, Paris 3988, Pal. Med. 360, Köpr. 1469, Rāḡib 1315, ʿĀṣir 817 (*MFO* v, 508), Dāmād Ibr. 1058 (ibid. 528), ʿĀṭif 2476 (ibid. 492 bottom), Šehīd ʿA.P. (ibid. 520), Āṣaf. III, 66, 317.—2. *Kitāb al-khaṣāʾiṣ fi ʿl-naḥw* ḤKh 111, 141,172, 21, 706, Berl. Fol. 3054/5, III and IV, Gotha 186/7, Rāḡib 1316, NO 4545/7, Br. Mus. Or. I 1353, Rāmpūr I, 539,103/4, Āṣaf. III, 696,267, Bank. xx, 2015, Patna I, 166,1550.—3. *al-Munṣif sharḥ (tafsīr) Taṣrīf al-Māzinī* (d. 249/863) Rāḡib 1391, Köpr. 150.—4. *Kitāb al-ʿarūd*, a brief overview of metrics, Berl. 7108, Vienna 222, Br. Mus. Or. 8498.—5. *Mukhtaṣar al-qawāfi* Esc. 2442,4.—6. *Kitāb al-lumaʿ fi ʿl-naḥw* Berl. 6466, AS 4578/9, Bank. xx, 2016, Patna I, 172,1577.—Comm. (see Suppl.) by ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥusayn al-ʿUkbarī (p. 282), Pet. AM Buch. 913, Alex. Naḥw 33, Bank. xx, 2017.—17 other commentaries are mentioned in Ahlw. 6468.—7. *al-Muḥtasab fi ʿirāb al-shawādhdh*, grammatical analysis of uncanonical readings of the Qurʾān, Rāḡib 13, Patna I, 16,142.—8. *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī* p. 88.—9. *Jumal uṣūl al-Taṣrīf* or *Mukhtaṣar Taṣrīf al-Mulūkī* ḤKh 11, 304, 21, 412, Leid. 146, *Ibn Ginnī de flexione libellus, ar. num primum ed. in lat. sermonem transt. not. illustr.* G. Hoberg, Leipzig 1885, C. 1331/1913.—10. *ʿIlal al-tathniya*, on the duals, Leid. 145.—see Suppl.

11. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-ʿAskarī, born on 20 Shawwāl 293/15 August 906, died on 23 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja | 382/20 February 933, and his sister's son and student, Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sahl al-ʿAskarī, died after 395/1005.

Flügel 254, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 157, Suppl. 1, 193/4. Additionally 1. 1. *Taṣḥīfāt al-muḥaddithīn* C. 1326, vol. 1.—2. *al-Zawājir wal-mawāʿiẓ* Köpr. 730, according

to Rescher, *MSOS* 1911, 197 a work by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (11, 388,<sub>5</sub>) instead.—11. *Jamharat al-amthāl* also Alex. Adab 32, in *Majmū'at rasā'il* Dāmād Ibr. 1464.—5. *al-Mu'jam fi baqiyyat al-ashyā'* C. 1934.—8. *Kitāb al-awā'il*, BDMG 56, Aligarh 136, Rāmpūr 1, 645,<sub>202</sub>, abridged by al-Suyūṭī in *Kitāb al-wasā'il*, edited in part by R. Gosche in the *Kitāb al-awā'il, eine literarhist. Studie, Festgabe zur 25. Vers. Deutscher Phil.* Halle 1867.<sup>1</sup>—Excerpt by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-'Atā'iqī al-Ḥillī, autograph in al-Khizāna al-Gharawiyya, together with *al-Shuhda fi sharḥ al-Mu'arrab* and *al-Zuhdiyya*, composed in 788/1386, *Dharī'a* 11, 481,<sub>1889</sub>.—9. *al-Furūq fi 'l-lugha* Alex. Lugha 16, Āṣaf. 11, 1440,<sub>172</sub>.—12. *Kitāb al-kuramā'* under the title *Faḍl al-'atā' 'ala 'l-'usr* C. 1353.—20. *Maḥāsīn al-nathr wal-naẓm min al-kitāba wal-shi'r*, undated 170 pp.

| 12. Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. Asad b. al-Hasan al-Fāriqī, d. 467/1074, see Suppl. 194/5. 127

*Kitāb al-ifṣāḥ fi 'l-'awā'ish (sharḥ al-abyāt al-mushkila al-ṣiḥāḥ)* Leid. 635, Esc. 2386, see Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 16, 742/9; there he quotes his *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*.

#### IV *Linguistics in Persia and the East*

In the preceding sections, we met some scholars who had gone to Iraq for their studies, returning to their homelands after that. From among those who wrote on Arabic philology in regions where Persian and Turkish were spoken, a few more must be mentioned here.

| 1. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Īsā al-Hamadhānī was a secretary of Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf and died in the year 320/932. 133

*Fihrist* 137. *Kitāb al-alfāz al-kitābiyya* (on synonymy), ed. P. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1885 (based on Leid. 51, Br. Mus. 1384, other MSS see Suppl. and AS 4865,<sub>2</sub> probably identical with *Adab al-rasā'il*, Āṣaf. 111, 52,<sub>318</sub>).

2. Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī, from Fārāb in East Turkistan, apparently lived for a time in Zabīd in Yemen. However long that may have been, later he taught in | his hometown, dying there in 350/961. 128

1 On similar works in classical literatures cf. W. Kremmer, *de catalogis heurematum*. Diss. 1890 (J. Ruska, *Das Quadrivium aus Severus bar Šakkūs Buch der Dialoge*, Leipzig 1896, p. 43, n. 1).

Flügel 225. *Dīwān al-adab*, in 6 books: 1. *al-sālim*, 2. *al-mudāʿaf*, 3. *al-mithāl*, 4. *dhawāt al-thalātha*, 5. *dhawāt al-arbaʿa*, 6. *al-hamz*; each book is divided into two parts, for nouns and verbs, Leid. 56/7, Bodl. I, 1087, 1118, 1123, 1156, AS 4677/8, Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 170, 2<sup>II</sup>, 13, see Suppl.

3. His nephew and student Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī began his studies in his native Fārāb and then continued them in Baghdad under al-Fārisī and al-Sīrafī. He strengthened his knowledge of Arabic by living with the Rabīʿa and Muḍar tribes in Iraq and Syria, before he returned to the East. From Dāmaghān he soon moved to Nishapur, the capital of Khurāsān, where he worked as a teacher and author. In an attempt to fly from the roof of the central mosque or his house he jumped, crashed, and died in 393/1003 (according to others in 398 or 400).

Ibn al-Anbārī 418/21, Flügel 253. A. Zeki, *L'aviation chez les musulmans*, Cairo 1912, 4ff. 1. *Tāj al-lughā wa-ṣiḥāḥ (ṣaḥāḥ) al-ʿarabiyya*, a dictionary arranged alphabetically according to the last radical, of which his own fair copy only ran up to the letter *ḍād*, and which was completed, though not entirely without mistakes, by his student Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Warrāq; see Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* I, 149ff., 260ff. Manuscripts of this can be found in almost any library; lith. with vocals Tabriz (Tehran ?) 1270, print. Būlāq 1282, 1292.—Revised editions see Suppl. | and also b. *al-Tanqīḥ* Berl. 6943, Paris 4246, Garr. 261.—c. *al-Ṣurāḥ* (on the author see W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens, deutsch v. Th. Menzel*, Berlin 1935, 194/8) Berl. 6947, Br. Mus. 1007/8, Stewart 133, Ind. Off. 1015/22, AS 4699, Āṣaf, *JRASB* CXIC, 1917, 92, print. Calcutta 1812/5, 1832.—d. *al-Mukhtār* Berl. 6944/5, Brill M. 242, Leipz. 455, Munich 779, Uppsala 9, Br. Mus. 468, 470, 1378, Bodl. I, 1080, 1125, Köpr. II, 325, Qawala II, 8, Garr. 262/4, print. C. 1287/9, Būlāq 1302, C. 1305.—e. Abu ʿl-Karam ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shākir b. Ḥāmid al-Maʿdānī, Ind. Off. 1027 iv, Paris 192 (not in de Slane, see Flügel, *Wien. Jahrb.* 92, Anz. Bl. p. 34).—f. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Najm al-Dīn b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, Bodl. I, 1055, 1126.—g. ʿAlī al-ʿAlīʿābādī, Esc. 2586.—h. Anon., Berl. 6946, compilation of the *Shawāhid* ibid. 129 6148.—Reviews: a. *Qayd al-awābid min al-fawāʿid* by al-Maydānī, d. 518/1124 | (p. 289), juxtaposition of the lemmata of the letter Ṣ with the diverging explanations in the *Tahdhīb al-lughā* by al-Azharī (no. 4), Berl. 6942.—b. *al-Tanbīh wal-īdāḥ ʿalā mā waqaʿa fī Kitāb al-Ṣaḥāḥ* by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Barrī, d. 582/1186 (p. 302), ḤKh 1<sup>IV</sup>, 93, Berl. Qu. 1954, Esc. 2585<sup>1</sup>, Köpr. 1521 (*Taʿlīqāt ʿala ʿl-Ṣ.* or another work?)—c. *al-Takmila wal-dhayl wal-ṣila* by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī, d. 650/1252, ḤKh IV, 94, Berl. 6939<sup>49</sup>,

Br. Mus. 468, Köpr. 1522/5.—d. *Ghawāmiḍ al-Ṣ.* by Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1362 (II, 31), ḤKh IV, 96, Esc. <sup>2</sup>192 (autograph d. 757). Of the same author *Khiz.* IV, 42,<sup>9</sup> records *Nufūdh al-sahm fī-mā waqa'a lil-Jawharī min al-wahm.*—Further literature in Ahlw. 6949.—II. Some poems, Berl. 7589, 2.

4. Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Azhar b. Ṭalḥa al-Azharī al-Harawī was born in 282/895 in Herat, where he studied under al-Mundhirī (p. 129). As a young man he went to Baghdad, where Ibn al-Sarrāj and Niṭawayh were his teachers. On the way back from the pilgrimage, which had set out in 311/923, his caravan was raided by the Qarmaṭians on the Medina-to-Kufa road, an incident that took place on 18 Muḥarram 312/26 April 924.<sup>2</sup> This is how | he came to live as a prisoner with a Bedouin tribe that would spend its winters in al-Dahnā', wander in the spring to al-Ṣammān, and move in the summer to the springs of al-Sitār. Here he had the opportunity to get to know the Arabic language in its purest and most unadulterated form. Released from captivity, he returned to his hometown, where he died, after a long career as a teacher, in Rabī' II 370/Oct.–Nov. 980. 135

Ibn Khall. 611, Yāqūt, *GW* IV, 951, Flügel 217/9, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 143, Schaf. 188. 1. *Tahdhīb al-lughā*, actually a work by his teacher al-Mundhirī, a dictionary which ordered the sounds in accordance with the placement of the organs, like the *Kitāb al-'ayn* of al-Khalīl (p. 98), AS 4671, NO 4686/7, Köpr. 1526/39, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 169, <sup>2</sup>II, 100, Bank. XX, 1964/5.—2. *al-Zāhir fī gharīb alfāz al-Shāfi'ī* based on a work by Ismā'īl b. Yahyā al-Muzanī Abū Ibrāhīm, d. 264/878 (p. 190,<sup>2</sup>), ḤKh IV, 330,<sup>8616</sup>, perhaps part of the *Gharīb al-alfāz allatī yastamī'uluḥu 'l-fuqahā'* mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (? Or is that just an imprecise title?), Berl. 4852, Köpr. 568.

| 5. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyā' b. al-Ḥabīb al-Qazwīnī al-Hamadhānī al-Rāzī was born in Qazvin and grew up in Hamadan. When he started teaching there Badī' al-Zamān was one of his students. Then the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla appointed him as tutor to his son Abū Ṭālib in Rayy. Even though he was most likely of Iranian origin himself, he was so enthusiastic about Arabic that he defended it energetically against the attacks of the Shu'ūbiyya.<sup>3</sup> He also knew how to manipulate the language in elegant verses, 130

2 Cf. M.J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, Leiden 1886, p. 84/5.

3 See Goldziher, *SBWA, phil.-hist. Kl.* 73, 1873, p. 530ff.

as is shown by samples of his poems (*Yatīma* III, 214/20).<sup>4</sup> He died in Rayy in 395/1005 (though according to others, it was in 396).

- 136 | Ibn Khall. 48, Flügel 247. 1. *Kitāb al-mujmal*<sup>56</sup> *fi 'l-lughā*, a dictionary of classical Arabic arranged by the first radical (see Weijers, *Orientalia* I, 357), Berl. 6954/7, Qu. 1129, Gotha 377, Leid. 58/60, Paris 4347/50, Br. Mus. 1683, Suppl. 843, Ind. Off. 991, Bodl. I, 1065, Ambros. 99, Pal. 356, 421, Yeni 1163, Köpr. 1572, NO 4855, Alex. Lughā 25.—2. *Fiqh al-lughā al-musammā bil-Şāḥibī*, dedicated to al-Şāḥib (no. 6), an introduction to Arabic lexicology based on philosophical considerations, see Goldziher, *SBWA* 1873, vol. 73, p. 511ff., detailed table of contents *ZDMG* XXVIII, 163, 200, AS 4715.—3. *Kitāb al-thalātha*, synonyms with three identical consonants (cf. the *Muthallath* of Quṭrub, p. 102), Esc. 2363,3.—4. *Dhamm al-khaṭa' fi 'l-shi'r*, evidence that poetic licences are reprehensible mistakes, ḤKh 1111, 335,5,817, I, 2817 Berl. 7181, the same as the *Kitāb naqd al-shi'r* in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* II, 1250(?), see Goldziher, *SBWA* 1873, vol. 73, p. 515.—6. (see Suppl.) *Mukhtaṣar siyar rasūl Allāh*, additionally Bāyezīd 1256, 1286, 1828, under the title *Akḥṣar sīrat sayyid al-baṣhar* Hamb. Or. Sem. 14,10.—12. *Maqāyīs al-lughā* see al-Maghribī, *RAAD* XI, 650/71, excerpts ibid. 352/5.

6. Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād b. al-'Abbās Kāfi 'l-Kufāt al-Şāḥib al-Ṭālqānī was born on 16 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 324/5 October 936 (or, according to others, in 326) in Iṣṭakhr (according to others in Ṭālqān). He was the son of a secretary of the Būyids Rukn al-Dawla and 'Aḍud al-Dawla who himself engaged in literary pursuits, who had leanings towards the moderate Shī'a and the Mu'tazila, and who only died in the same year as his son. Apart from receiving the education he was given by his father, whose politico-religious views he adopted as his own, Abu 'l-Qāsim also took the classes of Ibn Fāris in Rayy and completed his studies in Baghdad. | Upon his return to his native country he started his career in the office of the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Amīd. When the Būyid Mu'ayyad al-Dawla became ruler of Rayy and Isfahan after the death of his father in 366/976, removing Ibn al-'Amīd from office, he appointed 131 Abu 'l-Qāsim as the vizier in the latter's place, bestowing upon him the | 137 honorific titles of al-Şāḥib and Kāfi 'l-Kufāt. His position of power, which he extended even further by conquering some 50 new strongholds for the Būyids, he also managed to consolidate after Mu'ayyad al-Dawla's death in 373/983 with his brother and successor Fakhr al-Dawla, who had fled from Mu'ayyad

4 While al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr* 297, knew only three verses by him, see Goldziher, op. cit., 526.

5 *Sic*, and not *Mujmil*, as in Goldziher, op. cit., 552 and Rieu, Suppl. 574b.

to the Sāmānids<sup>6</sup> but whom he had called back to the country again. His job, which he held for 18 years and one month, enabled him to promote the arts and the sciences. Among his dependants were, apart from his teacher Ibn Fāris, the author of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Badī' al-Zamān, and others. In addition, he was also an author and poet in his own right. He died in Rayy on 24 Šafar 385/31 May 995.

*Yatīma* III, 31ff., Ibn al-Anb. 397/401, Ibn Khall. 93, Flügel 240, Khalīl Mardam Bek, *al-Šāhib 'Abbād*, Damascus 1932 (365pp). 1. *Kitāb al-muḥiṭ*, an Arabic dictionary, rich in material but poor in evidence, vol. III, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 185, <sup>2</sup>II, 35.—2. Abstract of his collection of letters, Paris 3314,2.—3. Two *qaṣīdas*, Berl. 7588.—4. *Dīwān* ḤKh <sup>1</sup>III, 289,5500, <sup>2</sup>I, 796, AS 3953/4, Āṣaf. 1, 702,III.—5.–10. see Suppl.—11. *al-Ibāna 'an madhhab ahl al-'adl bi-ḥujaj min al-Qur'an wal-'aql*, libraries of Muḥammad al-Ṭihirānī in Samarra, of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Iṣfahānī in Najaf, and of Shaykh Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', *Dharī'a* 1, 56/7,288.

7. We know nothing more about the circumstances of the life of Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Harawī al-Bāshānī other than that he was a student of al-Azharī (p. 134) and al-Khaṭṭābī (p. 165) and that he died in Rajab 401/February 1011.

Ibn Khall. 35. *Kitāb al-gharībayn fi 'l-Qur'an wal-ḥadīth* or *Gharībay al-Q wal-ḥ.* or *Kitāb al-gharībayn fi lughat kalām Allāh wa-āḥādīth rasūlihi* Berl. 696/7, Leipz. 457 (part II), Leid. 65, Ind. Off. 992, Köpr. 265, 375/7 379 (other MSS in Istanbul in Weisweiler no. 138), Garr. 1445/6, Alex. Lughā 15, | Bank. 138  
XX, 1968, Patna 1, 522,2805, Lucknow Shāh Ḥabīb Ḥaydar Libr. *JRASB* 1917, CXXXIII, 131.

8. Abu 'l-Qāsim Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh al-Zujājī of Hamadan lived in Jurjān and died in 415/1024 in Astarābād.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII, 308, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 422. 1. *Kitāb al-bayān fi ma shtamala 'alayhi khalq al-insān*, on the names of the limbs in alphabetical order ḤKh <sup>1</sup>III, 173,4791, <sup>2</sup>I, 722, Berl. 7037 (anon.).—2. *Umdat al-kātib (kuttāb)*, recension based on Qudāma b. Ja'far (p. 228), Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 258.

6 Rescher's (Abr. II, 223) conjecture with regard to the text of *Irshād* II, 275,10 is mistaken: after all, Qābūs was not a Sāmānid, see Suppl. I, 154.

### v *Linguistics in Egypt and Spain*

Reports on the history of science in the western lands are, for this period, very sketchy. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently clear that the schools that existed there were entirely based on those of Iraq.

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Wallād b. Muḥammad Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Tamīmī was a student of al-Zajjāj, who held him in high esteem, as well as of Mubarrad and Thaʿlab. He died in Cairo in 332/943.

Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 112, Flügel 100. *Kitāb al-maqṣūr wal-mamdūd*, in alphabetical order, ḤKh v, 10518, Berl. 7028, Paris 4234, Murād Mollā 1793 (or 1795, *MFO* v, 532), Br. Mus. Suppl. 838 (see Sprenger, *ZDMG* XXXI, 751/7).

132 | 2. Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Naḥḥās (al-Ṣaffār) was also a student of al-Zajjāj, who did not, however, hold him in very high esteem. In addition, he attended the lectures of al-Akhfash the Younger, Ibn al-Anbārī, and others. He lived as a teacher in Cairo. When, on 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 338/26 May 950 (according to others 337), he sat near the Nilometer chanting verses, a passer-by, who was under the false impression that he wanted to put a spell on the Nile so that its waters would not rise, pushed him into the river, whereupon he drowned.

Ibn Khall. 39, Flügel 64, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 116. *Sharḥ al-muʿallaqāt* Suppl. p. 35. Ad 3. *al-Nāsikh wal-mansūkh fi 'l-Qūrʿān al-karīm*, Berl. Fol. 3095, C. 1938.

139 3. Under the Fāṭimid caliph Muʿizz al-Dīn, d. 341/942, Bariyya b. Abi 'l-Yusuf al-Riyādī wrote a collection of proverbs with the title *Talqīḥ al-ʿuqūl* (ḤKh 111, 417, <sup>2</sup>I, 481, anon.), in 157 very short chapters.

4. In Spain, linguistics was only introduced in the fourth/tenth century by Abū ʿAlī Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAydhūn b. Hārūn b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Qālī. He was born in 288/901 in Manāzjird in Armenia, but when he came to Baghdad in 303/915 he called himself al-Qālī because Qālīqalā = Erzerum, being the base of operations of religious warriors, was better known in the capital. He studied there under al-Zajjāj, al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, Ibn Durayd, and others. After spending some time in Mosul, where he studied *ḥadīth* under Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, he returned in the year 305/917 to his teachers in Baghdad. When, after 25 years, his studies still had not bore any fruit, he set out for the west, in the year 328/939. In Shaʿbān 330/942 he arrived in Cordova and, being



the first teacher of linguistics ever in that place, soon became very popular. He died there in Rabīʿ II (or, according to others, in Jumādā I or II) 356/April or May 965.

Al-Ḍabbī (*Bibl. Ar. hisp.* 111), p. 216, no. 547, Ibn Khall. 92, al-Maqqarī II, 48/52, Flügel 112. 1. *al-Amālī*, with the supplement *al-Nawādir*, an anthology like the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad, which he had dictated in the mosque of the suburb of Cordova, al-Zahrāʾ, Berl. 6935, Paris 4236, 1, II, Esc. 2359, see Suppl. with *Fahāris Simṭ al-laʿālī* by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, C. 1937/1356.

5. His most important student was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī al-Ishbīlī, whose ancestors were from Homs. He was born in 316/918 in Seville and studied in Cordova. There, the caliph al-Ḥākim al-Mustanṣir billāh entrusted him with the education of his son. | When the latter | came to power he appointed him *qāḍī* of Seville, where he died on 1 Jumādā I 379/6 September 989.

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Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* I, 409, Ibn Khall. 623, Wüstenf., *Gesch.* 147. 1. *Kitāb al-wāḍiḥ fi ʿl-naḥw* Esc. 2197.—2. *Kitāb al-istidrāk* (also Garr. 245), ed. I. Guidi, *Mem. Acc. Lincei* IV, vi, Rome 1890, p. 414/57, excerpt by ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Khalīfa al-Ḥalabī al-Saʿdī in Br. Mus. Suppl. 128.—3. Excerpt from Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, see p. 99.—4. see Suppl.—5. *Lahn al-ʿawāmm* ʿĀšir I, 1121, see Suppl. I, 541,3,1.

6a. Among the students of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (p. 157) there was also al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd b. Naṣr Abu ʿl-Qāsim b. al-ʿArīf, who studied with him in Cordova and then resided for a number of years in Egypt. Back in his home country al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir charged him with the education of his children. He died in Toledo in Rajab 390/June 1000.

Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 237, Flügel 265. 1. *Risāla fi ʿrāb qawlihim inna al-dāriba al-shātima wālidahu kāna Zaydan*, in which he discusses some 58 different views, Cairo 211, 112.—2. *Sharḥ al-Jumal* see Suppl. I, 171.

## Chapter 4. Historiography

Cf. Suppl. I, 203/4

F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke, Abh. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss zu Göttingen*, vols. 28 and 29, 1882/3 (quoted as Wüst.). E. Sachau, *Studien zur ältesten Geschichtsüberlieferung der Araber, MSOS VII Westas. St.* 154/96.

### 1 *The Life of Muḥammad*

1. The lifetime of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba b. Abi ‘l-‘Ayyāsh al-Asadī, who had the honorific title Imām al-Maghāzī, coincided mostly with the reign of the Umayyads. He was a freedman of the House of Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām in Medina and died in the year 141/758.

141 | Wüst. no. 21. *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, compiled by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Qāḍī Shuhba, d. 789/1387, HKh v, 647,<sup>12464</sup>, Berl. 1554.

2. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār, see Suppl. I, 205.

135 | Ad 1. *Kitāb al-mubtada’ (mabda’)*, see al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* II, 79, penult. (Solomon as the inventor of the baths).

3. The work by Ibn Ishāq is only preserved in the recension of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām b. Ayyūb al-Ḥimyarī al-Baṣrī, who had read it in Kufa with Ziyād b. ‘Abdallāh. He later lived in Fustāt, and died on 13 Rabī’ II 218/8 May 834 (or, according to others, in 213).

Wüst. 48. 1. *Das Leben Muhammeds nach M. b. I. bearbeitet von A. b. H. hsg. v.* F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858/60, translated by G. Weil, Stuttgart 1864. On the MSS see Suppl. I, 206, 944, BDMG II, Āṣaf. I, 870,<sup>317/8</sup>, reprint by Muḥammad al-Saqqā’, al-Abyārī and Aḥmad Shabbī, C. 1936, by Muḥammad Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, C. 1937, 4 vols. Abstracts: a. ‘Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī, d. 711/1311 (II, 162), see Suppl. and Berl. 9506/7, Ṣehīd ‘Alī 1894.—b. Anonymous, Br. Mus. 1489, Pers. transl. *Bull. de St. Pétersbourg* I, 361, no. 44. S.P. Brönnle, *Die Commentatoren des Ibn Ishāq und ihre Scholien*, Diss. Halle 1895.—2. *Kitāb al-Tījān*, biblical and South Arabian legends, see M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, diss. Leipzig 1893, p. 5ff. ZA VIII, 271ff.

4. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidī, born in 130/747 in Medina, operated a trading house in cereals there, but because of poor management he fell so deeply in debt that he had to leave the city. In Baghdad, where he went in 180/796, the vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī supplied him with the means to settle his affairs and then entrusted him with the office of *qāḍī* in the eastern part of town. | Al-Ma’mūn transferred him subsequently, in this same capacity, to the ‘Askar al-Mahdī quarter, the later Ruṣāfa, where he died four years later, on 11 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 207/28 April 823. 136

| Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII 55/8,<sup>1</sup> Wüst. 43. 1. *Kitāb al-maghāzī, History of Muhammeds Campaigns by Aboo Abdollah Mohammed bin Omar al-Wakidy*, ed. by A. Kremer (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta 185 (incomplete), *Muhammed in Medina, das ist Vakidīs Kitāb al Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe* hsg. v. J. Wellhausen, Berlin 1882.—2. *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, used by al-Tha‘ālibī, d. 428/1037, Br. Mus. 832.—Falsely attributed to al-Wāqidī, and disseminated in particular during the Crusades with the purpose of galvanizing the religious warriors, are numerous *futūḥ* works: a. *The Conquest of Syria, commonly adscribed to Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidī*, ed. with notes by W. Nassau Lees, I–III (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta 1854/62, *Futūḥ al-Sha’m* C. 1278, 1282, 1296, 1302, 1304, 1309, 1315, 1348, cf. D.B. Haneberg, *Erörterungen über Pseudo-W.’s Gesch. der Eroberung Syriens, Abh. d. Akad. zu München, philos. philolog. Cl.* IX (1860) 1863 p. 127ff., de Goeje, *Mém. sur la conquête de la Syrie*, Leiden 1864.—b. *Auctoris incerti liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriae vulgo adscriptus Wakidaeo*, ed. H.A. Hamaker, Leiden 1825, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, Calcutta 1277 (Euting 3261).—c. *Libri Wakedii de Mesopotamiae expugnatae hist.*, p. 1, ed. G.H.A. Ewald, Göttingen 1827. *Geschichte der Eroberung von Mesopotamien und Armenien von M.b. ‘O. el W. aus dem Arab. übers.* v. B.G. Niebuhr, hsg. v. A.D. Mordtmann, Hamburg 1847.—d. *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* Berl. Brill M. 188, C. 1278, 1280, 1290, 1305, attributed to Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī (al-Mu‘izz? v. Dyck 293), Br. Mus. 293, Copenhagen 138.—e. *Futūḥ al-Ifriqiyya*, see Suppl., see R. Basset, *Le livre des conquêtes de l’Afrique et du Maghreb, Mél. Ch. de Harlez*, 26/34. Finally, there is also a biography of the Prophet falsely attributed to him, of which there are 35 fragments covering his background and the time from before his appearance as a prophet, Berl. 9548, see Horovitz, *MSOS*, West-as. St II, 254. 142

1 According to al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* <sup>23</sup>, some Shī‘īs contend that the real author of these works was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā Abū Ishāq al-Madanī, d. 184/800 or 191/806, and that al-Wāqidī claimed them as his own.

5. A student and assistant of al-Wāqidī was Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Manī‘ al-Zuhrī, mostly referred to as Kātib al-Wāqidī. He died in Baghdad on 4 Jumādā II 230/17 February 845.

- 143 | Wüst. 53. *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, a detailed biography of the Prophet, which also circulated as a separate work (*Fihrist* 99), and the biographies of his companions and successors, organised by class; see O. Loth, *Das Klassenbuch des Ibn Sa‘d*, Leipzig 1869, idem, Ursprung und | Bedeutung der Ṭabaqāt, vornehmlich des Ibn Sa‘d, *ZDMG* XXIII, 539/614, see J. Wellhausen, *Die Schreiben Muhammeds und die Gesandtschaften an ihn, Skizz. u. Vorarb.* 4, Berlin 1889. On the lacunae in vol. V, see H. Ritter, *Isl.* XVIII, 196/9.
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## 2 Urban History

The history of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina is closely related to the biography of the Prophet.

1. The first one to collect the traditions on the legendary background of Mecca and the fortunes of the city in the days of the Prophet and his successors was Abu ‘l-Walīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. al-Azraq, a descendant of the Ghassānid dynasty from the House of Jafna who died in 219/834 (or, according to others, in 212 or 222). His accounts were recorded by his grandson Abu ‘l-Walīd Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azraqī, d. soon after 244/858, then newly edited by Abū Muḥammad Ishāq al-Khuzā‘ī, d. 308/920, and revised by the latter’s nephew Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Khuzā‘ī, who was alive in 350/961.

Wüst. 49, 58, 93, 127. *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, hsg. v. F. Wüstenfeld*, vol. I, *Die Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Mekka von el-Azraqī*, Leipzig 1858.

2. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-‘Abbās al-Fākihī wrote, in 272/885 in Mecca:

(Wüst. 69) *Ta’rīkh Mekka, Fihrist*. 109, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 151, 2317, <sup>2</sup>I, 306, Leid. 924. *Die Chroniken*, vol. II, *Auszüge aus al-Fākihī*, Leipzig 1859.

3. Not preserved is the oldest history of Medina, written by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabāla, a student | of Mālik b. Anas, in Ṣafar of the year 199/Sept.–Oct. 814.
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*Fihr.* 108, ḤKh<sup>1</sup>, 190, 228, 144, 2302, <sup>2</sup>1, 29, 302, see Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina, im Auszug aus dem Arab. des Samhūdī*, Göttingen, *Abh. GW IX*, 1864, p. 6.

4. See Suppl. I, 209/10. Ad f., the abstract by Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Mālikī, Br. Mus. 1621, Medina, *ZDMG* 90, 118.

5. Only one at least partly preserved urban history also examined political history, which is the history of Baghdad by Abu ‘l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr. Born in Baghdad in 204/819, he originated from a royal family in Khurāsān, attended the lectures of ‘Umar b. Shabba, and was active as a modestly talented poet. He died in 280/893.

Wüst. 78, *Fihrist* 146 sums up 48 titles of his works, see Suppl.

### 3 *The History of the Pre-Islamic Arabs*

In the matter of the preservation of reports about Arab antiquity, for which there was a renewed interest as a result of the revival of ancient poetry, the greatest merit goes to the two al-Kalbī’s, Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib and his son Abu ‘l-Mundhir Hishām. Even though he also wrote a commentary on the Qur’ān,<sup>1</sup> the father—who in 82/701 had participated in the Battle of Dayr al-Jamājim<sup>2</sup> along side the rebel Ibn al-Ash’ath, and who died in 146/763—had a particular predilection for the collection of reports on the genealogy and the history of the ancient Arabs. The son was born in Kufa, lived for some time in Baghdad, and died in 204/819 or 206. | He continued the studies of his father, trying to supplement the reports collected by him by means of research into relics of the history of the Lakhmids in the churches of al-Ḥīra, and condensed it into literary form. In his own cultural environment such an unusual way of doing things sometimes aroused suspicion. Although he was not lacking supporters,<sup>3</sup> others associated him with a complete lack of critical sense, indeed, even branding him as a forger.<sup>4</sup> However, modern research has confirmed many of the assertions for which he was heavily criticised by his co-religionists.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Used by al-Tha’labī, d. 427/1036, Br. Mus. 821; from which (?) the history of Abraham in Ibn al-‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh Dimashq* II, 138ff., cf. Suppl. I, 331.

2 See A. Müller, *Der Islam* I, 391, J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich* 153.

3 Yāqūt, *Geogr. Wb* II, 158.

4 *Agh.* 1X, 19, XVIII, 161, 2X, 148, 17, Goldziher, *MSt.* I, 686.

5 See Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber* XXVII.

Ibn al-Anb. 116/8, Wüst. 26, 42. Of the 140 works listed in *Fihrist* 95/8 remain:  
 1. *Kitāb al-nasab al-kabīr* or *al-Jamhara fi 'l-nasab*, the geneologies of the Arabs,<sup>6</sup> Esc. 21698, frgm. Paris 2047 (?), see Suppl. *Mukhtaṣar* Rāgib 999, which goes back to a copy in Yāqūt's own hand.—2. *Nasab fuḥūl al-khayl fi 'l-jāhiliyya wal-islām* Gotha 2078, Esc. 21705,2, Bāyezīd 3178, 'Āṭif 2003 (*MFO* 1912, 491)  
 140 see Suppl.—3. *Kitāb al-aṣnām* or *Tankīs al-aṣnām*, | on the basis of numerous excerpts in Yāqūt, translated by J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums* 10/61 (cf. *ibid.* 243) MS in Medina, *ZDMG* 90, 120, see S. Nyberg in *Dragma: Martino P. Nilsson . . . dedicatum*, 1939, p. 346/66, R. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch K. al-Aṣnām des b. al-K.*, Leipzig 1941.—see Suppl.

2. It was, however, not only a love for the memory of their ancestors, but also a hatred towards their enemies that contributed to the resuscitation of the history of Arab antiquity. Mutual jealousy among the Arab tribes had led to the preservation of many a defamatory account of their past, and the Arabs  
 146 themselves, such as the disreputable Haytham b. 'Adī (d. 207/821 or | 206 or 208, Wüst. 44, Suppl. 1, 213), had laid down such accounts in *mathālib* works. This material was taken up with particular zeal by the Shu'ūbiyya, that group of non-Arab scholars and writers who opposed the dogma of the absolute unsurpassability of Arabhood by referring to the merits of ancient nations and to the backwardness of the Jāhiliyya (see Goldziher, *MSt.* 1, 147/208). 'Allān b. al-Ḥasan al-Shu'ūbī, who openly prided himself on his Iranian origins and who was a copyist in the scientific library of Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn, assembled in his *Ḥalbat al-mathālib* (quoted in *Agh.* 1XII, 156) everything blameworthy about the history of the Arab tribes.

#### 4 *Imperial and World History*

1. Located on the borderline between personal and imperial history are the many—sadly lost—works by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, a freedman of a family of the Quraysh who was born in 135/753 and who died in 215/830 (or, according to others, in 225/840 or 231/845) in Baghdad.

Wüst. 47. *Fihrist* 101 mentions 239 works and/or tracts on the history of the Prophet in general or more specific aspects, on the history of the Quraysh  
 141 and individual families and persons, the history | of the caliphs, battles and heroes. Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, *Agh.*, Yāqūt, and others have preserved numerous excerpts from the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and *Ta'rikh al-khulafā'*. Also quoted are:  
 1. *Kitāb al-nisā' al-fawārik*, *Khiz.* 1, 408,11.—2. *Kitāb al-nisā' al-nāshizāt*, *ibid.*

6 Quoted very often in *Agh.* (IV, 74, VII, 42,4,vii, XIX, 58,10,vii, XX, 170) and elsewhere.

366,5, 479,15.—3. *Kitāb al-mugharrībīn*, *ibid.* II, 109,1.—4. *Kitāb al-jawābāt*, *Agh.* x, 186,12, 281,17. See Suppl.

2. His student Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Zubayr b. Abī Bakr Bakkār al-Qurashī was active in the same domain. He was a member of the | noble Zubayrid family in Medina, where he came into conflict with the ‘Alids. In Baghdad he did not receive the support against his rivals that he had hoped for, but was appointed *qādī* in Mecca upon his return. However, he seems to have been more attracted to the bustling intellectual life of the capital than to a life in the Holy City. He went to Baghdad several more times to recite from his works, the last of which was in 253/867. He also lived for a time with Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, as he was the tutor of his son. He died at the age of 84, after an unfortunate fall from the roof of his house in Mecca, on 23 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 256/22 October 870. 147

Wüst. 61. Of the more than 30 works listed in *Fih.* 111 the following remain: 1. *Nasab Quraysh wa-akhbārihim* (see Suppl.), see Ahmedali, *JRAS* 1936, 55/63.— 2. *al-Muwaffaqiyyāt*, historical tales as a reading book for Prince al-Muwaffaq, the son of caliph al-Mutawakkil, in 5 volumes or 19 parts, of which part 16/9 Gött. ar. 17, 1, from which “der Tod des Muṣ‘ab b. az-Zubair” in Wüstenfeld, *Die Familie el Zubair*, *Abh. GGW.* 1876, cf. F. Schulthess, *der Dīwān des Ḥātim Ṭej.* p. 1.

3. Abu ‘l-‘Abbās (Abū Bakr, Abu ‘l-Ḥasan, Abū Ja‘far) Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī,<sup>1</sup> of Iranian stock, lived in the entourage of the caliphs al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta‘in and was in charge of the education of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mu‘tazz (see p. 80). He died in 270/892.

| Wüst. 74. 1. *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān (al-ṣaghīr)*, *Liber de expugnatione regionum*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1870. The larger, unfinished and lost version of this work was apparently used by Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüst. 127).—2. *Kitāb ansāb al-ashrāf* ḤKh 1<sup>1</sup> no. 1346, 2179, or *al-Akḥbār wal-ansāb*, *Fih.*, complete ‘Āšir 597/8, vol. 1, Paris 6068, see de Goeje, *ZDMG* 38, 382/406, vol. XI, *Anonyme arab. Chronik Bd. XI, vermutlich das Buch der Verwandtschaft der Adligen von elbelāḍorī, autogr. u. hsg. v. W. Ahlwardt*, Greifswald 1883, see Th. Nöldeke, *GGA* 1883, p. 1096ff., vol. IV B ed. by M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem | 1938, v ed. S.D.F. Goitein, Jerusalem 1936, *Il Califfo Moawiya I secondo il Kitāb Ansāb al-ashrāf tradotto e annotato da O. Pinto e G. Levi della Vida*, Rome 1938.—3. Excerpt from a certain *al-Radd ‘ala ‘l-Shu‘ūbiyya*, Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 109/13, probably not an independent work but an excursus in a geneological book, see Goldziher, 142 148

1 On this *nisba*, which had been carried by his grandfather, see Suppl. 1, 216.

MSt I, 166.—4. Of his translations from the Persian (see ḤKh III, 98), among which was a metrical *Ahd Ardashīr*; *Fih*r. 113, nothing has remained.

4. It was an Iranian who wrote the first comprehensive world history in the Arabic language. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī was born around New Year 224–5/Autumn 839 in Āmul, in Ṭabaristān. After a study trip to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, he settled down in Baghdad as a teacher of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, declining the offer of a judgeship by the vizier Khāqānī so he could devote himself entirely to scholarship. In *fiqh* he was at first a follower of al-Shāfi'ī but later he founded his own *madhhab*, not without success. This earned him the bitter enmity of the fanatical Ḥanbalis of Baghdad. As a writer he was unusually productive, not only in the fields of history and Tradition, but also in Qur'ānic exegesis and jurisprudence. Even though it is true that he was not independent-minded, we owe the preservation of much important information to his diligence as a collector.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 94, *Schaf.* 80, de Goeje, *Enc. Brit.* 9XXIII 1/5, Goldziher, *Die literarische Tätigkeit des Ṭ. nach Ibn 'Asākīr*, *WZKM* IX, 358/71. Of his many works remain: 1. *Kitāb akhbār al-rusul wal-mulūk*, a world history from the Creation up to his own time, from the Hijra onwards in annalistic form: *Annales quos scripsit Abū Djafer M. b. Djarīr al-Ṭ. cum aliis* ed. M.J. de Goeje, 3 Series, Leiden 1879/98, Annex *al-Muntakhab min Kitāb Dhayl al-mudhayyal min ta'riḥ al-ṣaḥāba wal-tābi'in* ser. III 1295/2561, vol. 14, 15. Introduction etc. Indices 1901.

149 | *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arab. Chronik des Ṭ. übers. von Th. Nöldeke*, Leiden 1879. Sommario degli Annali di al-Ṭ. per gli anni dell' eg. 65–99/684–710, I. Guidi, *Rend. Lincei* VI, 1925, 352/407. The *Mukhtaṣar*, containing many improvements and augmented with a history of  
143 Africa and Spain, was written between | 363–6/973–6 by 'Arīb b. Sa'd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī, Gotha 1554, and of which a part, namely the sections on Africa and Spain that Ibn al-'Idhārī (see p. 337) had taken for his *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, is included in the edition of this latter work by Dozy; the rest, which comprises the history of years 291/320 in Iraq, is contained in *Ṣilat ta'riḥ al-Ṭ. Tabari continuatus*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1897.—For other continuations, see Suppl. A Persian abstract, made at the order of the vizier of the Sāmānids, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Bal'amī, d. 363/972 (see Z. Validi Togan, *KCs.A.* III, 54), *Chronique d'Abou Djafer M. b. Djarir Ṭ. trad. sur la vers. pers. par H. Zotenberg*, vols. 1–4, Paris 1867/74, Turkish transl. Istanbul 1260, Chagatai transl., made in 927/1521 by Wāḥidī Balkhī for 'Abd al-Laṭīf, the youngest son of the Shaybānid Kōčkūngī, 916–37/1510–30, Pet. Öff. Bibl., see Beresine, *Chrest. Turque*, Kazan 1857, 104/13.—2. *Tahdhīb al-āthār*, an exhaustive work on Tradition,



unfinished, Köpr. 269/70, see M. Weisweiler, *Istanb. Hdsstudien* no. 142 (other MSS Suppl.).—3. *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr (ta'wīl) al-Qur'ān*, extremely thorough and very comprehensive, see O. Loth, *ZDMG* 35, 588/628, individual MSS Berl 733, AS 100/12, NO 149/56, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 1, 58, see Suppl. Turkish transl. Dresd. 22, AS 87.—4. *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, 4 vols., Berl. Fol. 4155.—5.—7. see Suppl.—8. A treatise on archery, Br. Mus. Or. 9265 (cf. 9454), Krenkow.—Also quoted is *Jāmi' al-qirā'āt min al-mashhūr wal-shawādhdh wa-'ilal dhālika wa-sharḥuhu*, see Bergstr.-Pretzl, *Gesch. des Qur'ānt.* 208.

5. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, the grand-nephew of the poet, was a descendant of a Turkish prince by the name of Ṣol-Tigin of Jurjān who had been conquered, dethroned, and converted to Islam by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and who had perished with him in the uprising against the Umayyads. He was part of the entourage of the caliphs al-Muktafi and al-Muqtadir, the latter of whom particularly appreciated him because of his brilliance at chess, which is why he was also called al-Shiṭranjī. He had been the teacher of the later Caliph | al-Rādī and of his brother Hārūn,<sup>2</sup> and so he enjoyed the highest favour. But when, after al-Rādī's death in 329/940, al-Muttaqī ascended the throne, the latter dissolved his predecessor's court. Consequently, al-Ṣūlī went to the governor Bajkam in Wāsiṭ, who received him with all honours.<sup>3</sup> After Muttaqī's death in 333/944 he returned to Baghdad. However, due to the fact that he had shown his 'Alid leanings too openly, he had to leave the capital once again and go into hiding in Basra, where he died in 336/916. 150

Wüst., 115. For his works, see Suppl. 1, 218/9, with: *Ash'ār awlād al-khulafā' wa-akhbārūhum*, from the *Kitāb al-awrāq* of Abū B. M. b. Ya. al-Ṣ., ed. by J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1936—*Akḥbār Abī Tammām wa-yalīhi Risālat al-Ṣūlī ilā Muzāḥim b. Fātik fī ta'līf akḥbār Abī Tammām wa-ash'ārihi*, ed. Khalīl Maḥmūd 'Asākīr, Muḥammad 'Abduh Gharam, Naẓīrūlislām al-Hindī, C. 1937 (translated by Naẓīrūlislām, Diss. Breslau 1940).

5c. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. A'tham al-Kūfī, d. ca. 314/926.

Suppl. 1, 220. The original of the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* is preserved in Sarāi no. 2956, see Z.V. Togan, *KCs A.* III, 47.

<sup>2</sup> See *Akḥbār al-Rādī* 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 193/4.

6. The most important and multi-faceted author of this whole period is probably Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī. | Born in Baghdad from a family that traced its origin to Mas'ūd, one of the companions of the Prophet, he did not content himself with the usual educational programme of the traditionalists of his time, which required a study trip through the most important lands of Islam, but let his thirst for knowledge lead him beyond the Islamic world. Having roamed through Persia and Kirmān and after a sojourn in Iṣṭakhr in 144 303/915, he went to India in 304, where he first visited Muḷṭān | and al-Manṣūra. 151 Passing through Kanbāya and Ṣaymūr he reached Ceylon. From there he travelled with traders by sea to China, and then back via Zanzibar and Oman. After a side trip to the regions of the Caspian we find him, in 314/926, in Tiberias in Palestine. In 332/943 he was in Antioch and the Syrian border towns, then in Basra and in Damascus in 334. In 336/947 he was in Fuṣṭāṭ, but visited Syria from Egypt another couple of times. He died in Fuṣṭāṭ, where he had been living since 344/955, in Jumādā II 345/956 or 346.

The restlessness of his life is reflected in his works. His range of interest reaches much further than the usual erudition of a traditionalist to encompass, in addition to linguistics, natural philosophy, ethics and politics, and also and especially the transmitted accounts of people of other creeds: of the Jews, the Christians, and the wisdom of the Indians. But throughout he is merely content with superficial inquiries, and does not examine anything in depth. Nevertheless, we owe him many valuable reports from cultural and political history as well as geography. His accounts are not wedded to a particular ideal but show a preference for switching from one theme to another.

*Fihrist* 154 (which takes him to be from the Maghreb), al-Najjāshī, *Rijāl* 178/9 (which claims he was an Imāmite), Quatremère, *JA* s. 3, v. VII, 1ff., Wüst. 119. From his works, listed by de Goeje in his foreword to the edition of the *Kitāb al-tanbūh*, p. VI, the following are extant: 1. *Kitāb akhbār al-zamān wa-man abādahu 'l-ḥadathān min al-umam al-māḍiya wal-ajyāl al-khāliya wal-mamālik al-dāthira*, see Suppl., vol. I, C. 1938.—2. *Kitāb al-awsaṭ*, from which an excerpt, 145 AS 2938<sub>4</sub> | (from a MS d.d. 332), perhaps Bodl. I, 666.—3. *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawāhir*, see Suppl., Patna I, 228<sub>2229</sub>, partial Esc. 2280<sub>2</sub> (see Antuña, *al-Andalus* III, 1935, 447/9, contra Derenb. I, 171), on the Istanbul MSS 152 see Cahen, *REI* 1938 (1936) SA, 4, *Macoudi, les prairies d'or, texte et | traduction* par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, vols. 1–9. Paris 1861/77, Būlāq 1283, C. 1303, in the margin of Ibn al-Athīr, Būlāq 1303, in the margin of Maqqarī, C. 1302, vols. 1–3.—4. *Kitāb al-tanbīh wal-ishrāf*, his last work, in which he makes up the balance, so to speak, of his whole literary production,

composed in 345/956, ed. by de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. ar.* VIII, Leiden 1894, reprint by ‘Abdallāh Ismā‘īl al-Ṣāwī, C. 1357/1938.—5. *Risāla fī ithbāt al-waṣṣīya li-‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, libr. Najafābādī VII, 115, print. Tehran 1320.—6. *Fī aḥwāl al-imāma* ibid.—On the anonymous abstract from his magnum opus *Akhbār al-zamān wa-‘ajā‘ib al-buldān* or *al-Jumān fī mukhtaṣar akhbār al-zamān*, translated by Carra de Vaux, *L’Abrégé des merveilles, trad. de l’Ar. d’après les mss. de la Bibl. Nat.* Paris 1898, see also M. Kurd ‘Alī, *RAAD* III, 239/42.

7. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Hamza b. al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) al-Iṣfahānī, see Suppl. I, 221/2.

In addition: 1. *Hamzae Ispahanensis annalium libri X*, ed. J.M.P. Gottwaldt, I, text. ar. Leipzig 1844, v. I, Lat. transl. ibid. 1848, completed in Jumādā 350/June–July 961, Transl. by Daudpota, Bombay 1932.—6. *al-Amthāl al-ṣādira ‘an buyūt al-shi‘r* ḤKh I, 437, <sup>2</sup>I, 168, Berl. Qu. 1215.—7. *Kitāb al-af‘āl* Qawala II, 210.

## 5 Cultural and Literary History

1. Abu ‘l-Faraj ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī al-Iṣfahānī was born in 284/897 in Isfahan and studied in Baghdad. Later he appears to have led the life of a wandering litterateur. We find him with both Sayf al-Dawla and the Būyid viziers Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād (see p. 136) and al-Muhallabī. Being a descendant of the Umayyads, he supposedly also entertained secret liaisons with the Spanish branch of his house, even though he professed Shī‘ism. His origin probably also explains his particular interest in the history of the ancient Arabs, on which we owe him for some extremely important information. In old age his mental capacities | had greatly diminished. He died on 14 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 356/21 November 967. 153

Wüst. 132. 1. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, see Suppl. 43, J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG* L, 146ff. On the MSS see Suppl. and Berl. Brill M. 250,<sub>1–11</sub>, Garr. 179 (vol. I), Faiz. 1561/9 (see *ZDMG* 68, 377 and Holter, *Jahrb. des Kunsth. Inst. Wien*, N.F. VI, 1937, S. 38), Fātiḥ 3669/70. 3. Print. C. <sup>1</sup>Būlāq 1285, 20 vols., <sup>2</sup>C. 1323 (with *fihrist*), *The XXI vol. of the K. al-Agh.* ed. by R.E. Brünnow, Leiden 1883. *Tables alphabétiques du K. al-Agh. réd. par* I. Guidi, Leiden 1895/1900. Dār al-kutub, vols. I–IX, 1927/36. Abstracts see Suppl., anonymous Algiers 1795/9, *Ḥadā‘iq al-funūn fī kḥtiṣār al-Aghānī*, Tunis, Zayt. see *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, 8.—2. (3) *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, with Berl. Oct. 2909, print. Najaf 1353.

2. The two brothers Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd, d. ca. 350/961, and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim, d. 380/990, al-Khālidiyyān, lived at the court of Sayf al-Dawla. Both

were poets and, apart from a history of Mosul, they jointly wrote monographs on Abū Tammām and Ibn al-Rūmī, as well as an anthology of contemporary poets entitled *al-Ḥamāsa*.

Al-Thaʿalibī, *Yatīma* I, 507/30, *Fawāt* II, 281, Wüst. 148. *Ḥamāsāt al-Khālidiyyayn* or *Kitāb al-ashbāh wal-naẓāʾir* Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 202, <sup>2</sup>III, 126.—*Qaṣīdas* by Saʿīd, Berl. 7567,<sup>3,4</sup> see Suppl.

3. Abu ʿl-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. al-Nadīm al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī, see Suppl. I, 226/7.

*Kitāb al-Fihrist mit Anmm. hsg. von G. Flügel, nach dessen Tode besorgt von J. Rödiger und A. Müller* 2 vols., Leipzig 1871/2, see Flügel, *ZDMG* XIII, 559/650. On the MSS see also Fück, *ZDMG* 90, 302ff., Kraus, *Orientalia* VI, 286. M.Th. Houtsma, *Zum Kitāb al-Fihrist*, *WZKM* IV, 217ff. (completion of a lacuna in Flügel's edition, on the history of *kalām*). S. Fraenkel, *Zum Fihrist*, *ZDMG* 46, 741/3. H. Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis im Fihrist des I.a.I. an-N. zum ersten Mal Vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit Anmm. versehen*, *Abh. z. 148* *Gesch. d. Math.* VI | (Suppl. z. Z. f. Math. u. Phys.), 371/87. Addendum *Z. f. Math. u. Phys.* 38, hist.-lit. Abt. 126ff.—J. Lippert, *Ibn al-Kūfī ein Vorgänger Nadīms*, *WZKM* XI, 147ff.

## 154 | 6 *The History of Egypt and North Africa*

1. Abu ʿl-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, a son of the *qāḍī* and the head of the *Mālikīs* in Egypt who died in 214/829, wrote a large work on the conquest of Egypt and the Maghreb. He died in Fustāṭ in the year 257/871.

Wüst. 63. *Futūḥ Miṣr wal-Maghrib* ḤKh 8930, Paris 1686/7, Leid. 962, Br. Mus. S. 520 (Torrey, *JAOS* XX, 209/16), from which: *Ibn Abdolhakami libellus de historia Aegypti antiqua*, ed. J. Karle, Göttingen 1856. *Ibn Abdalhakems History of the Conquest of Spain* ed. and transl. by John Harris Jones, Göttingen and London 1858, Spanish transl. in *La Fuente y Alcantara*, Ajbār Machmua, App. II, 6, p. 208/19, *Traditions anciennes relatives à l'établissement des Musulmans en l'Afrique septentrionale* in *Hist. des Berbères* par Ibn Khaldūn, transl. B. de Slane, v. I, App.

2. Eutychius, Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīq, was born in 263/876 in Fustāṭ. As a Coptic Christian he immersed himself entirely in the literary culture of the Arabs and excelled as a physician and historian. Elevated to the rank of patriarch of Alexandria in 321/933, he died in 328/939.

Wüst. 108, Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. ar.* I, 405. 1. *Naẓm al-jawhar* Paris 288/93, Fir. Ricc. II, As'ad 2093, see Cahen, *REI* 1936, SA 3, *Contextio gemmarum s. Eutychiei Annales*, interprete E. Pocockio, Oxford 1658/9. Continuation *Ta'rikh al-Dhayl* by Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, who went to Antioch in 403/1012, where he found the documents that he needed to conclude his work. His account covers the Byzantine empire, the 'Abbāsids and the Fāṭimids, as well as the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople, Paris 291 and Moscow, Pet. AM p. 130 n. 2. From which: *J. b. S. b. B. Kaiser Basilios Bulgaroktonos, Auszüge aus der Chronik Jahjas von Antiochia, im Originaltext mit russ. Übers. u. ausführl. Cmt. Einleitung und Namensregister* hsg. v. V. Rosen (*Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk*, vol. 44. part I), cf. *Archiv für slav. Philologie* VII, 3, 515/6.—2. *Eutychiei epistola* Paris 1642.—3. *Kitāb al-burhān* or *Kamāl al-burhān 'alā ḥaqīqat al-īmān*, a theological work, Cairo, Coptic | Patriarchate 356, 155 see G. Graf, Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk des Patriarchen Eutychieus von Alexandrien in *Or. Chr.* N.S. I, 1911, 227/44, *Cat. des mss. ar chrét. conservés au Caire* p. 134, partially edited by Mānassā Yūḥannā, C. 1928.—Appended to the codex in Cambridge and therefore falsely attributed to Eutychieus is the work of a later and unidentified Sicilian: *Chronicon Siculum ab anno Chr. 827 ad annum 965, ex. cod. ar. Cantabr. ar. et lat. in Bibl. hist. regn. Sic. op. et studio J.B. Carusii*, Palermo 1723. *Chron. Sic. e ms. cod. bibl. Cantabr. a.J.B. Carusio ar. et lat. antea ed., nunc vero ad fidem textus ar. castigatius recusum in: Rerum ar. quae ad hist. Sic. spectant, ampla collectio, op. et st. R. Gregorio*, Palermo 1790. G. Cozza Luzi, *La cronaca sicula saracena di Cambridge con doppio testo greco | scoperto in codd. contemporanei delle Biblioteche Vaticana e Parigiana con accompagnamento del testo ar. pel C.B. Lagumina* (Docum. 149 p. servire alla stor. di Sic.) Palermo 1890. C. Cipolla, I testi greci della cronaca arabico-sicula di Cambridge, publ. da G. Cozza Luzi in *Atti della R. Acc. delle scienze di Torino* XXVII, 1882, 830/7. G. Cozza Luzi, *Sulla scoperta di due cronache greche Siculo-saraceniche e lora correlazione coll'ar. de Cambridge*, Rome 1893.

3. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Dāya al-Miṣrī Kātib Āl Ṭūlūn, d. 340/951.

Wüst. 111, Suter, *Math.* 78, Becker, *Beitr. z. Gesch. Äg.* II, 151/3. 1. *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn wabnihi Khumārawayh*, for the most part included in the work by Ibn Sa'īd, d. 685/1286 (p. 336), cf. *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib* des b. Sa'īd, hsg. von C. Vollers in *Semit. Stud. (Beihefte zur ZA)* I, Berl. 1894.—2.–5. see Suppl., ad 5. *Sharḥ al-thamara* also Taymūr Akhlāq 290,<sup>13</sup> Patna I, 238,<sup>2064</sup>—6. *Fi 'l-nisba wal-tanāsub* Algiers 1446,<sup>2</sup> Cairo I V, 198.—7. *de arcubus similibus* Bodl. I, 941.—8. On the *Ṣaḥīfa* in all its forms, *ibid.*

4. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Kindī al-Tujībī was born on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 283/30 January 895 and died in 350/961, and for his son 'Umar, see Suppl. I, 229/30.

1. On the father's *Umarā' Miṣr* see also Torrey, *Islca* II, 55. Excerpts from it, under the title *Akḥbār Miṣr* in the Nūrahmadiyya in Acre, *RAAD* X, 577,5.—2. For the son's *Faḍā'il Miṣr*, see also Berl. Qu. 1080, Copenhagen 147,1, Qilič 'A. 756, 156 | Bank. XV, 1070, Garr. 759 (with the same author as Būhār), Cairo 1v, 2290, 'U. b. M. al-K. *Beskrivelse af Ägypten, udgivet og oversatt af* J. Oestrup, *Verh. d. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Kopenhagen* 1896, no. 4, see de Goeje, *ZDMG* L, 736.

5. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq al-Laythī was born in Sha'bān 306/January 919 and died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 387/30 November 998 (or, according to others, in 386).

Wüst. 151, see Suppl. I, 230. Ad 5. *Akḥbār Sībawayh Miṣr* i.e. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Kindī al-Ṣayrafī, d. 358/967, also Berl. Qu. 1079,1, Cairo v, 16, 214.

#### 7 *The History of Spain*

1. The supposedly oldest preserved work on the history of Spain is attributed to Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī al-Mirdāsī al-Ilbūrī al-Qurṭubī, who was born after 180/796 in Ḥiṣn Wāṭ (Hutor Vega) near Granada. While on the pilgrimage in Medina he became acquainted with the doctrine of Mālik b. Anas, and after his return he was influential in its dissemination throughout Spain. In addition, he also distinguished himself as a linguist and a poet. He died in Cordova on 4 Ramadan 238/18 February 853 (or, according to others, on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 239/5 April 854).

Wüst. 56, Flügel, *Gramm.* 256/7. From among his theologico-juridical works, of which Abū Bakr b. Khayr, *Index libr.* 290 also mentions a *Kitāb makārim al-akhlāq*, only the beginning of the *Kitāb uṣūl al-farā'id* (on the law of inheritance), Berl. 4687, has survived. The *Ta'rikh* circulating under his name, which comprises a history of Creation, the Prophet, the caliphs up to Walīd I, and a history of Spain until the year 275/888, Bodl. II, 127, 258, and which is of no historical value, may be the work of his student Ibn Abi 'l-Riqā'; see Dozy, *Recherches* 2I, 33, 3I, 28.

2. The first Spanish historian whose works have at least been preserved in a revised form is Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī, d. 325/937.

Wüst. 105 a. His description of the main roads, ports, major cities and the six provinces, and also his | history of the Spanish kings, form the basis of the Spanish *Cronica del Moro Rasis*, see Casiri II, 329; P. de Gayangos, *Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Cronica denominada del Moro Rasis* in *Memorias de la R. Ac. de la Historia*, vol. VIII, Madrid 1852.—The chronicle by his son ʿĪsā, which concludes with the reign of al-Ḥakam, underpins—until the year 361—Ibn Ḥayyān’s *al-Muqtabis* (p. 338), see ed. Antuña xvii. 157

3. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Ḥushanī, d. 371/981, see Suppl. I, 232.

4. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Qūṭīyya was just as excellent a philologist as he was an historian. He carried the surname “descendant of the female Goth” because his ancestor ʿĪsā b. Muzāḥim had married a Gothic princess from Spain, Sara, the daughter of Oppa, king of the Goths, when she came to Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in Damascus to complain about her uncle Ardabast. ʿĪsā moved with his wife to Spain and his descendants lived in Seville. Abū Bakr was born in Cordova | and studied there and in Seville. Al-Qālī (p. 139) is said to have described him to Caliph al-Ḥakam II as one of the most important scholars of Spain. He died on 27 Rabīʿ I 367/3 November 977 in Cordova. 151

Wüst 141. Of his works remain: 1. *Taʾriḫ iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, from the Islamic conquest until the year 280/893, Paris 1867 (see Suppl.), cf. Dozy, *Ibn Adhari*, Introd. 28ff., *Recherch.* 2II, app. 85, 378. Cherbonneau, *Histoire du règne d’Elhakam fils de Hicham*, JA s. 5, v. I, p. 458. Ibn al-Qoutiya, *Histoire de la conquête de l’Andalousie*, ed. O. Houdas in *Recueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l’École des lang. or. viv.* v. I, Paris 1889, 219ff.—*Kitāb al-afʿāl, Il libro dei verbi di Abu Bekr ibn al-Qutiya*, pubblicato da I. Guidi, Leid. 1894 (MS also Murād Mollā 1790).

## | Chapter 5. Belles Lettres in Prose

Zakī Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-fannī fi 'l-qarn al-rābi'*, C. 1934/1352; *La Prose arabe au IVe siècle de l'Hégire (Xe s.)*, Paris 1931.

Anīs Khūrī al-Muqaddasī, *Taṣawwur al-asālib al-nathriyya* 1, Beirut 1935.

M. Kurd 'Alī, *Umarā' al-bayān*, C. 1937.

M. Sprengling, *From Persian to Arabic*, *AJSL* LVI, 175/224, 325/36.

1. 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa', see Suppl. 233/7.

*Khiz.* III, 459/60, Kraus, *RSO* XIV, 1/20. 1. Kalīla wa-Dimna, *the fables of Bidpai from the Pahlavi translation of the Indian mirror for princes Pančatantra*, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1816, on which I. Guidi, *Studii sul testo arabo del libro Calila e Dimna*, Roma 1873. *Morgengländische Erzählungen, verdeutscht von Ph. Wolff, Calila und Dimna oder die Fabeln | Bidpais aus dem Arab.* 1, II, Stuttgart 1837. *Das Buch des Weisen in lust- und lehrrreichen Erzählungen des indischen Philosophen Bidpai, aus dem Arab. von Ph. Wolff*, 2. Aufl. 1, II, Stuttgart 1839.—MSS also AS 4213/4.—Print. Beirut 1878, 1882, 1890, Bülāq 1285, C. 1305, Mosul 1869, 1883, Bombay 1887, Kazan 1889 and see ed. A. Ṭabbāra, Beirut 1937 (the translations of Aristotle's *Categories and Analytics* as well as of Porphyry's *Eisagoge*, *Āṣaf.* III, 668, are the work of his son Aḥmad; see Kraus, *RSO*, XIV, 1934, 1/30).—2. ff. see Suppl. (the authenticity of the *Mu'araḍa lil-Qur'an* is also questioned by G. Vajda, *JA* 228, 349/52).

1a. There is also a *Kitāb al-ḥanīn ila 'l-awṭān* by the translator Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Kisrawī, AS 2052, f. 77b/84b, see F. Meier, *Isl.* XXIV, 20, n. 1.

1b. There is a longer fragment of the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdāsaf* in Taymūr, Akhlāq 290,<sup>17</sup>. Quotations in *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, Bombay 1305, 135, 215, C. 1347, IV, 120,<sup>19</sup>, 223,<sup>23</sup>; see Goldziher, *Isl.* 1, 24, n. b.

2. The son of a negro, 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiḻ was born in Basra around 150/767. He had close | ties with Ibn al-Zayyāt, vizier of al-Wāthiq, and when the latter was killed by al-Mutawakkil he | almost shared his fate. When this caliph summoned him to Baghdad to oversee the education of his son, he was apparently so intimidated by the former's ugliness that he immediately sent him away again, with a generous compensation. He died in 255/868. See Suppl. 239/47.

Ibn al-Anb. 254/9, Ibn Khall. 479, Shahrast. 52/3, Flügel, *Gr.* 187, Houtsma, *De Strijd* 113/5, G. van Vloten, in *Tweemaandelijksch Tijdschr.* 1897, May, al-Bustānī



*Rawāʿī* no. 18/20, Beirut 1928.—Collective manuscripts *Mukhtār min rasāʿil al-J.* Berl. Oct. 1499, Dāmād Ibr. 949, *Majmūʿat rasāʿil al-J.* C. 1324.

1. *Kitāb al-bayān wal-tabyīn* (cf. V. v. Rosen, *ZDMG* 28, 169) Pet. Rosen 158, Leningr. Un. 724, AS 3814, Köpr. 1222/4, NO 3688, 3696/7, Halet 765, Asʿad 3883, ʿĀšir 762, Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 216, 2<sup>III</sup>, 40, C. 1313, ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, vol. 1, C. 1938. On the section on rhetoric see Kračkovsky, *Vost. Zap. Leningrad* 1927, p. 26ff.—2. *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* Vienna 1433, Köpr. 992/7, NO 3031. Excerpts in G. van Vloten, *Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern*, *wzkm* VIII, 167/87, 233/47, VII, 59/73, 290/2, idem., *Worgers in ʿIrāq in Feestbundel Veth*, 57/63, 315, on alchemy in G.E. Wiedemann, *Journal für prakt. Chemie*, N.S. 76 (1907), 73/8, *Beitr.* XLVI, *SBPhMS Erl.* 47, 130/1, excerpts Esc. 2897, 901.—3. *Kitāb al-bukhalāʾ*, emendations by W. Marçais in *Mél. H. Basset*, Paris 1925, 1/31, reprint with comm. by al-ʿAwāmīrī Bek and Muṣṭafā al-Jārim Bek, C. 1938 (Maṭb. Wizārat al-maʿārif).—Vol. 1, theology: 14. *Khalq al-Qurʾān*.—15. *Fi ʿl-radd ʿala ʿl-Mushabbīha*.—16. *al-Radd ʿalā b. Ishāq al-Nazzām wa-aṣḥābihi* Br. Mus. Suppl. 1129 (not mentioned by Rieu, see *Or. Stud.* Browne 200, 9).

IV. 46a. *Risāla ila ʿl-Muʿtaṣim (wa-qīla ila ʿl-Mutawakkil) fi ʿl-ḥadd ʿalā taʿlim awlādihī ḍurūb al-ʿulūm wa-anwāʿ al-adab*, in al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb* 116/21.

v. 47a. *al-Tabaṣṣur fi ʿl-tijāra* ed. Ḥ. Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wāhhāb, Damascus, Maṭb. al-Majmaʿ al-ʿilmī, see *RAAD* XII, 321/55.—XI. 90. From the *Kitāb al-buldān* the description of the Umayyad Mosque in Yāqūt, *GW* 11, 593, 7ff.—Fragments of his *Kitāb al-akhbār* are in the *Kitāb al-munya wal-amal* of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yahyā (II, 187). *Lughat al-ʿArab* IX, 174/81, see Mosul 100, 24.—D. 5. *Kitāb al-dalāʿil wal-iʿtibār*. Krenkow, *RAAD* IX, 558/62, is perhaps a work by a | 160  
Christian, see H. Baneth, *Magnes Anniversary Vol.*, Jerusalem 1938, 24ff.

2a. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Sarḥ al-Kātib, whom *Fihrist* 128 credits with *Rasāʿil* and a *Kitāb al-ʿilm wa-mā jāʿa fīhi*, wrote, in 274/887, a *Kitāb rumūz*, Rāḡib 1463, f. 100/6, ed. by S.M. Ḥusein, *RAAD* XI, 642/55.

3. The works of Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh (ʿUbaydallāh) b. Muḥammad b. Abī Dunyā al-Qurashī aim at being entertainment and edification at the same time. Born in Baghdad in the year 208/823 and a client of the Umayyads, he nevertheless entered into relations with the ʿAbbāsids and was the teacher of the later Caliph al-Muktafī (289–95/902–8). He died on 14 Jumādā II 281/22 August 894.

*Fawāt* I, 236. 1. *Kitāb al-faraj baʿd al-shidda*, an imitation of a lost work by al-Madāʿinī that had the same title, Berl. 8731, Brill M. 173, criticised by

154 al-Tanūkhī in the preface to his own work by the same | title, Cat. Leid. <sup>2</sup>1, 255; an abstract, augmented from other sources and entitled *al-Araj fi 'ntizār al-faraj* by al-Suyūṭī d. 911/1505, Berl. 8732/3, Gotha 622/3, Paris 659,4.—2. *Makārim al-akhlāq*, an account of the good qualities essential for man, based on sayings of the Prophet, ḤKh VI no. 12823, Berl. 5388, see Bishr Fāris, *Mabāhith 'arabiyya*, C. 1939, p. 32; therefrom especially *Kitāb mudārāt al-nās* Berl. 5436,2.—3. *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī*, on the censure of musical instruments, Berl. 5504, together Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazzālī's (p. 426) *Bawāriq al-ilmā'*, ed. with introd. and transl. by J. Robson, London 1938 (Or. Transl. Fund, N.S. xxxiv).—4. *Fī faḍā'il 'ashr Dhi 'l-Ḥijja* Leid. 1732, Landb.-Br. 55.—5. *Kitāb al-'azama*, on the wonders of creation, Krafft 423, Garr. 764, Ġārullāh 400.—6. *Kitāb man 'āsha ba'd al-mawt*, short stories, Munich 885,3.—7. *Kitāb al-yaqīn* Köpr. 388.—8. *Kitāb al-shukr* NO 1208, Garr. 1420, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 129.—10. *Kitāb qira 'l-ḍayf* Landb. Br. 54.—11.—44. see Suppl. 1, 247/8, 946/7.—45. *Kitāb al-humūl wal-tawāḍu'*, quoted in al-Damīrī 1, 324,24.—*Majmū'at al-rasā'il li-Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (al-Tawakkul 'ala 'llāh, al-Ḥilm, Husn al-ẓann billāh, Qaḍā' al-ḥawā'ij, Kitāb al-awliyā')*, C. 1935.

4. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Marwān al-Dīnawarī al-Mālikī, d. 310/922.

161 | *Kitāb al-mujālasa*, a collection of traditions, anecdotes, and *maqāmas* in 47 chapters, the last 15 of which are contained in Paris 3481, see Suppl. 1, 249, 947.

5.—7. see Suppl. 1, 250.

8. Abū 'Umar ('Amr) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Rabbih, born on 10 Ramadan 246/860 in Cordova, was a freedman of the ruling Umayyads. He was an active poet of great productivity until he was paralysed by a stroke. He died some years later, on 18 Jumādā II 328/3 March 940.

Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma* 1, 412/36, Ibn Khall. 45, Wüst., *Gesch.* 107, Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ* 23. *Kitāb al-'iqd (al-farīd* was only added later), a very rich anthology of stories and poems, in style similar to Ibn Qutayba's *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, Berl. 8318/9, BDMG 115, Gotha 2121/3, Vienna 357, Munich 594, Paris 3287/91, Br. Mus. 1091/3, Bodl. 1, 334, 350, 400, 743, Milan, Bibl. Ital. LVI, 297, AS 4139/44, NO 4119/20, Rāġib 1174, Köpr. 1339/41 (see Cahen, *REI* 1936, SA 3), print. Būlāq 1293, C. 1302, 1305, 1314, 1321, 1913, 1928, 1935, ed. by Aḥmad Amīn Abu 'l-Zayn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī I C. 1940. The work is divided into 25 books, each named after a precious stone; the 13th book is formed by the central stone, *al-wāsiṭa*, of the

necklace, with which the other books are connected from both sides, in such a way that similar gems (though after the 13th, with the addition *al-thāniya*) face each other, equidistant from the central stone.

9. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim al-Kātib al-Qayrawānī al-Raqīq al-Nadīm went, in 388/998, as an envoy of Bādīs b. Zīrī to al-Ḥākīm in Cairo. He died sometime after 417/1026.

*Kitāb quṭb al-surūr fī waṣf al-anbidha wal-khumūr*, anecdotes and samples of poetry, for and against the enjoyment of wine, ḤKh IV, 9531, Berl. 8324, Gotha 2124/5, Vienna 358, Leipz. 517, Lund 4, Esc. 2558, anon. *Mukhtār* Halet 105, see de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères* I, 292, n. 3.

10. Abū ‘Alī al-Muḥassin b. ‘Alī al-Tanūkhī was born on 26 Rabī‘ I 329/20 December 940 in Basra, the son of the *qādī* and poet ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. After completing his studies with al-Ṣūlī and Abu ‘l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī he went to Baghdad. In the year 349/960 he was appointed *qādī* for Qaṣr, Bābil, and their surroundings. After occupying similar offices in ‘Askar Mukarram, Īdhaj, Rāmhumuz and some other places, he died in Baghdad on 25 Muḥarram 384/2 March 994.

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Al-Tha‘ālibī, *Yatīma* II, 115/6, Ibn Khall. 529, Ibn Quṭlūbughā 229. 1. *Kitāb al-faraj ba‘d al-shidda*, a collection of stories based on the example of the works by al-Madā‘inī (p. 146) and Ibn Abi ‘l-Dunyā (p. 160), Berl. 8737/8, Gotha 2687, Leid. 449, Paris 3483/4, Bodl. I, 326, Vat V, 777, Esc. 2714, Köpr. 1349/50, Dam. ‘Um. 87<sub>34</sub>, Alex. Mawā‘iz 29, Patna I, 150<sub>1432</sub>, C. 1903/4, 1938, see F. Gabrieli, Il valore letterario-historico del *F. b. al-sh.* di T., *RSO* XIX, 16/44; according to Gotha 1596 and Ibn Taghr. C. III, 310<sub>15</sub> this is in fact a work by his father.—Abstract, *Najāt al-muhaj*, by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib b. ‘Alī al-Khashshāb al-Ḥalabī, Paris 3485, anon. *ibid.* 3486<sub>1,2</sub>, Berl. 8739.—2. *Kitāb al-mustajād min fa‘alāt al-ajwād*, a collection of anecdotes and character traits, mostly taken from the lives of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs, Berl. Brill M. 128, Gotha 1596/7, Leipz. 590, AS 4263 (*WZKM* XXVI, 88, excerpt), Āṣaf. III, 520<sub>185</sub>, Esc. 21727 (folios 9/264 identical with vol. 1 of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s *Iqd*, see Antuña, *al-Andalus* I, 191/2). *T. s. al-K. M. min f. al-a.* ed. (i.e. photolith. of MS Aligarh) and analysis by L. Pauly, Stuttgart 1939 (Bonner Or. St. 23). The MSS Berl. 8433, Bodl. I, 834 (see Amedroz, *RSO* III, 558), Leningr. As. Mus. 757, and Algiers 1883 contain later imitations. 3.–5., see Suppl. (on 3 see Ritter, *Isl.* XIV, 1924, 148/51).

- 156 | 11. The story of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azdī probably also dates from the fifth century.

*Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Qāsim al-Baḡhdādī al-Tamīmī* which, through the words of an authentic inhabitant of Baghdad, describes a saucy, good-for-nothing but eloquent elderly man and his adventures over the course of 24 hours, Br. Mus. 1127, s. Suppl.

12. See Suppl. I, 254 (Patna I, 203,181,1).

## | Chapter 6. Ḥadīth

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Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* (hereafter *Ḥuff*). *Liber classium virorum qui Korani et Traditionem cognitione excelluerunt auctore Dahabio*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1833/4.

I. Goldziher, Über die Entwicklung des Ḥadīth, *MSt.* 11, 1/274.

1. Apart from the works by Mālik b. Anas and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, which will be discussed in the chapter on *fiqh*, little remains of the oldest period in *ḥadīth* literature, as documented in Suppl. 1, 255/9.

Ad p. 257 f. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Qurashī al-Fihri, d. 197/812, *Kitāb al-jāmi‘ fi ‘l-ḥadīth*, also Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 13 (MS d.d. 270, see Suppl. 1, 948, contra al-Dhahabī’s statement in *Mizān* 11, 86, that the year of death is 177, see also ḤKh 11 380, VI 264), edit. prepared by J. David-Weill (Textes ar. de l’Inst. F.A.O.C. 111, IV, 1942). His *Tafsīr* ḤKh 11, 350, 3194.

Ad p. 257 E. Abstract by Naṣr b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanafī, Dam. Z. 82, 62, p. 259.—ρ al-Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Umar al-Azdī al-Baṣrī al-Ibādī, d. 170/786, see *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1885, p. 71/5, see p. 691.

| 2. The *muṣannaḥ* works, in which traditions are arranged according to their significance for juridical and ritual, as well as historical, ascetic and ethical questions, represent a higher stage of literary development. These works provided the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* with conveniently formatted tradition material, necessary in their struggle against the *aṣḥāb al-ra’y* in matters relating to *fiqh*. Earlier attempts of this kind were eclipsed by Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Mughīra b. Bardizbah al-Bukhārī al-Ju‘fī, who was born into an Iranian family on 13 Shawwāl 194/21 July 810 in Bukhārā, made the pilgrimage when he was sixteen years old. In | Egypt he continued his study of Tradition which he had started in Mecca and Medina, and for the same purpose he then travelled | all over Asia. After an absence of 16 years, five of which he spent in Basra, he returned to his hometown where he wrote his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He died in Khartanak on 30 Ramaḍān 256/31 August 870.

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His work is based on a grid of chapter-headings taken from *fiqh*, for which he could not supply the necessary *ḥadīth* material in every case. This is because he was very demanding as regards witnesses, in the same way in which he was in the matter of the transmission of the text. Nevertheless, he did not shrink from elucidating the traditions by brief remarks now and then, which were, however, sharply delineated from the text. Even though the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* has been very carefully transmitted, the emergence of variant readings could

not altogether be prevented, and it is thanks to the commentators that we know about these. The text as we have it was prepared by Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Yunīnī, d. 701/1302 (*Huff.* XXI), with philological backing from Ibn Mālik, d. 672/1273 (p. 298).

- Wüst. *Gesch.* 62, *Schaf.* 44, Krehl, *ZDMG* IV, iff., Goldziher, *MSt.* I, 234/45, J. Fück, Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von B.'s Traditionssammlung, *ZDMG* 92, 60/87. I. *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* see Suppl. I, 261/4. Commentaries: 1. *l’lām al-muḥaddith* etc. Garr. 1349, Patna I, 39,401.—4. a. *al-Tawḍīḥ* Alex. Ḥad. 34.—5. *al-Kawākib al-darārī fī sharḥ al-B.* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Kirmānī, d. 786/1384, Berl. 1194 (?), Gotha 592/4, Bodl. I, 90/1, Garr. 1351, Esc. 21461, Algiers 4452/5, Rāḡib 295/6, Yeni 217/22, AS 654/70, Patna I, 575,581,5.—6. *al-Tanqīḥ fī alfāz al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* by Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. ‘Abdallāh al-Miṣrī al-Zarkashī, 159 d. 794/1392 (II, 91), Berl. 1195/8, Paris 696, Br. Mus. 181, AS 682/4, | Alex. Ḥad. 12, Patna I, 42,426.—7. *al-Tawḍīḥ* by ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 805/1402 (II, 92), Br. Mus. 1561/2, fragm. Berl. 1199.—8. *al-Iḥām* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī, d. 824/1421 (II, 112), AS 479.—9. *Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, d. 827/1424 (II, 26), Garr. 1352, NO 849/50.—10. *al-Kawkab al-sārī fī sharḥ al-B.* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā (b. Yūsuf) al-Kafīrī, 165 d. 831/1428 (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* | *al-l.* VII, 111/2), Berl. 1200.—11. *al-Lāmi‘ al-ṣabīḥ* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Dā‘im al-Birmāwī, d. 831/1428 (II, 95), NO 845/6, AS 804.—12. *Faṭḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ al-B.* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, d. 852/1448 (II, 67), Berl. 1203/5, Leipz. 309, Paris 697, Yeni 210/2, AS 626/32, 634/53, Köpr. 316/21, on which a *muqaddima*, Berl. 1201/2, Ind. Off. 125, Br. Mus. 181,2, 1599, Algiers 446/7, Yeni 211, AS 625, 633, Patna I, 55,553.—13. *‘Umdat al-qārī’ fī sharḥ al-B.* by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Aynī, d. 855/1451 (II, 51), Berl. 1206/9, Paris 698/700, Algiers 448/58, Rāḡib 300/5, Yeni 213/6, NO 854/61, AS 671/8, Patna I, 52,522/4, II, 502,2691/8, print. C. 1308, Istanbul 1309/10.—13a. *al-Durr* by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, d. 884/1479 (II, 70), Cairo 21, 125.—14. *al-Kawthar al-jārī fī sharḥ al-B.* by Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl al-Kūrānī, d. 893/1488 (II, 228), AS 686, Rāḡib 297, Qawala I, 146.—15. *al-Tawshīḥ ‘ala l-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Qawala I, 108, Patna I, 42,429, *Dibāja* Gotha 253, glosses Berl. 1216.—16. *Irshād al-sārī fī sharḥ al-B.* by Ibn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Qastallānī, d. 923/1517 (II, 63), Berl. 1210/1, Paris 701/3, Ind. Off. 127/8, Algiers 460/73, Köpr. 322/5, Rāḡib 291/4, NO 862/84, AS 603/24, Patna I, 38,384,93, print. Lucknow 1876, Nawalkishor 1284, Bülāq 1304/5, C. 1276, 1307 (bad reprint *OB* IV, 1474), Delhi 1891.—17. *Tuḥfat al-bārī* by Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 88), NO 847/8.—18. *Sharḥ ‘iddat aḥādīth Ṣaḥīḥ al-B.* by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Aḥmad al-Safīrī al-Ḥalabī, d. 956/1549 (II, 99), Berl. 1212, Alex. Ḥad. 31.—18a. *Bidāyat al-qārī’ fī khatm Ṣaḥīḥ al-B.* by Muḥammad b. Sālīm b. ‘Alī al-Ṭablāwī, d. 969/1549 (Suppl. II, 443), Garr.

1353, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 275.—19. *Irāb al-qāriʿ ʿalā awwal bāb al-B.* by al-Qāriʿ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 314), Berl. 1213, Patna II, 388,<sup>2568,50</sup> glosses by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakhshī, d. 1096/1685, *ibid.* 1214.—20. *Tazyīn al-ʿibāra* by the same, *ibid.* 1217.—21. On the last tradition, by Tāj al-ʿArifīn b. Muwaffaq al-Dīn, ca. 1160/1747, Berl. 1218, and by Sulaymān al-ʿUjaylī, d. 1204/1789, *ibid.* 1219.—22. *Najāḥ al-qāriʿ* by ʿAbdallāh Yūsuf Effendizāde al-Ḥilmī, d. 1167/1753 (Suppl. II, 653), AS 685, NO 894/932.—23. *al-ʿIqd al-ghālī fī ḥall ishkal al-Ṣ. al-B.* by Aḥmad al-Kurdī, Paris 2677,<sup>7</sup>—24. *Zād al-mujidd al-sārī* by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Tāwudī b. Sūda al-Murrī, d. 1209/1795, Br. Mus. 1482/4, Algiers 474.—25. Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Salāmī, AS 688/9.—26. *Ghāyat al-tawḍīḥ* by ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣiddīqī al-Ḥanafī, tenth cent., Ind. Off. 129/30, see Suppl. II, 994,<sup>53</sup> with Patna II, 445,<sup>2621,5</sup>—27. Introduction and comment. to the first two books | by ʿUmar b. Muḥammad ʿArif al-Nahrawālī, Ind. Off. 131.—28.–41. see Suppl. (40 = 26).—42. *al-ʿIḷām bi-sharḥ aḥādīth sayyid al-anām* by Ismāʿīl al-Jarrāhī, d. 1162/1749 (II, 308), Garr. 1355.—43. *Taʿlīqāt ʿalā abwāb al-B.* by Shāh ʿUbaydallāh b. Shāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Dihlawī, Patna I, 41,<sup>425</sup>. 60 commentaries are mentioned in Ahlw. 1215.—Abstracts: 1. *Jamʿ al-nihāya fī badʿ al-khayr wal-ghāya* by ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Jamra, d. 699/1300 (p. 372), Algiers 476/86, Rāmpūr II, 117,<sup>438</sup> (see Suppl.), Patna I, 48,<sup>483/5</sup>, on which the author's own comm. *Bahjat al-nufūs* Berl. 1221, Brill M. 229, Munich 117, Paris 695, 5351, Algiers 478,<sup>2/87</sup>, NO 845/6, Alex. Ḥad. 49,<sup>4</sup>, and by Muḥammad ʿAbbās ʿAlī Khān *al-Taʿlīq al-Fakhrī* Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 97.—2. *ʿIqd al-jumān al-lāmiʿ al-muntaqā min qaʿr al-baḥr al-jāmiʿ*, the traditionalists in alphabetical order by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Qūjilī, Algiers 488.—3. *Mukhtaṣar* by Ibn Abī Ḥamza, Rāgib 351.—*Tajrīd al-Ṣ.* (see Suppl.) Qawala I, 103, Patna I, 40,<sup>413</sup>. 4 other abstracts are mentioned in Ahlw. 1225,<sup>61–64</sup>.—Other reworkings, see Suppl. I, 264, with: 6. *Ishārāt Ṣaḥīḥ al-B. wa-asānīdihī* by Muḥammad ʿAfif al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh b. Sālīm al-Baṣrī al-Shāfiʿī, d. 1134/1721, Garr. 1354.—9. *Asāmī ruwāt Ṣ. al-B.* by Ḥasan b. Ḥasan Ṣāfīzāde, d. 1279/1864, Istanbul 1282.—10. *Tahrīr ʿalā Kitāb al-ʿilm min Ṣ. al-imām al-B.* by ʿAbd al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Najjār, Mufti ʿl-Diyār al-Tūnisiyya, Tunis 1325.—11. *Miftāḥ al-B.* by Muḥammad Shukrī b. Ḥasan, Istanbul 1313.

II. *al-Thalāthiyyāt*, three-tier traditions, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 3827, <sup>2</sup>I, 522, Berl. 1620/1, Patna I, 42,<sup>435</sup>, on which commentaries by: a. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī al-Wafāʿī, d. 1086/1675 (II, 308), Köpr. 298.—b. al-Qāriʿ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Šehīd ʿA. 1841,<sup>2</sup>.—Abstract *al-Fawāʿid al-marwiyyāt fī fawāʿid al-thalāthiyyāt* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadramī, d. 777/1375, Algiers 475.

III. a. *al-Taʿrīkh al-kabīr*, on the transmitters, AS 3069/71, library of Yāsīn Bāshayān al-ʿAbbāsī in Basra (following a letter by Ritter, see Krenkow, *Isl. Culture* VIII, 1934, 643/8).—b. *al-Taʿrīkh al-awsaṭ*, chronologically arranged,

bought in 1937 in Hyderabad (communication by Krenkow).—c. *al-Ta'rikh al-ṣaghīr* Patna II, 304,<sup>2411</sup>, 371,<sup>2557,1</sup>—*Kitāb al-ḍu'afā' al-kabīr* ibid. 557,<sup>2932,7</sup>, *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā' al-ṣaghīr* ibid. 538,<sup>2897</sup>.

160 iv. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Esc. <sup>1</sup>1255 after <sup>2</sup>1260, rather a part of an anonymous Qur'ān commentary, while Paris 242/5 in | Wüst. rather contains the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see de Slane 688, 690/1, 694), commentary on sura 21, 48, Algiers 1688, 3.

v–ix. see Suppl. (ix Patna II, 438,<sup>2614,1</sup>).

167 3. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī al-Nishābūrī was born in 202/817 or 206. He went to Baghdad several times, | the last of which was in 259/873, and died on 25 Rajab 261/6 May 875 in Naṣrābād, a suburb of Nishapur. His collection of traditions *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* contains basically the same material as the one by al-Būkhārī, taken from other sources. His work is likewise arranged according to the chapters of *fiqh*, but without headings so as not to forestall the user. Also, he did not intend to document the entire framework of *fiqh* with traditions, which is why he assembled traditions with different *isnāds* rather than using them as evidence in different places as his predecessor had done. The author discusses the science of Tradition at length in an introduction.

Wüst, *Gesch.* 65, Goldziher 245/6. 1. *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* in MSS almost just as numerous as the one of Bukhārī, print. Calcutta 1265, with a short comm. C. 1348/9.—Commentaries: 1. *Ikmāl al-mu'lim* by Qādī 'Iyād al-Yaḥṣabī, d. 544/1149 (p. 369), Rāḡib 310, NO 1035, Qawala I, 101.—2. *al-Minhāj fi sharḥ M. b. al-Ḥ.* or *Minhāj al-muḥaddithīn wa-sabīl talbīyat al-muḥaqqiqīn* by al-Nawawī, d. 676/1277 (p. 394), Berl. 1234/9, AS 690/704, Yeni 244, Rāḡib 308/9, Patna I, 53,<sup>525,32</sup>, print. in 5 vols. C. 1283, Delhi 1304.—3. *Ghurar al-fawā'id al-majmū'a fi bayān mā waqa'a fi Ṣaḥīḥ M. min al-aḥādīth al-maqtū'a* by Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-Qurashī al-'Aṭṭār al-Mālikī, d. 662/1264, Berl. 1232/3.—4. *Ikmāl al-ikmāl* by Muḥammad b. Khalīfa b. 'Umar al-Washtātī al-Ubbī al-Mālikī al-Tūnisī, d. 827/1424 or 828 (M. b. Cheneb, *Idjāza* § 262), Munich 120, Algiers 490/1, Rāḡib 306/7, Köpr. 329, Patna I, 39,<sup>402/3</sup>.—5. *Khatm Ṣ. M.* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Nādimī, d. 927/1521, Berl. 1240.—6. by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-'Ajamī al-Ḥalabī, Bodl. I, 150,<sup>1</sup>.—7. *Ināyat al-malik al-mun'im* by 'Abdallāh Yūsuffendīzāde Ḥilmī, d. 1167/1754 (Suppl. II, 652), NO 1042/3.—| Abstracts: 1. *al-Musnad al-mukhraj 'alā kitāb M. b. al-Ḥ.* by Abū 'Awāha Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Nīsābūrī al-Shāfi'i, d. 310/922 (Ibn Khall. 797), Köpr. 401/6, Patna II, 503,<sup>2701</sup>.—2. *Mukhtaṣar (Mulakhkhaṣ)* by 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī b. 'Abdallāh al-Mundhirī, d. 656/1258 (p. 367), Berl. 1241, Munich 119, Yeni 275.—3. by Shams al-Dīn, Patna I, 53,<sup>533</sup>.—Index *Rijāl*



*Ṣaḥīḥ al-imām Muslim* by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Manjawayh al-Iṣfahānī, d. 428/1036, Alex. Ta’r. 70, Muṣṭ. al-Ḥ. 10 (MS d. 664).—On both *Ṣaḥīḥs*: 1. *Sharḥ mushkilāt al-ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Qāḍī al-Yaḥṣabī, d. 544/ | 1149, Köpr. 334.—2. *al-Jam‘ bayna l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* see Suppl. I, 578, 3, 3.–27 commentaries and abstracts are mentioned in Ahlw. 1244.—II. *al-Kunā wal-asmā’* Patna II, 538,<sub>2898</sub>. 168

4. Apart from the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, which acquired a canonical status in the Islamic world that has never been challenged, there are four other works that originated in the third century, works that, even though they never attained the authority of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, were nevertheless often conflated with these to form a “canonical six”. Common to them all is the somewhat looser criterion of the *shurūṭ* which they applied to the credibility of the traditions. These four works are:

*a.* The *Sunan* of Abū Dā’ūd Sulaymān b. al-Jārūd b. al-Ash’ath al-Azdī al-Sijistānī, born in 202/817. After extensive study tours during which he went to Baghdad several times, he settled in Basra at the instigation of al-Muwaffaq, who hoped to enrich the city through him and his students after it had been ravaged by the Zanj. He died there on 16 Shawwāl 275/22 February 889. His work is called *Sunan* because it contains traditions that have juridical and ritual significance while excluding everything to do with history, ethics, and dogmatics. Any source that was not unanimously rejected sufficed him as a witness toward the inclusion of a tradition. In the beginning, his book seems to have been a serious competitor for the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, and even in the fourth century it was enthusiastically praised by some, but finally it receded into the background more and more.

Ibn Khall. 285, Goldziher 250/1, 255/6, Wüst., *Schaf.* 47. I. *Kitāb al-sunan* Berl. 1246/8, Brill M. 301, Munich 121, Paris 707/8, Bodl. I, 207, Algiers 494, Yeni 208, AS 545/6, NO 822/4, Köpr. 124, Qawala I, 123, print. C. 1280, Lucknow 1888, with glosses Delhi 1890. Commentaries: 1. *Ma‘ālim al-sunan* by Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaṭṭābī, d. 388/998 (p. 174), Ind. Off. 1038,<sub>5</sub>, Algiers 1274,<sub>2</sub>, Yeni 293/4, AS 582/3.—2. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, d. 855/1457 (II, | 52), Cairo, <sup>2</sup>I, 127.—3. *Mirqāt al-ṣu‘ūd* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Köpr. 417.—4. *Faṭḥ al-wu‘ūd (wadūd)* by Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Sindī al-Ḥanafī, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 134, 149, Qawala I, 141.—Abstract *al-Mujtabā* by ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Mundhirī, d. 656/1258 (p. 367), Br. Mus. 1865/8, Garr. 1366, Alex. Ḥad. 58, fragm. Gotha 600.—10 commentaries are mentioned in Ahlw. 1249.—II. *Marāsīl*, indirect traditions, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 146, print. C. 1310.—III. *Su‘ālāt Abī ‘Ubayd Muḥammad* 169

b. *Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ghurri 'an Abī Dā'ūd*, on the credibility of a number of traditions, revised by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī, d. 576/1180, Paris 2085, Köpr. 292.

b. The *Jāmi'* of Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Sahl al-Tirmidhī. He originated from Būgh near Tirmidh on the Jayḥūn river and was a student of al-Bukhārī. | Having wandered through Khurāsān, Iraq and the Hijaz in a further search for traditions he died in his homeland on 13 Rajab 279/892. In his work he included any tradition that had ever served a *faqīh* as an argument for a decision. Because he records in every case which *madhhab* bases itself on a particular tradition and what the others bring against it, his book is one of the most important sources for the differences between the schools of *fiqh*.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 75, Goldziher 250, 254, *ZDMG* 38, 671ff. I. *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* Paris 709, Bodl. I, 187, Leid. 1731, Esc. 21695, Algiers 495, NO 825/8, 1166, AS 547/9, Köpr. 295, Qawala I, 109, Patna I, 46,463/7, print. Būlāq 1292.—Commentaries: 1. *Arīdat al-aḥwadhī fī sharḥ al-T.* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī, d. 543/1148 (suppl. I, 532), C. 1350–2/1933–4.—2. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, d. 734/1333 (II, 71), in 10 vols., ḤKh. 11, 3910, 2<sup>1</sup>, 559, book 5 Berl. 1250, *Dibāja* Gotha 2, 67.—3. *Takmila* on it by al-'Irāqī, d. 816/1403 (II 65), Esc. 21464, Makram 12, Medina *ZDMG* 90, 109, *Dibāja* Gotha 2, 68, an abstract by Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl al-Bālisī, d. 729/1329 (al-Subkī, *Tab. al-Shāf.* II 231), Paris 710/1.—For further commentaries and abstracts see Suppl. I, 268, 948.

II. *Kitāb al-shamā'il*, on the looks of the prophet, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qurans* 1xx, MSS see Suppl. I, 268, with Garr. 628/30, Qawala I, 135/6, Makram 45, Patna I, 272,2262/3, II, 534,2876, print. Calcutta 1262, C. 1273, Mirtah | 1282, Fez 1310 and in other places. Commentaries: 1. Aḥmad al-Qastallānī, d. 923/1517 (II, 73), Ind. Off 137 (?)—2. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī, d. 943/1536 (II, 410), Köpr. 315, Rāgīb 280, Alex. Ḥad. 6, Patna I, 272,2253.—3. *Ashraf al-wasā'il* by Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Haytamī, d. 973/1565 (II, 387), Br. Mus. 149, Ind. Off. 136, Paris 714/5, Algiers 662/4, Köpr. 314, Garr. 631, Alex. Ḥad. 54,1, Qawala I, 101.—4. Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Lārī, d. 979/1571 (II, 420), NO 1033.—5. *Jam' al-wasā'il* by al-Qārī' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), BDMG 14, AS 597/9, NO 1030/2, Rāgīb 282/3, Garr. 632, Qawala I, 113.—6. (based on 5) *al-Fawā'id al-jalīla al-baḥiyya* by Muḥammad b. Qāsim Jassūs, d. 1182/1768 (see Suppl.), Būlāq 1296, C. 1306.—7. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1031/1621 (II, 306), Algiers 1666, Yeni 241/2, Rāgīb 281, AS 601, NO 1034, Patna I, 271,254/5.—8. *Bahjat al-maḥāfil* by al-Lāqānī, d. 1041/1631 (II, 317), Berl. 9959, Paris 2092, Algiers 1667,3, Alex. Had. 9.—9. Bakkār al-Mālikī, Gotha 1829.—10. *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya* by Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī,

d. 1277/1861 (II, 486), print. Būlāq 1280, 1309, C. 1290, 1319.—11.—19. See Suppl. (12. Garr. 639, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 154, Patna II, 534, <sub>2878</sub>).—Abstract *al-Shiyam* by Ismāʿīl b. Ghunaym al-Jawharī, ca. 1160/1747, Paris 716.—with comm. *Ḥulal al-iṣṭifāʾ* Alex. Ḥad. 21.—anon. comm. Paris 4540.—*Ṣalāt al-shamāʾil wa-kanz al-ḥaṣāʾil* by Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Ḥākīm, Alex. *Fawāʾid* 12.

III. see Suppl.—IV. *Nawādir al-uṣūl* Berl. Qu. 1958.

c. The *Sunan* of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī. Born in 215/830 in Nasāʾ in Khurāsān, he lived until 302/914 in Egypt and was beaten to death in Ramla on 13 Ṣafar 303/19 August 915, apparently for refusing to recognise the merits of Muʿāwiya. His collection of traditions takes even the minutest details of ritual life into consideration. Thus, he documents all the *duʿā*'s that have to be pronounced between *rakʿas* | with texts that trace their authority back to the Prophet. Popular expressions of piety, such as the *istiʿādḥāt*, too, he documents with numerous traditions. In the juridical chapters he includes a mention of templates for all kinds of legal transactions.

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| Ibn Khall. 28, Wüst., *Schaf.* 70, Goldziher 232. 1. *Kitāb al-sunan*, MSS see Suppl. with Garr. 1367, Qawala I, 123, Yeni 207, NO 830, AS 552/5, Patna I, 509/12, print. 2 vols. C. 1312, with comm. by al-Suyūṭī and glosses by al-Sindī, C. 1932, 4 vols.—Abstract by the author *al-Mujtabā*, excluding the weak traditions, Delhi 1850, with comm. *Zahr al-rubā* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Patna I, 51, <sub>499</sub>, 2 vols. C. 1213, Kanpur 1882.—2. *Kitāb al-khaṣāʾiṣ fī faḍl ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, a collection of traditions about ʿAlī and his family, composed in Damascus, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 114, Bank. XV, 1048/9 (Patna I, 276, <sub>2295/6</sub>), Rāmpūr I, 81, 128, print. C. 1308, see Goldziher, *ZDMG* L, 112.—3. *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ wal-matrūkīn*, on untrustworthy transmitters, Br. Mus. 864, <sub>4</sub>, Bodl. II, 378, Patna I, 276, <sub>2295/6</sub>.

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d. The *Sunan* of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Māja al-Qazwīnī. Born in 209/824, he made study tours through Khurāsān, Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, and died in 273/886. His work initially found little recognition because he had included many weak traditions. It was only towards the end of the sixth century that it was included among the canonical works.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 71, Goldziher 262/3. *Kitāb al-sunan* Paris 706, Br. Mus. 1564, Algiers 492/3, Rāḡib 259/60, NO 811/20, AS 542/4, Köpr. 293, Qawala I, 122, Patna I, 51, <sub>506</sub>, lith. Delhi 1283, with comm. by Fakhr al-Ḥasan, *ibid.* 1889, by Mughulṭāy al-Ḥikrī, d. 762/1361 (II, 48), Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 269, <sup>2</sup>1, 90, 269, Qawala I, 122, Patna I, 52, <sub>513</sub>, *Miṣbāḥ al-zajāja* by al-Suyūṭī (see Suppl.) also Patna I, 62, <sub>636</sub>.

5. Apart from these six works that attained canonical status, some of the other collections that were put together around the same time failed to make a mark. Those which are extant include the *Kitāb al-sunan* by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī al-Samarqandī, a teacher of Muslim, Abū Dā‘ūd, and al-Tirmidhī. He was born in 181/797, held the office of *qāḍī* in Samarqand for a short period of time, and died in 255/869. Although his work also includes the non-legal chapters of the traditions, it hardly reaches a third of the size of the other Sunan works. Just like Bukhārī, he wanted to render a service to the *faqīh*, and thus he offers | instructions for the practical application of each tradition, | instructions which are, however, inconsistent. In addition, he discusses the credibility of the *isnād* in every case. It would seem that its subjective character and modest size stood in the way of its recognition as a canonical code of law.

Goldziher 258/9. *Kitāb al-musnad al-jāmi‘* Leid. 1726, Patna I, 60,<sup>616/7</sup> lith. Kanpur 1293.

6. A work on Tradition that is lost was by Baqī b. Makhlad al-Qurṭubī, a Spaniard of Christian origin who had studied for fourteen, and then for another twenty, years in the East, and who rendered great service to the spread of the science of Tradition in Spain. He died on 29 Jumādā II 276/30 October 889. Even though his work was still ordered by *isnāds*, within these groups he divided the traditions, like the *muṣannaḥ* works, by juridical category.

Ibn Bashkuwāl no. 77, al-Ḍabbī p. 229, no. 584, Maqqarī I, 491, 812, Dozy, *ZDMG* xx, 598, Goldziher 260.

7. The last original work on *ḥadīth*, which admittedly only distinguished itself by its artificial character, was written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī. Born in Būst in Sijistān between Herat and Ghazna, and thus probably of Afghan descent, after lengthy journeys to study he assumed the office of *qāḍī* in Samarqand. His understanding of prophethood as a combination of *‘ilm* and *‘amal* led to his being accused of heresy, so that he had to escape to Nasā and in 334/945 to Nishapur. When tempers had calmed down in Samarqand he returned there as a teacher of Tradition, dying there, at 80 years old, on 22 Shawwāl 354/21 October 965.

Wüst. *Gesch.* 130, *Schaf.*, 152. 1. *Kitāb al-taqāsīm wal-anwā‘* ḤKh IV, 9916<sup>21</sup>, 463, Cairo<sup>21</sup>, 97, *Dībāja* Berl. 1286, revised by ‘Alī b. Balabān al-Fārisī, d. 739/1338, with glosses by Ibn Ḥajar, Br. Mus. 1570, cf. Goldziher | 269, n. 5. Other works

see Suppl. 273, where ad 6. *Kitāb al-‘azama*, Dam. Zāh. Majmū‘a 42, 1.—9. *Tafsīr* Medina, ZDMG 90, 104.

8. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ājurri lived in Ājurr, an area on the western side of Baghdad, where he was a Shāfi‘ī jurisconsult and where he wrote monographs on the science of Tradition. In the year 330/942 he made the pilgrimage, following which he stayed in Mecca, where he died in Muḥarram 360/November 970.

| Wüst., *Gesch.* 134. 1. *Kitāb al-arba‘īn*, a collection of 40 traditions, such as they were compiled from time to time, comprising the minimum amount of knowledge that every believer should have, Berl. 1456, Br. Mus. Suppl. 155.—2. *Kitāb farḍ ṭalab al-‘ilm*, on the question of the amount of knowledge that a believer has to acquire, Berl. 101.—3. *Kitāb akhlāq ḥamalāt al-Qur‘ān*, on the necessary qualities of experts on the Qur‘ān, Berl. 576.—4.—10. see Suppl.—11. *Mā warada fī laylat al-niṣf min Sha‘bān* Cairo <sup>21</sup>, 142. 165

9. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Khallād al-Rāmhurmuzī, d. 360/971, wrote

1. *Kitāb al-muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna ‘l-rāwī wal-wā‘ī*, an introduction to the science of Tradition, Berl. 1141, 2 cod. sim. 68 (= Köpr. 397), 71 (= Šehīd ‘A.P. 531); see *Huff.* XII, 22.

10. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Dīnawarī b. al-Sunnī was a student of al-Nasā‘ī who died in 364/974.

*Kitāb ‘amal al-yawm wal-layla*, on prayers, ḤKh IV, 8367, ed. by Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Abdallāh b. Abī ‘l-Faṭḥ al-Nahrawānī, ca. 540/1145, Berl. 3505, Patna I, 55:5520, see Suppl.

11. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Dāraquṭnī al-Shāfi‘ī was born in 306/918 in Dāraquṭn, a neighbourhood of Baghdad, and studied under Ibn Abī Dā‘ūd and Ibn Durayd. Because of his veneration for al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (p. 82), whose *dīwān* he knew by heart, he was regarded as a closet Shī‘ī. Having assisted the vizier of the Ikshīdīd Kāfūr in the composition of a *Musnad*, he became *Imām al-qurrā’* in Baghdad, where he died on 5 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 385/2 December 995.

| Ibn Khall. 407, *Huff.* XII, 70, Wüst., *Schaf.* 235. *Kitāb al-sunan* AS 550, on which *Takhrīj al-aḥādīth al-ḍi‘āf min* (Deft. wa) *sunan al-Dāraquṭnī* by Abū ‘Abdallāh 174

b. Yaḥyā al-Ghālī, *ibid.* 464.—2.—13. see Suppl. 1, 275, 949 (6. Patna I, 55,549/51, 8 *ibid.* 1, 39,398),—In his *Kitāb al-istidrākāt wal-tatabbuʿ* he showed the weaknesses of 200 traditions in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*; see Goldziher, 257.

12. Abū Sulaymān Ḥamd (usually distorted to Aḥmad) b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaṭṭābī al-Bustī was both a poet and a specialist of Tradition. He was born in 319/931 and wrote critical and expository works on the canonical collections. Towards the end of his life he inclined to mysticism and joined a Sufi convent (*ribāʿ*) on the banks of the Hilmand in Būst, in Sijistān. He died there on 16 Rabīʿ II 386/9 May 996 (or, according to others, in 388/998).

Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* IV, 231/3, Ibn Khall. 196, *Huff.* XIII, 20, *Khiz.* I, 282. 1. *Kitāb iṣlāḥ ghalat al-muḥaddithīn* AS 457, print. C. 1936.—2. Commentary on Bukhārī, Suppl. p. 261, on Abū Dāʿūd p. 168.—3. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, see Weisweiler *Ist. Hdssstudien* 137.—4. *Kitāb al-ʿUzla* Garr. 1421, print. C. 1936.—5.—8. see Suppl. (6. Cairo 21, 149, Patna II, 504,2706).—9. *Risāla fi ʿl-ghunya ʿani ʿl-kalām wa-ahlīhi* is quoted by Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿat al-rasāʿil al-kubrā* I, 439, penult.

13. Abū Ḥaḍḥ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Shāhīn, whose family hailed from Marwarrūdh, was born in Ṣafar 297/November 909. He started his studies of Tradition as early as 308/920, and then became a specialist of Tradition and a preacher in Baghdad. He supposedly authored 330 works, and died on 12 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 385/8 January 995.

Wüst., 150. *Kitāb nāsikh al-ḥadīth wa-mansūkhuhu* Paris 718.

14. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Zunbūr al-Warrāq was regarded as a weak traditionalist and died in 390/1000 or 396/1005.

175 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Taʿr. Baghdād* III, 35/6, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 58or. *Kitāb al-ʿālim wal-mutaʿallim*, transmitted by Abū Naṣr | b. Abi ʿl-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr al-Srmanjī in Muḥarram 396/October 1005, Alex. Fun. 144,1.

166 | 15. Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Ghassānī, d. 402/1011, wrote a

*Musnad* with an alphabetical ordering of the sources, Landberg, Cat. Brill p. 12, no. 37, see Goldziher 229.

16. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥākīm al-Nīsābūrī b. al-Bayyī’, d. 3 Ṣafār 405/3 August 1014, see Suppl. 1, 276.

Wüst., 167. 1. *Kitāb al-mustadrak ‘ala ‘l-ṣaḥīḥayn*, in which he defended the credibility of several traditions that had been omitted from the *Ṣaḥīḥs* and in which he proved that the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* suppressed many *ḥadīths* that, according to their own *shurūf*, should be regarded as entirely sound, cf. Goldziher 273, MSS see Suppl., Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 146, Medina, *ZDMG* 90, 111, Patna 1, 60,<sub>606</sub>. *Mukhtaṣar* with refuting glosses by al-Dhahabī, d. 748/1347 (11, 46), ḤKh v, 521, Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 417, Berl. Qu. 1127, *Dībāja* Gotha 2,<sub>21</sub>.—2. *al-Madkhal ilā ma‘rifat al-ṣaḥīḥ wal-saqīm min al-akhbār al-marwiyya* or *al-Madkhal ila ‘l-iklīl*, Halet Efendi see *Dharī‘a* 11, 280,<sub>1138</sub>; on this work, ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Alī al-Azdī al-Ḥajrī, d. 409/1008 (Suppl. 1, 281), wrote *Kitāb al-awḥām allatī fi ‘l-M.*, a correction of mistakes and oversights that he did not hold so much against the author himself as against the copyists and the disseminators; he offered his work to the author who thanked him for this, ḤKh v, 11677, Berl. 1033, Leipz. 892.—3. *Ma‘rifat uṣūl ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth*, on 52 classes of traditionalists, AS 449, Berl. sim. 69, under the title *Ma‘rifat ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-anwā‘ihi* Alex. Ḥad. 63.—4. *Ta‘rīkh Nīshābūr* ḤKh <sup>1</sup>11, 155/6, <sup>2</sup>1, 308, Bartold, *Turkestan*, 16, Pers. table of contents in Bursa, Ḥü. Čelebī Ta‘r. 12, see Hamdani, *JRAS* 1938, 561.

17. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Fūrak al-Anṣārī al-Iṣfahānī was a philosopher, philologist, and preacher. Having studied in Baghdad he went to Rayy, and from there to Nishapur, where he had a successful career as a teacher and author. Later he accepted an invitation by Maḥmūd to come to Ghazna where, being an Ash‘arī, he had a dispute with the Karrāmiyya. It was on his way back from there that he was allegedly poisoned in 406/1015. See Suppl.

| Wüst., *Gesch.* 170. 1. *Kitāb al-ḥudūd fi ‘l-uṣūl*, definitions regarding the foundations of Ḥanafī law, Br. Mus. 421,<sub>7</sub>, Ibn Quṭlūbughā 185.—2. His main work, under various titles (see Suppl.), also as *Sharḥ mushkil al-ḥadīth*, Alex. Ḥad. 32, Patna 1, 61,<sub>628</sub>, as *Bayān mushkil al-ḥadīth*, selection after MSS in Leipzig, Leiden, London and the Vatican by R.A. Köbert, *Analecta or.* 22, Rome (Pont. Inst. Bibl.) 1941.—3. *Kitāb asmā‘ al-rijāl* (author?) Berl. 9918.—4. *al-Niṣāmī fi uṣūl al-dīn*, a refutation of dogmatic sects, AS 2378.

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18. Abu ‘l-Qāsim Tammām b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. al-Junayd al-Rāzī, who was born in 330/941 in Damascus and died on 3 Muḥarram 414/29 March 1023.

*Fawā'id al-ḥadīth* Leid. 1733, Dam. 'Um. 25,339.

- 167 | 19. The critical study of the sources developed into the separate science of *ʿilm al-rijāl* that, prepared by the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Saʿd and *Taʾrīkh*-works by al-Bukhārī, soon gave rise to a rich literature; see Suppl. I, 278/81 (with Dam. 'Um. 25,362, h. 3, Patna I, 62,639/40).



| Chapter 7. *Fiqh*

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See Suppl. I, 282/3

Older literature: A. v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Islāms* I, 470/500, E. Sachau, *Zur ältesten Geschichte des muhammedanischen Rechts*, *SBWA* 65 (1875), 669/723, A. Sprenger, *Eine Skizze der Entwicklungsgeschichte des muslimischen Gesetzes*, *Z. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* x, 1/31, Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten* 3/19, *MSt.* II, 73/8.

1 **The Ḥanafīs**

*Die Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen, enthaltend die Klassen der Ḥanefiten von Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim b. Qutlūbughā* (II, 82), zum erstenmale hsg. und mit Anm. u. einem Index begleitet v. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1862 (*Abh. f. d. K. d. M.* I, no. 3). G. Flügel, *die Klassen der Ḥanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, *Abh. d. Kgl. Säch. Ges. d. Wiss.* VIII, *ph.-hist.* CLIII, Leipzig 1863.

1. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit b. Zūṭa (according to others ‘Atik b. Zawṭara), who died 150/767 or 151, see Suppl. 284/7.

| Ad I, *al-Fiqh al-akbar*, commentaries: 5. Abu ‘l-Muntahā Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghnisāwī, completed in 939/1532, also Berl. Brill M. 177, *BDMG* 32, Garr. 1666/8, Alex. Tawḥīd 23, Mawā‘iz 35,3, Fun. 76,1, 156,2, 194,9, Qawala I, 192.—6. *al-Manḥ al-azhar*, *BDMG* 30b, 31a, Garr. 2091,4, Patna I, 122,1223/6.—17. anon. *Mukhtaṣar al-ḥikam al-nabawīyya* Alex. Tawḥīd 43.—v. *Musnad Abī Ḥ.*, *riwāyat al-Khwārizmī* also Alex. Ḥad. 16,2, Qilič ‘Alī 273/4, Patna I, 47,481, II, 502,2688, *riwāyat Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Serāi 364, commentaries: al-Qāri’ al-Harawī, Patna I, 53,537, ‘Abīd al-Sindī, *ibid.* 54,538.—VI. *Waṣīyya* Garr. 1769, Qawala I, 213, 270.—VII. *Waṣīyya* to his son Ḥammād, Alex. Fun. 156,7.—IX. *Waṣīyya* to his students, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 397.—IXa. *Waṣīyya* to the *qāḍī* Abū Yūsuf, Alex. Fun. 156,7.—X. *Waṣāyā*, Patna II, 429,2603,2.—XI. *Kitāb al-‘ālim wal-muta‘allim*, Garr. 2021,1, 2122,1, Rāmpūr I, 318,270.—XII. *al-Qaṣīda al-Nu‘māniyya*, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 386,327.—XV. *Ma‘rifat al-madhāhib*, Rāmpūr I, 322,305b, 716,11.—XVI. *Naṣā’ih* with comm. *Zubdat al-N.* by ‘Uthmān b. Muṣṭafā, completed 1039/1629, Alex. Mawā‘iz 36, Fun. 102,5.—XVII. *Ḍawābiṭ al-thalātha*, comm. *al-Wuṣūl ila ‘l-kanz al-akbar wa-ilā mā huwa ‘l-anfā’ min al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* by Abū Ḥasan Garr. 2120,3.—XVIII. *Risāla fi ‘l-farā’id* Patna II, 362,2545,3.—XIX. *al-Du‘ā’ al-ma‘thūr ‘an Abī Ḥanīfa* *ibid.* 423,2593/6.

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171 | 2. Abū Ḥanīfa's most important student was Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Kūfī al-Anṣārī, who was born in 113/731 in Kufa, and who had an old Arabian background. He was appointed as a *qāḍī* in Baghdad by al-Hādī and also kept his post under Hārūn until his death on 5 Rabī' I 182/21 April 798. He was the first *qāḍī l-quḍāt* in Islam to occupy all the magistracies, and this is how he rendered his master's doctrine dominant. But, contrary to him, he is believed to have given more weight to oral transmission than to *ra'y*.

Flügel 282, Goldziher, *MSt* II, 77. *Kitāb al-kharāj*, on land tax according to the Qur'ān and Tradition, with an admonishing foreword addressed to Hārūn, ed. by his student Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, Berl. 5605/6, Paris 2452/3, Ind. Off. 1511, AS 1145, NO 1516/7, Köpr. 559/60, Rāmpūr I, 239, 465/6. Comm. *Fiqh al-mulūk* (see Suppl. I 950) also Medina, *ZDMG* 90, 115.

178 | 3. His student Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī was born in Wāsiṭ between 131–5/748–52 and grew up in Kufa. Even though he had heard the lectures of Abū Ḥanīfa, he owed his education mainly to Abū Yūsuf. In order to deepen his knowledge of Tradition he also went to Mālik b. Anas in Medina. Having completed his studies, he became a *qāḍī* in Raqqa, but was removed from this office in 187/803. He then lived in Baghdad, accompanied the caliph Hārūn to Rayy in 189/804, and died in neighbouring Rambūya (Ṭab. III, 2521).

172 | Ibn Quṭlūb. no. 159, Flügel 283, Goldziher, loc. cit., Cherbonneau, *JA* s. IV, v. xx, 406/19. I. *Kitāb al-mabsūṭ* or *Kitāb al-aṣl fi 'l-furū'*, whose first redaction may have had its origins with Abū Yūsuf (ḤKh I, 318, no. 818, <sup>2</sup>107), AS 1026, NO 1377, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 6, Qawala I, 306, abstract by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, written in 705/1305, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 216, 225.—Part of an anonymous comm. Ind. Off. 1422.

II. *al-Ziyādāt*, and additions to it, with *ta'liq* by the author, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 27.—Commentaries: 1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, d. 586/1190, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 73.—2. Fakr al-Dīn Qāḍikhān, d. 592/1196 (p. 376), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 74, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 13, Bank. XIX, 1594, abstract by Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulaymān, fragm. Berl. 4441.

III. *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, on the *furū'*, the derived laws, Yeni 392, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 34, print. C. 1356.—Commentaries: 1. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ (p. 191), d. 370/980, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 69.—2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī, d. 483/1090, *ibid.* 70.—2a. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Māza al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd, d. 536/1141 (p. 374), Welieddīn 1157, Alex. Fiqh. Ḥan. 17.—3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaṣīrī al-Bukhārī, d. 636/1238 (p. 380), a. *al-Taḥrīr* (see Suppl.), Garr. 1685, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 11, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 17, Rāmpūr I, 174, <sup>76</sup>9.—b. *al-Wajīz* also Bank. XIX, 1592.—4. 'Abd

al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī al-Ḥalabī, d. 616/1219, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 67.—5. *Kashf al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr* by al-Nasafī, d. 537/1142 (p. 427), Berl. Qu. 1343.—6. ‘Uthmān b. Muṣṭafā, completed 1159/1746, Br. Mus. Suppl. 252.—7. Anon., *al-Taysīr*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 68.—Abstracts: 1. *al-Talkhīṣ* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād al-Khilāṭī, d. 652/1254 (p. 381), Berl. 4508, Qawala I, 314. Commentaries: a. ‘Alī b. Balabān al-Fārisī, d. 739/1338, Yeni 426/7, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 19, abridged by Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Ishāq al-Shiblī, d. 773/1371 (II, 80), Berl. 4509.—b. al-Bābartī, d. 827/1424 | (II, 225), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 68.—c. Muḥammad b. Sihāb al-Kardarī al-Fārisī, d. 739/1338, Yeni 426/7, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 19.—d. Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghujuḍwānī, Yeni 428/9, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 74.—e. Abstract thereof by ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, d. 792/1390 (II, 215), Yeni 428, Dāmādzāde 848.—2. Versified and commented upon by Aḥmad b. Abi ‘l-Mu‘ayyad al-Maḥmūdī al-Nasafī, d. 519/1125, written in 515/1121, Paris 820, Pet. AM 104, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III 143. Comm. by Maḥmūd b. Ṣā‘id al-Ḥārithī, d. 606/1209, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 28.

IV. *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaghīr*, possibly composed together with Abū Yūsuf, NO 1438/9, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 32, Garr. 1672/3, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 17, printed in the margin of the *Kitāb al-kharāj*, Būlāq 1302. Commentaries: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Pazdawī, d. 482/1089 (p. 373), Rāmpūr I, 207,<sub>262</sub>, revised and explicated by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Māza al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd, d. 536/1141, Berl. 4437, Yeni 434, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 32, Ind. Off. 1512, Bank. XIX, 1593, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 32, Rāmpūr I, 207,<sub>260</sub>.—Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Bukhārī, d. 586/1190, Gotha 998, Munich 261/3, Dresd. 105, Leid. 1774, Paris 821/2, Yeni 435, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 73.—Ḥasan b. Manṣūr Qāḍīkhān, d. 592/1196 (p. 376), Yeni 436, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 74, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 32, Rāmpūr I, 206,<sub>289</sub>.—Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaṣīrī, d. 636/1238 (p. 380), Patna I 91,<sub>928</sub>.—Versifications: a. al-Nasafī, d. 537/1142, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 123, 143.—b. Badr al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Farāhī, d. 617/1220, Paris 823, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 107.—20 other revisions are mentioned in Ahlw. 4439.

v. *Kitāb al-āthār*, the traditional foundations of the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 2, Bank. XIX, 1595, see Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 77.

VI. *Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr*, on the laws of war, his last work, which he wrote after leaving Iraq, comm. by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abi ‘l-Sarakhsī, d. 495/1101, Berl. 4975, Vienna 1778, Leid. 1775, Paris 784/5, 837/8, Yeni 440/1, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 70, Qawala I 361.

VII. A work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Paris 784, comm. by al-Sarakhsī, d. 483/1090, however, allegedly composed in 499, *ibid.* 785, probably identical with the *Kitāb al-aṣl*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 102 (Suppl. I, 292).

VIII. *Aqīda* in 79 verses, of doubtful authenticity because the custom for every scholar to compose such an *‘aqīda* only developed later, and also because we know of no ancient commentary, Berl. 1933/34, Goth. 659/60, Paris 4585,

- Bodl. I, 811,<sup>3</sup>, 127,<sup>3</sup>, II, 596, Pet. Chanykow 161,<sup>2</sup>. Commentaries by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Qāḍī ‘Ajlūn al-Zara‘ī, d. 876/1471, Gotha 661, 1299,<sup>13</sup>, Paris 3024,<sup>6</sup>, Garr. 1563, 2003,<sup>18</sup>, Rāmpūr I, 315,<sup>252</sup>, and ‘Alawān | b. ‘Alī b. ‘Aṭiyya al-Ḥamawī, d. 936/1539 (II, 333), Berl. 1935, Dam. ‘Um. 62,<sup>42</sup>, Alex. Fun. 115, 2, attributed to Najm al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad al-‘Ajlūnī, Garr. 2003,<sup>8</sup>, Rāmpūr I, 284,<sup>21</sup> (*Badī‘ al-ma‘ānī*).
- x. *al-Iktisāb fi ‘l-rizq al-mustatāb* see Suppl., print. C. 1938.
- XI. *Kitāb al-ḥujaj* see Suppl., Patna I, 68,<sup>869</sup>.
- XII. *Qaṣīda* ibid. 377,<sup>6561,5</sup>.

- 173 | 4. A student of al-Shaybānī was Abū Sulaymān Mūsā b. Sulaymān al-Jūzajānī, who rejected the magistracy offered to him by al-Ma’mūn, and who died sometime after 280/893.

Flügel 286. *Kitāb al-shurūṭ al-kabīr* Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 455. An untitled work, which is actually al-Shaybānī’s *Kitāb al-aṣl*, is mistakenly attributed to him in Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 102.

4a. Another student of al-Shaybānī was ‘Īsā b. Abān.

*Al-Ḥujja al-ṣaghīra* Bank. XIX, 1596, s. ḤKh III, 16,<sup>4403</sup>, <sup>2</sup>I, 631.

5. Hilāl b. Yahyā b. Muslim al-Baṣrī received the nickname Hilāl al-Ra’y because he allowed *ra’y* to have a greater influence in legal matters again. He died in 245/859.

Ibn Quṭlūbughā, no. 246. *Kitāb aḥkām al-waqf*, on the law concerning pious endowments, Leid. 1776, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III 116, Alex. Fiḥ Ḥan. 4, Rāmpūr I, 240,<sup>477</sup> (see Suppl.), print. Hyderabad 1355.

5a. Yahyā b. Bakr al-Ḥanafī.

*Fihrist* 208, Ibn Quṭlūbughā no. 257, see Suppl. with 2. *Fī bayān al-‘itiqād* also Alex. Fiḥ Ḥan. 54, Qawala I, 186.—3. *Asīr al-malāḥida fi ‘l-alfāz al-mukaffira* Alex. Fiḥ Ḥan. 6, Fun. I, 194,<sup>10</sup>.

6. At the forefront of the third generation of Ḥanafī scholars stands Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Umar (‘Amr) al-Shaybānī al-Khaṣṣāf, who belonged to the retinue of Prince Muḥammad b. Wāthiq, who would later be the caliph al-Muhtadī. When

the latter was killed after barely a year in power in 256/870 Turkish soldiers plundered the former's house, too, and he lost his library. He died in 261/874.

| *Fihrist* 206, Ibn Quṭlūbughā no. 15, Flügel 291. 1. *Kitāb aḥkām al-waqf (wuqūf, awqāf)* Berl. 4761, Qu. 1803, Goth. 1127, Leid. 1778, AS 1012, NO 1891, Yeni 349/50, Cairo 1111, 3, 116, 124, see Goldziher, *MSt.* 11, 68.—2. *Kitāb adab al-qāḍī* see Suppl. Qawala I, 304, a handbook for the judge, with a commentary: a. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī, d. 370/980 (p. 191), Leid. 1777, Patna 1, 92,933.—b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Māza al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd, d. 536/1141 (p. 374), Yeni 356/7, 423, Köpr. 531/2, Cairo 1111, 72, Alex. *Fiqh Ḥan.* 31, Ind. Off. 1514, Āṣaf. 1088.—c. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qā'idī al-Khujandī, Yeni 424.—3. *Kitāb al-ḥiyal wal-makhārij*, directives on how to behave in social situations and in one's doings and dealings so as to profit from one's situation, Berl. 4972/3, AS 1143, Cairo 1111, 42, Alex. *Fiqh Ḥan.* 23, abstract Ind. Off. 1696.

7. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Ḥajrī al-Taḥāwī was born in Taḥā in Egypt in 229/843 (or, according to others, in 228 or 238). Having fallen out with his uncle and first teacher, the Shāfi'ī al-Muzanī (see p. 190), he went to Syria where he joined the Ḥanafī Abū Ḥāzim. He then became one of the most important Ḥanafī scholars. He died in 321/933.

| Ibn Khall. 27, Flügel, p. 296, Wüst., *Gesch.* 102. 1. *Kitāb al-sunan* AS 551, Cairo 11, 424, comm. by al-'Aynī, d. 855/1451 (11, 52), *ibid.* 396, 442, Garr. 1394.—2. (*Sharḥ*) *Ma'āni 'l-āthār* Berl. 1263/5, Yeni 571, Qawala I, 153, Patna 1, 54,542/4, print. Lucknow 1300/2, 2 vols.—3. *Kitāb mushkil al-āthār* Berl. 1266/7, abstract by Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī, d. 474/1081 (p. 419), Br. Mus. 1569.—4. *Kitāb al-jāmi' al-kabīr fi 'l-shurūṭ* Berl. sim. 41/2, Cairo 1111, 102.—5. *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'* Cairo 1111, 3.—6. *al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh*, commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, d. 370/980, Cairo 1111, 69.—b. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, d. 535/1140, Yeni 457/8.—c. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr al-Isbijābī, d. ca. 480/1087 (see Suppl.), also Bombay no. 48.—7. *Risāla (or Muqaddīma) fi uṣūl al-dīn* or *Aqīdat ahl al-sunna wal-jamā'a* Berl. 1938/9, Gotha 663, Cairo 111, 50, Köpr. 348, print. Kazan 1893 (with the title *Bayān al-sunna*).—Commentaries: a. Najm al-Dīn Mankubars al-Qubrusī al-Turkī, d. 652/1254, Yeni 760, AS 2311, Köpr. 861, Garr. 2127, 1, Alex. Tawḥīd 25, Rāmpūr 1, 315,253.—b. 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī, | d. 773/1371, Cairo 111, 30.—c. *Nūr al-yaqīn fi uṣūl al-dīn* by Kāfi al-Āqḥiṣārī, 182 d. 1025/1616 (11, 443), Leipz. 1902.—d. Sirāj al-Dīn Hibatallāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Mu'allā al-Turkistānī, d. 733/1333, Garr. 1543.—e. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Qūnawī, d. 770/1368 (or, according to others, in 797/1395) (11, 81),

Alex. Tawhīd 30 (which has “Muḥammad”, see Esc.<sup>2</sup>1563,3).—f. Anonymous, Berl. 1940, anonymous version on the order of Sayf al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357, Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.* IV, 501), ḤKh <sup>1</sup>IV, 216, Gotha 665, Ind. Off. 4569 (*JRAS* 1939, 359).—8. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-āthār* Patna I, 54,548.

8. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāshī al-Samarqandī worked in various regions of Egypt as a *qāḍī* and died in 325/937.

The *Kitāb al-uṣūl*, attributed to him in various Indian printings and manuscripts (see Suppl.), see also Qawala I, 274, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 378, Rāmpūr I, 267,11, Patna I, 66,684, is the work of a later scholar, called Nizām al-Dīn al-Shāshī in *Ḥad. Ḥan.* 270, which moves it to the seventh century (Bank. XIX 12), while Pesh. 592 calls him Badr al-Dīn al-Shirwānī and fixes him tentatively around 752 or 852. The oldest commentary mentioned in ḤKh v, 81, was written by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Farāhī in 781, later than the one by Mawlawī ‘Aynallāh, *Fuṣūl al-ḥawādith fī uṣūl al-Shāshī*, Pet. AM Buch. 402, print. Delhi 1302.

9. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī al-Ḥākīm was a judge in Bukhārā and was later appointed vizier by the Sāmānid Ḥamīd, the ruler of Khurāsān. After a battle in Rabī‘ II 334/November 945 he fell into the hands of the Turks and was tied to two treetops, whose flinging apart then precipitated his death. This is why he was revered as *al-Shahīd*, “The Martyr.”

Flügel 296. His *al-Kāfī fī l-fiqh* Berl. Qu. 1662, AS 1362/3, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 101, I, 455, is based on the *Jāmi‘* and *Ziyādāt* of al-Shaybānī.

10. Abu ‘l-Qāsim Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥākīm al-Samarqandī al-Māturīdī was a judge in Samarqand for a considerable period of time, and died on 10 Muḥarram 342/28 May 953. He was more interested in questions of dogmatics than in *fiqh*.

183 | 1. *Kitāb al-sawād al-a‘zam* (see Suppl.), with Garr. 2127,2, Rāmpūr I, 304,74, print. Būlāq 1253. Commentaries by Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī, d. 474/1081, Cairo I, 430, al-Harawī *ibid.* 362, and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Zuqānī, d. 1122/1710, *ibid.* 363.—2. *Risāla fī bayān anna ‘l-īmān juz’ min al-‘amal*, print. in *Majmū‘a*, Istanbul 1288 (Qawala I, 186).

11. Abu ‘l-Qāsim Ismā‘īl b. al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) b. ‘Alī al-Bayhaqī, d. 402/1011, wrote:

*Al-Shāmīl*, legal issues in fatwas based on the *Mabsūṭ* and *Ziyādāt*, Cairo 1111, 65.

12. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī, b. 362/972, d. 5 Rajab 428/24 April 1037, wrote a much commented-upon handbook on Ḥanafī *furū'* that is still often used today.

| Ibn Khall. 29, Ibn Quṭlūbughā no. 13, Flügel, p. 305. 1. *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, 175  
Berl. 4451/2, Gotha 994/5 (where other MSS are listed, additionally), BDMG  
33/4, Paris 827/33, Algiers 978/80, Br. Mus. 267, Garr. 1674/6, Flor. Naz. 7, AS  
1424/31, Yeni 527, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 62, Qawala 1, 392/3, Teh. Sip. 1, 509, Aligarh  
102,13, Bank. XIX, 1600/1, Ind. Off. 1516/9, print. Delhi 1847, Istanbul 1291, 1309,  
Kazan 1880, with comm. Lucknow 1338, whence the section on Islamic marital  
law, translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832.—The *Kitāb al-siyar* in  
*Analecta Arabica*, ed. Rosenmüller, vol. 1, Leipzig 1825.—Commentaries:  
a. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aqṭa' al-Baghdādī, d. 474/1081, Paris 834, Cairo  
1111, 76.—b. (5) see Suppl.—c. (4) Khwāharzāde Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Abū  
Bakr al-Bukhārī, d. 482/1089, Yeni 404, Köpr. 589, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 21.—d. (6)  
*Khulāṣat al-dalā'il fī tanqīḥ al-masā'il* by 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Makkī al-Rāzī,  
d. 598/1201, Gotha 996, Munich 258, Pet. AM 107, AS 1261, Yeni 461, NO 1263, Alex.  
Fiqh Ḥan. 24.—e. *al-Fawā'id al-badriyya* by Ḥamid al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b.  
'Alī al-Ḍarīr al-Rāshī al-Bukhārī, d. 667/1268, Qawala 1, 381.—f. (8) *al-Jawhara*  
*al-nayyira* by Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Ḥaddād al-'Abbādī, d. 880/1397 (II, 189), Berl.  
4453, Paris 835, AS 1264/6, Cairo 1111, 37, Qawala 1, 319, Rāmpūr 1, 184,137,  
Aligarh 106, 67/8, Bank. XIX, 1604, print. Lahore 1328.—g. *al-Sirāj al-wahhāj* by  
the same author, Yeni 462/5, Köpr. 590/4, Cairo 1111, 63, Bank. XIX, 1603.—h.  
*Jāmi' al-muḍmarāt wal-mushkilāt* by Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. Yūsuf al-Ṣūfī al-Kādūzī,  
ca. 800/1397, Ind. Off. | 1521/2, Rāmpūr 1, 183,127.—i. *al-Yanābī' fī ma'rifat al-uṣūl* 184  
*wal-tafāri'* by Rashid al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ramaḍān al-Rūmī  
al-Shiblī, ca. 723/1323, ḤKh V, 453, VI, 53, Berl. Qu. 1848, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 73,  
Dam. 'Um. 57,21.—k. (7) *al-Mujtabā* by Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī,  
d. 658/1260 (p. 382), AS 1262, Yeni 469, Bank. XIX, 1602.—l. (12) by 'Abd  
al-Ghanī al-Maydānī, written in 1268/1851, Istanbul 1275, Qawala 1, 386.—m.  
anon., Munich 257, Br. Mus. 1600, Algiers 983/4, Ind. Off. 1520 (*Fātiḥ al-Q.*).—  
16 commentaries, 6 abstracts, two supplements, and two versifications in  
Ahlw. 4454.—*Taṣḥīḥ al-Q.* by Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Quṭlūbughā, d. 879/1474 (II, 82),  
Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 13.—11a. *Takmilat al-mukhtaṣar* Munich 259 (see Suppl.).—11b.  
*Mushkilāt al-Q.* by the author (?), Alex. Fun. 87,1.—111. *al-Tajrīd*, a defence of  
Abū Ḥanīfa against al-Shāfi'ī, Br. Mus. 1194, Cairo 1111, 17 with comm. (part II),  
Berl. 4455.

13. Abū Zayd ‘Abdallāh (‘Ubaydallāh) b. ‘Umar b. ‘Īsā al-Dabūsi is regarded as the founder of *‘ilm al-khilāf*, the science of the doctrines that distinguish the different *madhhabs*.<sup>1</sup> He died in Bukhārā in 430/1039.

Ibn Khall. 309, Ibn Quṭlūbughā, no. 107, 266, Flügel 274. 1. *al-Amad al-aqsā*, moral and dogmatic admonitions, Berl. Oct. 1495, Esc.<sup>2</sup>559.—2. *Taqwīm al-adilla fī uṣūl al-fiqh* or *Taqwīm uṣūl al-fiqh wa-taḥdīd adillat al-shar‘* Yeni 310, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 381, anon. abstract Gotha 929.—3. *Ta’sīs al-naẓar*, on controversial legal issues, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 15, 124, <sup>2</sup>1, 379.—4. *Asrār al-uṣūl wal-furū‘* (see Suppl.) Rāmpūr I, 164,<sup>19</sup>.

## 2 The Mālikīs

1. Abū ‘Abdallāh Mālik b. Anas b. Abī ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr al-Aṣḥabī was born in Medina in 97/715 (or, according to others, in 93/711), the descendant of a Ḥimyarite prince. As a young man, he supposedly spent time with the singers of the city, until his mother suggested to him that he study *fiqh*. He then went to the classes of the traditionist al-Zuhrī (p. 64) and of the Qur’ān reciter Nāfi’. In politics he was on the side of the ‘Alids. When Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh rose up against the ‘Abbāsids in Medina in 145/762, || he pronounced a fatwa to the effect that any oath of allegiance to him was made under duress and thus null and void (Ṭab. III, 200, Nöldeke, *Or. Skizzen*, 129). Later he apparently reconciled with their government. When the caliph Hārūn visited Medina on the pilgrimage shortly before Mālik’s death in 179/795, he is said to have gone to his lectures (*Fragm. hist. ar.* I, 298).

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Ibn Khall. 522, *Manāqib al-imām Mālik* by Abu ‘l-Rūḥ ‘Īsā b. Abī Mas‘ūd b. Maṣṣūr al-Naklātī al-Ḥimyarī al-Zawāwī, d. 774/1372, Alex. Ta’r. 133, Cairo <sup>2</sup>v, 366, printed in the margin of al-Suyūṭī’s *Tazyīn al-mamālik*, C. 1325.

1. The *Kitāb al-muwāṭṭa’* is not a work on Tradition, but a *corpus iuris* which aims to define statute and law, the rites and praxis of religious worship according to the *ijmā’* and the dominant Sunna in Medina, and to settle any outstanding issues from that point of view. In many sections he does not invoke any tradition, just fatwas by recognised authorities, and concludes by outlining the Medinan *ijmā’*. While his work was not the only one of its kind, it did outlive all its rivals. Apparently Mālik was not very concerned about accuracy in the transmission of his work, casually declaring any copy presented to him to be authentic. This is why his work was available in a number of

1 But the fact that there had been earlier attempts at such a science has been demonstrated by Goldziher, *Zāh.* 37, n. 1.



often significantly different recensions, two of which have been preserved:

1. The *vulgata* in the recension of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Kathīr b. Waslān b. Manqāyā al-Laythī al-Mašmūdī, d. 234/848, a Spaniard who had become acquainted with the *madhhab* of Mālik in Medina and who worked for its dissemination in Spain, Berl. 1143, Paris 675/8, 4538, Br. Mus. 1590, Algiers 421/4, Garr. 1338, lith. with marginal glosses Delhi 1216, Lahore 1889.—Commentaries: 1.–3. see Suppl.—3a. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Qurṭubī, d. 557/1162, Br. Mus. 191.—5. *Tanwīr al-ḥawālik* by al-Suyūṭī, additionally Alex. Ḥad. 12, Qawala 1, 107.—6. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī, d. 1122/1710 (II, 318), additionally Qawala 1, 132, print. 4 vols. C. 1279/80.—10. anon. *Khulāṣat al-dalā’il fī tanqīḥ al-masā’il*, Berl. Fol. 3524.—11. Islāmallāh b. Shaykh al-Islām al-Dihlawī, Patna 1, 54,546.—Restructured *al-Musawwā* (see Suppl.), ibid. 1, 61,619/20.—11. The | recension by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (p. 177), Berl. 1144, Br. Mus. 1590, Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 328, print. Ludiana 1291/2, Lucknow 1297, Kazan 1909, with comm. *al-Ta’līq al-munajjad* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī (Suppl. II, 857), Hyderabad 1291, in the margin of the print from Lucknow 1325. Comm. by al-Qārī’ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Rāḡib 328, with the title *Sharḥ mushkilāt al-M.*, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 128. For other commentaries and recensions, see Ahlw. 1145, Suppl. 1, 298, cf. Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 213/26.—11. *Risālat wa’z* to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and to Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, Esc.<sup>2</sup>556,3, print. Būlāq 1311.—111. *Kitāb al-masā’il*, edited and furnished with answers and explanations by his student ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī, d. 214/829 (p. 154), Gotha 1143.

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2. Mālik’s most important student was Abū ‘Abdallāh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim al-‘Utāqī, who was born in 128/746 (or 132/749) in Ramla, in Palestine. He has the merit of having introduced Mālik’s doctrine to the Maghreb, where it still dominates today. He died in Cairo in 191/806.

| Ibn Khall. 335. On him and his student Saḥnūn, d. 6 or 7 Rajab 280/1 or 2 December 854, see Suppl. 1, 299, and also parts of a parchment manuscript of the *Mudawwana* in Louvain, on which see Heffening, *Muséon* L, 86ff.; other ancient MSS Alex. *Fiqh Māl.* 18, Garr. 1894.

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3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Utbī, the most important representative of the Mālikī school in Spain (on its introduction there, see Suppl. 1, 300), died in Rabī’ 1 255/March 869.

Maqq. 1, 603, López Ortiz, *La recepción de la escuela malegui* 143/52. 1. *al-Mustakhrāja al-‘Utbiyya*, on particularly, difficult issues in Mālikī *fiqh*, Paris 1055 (complete ?), see Vincent, *Études sur le droit musulman* 41.—2. *Kitāb kirā’*

*al-dūr wal-araḍīn wa-kirāʾ al-rawāḥil wal-dawābb min al-Mustakhraja mimma ʾstahalla (?) jumiʿa mimmā laysa fi ʾl-Mudawwana* Esc.<sup>2612,1</sup>.

4. Abu ʾl-Qāsim ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jallāb al-Baṣrī, whose year of death is given as 306/918, 378/988, or 398/1007.

187 *Kitāb al-tafrīʿ fi ʾl-fiqh* Br. Mus. 228,<sup>1</sup> Algiers 1036, a fragment of the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* Alex. Fiqh Māl. 15, abstract *al-Sahl al-badīʿ* | ḤKh <sup>1111</sup>, 7924, II, 3151, <sup>21</sup>, 427, a fragment from it Berl. 3943, anon. comm. Cairo <sup>1111</sup>, 157.

5. The most famous Mālikī teacher of law of the fourth century was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh (ʿUbaydallāh) b. Abī Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qayrawānī al-Nafzāwī, who was born in 316/928 in Nafzāwa, in Ifrīqiya. He lived for most of his life in Kairouan and died in 386/996 in Fez (or, according to others, in 388, 390, or 396).

178 Maqq. I, 553, Vincent, *Études*, p. 45. 1. *al-Risāla*, a compendium of Mālikī law, Berl. 4446/7, Gotha 1045 (where other MSS are mentioned, additionally) | Paris 1057/61, Algiers 768,<sup>5</sup>, 1037/46, Cambr. 77, Cairo <sup>1111</sup>, 165.—Commentaries: 1. Dāʾūd al-Mālikī, before 731/1330, Cairo <sup>1111</sup>, 155.—1a. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Anfāsī, d. 761/1360 (see Suppl.), also Alex. Fiqh Māl. 6, 10 (*taqyīd*).—2. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Balawī al-Shabībī, d. 782/1380 (see Suppl.), also Alex. Fiqh Māl. 10.—3. Qāsim b. ʿĪsā b. al-Nājī, d. 837/1433 (II, 239), Esc.<sup>1123</sup>, Algiers 1049/50.—4. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qalshānī, d. 863/1459, Esc.<sup>1060</sup>, Algiers 1047/8.—5. *Murshid al-mubtadiʿīn* by Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥumaydī, completed in 864/1460, Alex. Fiqh Māl. 18.—6. Aḥmad Zarrūq, d. 899/1493 (II, 253), also Alex. Fiqh Māl. 6, 10.—7. See Suppl.—8. Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī al-Shādhilī, d. 939/1532: a. *al-Faṭḥ al-rabbānī*, Leid. 1780.—b. see Suppl.—c. *Kifāyat al-tālib*, completed in 925/1519, Br. Mus. Suppl. 302, Algiers 1051/9, 1950/1, Cairo <sup>21</sup>, 490, Rāmpūr I, 242, 486. Selection from c. (with c's title but labelled as commentary 4) Gotha 1046/7, Leid. 1781, Krafft 460, Paris 1062, 1, Esc. <sup>1221</sup>.—Glosses on c. by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Makram al-ʿAdawī al-Ṣaʿīdī al-Manāfīsī, d. 1189/1775 (II, 319), also Makram 23.—9. *Tafassur (Tanwīr) al-maqāla bi-ḥall al-fāz al-R.* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tatāʿī, d. 942/1535 (II, 316), Paris 4548, Algiers 1062, Cairo <sup>1111</sup>, 158, Alex. Fiqh Māl. 9.—10.—11. see Suppl.—12. Aḥmad b. Ghunaym b. Sālim b. Muḥannā al-Nafzāwī, d. 1125/1713, also Alex. Fiqh Māl. 13.—13. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ujhūrī, d. 1066/1655 (II, 317), Cairo <sup>1111</sup>, 167.—14. Glosses by Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAffān al-Jazūlī, collected by al-Yaʿlānī before 890/1485, Munich 343, Br. Mus. 164, Algiers 1061.—15. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī, d. 972/1564 (II, 380), Rāmpūr I, 207,<sup>268</sup>—

| 16. Anon., Berl. 3548, Br. Mus 852/3, Paris 1070, Munich 344, Algiers 1065/70, 188  
Madr. 114, Fez Qar. 965.—Versification *Nazm al-R.* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.  
al-Ghāzī al-'Uthmānī al-Miknāsī, d. 919/1513 (11, 240), composed in 867/1462,  
with comm. by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, d. 953/1546 (11, 387),  
Algiers 1059,<sup>2</sup> 1063/4, Br. Mus. Suppl. 302, ii.

11. *Sunan*, a collection of traditions, Br. Mus. 888,<sup>8</sup>

11a. *Aqīda*, a creed, with comm., by Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Burnusī, Yeni 744.

11b. Poems in praise of the Prophet, Br. Mus. 1617, 9.–11.

5a. Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, probably his son, wrote:

*Al-Madkhal ilā 'ilm al-dīn wal-diyāna* Esc.<sup>1</sup>1241, identified as being written by  
the father by Casiri.

6. A student of Abū Zayd was Khalaf b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Abū Sa'īd al-Azdī  
al-Barādhi'ī, who composed, in 372/982 in Kairouan:

*Tahdhīb masā'il al-Mudawwana wal-Mukhtalīṭa* Paris 1051/4, 3, on which  
glosses, possibly by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Qāsim al-Bijā'ī al-Mashdālī, Algiers  
1071.

### 3 *The Shāfi'īs*

F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imām el Schāfi'ī, seine Schüler und Anhänger bis zum J. 300*,  
*Abh. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, vol. 36, 1890.

Idem, *Die gelehrten Schāfi'iten des IV. Jahrs.*, *ibid.*, vol. 37, 1891.

1. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī was born in 150/767 in Ghazza (or, according  
to others, in Ashkelon or Mina or Yemen). His father belonged to the Quraysh  
and his mother to the Azd. In early childhood he moved to Mecca where  
began to study Tradition. He then lived with the Banū Hudhayl in the desert  
until he was about 20 years of age, acquiring a thorough knowledge of clas-  
sical Arabic. | In later times, the famous philologist al-Aṣma'ī studied | the 179 189  
poetry of the Hudhayl and Shanfarā with him in Mecca. Around 170/786 he  
went to Mālik b. Anas in Medina. After the latter's death he accompanied his  
uncle Abū Muṣ'ab to Yemen, as he had been appointed a *qāḍī* there. When the  
imām of the Zaydiyya, Yahyā b. 'Alī,<sup>1</sup> made his appearance there he paid him  
homage, but together with other followers of his he fell into captivity and was  
brought before Hārūn in Raḡqa. Thanks to the intercession of Faḍl b. Rabī' he

1 See C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische imamaat*, 60, 290.

was pardoned, but he was not allowed to leave the town. It was here that he became acquainted with the works of the Ḥanafī scholar al-Shaybānī, whom he soon felt he had surpassed, although he did not dare confront this influential man. Thus, he first went to Egypt, where, as a student of Mālik, he was initially well received by the governor, until his new doctrinal ideas became widely known. When he had developed this further, he went once more to Baghdad, where he worked successfully as a teacher. However, just three years later he returned to Egypt with ‘Abdallāh,<sup>2</sup> the son and representative of the new governor ‘Abbās b. Mūsā, arriving in Cairo on 28 Shawwāl 198/21 June 814. But since his patron lasted only a few months in office, he next went to Mecca and only returned to Egypt at the end of 199 or the beginning of 200. He died in Fustāt on a Friday, which was the last day of Rajab 204/20 January 820, and was buried at the foot of the Muqaṭṭam in the crypt of the Banū ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. At his grave Ṣalāh al-Dīn founded a madrasa which the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil adorned with a cupola in 608/1211, and which still stands today.

190 | His *madhhab* tried to mediate between Mālik’s adherence to the traditions and Abū Ḥanīfa’s principle of *ra’y*. He is regarded as the founder of the science of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which gave a methodical structure to legal practice.

*Manāqib al-imām al-Sh.* by Abū ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar al-Rāzī, Cairo n.d., others see Suppl. De Goeje, *ZDMG* 46, 106/7, Goldziher, *Zāh.* 20/6. L.J. Graf, *Al-Sh.* ‘s *verhandeligen over de wortelen van den fiqh*, Diss. Leiden, Amsterdam 1935, based on the *Risāla*. On his works (*Fihrist* 109) see Suppl. I, 304/5; additionally *Kitāb al-umm*, also Berl. Qu. 1339, Rāmpūr I, 356,<sup>659</sup>, Ġārullāh 591/2, 594.—1. *al-Sunan al-ma’t’hūra* Köpr. 296.—2. *al-Musnad*, on which *al-Shāfi al-‘ayn* (or *al-‘yy*) *‘alā Musnad al-Sh.* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Rāmpūr I, 89,<sup>186</sup>.—3. *Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* add. Rāmpūr II, 225.—4.–6. see Suppl.—7. *Risāla fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Berl. Oct. 1827, Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 83, print. C. 1321.—8. *al-Tamhūd fī uṣūl al-fiqh* Ind. Off. 1428.—9. *Munāzara Āṣaf.* II, 1326,<sup>584</sup>.—10. *Munājāt* Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 387,<sup>6</sup>.—10. Some poems, according to information kindly provided by J. Hell, related to the poetry of Abu ‘l-‘Atāhiya, Berl. 7534, Leid. 594, 770, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* VIII, 66, Ibn Khall. I, 448, al-‘Asqalānī, *Tawālī l-ta’sīs bi-ma’ālī Ibn Idrīs fī manāqib al-Sh.*, 73ff., see Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-‘Ajāmī, ca. 1029/1620 (Suppl. II, 410), *Natījat al-afkār fīmā yu’zā ila ‘l-imām al-Sh. min al-ash‘ār* Cairo <sup>2</sup>II, 402.<sup>3</sup>—11. Attributed to him is a *ḥijāb*, a prayer that he had learned from the Prophet and that had saved him when

2 According to al-Kindī, ed. Guest 154, contra Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 394,9.

3 Wrongly attributed to the younger Ibn al-‘Ajāmī in Suppl. II, 420.

the caliph wanted to kill him, Berl. 392.—12. *Waṣāyā* Patna II, 426,<sup>2399,1</sup>.—13. *Kitāb al-sabq wal-ramy*, ibid. 342,<sup>2527,2</sup>.

2. Al-Shāfi'ī's most important student and supporter of his *madhhab* in Egypt was Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī, who was born in 175/794 and who died on 24 Ramadan 264/21 May 878 in Cairo.

Wüst., no. 30. 1. *Mukhtaṣar min 'ilm al-imām al-naḥīs M. b. Idrīs*, whose study is recommended by al-Ghazzālī in the *Iḥyā'*, C. 1316, I, 35,<sup>1</sup>, and from which he extracted the *Khulāṣat al-Mukhtaṣar* (see Suppl. I, 754,<sup>53a</sup>), in fragments Gotha 938, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 273, <sup>2</sup>I, 537, Nizām, Hyderabad, *JRASB* 1917, Proc. CVI, 50.—Commentary by Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir | al-Ṭabaṣī, d. 450/1058, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 239, <sup>2</sup>I, 337 (*Mukhtaṣar qism al-ṣadaqāt*).—2. *Risāla Āṣaf*. II, 1722,<sup>3,13</sup>.

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3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nisābūrī had studied under Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam and al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān, both immediate students of al-Shāfi'ī, but wanted to be considered as an independent *mujtahid*. He took up residence in Mecca and probably died in 318/930, or 324.

Wüst. 90. 1. *Kitāb al-ijmā' (wal-ishrāf)* AS 1011, probably identical with the *Kitāb al-ikhtilāf* (see Suppl.).—2. *Kitāb al-awsaṭ fi 'l-sunan wal-ijmā' wal-ikhtilāf* AS 1034 (fragm.) probably identical with *al-Ishrāf 'alā madhāhib ahl al-'ilm*, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 497.—3. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Gotha 521 (only sura 2,<sup>27</sup>—4,<sup>94</sup>).

4. Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zubayr b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Zubayrī, a descendant of the famous companion of the Prophet al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, was the most important jurisconsult of his time. He first lived in Basra, then in Baghdad. He died sometime before 320/932.

Wüst. 89. *Sharḥ al-īmān wal-islām* Munich 893,<sup>17</sup>.

5. Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī al-Qāṣṣ, who was thus called because he had worked as a preacher in Āmul in Ṭabaristān, was a student of Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Surayj, d. 305/917, who was branded the *mujaddid* of his time. He died in the year 335/946 on a trip to Tarsus; according to others, he had been a *qāḍī* there.

Wüst. 112. 1. *al-Talkhīṣ fi 'l-furū'*, one of the most thorough law books, which also takes the deviant views of the Ḥanafis into consideration, AS 1074.—2. *Dalā'il al-qibla*, Beirut, see Cheikho, *al-Mashriq* XVII, 1913, 439/42.

- 181 | 6. One of the youngest students of Ibn Surayj was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qaṭṭān, who died as a respected jurisconsult in Baghdad in 359/970.

Wüst. 161. *Kitāb al-aḥkām li-siyāq āyāt al-nabī 'alayhi 'l-salām* Rāḡib 971.

- 192 | 6a. Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb al-Ḥassānī wrote, around 400/1010 at the order of the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Suhaylī:

*Al-Suhayl fi 'l-madhhab al-Shāfi'i wal-Hanafī* (ḤKh III, 637<sup>7300</sup> *fi 'l-furū' al-Shāfi'iyya*) Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 24.

7. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Maḥāmīlī al-Ḍabbī was born in 368/978 in Baghdad, where he studied and taught. He died on 20 Rabī' I 415/1 July 1024.

Wüst. 109c. *Kitāb al-lubāb fi 'l-fiqh*, abstract *Tanqīḥ al-L.* by Abū Zur'a al-'Irāqī, d. 826/1423 (II, 66). Shortened again, with the title *Tahrīr Tanqīḥ al-L.* with comm. *Tuḥfat al-ṭullāb* by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Gotha 984/5, Paris 1038/40, on which glosses by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shawbarī, d. 1069/1659 (II, 330), Gotha 986, by Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd al-'Inānī, d. 1098/1687, Berl. 4499, by 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ujhūrī, died ca. 1070/1659, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 42, by al-Qalyūbī, *ibid.* 19, by Ḥasan al-Madābighī, d. 1070/1659 (II, 328), *ibid.* 20.—10 other glosses are mentioned in Ahlw., 4450.—Commentary on the original work by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1031/1622 (II, 306), Paris 1046, 1 (fragm.).—2. *al-Mughnī bi-madhhab al-Shāfi'i*, copied in 488/1095, Berl. Oct. 1409, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 503, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 18.

8. Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ṭabarī al-Lālakā'ī (“the sandal-maker”) lived as a traditionalist and *faqīh* in Baghdad, before going to Dīnawar, where he died at a ripe old age on 6 Ramaḍān 418/ 11 October 1027.

*Huff.* XIII, 56, Wüst., *Gesch.* 177. *Hujaj uṣūl ahl al-sunna wal-jamā'a* Leipz. 318 (see Suppl.).

4 *The Lesser Schools*

1. Among the third-century scholars of Tradition who were primarily concerned with legal issues but did not adhere to any particular school was Yaḥyā b. Ādam b. Sulaymān, who died in 203/818.

*Fihrist* 227, Naw. 620, Ibn Qutlūbughā 258, *Huff.* VII, 34. *Kitāb al-kharāj*, *Le Livre de l'impôt foncier, publié d'après | le ms. unique appartenant à Charles Schefer* 193 (Paris 6030) par Th. W. Juynboll, Leiden 1896, C. 1347.

2. Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, d. 241/855. See Suppl. I, 309.

| *Manāqib al-imām A. b. Ḥ.* by Shaykh al-Islām Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Rāmpūr I, 671, 37, Wüst. *Schaf.* 13. 1. *Musnad*, transmitted and edited by his son ‘Abdallāh with additions by Abū Bakr al-Qāṭi‘ī, Berl. 1257, Garr. 1365, AS 890/3, Dāmād Ibr. 389/93, Köpr. 411, Patna I, 60, 608/12, II, 503, 2702/4, print. C. 1311, 6 vols.; see Goldziher, *ZDMG* 50, 465/506. Individual parts *Musnad al-sha‘miyyīn*, Berl. 1259, Köpr. 412/6 (after Abū Zur‘a, d. 276/889, *Huff.* IX, 78, or an independent work by this student of his), *Musnad ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar* Berl. 1260, *Musnad al-Kūfīyyīn* Gotha 589, *Musnad Abī Sa‘īd al-Khudrī* Köpr. 424/5.—*Khaṣā’iṣ Musnad A. b. Ḥ.* by Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Aḥmad al-Madīnī, d. 581/1185 (al-Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 90), Berl. 1258, print. C. 1342, 1347 (*wa-yalihi al-Muṣ‘ad al-aḥmad fī khatm Musnad al-imām A. li-Ibn al-Jazarī*).—*Tartīb Musnad A. b. Ḥ. ‘alā ḥurūf al-mu‘jam* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, Cairo 21, 96.—*Ghāyat al-maqṣad fī zawā‘id al-Musnad* by Nūr al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Haythamī, d. 807/1404 (II, 76), Alex. Ḥad. 37—Linguistic commentary *‘Uqūd al-zabarjad* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Br. Mus. 189, Cairo Ḥad. 612.—2. *Kitāb al-sunna mūṣil al-mu‘taqid ila ‘l-janna*, profession of faith in the form of an *‘aqida*, Berl. 1937, Patna II, 503, 2700.—3. *Kitāb fī ‘l-zuhd*, character traits and sayings of pious men, abstract without *isnāds* Berl. 3156, cf. *Kitāb zawā‘id al-zuhd*, *Khiz.* I, 341, 15.—4. *Risāla* or *Kitāb al-ṣalāt wa-mā yalzam fihā*, against the nuisance in the mosque of many people bending over, prostrating themselves, or raising their voices during prayer without paying due attention to the imām, Berl. 3567, Br. Mus. 900, 3, with the title *Risāla saniyya fī ‘l-ṣalāt* Rāmpūr II, 176.—5. Poem on death and the hereafter, Berl. 7539, 11, on humility before God, although not, however, before man, *ibid.* 2.—6.—12. See Suppl. (on 7. *Qawala* I, 184, on 10. Berl. cod. sim. 35).

3. Only a few of the works of the Ḥanbalīs of the third and fourth centuries (see Suppl.) are extant, among which are:

a. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khiraqī, d. 334/945 in Damascus, where he had fled from the popular rage of the people of Baghdad against the Ḥanbalīs.

194 | Ibn Khall. 465 (503). After his departure from Baghdad his works were, to a large extent, lost in a fire. What remained was his *Mukhtaṣar fi ‘l-fiqh*, which is much used by Ḥanbalīs, Berl. 4663,9, Cairo 1111, 298.

b. Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥasan b. Ḥumayd b. ‘Alī al-Baghdādī, d. 403/1012.

*Tahdhīb al-ajwiba*, answers to legal issues, Berl. 4784.

f. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-‘Ukbarī b. Baṭṭa, d. 387/997.

1. *al-Ībāna bi-uṣūl al-diyāna* Rāmpūr 1, 59,1.—2. *al-Khal‘ wa-ibtāl al-ḥīla*, ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Faqqī in *Min daf‘īn al-kunūz*, C. 1349, no. 1 (which has Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Baṭṭa).

4. Abū Sulaymān Dā‘ūd b. ‘Alī b. Khalaf al-Īṣfahānī al-Zāhirī, who was born around 200/815 in Kufa, studied in Baghdad under the most famous theologians and specialists of Tradition of his time and completed his formative period in Nishapur with Ishāq b. Rāhwayhi, d. 238/847. He then settled in Baghdad, where he became famous as a teacher, dying in Ramaḍān 270/March 884. He had started out from Shāfi‘ī dogma, but soon countered it with his own *madhhab al-zāhir*. Where al-Shāfi‘ī had opposed the principle of *ra‘y* of Abū Ḥanīfa in an attempt to trace *fiqh* back to the foundations of Tradition, Dā‘ūd did not only reject *qiyās*, but also *taqlīd*, which is the invocation of the authority of an imam. Only the outer sense (*zāhir*) of the wording of the Qur‘ān and the *ḥadīth* should determine the Sunna. | In the fourth century, his doctrine found many adherents in Iraq, Persia, Sind, and Oman. It had a special attraction for the Sufis, to whom it seemed to offer the freedom from ritualistic constraint. However, in the Orient his doctrine could not maintain itself for very long. Consequently, not much is left of his and his immediate students’ works (see Suppl.). However, | from the fourth century onwards, his doctrine found its most devoted literary exponents in the Maghreb and in Spain in particular, and an account of this will duly follow in the next section.

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1. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte, Beitrag zur Geschichte der muhammedanischen Theologie*, Leipzig 1884.

5. Alongside the dominant doctrinal systems the *madhhab* founded by Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (see p. 148) was not able to hold its ground for very long either. In the fourth century it was mainly represented by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭarrāra al-Jarīrī al-Nahrawānī. Born on 7 Rajab 305/25 December 917 (or, according to others, in 303/915), he not only devoted himself to *fiqh* but, as a student of Niṭṭawayh, also gained detailed knowledge of grammar and poetry. Having worked for some time as an assistant judge in the Bāb al-Ṭāq district on the eastern side of Baghdad, he died on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 380/14 November 1000 in Nahrawān.

Ibn Khall. 697, Ibn al-Anbārī 403/6, Flügel, *Gr. Sch.* 245/6. *Kitāb al-jalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi wal-anīs al-nāṣiḥ al-ṣāfi* in 100 *maǧālis*, which usually start with an anecdote about or a saying by the Prophet or his dependants which it then elucidates linguistically and materially by bringing in verses from the Qurʾān, ḤKh 111, 4144, 21, 593, Berl. 8325, Paris 3847/9, Garr. 1369, Camber. Preston 50, Dāmād Ibr. 282 (*ZDMG* XIII, 621), abstract Gotha 864,2.

## 5      *The Shīʿa*<sup>1</sup>

*Ṭūs*ys (see p. 405) *List of Shyʿah Books and ʿAlam al-hodās* (Muḥammad b. al-Fayḍ al-Kashānī, d. after 1112/1700, see Suppl. II 584), *Notes on Shyʿah Biography*, ed. by Dr. A. Sprenger and Mawlawy Abdalhaqq, Bibl. Ind. no. 60, 71, 91, 107, 1853/5.

| New edition: *al-Fihris taʿlif Shaykh al-Ṭāʿifa Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī al-mutawaffā sanat 460, ṣaḥḥaḥahu wa-ʿallaqa ʿalayhi l-ʿallāma al-sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, Najaf 1937/1356. 196

M. Muḥsin nazīl Sāmarrāʾ al-shahīr bil-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharʿa ilā taṣānif al-Shīʿa*, I, II, Najaf 1355/6.

| The Shīʿa dissociated themselves relatively late from the main body of Islam. 185 During the first centuries, ʿAlid tendencies were widespread throughout the Islamic world, and as long as they did not degenerate, they did not endanger the orthodoxy of those who professed them. Like the adherents of the Sunna, they based themselves on the Qurʾān and Tradition, but had a preference for *ḥadīth*

1 Here, dogmatic literature is already discussed, while Qurʾān interpretation has been excluded.

from the family of the Prophet, and in the fabrication thereof they accomplished even more than the others. It was only the idea of suffering, which since the martyrdom of 'Alī and Ḥusayn had repeated itself so often with the leaders of their dynasty, which brought their adherents a new and fertile motive, by which they were separated from the religious attitude of the community as a whole. Connected with this was the idea of *parousia*, the expectation of the return (*raj'a*) of an Imam who had been miraculously transported from the temporal world, thus turning him into the Mahdī. While the moderate sect of the Zaydīs, which stands closest to the Sunnīs, claims for its Imam no more than God's guidance, this idea escalated among the extremists (the *ghulāt*) to the belief in the indwelling (*ḥulūl*) of the divine spirit in the Imam. In Persia, where Shī'ism and its national pendant of Iranism linked up early against Arab domination, there soon evolved an independent Shī'ī literature under the encouragement of the Sāmānids and the Būyids. But of the numerous works whose titles were listed by al-Ṭūsī very little remains. In Sunnī Asia Minor, from  
 197 | where most of our manuscript collections originate, people have extirpated the works of heretics, while in those countries that are still Shī'ī, the material conditions for the preservation of literary monuments were far from favorable.

A. v. Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig 1868, p. 272ff. I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Schī'a und der sunnitischen Polemik*, SBWA 1874, vol. 781 p. 439ff. R. Strothmann, *Die Shī'a*, EI IV, 377/85.

### 1 The Zaydīs

In Yemen the Zaydīs came to power as early as the second century, and amidst quite a few vicissitudes they have stood their ground until this very day. Here a rich literature soon developed, whose monuments first came to Berlin and other libraries through Glaser, and then, through Caprotti, among other places, in particular the Ambrosiana library in Milan.

1. On Zayd b. 'Alī, see Suppl. I, 313.

*Kitāb al-majmū'* also Hamb. Or. Sem. 12, Rāmpūr I, 246,5/8, see Kračkovsky, *Zap. Koll. Vost.* I, 1925, 531/5. *Musnad* Patna I, 60,615. On his reading of the Qur'an, Jeffery, *RSO* XVI (1937), 249/89.

1a. The Imam Tarjumān al-Dīn al-Qāsīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī Ṭabāṭabā' al-Rassī, d. 246/860.

| See Suppl. 314/5. Of his smaller works, Berl. 4876 contains: 1. Dogmatics: a. *al-Dalīl 'ala 'llāh al-kabīr*.—b. *al-Maknūn*.—c. *Uṣūl al-'adl wal-tawḥīd nafy al-jabr wal-tashbīh*.—d. *Ṣifat al-'arsh wal-kursī wa-tafsīruhumā*.—e. *al-Hijra*.—f. *al-'Adl wal-tawḥīd wa-nafy al-jabr wal-tashbīh*.—g. *al-Dalīl al-ṣaghīr*.—2. *Fiqh* and ethics: a. *Mas'alat al-Ṭabariyyīn*.—b. *al-Imāma*.—c. *al-Mustarshid*.—d. *Siyāsat al-naḥs*.—e. *al-Qatl wal-qitāl*.—3. Science of the Qur'ān: a. *al-Madīḥ al-kabīr lil-Qur'ān al-mubīn*.—b. *al-Madḥ al-ṣaghīr*.—c. *al-Nāsikh wal-mansūkh*.—Polemics: a. *al-Radd 'ala 'l-zindīq al-la'īn b. al-Muqaffā'* (see p. 158).—b. *al-Radd 'ala 'l-mulḥid*.—c. *al-Radd 'ala 'l-Rawāfiḍ min | aṣḥāb* 186  
*al-ghuluww*.—d. *al-Radd 'ala 'l-Rāfiḍa*.—11 more titles are mentioned in Ahlw. 4950<sub>1</sub>.

2. His grandson Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq, d. 245/859, founded the Zaydī imamate in Yemen, and died on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 298/18 July 910.

See Suppl. 1, 315/6. Ad III, 10. *Kitāb al-diyāna* also Hamb. Or. Sem. 132<sub>2</sub>.—17. *Kitāb al-bāliḡ wal-mudrik* ibid. 132<sub>1</sub>.

3. A descendant of the same al-Qāsim, in the fifth degree, was Imam al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, d. 404/1013.

1. *Kitāb al-akfā'*, on those who are equal for marriage, by religion and origin, Berlin 4976.—2. *Kitāb al-sabilayn al-'aql wal-naḥs* ibid. 5340.—3. *Tafsīr al-gharīb min kitāb Allāh*, book 3, Berl. 10238.—4. *al-Taḥaddī lil-'ulamā' wal-juhhāl wal-radd 'ala 'l-zanīm wa-ghayrihi min al-ḡullāl* ibid. 10266.—5. *al-Radd 'alā ahl al-taqlīd wal-niḥāq* ibid. 10267.—6. *al-Radd 'alā man ankara 'l-waḥy ba'd khātam al-nabiyyīn* ibid. 10268.—7. *Maw'īza* ibid. 10269.—8. *al-Radd 'ala 'l-mulḥidīn wa-ghayrihim* ibid. 10279, Šehīd 'A. Pāshā, 6.—9. *al-Tawḥīd wal-tanāhī wal-tahdīd*, part I, Berl. 10271, Šehīd 'A. Pāshā, 1.—10. *Binā' al-ḥikma* Berl. 10272.—11. *al-Radd 'alā man ankara qatl 'aduww Allāh Ḥātim* ibid. 10273.—12. *al-Farq bayna 'l-af'āl wal-radd 'ala 'l-kaḥāra wal-juhhāl* ibid. 10274.—13. *al-Imāma* ibid. 10275.—14. *al-Adilla 'ala 'llāh* ibid. 10314.—15. *Mukhtaṣar min al-tawḥīd* ibid. 10315.—16. *al-Tawakkul 'ala 'llāh dhi 'l-jalāl wal-radd 'ala 'l-mushabbīha al-ḡullāl* ibid. 10316, Šehīd 'A. Pāshā, 2.—17. *al-Raḥma wabtīdā' Allāh subḥānahu li-'ibādīhi bil-ni'ma* Berl. 10317.—18. *al-Dalīl 'alā ḥadath al-aḥsām* Šehīd 'A. Pāshā, 3.—19. *al-Ṭabā'i'* ibid. 4.—20. *Shawāhid al-ṣun'* ibid. 5. Other titles in Ahlw. 4950, v.

4. Al-Imām al-Muʿayyad billāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥḥānī al-Hārūnī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, d. 411/1020.

See Suppl. I, 317/8, with: 6. *Amālī*, print. Ṣanʿā' 1355 (E. Rossi, *Or. Mod* XVIII, 572).

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## The Imāmīs

Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, I–V, Damascus 1936.

1. The oldest book of the Shīʿa was, according to *Fihrist* 219<sub>14</sub>, the *Kitāb al-aṣl* of Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī, who fled from al-Ḥajjāj to Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh, and to whom he passed it on.

Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 281, *Dharīʿa* II, 152/9, 590.

2. Mūsā al-Kāẓim and ʿAlī al-Ridā, see Suppl. I, 318.

Ad 5, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Ridā* also Teh. Sip. I, 272/5, 491/4.

2a. ʿAlī al-Ridā's student, Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl b. Sādhān b. Khalīl al-Nīshābūrī, d. 260/874.

Al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 2124, *Manhaj al-maqāl* 260. *Kitāb al-īdāḥ (āt) fi 'l-radd ʿalā sāʾir al-firaq* Mashh. I, 20, 38, and in several libraries in Iraq, *Dharīʿa* II, 490, 1946 (with a mistaken quotation from the *Tadhkirat al-nawādir*).

3. The real founder of Imāmī *fiqh* in Persia was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Farrūḥ al-Ṣaffār al-Aʿraj Abū Jaʿfar al-Qummī, who died after 307/919.

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| Al-Ṭūsī<sup>2</sup>, no. 611, *Kitāb baṣāʾir al-darajāt fi ʿulūm āl Muḥammad wa-mā khaṣṣahumu ʿllāh bihi*, Shīʿī collection of traditions, perhaps an augmented edition of the *Kitāb baṣāʾir al-darajāt fi faḍāʾil āl M.* by Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qummī Abu 'l-Qāsim, d. 300/913 (or, according to others, in 299 or 301, al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*.<sup>2</sup> no. 306), print. 1285 n.p. (= *Taṣḍīr al-darajāt*, *Fihrist* 223<sub>2</sub>), Ind. Off. 143 (see Suppl.).

3a. Regarded as an innovator of Imāmī *fiqh* at the beginning of the fourth century is Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Kulīnī al-Rāzī, who died in 328/939 in Baghdad.

Al-Ṭūsī, no. 709, <sup>2</sup>no. 591, Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg) VIII, 283, C. 1303, VIII, 118, Sprenger, *Life of M.* 68, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* 550/4, Yūsuf al-Bahrānī, *Luʿluʿat*

*al-Baḥrayn* 314/21. 1. *al-Kāfi fī ʿilm al-dīn*, on Imāmī theology, one of the four canonical books of the Shīʿa, Berl. 1855, Garr. 1608/9, Alex. Firaq 10, Teh. Sip. 1, | 288/97, Patna 1, 57,570/4, Aligarh 99,29, 100,35,38 (see Suppl.), abstracts Ind. 200 Off. 144, Br. Mus. 980, Trinity College Dublin.—Commentaries: see Suppl. and also: b. Teh. Sip. 1, 258/60.—c. *ibid.* 265/8.—d. *ibid.* 269/70.—g. Glosses by Mīrzā Rafīʿa Muḥammad b. Sayyid Ḥaydar Ḥusaynī Ṭabāṭabāʾī Nāʾinī, d. 1080 or 1082/1671, *ibid.* 245/7.—h. *Huda ʿl-ʿuqūl fī sharḥ aḥādīth al-uṣūl* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdʿalī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, composed in 1218/1803, Teh. Sip. 1, 260/1.

4. The most important literary exponent of the Imāmīs in the fourth century, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābūya al-Qummī al-Ṣadūq, whose father had been a shaykh of the Shīʿa in Qum and who wrote a *Risāla fī ʿl-sharāʿ* that was used in no. 4, below, went from Khurāsān to Baghdad in 355/966, where he approached the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who could use his doctrine of the imāmate to his political advantage. He died in 381/991 in Rayy (or, according to others, in 391).

Al-Tūsī, no. 661, 2695, Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, *Luʿluʿat al-Baḥrayn* 300/9. Of his many, supposedly around 300, works, the following remain: 1. *Maʿāni ʿl-akhbār*,<sup>1</sup> a collection of traditions, Ind. Off. 145, Aligarh 98,13.—2. *Majālis al-mawāʿiẓ fī ʿl-aḥādīth* Berl. 1269, see *Dharīʿa* II, 315,1251.—3. *ʿUyūn* (ḤKh IV, 270 *Unwān*) *akhbār al-Riḍā*, the life and sayings of ʿAlī Riḍā, Berl. 9663, Munich 456, Paris 2018,<sup>1</sup>, Br. Mus. 1619, Ind. Off. 146, Pet. AM Nov. 39, Āsaf. III, 270,951, Rāmpūr II, 137,461, Patna 1, 277,2300, Teh. Sip. 1, 282/3, lith. Tehran 1287.—4. *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruḥu ʿl-faqīh*, a handbook of legal practice, one of the four foundational works of the Shīʿa, Berl. 4782/3, Pet. 250, Paris 1108, Br. Mus. 905, Ind. Off. 289, Bodl. II, 84/6,<sup>1</sup>, Teh. Sip. 1, 325/30, Rāmpūr 1, 254,583, Aligarh 101,3, Patna 1, 64,663/5, II, 504,2707, the commentary *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn* by Muḥammad Taqī b. Maqṣūd ʿAlī al-Majlisī, d. 1070/1659, also Teh. Sip. 1, 254/7, in addition *Nawādir man lā yaḥḍuruḥu ʿl-faqīh*, probably by Walīallāh Ḥusaynī, the author of the *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, Teh. Sip. 1, 334.—5. *al-ʿIlal* or *ʿIlal al-sharāʿ* (*wal-aḥkām*), examines in a series of brief, | numberless chapters the reasons for this or that 201 to be such, why it happened or is called thus, in the process touching upon many areas of life, including nature, history, and learning, Berl. 1196, Br. Mus. 1196, Teh. Sip. 1, 278/9, Rāmpūr 1, 96, 231/2.—7. *Iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, Br. Mus.

1 The *Jāmiʿ al-akhbār* that is attributed to him is probably the work of a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shaʿirī, though according to others it was by a certain ʿAlī b. Saʿd al-Khayyāt; see al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, Preface, *Rawḍat al-jannāt* 558, Kentūrī, *Kashf al-hujub* 150, Mashh. I, 30, Teh. Sip. 1, 242/3 (printed several times).

851, Pet. AM 61, Āṣaf. II, 1296,<sup>102</sup>.—8. *al-Nuṣūṣ ‘ala ‘l-a‘imma al-ithnay ‘ashra* (author ?) Paris 2018,<sup>2</sup>.—9. *Munāẓarat al-malik Rukn al-Dawla ma‘a ‘l-Ṣadūq Bābūya*, on the caliphs after ‘Alī, Br. Mus. 886,<sup>31</sup>.—10. *Kitāb al-khiṣāl*, praise- or blameworthy attributes, additionally Āṣaf. III, 262, 308, Patna I, 147,<sup>1416</sup>, print. Tehran n.d., selection *Nukhaba* Teh. Sip. I, 332.—11. *Thawāb al-a‘māl* and 12. *Iqāb al-a‘māl*, printed together Tehran 1299.—13. see Suppl.—14. *al-Hidāya* additionally Berl. Qu. 1779, Ind. Off. 4632 (*JRAS* 1939, 395).—15. *Ikmāl (kamāl) al-dīn wa-itmām (tamām) al-ni‘ma fī ithbāt al-ghayba wa-kashf al-ḥayra*, also Teh. Sip. I, 204, Patna I, 114,<sup>1151</sup>, lith. Tehran 1301 (*RSO* XIV, 353).—16. *Kitāb ṣifāt al-shī‘a*, see *Lughat al-‘Arab* VII (1920), 223.—17. see Suppl.—18. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* also Berl. Oct. 3269, Teh. Sip. I, 229/30, print. Bombay 1321.—19. *Kitāb al-ikhtiṣās*, library of Amīn al-Wā‘iẓīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Iṣfahānī, *Dharī‘a* I, 358,<sup>1889</sup>.—20. *Ghanā‘im al-anām fī mas‘alat al-ḥalāl wal-ḥarām* Tehran 1319.

5. Al-Nu‘mān Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyān al-Tamīmī al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfat al-Shī‘a was first a Mālikī, then joined the Ithnā ‘Ashariyya and crossed over to the Fāṭimids. Together with al-Mu‘izz li-Dīn Allāh, d. 365/975, 188 he went from Ifrīqiya to Egypt, | became a *qāḍī* there, and died at the end of Jumādā II 363/March 974.

Ibn Khall. 737, see Suppl. I, 324/5, with: 4. *Da‘ā‘im al-islām etc.*, see *BSOS* VII, 34, A. A. Fyzee, An ancient Copy of the D., *Journ. of the Un. of Bombay*, vol. II, part. VI, May 1936, 127/33.—6. *Sharḥ al-akhbār etc.* see *BSOS* VII, 34, *Dharī‘a* I, 310,<sup>1609</sup>.—9. *al-Majālis etc.*, see *BSOS* VII, 34.—12. *al-Tawḥīd billāh* Berl. Oct. 2958.—13. *Asās al-ta‘wīl al-bāṭin*, written before 400, *BSOS* VII, 33.

6. The head of the Imāmīs during his lifetime was Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu‘mān b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Ukbarī al-‘Arabī al-Ḥārithī al-Baghdādī al-Mufid b. al-Mu‘allim, who was born in 336/947 and who died on 3 Ramadan 413/1 December 1022.

202 | See Suppl. I, 322. Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, *Lu‘lu‘at al-Baḥrayn* 281/301. 1. *al-Risāla al-muqni‘a*, on the principles of law with a factual commentary by his student Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, d. 460/1067 (p. 405), part I, Berl. 4785/6, Manch. 186, Teh. Sip. I, 530.—2. (12) *Kitāb al-majālis* and 3. *Kitāb al-‘uyūn wal-majālis*, from which *Talkhīṣ al-‘uyūn wal-majālis*, a collection of aphorisms, perhaps collected by al-Ṭūsī, Ind. Off. 471,<sup>9</sup>.—4. Treatise on slaughter among the Jews and the Christians, Berl. 10276.—5. *al-Irshād etc.*, Alex. Ta‘r. 10, with the title *al-Irshād fī ‘l-ansāb*, Rāmpūr 625,<sup>11</sup> print. also Tehran 1308.—13. *al-Ikhtiṣās*, a summary of the work with the same title by Abū ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b.

Aḥmad b. 'Imrān, a contemporary of al-Ṣadūq (Kentūrī 125), Mashh. (not in the catalogue), Teh. Sip. I, 197/8, *Dharī'a* I, 358<sub>1889/90</sub>.—14. *Awā'īl al-maqālāt fi 'l-madhāhib al-mukhtārāt*, manuscripts *Dharī'a* II, 472<sub>1844</sub>.—15. *al-I'lām fī-ma'ttafaqat al-Imāmiyya 'alayhi min al-aḥkām*, written as a supplement to it, at the request of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, of which many copies were circulating, *ibid.* II, 237<sub>944</sub>.—16. *al-Ishrāf fī farā'id al-islām*, many copies, *ibid.* II, 106<sub>901</sub>.—17. *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, included by al-Karājakī (p. 354) in his *Kanz al-fawā'id*, print. *ibid.* II, 209<sub>814</sub>.—18. *Fiqh al-Riḍā* Tabriz 1274.—19. *Aḥkām al-nisā'*, library of 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Najafī, *ibid.* I, 302<sub>1578</sub>.—20. *al-Ifṣāḥ fī 'l-imāma*, many copies Iraq, *ibid.* II, 258/9<sub>1051</sub>.—21. *al-As'ila al-Sarawīyya*, questions asked by al-Sayyid al-Fāḍil al-Sharīf in *Sāriya*, in the libraries of Hādī āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' in Najaf and Rājā Muḥammad Mahdī in Fayḍābād, *ibid.* II, 83<sub>330</sub>.—22. *Radd al-ṣūfiyyīn* Āsaf. II, 404<sub>130</sub>.

## Chapter 8. Sciences of the Qurʾān

### 1 *The Reading of the Qurʾān*

189 With its imperfect script, the text of the Qurʾān as determined by ʿUthmān still gave rise to countless variant readings. | This is why, in different capitals of the Muslim empire, especially in Mecca, Medina, Basra and Kufa, different schools arose, which transmitted styles of performance as regards readings and pronunciation that were based on the authority of a master. The masters of linguistics, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Kisāʾī, in Basra and Kufa respectively, 203 also belonged to these older readers of the Qurʾān. | With the passing of time, the intially rigidly maintained principle of oral transmission turned out to be impracticable, due to the amount of detail that had to be remembered. From among the older works describing the art of Qurʾānic recitation, that by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839, see p. 105) received special acclaim. On the others, see Suppl. I, 328/92.

1c. Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī, d. 324/936.

*Kitāb al-sabʿa* also Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 69 (Ritter).

2. From the fourth century there remain:

b. by Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Khāqān Abū Muzāḥim, d. 325/937.

*Qaṣīda fi ʾl-tajwīd*, see Suppl. La Q. fi ʾl-t. attribuita a. M. b. ʿU. b. Kh., nota da P. Boneschi, *Rend. Acc. Lincei cl. sc. mor. stor. e fil.* s. VI, v. XIV, fs. 1/2, 1938, *RSO* XVIII, 258/67.

d. by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mihrān al-Nīsābūrī, who died at the age of 86 in Shawwāl 381/December 991. See Suppl., with *Tuḥfat al-anām fi ʾl-tajwīd*, Āṣaf I, 296<sub>57</sub>.

### 2 *Qurʾānic Exegesis*

*Sojutii liber de interpretibus Korani, ar. ed. et annot. illustravit A. Meursinge*, Leiden 1839.

On the beginnings of Qurʾān interpretation see Suppl. I, 330/3.

On 1. *Tafsīr ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās* also *Qawala* I, 45 (*Riwayāt al-Kalbī ʿan Abī Ṣāliḥ ʿan b. ʿAbbās*).



2e. *Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī*, which al-Majlisī and Mīr Dāmād branded as spurious, also Teh. Sip. 1, 81/2. *Tanqīḥ fī uṣūl al-dīn wal-furūʿ* ibid. 1, 230/1.

3. From the third century, the works by al-Farrāʾ (p. 118), Ibn Qutayba (p. 125), al-Zajjāj (p. 111), and al-Ṭabarī (p. 148) have already been mentioned.

| a. Sahl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī was a student of the mystic Dhu ʿl-Nūn (p. 214), whom he had met in Mecca. He lived in Basra and was regarded as a saint who was credited with miracles. His death is placed in 273/886 or 283. 204

| Ibn Khall. 265, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, ed. Lees 73, see Suppl. 191

b. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Wahb b. Mubāarak al-Dīnawarī, who died in 308/920.

*Al-Wāḍiḥ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, mostly based on Ibn ʿAbbās, Leid. 1651, AS 221/2.

c. The Zaydī ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī Ṣāḥib al-Zaʿfarān went to Yemen in 284/897, together with his brother Yahyā al-Hādī ila ʿl-Ḥaqq (p. 198).

*Kitāb al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh* Berl. 10226.

d. The Ḥanafī Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī (b. 305/917) can be mentioned here because of his first work only, as otherwise he belongs entirely to the *fuqahāʾ*. He started studying in Baghdad in 325/937 and worked as a teacher of *fiqh* there. He died on 7 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 370/14 June 981 in Nishapur, where he had been living.

Flügel, *Hanaf.* 274, 299. 1. *Kitāb aḥkām al-Qurʾān* Köpr. 35, NO 107, Rāmpūr 1, 162<sub>5</sub>, print. C. 1347, 3 vols.—2. *Kitāb al-uṣūl* Cairo ʿ11, 237, 21, 378.—3. Commentary on *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr* by Shaybānī, see p. 178, on the *Mukhtaṣar* by Ṭaḥāwī, p. 181.

e. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zuhrāwī, d. 370/980 (?).

*Kitāb al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh*, the abrogating and abrogated passages in the Qurʾān, NO 606 (not in ḤKh).

f. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭīyya al-Dimashqī, who died in Shawwāl 383/November–December 903, rendered great service to Qurʾānic exegesis, especially by his thorough knowledge of *shawāhid* from ancient poetry.

Suyūṭī, no. 43. *Tafsīr* AS 119/21, Köpr. 185/6.

- 205 | *g.* Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Zamanīn al-Mar‘ī al-Ilbīrī, a distinguished specialist in Mālikī *fiqh*, was born in 324/936 and died in 399/1008 in Spain.

Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībāj*, Fez 246, C. 370, Nallino, *Rend. Lincei* ser. VI, vol. VII, 324, Suyūṭī no. 102. *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, concise, Br. Mus. 820.

*h.* Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Abū Bakr al-Adfuwī al-Miṣrī al-Muqri’ al-Naḥwī, who was a student of al-Naḥḥās (p. 138). He died aged 88 in Cairo, on 22 Rabī‘ I 388/24 April 998.

Suyūṭī no. 113, *Bughya* 81 (where: 7 Rabī‘ I). *Al-Istiftā’ fī ‘ulūm al-dīn*, in 120 volumes, ḤKh 1, 273,616, II, 353,2216 (ḤKh 21, 79, where *al-Istighnā’*, as in the *Bughya*, against *ibid.* 442 *al-Istiftā’*), Selīm Āgā 63, 146.

- 192 | *i.* Abu ‘l-Qāsim Hibatallāh b. Salāma (Sallām) b. Naṣr b. ‘Alī al-Baghdādī taught in the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baghdad and died in Rajab 410/November 1019.

Suyūṭī 132. *Kitāb al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh fī ‘l-Qur‘ān*, edited by his son ‘Abd al-Khāliq, discusses 201 passages on the basis of 95 commentaries, ḤKh VI, 13516, Berl. 4757, Leid. 1635, Leipz. 110,6, Köpr. 211 (Ritter, *Isl.* XVIII, 37), 215, AS 65,2, Garr. 1335/6, Alex. Fun. 186,2, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qorans* 141, 253.

*k.* The Shī‘ī interpreter of the Qur‘ān Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Qummī also belongs to the fourth century.

Tūṣī<sup>1</sup> no. 451, 2370. *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, concise, on the basis of the authority of the Ahl al-bayt, Berl. Spr. 406, Ind. Off. 50, Teh. Sip. 1, 138/9.—2. *Qurb al-isnād* (Kentūrī 2267), library Najafābādī 161.

## Chapter 9. Dogmatics

*Book of religious and philosophical sects by M. al-Shahrastani (d. 528/1153, p. 428), now first ed. by W. Cureton, 2 vols., London 1846.—Schahrastanis Religionspartheien | und Philosophenschulen, aus dem Arab. übersetzt mit Anmm. von Th. Haarbrücker, 2 vols., Halle 1850/1.*

H.S. Nyberg, *al-Muʿtazila*, EI III, 850/6.

H. Ritter, *Muhammedanische Haeresiographien*, Isl. XVIII, 34/55.

1. On the beginnings of dogmatic discussions in Islam, see Suppl. I, 336/45.

Ad p. 339, Y 1. Kračkovsky, *Izv. Rossk. Ak. Nauk* 1919, 441/50.—p. 340, ε *Kitāb al-ḥayda wal-ʿitidhār*, also Tüb. 94, Br. Mus. Or. 9575, print. Mecca 1339.—ζ 1. Ḥushaysh, *Kitāb al-tanbīh ʿalā ahl al-ahwāʾ wal-bidaʿ*, ed. S. Dederling, *Bibl. Isl.* IX, 1936.—ι The opponent of al-Rāzī cited in *Fihrist* 301<sub>1,8</sub> was Abū Bakr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Tammār, see al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya* 253<sub>18</sub>, Épître de Beruni 12, Kraus, *Or.* NS V, 54<sub>25/7</sub>.—κ His *Kitāb naqd ʿUthmān Saʿīd ʿala ʿl-kādhīb al-ʿanīd fī-ma ʿftarā ʿala ʿllāh fī ʿl-tawḥīd* is quoted by Ibn Taymiyya in *al-ʿAqīda al-Ḥamawīyya al-kubrā*, in *Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil al-kubrā*, C. 1323, I, 426<sub>12</sub>.—p. 343 ο 1. al-Asadābādī, Ritter, *Isl.* XVIII, 42, n. 18, Borisov, *Bibliografija Vostoka*, 8/9, 1936, 63/95. 1. *Tanzīh al-Qurʾān ʿani ʿl-matāʿin*, also Āṣaf. III, 224<sub>499</sub>.—p. 345, ρ MS Berl. Brill M. 259, Leonhardt Rost, *Die Risāla al-Kindis, eine missionsapologetische Schrift in Allgem. Missionsstzchr.* L (1923), 134/44, new edition announced by Rabbath, *Mél. U.J.* Beirut XIV, fs. 3, 43/5. Abu ʿl-Barakāt Nuʿmān Khayr al-Dīn Efendi, *al-Qawl al-faṣīḥ ʿalā ʿAbd al-Masīḥ*, Lahore 1304.

| 2. Against the Muʿtazila Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma al-Nisābūrī wrote from the standpoint of orthodoxy. He was born in Ṣafar 223/January 838 and died in 311/923 as one of the most distinguished theologians of Khurāsān.

*Ḥuff.* x, 79, Wüst. *Schaf.* 83. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd wa-ithbāt šifāt al-rabb*, against the Jahmiyya and the Muʿtazila, written because of dubious talk heard from his students, ḤKh v, 9999, Berl. 2394, Alex. Fun. 144<sub>2</sub>, print. C. 1937, a teaching certificate for this text, issued by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, d. 742/1341 (II, 94), dated 692/1293, Berl. 153<sub>3</sub>.

| 3. The Muʿtazila, who have often falsely been branded as freethinkers or liberals, were in fact the ones who founded | scholastic theology (*kalām*) in the first place. Their point of departure had been their struggle against the

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extremist Shī'īs, the Rāfiḍa, in the face of whom they defended the claims of the 'Abbāsids, against the Jahmiyya, who denied God all anthropomorphic attributes and who advocated the strictest doctrine of predestination, and against the Manichean dualists and the natural philosophy of late Hellenism they represented. In their struggle against them, they adopted the tool of speculative philosophy, which they also used against the *Aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. As opposed to the latter, they developed—or adopted from the Jahmiyya—the dogma of the createdness of the Qur'ān, which for them, too, was the sole foundation of their creed. Through the favour of al-Ma'mūn they succeeded, in 827, in elevating this dogma to a state doctrine, whose recognition was enforced by a public inquisition. But under the influence of the Shāfi'īs, this monopoly of the Mu'tazila was abolished by al-Ma'mūn's third successor al-Mutawakkil (847/61), and, less than a lifetime later, the man who was to put the philosophical tool of the Mu'tazila into the service of traditionalism came onto the scene. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī was born in 260/873 in Basra into one of the oldest families of noble Arabian stock. Before the age of forty he belonged to the circle of students around the Mu'tazilī al-Jubbā'ī (Suppl. 1, 342). Apparently he only confronted his teacher in Ramaḍān 299/912. Those who had shared his views until then tried to explain this breakup as being the result of personal motives. In truth, however, it was probably the tradition of his house (his ancestor Abū Burda, d. 103/722, had been a respected transmitter), combined with the political realities of time, which had motivated him to join the Shāfi'īs. He then moved to Baghdad and | began an extremely productive literary career. The titles of 99 of his works are known, although many of these are short treatises. His understanding and foundation of dogma received general recognition in those countries where the *madhhabs* of al-Shāfi'ī and al-Mālikī were dominant, even though there was no lack of setbacks until al-Ghazzālī secured its definitive triumph. However, the Ḥanafis preferred the system of someone from their own ranks, al-Māturīdī, which rested on the same foundation. Only the Ḥanbalis and the Zāhirīs confronted him in open confrontation. For these rigid traditionalists, even his moderate *kalām* seemed a *bid'a*.

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W. Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arīs*, Leipzig 1876, M.A.F. Mehren, *Exposé de la réforme de l'islamisme commencée au IVème siècle de l'hégire par Abou l-Hasan Ali el-Ash'arī et continuée par son école in Travaux de la IVème session du Congr. intern. des orient.* St. Petersburg 1876, vol. 11, Leiden 1879, p. 169/331 (both based on Ibn 'Asākir, d. 571/1175, p. 331, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* 195 *fī-mā nasaba ila 'l-imām Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī*, see Suppl. with | Köpr. 856, defter mistaken).—Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte des Ash'aritentums*, in *Actes du VIIIème*

*Congr. intern. des Or. Sect. 1*, fs. 1, Leiden 1891, p. 79/117. Of his works remain: 1. *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, AS 2363/6, ed. H. Ritter, *Bibl. Isl.* 12, 1929/30.—2. See Suppl.—3. *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, on God, the Qurʾān, divine will, the beholding of God with one's own (physical) eyes, predestination, faith, and the imamate, Br. Mus. Suppl. 172, see Spitta, p. 25.—4.–6. See Suppl.—7. *al-Ibāna fī uṣūl al-dīyāna*, see Suppl. *The Elucidation of Islam's Foundation, a Transl. with Introduction and Notes* by Walter C. Klein, Am. Or. Series, vol. XIX, New Haven 1940.—A fragment in which he investigates the claim that all inquiry into religious and philosophical questions is an innovation and a heresy and that all one needs to know has already been taken care of by the Prophet and his Companions, Berl. 2162.

| 4. At the same time as al-Ashʿarī, among the Ḥanafis Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī, from Māturīd near Samarqand, undertook a philosophical reform of orthodox dogmatics. His doctrine was accepted in countries that were dominated by Ḥanafis, notably in Transoxania, but also in India and Turkey. In keeping with the tenets of Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Māturīdī's doctrine distinguishes itself from al-Ashʿarī in the appreciation of free will which he, like Abū Ḥanīfa, acknowledges. Punishment and reward are therefore validated from a moral point of view, while al-Ashʿarī derives all human action from God's will alone. However, on this point al-Māturīdī's doctrine later also found recognition among the Ashʿarīs. Al-Māturīdī died in 333/944 in Samarqand. 209

Ibn Quṭlūbughā 173, Flügel, *Ḥanef.* 295, Spitta op. cit. 112, al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *Sharḥ al-Ihyāʾ* 11, 5/14, Goldziher, *Vorl.* 110ff., Horten, *Philosophische Systeme* 531, D.B. Macdonald, *EI* 111, 475/7. 1. *Kitāb taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān*, Berl. Fol. 4156, Rāḡib 35/7, Köpr. 47/8, NO 122/5, Qawala 1, 43.—2. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* or *al-Maqālāt*,<sup>1</sup> Cambr. 398, Add. 3632, Köpr. 856, Āṣaf. 111, 532,<sup>1049</sup>—3. *Aqīda*, see Suppl.—4. Excerpts from a paraenetic work in translation, Fātiḥ 5426,<sup>235a/240a</sup>—Also mentioned: *Kitāb radd awāʾil al-adilla lil-Kaʿbī* (this is Abu ʿl-Qāsim ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 485a); *Kitāb bayān wahm al-Muʿtazila*, *Kitāb al-jadal*, *Kitāb maʾkhadh al-sharāʾiʿ*, HKh 11, 333, <sup>2I</sup>, 111, v, 70,<sup>10014</sup>, 351,<sup>11263</sup>—Falsely attributed to him is the *Kitāb al-uṣūl* or *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Berl. Oct. 3566, Gotha 100,<sup>1</sup> (see Suppl.).

5. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥayyān b. al-Shaykh al-Iṣfahānī, who was born in 274/887 and died in 369/979.

1 Which are, however, also distinguished in the listings of Ibn Quṭlūbughā and al-Murtaḍā.

*Huff.* XII, 43 (wrong 329). *Kitāb fī ‘aẓamat Allāh wa-makhlūqātihi*, which like his other works (see Suppl.) belongs more to the field of Tradition. In the introduction he invokes ‘Abdallāh b. al-Sallām and the writings by Daniel used by him | which he supposedly copied from the tablets of Adam kept in Serendīb (Ceylon), Berl. 6159, Alex. Mawā‘iẓ 31, Cairo<sup>1</sup> VI, 178.

6. Another writer should be mentioned here, one whose activity ranged over the whole domain of theology, and, as well as dogma, included *fiqh*, Qur’ān interpretation and paraenesis; | Abu ‘l-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī, who died in 373/983 (or, according to others, in 375, 383, or 393).

Ibn Quṭlūbughā 242, Flügel, *Hanef.* p. 302. 1. *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 3209, <sup>2</sup>I, 441, vol. II, Berl. 734/5, fragm. ibid. 736, Munich 78, Leid. 1653, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1434, AS 148/9, Köpr. 72, NO 228/32, Qawala I, 47, q. 4.—2. *Khizānat al-fiqh* on the *furū‘*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>III, 135,<sup>4</sup>698, <sup>2</sup>I, 703, Gotha 991/3 (where other MSS are mentioned), in addition: Berl. 4444/5, Oct. 2025, Pet. AM 105, Paris 826, AS 1148, Yeni 416, Garr. 1670/1, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 23, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 43, Rāmpūr I, 190,<sup>1731</sup>.—3. *Fatāwī*, Yeni 677 = *al-Nawāzil min al-fatāwī*, Cairo III, 144 (?). Abstract *al-Multaqaṭ min al-masā‘il al-wāqī‘āt* by Mas‘ūd b. Shujā‘ al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī al-Umawī, d. 16. Jum. II 599/4 March 1203, Munich 249.—4. *Mukhtalif al-riwāya*, on the deviations from Abū Ḥanīfa by Ḥanafī teachers, in three recensions (see Suppl.), the vulgata Paris 825,<sup>1</sup>, Br. Mus. 193, Köpr. 650.—Commentaries: a. Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Nasafī, d. 537/1142 (p. 427), *Br. Mus. Quart*, IV, 8.—b. *Multaqa ‘l-biḥār* by Muḥammad al-Zawzanī al-Sharīdī al-Ḥanafī, Yeni 471 (or an independent work? ḤKh <sup>1</sup>VI, 106,<sup>12850</sup>).—5. *al-Muqaddima fi ‘l-ṣalāh*, on the obligation of prayer for believers, ḤKh VI, 71,<sup>12756</sup>, Gotha 762 (where other MSS are mentioned, in addition:), Berl. 3506/7, Paris 1121/3, 1141,<sup>2</sup>, 1142,<sup>2</sup>, Algiers 764, AS 1442/3, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 66, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 134, Qawala I, 396/7, Rāmpūr I, 253,<sup>567</sup>, with Turkish translation in Berl. 3512.—Commentaries: a. on selected passages, *al-Taqdima* by Jabrā‘il b. Ḥasan b. ‘Uthmān al-Ganjā‘ī al-Ma‘kalī, ca. 750/1349, Berl. 3508, Munich 151, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 13.—b. *al-Tawdīh*, more detailed, by Muṣṭafā b. Zakariyyā’ b. Aidoğmiš al-Qaramānī Muṣliḥ al-Dīn, d. 809/1406, completed in 792/1349, Berl. 3509, Paris 1124/7, Garr. 1944, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 15, 55, <sup>1</sup>III, 30, 74, Qawala I, 314,<sup>15</sup>, Rāmpūr I, 210,<sup>289</sup>, Bank. IX, 1598.—  
211 c. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn al-Ṭūlūnī, d. 830/1427, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 34.—| d. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, d. 956/1549 (II, 432), Makram 34, Munich 160 (where Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad).—e., f. see Suppl.—g. anon. Berl. 3510, Paris 1128,<sup>2</sup>, Garr. 1890.—6. *Bayān ‘aqīdat al-uṣūl*, creed, Br. Mus. 871,<sup>2</sup>, with anon. comm. *Bahjat al-‘ulūm*, Berl. 1945.—7. A catechism, see Suppl., also

Garr. 920, 2133.<sup>1</sup>—8. *Bustān al-‘arīfīn* examines, on the basis of many books, a number of subjects, including *fiqh*, theology, philosophy etc. and advises in particular on good morals and appropriate conduct, Berl. 8322/3, Brill M. 142, Vienna 1837, Pet. AM 55, AS 1683/6, NO 2283/4, Fātiḥ 2563, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 70, 147, Aligarh 103,<sup>30</sup>, Bombay 244,<sup>166</sup>, print. Calcutta 1868, Bülāq 1289, Bombay 1304 (with no. 9 in the margin).—9. *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, reflections on morality and piety, aphorisms and admonitions, drawing on sayings by Muḥammad, in 94 chapters, Berl. 8735/6, Vienna 1837, Leipz. 159/60, Ind. Off. 147, Algiers 872/5, Garr. 1889, AS 1741/2, Fātiḥ 2597, Alex. Mawā‘iz 11, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 151, print. Bombay 1884, Cairo 1305, ’6 (with no. 8 in the margin), ’7, ’8—10. *Asrār al-wajh* (Berl. *wahy*), conversations between God and Muḥammad on the night of the *mī‘rāj*, on religious precepts, Berl. 2600/1 with a personal commentary by Burhān al-Dīn and Bakhtiyār Bukhārī, AS 2016.—11. *Qurrat al-‘uyūn wa-mufarriḥ al-qalb al-maḥzūn*, on the punishment of grave sins, Bülāq 1300 (in the margin of al-Sha‘rānī’s *Mukhtaṣar al-tadhkira al-Qurtubiyya*).—12.–14. see Suppl.—15. *‘Uyūn al-masā’il fi ‘l-furū‘ al-Ḥanaḥfiyya*, see Suppl. Comm. by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Usmānī al-Samarqandī al-‘Alā’ al-‘Ālim, d. 552/1157 (Suppl. 1, 641), Rāmpūr 1, 208,<sup>274</sup>.—16. *Ta’sīs al-fiqh*, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 10.—17. *Sar‘ al-islām*, Patna 11, 445,<sup>2621,6</sup>.

| 7. One of the most important second-generation students of al-Ash‘arī was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. (‘Abd) al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī al-Bāqillānī, founder of the sceptical school of dogmatics and an outstanding polemicist, who died in Baghdad on 23 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 402/6 June 1013. 197

Ibn Khall. 580, Mehren, op. cit., 228, Schreiner, op. cit., 108. 1. *Kitāb al-ijāz fi ‘l-Qur‘ān*, Berl. Oct. 1436, Köpr. 40, Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 54, no. 15, print. C. 1349 and in the margin of al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Itqān* C. 1935.—2.–8. see Suppl.—9. *al-Ibāna* is cited in Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū‘at al-rasā’il al-kubrā* 1, 452,<sup>9</sup>.

8. Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalīmī | al-Shāfi‘ī, who was born in 338/949 in Jurjān, was regarded as the greatest theologian of Transoxania of his time. He died in 403/1012. 212

Ibn Khall. (Wüst.) 185. *Kitāb su‘ab al-īmān*, on religious ethics, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 53, see Suppl.

## Chapter 10. Mysticism

A. Merx, *Idee und Grundlinien einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Mystik*, Inaugural address, Heidelberg 1893.

L. Massignon, *Taşawwuf*, *EI* IV, 737/42.

Alongside the traditional ritualistic piety of the oldest version of Islam and under the pressure of the political and social crises of the first two centuries there developed at an early stage a spiritual movement that, based on a deeper study of the Qur'ān, strove for a personal relationship with God<sup>1</sup> that wanted to regard everything in this world in that light. In Islam, this mystical-ascetic movement developed according to the same laws as in other religions, and the similarities conditioned thereby led earlier researchers to conclude there was a direct dependence upon other cultures. Thus Dozy and A. v. Kremer wanted to derive Islamic mysticism mainly from Buddhism, while Merx wanted to trace it to the Syriac church. Against them, it was R.A. Nicholson in particular who demonstrated the purely Islamic origin of the Sufi.<sup>2</sup> The oldest ascetics called themselves thus, probably at first in Kufa, because they gave evidence of their unworldliness by wearing a white woollen mantle. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (p. 65) was one of them, and two generations after him 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd (d. 177/793 | al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭab.* 1, 38) assembled his students in a settlement in 'Abbadān in order to live a communal life. Because culture, whatever its form or aspect, always converged on Baghdad, it was not long before Sufis moved there too. Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, who went there from Kufa, could be regarded as one of them. When a contemporary and friend of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Abū Ḥamza Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm<sup>3</sup> (d. 269/882), came from Mecca to Baghdad, he was greeted by a band of Sufi shaykhs. He then held lectures, first in al-Ruṣāfa, later in the main mosque of Baghdad, and was soon regarded as the head of the Sufis. By 250/864, separate halls for *ḥalqa*-sessions, with sermons and music, had apparently already started to operate.

On this soil saturated with Greek culture, mysticism was nevertheless not able to escape a foreign influence altogether. The Syriac church transmitted its Neoplatonic outlook, which it even appropriated in part under its Syriac name.

1 *Ṣafā' al-dhikr wa-jam' al-himma wal-maḥabba wal-shawq wal-qurb wal-uns*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* 1, 390,9.

2 Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 48, 45/8, has proven the word's derivation from *ṣūf*, 'wool', such against Merx who wanted to trace it to σφός.

3 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'r. Baghdād* 1, 390/4.



In the East, in Khurāsān, where the special movement of the Malāmātiyya<sup>4</sup> developed, its asceticism adopted some of the methods of the Indian yogis, although they did not acquire wider significance until later times.

1. On the oldest Sufi writers, see Suppl. I, 350/1.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak, who was born in 118/736 and died in 181/797 in Hit on the Euphrates while returning from a military campaign, having lived for a time in Khurāsān (al-Sha‘rānī, *Tab.* I, 51/2), is credited with *al-Raqā‘iq*, Alex. Mawā‘iz 18.

1d. Bishr b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfi, *Kitāb al-taṣawwuf*, Patna I, 141,1374.

1e. Al-Muḥāsibī: Ibn Khall. 145, v. Kremer, *Ideen* 67. *Abdalhalīm, Mahmoud, al-Mohasibi: un mystique musulman religieux et moraliste*, Paris 1940.

| 1. *Kitāb al-ri‘āya etc.* also Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 313, ed. Margaret Smith, Gibb Mem. NS XV, 1940.—2. *al-Naṣā‘ih etc.* also Berl. Oct. 1435, Ind. Off. 4598 (copy of Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 370, *JRAS* 1939, 378), see H. Ritter, *Die Schrift des al-Ḥ. b. A. al-M.* (see ad 7) p. 7—3. *Kitāb al-tawahhum*, ed. A.J. Arberry, C. 1937.—4. *Risālat al-makāsib wal-wara‘ wal-shubha*.—5. *Risālat ādāb al-nufūs*.—7. *Risālat bad’ man anāba ila ‘llāh* ed. H. Ritter, *Die Schrift des al-Ḥ. b. A. al-M. über den Anfang der Umkehr zu Gott* (for the 19th Congress of Orientalists, Rome), Glückstadt 1935.—14. *Sharḥ al-ma‘rifā*, abbreviated excerpts Köpr. 1601, 98b/100b.—19. *Kitāb al-mustarshid*, Alex. Fun. 100,13.—21. *Risāla fi ‘l-taṣawwuf*, Alex. Taṣ. 35,11. 214

2. Mystico-ascetic ideals seem to have become commingled with alchemistic fantasies as early as the Egyptian Dhu ‘l-Nūn Abu ‘l-Fayḍ Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī, although the authenticity of the works attributed to him does not seem to have been confirmed. He died on 2 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 246/19 January 861 in Giza.

| 1. *Mujarrabāt*, recipes for medicine, chemistry, magic, talismans, spells etc. Paris 2608.—2. Poems on the philosopher’s stone, *ibid.* 2609,4, Br. Mus. 601, IV, 2 (see Suppl.), comm. by Aḥmad b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Alī al-Hamdānī al-Ḥāshidī, written in 855/1451, also Āṣaf. III, 146.—4. The *Kitāb al-‘ajā‘ib* was falsely attributed to him, Cairo <sup>1</sup>V, 58 photographs, *Qu. u. St.* VII, 85,VI,13.—6. *Du‘ā’*, Rāmpūr I, 337. 198

4 See Abdūlbāki, *Melāmīlik ve Melāmiler*, Istanbul 1931.

2a. Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, see Suppl. I, 353.

Anon. *Manāqib* and *Waṣāyā*, Alex. Taʿr. 116.—Legend of his ascension to heaven, based on the *Manāqib Abī Y. al-B.* of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qannād, d. ca. 340/951 (Massignon, *Essai* 244), from chapter 9 of the *Kitāb al-qasḍ* by al-Qāsim al-ʿĀrif (9a), see Nicholson, *Islca* II, 402/15. Regarding the late apocryphon *Kitāb masāʾil al-ruhbān* (addenda, 954), additionally Ind. Off. 4585 (*JRAS* 1939, 373), see Arberry, *JRAS* 1938, 89/91.

2b. Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Kharrāz, see Suppl. I, 354.

1. *Kitāb al-ṣidq*.—2. *Kitāb al-masāʾil*, Berl. cod. sim. 65, ed. and transl. from the Istanbul unicum by A.J. Arberry, London 1937, Isl. Research Assoc. Series 6.

3. Al-Junayd b. Muḥammad b. Junayd al-Qawārīrī al-Kharrāz Abu ʿl-Qāsim al-Nihāwandī, cf. Suppl.

215 | Ibn Khall. 140, Arberry, *JRAS* 1935, 499/507. Of the *Kitāb maʾālim al-himam* that was falsely attributed to him—attributed to al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (Suppl. II, 214,<sub>3a</sub>) in Berl. Oct. 1801 (with the title *Maʿāni ʿl-himma*, Rāmpūr I, 366,<sub>313</sub>)—there is a copy in Ind. Off. 4597 (*JRAS* 1939, 375), ed. H.K. Ghazanfar, *Allahabad Un. Studies* XI, 1935, 263/97, XIII, 1937, 226/54, see Nicholson, *Islca* II, 402.

4. Al-Junayd's most important student was al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, the only son of a benefactor. In Tustar he had belonged to the circle around Sahl al-Tustarī, who had further developed al-Muḥāsibī's doctrine of a return to God to the point of remorse and who had adopted from the Shīʿa the gnostic doctrine of the column of light, which at the beginning of time had united all souls so that these might feel one with God. Thus prepared, he came to al-Junayd and, having stayed with him for six years, felt superior to him because he considered that he had already reached this stage of perfection, this ideal which the former vainly sought to attain. After his split with him he roamed through the Islamic world as a wandering preacher, going all the way to India. He let himself be introduced to Greek philosophy by the great physician al-Rāzī (p. 266), and he also established contact with the Qarmaṭians. After a pilgrimage to Mecca he returned to Baghdad in 295/908. With his doctrine that, in his resignation to suffering and to the will of God, the ascetic places himself on the same level as Truth, he attracted a great circle of students, which soon aroused the suspicion of the dominant theologians. Suspected by the authorities, he spent eight years in prison. Because the mother of the caliph al-Muqtadir and her *hājib* al-Naṣr wanted to save him, the vizier Ḥāmid put him through a

summary trial in which he was found guilty and sentenced to death by senior judges from all four schools of law. On 12 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 921/26 March 922 he was hanged in the courtyard of the new prison | on the right bank of the Tigris, his corpse decapitated, and subsequently burnt. His students fled to Khurāsān where they cherished the memory of his martyrdom, which continued to live on in the mystical poetry of the Persians and the Turks. 216

Ibn Khall. (Wüst.) 186, Ibn al-Athīr VIII, 93 v. Kremer, *Ideen* 70, see Suppl. Listing of some of his writings Berl. 15.—*Kitāb al-sayhūr fī naqd al-duhūr* according to Kračkovsky in MS Leningrad Firkowitsch 4885 (Akhbar 52, n. b).—*Nūr al-muqal fī 'l-a'māl al-rūhāniyya wal-dakk wal-ḥiyal*, apocryphal, Rāmpūr I, 690,21.

5. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, d. 320/932, see Suppl. I, 335/6.

1. *Khatm al-awliyā'*, anon. comm. on *al-Masā'il al-rūhāniyya*, Alex. Taş. 40,3.—b. *al-Masā'il al-maknūna*, ibid. Fun. 145,1.—c. *al-Masā'il al-mu'aṭṭila*, ibid. 2.—11. Leipz. 212 contains, though with the wrong title, *al-Durra al-maknūna etc.* individual treatises, among which nos. 5 and 8, see Arberry *RSO*, XVIII, 1940, p. 315/27.—12. *Nawādir al-uşūl etc.*, Istanbul MSS in Weisweiler, *Trad.* 193, n. 1, Qawala I, 158, comm. *Mirqāt al-wuṣūl* by Muṣṭafā al-Dimashqī, completed in 1313, in *Majmū'a*, Istanbul 1313.—13. *Kitāb al-furūq etc.*, on seemingly similar actions that are different from a spiritual point of view (Ritter), Es'ad 1479,5, now in the Awqāf museum, with *Ḥaqīqat al-ādamiyyīn* and *al-'Aql wal-hudā*, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 33.—20. *Ghawr al-umūr*, Berl. 3130 = (?) *Fī bayān al-farq bayna 'l-ṣadr wal-qalb wal-fu'ād wal-lubb*, Cairo 21, 345.—20a. The *Kitāb fī 'l-ad'iya wal-tilasmāt wal-'azā'im*, AS 1814, is Persian (Ritter).

5a. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Wāsiṭī of Farghāna, who died in 331/942 in Marw.

Suppl. I, 357, Hujwīrī, Nich. 154/5, 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, II, 265/81. *Kitāb al-kabā'ir wal-ṣaghā'ir*, Köpr. 1603,7.

| 6. Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jaḥdar al-Shibli, d. 334/946. 200

Suppl. I, 357, Ibn Khall. 215. Conversation with a friend while on the pilgrimage, Br. Mus. 136,2.

6b. Al-Nasafī, see Suppl. I, 293. 6a. 2. Under the title *Kitāb al-lu'aylā*, Es'ad 437 f. 59a/69b, abstract, Cairo 21, 356.

217 | 7. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī wrote in 352/963:

*Kitāb al-mawāqif sami’ahu min kalām shaykhihi Abī ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abdallāh al-Niḥfārī* (as such in AS 2121), on the 77 stages of the Sufī, the first of which is the *mawqif al-‘izz*, and the last the *mawqif al-kayf*, ḤKh VI, 235, 13355, Gotha 880, Köpr. 875, with comm. by ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (p. 258), Bodl. I, 106, 110, Köpr. 785 (dating from 695 AH), Bursa Ulu Jāmi‘ Taṣ. 5, Şehīd ‘A. P. 1433, 1, Uskudār Nūr Bānū 107 with another comm. Bodl. I, 352, cf. II, 579, ed. Arberry (see Suppl.), not used AS 2121, Bursa Ulu Jāmi‘ Taṣ. 4.

7a. Ibn al-Khafif 2. *Al-Aqīda al-ṣaḥīḥa*, Fātiḥ 5391.

7c. Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-luma’*, oldest MS dates from 483 AH, Bank. XIII, 825.

8. Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Wā‘iz al-Makkī lived as an ascetic and preacher in Mecca, Basra, and Baghdad, and died in 386/996.

Ibn Khall. 602, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* p. 135, no. 125. *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu‘āmalat al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām al-tawḥīd*, ḤKh IV, 580, 9636, Leipz. 215, Gotha 881 (fragm.), Esc. 2729, Algiers 907, Constantine JA 1860, I, 438, Cairo 111, 103, Garr. 1570/1, ‘Āšir I, 481, Nāfiz 436, AS 2001, Köpr. 865, Yeni 723, Fātiḥ 2766/7 (revised ibid. 2765, from 575 AH), Calcutta p. 48, no. 39, Tippu 113, print. C. 1310, 2 vols., excerpts Berl. 2816/7, Paris 2016, 2, Esc. 2739, 1, by Ḥusayn b. Ma’n, Fātiḥ 2768. Explanation of difficult passages from this text and from the lost *al-Bayān al-shāfi* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abbād al-Nafzī al-Rundī, d. 791/1390 (II, 118), Esc. 2740, 2.

9. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Kalābadhī al-Ḥanafī Abū Bakr, d. 380/990 or 390.

1. *Kitāb al-ta‘arruf li-madḥhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ḤKh 111, 116, 21, 419, Algiers 906, Bodl. I, 253, Garr. 2117, 1, Rāmpūr I, 359, 268, printed in the margin of al-Ghazzālī’s *al-Iḥyā’*, Istanbul 1321 (see Suppl.), abstract Ind. Off. 657, 6.—Commentaries: a. *Ḥusn al-taṣarruf* by ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Qūnawī, d. 729/1329 (II, 86), Vienna 1888, Berl. Qu. 1202, Bāyezīd 1709; all kinds of notes from this by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Manūfī, ca. 880/1475, Berl. 3087.—c. *Nūr al-murīdīn etc.* also Bursa, Haraccizade Taṣ. 32.—2. *Baḥr al-fawā’id al-musammā bi-ma‘āni ‘l-akḥbār*, Garr. 1368, Yeni 274, Alex. Ḥad. 8, Cairo 21, 92.

| 9a. Al-Qāsim al-Ārif, who died on 14 Sha'bān 395/26 May 1005.

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*Kitāb al-qaṣd*, a manual for attaining mystical union (attributed by ḤKh VI, 90, 279<sup>2</sup> to al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, Suppl. II, 214, 3a, under the title *al-Maṣṣad ila 'llāh*), MSS from Lucknow and Hyderabad, R. Nicholson, *Islca* II, 402.

10. Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Uthmān al-Wā'iz al-Kharkūshī, d. 406/1015 or 407.

Suppl. I, 361. 1. *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, an account of Sufism in 70 chapters, published by one of his students, Berl. 2819, abstract *ibid.* 2820, see A.J. Arberry, Khargushi's Manual of Sufism, *BSOS* IX, 345/9.—2. *Kitāb al-bishāra etc.*, Leid. 1213.—3. see Suppl.

11. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Sulamī al-Azdī al-Nisābūrī, born in 330/941, was an extremely productive author in the fields of | Qur'ān interpretation and history. Nevertheless, he was regarded as being not very trustworthy because he did not shrink from inventing traditions with a Sufi slant. He died in Sha'bān of the year 412/1021.

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Ibn al-Athīr IX, 230, *Huff.* XIII, 33, Wüst. *Gesch.* 136. 1. *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, Qur'ān commentary, NO 319, Riḍā P. 737, Khāliṣ 69, Üsküdar, Hüdā'ī, Tefs. 20, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 170, anon. abstract, *ibid.* 209.—2. *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfīyyīn*, a continuation of his *Kitāb al-zuhd*, in which he had treated the classes of the *Ṣaḥāba*, the *Tābi'ūn* and *Tābi'u 'l-tābi'īn* (Preface 5), ḤKh 3168, Berl. 9972, Br. Mus. 961, Faiz. 280, 'Āšir 677, 'Um. 5064, As'ad 2313, Qawala II, 239, excerpts Köpr. 1603, ff. 219b/252a, *Texte ar. publié par* Johs. Pedersen, fs. 1 (Collection de textes inédits relatifs à la mystique musulmane, 111), Paris 1938.—3. *Manāhij al-ārifīn*, a short exposition of Sufism (different from ḤKh VI, 13063), Berl. 2821, Munich 264, ff. 60b/73.—4. (*Jawāmi'*) *ādāb al-ṣūfīyya*, ḤKh 1<sup>I</sup>, 213, 309, 2<sup>I</sup>, 42, Berl. 3001, Köpr. 701 (lost), Lālelī 516, (with the title *Bayān aḥwāl al-ṣūfīyyīn*).—5. *Kitāb 'uyūb al-naḥs wa-dawā'ihā*, on the errors of the soul, ḤKh IV, 8448, Berl. 3131, Br. Mus. Suppl. 228, Pertew P. 616, Köpr. 1603, ff. 208a/218b, Bursa, Ulu Ğāmi' Taş. 8, Taymūr 74<sub>1</sub>.—A metrical adaptation entitled *al-Uns fī sharḥ 'uyūb al-naḥs* or *Rajaz al-ma'yūb* by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Burnusī b. Zarrūq, d. 899/1493 (II, 250), with comm. by Muḥammad b. 'Alī | al-Kharrūbī, d. 963/1556 (Suppl. II, 701), Br. Mus. 629 (see Suppl.).—6. *Risālat al-Malāmatīyya*, Berl. 3380, Spr. 851, ff. 47v/58r, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 238, ff. 67r/73v, see R. Hartmann, *Isl.* VIII, 157/204.—7. *Darajāt al-mu'āmalāt*, an explanation of Sufi technical terms, Berl. 3453.—8. *Ādāb al-ṣuḥba wa-ḥusn*

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*al-'ushra*, Leipz. 881<sub>1</sub> (see Suppl.), Šehīd 'A. P. 1114, 8, Alex. Mawā'iz 3.—9. *Ādāb al-faqr wa-sharā'ituhu*, Fātiḥ 2553, ff. 60v/62v.—10. *al-Farq bayna 'ilm al-sharī'a wal-ḥaqīqa*, AS 4218<sub>2</sub>.—11. *Mas'alat darajāt al-šādiqīn* (not identical with Berl. 3435), Fātiḥ 2653, ff. 59r/68v.—12. *Ghalaṭāt al-šūfiyya*, Cairo 1v1, 228, ff. 68v/79v, another recension in al-Sarrāj, *al-Luma'*, 409ff.—13. *Bayān zalal al-fuqarā' wa-manāqib ādābihim*, Fātiḥ 2650, ff. 77r/99v.—14. *Kitāb al-futuwwa*, AS 2049<sub>4</sub>, see Taeschner, *Islca* v, 314.—15. *Sulūk al-'arifīn*, Taymūr Taş. 74<sub>2</sub>.—16. *Uşūl al-Malāmatiyya* (= 8?) *ibid.* 237.—17. *Muqaddima fi 'l-taşawwuf*, Alex. Taş. 46.

## Chapter 11. The Translators

M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Einleitung 1–24, Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen Beiheft 5 Jahrg. VI, 1889, I *Abschnitt Philosophie* (25–84), Beiheft 12, Jahrg. X 1893, III *Die griechischer Ärzte* § 1–34, *Virchows Archiv* 124 (1891), 115/36, 268/96, 455/87, II *Mathematik*, § 85–139, §140, *Alchemie*, Index, *ZDMG* 50, 161/219, 357/417.<sup>1</sup>

W. Kutsch, Zur Geschichte der syrisch-arab. Übersetzungsliteratur, *Orientalia*, NS VI, 1/2, 1937.

P. Kraus, Plotin chez les Arabes, *Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt.* 23, 1941, 263/95.

Hellenistic education, which had gained a foothold in Syria and Mesopotamia under Alexander and the Diadochi, profited greatly from the spread of Christianity. In Syria particularly, which was part of the Byzantine empire, monasteries were religious institutions and, at the same time, places of Greek education, which their residents adopted through numerous translations, even though they were unable to develop or enhance it any further. | Although 202  
| the study of theology predominated, philosophy and medicine were not 220  
overlooked.

In the empire of the Sasanids, Greek medicine in particular was highly regarded. In the year 531 CE Khusraw Anūshirwān founded an academy in Jundīshāpūr, in Khūzistān, for its development, a place where philosophy also found a home, and which continued to flourish into ‘Abbāsīd times.<sup>2</sup>

Greek science found a third home in the Mesopotamian city of Ḥarrān. In spite of its entirely Christian surroundings, its inhabitants had kept their old Semitic paganism, which was strongly influenced by Hermeticism. Here, mathematical and astronomical studies flourished and these, having been cultivated in Akkadian culture, were also promoted in Hellenistic times.

Each of these three sources supplied the Muslims with Greek science in translation. If we ignore the ancient, possibly pre-Islamic translations of the Bible, then the translations of a Hermetic book of astrology called the *Miftāḥ asrār al-nujūm*, which may have been a translation of the Παρανατέλλοντα of Teukros—named by the Arabs, from a distorted Pahlavi form, Tankalūshā<sup>3</sup>—and perhaps also the translation of the *Geoponika* from the Persian *Varznāmeḥ* (see Suppl.), started in Umayyad times. As early as the time of al-Manṣūr there

1 Quoted by section number, just like Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Berlin 1893.

2 Cf. Schulz, *Disputatio de Gundisapora*, Commentaria Soc. scient. Petropol. vol. XII.

3 See A. Borissov, *JA* 226, 300/5.

221 was a physician from Jundīshāpūr working at the court who is believed to have translated medical works into Arabic. However, these studies saw their greatest upsurge under the caliph al-Ma'mūn, who had a keen interest in them. In Baghdad he founded the Bayt al-Ḥikma with a library | and an observatory which, under the leadership of Salm, who was himself active as a translator from Persian (*Fihrist* 120, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a 1, 162), became the focal point of energetic academic pursuits. The translations that were made under al-Ma'mūn and his immediate successors superseded those of the older schools, and are the only ones that have survived.<sup>4</sup>

203 Here, the latter are arranged by translator and not by their Greek authors as with Steinschneider. | For anonymous translations, the reader is referred entirely to him.

1. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar (Maṭarān) al-Ḥāsib.

See Suppl. 1, 363. *Euclidis Elementa*, vol. II ed. Junge, Raeder and Thompson, Copenhagen 1932; Latin version of the commentary by Nayrīzī ed. M. Curtze, Leipzig 1899. On his translations of Euclid, see M. Klamroth, *ZDMG* 35, 265/81; Fātiḥ 3439 f. 45r/61v, Books 11–13 only.

2. Yuḥannā or Yaḥyā b. Bitrīq, ca. 200/815.

Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv* vol. 52, p. 364, *Übers.* 368. *Kitāb al-siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa taṣnīf al-ḥakīm al-fādil Aristāṭālīs* ḤKh v, 10202, a concoction pieced together from different sources by an Arab of the tenth or eleventh century (see R. Förster, de *Aristotelis Secretis secretorum commentatio*, Kiel 1888, *Script. physiogn.* 1, p. CLXXIX, Steinschneider, *Centralbl. für Bibliothekswesen*, supplement XII, 79/80), Berl. 5603, more detailed *ibid.* '4, Munich 650 = *Sirr al-asrār li-ta'sīs al-siyāsa wa-tartīb aḥwāl al-riyāsa* Vienna 1827/8, Bodl. 1, 341/2, Paris 2417/21, another recension *ibid.* 22, Garr. 779/81, 'Āšir 1002 (Ritter, *RSO* XVI, 212) Sulaim. 872, Mosul 55,134, translated into Latin by Philippus in Antioch on the order of Guido Vera de Valentia, Bishop of Tripoli, *Secreta secretorum Aristotelis*, Leiden 1528, *Epistola Aristotilis ad Alexandrum cum prologo Johannis Hispaliensis* ed. H. Suchier, *Denkm. prov. Lit.*, Halle 1883, 473/80, Engl. by Fulton in *Rogeri Baconis Opera hactenus inedita*, v, 1920 (AS 2890 is, contra 222 *Tadhk. al-Nawādir* | 207, not an independent translation but identical with the

4 Traces of older translations are found in al-Ya'qūbī's (p. 258) *Tarīkh*, see M. Klamroth *ZDMG* 40, 189ff.



text of the Berlin MS).—2.—3. see Suppl.—4. Aristotle's *Meteorology* also Yeni 1179 (R. Walzer, *Gnomon* 1934, 278, Bouyges, *MFO* IX, 1924, 43ff.).

3. 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī translated around the year 220/835 for the caliph al-Mu'taṣim (218–27/833–42):

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I, 204, Baumstark, *Syr. Lit.* 230. *Kitāb Aristātālīs al-faylasūf al-musammā bil-Yūnāniyya Ūthūlūjiyya aw Rubūbiyya* (see Suppl.), also AS 2457<sup>11</sup> (*Islca* IV, 528), Patna I, 208<sup>1855/6</sup>, 476<sup>2641,17</sup>, Fr. Dieterici, *Die sogenante Theologie des Aristoteles*, Leipzig 1882, see Merx, *Mystik* p. 35, Nallino, *RSO* VIII, 95, *Or. Mod.* x, 49/50. Fragments of the Arabic original that was the basis for the Latin translation by Faventius, and which still contained all kinds of Christian ideas that were eradicated in the recension of al-Kindī that was published by Dieterici, were found by A. Borrisov in the Firkovitch Collection of the Library of Leningrad, see *Zap. Koll. Vost.* v (1930), 83/98. A complete translation of Plotinus' *Enneads* IVff. was used by al-Ghazzālī in *Mishkāṭ al-anwār*, see Wensinck, *Semietische Studien*, Leiden 1941, 192ff.—Recension by Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khayr al-Fārisī, Mashh. I, 14<sup>14</sup>, Library of Akbar al-Khwānsārī *Dhar'ā* I, 120<sup>1577</sup>.

4. Quṣṭā b. Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī, d. ca. 300/912.

Suppl. I, 305/6. Wüst. *Ärzte* no. 100, inventory of his writings in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I, 244/5.

I. Works, as author: a. *Risāla fi 'khtilāf al-nās fi siyarihim wa-akhlāqihim wa-shahawātihim wakhtiyārātihim 'an Abī 'Alī al-Ḥārithī* Berl. 5387, a *faṣl* thereof Gotha 2096<sup>3</sup>.—b. *Risāla fi 'l-sahar*, on the causes of sleeplessness and its cures, for Abu 'l-Ghiṭrīf, Berl. 6357.—c. *Fī tadbīr al-abdān fi 'l-safar lil-salāma min al-maraḍ wal-khaṭar*, for Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Makhlad, Br. Mus. 424<sup>2</sup>, *Āṣaf.* II, 934<sup>201</sup>, included as chapter 16 in the *Kitāb al-amān min akhṭār al-asfār wal-azmān* by al-Ṭā'ūsī, second half of the seventh cent., Ind. Off. 341.—d. *Kitāb fi 'l-balgham wa-'ilalihi*, the first *maqāla* of a work in six *maqālāt* for Abu 'l-Ghiṭrīf, Munich 805.—e. *Kitāb fī 'ilal al-sha'r* for Ḥasan b. Makhlad, Br. Mus. 434<sup>3</sup>.—f. *Risāla fi 'l-'amal bil-kura dhāt al-kursī*, on an astronomical instrument, Berl. 5836, Br. Mus. 1615<sup>7</sup>, Suppl. 753<sup>6</sup> (where Afantā b. Lūqā), | Paris 2544<sup>10</sup> anon.).—g. *Kitāb al-'amal bil-aṣṭurlāb al-kurī* Leid. 1053, Serāi 3505<sup>3</sup>.—h. *Risāla fi 'l-kura 'l-falakiyya* Berl. 5836, Br. Mus. 407<sup>10</sup>, AS 2633, under the title *Kurat al-falak Zāwiyat Sīdī Ḥamza*, Renaud, *Hespéris* XVIII, 93.—i. *Kitāb al-'amal bil-kura 'l-falakiyya (fi 'l-nujūm)* Bodl. II, 297, Garr. 2096<sup>22</sup> another treatise with the same title for Abu 'l-Ṣaqr b. Ismā'īl b. Bulbul, vizier

of al-Mu'tamid, Serāi 3505<sub>5</sub>, AS 2635, 2637, As'ad 2015<sub>1,3</sub>, Āsaf. I, 796<sub>120</sub>, Hebr. Steinschneider 342.—k. see Suppl. i.—l. *Kitāb hay'at al-aflāk* Bodl. I, 879<sub>2</sub>.—m. *Kitāb al-faṣl bayn a-l-rūḥ wal-nafs* Gotha 1158 (according to Pertsch by Ibn Sīnā) Berl. Qu. 1075, see Suppl. *De differentia animi et spiritus, lat. versa a Baroch, Bibl. philos. medii aevi*, Innsbruck 1878.—n.—x. see Suppl. (n. also Šehīd 'A. P. 2103). An uncertain *Kitāb quṣṭā* Rāmpūr I, 493<sub>201</sub>.

II. Translations: a. Plato's outlines of geometry in Steinschneider § 37.—b. Alexander's and Johannes Philoponos' commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* ibid. 52.—c. Aristotle on sleep, dreams and the length of life ibid. 57.—d. Theophrastus, *Questions* ibid. 70.—e. Plutarch, *Opinions of the philosophers on physics and the practice of virtue* ibid. 77<sub>1,2</sub> (see Suppl.).—f. Euclid's *Elementa* Upps. 321, Fātiḥ 3439<sub>10</sub> (Books XIV, XV).—g. Hypsicles's *Kitāb al-maṭālī'*, revised by al-Kindī around 250/864, Berl. 5652, other MSS Steinschneider 101<sub>2</sub>, ed. by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (see Suppl.) Sulaimān Qaṣīdaḡī Sirrī, 452<sub>2</sub>.—h. Hypsicles's Supplement to Euclid's *Elementa*, Book XV, Copenhagen 81 (not in Steinschn. 107).—i. Theodosius' *Sphaerica* at the instigation of Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim, translated up to the fifth section of the third *maqāla*, the rest by someone else, the whole edited by Thābit b. Qurra, d. 288/901 (p. 217), Berl. 5933, other MSS Steinschn. 130<sub>1</sub> (see Suppl.), Pet. Am K. 922, Serāi 346<sub>4</sub>, Bursa, Haraccizade Heyet 7, print. Tehran n.d.—k. idem, *Kitāb al-masākin*, Berl. 5649/50, Steinschn. 130<sub>2</sub> (Suppl.), Qaṣīdaḡī Sulaimān Sirrī 452<sub>1</sub>, Serāi 3464<sub>7</sub>.—l. idem, *Kitāb al-ayyām wal-layālī*, Berl. 5648, Steinschn. 130<sub>3</sub>, Serāi 3464<sub>7</sub>, ibid. 8 still before the revision by al-Ṭūsī (Krause 444).—m. Hero of Alexandria, Barulcus, *Kitāb sayl athqāl* Leid. 983, Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 199 under the title *Fī raf' al-ashyā' al-thaqīla*, Serāi 3466, AS 2755, ed. Carra de Vaux, *Les Mécaniques ou l'Élevateur de Heron d'Alexandria publiées pour la première fois sur la version arabe de Q. b. L. et trad. en franç.*, *JA* s. IX, vol. 1, 385/472, v. 2. 152/269, 420/514, by | L. Nix and W. Schmidt in *Heronis Alex. opera quae supersunt omnia*, II, 1, Leipzig 1901, on which A. | Favoro, *Intorno delle Meccaniche di Erone Alessandrino edite per la prima volta sulla vers. ar. dal C. d. V. Atti del. R. Ist. Veneto di Sc.* s. VII, v. 5. disp. 7.—o. Autolykus *Kitāb al-ṭulū' wal-ghurūb*, Leid. 1042, Steinschn. 152<sub>2</sub>.—p. Inventory of the writings of Galen, Esc. 1795, Steinschn. 13, p. 273, AS 3509, Meyerhof, *SBBa* 1928, p. 545.

5. The most famous translator of this whole period was Abū Zayd Ḥunayn (among Latin scholars Johannitius) b. Iṣḥāq al-'Ibādī. Born in 194/809 (?) in Ḥīra where his father was a pharmacist, he remained true to the Christian religion of his fellow tribesmen, the 'Ibād, until the end of his life. He had studied in Basra with al-Khalīl, whose *Kitāb al-'ayn* he was the first to bring to Baghdad.

There he attended the classes of the famous physician Yaḥyā b. Māsawayh (p. 265). He is believed to have completed his education with a trip to Asia Minor, where he learned Greek. He then became a teacher of medicine in Baghdad and was appointed by al-Mutawakkil as his personal physician, and he composed numerous medical and philosophical works. His fame is, however, chiefly based on his translation of Greek works, in which his son Ishāq, his nephew Ḥubaysh, Stefan b. Basil, Mūsā b. Khālid, and Yaḥyā b. Hārūn all participated. Due to the iconoclastic controversy that was raging in the oriental churches at the time he fell out with bishop Theodosius and was excommunicated. In a state of grief over this he then took poison and died on 6 Ṣafar 260/30 November 873.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a 1, 184/206, Ibn Khall. 198, Michael Syrus 263, Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.* 111, 199, *Mukhtaṣar* 250/3, Wüst., *Ärzte* no. 6, Leclerc 1, 139/52, Suter, *Mathem.* 44.

I. Works, as author: 1. *Kitāb al-mudkhal fi 'l-ṭibb*, an introduction to medicine, Esc. 1848, Lat. *Isagoge Johannitii in Tegni Galeni*, n.p. & n.d., and Venice 1487, Leipzig 1497. *Joannitii isagoge in artem parvam Galeni*, Strasbourg 1534.—2. *Masā'il fi 'l-ṭibb lil-muta'allimīn* ('alā | ṭarīq al-taqṣīm wal-tashjūr) Berlin 6258, Bodl. 11, 333,3, in the augmented edition of his nephew Ḥubaysh, Gotha 1933, 2023, 2028, 2036,3, Bodl. 11, 195,2, Serāi 2131 (see Suppl.), supplement by Ibn al-Tilmīdh, d. 560/1165 (p. 487) Bodl. 1, 636,2, under the title *al-Asās*, Rāmpūr 1, 492.—Commentaries: a. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṣādiq al-Nīsābūrī, | a student of Ibn Sīnā, d. 428/1037 (p. 484), with a division into 10 chapters introduced by him and a text whose relation to other witnesses has not yet been sufficiently clarified, not even by Bergsträsser (*Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq und seine Schule* 5/6), Berl. Qu. 1040, Gotha 1932, Munich 804, Leid. 1303, Utrecht—Leid. 2689, Paris 2861/2, 6654, S bath 1098 (see Suppl.), Garr. 1097.—b. Ibn al-Nafis, d. 687/1288 (p. 493), Berl. Qu. 1040, Leid. 1304.—2a. *Kitāb al-'ayn* (see Suppl. 4, Patna 1, 251,2142) *Le livre des questions sur l'œil de H. b. I.*, publié par P. S bath et M. Meyerhof, *Mém. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, Cairo 1938.—3. *Kitāb fi awjā' al-ma'ida*, Esc. 2852,3, AS 3555, f. 149v/156r—4. *Pharmacopoea*, Bodl. Hebr. 428.—5. *Compendium historiae Hermetum* Nan. 1, 35.—6. Excerpts from a work on comets, Bodl. 11, 285,7.—7. On opposite virtues and vices, *ibid.* 11, 349,5.—8. *Ijtimā'āt al-falāsifa fi buyūt al-ḥikma fi 'l-a'yād wa-tafāwud al-ḥikma baynahum* Munich 651,2, Br. Mus. Or. 8681.—9. *Honain b. Ishāq Sefer Musre ha-filosofim* (*Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*) aus dem Ar. ins Hebr. übers. v. Jehuda ben Salomo Alcharizi, nach Hdss. hsg. v. A. Löwenthal, Frankfurt a. M. 1896, *H. b. I. Sinnsprüche der Philosophen nach der hebr. Übers. v. Charizi*

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*ins Deutsche übertr.* v. A. Löwenthal, Berlin 1896, *Maṣḥafa falāsfā ṭabībān, das Buch der weisen Philosophen nach dem Äthiop. untersucht* v. C. H. Cornill, Leipzig 1875, cf. A. Müller, *ZDMG* 31, 506, 508, 526, Steinschneider, *Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Lit.* XII, 354, *Revue des Et. Juiv.* III, 242, supplement v, 26, *hebr. Übers.* 197 (cf. Suppl.).—10. *al-Mudkhal al-kabīr ilā 'ilm al-rūḥāniyyāt* Alex. Ḥurūf 16. 11—18. see Suppl. (on 14, p. 956).—19. *Jawāmi' al-Iskandarāniyyīn* Rāmpūr I, 473,<sup>56</sup>.

11. Translations: 1. Old Testament after the Septuagint, al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* 112, Ibn al-Qifṭī 99,<sup>7</sup>.—2. Plato: a. *Republic*, Steinschn. § 33.—b. *Laws*, *Kitāb al-nawāmīs*, *ibid.* 34.—c. *Timaeus*, maybe just an improvement of a translation by Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *ibid.*—d. Information on synopses of Platonic dialogues by Galen, *ibid.*—e. Treatise on what one should read of Plato, *ibid.* 35.—3. Aristotle: | a. *Syllogism* (after the translation by Theodorus), *ibid.* 46.—b. Alexander's commentary on *Physics* 11, *ibid.* 52.—c. *De coelo et mundo* (after Ibn al-Biṭrīq) with explanations (*Masā'il*), *ibid.* 55.—d. *De anima*, *ibid.* 56.—e. *Metaphysics* with the commentary by Alexander, *ibid.* 59.—f. Porphyry's commentary on the *Ethics*, *ibid.* 60.—g. *Problemata*, *ibid.* 62.—h. *Physiognomy*, *ibid.* 64, Serāi 3207,<sup>1</sup>.—i. Pseudo-Aristotle on magic *Istamatis* etc., *ibid.* 68,<sup>21</sup>, *Kitāb jawāmi' li-Kitāb A. fi 'l-āthār al-'uwiyya*, Mosul 34,<sup>154/5</sup>.—4. Alexander of Aphrodisias, on seeing and on the difference between matter and genus, *ibid.* 72,<sup>2,17</sup>.—5. Porphyry, prolegomena to the *Eisagoge*, *ibid.* 73.—6. Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, *ibid.* 80.—7. Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*, *ibid.* 116.—8. Euclid (see Suppl. p. 368,<sup>2</sup> no. 6).—9. Theodosios.—10. Menelaus' *Sphaerica*, *ibid.*—11. Autolykos *Fi 'l-kura al-mutaḥarrika*, Steinschn. 125, Serāi 3462,<sup>3</sup> (Krause 440).—12. Apollonios, Steinschn. *ZDMG* XLV, 439ff., *Risāla Bālīnūs fi ta'thīr al-rūḥāniyyāt, fi 'l-murakkabāt wa-a'māl al-ṣuwar wa-daf' al-amrād wa-ḥulūlihā*, Wehbi Ef. 892, Alex. *Ḥurūf* 16,<sup>2</sup>, Āṣaf 11, 1688.—13. Hippocrates Esc. <sup>2857,2-5</sup>: a. Aphorisms, *Fuṣūl*, Steinschn. 4 (see Suppl.), Rāmpūr I, 498,<sup>172</sup>.—b. see Suppl.—c. Prognostica, *Taqdimat al-ma'rifa*, Steinschn. 7 (see Suppl.), Alex. *Ṭibb* 12, ed. M. Klamroth *ZDMG* 40, 204/33.—d. *περὶ τοῦ ὀκταμήνου*, *Kitāb al-mawlūdīn li-thamāniyat ashhur*, revised with a commentary Munich 805,<sup>6</sup>, by Galen, Paris 2837, Esc. <sup>2789/91</sup>, see Bergstr., loc. cit., 7.—14. Galen, see Steinschn. 1—9, 10(?), 11/5, 21(?), 26, 28(?), 29, 32, 35, 36(?), 37/8, 40/1, 43/9, 50/3, 59, 60, 62, 68/9, 70(?), 71, 85/6, 99, 106/8, see Suppl. 368/9 (h. not by Ḥunayn, see Bergstr., loc. cit., 54/9).—i. *Firaq al-ṭibb*, also Garr. 1075,<sup>6</sup>.—k. *Kitāb al-ṣinā'a al-ṣaghīra* also *ibid.* 1075,<sup>1</sup>.—l. *al-Nabḍ lil-muta'allimīn*, *ibid.* 1075,<sup>7</sup> (*ilā Ṭaṭārūn* i.e. Teuthras).—m. *Kitāb ilā Glaukōn fi 'l-ta'attī li-shifā' al-amrād*, *ibid.* 1075,<sup>8</sup>, Rāmpūr I, 468,<sup>11</sup>.—n. *Fi 'l-ustūqisāt 'alā ra'y Ibbuqrāt*, Garr. 1075,<sup>9</sup>.—q. *Fi 'l-quwa 'l-ṭabī'iyya*, Berl. Oct. 1122.—r. *Tashrīḥ al-'ilal wal-a'rād*, *ibid.*—s. *al-Mawādi'*

*al-ālīma*, *ibid.*—t. *Kitāb al-buḥrān* with *Ayyām al-buḥrān*, Garr. 1075<sub>2</sub>.—u. *Aṣnāf al-ḥummayāt* *ibid.* 3.—v. *Ḥīlat al-bur'* *ibid.* 4.—w. *Tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥā'* *ibid.* 5.—x. *περὶ τῶν ἑπταμήνων βρέφων*, ed. Walzer, *RSO* xv (1935), 323/87, xvi (1936), 22ff.—y. *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus libri IX*, Esc. 2793, abbreviation *ibid.* 802<sub>2</sub>.—z. *Fī tarkīb al-adwiya bi-ḥasb ajnāsihā al-mawṣūf bi ḡata ḡénos*, Berl. 6231, Esc. 2796 (see also Esc. 2797<sub>1,4</sub>, | 798<sub>1,4</sub>, 846/51, 853, 860<sub>4</sub>, 879/80).—15. Dioscorides *περὶ τέχνης ἰατρικῆς*, translated by Stephanus b. Basil, revised by Ḥunayn, Paris 2849/50, Bodl. 1, 373, Leclerc, *JA*, 1867, Jan. (see Suppl.).

6. His son Ishāq b. Ḥunayn was in close contact with al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydallāh, vizier to the caliph al-Mu'tadiḡ. | He had assisted his father in his translations, but in his own work showed a preference for philosophy. Towards the end of his life he was paralysed following a stroke. He died in Rabī' I 298/November 910 or 911.

*Fihrist* 285, Ibn Khall. 85, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a 1, 200, Wüst., *Ärzte* 71, *Gesch.* 88, Leclerc 1, 139, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 393, Suter, *Math.* 39. 1. *Aristotelis Categoriae (περὶ ἐμπυγείας) cum versione arab. Is. Honeini f. et variis lectionibus textus graeci e vers. arab. ductis* a J. Th. Zenker, Leipzig 1846. *Hermeneutik*, ed. J. Pollak, *AKM* XIII, 1 (according to *Fihrist* 248<sub>20</sub>, Ibn al-Qiftī 35<sub>2</sub> by Ḥunayn).—2.—5. see Suppl.—6. Euclid's *Elementa Uṣūl*, revised by Thābit b. Qurra, Upps. Tornb. 321 (d. 443 AH), Copenhagen 81, Fātiḡ 3439<sub>1</sub> (Books IV–IX), Teh. 11, 200, Rāmpūr 1, 412, (see Suppl. 1, 956 ad 370).—7. *idem Kitāb al-manāẓir*, revised by Thābit b. Qurra, Leid. 976, abstract maybe by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *ibid.* 977.—8. Theodosius' *Sphaerica*, Leid. 984, see p. 474.—9. Ptolemy's *Almagest*, augmented by Thābit b. Qurra, Paris 2487, Esc. 1915, see O.J. Tallgren, *Rev. d. fil. esp.* xv (1928), 57.—10. *Jawāmi' kutub Jālīnūs*, Qawala 11, 287.

7. Ḥunayn's nephew and student Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-A'sam al-Dimashqī lived at the court of al-Mutawakkil and the latter's successors until roughly the end of the third century. It is not always easy to definitively distinguish his works from those of his uncle, whom he assisted on various occasions, the more so because the similarity between their names gave rise to confusion in the manuscripts.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a 1, 202. Translations: a. Hippocrates' oath, Steinschn. 31.—b. *idem, Book on waters*, *ibid.* | 9<sub>10</sub>.—c. Dioscorides' *Book of herbs*, *ibid.* 30.—d. Galen, *ibid.* 9/11, 15/23, 28, 30/2, 34, 36, 40, 50, 53, 57/8, 61, 66, 69, 70, 86.

7a. Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī, see Suppl. I, 369, III, 1204.

Esc, <sup>2</sup>799<sub>11,2,9,10</sub>, translation of Maghnīs al-Ḥimṣī's *Fi 'l-bawl*, AS 3563<sub>78v/100</sub>.

8. 'Īsā b. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm was also a student of Ḥunayn.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I, 204, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 50, 393, see Suppl. Dioscorides' *al-Ḥashā'ish*, Patna I, 251<sub>2189</sub>.

9. Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (Yūnān) al-Qunnā'ī of the monastery of Dayr Qunnā or of the apostle Mār Mārī (17 parasangs south of Baghdad), in whose famous school he received his scientific education, was regarded as the foremost logician of his time. He died in Baghdad on 19 Ramaḍān 328/29 May 940.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I, 235, see Suppl. Translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, see *Analecta orientalia ad poeticam Aristotelis*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, London 1887, idem *The Poetics of Aristotle, transl. from Greek into English and from Arabic into Latin, with a revised Text, Introd. etc.* London 1911, H. Diels, Über die arab. Übers. der aristot. Poetik, *BBA* 1888, 49/54, A. Gudemann, Die syr.-arab. Übers. der aristot. Poetik, *Philologus* LXXXVI (1920) 239/65, J. Tkatsch, *Die ar. Übers. der Poetik des A. und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes, Abh. d. Wiener AC.* 1928, F. Gabrieli, Intorno alla vers. ar. della P. di A., *Rend. Lincei Sc. Mor. etc. ser. VI*, v. v, (1929) 224/35, see also Esc. <sup>2</sup>798<sub>11,7</sub>.

10. Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. 'Adī al-Manṭiqī al-Takrītī was a Jacobite Christian and a student of Abū Bishr and al-Fārābī. He died at the age of 81 in the year 363/973 or 364.

*Fihrist* 264<sub>5-14</sub>, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I, 235, see Suppl. I, 370, 956.—7. *Tafsīr al-alif al-ṣuḡhrā* Patna II, 372<sub>2557,1</sub>—9. *Maqāla fi 'l-mawjūdāt* ibid. 2.—10. *Risāla fi 'l-kull wal-juz'* ibid. 8.

229 | 11. In 380/999, al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Khurshīd al-Ṭabarī al-Nātīlī dedicated to Prince Abū 'Alī al-Sāmjūrī<sup>5</sup> an improved translation of Dioscorides' *Kitāb al-ḥashā'ish*, Leid. 1301, Br. Mus. Suppl. 785, Bat. III, 227, Bank. IV, 91.

5 See al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* 323a, Ibn Isfandiyyār, *History of Tabaristan*, transl. Browne 208, Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* 253.

| 12. Abū ‘Alī b. Ishāq b. Zur‘a, a Jacobite Christian and physician of Baghdad, translated medical and philosophical works and died on 23 Sha‘bān 398/4 May 1008. 208

*Fihrist* 264,26/7, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a I, 235, Wüst., *Ärzte* 121, Leclerc I, 374, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 412, see Suppl.

## Chapter 12. Philosophy

S. Munk, *Des principaux philosophes arabes et leurs doctrines*, in: *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1859.

Goffredo Quadri, *La filosofia degli Arabi nel suo fiore, I. dalle origini fino ad Averroè, II. Il Pensiero di Averroè*, Florence 1939.

Apart from major medical works, these translators also supplied the Islamic world with important works in philosophy. Aristotelian logic had already stimulated grammatical theorising and, together with Christian dogmatics, produced the foundations of *kalām*. In addition, the *mutakallimūn* paid special attention to metaphysics, in which they were often influenced by Neoplatonism. Ethics remained the privileged territory of the *fuqahā'*. Scholars who employed Greek thought outside of these circles had to contend themselves therefore mostly with the further development of psychology or logic. Whether and to what extent Indian thought contributed to this has not yet been ascertained. Only in politics, which had developed at an early stage in the form of the "Mirrors for Princes" texts, did Indian influence | make its mark.<sup>1</sup> The study of philosophy remained, however, restricted to a small circle. Once it had adopted some of its basic ideas through al-Ash'arī, orthodoxy remained mostly hostile to any further development. This is why we are mostly dependent upon Jewish sources for its history. It is, of course, not possible to discuss the progression of the movement of its ideas; only its literary characteristics shall be recorded here.

1. Son of the local governor, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī Faylasūf al-'Arab was born in Kufa into a prominent South Arabian family. He studied in Basra and Baghdad, where he worked under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tašim as a translator and revisor of Greek works, as an astrologer, and as the tutor of the son of al-Mu'tašim. Because he was close to the Mu'tazila, he was also affected by their prosecution, initiated under al-Mutawakkil. His library was confiscated and only returned to him shortly before the caliph's death. Despite an unfavorable conjunction of the stars in 256/870, he still confidently predicted that the empire, threatened as it was by the Qarmatians, would have a lifespan of another 450 years. He probably died soon after.

1 The allegedly oldest work of this kind, the *Kitāb sulūk al-mālīk fī tadbīr al-mamālīk*, Paris 2448, lith. C. 1286 (see Goldziher, *Abh.* 1, 66) by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Rabī', supposedly for the caliph al-Mu'tašim (218–27/835–42), is a much later work; see *Suppl.* 1, 372.



Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a I, 206, Wüst., *Ärzte* 57, G. Flügel, *Al Kindi, genannt der Philosoph der Araber, ein Vorbild seiner Zeit und seines Volkes*, AKM I, Leipzig 1857, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XXIV, 349. Of his many (around 200), mostly very short, treatises<sup>2</sup> remain: 1. A revision | of the *Theology* of Aristotle (p. 222) for his student Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim, Berl. 5121 (see Suppl. I, 2), Persian transl. Bodl. Pers. 870.—III. Psychology (see L. Gauthier, *Antecedents gréco-arabes de la psychophysique*, Beirut 1939). 1a. *Risāla fi 'l-qawl fi 'l-naḥs al-mukhtaṣar min kutub Aristūṭālīs wa-Aflāṭūn wa-sā'ir al-falāsifa*, Taymūr, *Ḥikma* 55 f. 63/76, Br. Mus. Or. 8069, f. 9b/12a, Patna II, 373,<sup>2558,13</sup> see R. Walzer, Un frammento nuovo di Aristotele, *Stud. Ital. di Fil. class.* NS XIV, 1937, 125/37.—3. *Risāla fi 'l-ḥila li-daf' al-aḥzān* AS 4832,<sup>15</sup>, ed. H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *Studi sul Kindi II, Uno scritto morale inedito di al-K. (Themistios περι ἀλυσίας)*, Mem. R. Acc. Lincei, ser. VI, vol. VIII, I, Rome 1938.

II. Philosophy I. *Risāla fī kammiyyat kutub Aristūṭālīs wa-mā yuhtāju ilayhi fi 'l-falsafa*, ed. M. Guidi and R. Walzer, *Studi sul Kindi*, I, Rome 1938.—3. *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, ed. Guidi, *ibid.* III.—IV. Physics. 9. *Alkindus de pluviis, imbribus et ventis ac aëris mutatione*, Venice 1507, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XVIII, 181, Hebr. Steinschn. 351,<sup>2</sup>.—10. *Risāla fi 'l-ibāna 'ani 'l-illa etc.*, also Patna II, 372,<sup>2258,7</sup>.—10a. *Fi 'l-illa allatī lahā qīla anna 'l-nār wal-hawā' wal-mā' wal-ard' anāṣir li-jamī' al-kā'ina al-fāsida wa-khuṣṣat bi-dhālika dūna ghayrihā min al-kā'ina* Lāleli 2487,<sup>4</sup> (Ritter).—v. Astronomy and astrology: 5a. *De planetarum conjunctionibus* Esc. <sup>1</sup>913,<sup>3</sup>.—b. *De judiciis ex eclipsisibus* *ibid.* 4.—7. see E. Wiedemann, Über einen astrologischen Traktat von al-K., *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Nat. u. Technik* III, 224/6.—VII. Music. 1. Berl. 5539, see Farmer, *JRAS* 1926, 92.—3. *Mukhtaṣar al-mūsīqī fi ta'līf al-naghm wa-ṣinā'at al-ūd*, Bodl. 553,<sup>1</sup>, see Farmer, *Sources* 20.—4. *Kitāb al-iḥām fi ta'līf al-luḥūn* Br. Mus. Or. 2361, f. 165v, *ibid.*—5. *Risāla fī tarkīb al-naghm al-dālla 'alā ṭabā'i' al-ashkhāṣ*, maybe Berl. 5503, *ibid.*—XI. 1a. *al-Taraffuq fi 'l-itr* Br. Mus. Or. 9678, Taymūr, *Ṣinā'a* 46 (Kraus).—3. Scapulomancy, Bursa Ḥü. Čelebi 36.—7. *De somniorum visione*, Latin by Gerard of Cremona (see Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, p. 123).

| 3. Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib (Marwān) b. al-Farā'iḳī al-Sarakhsī Tilmīdh al-Kindī al-Ṭabīb, his most important student, was part of the retinue of the caliph al-Mu'tadiḍ. Appointed as *muḥtasib* and curator of the estate in Rajab 282/September 895, he was soon after arrested as a heretic

2 8 on music, 23 on astronomy, 26 on geometry, 23 on medicine, 9 on astrology, 17 polemical, 5 on psychology, 12 on politics, 14 on meteorology, 10 on distances, 5 on lexicology, 35 on varia.

232 on 5 Jumādā I 283/21 June 896 | and died in prison in Şafar 286/February–March 899.

*Fihrist* 261, Ibn Abī Uşaybi'a I, 214/5, Wüst., *Ärzte* 80, Leclerc 294, Suter, *Math.* 63. Of his numerous works, nothing remains. A *Kitāb adab al-naḥs min kalām sayyid al-ʿarab wal-ʿajam* for al-Muʿtaḍid, ḤKh I, 224,34, 21, 49, may be preserved in the anonymous Alex. Mawāʿiz 4.

4. Abū Naşr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān b. Ūzlāgh (not Ibn Ūzlāgh b. Ṭarkhān) al-Fārābī hailed from a Turkish family in Wasīj on the left bank of the Syr-Daryā, less than two parasangs from Kadar, the old centre of Fārāb.<sup>3</sup> After initially studying in Khurāsān where the Christian Yuḥannā b. Ḥaylān had been his teacher he went to Baghdad where, as well as medicine and mathematics, he became particularly interested in philosophy, under the tutelage of Muḥammad b. Jallād and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus (p. 228). In Aleppo, where he then moved, the surroundings and contemplative leisure of the court of the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla proved eminently suitable to academic work. In 339/950, while on a trip in which he accompanied Sayf al-Dawla, he was supposedly murdered by robbers between Damascus and Ashkelon (see Suppl.).

211 | Ibn Abī Uşaybi'a II, 134/45, Ibn Khall. 677, Wüst. no. 716, Wüst. *Ärzte* 105, Leclerc I, 389, M. Steinschneider, *Al-Fārābī, des arabischen Philosophen, Leben und Schriften*, St. Petersburg 1869, *Mém. de l'Ac. Imp. des sciences de St. Pét.*, s. VII, v. XIII, no. 4, Carra de Vaux, *EI* II, 55/7, Nallino, *Enc. Ital.* XIV, 797/9, Mieli, *La science ar.* 94, Ilyās Farah, *al-F. Jounieh* (Lebanon) 1937, Muʿtaḍid Walī al-Raḥmān, al-F. and his theory of dreams, *Isl. Cult.* IX (1937), The Psychology of al-F., *ibid.* XI, 228/47, *al-F.s philosophische Abhandlungen*, hsg. v. Fr. Dieterici, Leiden 1890. List of his works, Esc. 2884,10 (50 works), *Majmūʿat rasāʾil* (E 2, D 16,3), Garr. 794, Rāmpūr I, 403 (28 works *Journ. Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* XIX, ccxiv), II, 837,220 (15 works).

A. Logic: 1. Introduction to logic, Hebrew transl. Munich 307, Steinschn. p. 13, n. 2.—2. *Fuṣūl yuḥtāju ilayhā fi şināʿat al-mantiq*, Paris Hebr. anc. fonds 303, Hebr. | transl. Steinschn. 13,3.—3. Compendium of logic Hebr. Paris a.f. 333, Orel 107.—4. *Kitāb taʿlīq Isāghūjī ʿalā Furfūriyūs*, Bodl. I, 457 on which *Taʿlīq* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Şāʿigh b. Bājja, d. 525/1131 (p. 460), Esc. 2612,2.—5. *Categories* Esc. 2612,13, Hebr. Munich 307,2.—6. Commentary on Aristotle's *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, ḤKh I, 5,1606, 21, 217, on which glosses by Ibn Bājja (?) Esc. 2612,3, extract *ibid.* 4.—7. *Kitāb fi 'l-qiyās*, on the *Prior Analytics*, Esc. 2612,5.

3 See Barthold, *Turkestan* 176/7.

Hebrew transl. in Steinschn. p. 30, on which maybe a commentary by Ibn Bājja, *Irtiyād fī Kitāb al-tahlīl*, Esc. <sup>2612,6</sup> (see Suppl.).—8. *al-Qawl fī sharā'it al-yaqīn*, on the *Posterior Analytics*, in Hebrew script Paris Hebr. a.f. 303, Hebr. transl. ibid. 383, comment. by Ibn Bājja Esc. <sup>2612,7</sup>, *Kalām 'alā awwal Kitāb al-burhān, qawl fī Kitāb al-burhān*, ibid. 8, *Kitāb al-burhān*, Manch. 374 B, Teh. 1, 7,5.—9. *Topics*, Hebr. transl. Steinschn. p. 54.—10. Compendium of the *Sophistical Refutations*, Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 56.—11. *Declaratio compendiosa supra libris rhetoricorum Aristotillis (sici)* Venice 1484, *Rhetorica Aristotelis cum fundatissimi artium et theologiae doctoris Egidij de Roma loculentissimis commentariis nunc primum in lucem editis: nec non Alfarabij compendiosa declaratione, addita ejusdem Aristotelis Poetica cum magni Averrois in eadem summa: novissime recognita cunctisque erroribus castigata*, Venice 1515, cf. A. Nagy, *Notizie intorno alla retorica d'Al Farabi*, *Rend. Linc.* 1893, 11, 684/91.

B. Ethics and politics. 1. *Kitāb al-alfāz al-Aflātūniyya wa-taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya wal-akhlāq* (not in Steinschn.) AS 2820/2 (see Suppl.).—2. *Talkhīš nawāmīs aflātūn* Leid. 1429.—3. *al-Tanbih 'alā sabīl al-sa'āda* or simply *Risālat al-sa'āda* Berl. 5034, Br. Mus. 425,10, Steinschn. 158, print. Hyderabad 1346.—3a. *Kitāb taḥṣīl al-sa'āda* Hyderabad 1345, summary translated by Falquera in the third part of the *Rēšīt haḥokmā* (see L. Strauss, *MGWJ* 80, 1936, 104ff.).—4. *Kitāb siyāsat al-madīna* | Leid. 1930, Br. Mus. 425,11, AS 4839,6, = *Kitāb mabādī' al-mawjūdāt*, de Jong 113, Hebr. transl. *Sefer Tehillōt hannimṣā'ōt* in the almanac *Sefer hā'āsif*, London 5610, 1850, Steinschn. 158,2, a longer excerpt in Miskawayh, *Jāwīdān khīrad*, Paris 3957,134a/144a (Kraus).—5. *Kitāb fī mabādī' ārā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, commenced in Baghdad and completed in 334 in Damascus, revised in 337 in Cairo and divided into *fuṣūl* (Boustany, al-Fārābī and Thomas Morus, *al-Mashriq* xxvi, 126/34), Br. Mus. 725,3, Bodl. 1, 102,3, *Alf.'s Abh. über den Musterstaat nach Lond. u. Oxf. Hdss. hsg. v. Fr. Dieterici*, Leiden 1895.—6. *Kitāb al-milla al-fāḍila* | Leid. 1931 (without title, wrongly identified in the catalogue, see Steinschn. p. 70), partly Taymūr, *Akhlāq* 290,19.—7. *Fuṣūl*, aphorisms, *Collectio sententiarum variarum ad regimen politicum spectantium* Bodl. 1, 102,4, Hebr. Steinschn. 158.—8. *Jawāmi' al-siyar al-marḍiyya fī 'qtinā' al-fāḍil al-insiyya* Leid. 1932.

C. Mathematics, astrology, alchemy, divination, music. 1. Commentary on Euclid, introductions to Books 1 and v, Hebr. Munich 36, 290.—2. *Risālat tadhākīr fī mā yaṣīḥḥu wa-mā lam yaṣīḥḥi min aḥkām al-nujūm* Rāmpūr 1, 400, 11, 840, Aṣaf. III, 756,731,1, ed. Dieterici, p. 104/14.—3. *Fī wujūb ṣinā'at al-kīmīyyā' (al-ṣinā'a)* Berl. 4178, Leid. 1270, see E. Wiedemann, *Journ. für prakt. Chemie* N.F. 76 (1907), 115/23.—4. *Kitāb fī 'ilm al-mizāj* Landberg-Brill 1484 (wrongly *Tadhk. al-Naw.* 184).—5. *al-Maqālāt al-raḥī'a fī uṣūl 'ilm al-ṭab'ā* ibid. 570.—6. *Bughyat al-amal fī ṣinā'at al-raml wa-taqwīm al-ashkāl* Bodl. 1, 956 = *Kitāb*

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*al-ḥiyāl al-rūḥāniyya wal-asrār al-ṭabīʿiyya fī daqāʿiq al-ashkāl al-handasiyya* Upps. 324, divination, not likely to be authentic because it is not mentioned by any biographer.—7. *Kitāb ustuqīṣāt ʿilm al-mūsīqī* Madr. 602, J.P.N. Land, Recherches sur la gamme arabe, *Act. du VI Congr. intern. d. or.* Leiden 1903, I, 44, n. 1. Excerpt *ibid.* 133/68.—8. *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* Leid. 1423 (= Ambr. 289 ?), photograph of a manuscript from Istanbul *Nashra* 22, from which, especially:—9. *al-Mudkhal fī ʿl-mūsīqī* Rāḡib 876, Köpr. 953, HKh VII, 318,736, 453,873, 510,946.—10–13. see Suppl.—14. *Risāla fī qawānīn šināʿat al-shīʿr* Alf. canon of poetry, see Arberry, *RSO* XVII, 266 ff.—15. *Muntakhab min Kitāb al-mudkhal fī ʿl-ḥisāb* Rāmpūr I, 418,68.—16. *Ibtāl aḥkām al-nujūm* in a *majmūʿa* in the hand of Maḥmūd al-Nayrīzī, a student of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī (II, 414) library of Naṣrallāh al-Taḡawī in Tehran, *Dharʿa* I, 66, 326 (= 2?).—17. *Sharḥ al-mijīstī* Br. Mus. Or. 7368 (628 AH Kraus).

D. Varia. 1. *Kitāb iḥṣāʿ al-ʿulūm*, enumeration of the sciences, Esc. 1646,3 (page 2 lost), Köpr. (not Rāḡib) 1604,1, Lat. transl. by Gerard of Cremona in Palencia, Madrid 1932, Hebr. Steinschn. 159,4, in Falqueras *Rēšīt ha-ḥokmā*, see I. Efron, *JQRNS* XXV, 227, L. Strauss, *MGWJ* 80 (1936) 96ff.—2. *De ortu scientiarum*, Lat. Paris 6298, Bodl. (Cat. Mss. Angl. I, 173) no. 5623,29, f. 173/87(?), Steinschn. 89, ed. Baeumker, Alfārābī, über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Phil. des MA* XIX, 3.—3. *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-masāʿil* also Köpr. (not Rāḡib) 1604,3, 235 Rāmpūr | I, 402, Āṣaf. III, 756,736, ed. Schmoelders, *Documenta philosophiae Arabum*, Bonn 1836, 24/34, ed. Dieterici, p. 56/60, Hebr. Steinschn. 160,5.—4. *Maqāla (Risāla) fī (maʿāni) ʿl-aql* Teh. II, 634,2, Āṣaf. II, 1210, III, 488,399, Rāmpūr I, 402,145, 405, Aligarh 79, ed. Dieterici, p. 39/48, Hebr. Steinschn. 161,7, see L. Massignon, Notes sur le texte original arabe du “De intellectu” d’Alf. in *Arch. d’hist. doct. et litt. du MA* IV, 151/8, *Texte ar. intégral en partie inédit (Ms. de Stamboul)* ed. M. Bouyges (*Bibl. Ar. Schol. VIII, 1*), Beirut 1938.—5. *Risāla fī ʿl-nafṣ* Bodl. I, 980 (see II, 605), Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 162,8.—6. *Taʿlīqāt*, notes, Br. Mus. 421,4, Rāmpūr I, 401, Patna II, 475,2641,5 (see Suppl.)—7. *Risālat al-fuṣūṣ fī ʿl-ḥikma (Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikma)*, ed. Dieterici, 66/82, Āṣaf. III, 756,73,7, Rāmpūr I, 400,130, 401, II, 843, Patna II, 410,2579,21, commentary by Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd al-Shīrāzī, d. 710/1312 (II, 212), Rāmpūr I, 396,102/3 (see Suppl.)—8. *Risāla fī jawāb masāʿil suʿila ʿanhā*, ed. Dieterici, 83/103.<sup>4</sup>—9. *Alfarabius de tempore* Cat. Mss. Angl. II, 202, no. 6605.—10. *Risāla fī faḍīlat al-ʿulūm* Br. Mus. Or. 8069,13, Āṣaf. II, 1718,28, Hyderabad 1345.—11. *Rasāʿil fī masāʿil mutafarriqa* Rāmpūr I, 393, Āṣaf. III, 756,73,8, Hyderabad 1344.—12. *al-Daʿwa ʿl-qalbīyya* Rāmpūr I, 387, see Suppl.—13. *Risāla fī ithbāt al-mufāraqāt (mutafāriqāt)* see Suppl. Aligarh 81,46, Patna II, 474,2641,3.—14.—16. see Suppl.—17. *Risāla fī ḥudūth al-ʿālam* Rāmpūr I,

4 On Steinschneider, p. 112, no. 15, see here p. 458, 32 (Steinschn. 37, no. 44), Dieterici XII.

302,<sup>1576</sup>.—18. *Risāla fī taʿrīf al-falsafa* Āṣaf. II, 1716,<sup>11</sup>.—19. *Risāla fī ʿl-taṣawwuf* ibid. 12.—20. *Risāla fī ʿl-akhlāq* ibid. 13.—21. *Kayfa yastawi ʿlladhīna yaʿlamūna walladhīna lā yaʿlamūna* Hyderabad 1341.—22. *Maqālat al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī* Patna II, 475,<sup>2641,6</sup>.—23. *ʿUlūm al-masāʿil wa-natāʿij al-ʿulūm* ibid. 4.

E. Works about Aristotle: a. Introduction. 1. *Risāla fī-mā yanbaghī an yuqaddama qabla taʿallum al-falsafa*, ed. Schmoelders, 3/10, Dieterici, 49/55, Hebr. Steinschn. 160,<sup>6</sup>.—2. *Kitāb al-jamʿ bayna raʿyay al-ḥakīm Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī wa-Aristūṭālīs*, ed. Dieterici 1/33, Āṣaf. III, 756,<sup>73,3</sup>, Rāmpūr I, 401, Bank. XXI, 2336, Aligarh 79,<sup>18</sup>, 81,<sup>49</sup>, Persian Bodl. 1422, xix.—| b. Individual works: 1. *Risāla fī aghrād Mā baʿd al-ṭabʿa* (*fī aghrād al-ḥakīm fī kulli maqāla min al-kitāb al-mawsūm bil-Hurūf*) ed. Dieterici 34/8.—2. *Risāla fī ʿl-ʿālam al-aʿlā*, a commentary (not a translation as indicated by Ahlw.) on a work by Zenon the Elder, | a student of Aristotle, Berl. 5123, see Suppl. under the title *Sharḥ Zenon* Āṣaf. 236 III, 756,<sup>73,9</sup>, Rāmpūr I, 404,<sup>159b</sup>, Br. Mus. Or. 8069,<sup>3</sup>, Cairo Ḥikma 453, excerpt in al-Lāhijī, *Maḥbūb al-qulūb*, Tehran 1317, 134ff., see Rosenthal, *Orientalia* NS VI, 64.—3. *Sharḥ Risālat al-naṣf li-Aristūṭālīs* Rāmpūr I, 395, 710,<sup>73,3</sup>.—4. (spurious) *Risāla fī ʿl-ʿilm al-ilāhī* Taymūr Ḥikma 117, 1/15 (Kraus).

F. Works on Plato: 1. *al-Multaqaṭāt li-Aflāṭūn* Rāmpūr II, 841.—2. *Risālat Aflāṭūn fī radd man qāla bi-talāshi ʿl-insān* ibid.

4a. Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Bahrām al-Sijazī, see Suppl. I, 377.

1. *Mukhtaṣar ṣiwān al-ḥikma* Beṣīr Āġā 494, Murād Mollā 1408, Köpr. 903 (*Islca* IV, 534/8).—5. *Īdāḥ maḥajjat al-ʿilāj* Rāmpūr I, 469,<sup>21b</sup>.—6. A longer philosophical fragment, Taymūr, Akhlāq 290,<sup>14</sup> (Kraus).

4b. Abu ʿl-Khayr al-Ḥasan b. Siwār b. Bābā b. Bahmān b. al-Khammār al-Baghdādī, see Suppl.

Bayhaqī, *Tatimma* 13, Rosenthal, *Orient.* NS VI, 39, n. 2. *Risāla fī ʿl-āthār al-mutakhayyala etc.* also Rāmpūr II, 815.

4bb. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī, d. 381/991.

*Risālat al-ibṣār wal-mubṣar*, Taymūr, Ḥikma 98 (Kraus).

5. Following a long oppression of free thinking by the orthodox reaction of al-Mutawakkil, which had particularly stifled the pursuit of philosophy, the ascent to power of the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla Aḥmad in Baghdad in 334/945 brought at least some relief from this since, being a Shīʿī, he had no interest

in siding with Sunnī orthodoxy. Soon after, the aspirations of the Bāṭiniyya also became manifest, mingling with various ideas of Manicheism that were prevalent among the learned. In its wake, Neoplatonic philosophy also gained in influence, pushing back the Aristotelianism of al-Kindī and his school.

237 Some philosophically trained men, | who found themselves together in Basra around the middle of the fourth century, wanted to ensure victory for this new movement. After all, there had already been such conventicles there, for example at the time of the poet Bashshār b. al-Burd (p. 72). They called themselves *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, “the brethen of purity.” Among their members are mentioned: Abū Sulaymān b. Musʿir al-Bustī al-Maqdisī, Abu ʿl-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Zahrūn al-Rayhānī (corrupted to Zanjānī), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrajūrī (Mihrajānī), al-ʿAwfī, and perhaps also Zayd b. Rifāʾa (see Suppl. 1, 380, n.), whom we met earlier as a philologist (p. 120, *Kitāb al-amthāl*, Hyderabad 1352). It is highly doubtful if this association was ever able to bring the permanent organisation that is mentioned in their 45th letter into effect. It is even more doubtful that it ever spread beyond Basra. While Zayd b. Rifāʾa was indeed in Baghdad in 373/983, there are no reports of him having been active there

214 on behalf of the organisation, | which lacked, most of all, a leading mind that could have asserted its principles in the face of the general aversion of the time. But their *Rasāʾil* did not remain without literary success. These are 52 in all, of which 14 deal with mathematics and logical propaedeutics, 17 with the natural sciences and psychology, 10 with metaphysics, and the last ten with mysticism, astrology, and divination. They thus offer a kind of encyclopaedia of the wordly sciences, written in a very accessible, verbose, and often uplifting style. Returning from a study trip to the east the mathematician Abu ʿl-Qāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Majrītī, d. 395/1004 (p. 243), brought them to Spain; as such, he is even mistakenly designated as their author in some manuscripts, while others attribute the authorship to his student ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kirmānī, d. 458/1066 (Ibn al-Qifṭī 243), instead.

238 K. Nauwerck, *Notiz über das arab. Buch Tuḥfat Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafāʾ d. h. Gabe der aufrichtigen Freunde nebst Probe | desselben arabisch und deutsch*, Berlin 1837, G. Flügel, *ZDMG* XIII, 1ff., R. Gosche, *Abh. Berl. AC.* 1858, p. 240ff., Leclerc I, 393, Dieterici, *ZDMG* XVIII, 691, M. Cantor, *Vorl. über die Gesch. d. Math.* 1, 633/6, A. Müller, in *Ersch. u. Grubers Enc. Sect.* 11, vol. 42, p. 272/7, E. Hungerford, *The Arabian Brothers of Purity*, *Andover Review* Nov. 1888, p. 281/93, (see Suppl. 1, 380), T. de Boer, *Gesch. d. Phil. im Islam* 76/89, A. Mieli, *La science Ar.* § 24, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ṭībawī, *Jamāʿat Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, *Journ. Americ. Un. Beyrouth* 1933/4, ʿAbd al-Muḥyī al-Ḥuwayzī al-ʿArabī, *al-Risāla al-musammāt*

*bil-ʿasal al-muṣaffā fī taḥqīq ism muṣannif rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1929 (al-imām al-mastūr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, following the thesis of the Ismāʿīlī Bohra community). On the MSS Pertsch, Gotha 157, with Berl. 5035/42, Ind. Off. 474, Pet. Ros. 194, see Suppl., with Garr. 1129, ʿĀṭif 1681 (578 AH), Bank. XXI, 2222, *Mukhtaṣar rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* by Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī, Esc. 2300, by Dāʿūd al-Ṭabīb, Lālelī 3639. Editions BO I, 1344/6, II, 1011/2, 4668/70 (see Suppl.). Complete in 4 vols., Bombay 1303/6, vol. I, C. 1306, *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, ed. Mawlawi Wilayat Husayn, Calcutta 1888 (struggle between man and beast, OB IV, 3633). *Die Abhh. der Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ in Auswahl. ar. hsg. v. Fr. Dieterici*, Leipzig 1883 (see A. Müller, GGA 1804, 953/70), idem, *Der Streit zwischen Tier und Mensch, ein arab. Märchen aus den Schriften der lauterer Brüder übers. und mit einer Abh. über diesen Orden, sowie mit Anmm. versehen*, Berlin 1858, idem, *Die Propädeutik der Araber*, Leipzig 1865, *Logik und Psychologie der A.*, 1868 *Naturwissenschaft der A.*, 2nd ed. 1878, *Anthropologie der A.* 1871, *die Lehre von der Weltseele bei den A.* 1873, *Die Philosophie der Araber im x. Jahrh. a. Makrokosmos*, Leipzig 1876, b. *Mikrokosmos* 1879, *Darwinismus im x. und xix. Jahrh.* 1878.—Turkish transl. by Lāmiʿī, d. 940/1533, *Kitāb sharaf al-insān*, Paris turc. 157, SGerm. 342, 546, Vienna 436 (R. 22 Man and beast), Upps. 480, Ambr. 192, *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, transl. from the Ar. into Hindustani by Maulwi Ali, a new edition revised and corr. by Duncan Forbes and Ch. Rieu, London 1861.

## | Chapter 13. Mathematics

L.P.E.A. Sédillot, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire comparée des sciences mathématiques chez les Grecs et les Orientaux*, 2 vols., Paris 1845/9.

239 | M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1880, 593/700.

H.P.J. Renaud, Additions et corrections à Suter, *Isis* XVIII, 1932, 166/88.

Aldo Mieli, *La Science Arabe et son rôle dans l'évolution scientifique mondiale, avec quelques additions de H.P.J. Renaud, M. Meyerhof, J. Ruska*, Leiden 1938.

In the Islamic world, mathematics was, just like philosophy, first developed by the Greeks. In geometry the work of Euclid remained the basis, but this was revised over and over again. In arithmetic too, the initial leaders were the Greeks, and from their works, in chanceries in Syria and Egypt, the Arabs adopted the use of Greek letters as labels for numbers, but, like the Greeks with their use of the abacus, they limited these to the first column of nine signs which thereby received place-value. Among Moroccan notaries, these older signs have survived as the so-called *ghubārī* or *Fās* numbers, which they adopted from Spain. It was only in the ninth century that al-Khwārizmī adopted Indian computing methods and, with these, Indian numbers, which themselves may have evolved out of the first nine letters of the Greek alphabet. But it was only the invention of zero by the Indians that gave these number-signs their full value for arithmetic.<sup>1</sup>

240 1. The oldest<sup>2</sup> writer whose | mathematical work is still extant is Abū 'Abdallāh  
216 Muḥammad b. Mūsā | al-Khwārizmī,<sup>3</sup> who worked under the caliph al-Ma'mūn in the Bayt al-Ḥikma, and who died sometime after 232/846. For al-Ma'mūn

1 Woepcke, Mémoire sur la propagation des chiffres indiens, *JA* 1863, s. 6, v. 1, 27/79, 442/529, G.S. Colin, De l'origine grecque des "chiffres de Fes" et de nos "chiffres arabes", *JA* CCXXII, 193/215. On the oldest documented evidence of Indian numbers from the year 260/873 and 275/888 cf. Karabacek, *Führer* 216ff, *WZKM* XI, 13.

2 In the Index to ḤKh Flügel identified the otherwise unknown al-Ahwāzī, who commented on the 10th *maqāla* of Euclid (ḤKh 1, 382, <sup>2</sup>I, 138, Berl. 5293, Leid. 967/70, Paris 2467<sub>18</sub>), without explanation with 'Abdallāh b. Hilāl al-Ahwāzī, who translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna* for Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī in 165/781, ḤKh 1v, 238, and Ahlwardt followed him in this; see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 167, Suter no. 123, Suppl. 1, 387.

3 His name, which appears in a Latin translation in the *Trattati d'aritmética*, ed. Boncompagni, Book 1 as Algoritmi, lives on in 'algorithm', a term for a particular computation procedure that has turned into a rule (see Renaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 303, who did not know the Latin translation yet).



he composed a digest of Indian astronomy, the *Sindhind* (see chapter 14), and a revision of the tables of Ptolemy. However, he acquired particular fame through his two works on algebra—whose name he invented—and arithmetic which, soon translated into Latin, remained authoritative in the subject in Europe into Renaissance times.

Ibn al-Qifṭī 289, Cantor 611/29, Mieli § 15. 1. *Mukhtaṣar min ḥisāb al-jabr wal-muqābala*<sup>4</sup> nach einer Hds. hsg. von Fr. Rosen, *The Algebra of Muḥammad b. Mūsā*, ed. and transl., London 1831, good Latin transl. by Gerard of Cremona, ed. Gugl. Libri, *Histoire des sciences math. en Italie* 1, Paris 1838, 253/97, more freely by Robert of Chester (see Suppl.). Wieleitner, Die Erbteilungsaufgaben bei Muḥammad b. Mūsā, *Mitt. z. Math. u. Nat.* 53 (1922), 57/67, S. Gandz, Sources of al-Khowārizmī's Algebra, *Isis* 1936, 272/4.—The first part, *Bāb al-misāḥa*, on geometry, cf. A. Marre, Partie géométrique de l'Algèbre par Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Mūsā, *Nouvelles Annales des Mathématiques* v (1846), 557/70 and in *Annali di matematica pura ed applicata* VII, Roma 1866, goes, according to S. Gandz (see Suppl.), back to a Jewish work (see Ruska, *OLZ* 37, 613/6).—2. *Kitāb al-jam' wal-tafrīq*, *Algoritmi de numero Indorum* (from a manuscript in Cambridge) in *Trattati d'aritmética*, ed. Bald. Boncompagni, Book 1.—3. The astronomical tables, translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath around 1120, cf. M. Cantor, *Mathematische Beiträge zum Culturleben der Völker*, Halle 1863, 268/9, see Suppl.<sup>5</sup>

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2. In Baghdad, the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir who had already served al-Ma'mūn as an astronomer, i.e. Aḥmad, al-Ḥasan, and Muḥammad, d. Rab' 1 259/January 873, together composed numerous mathematical, astronomical, and technical works, and stimulated translation activity by having their agents buy up books in Asia Minor.

*Fihrist* 271,9–23, Ibn Khall. 679, Ibn al-Qifṭī 315, 441, M. Steinschneider, Die Söhne des Mūsā b. Shākir (bibliography of works attributed to them), *Bibl. Math.* 1887, 44ff., 71ff., Mieli § 12, n. 9. Şerefeddin, *Meşahiri Mühendisini Arabden Banu Musa*, Istanbul 1321. 1. Liber trium fratrum de geometria, Lat. ed. M. Curtze in

4 Construction and settlement of equations; *jabr* is medical in origin for the setting of a fracture; unlikely is the hypothesis of S. Gandz, The Origin of the Term Algebra, *Am. Math. Monthly* 33, 1926, 437/40, that the Babylonian *gabru* "mutually corresponding" would be the underlying term because a transmission to the Arabs cannot be proven.

5 Against Ahlwardt's identification of Khwārizmī with Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khāzin (Suppl. 1, 387, 6g) see Steinschneider, Euklid bei den Arabern, 89, *ZDMG* L, 166.

*Nova Acta der Kais. Leopold. Akademie der Naturforscher*, vol. 49, Halle 1885, p. 105/67.—2. *Ma'rifat misāhat al-ashkāl al-basīta wal-kuriyya*, extension of plane and circular figures, ḤKh v, 12414, 10481, Berl. 5938, Paris 2467,3 (see Suppl.).—3. *Kitāb al-ḥiyal*, tricks, e.g. constructing a beaker in such a way that when it is full and one more drop is added, all the water runs away, or the construction of a water basin near a river | that is always full of water and that shows decrease nor increase, Berl. 5562 (see Suppl.), see E. Wiedemann, *SBerl.* 38 (1906) 341/8, XI (1907) 200/5, *Mitt. der Wetterauischen Ges.* 1908, 29/36 (Die Konstruktion von Springbrunnen durch muslimische Gelehrte), Über Musikautomaten bei den Arabern, *Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari*, II, 1909, 164/85.—4.—5. see Suppl.—6. *Kitāb al-darajāt fī ṭabā'i' al-burūj* Pet. Inst. 119,3 NO 2800, iia.—7. *Aḥkām al-daraj lil-mawālīd* Garr. 968.

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3. The most important mathematician of this period was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurra al-Ṣābi'. He was born around 219/834 in Ḥarrān and belonged to the town's indigenous sect of the Ṣābi'a. After first | working as a money-changer he went to Baghdad where he studied philosophy and mathematics. The ideas that he picked up during this period drew him, after his return to his hometown, into dogmatic conflict with his fellow believers, leading to his exclusion from the community. In Kafartūthā, where he went afterwards, he got to know Muḥammad b. Mūsā, who took him along with him to Baghdad, where he introduced him to al-Mu'taḍid. The latter's favour provided the leisure-time for unlimited academic pursuits. He revised the translations of numerous Greek works and composed books on medicine and mathematics himself. In particular, his research promoted the theory of amicable numbers. He died on 6 Ṣafar 288/18 February 901.

*Fihrist* 272, Ibn Khall. 125, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a I, 215, Wüst., *Ärzte*, no. 81, D. Chwolsohn, *Die Sabier* I, 546/67, Woepcke, Notice sur une théorie ajoutée par Th. b. K. à l'arithmétique spéculative des Grecs, *JA* 1852, II, 420/6, Mieli § 15, n. 4.

1. Translations and revisions of Greek works, see Steinschneider, Index, *ZDMG*, L 409 (see Suppl.).—1. Archimedes. a. *Kitāb al-kura wal-uṣṭuwāna* Bursa, Haraccizade, Heyet 22.—b. *al-Ma'khūdhāt* also Bank. 28/2519, *Tadhk. al-nawādir* 152, see Suppl. I, 384, wrongly attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Sinān according to a communication by Mas'ūd Alam Nadwi to P. Luckey (not in Cat. XXII).—2. a. *al-Mu'ṭayāt*, the original version NO 2958,1, the revision by al-Ṭūsī Fātiḥ 3441,2, see Krause, *QSB* III, 499/500.—b. *Elementa* after Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, revised, edition planned by Claire Boudoux, see *Archeion* XIX, 1937,70.—c. *'Amal al-dā'ira al-marsūma bi-sab'at aqsām mutasāwiya* Cairo 1v 203 (photo *QSt.* VII. 12, E, 16).—3. Autolykos. a. *al-Kura al-mutaḥarrika*, in the original

version AS 2671<sub>6</sub>.—b. *Fi 'l-tulū'āt wal-ghurūbāt* AS 4832<sub>11</sub>, Serāi 3464<sub>10</sub>.—6. Apollonius of Perga, *Das 5. Buch der Conica des A. v. P. in der arab. Übers. des Th. b. K. hsg. ins Deutsche übertragen mit einer Einl. v. L. Nix*, Leipzig 1889.—7. | Ptolemy. a. *Tashīl al-Mijistī* AS 4832<sub>10</sub>.—b. *Fi 'qtisāš jumal ḥālāt al-kawākib* 243  
*al-mutaḥayyira* also Br. Mus. 426<sub>11</sub> (Book 2 only preserved in Arabic, translation in Heiberg's *Ptolemaios*).—8. Aristotle. a. *περί φντῶν* in the revision by Nicolaus Damascenus, see P. M. Bouyges, Sur le "De Plantis" d'Aristote-Nicolas à propos d'un ms. arabe de Constantinople (Yeni) in *Notes sur les philosophes ar. connus des Latins au Moyen Âge*, no. 7 (MFO 1922/4).

II. Independent works. A. Medicine: 1. *Kitāb al-rawḍa fi 'l-tibb*, on the pulse and the causes, symptoms, and cures for individual diseases, Bodl. I, 574.—2. *Jawāmi' min Kitāb Jālīnūs fi 'l-dubūl* ibid. I, 579<sub>3</sub>.—3. *Risāla fi tawallud al-ḥaṣāt*, on the bladder and kidney stones, Berl. 6359.<sup>6</sup>

B. Mathematics and astronomy. 4. *de Horometria* Esc. 1955.—5. *de Descriptione trianguli rectilinei* ibid. 955<sub>8</sub>.—6. *al-Qawl (Kitāb) fi 'l-shakl (al-mulaqqab bi) al-qaṭṭā' wal-nisba al-mu'allafa*, on secants, de ratione composita, i.e. Menelaus' theorem, Berl. 5940 (fragm.), Bodl. II, 279<sub>5</sub>, Paris 2457, Esc. 1967<sub>2</sub>, Algiers 1446<sub>4</sub>, the first section only AS 4832<sub>33</sub>, Serāi 3464<sub>13</sub>, the second by itself Paris 2457<sub>15</sub>, Serāi 3464<sub>1</sub>, Hebr. Steinschn. 368.—7. *Kitāb al-mafrūdāt, Liber datorum sive determinantorum*, revised by al-Ṭūsī, d. 672/1273, p. 508, Berl. 5939, Paris 2467<sub>4</sub>, Bodl. I, 875<sub>14</sub>, 895<sub>10</sub>, 960<sub>6</sub>, Flor. Med. 273, Ind. Off. 743, Cairo 1v, 200, Leid. 1029, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 171.—| 8. *de Cylindris* 218  
*et conis* Bodl. Hebr. 433.—9. *Fi 'l-qarasṭūn*, theory of the gold balance, Berl. 6023, Ind. Off. 767<sub>7</sub>, see Steinschneider 172 (see Suppl.).—10. *Fī sanat al-shams bil-arṣād* Ind. Off. 734, see Esc. 1I, 390<sub>21</sub>.—11. *Kitāb fi ibṭā' al-ḥaraka fi falak al-burūj wa-sur'atihā bi-ḥisāb al-mawāḍī' al-khārija min al-markaz* Paris 2457<sub>13</sub>, see O. Schirmer, Studien zur Astronomie der Araber *SBPhMG Erl.* 58/9, 33/88.—12. *Fī tā'līf al-nasab* = 6, b.—13. *Fī misāḥat al-mujassamāt al-mukāfiya* Paris 2457<sub>24</sub>.—14. *Fī misāḥat qaṭ' al-makhrūṭ alladhī yusamma 'l-mukāfi*, ibid 25.—15.–16. see Suppl.—17. *Risāla ilā Ibn Wahb fi 'l-ta'attī listikhrāj 'amal al-masā'il al-handasiyya* Paris 2457<sub>43</sub>.—18. *Qīsmat al-zāwiya al-mustaqīma bi-thalāth aqsām mutasāwiya* ibid. 45.—19. *al-Masā'il | allatī sa'ala 'anhā Abū Mūsā 'Alī b. Asad* Br. Mus. 426<sub>3</sub>.—20. *Fī ḥisāb ru'yat al-ahilla* ibid. 13.—21. *Risāla fi kayfa yanbaghī an yuslaka ilā nāyl al-maṭlūb min al-ma'āni 'l-handasiyya*, Cairo 1v, 196, 200, AS 4832<sub>1</sub> (Ritter, *Arch. Orientalny* IV, 1932, 303/72).—22. *Kitāb al-rawābi' li-Aflāṭūn* with a commentary by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn 244

6 The attribution to him of a tract on the diseases of horses translated from the Persian can hardly be correct, Paris 2710<sub>2</sub>, Wüst. no. 2. The *Kitāb al-dhakhīra*, also falsely attributed to him, additionally Bursa Haraccizade Tip 13, Rāmpūr, I, 476<sub>79/81</sub>.

b. Jihān Bukhtār, which Thābit b. Qurra recorded after conversations with him. “Now Abu ’l-‘Abbās and Thābit are quoted in conversation, then again Plato is speaking and commented upon by Aḥmad. It treats in 4 chapters of the 4 substances: compound, separated, individual, and simple substance. One of its main parts consists of reflections on the intellectual powers of man, on the nature of reason, and also on the functions of the soul and on sensation. There is a lot of talk about the system of the universe, the workings of causes and powers, and about the earth and the things that it contains. In addition, alchemical questions are also raised, but answering these is not the primary objective,” Munich 649, Leid. 1431, Steinschn. *Übers.* 13, Latin translation *Liber quartorum cum cmt. im Theatrum chym.* 1602, I, 23–37, see Suppl.—26. *Fī taṣḥīḥ masā’il al-jabr etc.*, see P. Luckey, Thābit. b. Qurra über den geometrischen Richtigkeitsnachweis der Auflösung der quadratischen Gleichungen, *Berichte der Math. phys. Kl. der Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss.* XCIII (1941) 93/114.—29. *Kitāb fī ālāt al-sā’āt etc.*, Garbers, Ein Werk Thābit. b. Qurra’s über ebene Sonnenuhren, *Quellen u. Stud. z. Gesch. der Math. u. Nat.* IV, Berlin 1936, P. Luckey, Thābit b. Qurra’s Buch über die eb. S., *ibid.* IV (1937), 95/148.—30. *Kitāb fī idāḥ al-wajh etc.*, introduction in Bessel-Hagen and O. Spies, *QSt.* II, 187/9, edition in preparation by Garbers.—38. *Min kalām Thābit. b. Qurra fī ’l-hay’a* AS 4832<sub>1</sub> (Krause, *Hdss.* 16).—39. *Risāla mushawwiqa Rāmpūr* II, 808.—40. *Risāla* *ibid.* 819.—His works in Syriac are mentioned in Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan 168<sub>11</sub> (Assemani, *BO* II, 317), a work on the religion of the Ṣābians in Ibn al-Qifṭī 128<sub>14ff</sub>.

4. His son Abū Sa’īd Sinān b. Thābit b. Qurra was the personal physician of the caliphs al-Muqtadir and al-Qāhir, who used threats to force him to adopt Islam. But since the latter continued to mistreat him anyway, he fled to Khurāsān. Later he returned to Baghdad where he died on 1 Dhu ’l-Qa’da 331/12 July 943.

245 | Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a I, 220, *Fih.* 272, 302, al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wal-Muttaqī*, 245, Chwolsohn I, 569/77, Wüst., *Ärzte* 83, *Gesch.* 109, Leclerc I, 365. Of his historical and mathematical works nothing is known.

5. His son Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Sinān, d. 335/946, is known to have written on mathematics.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a I, 260, Suter 113, Krause, *Handschriften* 113, Chwolsohn I, 577 (but who seems to mistakenly associate the article by Ibn Khall., Wüst. I, no. 127, de Slane I, 288/9, with him). 1. *Fī misāḥat qaṭ’ al-makhrūṭ al-mukāfi* (or *fī*

*m. al-q. al-m.*), | on the measuring of parabolas, Paris 2457,<sup>26</sup> Ind. Off. 767,<sup>6</sup> 219  
 Br. Mus. II, 444, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 199, 208, H. Suter, Abh. über die Ausmessung der  
 Parabel, *Vierteljahrsschr. der Naturforsch. Ges. in Zürich* LXIII (1918), 214.—2.  
*Maqāla fī tariq al-tahlīl wal-tarkīb fī 'l-masā'il al-handasiyya* Paris 2457, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v,  
 200, cf. Woepcke, *Mém. présentés par divers savants à l'acad. des sciences*, vol.  
 XIV, A. Taymūr, *RAAD* III, 304.—3. *Maqāla fī rasm al-quṭū' al-thalātha* Br. Mus.  
 975,<sup>8</sup> (Suppl. 8. delete: see 3, I. 1, b).—For his nephew Hilāl see p. 323.

5a. His contemporary Najm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.  
 al-Sarī discusses two geometrical problems in Leid. 1006.

6. The circumstances of the life of Abū Sa'īd Jābir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' are  
 unknown, but he did live in the fourth/tenth century.

*Kitāb idāḥ al-burhān 'alā ḥisāb al-khaṭa'ayn* Leid. 1004, Bodl. I, 913, glosses  
 thereon Leid. 1005.

6a.—g. see Suppl. I, 387.—6b. al-Nayrīzī, 2. *Risāla fī 'l-muṣādara etc.*, Berl.  
 5927.—6. On the spherical astrolabe, Esc. <sup>1</sup>956,<sup>3</sup>, <sup>2</sup>961,<sup>6</sup> (Renaud 171). 7.  
 Commentary on the first 10 books of Euclid in the translation of Gerard of  
 Cremona (1114/87) *Anaritii in decem libros priores elementorum Euclidis com-*  
*mentarii*, ed. M. Curtze, Leipzig 1899.—6e. Naṣīf b. Yumn, a contemporary of  
 al-Bīrūnī, who mentions an observation by him about the year 378 (*Taḥdīd*  
*nihāyat amākin* 9), and who calls him Abū 'Alī in *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* VII, 6  
 (Welieddin 173a) (Krause).—6f. Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī cites al-Bīrūnī's *al-Qānūn*  
*al-Mas'ūdī* III, 4, see Schoy, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren | der Araber* 30.— 246  
 6g. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khāzin (according to *Jāmi' qawānīn*  
*'ilm al-hay'a*, *QS* III, 811, f. 42a), a further unidentified treatise Paris 4821.

7. Of the works of Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Sijāzī a signifi-  
 cant number remain. All we know of him as a person is that al-Bīrūnī, *Chron.*,  
 42,<sup>17</sup>, refers to him as a contemporary. Evidence for when he lived is provided  
 by MS Paris 2457, which goes back to an exemplar that he wrote in 358/969,<sup>7</sup>  
 and by treatise no. 3, which he composed in 389/999.

G. Junge and W. Thomson, *The Commentary of Pappus on Book X of Euclid's*  
*Elements*, Cambridge, Harvard Press, 1930, p. 47/51.

7 See Bergsträsser, *Islam* XXI, 198.

1. *Risāla fī waṣf al-quṭū‘ al-makhrūṭiyyāt* Leid. 995.—2. *Risāla fī qismat al-zāwiya al-mustaqīmat al-khaṭṭayn bi-thalāthat aqsām mutasāwiya* Leid. 996, cf. Woepcke, *L'Algèbre d'Omar al-Khayyami* p. 117ff.—3. *Fī taḥṣīl iqā‘ al-nisba al-mu‘allafa al-ithnay ‘ashara fī ‘l-shakl al-qatṭā‘ al-musaṭṭah bi-tarjama wāḥida wa-kayfiyyat al-aṣl alladhī tatawallad minhu hādhihi ‘l-awjuh*, written in 389/999, Leid. 997. *Risāla fī ‘l-shakl al-qatṭā‘* Patna II, 335, 2519, 38.—4. On the relation of the hyperbola to its asymptote from the 5th book of the *Conica*, perhaps just a part of 1, Leid. 998 (see Suppl.).—5. *Risāla fī ṣan‘at āla tu‘raf biha ‘l-ab‘ād wa-amal hādhihi ‘l-āla* Leid. 999.—6. *Thabt barāhīn ba‘ḍ ashkāl kitāb Uqlīdis* Ind. Off. 734, 14.—7. *Dalā‘il fī ‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm*, on astrology, Br. Mus. 415, 8 (Suppl.).—8. *al-Qawānīn allatī yasta‘miluha ‘l-munajjim fī ‘stinbāt al-qaḍā‘ min al-nujūm* ibid.—9. *al-As‘ār* an astrological treatise on the method of calculating the prices of crops, ibid. 10.—10.—31. see Suppl.—22. = 27. (J. Th. 17, 8) also AS 2672, 3 (‘Āšīr etc. should be excised in 10).—29. J. Th. 17, 2, also Ḥamīd. 873, 2, ‘Āšīr 570, 2, As‘ad 998, 2.—30. *Kitāb fī ‘amal al-aṣṭurlāb* Serāi 3342, 9, Krause 185, 1, J. Th. 16.—31. *Kitāb Zarādusht fī ṣuwar darajāt al-falak*, the second part of the *Pentateuch* attributed to Zoroaster, Ḥamīd. 837, 15, ‘Āšīr 570, 12, As‘ad 1998, 14, part 5 NO 2800, II, 7.—32. A further unidentified | mathematical treatise in Paris 4821.—33. *‘Amal al-musabba‘ fī ‘l-dā‘ira wa-qismat al-zāwiya al-mustaqīma al-khaṭṭayn bi-thalātha aqsām mutasāwiya* Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 203, photograph QSt. VII, 13, I, 18, translation by Schoy, *Isis* VIII, 1926, 21/31.—34. Astronomical explanation for the miraculous splitting asunder of the moon, AS 2052, 208b/214a.

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7a. Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḍarīr al-Jurjānī.

Suter 27, 48 (who, without explanation, identifies him as the student of Ibn al-‘Arābī, Abū Sulayman the Blind, mentioned without source reference by Flügel, *Gr. Schulen* 147).—1. *Masā‘il handasiyya* Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 205, photograph QSt. VII, 14, I, 23.—2. *Kitāb istikhrāj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār min Kitāb analīmā* (Analemma) *wal-burhān ‘alayhi* Cairo, photograph QSt. VII, 36, II, 30, translation by Schoy, *Ann. d. Hydrogr.* 50, 1922, 265/71.

8. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karājī<sup>8</sup> dedicated a compendium on arithmetic to Fakhr al-Mulk (d. 407/1016, Ibn Khall. Wüst. no. 710), vizier of the Būyid Bahā’ al-Dawla.

8 Corrupted to al-Karkhī, see Levi della Vida, *RSO* XIV, 264.

1. *al-Kāfi fi 'ilm al-ḥisāb* Gotha 1474, Köpr. 950, S bath 111 (see Suppl.), commentary by 'Abdallāh Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Shaqqāq, Serāi 3155,2 (QS 111, 516). *al-K. fi 'l-Ḥ. des A.B.M. b. al-Ḥ. al-K. nach der auf der Herz. Gothaischen Schlossbibl. befindl. Hds. übers. v. A. Hochheim*, Halle a. S. 1, 1878, 11, 1879, 111, 1880.—2. *al-Fakhrī*, algebra, as a continuation of the first, Paris 2459, Cairo 1v, 212, As'ad 3157, Bursa, Haraccizade, Heyet 17,2 (see Suppl.), cf. *Extrait du Fakhri, traité d'algèbre par Abou Bekr M. b. al-Ḥ. al-Karkhi, précédé d'un mémoire sur l'algèbre indéterminée chez les Arabes* par F. Woepcke, Paris 1853.—3.—4. see Suppl. (3. Patna 11, 335,2519,1).—5. *Ilal ḥisāb al-jabr wal-muqābala* Bodl. 1, 986,3, see RSO XIV, 249/64.—6. *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-ḥisāb wal-misāḥa* Alex. Fun. 82,4.
- 8a.—12. see Suppl. 8a. *Sharḥ ṣudūr maqālāt Uqlīdis* Patna 1, 232,2034.—11.3. Translation by Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber*.—12.2. (= 3?), translation by Kohl, *Zur Geschichte der Dreiteilung des Winkels*, SB Erl. 54/5, 1925, 186/9.—4. Proof that the sum of two square numbers cannot be a square number, Paris 2457,49.

## || Chapter 14. Astronomy and Astrology

J.B.J. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie au moyen âge*, Paris 1819.

The study of astronomy, which was closely linked to that of mathematics and for the most part pursued by the same scholars, was from its beginnings likewise just as much indebted to the Indians as it was to the Greeks. The translation of the *Μεγάλη σύνταξις* of Ptolemy is mentioned in Suppl. 1, 363. As reported by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ādamī<sup>1</sup> (*Fihrist* 280,<sub>21</sub>, Casiri 1, 429, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 24, 372, n. 44, Suter no. 5), an Indian is said to have brought a work on astronomy with the title *Sindhind* to the court of al-Manṣūr as early as 152/773, describing it as an abridgement of the *Kardaja*, which had been written under King Figar. Woepcke, *Recherches* 1, 58, discovered an Indian work therein, the *Siddhānta*, i.e. the *Brāhma-spuṭa-siddhānta*, which Brāhmagupta composed on the basis of the *Kramagyā* during the reign of King Vyāghramuka in 628.<sup>2</sup> Al-Manṣūr then ordered Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Fazārī (see Yāqūt, *Irsh.* VI, 268, Suter 4, Suppl. 1, 391) to translate the work into Arabic, and of this translation Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (p. 239) produced an abridgement during the reign of al-Ma'mūn.

This same caliph initiated a revision of Ptolemy's astronomical tables by means of simultaneous observations in Baghdad and Damascus, as well as the measuring of one degree of the meridian (see Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭab.* 79u, transl. Blachère 103, Sprenger, *Ausland* | 1867, no. 50). In this way Muslims were soon able to surpass their Greek and Indian masters on the basis of independent research. However, a purely scientific interest in astronomy went at the same time invariably hand in hand with a superstitious belief in astrology which, because of its practical application, secured for it the favour of the rulers. Objections by theologians only came later; as such al-Nuwayrī, 1, 40,<sub>18</sub>, for example, rejected it as heretical.

1. Astrological works are mentioned first:

a. Those of the Jew Māshā' Allāh (Manasse) b. Atharī al-Baṣrī, who died around 200/815.

1 His son Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥamīd al-Ādamī wrote a set of tables, the *Nazm al-'iqd*, which were published by his student al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-'Alawī in 308/920; *Ibn al-Qifṭī* ed. Lippert 282, C. 185, *Not. et Extr.* VII, 126, 128, Suter p. 44.

2 See G. Thibaut, *Grundriss der Indo-Iran. Philologie* III, 9, *Astronomie* 58.



See Suppl. I, 391, lx. 8. On an astrological work, known as “The Key” in its Latin translation, see M. Šangin, Latinskaya parafraza iz utrčennogo socineniya Mašallaha “Semi ključei”, *Zap. Koll. Vost.* v, 235/42, *Izv. Ak. Nauk* 1929, 707/13, S.R.F. Gunther, *Chaucer and Meshallaha on the Astrolab*, Oxford 1922.

b. Those of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. ‘Alī al-Qarṣī al-Qaṣrānī, whose dates cannot be fixed with precision.

See Suppl. I, p. 392, 1d.

c. His contemporary ‘Umar b. Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī, who must have died around 200/815.

See Suppl. I, i.e., 959. *The book of Dorotheus*, translation in Yeni 784, fragm. Berl. Oct. 2603.—*al-Ikhtiyārāt*, Alex. Ḥurūf 12.

2. At the same time, or a little later, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Farghānī flourished, about whose life nothing further is known.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a I, 207, Mieli § 15,7. 1. *Kitāb fi ‘l-ḥarakāt al-samāwīyya wa-jawāmī‘ ‘ilm al-nujūm*, Bodl. I, 879, de Jong, 110, under the title *‘Ilal al-aflāk* (see Suppl.), also Garr. 967, under the title *Risālat al-fuṣūl mudkhal fī Mijisṭī wa-huwa thalāth-hūna faṣlan* or *Kitāb al-hay‘a, al-fuṣūl al-thalāthīn*, Paris 2504,3, see Woepcke, *JA* s. v, 19, p. 114ff., esp. 120, *Hespéris* XVIII, 88,5b, | *Muhammedis (sic) Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa astronomica, arabice et latine, cum notis ad res exoticas sive orientales, quae in iis occurrunt, opera Jacobi Golii*, Amsterdam 1609, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XVIII, 148, Hebr. Steinschn. 343.—2. *al-Kāmil fi ‘l-aṣṭurlāb* Berl. 5790/2.–3. *Fī ṣan‘at al-aṣṭurlāb* ibid. 5793, Paris 2546,5, under the title *Kitāb ‘amal al-aṣṭurlāb* Rāmpūr I, 428,64b.—4. *‘Ilm al-hay‘a*, Zāwiyat Sidi Ḥamza, *Hesp.* XVIII, 88,5b.—5. *Jadwal al-Farghānī* Patna II, 336,2520,8. 250

2a. Yaḥyā b. (Abū) Maṣṣūr, the author of *al-Zīj al-Ma‘mūnī al-mujarrab* or *al-mumtaḥan* (Suppl. I, 393, with E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimate*, Heidelberg 1929, 143 ff.) was supposedly first called Bizīst b. Fīrūzān, receiving his Muslim name from al-Ma‘mūn.

Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Hist. of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, 87.

3. (4) Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāsib Ḥabash al-Marwazī flourished around the year 220/835.

Steinschneider, *Zeitsch. f. Math.* x, 478, *ZDMG* XXIV, 334, Mieli § 15,8, ḤKh III, 6943 (imprecise), *al-Zīj al-ṣaghīr* or *al-Shāh*, Berl. 5750, Yeni 704,2, see Nallino in Suter, 208/9.

3. (4) a. Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan b. al-Khaṣīb al-Fārisī al-Kūfī.

Suppl. 1, 394. *al-Muqni‘ fi ‘l-mawālīd* Esc. 1935, 973, 2940, 978 (incomplete), *Kitāb al-mawālīd* Ḥamīd. 856,1.

3. (4) b. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Aṣṭurlābī al-Ḥarrānī.

Suppl. 1, 394. *Risāla fi ‘ilm al-aṣṭurlāb* Esc. 1972, 2976,3 (Renaud 170), Dam. Z. 89,1, from which Alex. Ḥisāb 52.

4. (5) Abū ‘Alī Yaḥyā b. Ghālib (according to others Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad) al-Khayyāt, ca. 240/854.

1. *Sirr al-‘amal*, on astrology, ḤKh v, 11907, Berl. 5876.—2. *Aḥkām al-mawālīd* (see Suppl.) Alex. Ḥurūf 12,1.—3. see Suppl.—4. *al-Masā’il fi aḥkām al-nujūm* Alex. Ḥisāb 52.

251 5. (6) Abū Ma‘shar Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Balkhī, one of the greatest astronomers and astrologers of his | time, was originally a *ḥadīth* scholar, and was already 47 when al-Kindī won him over to science. According to al-Tanūkhīs’s *Nishwār* (in Yāqūt), al-Balkhī started out on the pilgrimage from Khurāsān, but when he visited the library of ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim in Karkar—near al-Qufs, not far from Baghdad—he was apparently taken by such a passion for astronomy that he gave up his earlier plan. He died, at over a hundred years old, in Wāsiṭ on 28 Ramaḍān 272/8 March 886.

*Fihrist* 277, Ibn Khall. no. 132, Yāqūt, *Irshād* v, 467,4–11. 1. *Kitāb al-ulūf fi buyūt al-‘ibādāt*, a corpus monumentorum arranged chronologically in 8 books based on the 8 civilizations, see Lippert, *WZKM* IX, 351/8.—2. a. *al-Mudkhal al-kabīr ilā ‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm*, introduction to astrology in 8 chapters, Leid. 1051, Br. Mus. Or. 7964, Bodl. II, 272, 294, Esc. 1912, Patna I, 239,2068, 550,29231, Hebr. Steinschn. 353,1.—b. *Mukhtaṣar* or *al-Mudkhal al-ṣaghīr* Paris 2696,2, Br. Mus. 425,4, Yeni 1193,6 (QS III, 450ff.).—3. *Kitāb mawālīd al-rijāl wal-nisā’*, astrology in 12 sections each, Berl. 5801/2 (see Suppl.), Cat. Boustany 1930, 100, under the title *Kitāb ‘ala (fi) ‘l-tamām wal-kamāl* Vienna 1419, under the title *Aḥkām al-mawālīd* with Persian translation Br. Mus. Or. 9604.—4. *Traité des nativités* (genuine?) Paris 2586/7 = | *al-Qawl fi ‘l-numūdhārāt* Br. Mus. 426/7 (?) = Bodl.

1, 112,<sub>3</sub> (? see Suppl.).—5. *Kitāb al-ṭawālīʿ wal-nujūm* Bodl. I, 114,<sub>1</sub>.—6. = 3–7. *Kitāb qirānāt al-kawākib* Paris 2580,<sub>3</sub> Bodl. II, 284,<sub>1</sub>, Fātiḥ 3426,<sub>3</sub> (see Suppl. 19), Halet 541, Ġarullāh 1539 (parchment 352 AH, Ritter), Āṣaf. II, 1702,<sub>81</sub>, *Muqāranāt al-kawākib* ʿUm. 4658, *Aḥkām al-qirānāt* in Pers. transl. library of Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Khwānsārī al-Najafī, *Dharīʿa* I, 301,<sub>570</sub>.—8. *Aḥkām taḥwīl sini ʿl-mawālīd* Paris 2588, Bodl. I, 878, Esc. 1912, 2917, 977 (incomplete, Renaud 170).—9. *Kitāb ikhtiyārāt al-sāʿāt* Br. Mus. 445,<sub>12</sub>, Hebr. Steinschn. 355.—10. *Kitāb al-nukat wal-asrār* Br. Mus. Or. 11214 (Kraus), excerpts Bodl. II, 286,<sub>3,1</sub>.—11. *Kitāb al-sirr* Esc. 1933, 2938, excerpts Bodl. II, 286,<sub>2</sub>, different from *Asrār al-nujūm*, Esc. 1913, 2916,<sub>6</sub>, Asʿad 1907, Cairo 1V, 309, Rāmpūr I, 681,<sub>1</sub>.—12. Twelve astrological dicta, Bodl. I, 332,<sub>4</sub>.—13.–27. (see Suppl. 15, cites *Rasāʿil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʿ*, Bombay IV, 292, Kraus).—28. Persian translation of an untitled treatise, Köpr. 1624,<sub>1</sub>.—29. Persian translation of an untitled astrological treatise, Fātiḥ 1362,<sub>3</sub>, 2144,<sub>2</sub> (Krause, *Hdss.* 11).

| 5. (6) a. Abu ʿl-ʿAnbas Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Ṣaymarī, d. 275/888.

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Suppl. I, 396.

5. (6) b. Abū ʿUthmān Sahl b. Bishr b. Hānīʿ al-Isrāʿīlī.

Suppl. I, 396, Suter 26, Krause 26. 1. *al-Majmūʿ fi ʿl-aḥkām* Esc. 1914, 2919,<sub>11</sub>, Cairo 1V, 268 (*fi ʿl-Aḥkām fi ʿilm al-mīqāt*, Renaud 170).—6. *Risāla fi ʿl-khusūf* Asʿad 1967 (towards the end) = *Kitāb al-nujūm* Beirut 199 (*MFO* VII, 275).—7. Under the title *al-Aḥkām fi taḥwīl al-nujūm* Alex. Ḥurūf 16.—10. *al-Qirānāt wal-itṭisālāt fi ʿl-burūj al-ithnay ʿashar* Alex. Ḥurūf 16.

6. (7) Jamāl al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Qāsim b. Maḥfūz al-Baghdādī wrote around the year 310/922.

Suter, 490. 1. *Zīj*, astronomical tables, Paris 2486.—2. Treatise on the use of the astrolabe, Br. Mus. 1002,<sub>4</sub>, Or. 5734 (DL 39).

7. (8) Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sinān al-Battānī, d. 317/929 (see Suppl. I, 397). Al-Masʿūdī counts him as one of the most famous astronomers of Islam, and the introduction of trigonometrical functions into the Western world is connected with his name, transcribed as Albategnius.

*Fihrist* 279, Ibn Khall. 680. Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* I, 61f., Cantor 632, Mieli § 15,<sub>9</sub>. 1. *Iṣlāḥ al-Mijistī* Berl. 5653, ascribed to Jābir b. Aflaḥ, ḤKh V, 11413.—2. *al-Maqālāt al-arbaʿ fi ʿl-qaḍāʿ bil-nujūm*, adaptation of the astrological

τετραβιβλος of Ptolemy, HKh VI, 12878, Berl. 5875, Esc. 21829,<sup>1</sup> are wrongly attributed to him, see Suppl.

8. (3) Ibn Hibintā al-Munajjim al-Naṣrānī wrote, after 330/941:

*Al-Mughnī*, on astronomy, HKh v, 654, no. 12943 (where mistakenly Hnbtā), part 2 Munich 852, cf. Nallino in Suter, *Nachr.* 160.

9. Kushyār b. Labbān al-Jilī, who flourished around the year 350/966.

- 253 | Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimma* 83, Suter 192, Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Âge* I, XL VIII, III, Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda* I, p. CI (mistaken 459), Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XXIV, 375, Mieli § 21,<sup>12</sup> (who places him around 971–1029).—1. *al-Zīj al-jāmi'*, astronomical tables, Berl. 5751, Leid. 1054, Alex. Ḥisāb 50, excerpt Leid. 1055, cf. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Berlin 1825/6, II, 547, 624/33, the tables of longitude and latitude in Lelewel, I, 178ff., Persian translation by 'Umar b. Abī Ṭālib al-Munajjim al-Tabrīzī, made in 483/1090, Leid. 1056.—2. *Kitāb al-mudkhal (muǧmal) fī ṣinā'at aḥkām al-nujūm* HKh v, 11695, 11475, Berl. 5884, Esc. 1972, Br. Mus. 415, Stewart I, 105, no. XVI, Garr. 969, As'ad 2004, Serāi 3498 | (Krause 192,<sup>2</sup> Suppl.), Qawala II, 281, Rāmpūr I, 429,<sup>67</sup>.—under the title *Aṣl ṣinā'at al-aḥkām al-falakīyya* Alex. Ḥurūf 7.—3. *Maqāla fī l-ḥisāb* HKh VI, 12961, *al-Maqāla al-ūlā fī ḥisāb al-abwāb min al-maqālāt al-arba'* Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 317, Hebr. under the title *ʿĪyūn hā-ʿiqqārīm* by Shalom Ben Yosef Anabi, Oppenheim 272, see Steinschneider, *Z. f. Math.* XII, 33, cf. 58, *ZDMG* XXIV, 332, Hebr. transl. 352.—4. *Kitāb al-aṣṭurlāb wa-kayfiyyat ʿamalīhi wa'tibārīhi ʿala l-tamām wal-kamāl* Paris 3487,<sup>1</sup> 4731 Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 298 (photograph *QSt.* VII, 40, II, 35).—5. *Risālat al-ab'ād wal-aǧrām* Patna II, 331,<sup>2519,5</sup> (see Suppl.).

10. Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Munajjim al-Qummī wrote, in 357/968:

*Kitāb al-bāri' (al-mudkhal) ilā ('ilm) aḥkām al-nujūm (wal-ṭawālī')*, an introduction to astrology in 5 *maqālāt* and 64 *fuṣūl*, dedicated to Shaykh Abū 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. Marzubān, HKh II, 1602, v, 11680, Berl. 5601, Paris 2582, Pet. Rosen 186, (see Suppl.), abstract Berl. 5662, Ind. Off. 769,<sup>4</sup> Persian translation Berl. 5603, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XVIII, 140, XXV, 396, Suter 174.

11. Abu l-Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Ṣūfī, born in Rayy on 14 Muḥarram 291/8 December 903, was an astronomer in the service of the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla Abū Shujā'. He died in Muḥarram 376/986.

Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XVIII, 140, XXV, 349, Suter 138. 1. *Kitāb al-kawākib al-thābita* or *Šuwar al-kawākib*, dedicated to the Būyid ‘Aḏud al-Dawla Fannā Khusraw (338–72/949–82), Berl. 5658/60, Paris 2488/92, 6528, Ind. Off. 731/2, Copenhagen 83, Pet. Rosen 185, Serāi 2493 (525 AH), Rāmpūr I, 428,<sup>63</sup> | cf. 254  
Caussin de Perceval, *Not. et extr.* XII, 236ff. Delambre, 204, *Description des étoiles fixes par ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šūfī trad. par* H.C.F.C. Schelljerup, St. Petersburg 1874 (see Suppl.), J. Upton, *Metropolitan Museum Studies* IV (1933), 179/99, Holter, *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Instituts Vienna*, N.F. XI, 1937, 36f. (ad Fātilḥ 3422).—2. *Kitāb al-mudkhal fi ‘l-aḥkām*, on astrology, Book v, Ind. Off. 733 = Esc. 1915 (?)—3. *Kitāb al-‘amal bil-ašturlāb* Paris 2493 (?), 2498,<sup>2</sup>, Pet. Rosen 190,<sup>4</sup> Bodl. I, 899, see B. Dorn, *Drei astronom. Instrumente*, St. Petersburg 1865, p. 77/9.—4. Excerpt from a lost work on the astrolabe in 1760 capita, Serāi 2642/2 (Krause, see Suppl.).—On the star catalogue apparently attributed to his son Abū ‘Alī see Suppl. I, 863,<sup>4a</sup>.

11a. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī al-Šaqr al-Qabīšī (known as Alcabitus among the Latins), d. 356/967, see Suppl.

1. *al-Mudkhal ilā šinā‘at aḥkām al-nujūm (‘ilm al-falak)* Ḥamīd. 856,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Ḥurūf 17, Patna I, 239,<sup>2070,1</sup>

12. Abū Sahl Wayjan b. Rustam al-Kūhī (see Suppl.) wrote around the year 380/990:

(Cantor 642ff.). 1. Notes on Euclid’s *Elements*: a. on Book 1 and 2, Cairo IV, 203, b. on Book 3, Berl. 5922.—2. Addenda to Archimedes’s *On Conoids and Spheroids*, Paris 952, 2467,<sup>2</sup>, Leid. 1001, cf. Woepcke, *L’algèbre d’Omar al-Khayyami* p. 55.—3. On the manufacture of astrolabes, with a commentary by Abū Sa’d al-‘Alā’ Sahl, Leid. 1058.—4. *Fi ‘l-barkār al-tāmm wal-‘amal bihi* Leid. 1059, Rāgib 569,<sup>5</sup>, Cairo IV, 203.—5. *Risāla fī ‘amal ḍil’ al-musabba’ al-mutasāwi ‘l-aḍlā’ fi ‘l-dā’ira* Ind. Off. 767,<sup>4</sup> (see Suppl.) AS 4832,<sup>27</sup>.—6. *Ṭarīq fi ‘stikhrāj khaṭṭayn bayna khaṭṭayn fa-tatawālā ‘alā nisba* Ind. Off. 767,<sup>5</sup>, AS 4832,<sup>27</sup> (see Suppl.).—7., 8., 9. (Patna II, 335,<sup>2519,33</sup>) see Suppl.—10. *Mas’alatāni handasiyyatān* AS 4832,<sup>22</sup>, 4830,<sup>9d</sup>.—11. An otherwise unidentified mathematical and astronomical treatise, Paris 4821.—12.—16. see Suppl.—17. *Ziyādāt li-kitāb Uqlīdis fi ‘l-mu‘ayyāt* AS 4830,<sup>9e</sup>, 4832,<sup>26</sup>.—19. *Risāla fī miqdār (ma‘rifat) mā yurā min al-samā’ (wal-baḥr)* AS 2587,<sup>2</sup>, 4832,<sup>22</sup> (Ritter, *Arch. Or.* IV, 368, Krause 175,<sup>8</sup>), *Mashh.* XVII, 69,<sup>186</sup>.—20. *al-Mafrūdāt* AS 4830,<sup>6</sup> (Kr. II).—21. Correspondence with Abū Ishāq al-Šābi’ AS 4832,<sup>24,25</sup>.—22. *Risāla fī tathlith al-zāwiya wa-‘amal al-musabba’ al-musāwi ‘l-aḍlā’ fi ‘l-dā’ira* Berl. 9408, photograph QSt. VII, 9, I, 7.

255 | 13. Abu 'l-Wafā' Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Būzajānī was born in Būzajān near Nishapur on 1 Ramaḍān 328/10 June 940, went to Iraq in 348/959, and died in 387/997 or in Rajab 388/988.

224 | *Fihrist* 283, Ibn Khall. 681, Cantor p. 697. 1. *Kitāb al-Mijistī*, an imitation of the work by Ptolemy, Paris 2494, see Sédillot, *Matériaux*, p. 42ff., Carra de Vaux, *JA* s. VIII, v. 19, p. 408/71. On the question of whether Tycho Brahe's discovery of the variation was contained in it, see R. Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie*, p. 53, 204.—2. *Risāla fī-mā yaḥtāj ilayhi al-ṣānī min a'māl al-handasa*, a work on geometrical designs, Ambr. Hammer, Cat. 44, no. 68, AS 2753. Commentary *Sharḥ al-a'māl al-handasiyya* by Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā b. Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. Man'a al-Shāfi'ī, d. 639/1241 (p. 472), Mashh. XVII, 42,30, see Woepcke, *JA* s. V, v. 5 (1855), p. 246/51, Suter, *Abh. z. Gesch. der Math. u. Nat.*, Erlangen 1922.—3. *Kitāb fī-mā yaḥtāj ilayhi 'l-kuttāb wal-'ummāl min 'ilm al-ḥisāb* Leid. 993, Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 185 = *Kitāb al-manāzil fī 'l-ḥisāb* Esc. 1933, see Woepcke, loc. cit., 243ff. = *al-Mudkhal al-ḥifẓī ilā ṣinā'at al-arithmāṭiqī*, *Risāla fī 'l-ḥisāb* Rāmpūr I, 414.—4. Method for the calculation of sine tables, Woepcke, *JA* 1860, I, 298/9.—5., 6., 7. see Suppl. (on 6. *Risāla fī iqāmat al-burhān 'ala 'l-daraja min al-falak min qaws al-nahār wartifā' niṣf al-nahār wartifā' al-waqt* Patna II, 331,2519,6; 7 Ğārullāh 1479, Krause 167).—7. *Qānūn juz' al-ta'rif li-Uqlidis* Rāmpūr I, 417,576.

14. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Yūnus b. 'Abd al-'Alā al-Ṣadafī, who, besides al-Battānī, was probably the greatest astronomer of the Arabs, served the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim (387–411/996–1020) and died on 3 Shawwāl 399/3 May 1009.

Ibn Khall. 461, Delambre 76ff., Jourdain, *Biogr. Univ.* XXI, 159, F. Mehren in *Annaler for Nord. Oldkynd.* 1857, p. 25. 1. *al-Zij al-Ḥākimī*, very thorough astronomical tables, whose second edition was dedicated to al-Ḥākim (see Suppl.), Leid. 1057, Paris 2495/6, Bodl. II, 298, Esc. 1919,5 (photograph *QSt.* VII, 42, II, 39, 59, II, 39, see Delambre 125ff., Caussin de Perceval, *Not. et extr.* VII, 16/240, see Schoy, *Isis* v, 1923, 364/6, *Annalen der Hydrogr.* 49, 1921, 124/33, 50, 1922, 3/20;

256 | Clarifications to chapters 1 and 3 Gotha 1401.—2. *Kitāb bulūgh al-umniyya fī-mā yata'allaq bi-ṭulū' al-shi'rā al-yamāniyya*, astrological reflections on the signs of the zodiac involving the moon and the rising of Sirius, Gotha 1459.—3. *al-Jayb*, astronomical tables, Berl. 5752.—4. *Kitāb fīhi 'l-samt*, azimuth tables, ibid. 5753, Esc. 1129,5 (photograph *QSt.* VII, 56, II, 55) (see Suppl.).—5. *Risāla fī ṭarīq istikhraj khattay al-qusṭās* Ambr. 289b (photograph *QSt.* VII, 31), see Schoy, *Gnomonik der Araber*, Berl.-Lpz. 1923, 35/6.

15. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Rijāl (the Abenragel of the Latins) al-Shaybānī al-Kātib al-Maghribī al-Qayrawānī, who may have taken part in al-Kūhī's observations in Baghdad. He sporadically lived at the court of the Zīrid Mu'izz b. Bādīs al-Manṣūr (406–54/1016–62) in Tunis, and died sometime after 432/1040.

Sanchez Pérez 58, Mieli § 37. 1. *Kitāb al-bāri' fi aḥkām al-nujūm*, on astrology, ḤKh 111, 4, <sup>21</sup>, 217, Br. Mus. 1347, Ind. Off. 735, Paris 2590, Stewart 104, Ḥamīd. 826/7, Zāwiyat Sīdī Ḥamza, *Hesp.* XVIII, 88,<sup>5a</sup>, Alex. Ḥisāb 43, Rāmpūr 1, 682,<sup>10</sup> (see Suppl.), *Praeclarissimus liber completus in iudiciis astrorum, quem edidit Albohazen Haly f. Abenragel*, Venice 1485, Basle 1551, Hebr. Steinschn. 361, see Steinschneider, *Zur pseudopigr. Literatur* p. 83, *ZDMG* XVIII, 155ff., V. Stegemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Astrologie (Studien zur Gesch. u. Kultur der Antike und des MA, hsg. v. Bilabel und A. Grohmann, Reihe A, Heft 2)*, Heidelberg 1935, p. 98ff., Astrologische Zarathushtrafragmente bei Ibn Abi 'l-Rijāl *Orientalia* VI, 317/36.—2. *Urjūza (Nazm) fi 'l-aḥkām*, see Suppl., Esc. <sup>1911</sup>, <sup>2916</sup>, (Renaud, *Isis* XVIII, 174), *Qst.* VII, 64, 11, 13, Garr. 972, under the title *al-Dalāla al-kullīyya 'ani 'l-ḥarakāt al-falakiyya*. Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Qunfudhī al-Qusṭanṭīnī, d. 810/1407 (11, 241), written in 774/1372, Br. Mus. 977,<sup>29</sup>.—b. Kamāl al-Tūrakānī, written in 755/1354 in Gulistān, Garr. 2104,<sup>3</sup>.—3. See Suppl.

16. Abu 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ṣaffār al-Ghāfiqī al-Andalusī, a student of Maslama al-Majrīṭī (p. 280), went from Cordova to Denia during the civil war, where he died in 426/1035.

Ibn Bashkuwāl 83. *Risālat al-aṣṭurlāb wal-asmā' al-wāqi'a 'alayhā* Br. Mus. 408,<sup>8</sup>, 976 (but where the author is called Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh etc.), composed in 413/1022, see Suppl., also Esc. <sup>2946</sup>, | Rabāṭ 455,<sup>iv</sup> (which has al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh), 502,<sup>iii</sup> (Renaud, *Isis* XVIII, 171), Alex. Ḥisāb 60,<sup>1</sup> (with wrong date) probably different from the anonymous Bodl. 1, 453, Hebrew translation in Steinschneider 363, *ZDMG* XVIII, 123, XLVII, 363.

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17. Muḥammad b. Raḥīq b. 'Abd al-Karīm wrote an astronomical work around the year 411/1020, Berl. 5664.

## | Chapter 15. Geography

F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Literatur der Erdbeschreibung bei den Arabern*, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Erdkunde* 1, Magdeburg 1842.

M. Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux*, in *Géographie d'Aboulfeda* 1, Paris 1848.

J. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen âge*, 4 vols., Bruxelles 1850/7, *Géographie des Arabes*, Paris 1851 (see Günther, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 1904, p. 40 n.).

M.J. de Goeje, *Eenige mededeelingen van de Arabische geographen*, in *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 1876, p. 190ff.

Idem, *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum* I–VIII, Leid. 1870ff. (hereafter *BG*).

J.H. Kramers, *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum, nova editio*, Leiden 1938ff.

P. Schwarz, *Die ältere geographische Literatur der Araber in Hettner's Geograph. Zeitschr.* III (1897), fascicle 3.

A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, § 14, 22, 32, 44.

I. Kračkovsky, *Arabskie geografij putešestvenniki*, *Izv. Gos. Geogr. Občestva* 1937, no. 5, 738/65.

1. Incentives from various sides for the study of geography (see Suppl. 1, 402/3) were only taken to a scientific level when the Arabs became acquainted with Ptolemy's *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις*. From the various adaptations, the oldest of which goes back to Ibn Khurradādhbeh (see Kramers, *EI* Suppl. 64), only the one by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (see Suppl. 1, 381) has been preserved, which turned its source, in imitation of the astronomical *zīj*, into tabular form, while adding information regarding the Muslim world.

258 | 2. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Khurradādhbeh, whose grandfather had converted to Islam and whose father was the governor of Ṭabaristān in 201/816 (Ṭabarī III, 104ff.), grew up in Baghdad where he was trained in music and belles lettres by Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, d. 235/849 (see Suppl. 1, 223). Later he became a postmaster in Jabal (Media) and wrote, between 230–4/844–8, probably in Samarra while serving in the central post office, the following:

226 | 1. *Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*, *BG* VI, 1889, an official road book with precise indication of waystations, relay points, and the amount of taxes for every province, see Barbier de Meynard, *JA* s. VI, v. V, p. 227 ff.—2. *Kitāb al-lahw wal-malāhī* in the possession of Ḥabīb Efendi Zayyāt in Alexandria, see *Hilāl*



XXVIII, 214, Farmer, *Sources*, 33.—3. A speech on the origin of music, singing, and rhythm which he delivered to the caliph al-Mu‘tamid, in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* VIII, 80/100 see Farmer, *JRAS* 1924, 94 (see Suppl.).

2a. Muḥammad b. Abī Muslim al-Jarmī, see Suppl. I, 404.

2b. Ishāq b. al-Ḥusayn al-Munajjim, *ibid.* 405.

1. *Ākām al-marjān etc.* see Angela Codazzi, Compendio geografico Arabo di Ishaq b. al-Hu., *Rend. della R. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Cl. di scienze mor. etc.*, serie VI, vol. v, Roma 1929, 373/463. V. Minorsky, The Khazars and the Turks in the *Ā. al-m.* *BSOAS* 1938, 141/50.—2. Cosmography, Paris 2186, excerpts in Seippel, *Rerum Normannicarum fontes arabici*, p. 28, no. XXIV.

3. Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb b. Ja‘far b. Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ al-Kātib al-Ya‘qūbī al-‘Abbāsī was a descendant of Wāḍiḥ, the freedman of al-Manṣūr, who, in spite of his close ties with the ‘Abbāsids and its high officials, and his earlier governorships in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Egypt, secretly sympathised with the Shī‘a. He paid for this with his life when, after the Battle of al-Fakhkh, he helped the ‘Alid Idrīs escape to the Maghreb. This attachment to the Shī‘a was hereditary in his family, and thus Aḥmad, too, acknowledged the Mūsawiyya, a group of moderate Imāmīs. He had spent his youth in Armenia and in the service of the Ṭāhirids in Khurāsān, whose deeds he glorified in a separate work. It appears to have been here that he also wrote his world history, which he continued up to the year 259/872. After the fall of the Ṭāhirids he went to Egypt, where he wrote his geography in 278/891. He died in 284/897.

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*EI* IV, 1247, Suppl. I, 405. 1. *Kitāb al-buldān*, *BG* VII, 1892 (earlier M.J. de Goeje, *Specimen e literis or. exhibens, descriptionem al-Maghribi sumtam e libro regionum al-J.*, Leiden 1860), reprint Baghdad 1938, *Les Pays, trad. par G. Wiet (Textes et traductions d’auteurs Or. I)*, Cairo 1937. The book is based on literary research and the questioning of travellers and, as well as topography, in particular that of larger cities, it also includes economic geography and tax statistics.—2. *Ibn Wadhih qui dicitur al-Ja‘qūbī Historiae* ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols., Leiden 1883. The first book, whose introduction is lost, starts in the middle of the history of Adam, continuing with the patriarchs of Israel (mostly following the *Cave of Treasures*), the Messiah and the Apostles, the rulers of Syria, Assur, and Babel, the Indians, the Greeks and the Romans, the Persians, the peoples of the north as far as the Turks, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Berbers, the Abyssinians,

the Beja and the negroes, before finally coming to the pre-Islamic Arabs. The second volume, almost double the size of the first, is devoted to the history of Islam, which is not adversely influenced by his Shī'ī leaning, but which refrains from mentioning the sources used and which limits itself to sparse notes for contemporary history, despite the account often being bloated by speeches and letters in other places, while still preserving a lot of valuable information from reliable old sources. See M.J. de Goeje, *Über die Geschichte der 'Abbāsiden von al-Ja'qūbī*, *Travaux de la 3ème session du Congr. Intern. des Or.*, St. Petersburg and Leiden 1879, II, 153/166, | M. Klamroth, *Der Auszug aus den* 227  
260 *Evangelien bei dem arab. Historiker al-Ja'qūbī*, | *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums in Hamburg* 1885, idem, *Über die Auszüge aus griech. Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī*, *ZDMG* XL, 189/233, 612/838, XLI, 415/42.

4. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī was born in the Persian city of Hamadan and wrote, soon after the death of Caliph al-Mu'taḍid in 289/902:

*Kitāb al-buldān*, whose original has been preserved in Mashhad (see Suppl.). The summary by 'Alī b. Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Shayzarī ca. 413/1022, *BG* v, 1885, starts with the formation of the earth and the seas, compares the Chinese and the Indians, then describes Arabia, Egypt, the Maghreb, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, the Byzantine empire and Iraq (Kufa and Basra in particular), although Baghdad does not even receive a mention. Among his sources he also mentions works by al-Jāḥiẓ (p. 158).

5. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Rusta wrote in Isfahan, sometime after 310/922, an encyclopaedia named *al-A'lāq al-nafisa*, whose seventh volume deals with geography, and which has been preserved in the manuscript Br. Mus. 1310.

*BG* VII, 1892. The work starts with a chapter on the wonders of the heavens, in whose centre there is the earth in the form of a globe, then explains the movement of the heavens and the size and distances of the stars. After some observations on the size of the earth, geography proper starts with Mecca and Medina. There then follows a description of the seas, rivers, and climates, with a detailed description of Iran and its surrounding countries (see Suppl.). On the dating, see Harkavy, *Skazanie musulmanskich pisatelei o slavjanach i russkich* (St. Petersburg 1870), 200ff., Westberg, *Analizi vostočnich istočnikov o Vostočnoj Evrope*, *Žurn. Min. Narodn. Prosv.*, NS XIV (1908), 7ff.

5a. Around the year 300/912 an Arab by the name of Hārūn b. Yaḥyā went as a prisoner of war to Constantinople and from there to Rome, of which he gave a description that Ibn Rusta included in his book (119/28).

| J. Marquart, *Osteurop. und ostas. Streifzüge*, Leipz. 1903, 200ff., A. Vasiliev, 261  
Hārūn b. Yaḥyā and his description of Constantinople in *Seminarium Kondakovianum, Recueil d'Études* v, 1932, 149/63, G. Ostrogorsky, Zum Reisebericht des H.b.Y. ibid. 251/7 (who fixes the year of his visit in 912).

6. After the death of al-Muʿtaḍid in 289/902 and before the seizure of power by the Būyids in Baghdad in 334/945, a certain Suhrāb (alias?) wrote a revised edition of al-Khwārizmī's *Šurat al-arḍ*, which he attributed to an otherwise unknown Ibn Sarābiyūn.

See Suppl. 406. Ibn Serapion, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad, ed. G. Le Strange, *JRAS* 1895, 1/76, 255/315.

7. In Šafar 309/June 921, Aḥmad b. Faḍlān b. ʿAbbās b. Rashīd b. Ḥammād was sent by the caliph al-Muqtaḍir as an envoy to the ruler of the Volga Bulgarians, where he arrived on 13 Muḥarram 310/11 May 922. | Back in Baghdad, he 228  
described his trip in a *risāla* that is characterised by keen powers of observation and an objectivity that is only rarely tarnished by exaggerated rumours, and which provided the first dependable account of the countries visited by him.

The original, discovered in Mashhad (see Suppl.), was included by Yāqūt in his geographical dictionary in the form of an extensive abstract. *Ibn Foszlans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit, Text, Übers. unsw.* v. C.M. Frähn, St. Petersburg 1823, Die ältesten Nachrichten über die Wolgabulgharen aus Ibn Foszlans Reiseberichte, *Mém. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences de St.-P. VIè s. Sc. pol. hist. et phil.*, v. 1, 527/77, Veteres Memoriae Chasarorum ex Iben Foszlano<sup>1</sup> etc. De Baschkiris quae memoriae prodita sunt ab I.F. etc., ibid. VIII, V. v. Rosen, Prolegomena k novomu izdaniu Ibn Fadlana, *Zapiski VOI RAO* XV, 1904, 39/74, A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn F.'s Reisebericht, hsg. und übers. etc.* AKM XXIV, 1940. Putešestvike Ibn Fadlana Volgu, Pervod i Kommentarii pad redakzei akademika N.I. Kračkovskogo (author Kovalevskij), | *Izdateljstvo Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 262  
Moscow, Leningrad 1939, see H. Ritter, Zum Text von I.F.s Reisebericht, *ZDMG* 96, 98/126.

1 This report in Yāqūt was inserted by him into that by Ibn Faḍlān.

8. Abu 'l-Faraj Qudāma b. Ja'far al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, who had converted from Christianity to Islam during the reign of al-Muktafi (289–95/902–8), composed several belletristic works, as well as his book on landtaxes. He died probably in 310/922, although according to others it was in 327/948, or as late as 337/958.

*Fihrist* 130,<sup>20–7</sup>, M. de Slane, Notice sur Codama et ses écrits, *JA* s. v, v. 20, p. 185 ff. 1. *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, in the form of an extract in *BG* VI. After an overview of the organisation of the postal service, there follows a general description of the world, which gives special consideration to the lands of Islam and their tax revenues. From an initial description of neighbouring foreign peoples and their countries it moves to finance, the tax system, and administrative law. A short history of conquests was copied straight from Balādhurī, see v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 427.—2. *Naqd al-shi'r*, a poetic work, Esc. <sup>2</sup>242,<sub>2</sub>, Köpr. 1445,<sub>2</sub> (*MSOS* IV, 17), print. Istanbul 1302.—3. *Kitāb naqd al-nathr al-ma'rūf bi-Kitāb al-bayān*, see Suppl. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Min ḥadīth al-shi'r wal-nathr*, 125ff. holds on to its authenticity and believes it to be an imitation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.—4. See Suppl. (revised edition AS 4194,<sub>1</sub>, Ritter).

9. Between 279–95/892–907 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Jayhānī, the vizier of the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr (261–79/874–92), wrote in Bukhārā, on the basis of the *Kitāb al-kharāj* of Qudāma, a much more elaborate work whose original has been lost. It is, however, possible that it formed the basis for al-Idrīsī's description of Asia.

*Fihrist*, 138,<sub>1–4</sub>, al-Muqaddasī, 3, 19ff., Yāqūt, *Irshād* II, 59, Sprenger, Post- und Reiserouten *AKM*, III, 3, p. XVII, J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostas. Streifzüge*, 206, 466/73 (see Suppl.).

10. Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. al-Muhalhil al-Khazrajī al-Yanbū'ī, *ʿAjā'ib al-buldān*, see Suppl. I, 407.

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|| Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma* III, 174/94. *Des a. D. M. Bericht über die türk. Horden*, übers. v. F. Wüstenfeld, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Erdkunde*, I, Jahrg. Bd. II, Heft 9, Magdeburg 1842, *Abu Dolaf Misaris ben Mohalhal de itinere suo asiatico commentarius*, ed. C. Schlözer, Berlin 1845. Translation in G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géogr. arabes, pers. et turcs* I, Paris 1913, 208/29, see G. Jacob, *Berichterstatte*, 71/2, against his overly-severe judgement see J. Ruska, *Geogr. Ztschr.* III, 591, J. Marquart, *Osteurop. u. ostas. Streifzüge*, 74/95. A. v. Rohr-Sauer, *Des a. D. Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkistan, China*

und Indien, neu übers. und erklärt, Stuttgart 1939. On the Mashhad manuscript, see Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, VII.

11. Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī, d. 322/934, see Suppl. 1, 408.

W. Barthold in V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-‘ālam* transl. (Gibb Mem. NS VI, 1937), 15ff. *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Ḥawqal secundum textum et imagines codicis Constantinopolitani conservati in Bibl. Antiqui Palatii no. 3346, cui titulus est Liber Imaginis terrae*, ed. J.H. Kramers, *BG* 1, 1, Leiden 1938.

12. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥamdānī b. al-Ḥā’ik, who died in 334/945 in Ṣan‘ā’ (see Suppl.). Enthralled by the splendour of ancient South Arabia, he did his utmost to explore its history and archaeology, but as a poet and astronomer he also produced significant works.

Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen* 220, Wüst., *Gesch.* 110, cf. Suppl. 409. 1. *Kitāb al-iklīl*, vol. 8 also in MS al-Bārūdī, now Garr. 748, see al-Ḥ. *The 8th Book of the Antiquities of South Arabia, Records of al-Ḳarmaṭis* (P. Anastase Marie Ed. and a Ms. in the Garrett Coll. Princeton Un.) transl. from the Arabic with linguistic, geographical and hist. notes by N.A. Faris, London 1938 (Princ. Or. Texts 111). *Al-Iklīl al-juz’ al-thāmin* ed. with linguistic geographic and hist. notes by N.A. Faris, Princeton NJ 1940. Alleged excerpt from vol. 8, *Risāla fī ma‘rifat al-ghālib wal-maghlūb wal-ṭālib wal-maṭlūb* written by Aristotle to Alexander, Alex. Ḥurūf 4 (not in ed. Anastase Marie de St. Elie). A volume on the Arab tribes Patna 1, 280, 2312. D.H. Muller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, *SBWA* vol. 94 (1879), 335ff., vol. 97 (1880), 955ff., see C. Landberg, *Arabica* 111, 1895, 116/22.—2. *Ṣifat jazīrat al-‘Arab*, composed after 1., Paris 5822, Köpr. 1067, ‘A. Emiri Ef. 2687/8. *al-Ḥamdānīs Geographie der Arab. Halbinsel, nach den Hdss. hsg. v. D.H. Müller*, Leiden 1884, A. Sprenger, *Versuch einer Kritik von H.s. Beschreibung der arab. Halbinsel*, *ZDMG* XLV, 361/90.—3. see Suppl.

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| 13. The last and most famous geographer of this period was Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannā’ al-Bashshārī al-Muqaddasī. Of his life, we only know what he tells us himself. Born in Jerusalem as the grandson of the architect who built the gates of Acre for Ibn Ṭulūn, he journeyed through most Muslim lands. The only places he did not go appear to have been Sind, Sijistān, and Spain. On these trips not only did he exploit all available literary sources but, in order to acquire a comprehensive and thorough understanding of life, he also exercised various professions. On the basis of his own

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experiences and the findings of his predecessors, he was thus able to draw a lively and rich picture of the Muslim world, which he often judges against the backdrop of the circumstances of life back home. Even though his style is not entirely free from the kind of artificiality that was to spread ever more from the offices of the secretaries of the state into the literary world, nowhere does he sacrifice substance for form. He wrote his book in 375/985, putting the Sāmānids at the centre. After a second journey, during which he had become better acquainted with the empire of the Fāṭimids, he prepared a new, augmented edition that was based on their point of view.

*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm*, BG III, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. IIa, 1906, see A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgesch.* II, 429/33, E. Wiedemann, *Schilderung der einzelnen Klimata durch M.*, *Arch. f. Gesch. der Nat. u. d. Technik* v, 61/4.

## | Chapter 16. Medicine

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Ibn Abū Uṣaybi‘a (d. 668/1270, p. 325/6), *Kitāb ‘uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg 1884 (hereafter Uṣ.).

F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840 (quoted by number).

L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 2 vols., Paris 1876.

M. Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin* 1, Stuttgart 1908, 142/228.

Mieli, § 16, 23, 33, 38, 45, 50.

On the beginnings of Arabic medicine, see Suppl. 1, 412/14.

Even though the book on poisons attributed to Shānāq (Çanakya)—additionally As‘ad 2491—goes back to an Indian source in which parts of the *Kautilīya Arthashastra* attributed to Çanakya were mixed with elements from medical literature, it was nonetheless augmented with data of Greek origin. See Strauss, *Quellen u. Studien zur Gesch. der Nat. u. Med.* IV, 2, Berlin 1935.

1. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, d. after 240/855, see Suppl. 1, 414/5.

Uṣ. 1, 309, Wüst. 55, Leclerc 1, 292. 1. *al-Kunnāsh* or *Firdaws al-ḥikma* Berl. 6257, Br. Mus. 445, Rāmpūr 1, 489<sub>171</sub>, excerpts Gotha 1910. Gynäkologie, Embryologie und Frauenhygiene aus dem “Paradies der Weisheit über die Medizin” des a. ‘l-Ḥ. ‘A. b. S. R. al-Ṭ. übers. v. A. Siggel, *Qu. u. St. z. Gesch. der Nat. u. Med.* VIII, 1941, part 1/2.—2. *Kitāb ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa*, from Greek and Indian sources, Bodl. 1, 578 (where the author is wrongly identified as Abū ‘Alī b. Rayyān).

2. Even though Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Kātib al-Yamanī b. Qulayta (Fulayta), d. 231/845, was apparently not a physician by profession, he composed the oldest preserved work on copulation, a theme that medical doctors were keen on discussing in later times.

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*Kitāb rushd al-labīb ilā mu‘āsharat al-ḥabīb* ḤKh 1111, 463<sub>6454</sub>, 21, 904, Gotha 2038, Paris 3051/2, Algiers 1782, Esc. 2563, Alex. Adab 158 (*Murshid*).

| 3. Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā (Yuhannā) b. Māsawayh (the Māsuya, or Mesuë, of the Latins) was the son of a pharmacist in Jundīshāpūr. Having studied in Baghdad under Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū’, the personal physician of Hārūn, he became a hospital director there, and later the personal physician of the caliphs from al-Ma’mūn to al-Wāthiq. On the basis of various translations from Greek works he wrote a series of independent medical books. He died in 243/857 in Samarra.

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Uş. 1, 175/83, Wüst. 59, Leclerc 1, 103. 1. *Nawādir al-ṭibb*, dedicated to Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, Leid. 1302, Garr. 2154<sub>2</sub> (see Suppl.). *Amphorismi Johannis Damasceni*, Bonn 1489, *J.D. Aphorismi* in the apparatus to *Aph. Maimonidis*, Basle 528/42, Hebr. Steinschn. 463.—2. *Kitāb al-ḥummayāt* (see Suppl.), *De Febribus*, Hebrew, from a Latin translation with commentary by Petrus Hispanus, Steinschn. 464.—3. *Perfectum de medicina* Paris Hebr. 379, 408.—4. *Kitāb jawāhir al-ṭib al-mufrada* (*Mukhtaṣar fī maʿrifat ajnās al-ṭib etc.*, Suppl.), *Traité sur les substances simples aromatiques* par J. b. M., publié par P. Sbath, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* XIX, 1936/7.—5. *Kitāb māʿ al-shaʿr* Algiers 1746<sub>2</sub>.—6.—11. see Suppl. (9. *Kitāb al-azmīna* additionally Bursa, Ḥü. Čelebi Heyet 1 [Ritter], Alex. Ḥikma 16, G. 3328, Kraus, not in the catalogue).—Some other works in Hebrew translation in Steinschn. 464<sub>3</sub>.

4. Sābūr b. Sahl, director of the hospital in Jundishāpūr, who died on 24 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 255/2 December 869.

Uş. 1, 161, Wüst. 64, Leclerc 1, 112, Ben Milad, *L'École médicale de Cairouan*, Paris 1933.—*Aqrābādihūn*, Antidotarium after the copy of the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdad, Munich 808<sub>2</sub>.

5. Iṣḥāq b. ʿImrān was a native of Baghdad and was appointed in Kairouan by the Aghlabid Ziyādattalāh (r. 290–6/903–07). Having fallen out with the prince, who suffered from melancholia, accusations against him by a Jewish rival led to his brutal death by torture.

Uş. 11, 35, Wüst. 77. 1. *Maqāla fi ʿl-mālīkhūliyya* Munich 805, 2 (see Suppl.).—2. Fragment of a pharmacopoeia, Esc. 2887<sub>6</sub>.

267 | 6. ʿĪsā b. Māssa, a Christian, was a physician in the hospital in Marw during the third century.

Uş. 1, 184, Wüst. 75, Leclerc 296. *Kitāb al-jimāʿ*, on copulation, Esc. 1883<sub>9</sub>.

233 | 7. Yaḥyā (Yūḥannā) b. Sarābiyūn, the son of a physician of Bājarmā, also lived in the third century. He wrote in Syriac, but his book was soon absorbed into the Arabic literary corpus.

*Fihrist* 296, Uş. 1, 109, Wüst. 89, Leclerc 1, 113. *Al-Kunnāsh*, a work in Syriac, which existed in both a large edition of twelve books and a smaller one of seven,



was translated into Arabic by Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadīthī and Ibn Bahlūl, Esc. 2818<sub>4</sub>, frgm. Paris 2918<sub>7</sub>, Hebr. Steinschneider 474 (see Suppl.). The smaller edition, translated into Latin under the title *Breviarium* or *Practica Therapeuticae Methodus*, was printed several times. The publisher of the edition Basle 1543, Albanus Torinus, called him Janus Damascenus, which gave rise to a confusion with the famous theologian (Mieli § 16, n. 3).—On his younger namesake who is often confused with him see p. 485.

8. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī was a student of Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn and the personal physician of the caliph al-Mu‘tamid (256–79/870–92).

*Fihrist* 284, Uṣ. 1, 203, Wüst. 97 (who lumps him together with the ophtalmologist ‘Īsā b. ‘Alī, 236<sub>12</sub>), Leclerc 1, 303. 1. *Kitāb manāfi‘ al-ḥayawān* Gotha 67<sub>2</sub>, similar Vienna 1481<sub>2</sub>, Esc. 1893 (not 2838), Bodl. 1, Karshuni 112<sub>3</sub>.—2., 3. see Suppl.—4. *Kitāb al-‘amal bil-aṣṭurlāb* in a Bārūdī MS (not in Garr.) and Dam. Zāh. Falak 1 (Cat. 99), ed. L. Cheikho, *al-Mashriq* XVI, 1913, 29/46, RAAD, XII, 634, where the author is believed to have been Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Fazārī (Suppl. 391) because in MS Damascus the author’s name ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā is written on an erasure.

9. The most important physician of this period, and maybe the most creative genius of medieval medicine as a whole,<sup>1</sup> was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī (the Rhazes of the Latins). He was apparently born in 251/865 in Rayy, and before | the age of thirty he had only been engaged in music and chemistry. It seems that it was not until he attempted to find a cure for his eyes, which had been weakened as a result of his chemical experiments, that he turned to medicine in Baghdad, under the mentorship of Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī. According to some he had already studied medicine in Rayy, but this seems impossible, even if one is to follow Ruska in fixing his date of birth much earlier than al-Bīrūnī. After the completion of his studies he directed the hospital in his hometown, and was later called to Baghdad to take on a similar role there. Having become famous through his works, he visited several courts to cash in on his fame, as was the custom of the time. In this manner he also visited the court of the Sāmānid Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr b. Iṣḥāq,<sup>2</sup> the ruler of

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1 A. Müller, *Der Islam* 1, 513.

2 Who revolted in 302/924 against Naṣr b. Aḥmad (Ibn al-Athīr, *Būlāq* VIII, 28, Barthold, *Turkestan* 241), according to the second statement in Ibn Khallikān which is based on a copy of *al-Manṣūrī* itself. His first statement, to the effect that one must understand Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ, is impossible, for the latter only reigned in 350–66/961–76, while Ibn Khallikān’s

Kirmān and Khurāsān, to whom he dedicated his famous work *al-Manṣūrī*. It is not likely that he lost his eyesight after being physically abused by Manṣūr when he could not carry out some of the experiments described in his *Kitāb ithbāt al-kūmiyā'*, because his eyes had presumably weakened some time before then. He died in Baghdad or Rayy in 311/923 (or 320/932).

Ibn Khall. 678, Uṣ. 1, 309/21, Wüst. 98, Leclerc 1, 337, H.P.J. Renaud, A propos du millénaire de Razes, *Bull. de la Soc. franç. d'histoire de la médecine* 1931, March–April, 203ff., A. Eisen, Kūmiyā' al-Rāzī *RAAD*, XIV, 62/4, J. Ruska, Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Raziforschung, *Archeion* V, 1924, 335/47, Mieli, § 16,4.—1. *al-Hāwī*, according to al-Bīrūnī left behind unfinished and compiled out of his papers after his death at the order of Muḥammad b. al-ʿAmīd, | the vizier of the Būyid sultan Rukn al-Dawla, Munich 806 (vol. 12), Br. Mus. 446, Bodl. 1, 565, 607, II, 179, Esc. 2806/16, 854/56 (see M. Antuña, *Medicina, Revista Mensual de Ciencias Medicas* 1935, 20ff.), Garr. 2160,11, Pet. 12,11, Book 2 and 8, Br. Mus. Or. 9790,11, incomplete *ibid.* Or. 9799 (see Suppl.), M. Meyerhof, Thirty three clinical observations of R., *Isis* 1935, 320/72, *Liber Elhavi* (translated by Sālim b. Faraj in Sicily in 1279, Mieli § 54, n. 9), Brescia 1486, *Continens Rasis*, Venice 1542, other editions *BO* 1, 145.—Abstract by ʿAlī b. Dāʿūd ca. 530/1135, Med. 227, by Ibn al-Tilmīdh, d. 560/1164 (p. 487), Berl. 6260, anon. Med. 290.—2. *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-Manṣūrī* (see Suppl.), an overview of medicine in 10 books, Paris 2866, 6203, Bodl. 1, 529,4,5, 577, 592 (Hebr. 419,3), Dresd. 140, Esc. 2819/21, 858/601 (see Suppl.), AS 3751, Alex. Ṭibb 48, Aligarh 124,28, on which glosses by Ibn al-Ḥashshā' in Leid. 331,5 (cat. III, 256), Rabat, Renaud, *Hesp.* XX, 7, *Ibn al-Hachcha XIII s. d. J.-C. Glossaire sur le Mansouri de Razes, Texte ar. publ. avec introduction par G. Colin et H.P.J. Renaud*, Rabat 1941 (Coll. de textes ar. publ. par l'Inst. des Hautes Ét. Maroc. XI), Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 469,2, *Ad Almansorem libri X*, Milan 1487, and see W. Brunner, *Die Augenheilkunde des Rhazes*, diss. Berl. 1900.—3. *Kitāb al-jadarī wal-ḥaṣba* Leid. 1312, Nan. II, 239, *ar. et lat. cura* J. Channing, London 1766, ed. van Dyck, Beirut 1872, Lat. transl. by G. Valla, Venice 1498 (see Suppl.), Greek by Jacques Goupyl, Paris 1548, French by J. Paulet, Paris 1763, by Leclerc and Lenoir *ibid.* 1866, English by Greenhill, *A Treatise on the Smallpox and Measles*, London 1848.—4. *Aqrābādhīn*, antidotarium, Bodl. 1, 611,3, Nan. II, 238, Hebr. Steinschn. 470,9.—5. *Taqṣīm al-ʿilal* Nan. II, 238 = *Kitāb al-taqṣīm wal-tashjūr* Br. Mus. 447, Hebr. Steinschn. 470,8.—6. *Kitāb al-mudkhal ila 'l-ṭibb (al-ṣaghīr)* Paris 2865,1, Bodl. Pers. 92,5 (see Suppl.).—7. *al-Fuṣūl fi 'l-ṭibb* or *al-Murshid* Garr. 1076 (see Suppl.), Hebr. *Pērāqīm*, Leid. Scal. 2, *Amphorismi Rasis*

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assumption that the work was dedicated to him as a child is absurd. I do not know who Uṣ. 1, 313,20, intends to refer to by Manṣūr b. Ismāʿīl b. Khāqān, prince of Khurāsān and Mā warā' al-nahr.

in *Aphor.*, R. Moysis, Bonn 1489.<sup>3</sup>—8. *Kitāb al-kāfi*, a medical compendium, Bodl. hebr. 427.—9. *Kitāb bur' al-sā'a*, on diseases that can be cured within the hour, composed at the order of Vizier Abu 'l-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh, Berl. 6343, | 270  
 | Munich 808, 843 f., 148v., Copenhagen 108, Leid. 1313, Paris 2776,<sub>9</sub>, Bodl. 1, 235  
 Pers. 92,<sub>9</sub>, apparently in two recensions Qawala II, 287, Aligarh 122,<sub>11</sub>, 124,<sub>32</sub>,  
 print. also C. 1936.—Abstracts Gotha 2033, Algiers 1322,<sub>3</sub>.—10. *Kitāb al-bāh wa-manāfi'ihī wa-maḍārrihī wa-mudāwātihi* Leid. 1308, Nan. 107.—11. *Kitāb khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'*, alphabetical Nan. II, 234, Steinschn. *Virchows Archiv* 86, p. 122.—12. *Fī abdāl al-adwiya, de permutatione medicamentorum* Nan. II, 237.—13. *Kitāb sirr al-šinā'a* Esc. <sup>2</sup>833,<sub>3</sub> (see Suppl.), *Razi's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse (Kitāb sirr al-asrār* Gött. 95, photograph QSt. VII, 100, VI, 33) *mit Einl. Übers. u. Erläut. v. J. Ruska (QSt. Gesch. d. Nat. u. Med. 6)* Berlin 1937, idem, Das chemische Hauptwerk des Arztes Razi, *Umschau* 1937, 852/3.—14. *Kitāb al-fākhīr*, a comprehensive work on therapy, ḤKh IV, 8679, part II, Berl. 6259, Leid. 1306/7, Paris 2687, Pet. 120, Alex. Ṭibb 32.—Excerpts on kidney stones in P. de Koning, *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie* (35) 56—124.—15. *Kitāb al-qūlanj* Leid. 1310.—16. *As'ila min al-ṭibb* Leid. 1314.—17. *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-mulūkī* Leid. 1311.—18. *Fī maṣāliḥ al-aghdhiya* Esc. <sup>2</sup>833,<sub>4</sub> 871,<sub>2</sub>.—19. *de arte medendi commentarii x* Esc. <sup>1</sup>797,<sub>1</sub> = (?) *Maqālāt fī šinā'at al-ṭibb* Upps. 341.—20. Commentary on Galen's *de medicamentorum compositione*, based on the translation by Ḥunayn, Esc. <sup>1</sup>797,<sub>2</sub>.—21. *Fī 'l-faṣḍ* Esc. <sup>2</sup>857,<sub>1</sub>, Āṣaf. II, 934, Hebr. Steinschn. 470/1.—22. *de tumoribus* Esc. <sup>1</sup>856.—23. *de viris frigidis et ad venerem ineptis eorumque curatione* ibid. <sup>2</sup>881,<sub>1</sub> = (?) *Risāla fī 'l-bāh* Mosul D. 34,<sub>154,3</sub> OR 10.—24. *de immoderato calore* ibid. 881,<sub>2</sub>.—25. (27) *Fī tartīb al-fākiha* Esc. <sup>2</sup>870,<sub>3</sub>, 887,<sub>3</sub>.—26. *de seminibus ac de radicibus aromaticis* ibid. 4.—27. *de vini potu ejusque speciebus* ibid. 4, *Fī 'l-sharāb maqālatān* = Madr. 601,<sub>5</sub>.—28. *de medicamentis simplicibus* ibid. 810,<sub>2</sub>.—29. *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Jālīnūs fī ḥīlat al-bur'* Esc. <sup>2</sup>801,<sub>1</sub>.—30. *quod nimis thermarum usus noceat* Nan. II, 231.—31. *Sefer happ'eṣūqōt*, Hebr., *Virchow Archiv* 52, no. 470,<sub>6</sub>.—32. *de vena*, Hebr. de Rossi 347.—33. *Rhazis praeparatio salis aromatici in theatrum chemicum*, ed. L. Zetzner, Oberursel-Strasbourg 1602, III, no. 64.—34. *de Febribus liber in Medici graeci et arabi, qui de f. scripserunt* Venice 1594.—35. *Maqāla fī 'l-ḥaṣā fī 'l-kulā wal-mathāna*, *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie, traduction accompagnée du texte* par P. de Koning, Leiden 1896 (Leid. Warn. 585), Latin in *Opera parva Abubetri*, Leid. 1510, under the title *Tractatus de preservatione ab egretudine lapidis*.—36. *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu 'l-ṭabīb* (see Suppl.) Lucknow 1886.—37., 38. *Kitāb | manāfi' al-aghdhiya wa-daf' maḍārrihā*, part II Munich 840, Paris 2868,<sub>1</sub>, part I C. 1305.—39. (42.) *Kitāb al-fuqarā' wal-masākīn* Munich 807.—40. (43) *al-Majmū'a fī 'l-ṭibb* AS 3725/6.—41. (45.) *de aegritudinibus juncturarum*,

3 Nos. 4–7 with several other small tracts in *Opera parva Abubetri*, Leiden 1510.

Hebr. Steinschn., loc. cit., 470<sub>3</sub>.—42. (46.) *de aegritudinibus puerorum* Hebr. ibid. 4.—43. (47.) 119 aphorisms, Hebr. ibid. 5.—44. (48.) *de proprietatibus membrorum* Hebr. ibid. 7.—45. (49.) *Apology of the honorable physician against quackery* Hebr. Steinschn. 470<sub>10</sub>, German *Virchows Archiv* 35, 571, cf. 37, 562, 39, 313.—46 (44) *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, on ethics, as a complement to the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* Br. Mus. 1530<sub>2</sub>, see Suppl.—48.—58. see Suppl. 51.—71. Ad 59. *al-Sīra al-falṣaṭīyya* Br. Mus. 1530<sub>2</sub>, see Suppl. *Abu Bekr Muhammedis f. Zachariae Rhagensis (Rhazis) opera philosophica fragmentaque quae supersunt, collegit edidit* P. Kraus (Univ. Fouad I, Lit. Fac. Publ. fs. XXII, Cairo 1939).—Ps.-Razes, *Nuzhat al-mulūk*, on poisons, Fātiḥ 3644 (Ritter).

10. Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʿīlī originated from Egypt and moved to Kairouan during the reign of the Aghlabid Ziyādatallāh (290–6/903–9), where he studied under Ishāq b. ʿImrān (p. 266). After the downfall of Ziyādatallāh he entered the service of the Fāṭimid ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī and died around the year 320/932 (or, according to others, after 341/953).

236 | Uṣ. II, 36/7, Wüst. 101, Leclerc I, 409, Steinschneider, *Der ar. Lit. der Juden*, p. 28, Guttman, *Die philosophischen Schriften des Isrāʿēlī*, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Phil. im MA* X, 4. 1. *Kitāb al-ḥummayāt* Leid. 1305, Bodl. hebr. 416, Hebr. Steinschn. 479<sub>3</sub>, cf. Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin*, 348.—2. *Kitāb al-aghḏhiya (wal-adwiya)*, vol. I, Munich 809, Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 479<sub>11a</sub>.—3. *Kitāb al-bawl* AS 3563 f. 63b/78a, *Ikhtisār*, Bodl. 611<sub>2</sub>, Hebr. Steinschn. 479<sub>2</sub>.—4. *Kitāb al-usṭūqīsāt*, Hebr. Steinschn. 255, Leid. Warn. 13, de Rossi 207, 423, 771, Vat. 53<sub>9</sub>.—5. *Viaticum* = (?) no. 2, Hebr. de Rossi 1168.—6. *de diaetis unīversalibus et particularibus*, Patavia 1487, Basle 1570.—*Mūsar hārōfʿīm*, Hebr. transl. of 50 aphorisms in *Ōṣar ṭōb*, 1884, Italian by Soave in *Giornale di scienze mediche* XVIII, 1861 (real ?), Steinschn. 479<sub>4</sub>.—*Omnia opera Isaaci*, Leid. 1515.

272 | 11. (13) Gharīb b. Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī, secretary of the Spanish caliphs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (300–50/912–61) and al-Ḥakam al-Mustaṣṣir billāh (350–60/961–70), wrote, at the behest of the latter in 353/964:

*Khalq al-janīn wa-tadbīr al-ḥabālā wal-mawlūd* Esc. 2833<sub>2</sub>, Wüst. no. 106, Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 428.<sup>4</sup>

4 Where he persists in identifying this physician with the historian ʿArīb (p. 149), such against Dozy, *ZDMG* XX, 595ff., like Mieli § 38 n, 3, 4, cf. Dozy, *Le calendrier de Cordoue*, Leiden 1873, Steinschn., *Der Kalender von Cordova*, *Zeitschr. f. Math.*, 1874.

| 12. (14) Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ash'ath, who died at an advanced age in 360/970. 273

Uṣ. 1, 245, Wüst. 107. 1. *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, ḤKh III, 122, Bodl. 1, 456<sub>6</sub> (cf. II, 583), excerpt from the first chapter on man, Gotha 1<sub>31</sub>.—2.—4. see Suppl. (4. AS 2890<sub>3</sub>).—5. *Quwa 'l-adwīya al-mufrada*, composed in 353/964, Br. Mus. Or. 11615, see Fulton, *Br. Mus. Quarterly* XI, 81.

13. (15) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, together with al-Majūsī a student of Abū Mūsā b. Sayyār, was, around 360/970, the personal physician of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (320–66/932–76).

Wüst. 198. *Kitāb al-mu'ālaja al-Buqrāṭiyya*, the medical system in ten books, Ind. Off. 773, Bodl. 1, 567, 641, 644, Munich 810 (see Suppl.).

14. (16) Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān b. Ḥassān b. Juljul was the personal physician of the Spanish caliph Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad billāh (360–99/976–1009).

Uṣ. II, 46, Wüst. 111. 1. *Kitāb al-ḥashā'ish*, supplement to the translation of Dioscorides by Stephanus and Ḥunayn, Bodl. 1, 573<sub>4</sub>.—2. *Fī adwiyat al-tiryāq*, ibid. 5.—3. *Ta'riḥ (Ṭabaqāt) al-aṭibbā' wal-falāsifa* ḤKh 1<sub>IV</sub>, 7883 (see Suppl.).

15. (17) Born in Jerusalem, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Sa'īd al-Tamīmī first worked for al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ṭughuj in al-Ramla, before going, around 360/970, to Egypt, where he entered the service of the vizier of the Fāṭimids al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz, Ya'qūb | b. Killis (d. 380/990, b. 273  
Khall. 802). He was still alive in 370/980.

Uṣ. II, 87, Wüst. 112, Leclerc 1, 388. 1. *Kitāb al-murshid ilā jawāhir al-aghdhīya wa-quwa 'l-mufradāt min al-adwīya*, Paris 2870<sub>1</sub>, fragm. Pet. Ros. 182<sub>4</sub>.—2. *Manāfi' (Khawāṣṣ) al-Qur'ān* see Suppl. 1, 429<sub>8,2</sub>, II, 283<sub>1</sub>, 945<sub>26</sub>, also Bodl. 1, 156, Algiers 365, AS 376/7, Sulaim. 187 (*Tabshūr khawāṣṣ asrār al-Q.*), *Mukhtaṣar* Cairo 1<sub>V</sub>, 370.

16 (18) Also in the service of that vizier was the physician Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Baladī.

*Kitāb tadbīr al-ḥabālā wal-atfāl*, diseases of pregnant women and children in their first years of life, Gotha 1875, Calcutta, p. 11, no. 1084.

17. (19) 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Majūsī, born the son of a Zoroastrian in Ahwaz, was the personal physician of the Būyid sultan 'Aḍud al-Dawla (338–72/949–82). He died in 994.

Uş. I, 236, Wüst. 117, Leclerc I, 381. *Kāmil al-şinā'a al-ṭibbīyya*, dedicated to the aforementioned sultan, which is why it is also called *al-Kunnāsh al-malakī* or *al-Qānūn al-'Aḍudī fi 'l-ṭibb*, complete only in Berl. 6261—5, Leid. 1315/6, Bank. IV, 12/4, individual volumes, Munich 811, Bodl. I, 523, 529, 587, 622/3, Esc. 2815,2, 818,5, 838, Palat. 246, Paris 2871/80, Ind. Off. 774/6, Garr. 1077/8, Suppl. 1 (see Suppl.), print. Būlāq 1294, Turkish transl. Bursa Ḥu. Celebi Tip 2, *Liber totius medicinae necessaria continens quem Haly f. Abbas ed. regique inscripsit etc.* Leid. 1523, vol. I, *Maqāla* 9, chapt. 34/5, 47, vol. II, *Maq.* 8, chapt. 49, ed. de Koning in *Traité sur le calcul* (see p. 269), 124/85, Hebr. Steinschn. 426.—2. *Kitāb fi 'l-ṭibb* Gött. 96 (?).

238 | 18. (20) Abū Sahl 'Īsā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī al-Jurjānī, d. 401/1010, see Suppl.

Uş. I, 327, Wüst. 118, Leclerc I, 356, Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaşar* 330. 1. *al-Kitāb (Kutub) al-mī'a fi 'l-şinā'a al-ṭibbīyya*, medical encyclopaedia in 100 treatises, ḤKh v, 11288, Berl. 6266, Paris 2881/2, Bodl. I, 582, Pet. Ros. 165, Upps. 353, Fez Qar. 1361 (wrongly *al-milla*), No 3557, glosses thereon by Nu'mān b. Abi 274 'l-Riḍā al-Isrā'īlī, Paris 2883.—| 2. *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-kullī*, on general therapy, Berl. 6207.—3. *Kitāb izhār ḥikmat Allāh ta'ālā fi khalq al-insān*, on the purpose and use of human limbs, Gotha 1988.—4. Smaller treatises a. *Kitāb fi aşnāf al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyya*.—b. *Kitāb arkān al-'ālam*.—c. *Kitāb mabādī' al-mawjūdāt al-ṭabī'īyya*.—d. *Kitāb talkhiş Kitāb al-samā' wal-'ālam li-Arişūṭālīs* de Jong 113.

19. (21) A *faqīh* and physician at the same time was Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Tūmart al-Maghribī al-Andalusī al-Mālikī, d. 391/1001.

Suppl. I, 303, 424. Fragments of his *Kitāb uşul al-dīn al-badī'a* and his mostly kabbalistic *Kanz al-'ulūm wal-durr al-manzūm fi ḥaqā'iq 'ilm al-şarī'a wa-daqa'iq 'ilm al-ṭabī'a fi 'l-ṭibb* are preserved in Gotha 17, Br. Mus. 1001,1, Riḍā P. 3131, Tunis Zayt. *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, 11, no. 19, see *Fundgruben des Orients*, 11, 293.

20. (22) Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālid al-Jazzār was a student of Ishāq b. Sulaymān (no. 10) and lived as a practising physician in Kairouan. He disdained seeking the favours of the prince but participated every summer in the maritime campaigns against the infidels, which were nothing more than

marauding piratical expeditions. He died around 395/1004, at over 80 years of age.

Uş. II, 37, Wüst. 120, Gesch. 158, Leclerc I, 413. 1. *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādīr*, a medical compendium, Dresd. 209, Copenhagen 109, Bodl. I, p. 135, II, 528, Paris 2884, Algiers 1746, cf. Dugat, *JA* 1853, I, 295ff., following which a listing of the chapters in A. Cherif, *Histoire de la médecine arabe en Tunisie*, Thèse de Bordeaux 1908, p. 56/61, Daremberg, *Archives des Missions, Cahier IX*. Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 449, Greek by Synesios, partly in *Synesios de febribus*, Amsterdam 1749, Latin *Viaticum peregrinantis*, attributed to himself by the translator in *Constantini Africani* (d. 1087, see Sudhoff, *Archeion* XIV, 1932, 359/69, Mieli § 52) *Opera*, Basle, 1536, 1539, also in G. de Solo, *Introductorium* 1505 and *Opera parva Abubetri*, Leid. 1510.—2. *Kitāb ṭibb al-fuqarā' wal-masākīn*, on cheap medicine, Gotha 2034, Esc. 852,<sup>11</sup>, Hebr. Steinschn. 451.—3. *Kitāb i'timād al-adwiya al-mufrada* Algiers 1746,<sup>3</sup>, AS 3564, Hebr. Steinschn. 448. al-Jazzār, | *Liber fiduciae de simplicibus medicinis (Kitāb etc.) in der Übersetzung von Stephanus de Saragossa, übertr. aus der Hds. München, Cod. lat. 253 v. L. Volger, Diss. Berlin-Würzburg 1941 (Texte u. Unters. zur Gesch. d. Naturw. 6)*.—4. *Fī siyāsat al-šibyān wa-tadbīrihim* Nan. II, 240.—5. *de aromatum substitutione* Esc. 189<sup>1,4</sup>.—6. *de curanda tussi, de tollendo renis et vesicae calculo et de morbo splenis sanando* Bodl. I, 579,<sup>2</sup>.—7. *Kitāb al-khawāṣṣ*, Lat. transl. Steinschn. 452.—8. On amnesia and remedies to strengthen memory, in Hebrew and Latin, *ibid.*—9. 10. see Suppl.—11. *I'dāl al-'aqaqīr* Esc. 2896,<sup>5</sup>.—12. *Kitāb al-ma'ida wa-amrāḍuhā wa-mudāwātuhā* *ibid.* 852,<sup>4</sup>.

| 21. (23) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq b. Haytham, a physician in Cordova, was, it seems, a younger contemporary of Ibn al-Jazzār, on whose *Kitāb al-i'timād* he wrote a critical review. 239

Uş. I, 46. *Kitāb al-iktifā' bil-dawā' min khawāṣṣ al-ashyā'*, Hebr. Steinschn. 454, cf. *ZDMG* 49, 251.

22. (24) Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Qumrī was one of the teachers of Ibn Sīnā. Born in Bukhara at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, he was the personal physician of the Sāmānid ruler al-Manṣūr. He died soon after 380/990.

Uş. I, 327, Wüst. 109, Leclerc I, 385. 1. *Kitāb al-ghinā wal-munā, liber vitae et mortis* Gotha 1951, 2036, Bodl. I. 642, Palat. 247, Nan. II, 218 (?), AS 3580, 3794, Aligarh 122,<sup>22</sup>.—2. *Maqālāt fi 'l-ṭibb* AS 3749.

23. (25) Probably in the fourth/tenth century, and certainly after Ibn al-Jazzār, an anonymous author composed a medical work in 5 books under the name of the famous physician Yaḥyā b. Māsawayh (p. 265), but which has only survived in Latin and Hebrew translations.<sup>5</sup>

Wüst. 125, Leclerc I, 504, Steinschneider in *Virchows Archiv*, 1860, 379ff., Hebr. transl. 465, Mieli § 23<sub>10</sub>, Latin translation of his work Euting 1990–2002, cf. 276 J.L. Pagel, | *Die angebl. Chirurgie des Johs. Mesuë jun. nach einer Hds. der Pariser Nationalbibliothek teils herausg., teils analysiert nebst einem Nachtrag zur Chirurgie des Heinr. v. Maudeville*, Berlin 1893, F.A. Sternberg, *Das 4. Buch der angebl. Chirurgie des Joh. Mesuë, zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht*, Diss. Berlin 1893.

24. (26) Abu 'l-Qāsim Khalaf b. 'Abbās (not 'Ayyāsh) al-Zahrāwī was a practising physician in Cordova under the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (300–50/912–61), had social relations with a young Ibn Ḥazm (p. 399), and died soon after 400/1009.

Ibn Bashkuwāl 368, Maqq. II, 119, Uṣ. II, 52, Wüst. 147 (who fixes his death, following Casiri, around the year 500/1106), Leclerc I, 437, Rieu, Add. p. 781r, Steinschneider in *Virchows Archiv* 52, p. 482/4, E. Dognée, Abulcasis, Sa vie son œuvre, *Études arch. ling. et hist. dédiés à C. Leemans*, Leiden 1885, p. 304/5, Muḥammad Ṣubḥī Ganima, *Abu 'l-Q., ein Forscher der Medizin*, Diss. Berl. 1929, Haeser, *Lehrb. der Gesch. der Medizin*<sup>3</sup>, Jena 1875, I, 578/84, Mieli § 38. 1. *Kitāb al-taṣrīf li-man 'ajiza 'an al-ta'ālīf*, medical compendium, Berl. 6254, Gotha 1989 (where further MSS are listed, see Suppl.), complete only in Vienna 1458, otherwise mostly surgery, Books 1–5 in a private library in Rabat, see Renaud, *Hespéris* XX, fragm. in Esc. 2876, 4, Juz' 2 in Zāw., Sidi Ḥamza, *Hesp.* XXIII, 98<sub>9</sub>, in a private library in Damascus, RAAD VII, 374/80, Hebr. transl. Steinschn. 476, Latin incomplete *Liber theoricae nec non practicae Alsaharavii, qui vulgo Acararius dicitur*, Augsburg 1519 (by Gerard of Cremona). From this work, individually: a. *Maqālat taqāsīm al-amrād* Pet. Ros. 173.—b. *Tafsīr al-akyāl al-mawjūda fī kutub al-ṭibb bikhtilāf al-asmā' murattaba 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam* Leid. 1338, Bodl. I, Pers. 92<sub>8</sub>, Esc. 1I, 28/9 (wrongly attributed to Ibn Bayṭār, see Wüst. 231, n. 6), Rabāt 479.—c. *al-Maqāla fī 'amal al-yad* Paris 2953, under the title *Chirurgia Abulcasis* in *Guy de Cauliac (Chauliac) Chirurgia*, Venice 1497, *Abulcasis Methodus medendi cum instrumentis ad omnes fere morbos depictis*, Basle 1541 (see Ellis I, 842), *Abulcasis de chirurgia, ar. et lat. cura* Jo. Channing, Oxford 1778, L. Leclerc, *La chirurgie d'Abulcasis*, Paris 1861, see H. Frölich, Abul'Kasem als Kriegschirurg, | in 277

5 The account by Leo Africanus concerning a putative Mesuë from Mārdīn is worthless.



*Archivf. klin. Chirurgie* 1884, 364/76, P. Schleie, *Zentralbl. f. die ges. Medizin* 1884, 20 Sept.—d. *Maqāla fī a'mār al-'aqāqīr al-mufrada wal-murakkaba* Br. Mus. 988,1.—e. Essays on gynaecological disorders in Caspar Wolf, *Gynaecia*, Basle 1566, J. Spach, Argent. 1597.—f. It is doubtful if the book on the preparation of simple remedies in the translation by Simon of Genoa and Abraham Judaeus of Tortosa, *Liber servitoris sive Liber XXVIII Bulchasin Beneberacerin*, Venice 1471 (with the *Opera Mesuë*), belongs to these.—2. Dietetics in Latin translation, see E.M. Dognée, Un ms. inédit d'origine Cordouane, *Bol. de la Hist.* XXI, 399/401.

25. Abū Sahl Bishr b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Sijāzi wrote for the prince of Sijistān Abū Aḥmad Khalaf b. Aḥmad, and died in prison in 399/1008.

(Browne, *Chahār Maqāla*, transl. 39, n. 1). 1. *al-Kunnāsh* AS 3578 (Ritter). 2. *al-Rasā'il al-ṭibbiyya* Rāmpūr I, 477,88 (Suppl. II, 1029,19).

26. (27) Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ammār b. 'Alī al-Mawṣilī dedicated to Sultan al-Ḥākīm (386–411/996–1020):

*Kitāb al-muntakhab fī 'ilāj al-'ayn* Esc. 2894,5, at times mistakenly identified with the *Tractatus de oculis Canamusali* by Armeniacus, see Pansier, *Magistri David Armeniaci compilatio in libros de oculorum curationibus et diversorum philosophorum de Baldach*, Paris 1904, Noë Scalinci, *Il libro Pro sanitate oculorum di M. Davide Armenio*, Napoli 1923 (Mieli § 23, 11).

27. (28) Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindū studied medicine and philosophy in Nishapur and was also a distinguished poet. He died in 410/1019 or, according to others, in 420/1029.

Uṣ. I, 323, *Fawāt* II, 45. 1. *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb* ḤKh III, 252, VI, 15, Ind. Off. 1041,4, Köpr. 981.—2.—5. see Suppl.—6. *Kitāb al-misāḥa* is cited by Ibn Isfandiyār, *Hist. of Ṭabaristān* 77.

E. Wiedemann, *Über die Naturwissenschaften bei den Arabern, Samml. gemeinverst. wiss. Vorträge, V, Heft 97*, Hamburg 1890.

1. On the legend of Jābir and on the person who collected the works attributed to him, al-Ḥasan b. al-Nakad al-Mawṣilī, see Suppl. I, 426/7.

Wüst., *Ärzte* 25, Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge* 111, *L'alchimie ar. avec la collaboration de M.O. Houdas*, Paris 1893. J. Ruska, *Das Giftbuch des Jābir*, *OLZ* 1928, 453ff., *The History of the Jabir Problem*, *Isl. Culture* XI, 303/12, *Mukhtār rasā'il J. b. Ḥayyān bi'tinā' al-ustādh* P. Kraus, C. 1354. *Kitāb al-sab'īn* MS Cairo photograph *QSt.* VII, 87, VI, 14/5 (see Ruska, *Festschr. E. v. Lippmann* 40), *Sab'īn al-ustūqus, Jumal al-'ishrīn* Bursa, Ḥü. Čelebi Heyet 15, *Hikma* 123 (Ritter).

1. *Kitāb al-riyādāt* Bodl. I, 522.—2. *Kitāb al-raḥma* ed. Berth.-H. 132/60, commentary *Sirr al-ḥikma* by al-Ṭughrā'ī, d. 515/1121 (p. 284), Paris 2607.—3. *Kitāb al-raḥma al-ṣaghīr* Paris 2605,3, Berth.-H. 99/104.—4. *Kitāb al-mawāzīn al-ṣaghīr* Berth.-H. 105/31.—5. *Kitāb al-mulk* ibid. 91/8.—6. *Kitāb al-tajmīr* excerpts ibid. 161/79, Kraus, loc. cit., 34/91.—7. *Kitāb al-zībaq al-sharqī* ibid. 180/5.—8. *Kitāb al-zībaq al-gharbī* ibid. 187/92.—9. *Nār al-ḥajar* ibid. 193/200.—10. *Kitāb arḍ al-ḥajar* ibid. 201/5.—11. *Kitāb al-mumāthala*, completion of the *Kitāb al-muqābala* on the philosopher's stone (apocryphal), Berl. 4177.—12. *Kitāb muṣaḥḥahāt Aflāṭūn* Rāḡib 965, Bahādur Shāh, Lahore, *JRASB* 1917, XXCVII, 115.—13. On the four elements of the philosopher's stone, Paris 1260.—14. *Kitāb al-sahl* Br. Mus. 1002,3.—15. *Kitāb al-ṣāfi* ibid. 4.—16. *Kitāb al-sha'ar* ibid. 5.—17. Various alchemical prescriptions ibid. 7.—18. *Kitāb hatk al-asrār*, on the philosopher's stone, ibid. 13.—19. *Kitāb al-uṣūl fī jumlat kutub al-mawāzīn* ibid. 1371,13.—20. *Kitāb sirr al-asrār* ibid. 14.—21. *Kitāb al-khawāṣṣ al-kabīr* ibid. 1373,2 or *Maqālāt al-kubrā* Alex. Kīm. 5 from which *maqāla* 1, 2, 8, 17 ed. Kraus, loc. cit., 224/303, parts of *maqāla* 6, 10, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 32, 33, 38, 62 ibid. 303/32.—22. 21 smaller tracts, Paris 2606.—23.—85. see Suppl. (28. ed. Kraus, loc. cit., 1/95; 77. Kraus 533/41; 78. *Maydān al-'aql* Kraus, loc. cit., 206/23, | see Ruska, *Tab. smaragd.* 124ff.).—86. *Kitāb al-hudūd* Cairo 1V, 392, Kraus, loc. cit., 97/114, see *Isis* 15, 9/20.—87. *Kitāb al-'ahd* photograph *QSt.* VII, 96, VI, 23.—88. *al-Ṭabī'a al-khāmisa* Paris 5099, photograph *QSt.* VII, 97, VI, 34.—89. *al-Aḥjār alā ra'y Bālinūs* ibid. 3, Kraus 126/205.—90. *al-Taṣrīf* Paris 5099, Kraus 392/423.—91. *al-Mājid* Kr. 115/25.—92. *al-Qadīm* ibid. 542/7.—Later, in Latin translations and revisions, numerous additional works were falsely attributed to him (cf. e.g. *Geberi curieuse vollständige Chymische Schriften*, Frankf. 1710, Vienna 1751), see Steinscheider, *Zur pseudopigr. Literatur* 71, 84, *JA* 1854,

II, 248, *ZDMG* XIII, 649. Among these is also the *Liber claritatis totius alkimicae artis*, ed. E. Darmstaedter, *Archeion* VI, 1925, 319/30, VII, 1926, 257/66, VIII, 1927, 95/103, 214/26, IX, 1928, 63/80, 191/208, 462/484, see J. Ruska *ibid.* XVI, 1934, 145/67.

2. Muḥammad b. Umayl b. ‘Abdallāh b. Umayl al-Tamīmī, who flourished in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup>

| 1. *al-Mā’ al-waraqī wal-arḍ al-naǧmiyya* Fir. Ricc. 20, 1, Cairo <sup>IV</sup>, 393, on certain winged creatures that were depicted on the ceiling and the walls of a temple in Būṣīr, which was believed to have been Joseph’s prison,<sup>2</sup> with an alchemical commentary by the author, Paris 2610/1, Fir. Ricc. 20, 2, Pet. Rosen 198, versified in the form of a *mukhammas* by al-Jildakī (p. II, 138) Paris 2611,2, with commentary Br. Mus. 1371,16, see J. Ruska, *Isis* XXIV, 1936, 310/42.—2. *Sharḥ al-ṣuwar wal-ashkāl bil-ḥakīm* Paris 2609,1.—3. *Maḥāṭiḥ al-ḥikma fi ’l-ṣun’a* AS 2466, different from the *Miḥāṭiḥ al-ḥikma*, abbreviated in Artefius’ *Clavis majoris sapientiae* (see Suppl.), Levi della Vida, *Speculum* XIII, 80/5.

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3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) b. ‘Alī b. Waḥshiyya al-Nabatī, who came from an Aramaic family of Iraq, flourished in the second half or toward the end of the third century and devoted himself to alchemy and other occult | sciences. In his major work, *On Nabatean Agriculture*, he tried, in the spirit of the Shu’ūbiyya, to prove that the culture of the ancient Babylonians was greatly superior to that of the ruling Arabs. Yet because he had little concrete knowledge of that culture, he invented a whole literature, which he employed in addition to the few Hellenistic sources that were available to him in translation. Although he presents himself, in every way, as a good Muslim, he opposes Islamic dogma through all kinds of free thinking under the cover of the authorities that he himself invented.

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Leclerc I, 307. 1. *Kitāb al-filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, apparently written in 281/904 and dictated in 318/930 to Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad b. Zayyāt, whom Nöldeke, *ZDMG* XXIX, 453/5 therefore took to be the real author, Berl. 6205 (III), Leid. 1279/81, Bodl. I, 403, 506/7, Br. Mus. 997, Paris 2803, Algiers 1497, Cairo <sup>IV</sup>, 385.—Abstract, *Mukhtaṣar al-filāḥa wa-dhikr manāfi’ al-mufradāt*, by ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Zaytūnī al-‘Awfī, Paris 2942,4 with everything pagan removed, *Khulāṣat al-ikhtiṣār fi ma’rifat al-quwā wal-khawāṣṣ* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm

1 Contra Rosen, *loc. cit.*, who placed him in the third century because Dhu ’l-Nūn (d. 242, see p. 214) is the last authority referred to by him, already Flügel and Stapleton (see Suppl.).

2 Cf. Stricker, La prison de Joseph, *Acta Or.* XIX, 1942, 101/37.

al-Awsī b. al-Raqqām al-Mursī, d. 715/1315 (II, 266), Gotha 2119, Cambr. 342, *Khulāṣa* by ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Khaz‘al al-Ḥusaynī, Patna I, 263, 2211, anon. Berl. 6206, Leid. 1282, under the title *Asrār al-ṭabī‘iyyāt fī khawāṣṣ al-nabāt* Upps. 338. Cf. Chwolson, *Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literatur in ar. Übersetzungen*, *Mém. des savants étrangers publ. par l’Acad. Impér.* VIII, St. Pétersburg 1859 and against this E. Renan, *Mém. de l’Ac. des Inscr.* XXIV, 1, p. 152, A. v. Gutschmid, *ZDMG* XV, p. 1ff., Th. Nöldeke *ibid.* XXIX, 445ff. G.O. Darby, Ibn Waḥshiyya in Mediaeval Spanish Lit., *Isis* 33, 1941, 433/8.—2. *Kitāb Tankalūshā al-Bābīlī al-Qūqānī fī ṣuwar daraj al-falak wa-mā tadullu ‘alayhi min aḥwāl al-mawlūdīn* Leid. 1047, Chwolson, *loc. cit.*, 458/92, Gutschmid, *loc. cit.*, on the name, Borissov, *JA* 226, 300ff. (see Suppl.).—3. *Kitāb al-sumūm wal-tiryāqāt* Leid. 1284, Br. Mus. 1357.—4. *Kitāb shawq al-mustahām fī ma‘rifat rumūz al-aqlām*, | on the various scripts and hands of different peoples and individual men, completed 241/885 (?), Munich 789, Vienna 68. *Ancient Alphabets and hieroglyphic Characters explained, with an Account of the Egyptian Priests, their*  
243 *Classes, Initiation and Sacrifices* | in the Arabic Language by A. b. Abu Bekr b. 281 *Wahshih* (*sic*) and in English by J. Hammer, London 1806, cf. de Sacy in Millin’s *Mag. enc.* 1810, VI, 145/75.—5. *Kitāb sidrat al-muntahā*, a conversation with al-Maghribī al-Qamarī on questions of religion and natural philosophy (not alchemy, ḤKh III, 7065), Gotha 1162, cf. Hammer, *loc. cit.*, XVI, Chwolson, *Die Ssabier* I, 823.—6. *Kitāb al-riyāsa fī ‘ilm al-firāsa* Bodl. I, 479.—7. *Maṭālī‘ al-anwār fī ‘l-ḥikma* *ibid.* 494.—8. *Kanz al-ḥikma*, on alchemy, Leid. 1267 = (?) *Kanz al-asrār* NO 3631.—9. *Kitāb uṣūl al-ḥikma* *ibid.* 1268 = *Kitāb al-uṣūl al-kabīr* Rāḡib 963,4.—10. *Kitāb al-shāwahid fī ‘l-ḥajar al-wāḥid* Rāḡib 963,1.—11. *Kitāb al-tilasmāt* Bodl. I, 951.—12. *Kitāb tābqāna* Berl. Pet. 66 (Ritter).—13. *Kitāb Bālīnūs al-ḥakīm* Pet. Un. 1091, *Zap. Koll. Vost.* I, 370.

4. Abu ‘l-Qāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī, from Madrid, studied in the Orient and devoted himself, during the reign of al-Ḥakam II (350–66/961–76), to mathematics and astronomy, as well as to alchemy and magic. He died between 395/1004 and 398/1007.

Uṣ. II, 39, Wüst., *Ärzte* 122. 1. *Kitāb (al-ta‘līm bi) rutbat al-ḥakīm* or *Kanz al-faḍā‘il*, a work on alchemy falsely attributed to him (see Suppl.), Paris 2612/3, Rāḡib 963,5, NO 3923, Cairo 1v, 381, Alex. Kim. 6, Rāmpūr I, 686,76.—2. *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm (wa-aḥaqq al-natījatayn bil-taqdīm)*, instructions on how to make talismans, amulets etc. Vienna 1491, Leid. 1211/2, Bodl. I, 990, Esc. 1941,2, Rāḡib 570, 965, AS 2443, NO 2794, Alex. Ḥurūf 15, Latin in the *Picatrix* (corrupted from Buqrātīs Hippocrates), a translation that originated in Spain, cf. Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigr. Lit.* 37, Hebr. compendium Steinschn. 525.—3. *Kitāb al-aḥjār*,

excerpts Bodl. 1, 448<sup>4</sup>, cf. *ZDMG* XLIX, 251.—4. *Generatio animalium* Esc. 1895.—5. Problems in spherical trigonometry, Esc. 1967, 2972,3 (Renaud p.171).—6. See Suppl. (Arīn read Uzain = Ujjaini, i.e. the meridian of Lanka, Bīrūnī *India* 93, 158 ff., transl. 1, 306ff, Abu 'l-Fidā' *Geogr.* 1, CCXLI, Ferrand, *Relations* 325, n. 1, 366, n. 2, Löfgren on Abū Makhrama 1, 30, n. 9).—7. Improvement on the *Planisphaerium* of Ptolemy, AS 2671,3, Latin transl. (see Suppl.) ed. Heiberg, *Ptolemaei Opera* 11, 227/58, see J. Drecker, *Isis* IX, 1927, 255/78.—8.–12. see Suppl. (12. *Rawḍat al-ḥaqā'iq* etc. also Alex. Kīm. 12,7).

| 5. In Berl. 7604, the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr al-Ḥākīm bi-amrillāh, d. 411/1020, is credited with an alchemical *qaṣīda* in 113 verses full of self-praise. 282

6. 'Uṭārid b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib or al-Kātib probably flourished in the third/ninth century and composed the oldest preserved work on the properties of stones, especially gemstones.

*Fihrist* 278. *Kitāb manāfi' al-ahjār* Paris 2775,3 = *Kitāb al-jawāhir wal-ahjār* AS 3610, see Clément-Mullet, *JA* 1868 1, 11. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XLIX, 249; excerpts in al-Majrīṭī's *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* 106ff., see Ruska, *Griech. Planetendarstellungen*, SB Heid. 1919,3, Ritter, *Istanbuler Mitt. Heft III*, p. 3.

| 7. Muḥammad b. Abī Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Abī Akhī Ḥizām al-Khuttalī, ca. 251/865 (see Suppl.). 244

*Kitāb al-furūsiyya wa-shiyāt al-khayl*, the oldest hippological work of Arabic literature, Br. Mus. 1305, Patna 1, 262,2206/7 or *Kitāb al-khayl wal-bayṭara* (see Suppl.), Fātiḥ 3608 (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī), see L. Moullé, *Hist. de la médecine vétérinaire* 11, 117/9 (following a Russian translation, Kazan 1896).

8. 'Isā b. 'Alī b. Ḥassān al-Azdī, 10th cent.

*Al-Jamhara fi 'l-bayzara* Esc. 2903, see Leclerc 1, 503.

9. Abū Sa'īd (Sa'd) Naṣr b. Ya'qūb al-Dīnawārī dedicated the oldest preserved work on dream interpretation to the caliph al-Qādir billāh in 397/1006.

*Kitāb al-Qādirī fi 'l-ta'bīr* Paris 2745, Bodl. 1, 438, 441, 447, 453, Pet. Rosen 212, Köpr. 1363, Patna 1, 129,1291; the 15th and last *maqāla*, a list of 100 famous dream interpreters, Berl. 10057 (see Suppl.).

## Chapter 18. Encyclopaedias

283 1. The need to compose compact overviews of all or at least the greater part of the sciences, which became more and more pressing as independent | production declined, only manifested itself towards the end of this period. The oldest work of this kind was dedicated by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Khwārizmī<sup>1</sup> to Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad al-‘Utbī, the vizier of the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ II (365–87/975–997).

*Kitāb maḡātīḥ al-‘ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leid. 1895, Ġārullāh 2047. The work treats, in 2 *maḡālas* of 6 and 9 *abwāb* each: 1, 1. *al-fiqh*, 2. *al-kalām*, 3. *al-naḥw*, 4. *al-kitāba*, 5. *al-shi‘r wal-‘arūd*, 6. *al-akḥbār*;—II, 1. *al-falsafa*, 2. *al-mantiq*, 3. *al-ṭibb*, 4. *‘ilm al-‘adad*, 5. *al-handasa*, 6. *al-nujūm*, 7. *al-mūsīqī*, 8. *al-ḥiyal*, 9. *al-kīmīyyā*. Maqrīzī, *Khūṭat* I, 258<sup>4</sup>, says the author was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī.

2. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tawḥīdī al-Ṣūfī Abū Ḥayyān, d. after 400/1009 (see Suppl.), but according to *Madīnat al-‘ulūm* (Bank. XXI, 88) his death was as early as ca. 380/990.

1. *Kitāb al-muḡābasāt*, in 103 sections on questions regarding various sciences, Leid. 1443, Alex. Fun. 134<sup>1</sup>, Bank. XXI, 2337, print. Bombay 1303 (see Suppl.).—  
2. *Risāla fi ‘ilm al-kitāba*, on calligraphy, Krafft II.—3. *al-Ishārāt al-ilāḥīyya wal-anfās al-rūḥāniyya*, a collection of prayers and sermons (see Suppl.), Milan, estate of E. Griffini, see A. Codazzi no. 14/5, abstract with a commentary by ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Badr al-Maḡdisī al-Shāfi‘ī, ca. 934/1529, Berl. 2818.—4. *Risāla fi ‘l-ṣadāqa wal-ṣiddīq wa-risāla fi waṣf al-‘ulūm*, Istanbul 1301/2, reprint C. 1323, see Suppl., *ZDMG* 66, 526.—5.–13. see Suppl. (10 = 4a).—  
14. *Risāla fi taḥqīq anna mā yaṣḍuru bil-qudra wal-ikhtiyār lā bil-kurh wal-iḍṭirāb* Lāleli 3645, f. 21/2. *Madīnat al-‘ulūm* (see above) lists the following additional works: 1. *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb*.—2. *Awsaq al-majālis*.—3. *Anīs al-muḥāḍara*.—4. *al-Rawḍ al-khaṣīb*.—5. *Naẓm al-sulūk*.—6. *Nishwān al-muḥāḍarāt*.—7. *‘Ajā‘ib al-gharā‘ib*.—8. *Tarwīḥ al-arwāḥ*. Individual treatises also in Lāleli 2433, 3645, 3647 (*ZDMG* 66, 526).

1 Whom Rieu, Cat. M. Br. 640,nc, mistakenly identified as Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās al-Khwārizmī, d. 383/993 (see p. 92).

## The Post-Classical Period of Islamic Literature from ca. 400/1000 until ca. 656/1258

With the decline of their political power and the start of a general cultural decay, the flourishing of the Arabic literature of the ‘Abbāsid period soon faded in Iraq. In poetry, which had been developed by the free spirits of the second and third centuries, the domination of a philological critique soon caused this art to petrify into the form of the *qaṣīda* once again, which increasingly encouraged the imitation of ancient patterns. It was only occasionally that various forms of popular poetry gained influence over the artistic practices of the literati. The bold flights of fancy of the men of letters, which had opened up ever larger expanses of learning, were restricted by the dictates of a cultural policy that was dominated by those with a propensity for power politics.

But this period of general decay which, as far as Asia Minor was concerned, was only rendered definitive with the onslaught of the Mongols, still saw a productive if not always impressive second blooming. At numerous small princely courts, particularly in the western areas, in those regions where Arabic was the dominant language, countless poets and masters of form spread their wings under the sponsorship of various princes. Under the Ayyūbids of Egypt, ‘Umar b. al-Fāriḍ and, especially, Bahā’ al-Dīn Zuhayr created a type of poetry that paired classical forms with a closeness to nature and true-to-lifeness that is inspiring even today.<sup>1</sup> Despite these efforts, | poor attempts at further develop- 285  
ment of the old forms abound, as do the violent linguistic means by which their soulless fillings are concealed.

| However, belles lettres, too, gave up its pre-set form. The *maqāma* evolved 246  
out of the rhetoric of tramps, finding its legendary master in Ḥarīrī. The rich material of the classical period, which had mostly been adopted from elsewhere, was brought together in large collective volumes and recast, time after time. The colourful and lively political scene gave historical works rich material that could be used in monographs. But from the chanceries of the state, a congested and ornate style also made its way into historiography, where

1 Typical for the pursuits of the higher classes of Iraq is the collection of *mawwālīyyāt*, *dūbayt* and *muwashshahāt* that was written for Caliph al-Mustaṣṣir (probably the ‘Abbāsid who reigned 623–40/1126–42).

rhetorical flourishing often obscures the basic facts of what is reported. The writers of universal histories consistently steer clear of such aberrations of the taste, but at the same time show little regard for the intellectual property of their predecessors.

As far as the areas of “pure” scholarship are concerned, there was still brisk activity, which from the fifth century onwards found state-promoted nurseries in the madrasas. In theology, al-Ghazzālī, the last independent thinker of Islam, brought the controversies of the foregoing era to a final close. Philosophy could still boast of some great minds, although admittedly these had more influence and recognition in the Christian West than among the Muslim peoples. In the hands of al-Bīrūnī, the exact sciences saw an excellent second blossoming in the East, both in terms of the span of their horizon and the sharpness of observation and exposition. But here, too, the activities of the commentators and writers of compendia soon became more important than individual production. A new and rather unpleasant | phenomenon was that of the polyhistor and polygraphs. While they had thusfar manifested themselves only occasionally, they become ever more numerous as literature declined.

Asad Talas, *L'enseignement chez les Arabes, la Madrasa Nizāmiyya et son histoire*, Paris 1939.



## Chapter 1. Poetry

A *Poets of Baghdad, Iraq, and the Jazīra*

1. Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Abū Ismā'īl al-Ḥusayn (Ḥusayn) b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭughrā'ī, d. 515/1121, see Suppl. I, 439.

*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'hist. des Seljoucides* II, 132/3, Ibn Khall. 189, Abu 'l-Fida, *Ann. Musl.* III, 310, 46, Istanbul 1287, II, 247, *Biogr. univ.* XLVI, 196ff. 1. *Dīwān*, mostly panegyrics on al-Sultān al-Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Malikshāh and his son Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd, whose secretary he was, on al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, Niẓām al-Mulk, and his son Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, Berl. 7635, Br. Mus. 603, Pet. AM 283, Garr. 35, Qawala II, 194 (see Suppl.), print. Istanbul 1300.—2. *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam*, a counterpart to the *Lāmiyyat al-'arab* of Shanfarā (p. 16), a dirge on the unfortunate state of affairs of his time and his own situation, ed. J. Golius, Leid. 1629, *cum vers. lat. et notis op. E. Pocockii, accedit (Sam. Clerici) tractatus de prosodia arab.* Oxford 1661, P. Vattier, *L'Élégie de Tograi*, Paris 1660. *Poema Tograi cum vers. lat. J. Golii hactenus inedita, quam e mnsio Goliano praef. et notis quibusdam auctam ed. M. Anchersen*, Utrecht 1717 (see Wahl, *Mag. f. or. Lit.* 1787, 60). J. Reiske, *Thograis sogenanntes Lamisches Gedicht*, Friedrichstad 1758. *The Traveller, an Ar. Poem, intitled Tograi, written by Abu-Ismail, transl. into lat. etc. by E. Pocock, now rendered into English etc. by L.C. Chappelow*, Cambridge 1758. *Poema T. cum vers. lat. J. Golii cum scholiis et notis cura H. van der Sloot*, Franeker 1769. Hirtius, *Anth. Arab.* Jena 1774, 129/74. W.F. Hezel, *Carminum ar. specimen primum*, Lemgo 1788. Gudolini et Bueckmann, *Lamicum carmen abi Ism. T. lat. expl.* 1790. L.G. Pareau, *Specimen academicum cont. comment. de Tograi carmine*, Utrecht 1824, Fraehn, *Carmina arabica duo, quae Lamica dicuntur*, Kazan 1814. J.D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabian Poetry*, Cambridge 1796, 2nd ed. London 1840, text 46/62, transl. 107/28. Printed with glosses Beirut n.d., with Turkish comm. by Labīb Efendi, Istanbul 1847.—Commentaries: a. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Ukbarī, d. 616/1219 (p. 282), Berl. 7658/9, Leid. 652, Vienna 467, 1996,<sup>42</sup>, Esc. <sup>2325,3</sup>.—aa. Yūsuf al-Mālikī, ca. 750/1350 (II, 75), in his *al-Kanz al-madfūn etc.*, Būlāq 1288, C. 1288, 1303, 1321.—b. *al-Ghayth al-musajjam* by Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363 (II, 31), Berl. 7660/3, Vienna 466, de Jong 95, Copenhagen 263, Paris 3119/21, Br. Mus. 604, 1363, Suppl. 1054/5, Bodl. I, 1200, '3, '6, '32, '75, '80, AS 4112/4, Patna I, 201,<sup>1800</sup>, print. C. 1305, abstract by Muḥammad b. 'Abbās al-Badrānī, Berl. 7670, anon. Paris 3123, 6044, | by al-Damīrī, d. 808/1405 (II, 138), composed in 769/1367, autograph AS 4110 (Ritter), Berl. 7664/5, Munich 566, Leid. 654/5, Paris 3122, Esc. <sup>2321, 324, 325,4</sup>, Algiers 1854,<sup>2</sup>, Cambr. 616/7, from which a second abstract by Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl al-Kāzarūnī, Ind. Off. 801,<sup>3</sup>.—c. al-Damāmīnī, d. 828/1425 (II, 26), under the title *Nuzūl al-ghayth*, composed in

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794/1392, Upps. 136, Leid. 657/8, Paris 3124, Esc. <sup>2</sup>560, refutation *Tahkīm al-‘uqūl* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Āqbarsī, d. 862/1458, Paris 3125.—d. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, d. 854/1400, Berl. 7666.—e. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī, d. 910/1504 (II, 99), Algiers 1855.—f. *Nashr al-‘alam* by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Mubārak b. Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 930/1524 (Suppl. II, 554), Berl. 7668/9, Gotha 2250, Leid. 656, Munich 567, Paris 2502,<sup>11</sup>, Pet. AM 292,<sup>2</sup>, Garr. 36, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 595, Patna I, 207,<sup>1849</sup>.—g. Jalāl b. Khidr al-Ḥanafī, composed in 966/1558 in Istanbul, Upps. 137.—h. Sa‘īd b. Mas‘ūd al-Ṣanhājī Abū Jum‘a, completed in 990/1582, Berl. 7667 (Ahlw. wrongly ca. 900), Leid. 661, Pet. AM 292,<sup>1</sup>, Algiers 1838,<sup>1</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 210, <sup>2</sup>III, 30.—i. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nuzaylī al-Yamanī, autograph from the year 1018/1609, AS 411 (Ritter).—k. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Minyawī, formerly professor of Arabic at al-Madrassa al-Tawfiqiyya, *Tuhfat al-rā’i*, Būlāq 1311, C. 1324.—l. anon. Berl. 7671.—Revisions: a. *al-Taṣdīr wal-ta’jīz*, inversion of the verses by Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Awsī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,<sup>12</sup>.—b. *Taṣdīr wa-tadhyīl* by Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Farḥūn al-Ya‘marī al-Qurṭubī, d. 746/1345 (Suppl. II, 227), *ibid.* 13.—c. as a counterpart to the foregoing by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. al-Ṣā‘im, *ibid.* 14.—d. *Tashṭīr* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī Paris 3200,<sup>5</sup>.—e. anon. *Tashṭīr* *ibid.* 6.—f. Imitation under the title *Lāmiyyat al-‘Arab* by Ismā‘īl b. Abī Bakr al-Zubadī, Br. Mus. 607,<sup>3</sup> see *Nuḥfat ool Yumun* 404; cf. Ahlw. 7673.—3. *Jāmi‘ al-asrār wa-tarākīb al-anwār*, on alchemy, ḤKh II, 500, <sup>2</sup>I, 534, Pet. Ros. 205,<sup>12</sup> fragm. Gotha 1298.—4. *Maṣābiḥ al-ḥikma wa-mafātīḥ al-raḥma*, on the philosopher’s stone, Paris 2614.—5. *Ḥaqqā‘iq al-istishhād*, a defence of alchemy against Ibn Sinā, Landb.—Br. 486, Cairo, photograph *Qu. u. St. z. Gesch. der Nat. u. Med.* VII, 108,<sup>VI</sup>, 41.—6. Two alchemical poems, Br. Mus. 601, III, 3.—7. *al-Jawhar al-naḍīr fī ṣinā‘at al-iksīr* (author?) Berl. 10361, photograph *Qu. u. St. z. Gesch. der Nat. u. Med.* VII, 104,<sup>VI</sup>, 40 (with literature).—8. *al-Maqaṭī‘ fī ‘l-ḥikma al-ilāhiyya* (alchemy) AS 469,<sup>2</sup> (f. 55a/98a).—9. *Sirr al-ḥikma*, see p. 278.

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2. Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī Sa‘īd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥaẓīrī al-Warrāq Dallāl al-kutub, from al-Ḥaẓīra, a large village north of Baghdad. He lived there as a bookseller and died in 568/1172.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Khall. 245, Wüst., *Gesch.* 261. 1. *Kitāb lumah al-mulah*, a collection of poems, alphabetically arranged, from the year 549/1154, ḤKh no. 11164, 12869, Bodl. I, 300, 319, Esc. <sup>2</sup>465.—2. *Kitāb al-‘ijāz fī ‘l-aḥājī wal-alghāz*, a collection of riddles, alphabetically arranged, dedicated to the emir Mujāhid al-Dīn Qāymāz, guardian of the Begtigīnid Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, prince of Arbela (563–86/1167–90),

1 According to Ibn Khall. *Ahlw.* 7328,<sup>2</sup> wrongly 598/1202.

Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 204, 2<sup>III</sup>, 16.—3. see Suppl.—4. *Şafwat al-ma‘ārif*, a poem on natural history, Berl. Brill M. 136.

3. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ablah lived in Baghdad and died there in 579/1183, or, according to others, in 589.

Ibn Khall. 651. *Dīwān*, Munich Gl. 88, Br. Mus., see Or. Stud. Browne 145,58, individual poems in Br. Mus. 1080,3.

4. Abu ‘l-Faḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh Sibṭ b. al-Ta‘āwīdhī was the son of a Turkish freedman whose name was actually Ṭāshtigin, and on his mother’s side the grandson of the famous | Sufi and ascetic Ibn al-Ta‘āwīdhī. He was born on 10 Rajab 519/13 August 1124 in Baghdad and worked there in the *dīwān* | *al-iqtā‘āt*. He went blind in 579/1183 and died on 2 Shawwāl 583/5 December 1187, or in 584. 249 289

Ibn Khall. 652. *Dīwān*, first published before he went blind and which was later augmented, ḤKh 1<sup>III</sup>, 5170, 2<sup>II</sup>, 764, Berl. 7698/9, Bodl. I, 1225, 1235, Esc. 2376 (see Suppl.), O. Rescher, *Beitr. zur ar. Poesie*, Stuttgart 1937, 1–116, from the *dīwān* of Ibn al-Ta‘āwīdhī in the edition of Margoliouth.

5. His rival Najm al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ghanā‘im Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Mu‘allim al-Ḥurthī, d. 592/1195, see Suppl.

Ibn Khall. 653. *Dīwān* Vienna 468,2, Esc. 2365.

6. In the first half of the seventh/first century Aydamur al-Muḥyawī Fakhr al-Turk, a freedman of Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Sa‘dī, flourished.<sup>2</sup>

*Dīwān* selections, copy dated 686/1287, Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 240, 2<sup>III</sup>, 338, print. C. (Dār al-kutub) I, 1350/1931.

7. Ḥusām al-Dīn ‘Īsā b. Sanjar b. Bahrām b. Jibrīl b. Ṭāshtigin al-Ḥājirī came from a Turkish family of soldiers. When Ibn Khallikān, whose brother was a friend of his, left Irbil in 626/1229, he was imprisoned in the fortress there. After his release he donned the cloak of a Sufi and entered the service of Muẓaffar

2 Erroneously placed by Ahlw. 7878,8 around 750, see M. Hartmann *Muwashshah* 13.

al-Dīn Kökböri, whom Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had installed as regent of Irbil in succession to his brother Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. After the latter's death in 630/1232 he left the city but later returned, only to be murdered there in 632/1235.

Ibn Khall. 491. I. *Dīwān* under the title *Bulbul al-gharām al-kāshif 'an lithām al-inshijām*, collected and arranged by 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn in 7 chapters: 1. *ghazal*, 2. poems from prison, 3. *mukhammasāt*, 4. individual verses, 5. satirical poems, 6. *mawālī*, 7. *dūbayt*, Berl. 7742/4, Leid. 676/7, Munich 290 515, Br. Mus. 1080<sub>4</sub>, cf. 630<sub>2</sub>, Suppl. 1067, Calc. | 22, Garr. 56, print. n.p. 1280, C. 1305.—II. *Masāriḥ al-ghizlān al-hājiriyya*, collected by the same, Ind. Off. 829<sub>3</sub>.—III. Some poems in the collection *Nuzhat al-nāẓir wa-sharḥ al-khāṭir* were written after 1008/1599, Berl. 8198.

250 | 8. (9.). Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī al-Baghdādī al-Ṣarṣarī al-'Irāqī Jamāl al-Dīn, was from Ṣarṣar near Baghdad, and died in 656/1258.

1. *Dīwān*, ordered by the length of poems, ḤKh 111, 290<sub>5514</sub>, 21, 797, Berl. 7759, Gotha 2272, NO 3887.—2. Individual poems, Berl. 7760, Bodl. 11, 315.—3. *Qaṣīda* in praise of the Prophet, each verse of which contains all the letters of the alphabet, and a *qaṣīda* on mysticism, *Fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, Esc. 2363<sub>1</sub>.—4. *Muntaqā min madā'ih al-rasūl*, ibid. 460.—5. *Fī ma'rifat awā'il shuhūr al-Rūm wa-ma'rifat 'adadihā*, a *qaṣīda* rhyming in *lām*, Gotha 1377<sub>16</sub>.—6. *al-Durar al-yatīma wal-maḥajja al-mustaqīma*, on Ḥanbalī law in *ṭawīl* verse, Berl. 4511.—7. 562 *ṭawīl* verses on God and His properties, the Prophet and his merits, his companions and successors, the imams, and in particular Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his followers, ibid. 10017.

10. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Wafā' Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ṭayyib b. al-Ḥalawī al-Raba'ī, born in 603/1206, was the court poet of the *atabeg* of Mosul, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' (r. 631–57/1233–59). He died in 656/1258.

*Fawāt* I, 69, Hartmann, *Muwashshah* 12/3. Selected poems, Gotha 2196.

11. Majd (Muḥyi) al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Rushayd al-Wā'iz al-Baghdādī al-Witrī died in 662/1264.

1. *Bustān al-'arīfīn fī ma'rifat al-dunyā wal-dīn* or *al-Qaṣā'id al-witriyya*, poems in praise of the Prophet, with a *takhmīs* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Warrāq

al-Lakhmī al-Qurtūbī al-Iskandarānī, d. 680/1281,<sup>3</sup> under the title *al-Witriyyāt wa-maʿdin al-anwārāt*, Berl. 7767/8, Gotha 2273, Leid. 706, | Copenhagen 271, 291  
 Garr. 58/9, Alex. Adab 133,4, Qawala II, 222, anon. *takhmīs* Ind. Off. 816.—2. From  
 which especially *al-Qaṣīda al-witriyya fi madḥ khayr al-bariyya*, with *takhmīs*  
 by the same, Berl. 7769/70, Esc. 2436,2, Alex. Adab 23, *Sharḥ wa-takhmīs al-Q.*  
*al-w.* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Nazīfī al-Sūsī al-Marrākushī, C. 1331.—  
 3. *al-Rawḍa al-dhahabiyya fi l-ḥijja al-Makkiyya wal-zawra al-Muḥammadiyya*,  
 a long poem about the pilgrimage in *ṭawīl* rhyming in *āḥ*, Berl. 4043 (composed  
 in 662), Gotha 1085 (composed in 682!).

| 12. Shams al-Dīn al-Wāʿiẓ al-Kūfī, who died at almost 80 years of age in 251  
 675/1276, in Baghdad.

Poems, Gotha 2196,9.

13. Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Shākir b. al-Zāhir al-Marrākushī  
 al-Irbilī, who died in 676/1277, see Suppl., 444.

*Tadhkirat al-arīb wa-tabṣirat al-adīb*, a poem, Paris 3129,3.

## B Persian Poets

In Iran, which had been the first region to assert its independence from the  
 central government in Baghdad, Arabic poetry continued to hold an important  
 place under the patronage of new rulers, even though New Persian too, gained  
 the rank of a literary language under the Sāmānids.

1. Abu l-Faḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (Aḥmad) al-Bustī, who died in 401/1010 in  
 Bukhārā, see Suppl. I, 445.

Al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma* IV, 204/31, Ibn Khall. 443. 1. *Dīwān* Garr. 26, a part thereof,  
*Nubdha*, Leid. 633.—2. His most famous poem, *Qaṣīdat al-Bustī al-nūniyya*,  
 of edifying content, Berl. 7591/3, Vienna 475,2, Paris 1293,2, Ind. Off. 1038,8,  
 Esc. 2167,2, also under the title *Unwān al-ḥilm* (wrongly *ḥukm*), Garr. 2126,3,  
*Majāni l-adab*, IV, 95.—Commentaries: a. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad  
 al-Nuqrakār, d. 776/1374 (Suppl. II, 21), Berl. 7594/5, Gotha 2236/7, Leipz.  
 519/20, Leid. 634, Copenhagen 242,7, Garr. 27, Qaw. II, 200.—b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

3 Who had written a work under the same title in 661/1273, see Leid. 2801 (v, 313).

292 al-ʿUmarī al-Maylānī, ca. 780/1378, Berl. 7596.—c. On the first two verses by ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAydārūs, d. 1038/1628 (II, 418), | Berl. 7597.—3. Two poems, Gotha 26,<sub>1</sub>.—d. *al-Hidāya lil-mustafīdīn wal-dirāya lil-mustafīdīn* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Alex. Adab 141.

292 2. Abū Maṣṣūr ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Faḍl Ṣurrdurr occasionally also lived in Iraq. In Wāsiṭ he congratulated the vizier Fakhr al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Jahir upon his accession to office. | He was accidentally killed in 465/1073 when he fell into a lion's den on the way to Khurāsān.

Ibn Khall. 447, cf. 672, ḤKh III, 5263, 5513. *Dīwān* Berl. 7620, Leid. 644/5, Pet. AM 287, Calc. 22.

3. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Abu ʿl-Ṭayyib al-Bākharzī Abu ʿl-Ḥasan came from Bākharz, a region with 168 communities between Nishapur and Herat. He soon turned to poetry, away from the study of Shāfiʿī law. Having occupied various offices in Baghdad, where al-Kundarī the vizier had taken him, and after living for some time in Basra, he returned to his native land where he was murdered in Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 467/June 1075.

Ibn Khall. 448, Wüst., *Gesch.* 211. 1. *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, on the poets of the fifth century up to 450, meant as a continuation of *Yatīmat al-dahr* by Thaʿālibī, Berl. 7409, Gotha 2128, Vienna 366/8, Paris 3313, 5252, 5926, Br. Mus. 573, 1126, Patna II, 319,<sub>2473</sub>, excerpt Leid. 1055.—2. A poem rhyming in *ḥāʿ*, Gotha 26, f. 146a.—3. *Ikhtiyār al-bikr min al-thayyib min shiʿr ʿA. b. al-Ḥ. b. al-Ṭayyib* by Abu ʿl-Wafāʾ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Akhsikātī, d. after 520/1126, Yāqūt, *GW* I, 162, *Dharīʿa* I, 364,<sub>1910</sub>.

4. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Ṭanṭarānī wrote poetry in honour of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) and the Saljūq sultans Alp Arslān and Malikshāh.

293 *Al-Qaṣīda al-tarjīʿiyya*, Berl. 7622/3, Vienna 461,<sub>2</sub>, ed. S. de Sacy, *Chrest. ar.*, I, 365/70, III, 125ff., <sup>2</sup>II, 158/62, 495ff. (mistakenly attributed to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rashīd al-Waṭwāt, d. 509/1115, see p. 275), with anon. commentary | Berl. 7624, Vienna 461/2, Krafft 112, Munich 894, f. 13, Copenhagen 242, Leid. 646, Pet. Ros. 87, Paris 3116, Br. Mus. 565,<sub>4</sub>, 1617,<sub>4</sub>, Ind. Off. 805, I, Bodl. I, 1274,<sub>4</sub>, AS 4089, another ibid. 4090, 4100,<sub>5</sub>, Qawala II, 201. Commentary by Muḥammad al-Bihishtī al-Isfarāʿīnī, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 7625/6, Paris 1160,<sub>9</sub>, glosses Berl. 7627, Paris 3088,<sub>2</sub>.

5. Abū Ya'la Muḥammad b. al-Habbāriyya al-'Abbāsī, d. 504/1100, see Suppl. I, 446/7.

Ibn Khall. 648. 1. *Kitāb al-ṣādīḥ wal-bāghim (al-munāsiḥ wal-ḥāzim al-shāfiq wal-āzim)*, fables in verse, told by an Indian and a Persian, whose nightly contest over the merits of their peoples was supposedly overheard by the poet, and which was dedicated to the prince of Ḥilla, Sayf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṣadaqa b. Dubays al-Mazyadī, d. 501/1107 (see Hammer, *Wien. Jahrb.* 90, 67/123, which contains a rather large fragment in German verse), Berl. 7630/1, Brill M. 217, Gotha 2244/5, Leipz. 596, Vienna 465, Leid. 647/8, Paris 3495/8, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1131,2, Bodl. I, 850,4, 1260, 11, 320, Cambr. 903, Esc. 2474,1, 555, 759, Algiers 1826,2, Garr. 725, Alex. Adab 144, Patna I, 203,1813, print. C. 1292, 1294, 1936, Beirut 1886. | Abstract, *Tajrīd al-ṣādīḥ* by Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, d. 837/1433 (11, 15), Berl. 7632.—2. *Urjūza shī'riyya*, on chess, Berl. 5497,1, 7632,2, Gotha 1514, f. 137, Br. Mus. 616,2, Bodl. 11, 227,4, Algiers 1508,1.—3. *Falak al-ma'ālī* AS 4157.—4. A satirical image of the period in al-Bundārī, *Rec. de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.*, 11, 64/6.

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6. Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Abīwardī was a descendant of Mu'āwiya II who was born in the village of Kūfan near Abīward in Khurāsān. He distinguished himself as a poet and genealogist, and was poisoned on 20 Rabī' I 507/5 September 1113 in Isfahan.

Ibn Khall. 646, Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann.*, III 380, Istanbul III, 238, Yāqūt *GW* I, 111, Wüst., *Gesch.* 223. *Dīwān* in 3 parts: 1. *al-Najdiyyāt* (only Paris 3411,2, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1030,5, Esc. 2371,2, 420, 1, Patna I, 197,1766. Commentary by 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī, completed in 759/1358, Leid. 650).—2. *al-'Irāqīyyāt*, for the most part on the caliphs al-Muqtadī (467–87/1075–94) and al-Mustaẓhir (487–512/1094–1110) and their | viziers (only Paris 3117, Br. Mus. 602, Esc. 2370, Garr. 34, Köpr. 1338).—3. *al-Wajdiyyāt*, Berl. 7634, Munich 518, Bodl. Uri 248, Nicoll 611; fragment, pieced together from an exemplar that only contained the first two parts, Leid. 649; print. Beirut 1327.

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7. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ was born in 450/1058 in Damascus, lived in Persia and died there in 517/1123.

Ibn. Khall. 59. 1. *Dīwān*, compiled in the year of his death, Copenhagen 264, Esc. 2375.—2. Individual poems, Berl. 7675, Br. Mus. 630,2.

8. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī al-Ashhabī al-Ghazzī was born in 441/1049 in Gaza, studied from 481/1080 onwards with

the *faqīh* Naṣr al-Maqdisī (Suppl. 1, 603, 6b) in Damascus, and subsequently for another couple of years at the Nizāmiyya in Baghdad. He later went to Khurāsān where he composed poems in praise of Sultan Malikshāh and his son Sanjar as well as other great men, in particular the vizier of Kirman, Naṣr al-Dīn Mukarram b. al-‘Alā’. He died in 524/1130 somewhere between Marw and Balkh.

Ibn Khall. 170. *Dīwān*, ca. 5000 verses (according to Berl. Pet.), HKh 1111, 242, 5156 (1000 verses), 292, 5595, 21, 763, 804, Berl. 7680, Paris 3126, Pet. AM 293, Vienna 495, Garr. 38.

9. Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qāḍī al-Arrajānī came from a family of the Anṣār and was born in 460/1068 in Shiraz. After a career as deputy *qāḍī* in Khūzistān, Tustar, and ‘Askar Mukram, he died in 544/1149 in Tustar.

254 | Ibn Khall. 62. *Dīwān*, for the most part longer, panegyric poems, collected by his son, HKh 1111, 260, 5281, 21, 775, Berl. 7689/90, BDMG 106, Leid. 668/9 (fragm.), Garr. 39, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1062, Copenhagen 265, AS 3930, print. Beirut 1307.

10. Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, d. 678/1278 in Isfahan, wrote:

295 | *Dīwān al-munsha‘āt* under the title *Shuraf aywān al-bayān fī sharaf bayt sāhib al-dīwān*, poetical epistles, for the most part for the vizier Bahā’ al-Dīn (Abu ‘l-F. Ann. v, 60) and his sons Shams al-Dīn and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (d. 680/1281, Abu ‘l-F., loc. cit.) over the years 631–78/1233–78, Br. Mus. 615, AS 3959, ‘Āšir, 1, 978.

## C Syrian Poets

Towards the end of the previous period, under the government of the Ḥamdānids, Syria had managed to regain the literary standing that it had lost under the first ‘Abbāsids, and produced a whole series of eminent poets.

1. In his early days, perhaps the greatest poet of the whole post-classical period, Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ma‘arrī al-Tanūkhī, was still under the influence of al-Mutanabbī. He was born on 27 Rabī’ 1 363/26 December 873 in the northern Syrian town of Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān. His family counted itself as part of the Southern Arabian tribe of Tanūkh. By the age of four he had lost his sight in one of his eyes as a result of the pox, while later on he went blind in the other eye as well. This, however, did not prevent him



from devoting himself entirely to belles lettres. Having completed his studies in Aleppo in 384/994, he returned to his hometown. Driven by a desire to extend his fame, he went to Baghdad in 398/1007. His social intercourse with the director of the library ‘Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī and his free-thinking friends steered his poetry in a philosophical direction. He was, however, unable to take a permanent foothold in the capital due to the fact that he fell out with the influential ‘Alid al-Murtaḍā, the brother of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, when he stood up for al-Mutanabbī. News of his mother’s illness possibly precipitated his return to his native land although, | when he arrived after an absence of one year and seven months, he learned that his mother had already passed away. | Subsequently, he lived there as a distinguished citizen, and had a great number of students. He died there on 2 (according to others, 13) Rabīʿ I 449/10 (21) May 1057. See Suppl. I, 450/2.

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Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ* 425, Ibn Khall. 46, al-Qazwīnī, *Kosm.* 172, 181, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Tabarrī min maʿarrat al-Maʿarrī* II, 262. C. Rieu, *De Abu 'l-Alaa poetae arabici vita et carminibus*, Bonn 1843, A. v. Kremer, *ZDMG* 29, 304ff., 30, 40ff., 31, 471ff., 38, 499ff., *Culturgesch.* II, 386/94; idem, *Über die philosophischen Gedichte des Abu 'l-Alā' Maʿarry*, SBWA 117, Vienna 1888, Goldziher, *ZDMG* 29, 637. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad *Notice biographique et bibliographique concernant l'illustre poète philosophe Abu 'l-'Alā' al-M.*, C. 1897. Ḥusayn Futūḥ, *Aqīdat Abi 'l-'Alā'*, C. 1910.

1. *Sa(i)qṭ al-zand*, his adolescent poems, Berl. 7610/12, Gotha 2238, BDMG 104, Vienna 459, Wolfenbüttel 41, Leid. 638, de Jong 91, Paris 3109/10, Copenhagen 261, Br. Mus. 598, 1073, 1080, 1411, Suppl. 1051, Bodl. I, 769.<sub>2</sub>, 1195, 1256, 1277, II, 329, Esc. <sup>2</sup>273, 435, Garr. 29, Köpr. 1267, 1291/2, Patna I, 197.<sub>1764</sub>, print. Beirut 1844, C. 1304, Ind. 1319/1901. Commentaries: a. self-commentary with the title *Ḍaw' al-saqṭ* Rieu, op. cit., 66, Paris 3111 (see de Sacy, *Chrest. ar.* III, 92), Leid. 693, Köpr. 1322, print. Beirut and India.—b. al-Tibrīzī, d. 502/1109 (p. 329), Leid. 640, Paris 3112, Copenhagen 262, Vienna 460, Br. Mus. 599, Cambr. 115.—c. al-Baṭalyawsī, d. 521/1127 (p. 309), Bodl. I, 1211, Esc. <sup>2</sup>276, 1 cf. 3, AS 4099, see de Sacy, *Chrest.* III, 92.—d. *Ḍirām al-saqṭ* by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khwārizmī, d. 617/1220, composed in 587/1191, Berl. 7614, Vienna 460, Pet. AM 284/5, NO 3986/7, Qawala II, 204.—e. anon. Berl. 7615; 5 other commentaries Ahlw., ibid.—2. *Luzūm mā lam yalzam*, thus called because of the applied rhyme of the last two letters, Leid. 642/3, Bodl. I, 1293, Pet. AM 286, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1050, 1140, print. C. 1306, 1891/2, lith. Bombay 1303, excerpts Pet. 231.<sub>6</sub>, Garr. 28.—3. *Rasā'il* in three parts ḤKh <sup>1</sup>111, 459, <sup>2</sup>1, 901, Leid. 348 (part II) = *al-Mukātabāt* Köpr. 1396 (594 AH); of which in particular: a. *Risālat al-malā'ika*, which according ḤKh belongs to

part I, Leid. 349.—b. *al-Risāla al-ighrīdiyya*, on the Arabic language and poetry, addressed to the vizier Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027, Ibn Khall. 185), Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 2191.—c. *al-Risāla al-manīhiyya*, addressed to the same, Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,<sub>3</sub>.—d. *Risālat al-ghufrān* (see Suppl.), ed. Kāmil al-Kilānī, C. 1938, with al-Arnawṭī (Suppl. III, 390) *Firdaws al-Ma'arrī*, Beirut 1333/1915.—

297 4. *Mulqa 'l-sabīl fi 'l-wa'z | wal-zuhd*, in rhymed prose and verse, Br. Mus. 888,<sub>11</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>276,<sub>2</sub>, 467,<sub>3</sub>, excerpts Pet. 231,<sub>7</sub>; imitation by Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn al-Ghāfiqī, d. 540/1145 (p. 368), Br. Mus. 888, 9, Esc. <sup>2</sup>519.—5., 6. (see Suppl.).—

7. Commentary on al-Mutanabbī, see p. 88.—8. *al-Fuṣūl wal-ghāyāt fi tamjīd Allāh wal-mawā'iz*, a collection of sermons glorifying God and warning against lusting for the world, free from the nonconformism of the *Luzūmiyyāt*, commenced before his journey to Baghdad and completed after his return to his homeland; it was only in light of his later works that Ibn al-Jawzī and others condemned this one too, denouncing it as an imitation of the Qur'ān; first part (up to and including *khā'*) ed. Maḥmūd Ḥasan Zanātī, C. 1356/1938 (cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG* 29, 640, 32, 383, *MSt.* 11, 403, Thorbecke, *ZDMG* 31, 176 and A. Fischer, *Der "Koran" des Abu l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, *B.v.s.a.w. phil.-hist. Kl.* 94, 2, 1942).—9. *ʿAbath al-walīd*, critical commentary on Buḥturī (citation 'Abd al-Qādir, *Khiz. al-adab* III, 83,<sub>10</sub>), ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Madanī, Damascus 1355/1936, see *RAAD* XIV, 5/11.

256 | 2. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd b. Sinān al-Khafājī, d. 466/1074, see Suppl. I, 454.

2a. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Wā'izī, d. 509/1115.

*Qaṣīda mīmiyya fi makārim al-akhlāq* Berl. 8088,<sub>5</sub>, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 388.

3. Aḥmad b. Munīr b. Aḥmad Mufliḥ Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī al-Raffā', d. 548/1135, see Suppl.

Ibn Khall. 63. *Al-Qaṣīda al-Tatarīyya*, 91 verses on his servant Tatar, whom he had sent with presents to the *sharīf* al-Mūsawī, and who kept him; he explains that, to get him back, he would not be unwilling to convert from Shī'ī to Sunnī Islam, *ḤKh* III, 5217, Berl. 7691.

4. Abu 'l-Fityān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān b. Ḥayyūs was born in 394/1003 in Damascus, lived as a court poet of the Banū Mirdās in Aleppo, and died in 473/1080.

Ibn Khall. 645. *Dīwān*, poems in praise of Syrian notables and princes, mostly Ḥamdānids and Mirdāsids, ḤKh 1111, 245<sup>5170</sup>, 21, 765, Gotha 2241, cf. J.J. (Bruno) Müller, Bonn 1829, Münster 1844. Two poems Berl. 7621/2.

| 5. In the first half of the sixth/twelfth century Abū Muḥammad Ma'dān b. Kathīr b. al-Ḥasan al-Bālisī, a student of the *faqīh* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shāshī (see Suppl. I, 307) flourished. He glorified his master in verse. 298

Yāqūt, *GW* I, 479. *Dīwān*, mostly panegyrics and elegies, Gotha 2254<sub>1</sub>.

6. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Rustam al-Dimashqī Bahā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Sā'atī was born in 555/1160 in Damascus and died in Cairo in 604/1207.

Ibn Khall. 451. *Dīwān* (of which there were two, according to ḤKh 111, 5188, 21, 766) AS 3872 (630 AH), ed. Anīs E. Khūrī, Beirut 1938; a *qaṣīda* Berl. 7702. ḤKh calls his second *dīwān Muqatta'āt al-layl*.

6c. 'Amīd al-Dīn As'ad (Sa'd) b. Naṣr al-Anṣārī.

See Suppl. A *qaṣīda* that he dictated to his son during his imprisonment in the fortress of Ashkandān in Fārs, who then conveyed it to the father of the exegete Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Khayr Mas'ūd, who was a cousin of the poet, AS 4072<sub>1</sub> (Ritter).

7. Al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh b. Farrūkhshāh, d. 627/1230, see Suppl.

*Dīwān* Paris 3142.

8. Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Shawwā' al-Ḥalabī, born 562/1166, died 635/1237.

Ibn Khall. 821. His *Dīwān* in 4 volumes is lost. A judgment on his best poems is given in Berl. 297<sub>40</sub>. His poem on verbs whose third radical can be wāw or yā' is attributed to Ibn Mālik (p. 298) in Berl. 7029/30; see al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, 11, 145, Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, *al-Maṭālī' al-Naṣrīyya lil-maṭābi' al-Miṣrīyya*, C. 1304, p. 88, M. b. Cheneb, *RAAD* VIII, 692.

| 9. 'Abd al-Muḥsin b. Maḥmūd al-Tanūkhī al-Ḥalabī, d. 570/1174, served the Mamlūk ruler 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, the prince of Ṣarkhad near Damascus, first as a secretary and then as vizier until the latter was murdered in 626/1229. He died in 634/1245. 257

299 | *Fawāt* II, 13, Wüst., *Gesch.* 328. *Miftāḥ al-afrāḥ fi 'imtidāḥ al-rāḥ*, wine- and drinking- songs in the style of Abū Nuwās, collected at the instigation of Prince 'Īsā b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb, d. 624/1227, ḤKh VI, 12544/8, VII, 981, Berl. 7753, Vienna 463.

10. In 647/1249 Ṣadr al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Faraj b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī dedicated to the prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wal-Dīn Abu 'l-Muzaffar Yūsuf, whom Hülāgū killed in 659/1261:

1. *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya* ḤKh, <sup>1</sup>III, 116, <sup>2</sup>I, 693, Esc. <sup>2</sup>313, NO 3804.—  
2. *al-Manāqib al-'Abbāsiyya etc.* (see Suppl.), according to M. Jawad, *REI* 1938, 287 composed after 659/1260.

11. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rustam al-Is'irdī, born 619/1222, was court poet of the same Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He died in 652/1254.

*Fawāt* II 161. *Al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, poems in praise of the prince, Esc. <sup>2</sup>472 (cf. 399,1).

12. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Shaybān al-Māridīnī al-Ṣaffār was born in 575/1179, served the prince of Māridīn, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, as a scribe, and was killed in a raid by the Tatars in 658/1260.

*Fawāt* II, 97. Poems, Gotha 2196,8.

13. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. 'Abīd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tamīmī al-Ṣarkhadī al-Ḥanafī was born in 598/1201 and died in 674/1275. He was a teacher of Ḥanafī law at al-Madrasa al-Nūriyya in Damascus.

1. Poems, Gotha 2196,8.—2. *Maqāmat al-mufākhara bayna 'l-tūt wal-mishmish*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1837,6.

14. Muḥammad b. Sawwār b. Isrā'īl Najm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Shaybānī was born in Damascus in 603/1206 and died there in 677/1278.

*Fawāt* II, 269. *Dīwān* Esc. <sup>2</sup>437, which starts with a poem in praise of his teacher Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1247, *Fawāt* II, 55).

300 | 15. Because of his penchant for gambling, Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Mas'ūd al-Shaybānī al-Talla'fari, born in 593/1197 in Mosul, lost the favour of the ruler there, al-Malik al-Ashraf, which he had previously gained through his

panegyrics. | In Aleppo and Damascus, whence he had turned after his expulsion, this passion sealed his fate as well. He found his last refuge at the court of Hama, where he died in 675/1277. 258

*Fawāt* II, 277, Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ* 86. *Dīwān* Berl. 7780, Esc. <sup>2</sup>342,2, 369,2, Garr. 80 (see Suppl.), print. C. 1298, Beirut 1310, 1326.

16. ‘Afif al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Alī b. Yātinannā al-Tilimsānī al-Kūmī, d. 690/1291, see Suppl.

*Fawāt* I, 178, Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥijāl* II, 476, 1321. 1. *Dīwān*, arranged alphabetically, Berl. 7783,2, Br. Mus. 617/8, Ind. Off. 829, Bodl. II, 314, Esc. <sup>2</sup>385, 453, Garr. 60.—2. *Risāla fī ‘ilm al-‘arūd*, on metrics, Berl. 7128.—3. *Risāla fī sharḥ al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā* Patna II, 410,2579,17.

17. His son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Afif al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Tilimsānī al-Shābb al-Zarīf was born in 661/1263 in Cairo and died in Damascus in 680/1289.

*Fawāt* II, 211. 1. *Dīwān* ḤKh, <sup>1</sup>111, 247,5196, 286,5477, <sup>2</sup>1, 767, 794, Berl. 7783, Gotha 2274, Paris 3176, Br. Mus. 616,21, Esc. <sup>2</sup>383,2, 451/2, Köpr. 222, Patna II, 448,2624,2, print. Beirut 1856, lith. C. 1274, see Hartmann, *Muw.* 246.—2. *Khuṭbat taqlīd*, a comical address on the occasion of a nomination, Berl. 3853,2.—3. A lascivious sermon, *ibid.* 3.—4. *Maqāmāt al-‘ushshāq* Paris 3947,1, AS 3843,3 (not identical with the anonymous *M. al-‘u.*, Top Kapu 2402, see Suppl.), of which the first *Faṣāḥat al-masbūq fī malāḥat al-ma’shūq* is preserved in Berl. 8594,4, and *al-Maqāma al-Hītiyya wal-Shīrāziyya*, of lascivious content, *ibid.* 5.

18. The manuscript Leid. 729 contains poems by men who, around the turn of the eighth century, lived in the Syrian fortress of ‘Ajlūn (Abu ‘l-F., *Géogr.* 244), to wit:

| 1. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥāfi, poems in praise of the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥaḥṣ ‘Umar Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, and on the occasion of the death of the latter’s brother Aḥmad, who drowned in Rabī‘ I 700/November 1300 in a flood in al-Bā‘ūthā, a suburb of ‘Ajlūn. 301

| 2. Yaḥyā b. Khuḍayr b. Sulaymān b. Badr al-Sulamī al-Buṣrāwī, who was born in 645/1247 in Buṣrā and died in 711/1311, three poems in praise of the same Kamāl al-Dīn, when the latter was still *ḥākim* in Adhri‘āt, near Damascus, and other poems. 259

3. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, in praise of the same Kamāl al-Dīn, composed in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 715/1316 in Adhri'āt.
4. Zāfir al-Māridānī, on the same.
5. Sa'd al-Dīn b. al-Mubāriz al-'Ajlūnī, from 709/1309, on Kamāl al-Dīn and 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Ghānim.

## D *Arabian Poets*

While Najd, once the cradle of Arab poetry, continued to be excluded from all literary development, it did receive some attention in Mecca and Bahrain during this period, but principally in Yemen.

1. Around the year 450/1085, 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-Burā'ī al-Yamanī flourished in South Arabia.

*Dīwān*, mostly of religious and mystical content, which according to J. Hell also contains some *muwashshahāt*, Berl. 7616/7, Gotha 2239, Paris 3113/5, 4721, Ind. Off., 827, Esc. 1338, 'Um. 5468, Patna I, 197, 1768, lith. C. 1283, 1288, print. 1280, 1297, 1310, 1319. Individual *qaṣīdas* Berl. 7618, Gotha 2201, 2205, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1215,7, Ind. Off. 827, Paris 3156,2.

2. The Sufi poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Khumārṭāsh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān al-Ḥimyarī was a contemporary of 'Alī b. Maḥdī, who seized power in Zabīd in 554/1159, and who died in that very same year.<sup>1</sup>

302 *Al-Khumārṭāshīyya*, a Sufi poem, Patna I, 204, 1820, with a commentary by Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. al-Jawn al-Ash'arī, | d. 652/1254 (*Suyūṭī, Bughya*, 264), composed when he was 18 years old, under the title *al-Riyād fī sharḥ al-Khumārṭāshīyya*, ḤKh 111, 6708, 21, 934, Leid. 702.

3. Sometime after 622/1225 Amīn al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Muslim b. Maḥmūd al-Shayzarī dedicated to al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-Kāmil, the last of the Ayyūbids in Yemen, who died in Mecca<sup>2</sup> in 626/1229:

*Jamharat al-Islām dhāt al-nathr wal-nizām*, a poetical anthology containing only Muslim poets, arranged by subject in 16 chapters, Leid. 480, cf. Rödiger, *ZDMG* XIV, 481ff., Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 168.

1 See Johansen, *Hist. Jemenae* 143.

2 Johansen, *Hist. Jemenae* 154.

4. Muḥammad b. Ḥimyar al-Yamanī, d. 611/1214.

*Qaṣīda*, in admonition, Berl. 3990.

| 5. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muqarrab b. Maṣṣūr al-Ibrāhīmī came from the house of the ‘Uyūnids, whose forebear Faḍl b. ‘Abdallāh had settled as a vassal of the ‘Abbāsids in Bahrain after the expulsion of the Qarmaṭians. The poet lived there at the court of the latter’s great-grandson Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl and his son Mas‘ūd. After he fell out with the latter he left his native country, and Yāqūt met him in 617/1220 in Mosul. He later lived in Baghdad, where he died in 629/1232. 260

*Dīwān*, poems in praise of the ‘Uyūnids and the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575–622/1170–1225) and Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ of Mosul, Berlin 7710/1, Br. Mus. 607, Suppl. 1066, Madr. 215, Garr. 44/5, see de Goeje, *JA* s. IX, v. V, p. 1ff.

6. Al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. Hutaymil al-Yamanī al-Mikhlāfi al-Zabīdī, d. 656/1258.

*Dīwān* Rāmpūr I, 590,129, two *qaṣīdas* Berl. 7766,1.

### | E *Egyptian Poets*

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The government of the Fāṭimids does not seem to have looked favorably upon literary pursuits. Only from the latter part of their reign have the works of a limited number of poets come down to us. It was not until the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks, in whose reign the material culture of Egypt reached an exceptional efflorescence, that the art of poetry saw a significant advance as well.

1. Zāfir b. al-Qāsim b. Maṣṣūr Abu ‘l-Qāsim al-Ḥaddād al-Iskandarānī al-Judhāmī lived in Alexandria and died in Muḥarram 529/November 1154 in Cairo.

*Dīwān*, mostly panegyrics and elegies with brief descriptions, Berl. 7683.

| 2. Naṣrallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. Makhlūf b. Qalāqis Abu ‘l-Futūḥ al-Iskandarānī was born in Alexandria in Rabī‘ II 532/December 1137. He left his homeland in 563/1168, probably in the wake of the turmoil that brought Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn into the country. He first went to Aden and then to Sicily, where he dedicated his lost work *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī awṣāf Abi ‘l-Qāsim* to the *qā’id* Abu ‘l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥajar. In the year 565/1169 he went to Yemen where he lived for some time 261

in Aden with the vizier Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir b. Abi 'l-Nadā' al-Muḥammadī. During an attempt to return to his native country he was shipwrecked off the island of Nāmūs near Dahlak, forcing him to return to Aden. During his second attempt to make the journey, he died in 567/1171 in the port of 'Aydhāb on the Egyptian Red Sea coast.

Ibn Khall. 733. *Dīwān* Vienna 468, 1, Paris 3139, Pet. AM 297; alphabetically ordered selection of ca. 1850 verses, by Ibn Nubāta, d. 768/1367 (II, 10), ḤKh 111, 5204, 6621, 6880, 21, 767, 923, Berl. 7694, individual poems, Gotha 26, I, 47a, 94,8, 2211.

- 304 | 3. Al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibatallāh b. Ja'far b. al-Mu'tamad b. Sanā' al-Mulk al-Sa'īdī al-Miṣrī, born 545/1150, was *qāḍī* in Cairo and died there in 608/1211.

Ibn Khall. 748, Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ* 47/55. 1. *Dīwān*, starting with an eulogy on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Bodl. I, 1225,2.—2. *Dār al-tirāz*, consisting mostly of *muwashshaḥāt*, Leid. 286, see Hartmann, *Muw.* 95/108.—3. A poem, Berl. 7702, Br. Mus. 630,2.—4. *Fuṣūṣ al-fuṣūl wa-ʿuqūd al-ʿuqūl*, an anthology, in verse and prose, of letters to himself and his father by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Baysānī (p. 316 n. 1) and his son al-Qāḍī al-Ashraf, Paris 3333, Esc. 2529.

4. Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Nabīh al-Miṣrī was court poet to several Ayyūbid rulers. It seems his last post was in Naṣībīn, as the secretary to al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā (607–28/1210–30), where he died in 619/1222.

- 262 | *Fawāt* II, 71. *Dīwān*, mostly eulogies on the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575–622/1180–1225), from which *al-Khalīfatīyyāt*, and on the first Ayyūbids, especially al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb (596–615/1199–1218) from which *al-Ādilīyyāt*, Berl. 7704/8, Brill M. 225 (=Daḥdāḥ 205), BDMG 107, Gotha 2261, Br. Mus. 608, Suppl. 1067,2, Bodl. I, 1297, II, p. 618, Copenhagen 267, Esc. 2344, another recension *ibid.* 345,1, As 3877 (*riwāya* of his grandson 'Alī), print. Beirut 1299, C. 1280, 1313; a poem with translation in Carlyle, *Specimens of Arab. Poetry*, 2nd ed. London 1810, p. 68, 139.

5. Majd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far b. Shams al-Khilāfa Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Shams al-Khilāfa Mukhtār, born in 543/1148, had, as a client of the Egyptian vizier Amīr al-Juyūsh al-Afḍal, the *nisba* al-Afḍalī. He died in 622/1225.



Ibn Khall. 135, Wüst., *Gesch.* 307. 1. *Dīwān* ḤKh <sup>1</sup>III, 258,<sub>5258</sub>, <sup>2</sup>I, 773.—2. *Kitāb al-ādāb al-nāfi'a bil-alfāz al-mukhtāra al-jāmi'a* or *Abyāt al-ādāb* Leid. 478, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1111, Garr. 205, Alex. Adab 98.—3. Poetical | anthology, ordered by subject in 11 chapters, Esc.<sup>2</sup> 2360, fragm. *ibid.* 782, Br. Mus. 1095. 305

6. Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar b. al-Fāriḍ, born in Cairo on 2 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 577/12 March 1182, lived for a time in Mecca, and died in Cairo in 632/1235. His poetry, which he put entirely in the service of mysticism, eschewed all artificiality, thus invigorating worldly poetry as well. As a spiritual poet he remained an unrivalled ideal.

Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti* 11, 191ff. *Dīwān*, arranged by his grandson 'Alī around 730/1329, Berl. 7713/7, Gotha 2262/5 (where other MSS are listed), Vienna 471, Leid. 678/84, Paris 3143/56, Algiers 1838,<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 46/9, AS 1787/8, 4302, Fātiḥ 3766/9, NO 3861/3, Qawala 11, 192, Patna 1, 196,<sub>1761</sub>, print. with comm. Beirut 1887, 1891, 1895.—Commentaries: 1. His nephew, see Suppl.—1a. 'Alawān al-Ḥamawī, d. 936/1527, see 11, 333, Leipz. 535.—2. Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Būrīnī, d. 1024/1615 (11, 292), Berl. 7718/9, Leipz. 536, Munich 521/2, Leid. 686, Paris 3157/8, 5088, 5906, Bodl. 1, 1233, Garr. 50, Mosul 140,<sub>5</sub>, 123,<sub>38</sub>, 172,<sub>11</sub>, 229,<sub>26</sub>, Patna 1, 201,<sub>1793</sub>.—3. *al-Zuhūr (azhār) al-saniyya fi 'l-quṣud al-Fāriḍiyya* by Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn al-Zuhayrī, d. 1070/1665, see Berl. 7725, Leipz. 537. anon. fragm. Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 268.—4. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730 (11, 345), composed in 1086/1675, with special regard for Sufism, lacking in al-Būrīnī, Berl. 7720, Brill M. 259, Paris 3159/62, Br. Mus. 611/2, 1075/6, Alex. Adab 114 (*Kashf asrār al-ghāmiḍ*), Mosul 189,<sub>2</sub>, together with no. 2 printed in Marseille 1853, Būlāq 1289, 1306, new recension by Rushayyid al-Daḥdāḥ (11, 769) C. 1306, 1310, 1319/20.—5. anon. Mosul 49,<sub>40</sub>, lith. C. 1313 (*Hesp.* 111, 122,<sub>1014</sub>).

Individual poems with commentaries: 1. *al-Tā'īyya al-kubrā* in 756 verses Vienna 472, Br. Mus. 888,<sub>12</sub>, AS 1994, Rāgib 1448,<sub>2</sub>, Köpr. 1620, Alex. Adab 122,<sub>10</sub>. *Das arabische Hohe Lied der Liebe d. i. Ibn al Fārids Tájet in Text und Übers. hsg. v. J. v. Hammer-Purgstall*, Vienna 1854.—Commentaries: a. Ibn al-'Arabī, d. 638/1240 (p. 441), Yeni 708.—b. *Muntaha 'l-madārik* by Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh al-Farḡhānī, a student of al-Qūnawī (p. 449), d. ca. 700/1300, Persian original *Mashāriq al-darāri 'l-zuhr fi kashf ḥaqā'iq Nazm al-durr* AS 1907/8, 4076, 'Āšir 1, 470, Ayyūb Jāmi' 179, Arab. transl. Gotha 2267, Br. Mus. | 861, 888,<sub>12</sub>, Ind. Off. 814, Yeni 806/7, Bursa Orkhan Taş. 38, Patna 1, 143,<sub>1385</sub>.—c. *Kashf al-wujūh al-ghurr li-ma'ānī Nazm al-durr* by al-Kāshī (Kāshānī), mostly understood as referring to the famous Sufi 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Abi 'l-Ghanā'im, d. after 730/1330 (11, 204), as in Berl. 7727/8, As'ad 3781, Vienna 474 (however see Flügel 1, 463 n. 2) and 306

the printed edition C. 1310 (Macdonald, *EI* I, 65) and in the margin of Daḥdāh's commentary (see above), C. 1319/20 (see Qawala II, 210), while others point to 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd, d. 735/1334, see Leid. 694/5, Munich 523, Paris 3163.—d. Dā'ūd b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī, d. 751/1350 (II, 231), Berl. 7729, Leid. 696, Upps. 141, Bodl. I, 1205, 1230, Garr. 2005<sub>5</sub>, Halet 304, Alex. Adab 84, Mosul 263<sub>8</sub>, 1.—e. Jāmī, d. 898/1492 (II, 207), Leipz. 539.—f. *Madad al-fā'id wa-kashf al-'arīd* by 'Alawān b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya al-Ḥamawī al-Hitī, d. 936/1529 (II, 333), Leid. 697, Bodl. I, 1242, AS 1906, Rāgīb 667, Alex. Adab 157, Qawala II, 214.—g. 'Alī b. al-Ma'arrī b. al-'Abbās, Berl. 7730.—h. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-'Alamī, d. 1038/1628 (II, 341), Leipz. 540.—i. 'Allāma al-Ṭībī (II, 64?), Alex. Adab 135<sub>2</sub>.—k. Anon., Berl. 7731/2, Paris 3164, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 197, Mosul 175<sub>70</sub>, AS 1903.—Imitation of the *Tā'iyya* with the same metre and rhyme by 'Āmir b. 'Āmir al-Baṣrī, *Dhāt al-anwār*, Berl. Brill M. 131, Vienna 481, Br. Mus. 886<sub>10</sub>.—2. *al-Tā'iyya al-ṣuḡhrā* or *Naẓm al-sulūk* Paris 3171<sub>5</sub>. Commentary by Shams al-Dīn al-Farghānī, Bodl. I, 126<sub>2</sub>, by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī, d. 1024/1615, completed in 1002/1593, Esc. <sup>2</sup>420<sub>4</sub>, by Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn al-Zuhayrī (see 3), Leipz. 537.—3. *al-Dhālīyya*, commentary by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Zuhayrī al-Dimashqī, d. 1076/1665, Berl. 7725.—4. *al-Mīmīyya al-khamrīyya* Paris 1932<sub>5</sub>, Br. Mus. 886<sub>11</sub>, Alex. Fun. 176<sub>7</sub>.—Commentaries: a. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Qayṣarī, d. 751/1350 (II, 231), Gotha 2266, Leipz. 110<sub>10</sub>, Paris 3165<sub>11</sub>, Leid. 638/9, Bodl. I, 1233<sub>2</sub>, AS 4075<sub>2</sub>, Alex. Adab 84.—b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Kamāl-pāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Berl. 7733, Krafft 179, Esc. <sup>2</sup>462<sub>2</sub>.—c. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Ghamrī (II, 335), completed in 959/1552, Berl. 7735/6, Leipz. 542, Paris 3165<sub>2</sub>.—d. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī (II, 345), Berl. 7737.—e. 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Ṣadaqa, d. 975/1567, Paris 1343<sub>58</sub>.—f. Anon. ibid. 4, Mosul 89<sub>33</sub>, 2.—g. Persian by Jāmī, d. 898/1493, Berl. 7738, Leid. 690/1, Paris 461<sub>4</sub>, Br. Mus. 886, AS 1904/5, Nafiz 552/3.—h. Turkish by Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Anqirāwī, d. 1042/1632 (II, 445), Vienna 475<sub>1</sub>, Leid. 692/3, Halet 221, 1.—i. 'Abd al-Tawwāb al-Sukkarī al-Qūṣī al-Shāfi'ī, Garr. 53.—k.—n. see Suppl.—*Takhmīs* by 'Abd al-Qādir b. Maḥmūd al-Qādirī Gotha 39<sub>1</sub>.—| l. Persian by Sayyid 'Alī al-Hamadhānī, d. 786/1484, Vienna 1491.—5. *al-Yā'iyya*, Commentaries: a. al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Pet. Rosen 222<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 52.—b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Marṣafī, ca. 963/1556 (II, 335), Berl. 7721/2, Alex. Adab 135<sub>1</sub>.—c. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-'Alamī al-Qudsī, d. 1038/1665, Berl. 7724.—d. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Zuhayrī al-Dimashqī, d. 1076/1665, Berl. 7725.—e. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥasan Layya, Esc. <sup>2</sup>462<sub>1</sub>.—f. *Manzūmat al-alghāz*, a commentary by Ḥusayn al-Khabbī, Berl. 7739, by al-Nābulūsī ibid. 7740.—The poet's orthodoxy was questioned by Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Biqā'ī (II, 142) in *Kitāb al-nātiq bil-ṣawāb al-fāriḍ li-takfīr b. al-Fāriḍ*, Leid. 2040, Bodl. I, 158<sub>2</sub>.

7. Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī Jamāl al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn b. Maṭrūḥ, d. 649/1251, see Suppl.

*Dīwān*, collected by some unidentified friends of the poet, ḤKh 111, 5214, 21, 768, Berl. 7754/5, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1073, Köpr. 1266 (*MSOS XIV, 12*), print. Istanbul 1298 (following the *dīwān* of ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf); a poem Br. Mus. 630,2.

8. In the year 651/1253 an anonymous author composed for al-Malik al-Mughīth, *walī amīr al-muʿminīn* of the Ayyūbids:

*Nuzhat al-ʿāshiq wa-uns al-mutayyam al-wāmiq*, a poetical anthology, Esc. 2391.

9. Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Amīr Sābiq al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Qizil al-Mushidd al-Turkumānī al-Yārūqī, born in Cairo in 602/1205, | was employed for a time in the *dīwān* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (634–58/1236–60) in Damascus. He died in 656/1258. 264

*Fawāt* 11, 63. *Dīwān* Esc. 2342,3, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1077 (which has al-Bārūqī).

10. Abu ʿl-Faṭḥ Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī al-ʿĀfikī Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Kātib was a court poet of the Ayyūbids of Egypt and died in 656/1258 (see Suppl.).

| Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Bahāʾ Zuhayr: Baḥṭh*, C. n.d., *Dīwān*, collected by the poet himself, Berl. 7762/6, Gotha 2271, Br. Mus. 1669; other collections Leid. 704, Paris 3173, Bodl. I, 1272, 1278, II, 380, Ind. Off. 4633 (*JRAS* 1939, 396), Copenhagen 270, Upps. 143, Esc. 2477, Algiers 1821/2, AS 3885, 3920. *The Poetical Works of B.Z. of Egypt with metrical English Translation, Notes and Introduction by* E.H. Palmer, Cambridge 1876; cf. St. Guyard, *Variantes au texte arabe, etc.* Paris 1883. *Dīwān* C. 1278, 1305, 1311, 1314, 1322, 1934. 308

11. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Andalusī al-Ishbilī Zayn al-Dīn Katākit al-Miṣrī al-Wāʿiz al-Muqriʾ, whose family came from Seville, was born in 605/1208 and died in Cairo in 684/1285.

Maqqarī I, 811, poems Gotha 2196,5.

12. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Yamanī al-Miṣrī b. al-Khiyāmī, d. 685/1286, see Suppl.

A *qaṣīda*, Berl. 7782,3.

13. Ḥasan b. Sāwar b. Ṭarkhān b. al-Naqīb Nāṣir al-Dīn, who died in Cairo in 687/1288.

*Fawāt* I, 118 mentions a *Dīwān maqāṭīʿ*. A poem in Br. Mus. 630<sub>2</sub>. In NO 4280 he is credited with a *Kitāb manāzil al-aḥbāb wa-manāzih al-albāb*, but see II, 55.

14. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh (Abū ʿAlī) Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Dilāṣī al-Būṣīrī al-Ṣanhājī, who was born in 608/1211 and became famous for his songs in praise of the Prophet, died in 694/1294 (see Suppl.).

I. *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*, a counterpart to the poem entitled *Qaṣīdat al-burda* by Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, cf. Goldziher, *RHR* XXXI, 304ff. *Carmen mysticum Borda dictum Abi Abdallah M.B.S. Busiridae Aegyptii e cod. msto Bibl. Lugd. Bat. lat. conversum, accedunt origines arabico-hebraicae, paravit et ed.* J. Uri, Leid. 1761, Utrecht 1771. *K. al-d. fī m. kh. al-b. FunkeInde Wandelsterne zum Lobe des Besten der Geschöpfe, ein arabisches, insgemein unter dem Namen* 309 *Qaṣīde i Burda, Gedicht Burda, bekanntes Gedicht von Scheich Ebu Abdallah | M. b. Ssaīd b. Hammad Muhsin b. Abdallah b. Ssanhadsch b. Hilal is-Ssanhadschi, genannt Busiri, übers. und durch Anmm. erläutert v. | V. Edlem v. Rosenzweig,* 265 *Vienna 1824. With a Tatar introduction and translation, Kazan 1847. Die Burda, ein Lobgedicht auf M. von al-Busiri, neu hsg. im ar. Text mit metrischer pers.-türk. Übers. ins Deutsche übertragen und mit Anmm. versehen von C.A. Ralfs, bevorwortet v. W. Behrnauer, Vienna 1860. With a French translation by J.B. Albengo, Jerusalem 1872. The Poem of the Scarf with an Engl. Version and Notes by Shaikh Faizullahai Shaikh Lookmanji, Bombay 1893. La Borda du Cheikh el Bousiri, poème en l'honneur de M. trad. et commenté par R. Basset (Bibl. or. Elzev. xxix), Paris 1894.*

Commentaries: 1. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl Abū Shāma, d. 665/1268 (p. 317), Munich 547, Paris 1620<sub>3</sub>, Alex. Adab 135<sub>3</sub>, II, 201.—2. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fārisī, d. 745/1244, Pet. AMK 924.—3. Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Ilbīrī, ca. 751/1350 in Granada, Esc. 2282/3 (which has Abū ʿAbdallāh), 318, Fez Qar. 743.—4. Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī al-Qaṣṣār al-Tūnisī, d. after 765/1364, ḤKh IV, 529, Leid. 713, Algiers 1844, Garr. 64.—5. Shihāb al-Dīn Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Abī Ḥajala al-Tilimsānī, d. 776/1374 (II, 12), Esc. 2413.—6. *al-Raqm* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zumurrudhī b. al-Ṣāʿigh, d. 776/1375 (II, 25), Leipz. 548, Cairo 2111, 171, on which glosses Vienna 478.—7. *Ṭib al-ḥabīb fī sharḥ qaṣīdat al-ḥabīb* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Marzūq al-Tilimsānī, d. 781/1379, Berl. 7788, Cambr. 57, Köpr. 1306.—8. Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215), Qilič ʿA. 813.—9.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khujandī, d. 802/1399, Leid. 718, Paris 3189, Garr. 66.—10. *Washy al-Burda* by Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Ḥasan b. 'Umar b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, d. 808/1405, Alex. Adab 186.—11. Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Imād al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Aqfahsī, d. 808/1405 (II, 93), Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 213, Alex. Adab 84.—11a. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Dawlatābādī, d. 814/1445 (II, 220), Patna I, 201,<sub>1796</sub>.—12. *Nuzhat al-ṭālibīn wa-tuḥfat al-rāghibīn* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Shīrāzī (author of the *Kitāb al-ṣafā' fī mu'āmalat ahl al-wafā'*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>11, 749, which has Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Shīrāzī), composed in 809/1407 (in HKh IV, 530, mistakenly split into two), Hamb. 92, Leid. 717, Paris 3190, Pet. AMK 924, Cairo <sup>2</sup>IV, 83 (Abū Shāma?), Mosul 99,<sub>10</sub> (? which has Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr), Mashh. xv, 43,<sub>126/7</sub>, Rāmpūr I, 600,<sub>219</sub>.—13. Yūsuf al-Bisātī, composed in 821/1418, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 214.—14. *al-Anwār | al-muḍṭā* 310 by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, d. 864/1459 (II, 114), Berl. 7790, Brill, M. 183, Paris 3191, Esc. <sup>2</sup>487,<sub>1</sub>, Vat. v. 1421, Pet. Ros. 108, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 20, Alex. Adab 84, 125,<sub>1</sub>, 144, Fun. 154,<sub>2</sub>, Dam. Z. 62, 186,<sub>1</sub>, Āṣaf. III, 242,<sub>45</sub>, fragm. Ambr. C. 21, iv (RSO VII, 51), glosses by Muḥammad 'Arafa al-Dasūqī, Cairo <sup>2</sup>IV, b, 44.—15. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Muṣannifak al-Biṣṭāmī, d. 875/1470 (II, 234), Dresd. 219, Leid. 716, Garr. 67, Pet. Amk 924, Qilič 'A. 813, Selīm Āgā 965, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 214.—16. Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Azharī, d. 905/1499 (II, 27), Berl. 7791, Munich 546, Paris 714,<sub>7</sub>, 3192, Br. Mus. 619/20, Suppl. 1087, i, Ind. Off. 822, Esc. <sup>2</sup>304,<sub>2</sub>, Algiers 1853,<sub>2</sub>, Vat. v, 571,<sub>2</sub>, Pet. AMBuch. 147, AS 4059, Qilič 'A. 809, Rabat 493, *Hespéris* XII, 133,<sub>105b</sub>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 203, Sbath 14b, Mosul 140,<sub>4</sub>, 229, Qawala II, 197, Alex. Adab 83, Āṣaf. II, 1714,<sub>9</sub>, 5, Patna I, 281,<sub>1797</sub>, II, 427,<sub>2601</sub>, 2, print. C. 1282, 1286, Būlāq 1297, Alexandria 1288, in the margin of al-Bājūrī's (II, 487) *Ḥāshiya*, Būlāq 1302, C. 1304, 1308, 1311.—17. *Mashāriq al-anwār al-muḍṭā* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī, d. 923/1517 (II, 73), Berl. 7792, Leid. 720, Garr. 68, Alex. Adab 160, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 356, IVb, 79.—18. *al-Zubda al-rā'iqa* by Zakariyyā' b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Alex. Adab 76, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 178.—19. Khiḍr b. Maḥmūd al-'Aṭūfī, d. 948/1541 (*ShN* II, 110, Rescher 268, Brussali M. Ṭāhir, *Othm. Mü'ell.* I, 355) written in 40 days and dedicated to the sultan Süleymān, Pet. Ros. 218,<sub>2</sub>, AS 4079, Alex. Adab 82.—20. *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ* by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Shaykhzāde al-Qūjawī, d. 951/1544, Berl. 7793, Copenhagen 272, Leid. 715, Paris 3198, Esc. <sup>2</sup>316, Bol. 117, 248,<sub>3</sub>, 254,<sub>1</sub>, Pet. AMK 924, Qilič 'A. 810, Alex. Adab 83, Fun. 176,<sub>1</sub>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 3 29, 156, printed in the margin of the commentary by Kharpūtī (no. 49) Istanbul 1306.—21. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī al-'Āmirī, d. 984/1576, Br. Mus. 621, Garr. 2002,<sub>10</sub>.—22. Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tālīshī, d. 956/1549 in Cairo, Vienna 479.—23. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qudṣī al-Baramūnī, ca. 990/1582, Berl. 7796, Paris 3193.—24. Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn al-Āqḥiṣārī, d. 1001/1593 (II, 439,<sub>5</sub>), completed in 998/1590 in Damascus,

- Berl. 7798, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 214.—25. *al-Zubda* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qāri’ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Paris 2151,2, Manch. 470D, Pet. AM Buch. 148, Qilič ‘A. 804, Sulaim. 1040,2, Alex. Adab 141, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 214.—26. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bālī Shams al-Dīn 10, d. 1024/1615, Berl. 7799.—27. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Abi ‘l-Luṭf al-Qudsī Raḍī al-Dīn, d. 1028/1619, Berl. 7800, Qilič ‘A. 814 (? Only  
311 | Raḍī al-Dīn).—28. *Shifā’ al-qalb al-jarīh* by ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad b. ‘Āshir al-Anṣārī, d. 1040/1630 (Suppl. II, 699), C. 1296.—29. Abu ‘l-Baqā’ Ayyūb b. Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī al-Kaffawī, d. 1094/1683 (II, 454), Berl. 7801.—30. Baḥr b. Ra’īs b. Ṣalāh al-Hārūnī al-Mālikī, Gotha 2292, Dam. Z. 74,59.—31. An otherwise unidentified “al-Imām al-Ḥanbalī” excerpts Esc. <sup>2</sup>390,2.—32. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sabtī, Munich 807, Pet. AMK 924.—33. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs al-Anṭākī, kabbalistic-magical, Paris 3187.—34. *al-Durra al-muḍḍā* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī (Karrārī?) al-Sahranī al-Ḥanafī, completed in 1048/1673 at the al-Azhar, Alex. Adab 42, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 100.—35. *al-Durra al-farīda* by Muḥammad al-Shāfi‘ī al-‘Inānī, d. 1098/1687, Alex. Adab 42.—36.–39. see Suppl. 32–34.—39. *Zubdat al-qirā* by ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Killisī al-‘Uryānī al-Ḥalabī, in Medina around 1163/1750, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 178, Qawala II, 195.—40.–48. see Suppl. 36.–42.—49. *‘Aṣīdat al-shahda* by ‘Umar b. Aḥmad al-Kharpūti, composed in 1241/1825, Selīm Āgā 816, Alex. Adab 100, Qawala II, 205, print. Istanbul 1289, 1292, 1298, 1317, 1320, Bülāq 1291.—50.–61. see Suppl. 44–55.—62. Muḥammad b. Sa’d al-Ālānī, MS of 1169/1750, Alex. Adab 83.—63. *al-Barz al-lamiḥ* by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥajjājī, ibid. 18.—64. *al-Umda*, by Ismā‘īl b. ‘Uthmān b. Abī Bakr b. Yūsuf al-Niyāzī (to be read thus, see Suppl. II, 657g), Qawala II, 206.—65. *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhiliyya fī sharḥ al-burda al-Būṣīriyya* by Shaykh Ḥasan al-‘Idwī al-Ḥamzawī, d. 1303/1885 (II, 486), C. 1297.—67. Anon. Berl. 7789, 95, 7802/3, Leipz. 549, Paris 3194.—67. Persian by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Jāmī Yūsuf Ahlī of Herat, who, in his preface, praises the Tīmūrid Abū Sa‘īd (861–  
266 73/1457–68), | Leid. 721 (autograph dated 863/1459), 722.—67a. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, Leipz. 549.—68. Turkish by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā, composed in 1001/1592, Krafft 181, Leipz. 434.—69. Turkish by Sa’dallāh al-Ḥulwānī, Qawala I, 247.—70. Turkish by Ḥasan Fehmī, Istanbul 1328.—71. *Khawāṣṣ al-Burda fī bur’ al-dā’* on secret magical manipulations and sympathetic cures for which the verses of the *Burda* can be used, by ‘Abd al-Salām b. Idrīs al-Marrākushī, d. 660/1262, Berl. 7823, Gotha 81,2, in another recension ibid. 2292, Vat. v. Barb. 78,8.—72. *Risāla fī khawāṣṣ al-Kawākib al-durriyya* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Tamīmī, Qawala I, 236.—73. Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī (II, 91), Patna I, 196,1756.—74. Muḥammad  
312 b. ‘Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd, Patna I, 201,1795.—Ahlw. 7824 | mentions 31 commentaries—Translations: 1. Persian Berl. 7804/6.—2. Turkish paraphrases ibid.

7807/9.; in the same metre and rhyme as the original by Aḥmad Riḍwān, Krafft 182.—Adaptations: 1. *Takhmīs*: a. Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marrākushī, b. 739/1338, Br. Mus. 622,<sub>2</sub>.—b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad al-Shāfi‘ī, d. 801/1398, Berl. 7812/3.—c. Sa‘bān b. Muḥammad al-Āthārī, d. 828/1425 (II, 180), Leipz. 298, mistakenly attributed to al-Kitnānī by Fleischer, see *Cat. Lugd.* I, 2464 and Suppl. *Ḥall al-‘uqda fī t. al-B.*, chapter 2 of his *Miftāḥ bāb al-faraj*, Leid. 739, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 50.—d. Abū Bakr b. Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, d. 837/1433 (II, 15), Paris 3248,<sub>3</sub>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 50,<sub>22</sub>.—e. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Māmāyā b. al-Rūmī, d. 987/1579 (II, 271), Berl. 7817, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 52,<sub>60</sub>.—f. Ṣadaqatallāh al-Qāhirī, d. 1105/1693, Berl. 7818, printed in Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Baghdādī’s (p. 288) *al-Qaṣīda al-witriyya*, Bombay 1884.—g. Muḥammad Khalīl b. al-Qabāqibī, d. 849/1445 (II, 113), Paris 3182, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 51,<sub>50</sub>.—h. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī ‘l-‘Īd al-Sakhāwī, Paris 3248,<sub>2</sub>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 51,<sub>48,54</sub>.—i. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Makkī al-Fayyūmī, Berl. 7814, Gotha 2282/3, Br. Mus. 644, 1413, Garr. 2126,<sub>1</sub> (see Suppl.).—k. Sharīf Efendi, Br. Mus. 622,<sub>3</sub>.—l. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Maqlalish, *ibid.* 7.—m. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fayyūmī, 8th cent., print. Būlāq 1287, Alex. Adab 130, C. 1308.—n. Abū Bakr b. Ramaḍān b. Mūk, Ind. Off. 1044/5.—o. Anon. Berl. 7815/67, 7819/20, Paris 3183/5, Br. Mus. 162,<sub>2</sub>.—q.—ee. see Suppl. (q. AS 4185,<sub>1</sub>).—ff. ‘Uthmān Efendi, C. 1313.—gg. ‘Umar al-Qaṣabī al-Yaqḍī, MS dated 899/1423, Garr. 71.—hh. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, d. after 984/1576, Garr. 70.—ii. ‘Ushrī Ismā‘īl b. Darwish b. Muṣṭafā b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Iwaḍ b. ‘Awīḍa al-Subkī al-Khuṣūṣī, composed in 1038/1628, Alex. Adab 28.—kk. *al-Aflāk al-dawriyya ‘ala ‘l-K. al-d.* by ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Alawī al-Yamanī, Alex. Adab 128.—ll. *Anīs al-waḥda fī takhmīs al-B.* by ‘Abbās Efendi Fawzī al-Dāghestānī, Istanbul 1300. 2. *Tasbīr*: a. ‘Uthmān, after Gotha 2286, or Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī al-Dimashqī, *ibid.* 2287, according to ḤKh IV, 532/3 and Paris 3186 by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Wafā’, anon. Br. Mus. 622,<sub>4</sub>, Bodl. II, 315.—b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Niyāzī, d. 1111/1699 (Suppl. II, 662, Hammer, *Gesch. d. Osm. Dichtk.* III, 587), Gotha 2289, Vienna 1982,<sub>6</sub>, Vat. V, 1430.—c. Anon. C. 1311.—d.—i. see Suppl. (e. Alex. Fun. 88,<sub>3</sub>).—k. Jawīshān Wazīr Miṣr Amīr ‘Uthmān Bāb al-Rūmī, Alex. Adab 25.—3. *Tatsīr* Anon. Berl. 7821.—4. *Tashṭīr*:<sup>3</sup> | a. ‘Umar b. ‘Abbās al-Qafṣī al-‘Unnābī, composed in 843/1440, Berl. 7810, Br. Mus. 622,<sub>5</sub>, on which again is *Takhmīs ṭayy al-B. wa-talkhīṣ Nashr al-warda* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī ‘l-‘Īd al-Qaṣabī al-Sakhāwī al-Mālikī, Br. Mus. 622,<sub>6</sub>, Alex. Adab 23.—b. Aḥmad al-Dalanjawī, Paris 3185,<sub>2</sub>.—c.—p. see Suppl.—5. *Tadhīl*: a. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Zawāwī

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3 I.e. the introduction of two half-verses between the first and the second half of each original verse.

al-Jazā'irī, d. 923/1517, Br Mus. 622.—b. Poetical adaptation with the title *Mufarrij al-shidda taḍmīn al-B.* Berl. 7822.—*Khātima ta'rikhiyya* by Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī al-Qaṣṣār, composed in 1300, Alex. Fun. 94/5.

II. *al-Qaṣīda al-hamziyya fi 'l-madā'ih al-nabawiyya* or *Umm al-qurā fi madh khayr al-warā* Berl. 7826/7, Gotha 22/4, Copenhagen 49,4, Leid. 723/4, Paris 3195, Algiers 824, 1851, Ind. Off. 823, Bodl. I, 850,3, 1226,2, II, 337,3, Garr. 74, Alex. Fun. 175,2, print. also C. 1310.—Commentaries: 1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sāghānī al-Makkī, d. 824/1419, Berl. 7828.—2. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jawjarī, d. 889/1484 (II, 96), Berl. 7829, Paris 3198,1 (see Suppl.).—3. *al-Minah al-Makkiyya* or *Afdal al-qirā* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Haytamī, d. 973/1565 (II, 397), Berl. 7830/1, Brill M. 185, Leid. 725, Ind. Off. 824/6, Bodl. I, 1226, Paris 3197, Esc. 2315,3, Algiers 1852,2/3,1, Garr. 75, AS 4096, Köpr. p. 160, no. 297, Alex. Adab 169, Qawala II, 219/20, Tippu 77, 179, Calc. 25, Patna I, 193,1740/1, print. C. 1303, 1307 (see Suppl.). | Glosses by Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī, d. 1181/1767, Qawala II, 188, Alex. Adab 14, anon. Patna I, 195,1755.—4. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbātī, d. 990/1582, Esc. 2317, Garr. 76, Alex. Adab 90.—5. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bannīs, composed in 1200/1796, Cairo 2111, 320, Bülāq 1296, in the margin of *OB* III, 3616.—6.–16. see Suppl. (ad 6. Makr. 32, which has al-Su'ūdī, ad 13. Qawala II, 212,15, Alex. Adab 90).—17. *Taqrīrāt* by Muḥammad 'Arafa al-Dasūqī, d. 1230/1815, Alex. Adab 137.—18. *Zubdat al-qirā fi sharḥ U. al-q.* by 'Uthmān b. 'Alī al-Killīsī al-'Uryānī, d. 1168/1754 (II, 321), Qawala II, 195.—*Takhmīs*: 1. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Dayrabī al-Azharī b. al-Khaṭīb, ca. 932/1596, Berl. 7852.—2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣafadī, d. 1034/1624 (II, 288), Berl. 7853 (see Suppl.).—3. Darwīsh b. 'Uthmān al-'Ushshāqī, ca. 1125/1713, ibid. 7854.—4. 'Īsā Abu 'l-Surūr al-Sha'rāwī, ca. 1150/1737, ibid. 7856, Garr. 77.—5. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Sulaymān al-Yārūqī, d. 1278/1861 (Suppl. II, 702), C. 1303, 1309, 1316.—6. Anon., Leid. 726, Paris 3196.

III. *Dhukhr al-ma'ād 'alā wazn Bānat Su'ād* or *al-Kalīma al-ṭayyiba wal-dīma al-ṣayyiba*, a poem in praise of the Prophet | based on the example of Ka'b b. Zuhayr, Berl. 7838/9, Leid. 727, Br Mus. 884,4, Garr. 77.

IV. *al-Qaṣīda al-khamriyya* Br Mus. 162,5, commentary by Dā'ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Qayṣarī, d. 751/1350 (II, 231), Leipz. 110,10.

V. *al-Qaṣīda al-Muḍariyya fi 'l-ṣalāt 'alā khayr al-bariyya* Berl. 7840/1, Munich 593, f. 48b, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 386 AS 4082,2, Alex. Fun. 147,13, 175,3, 182,2, Qawala II, 209.—Commentaries: 1. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730 (II, 345), Berl. 7842, Garr. 78, Alex. Adab 141.—2. Turkish Berl. 7843.—*Takhmīs* by Ibn al-Muqrī, d. 837/1433 (II, 190), Berl. 7844, Gotha 2213, by al-Ziyādī, Alex. Fun. 173,6, others Br Mus. 840, 956, 959/60.



VI. *al-Tawassul bil-Qur'ān*, prayer featuring all the suras after their titles, effective in the punishment or destruction of anyone at whose hands one was wronged, Berl. 3645,2.

VII. *al-Yā'yya* see Suppl. with a commentary by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī, d. 1024/1615 (II, 290), also Alex. Adab 90.

VIII.–X. see Suppl. (IX. *Takhmīs*, print. C. 1313).

15. Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq al-Miṣrī al-Fā'izi Sirāj al-Dīn, who was born in 615/1218 and died in 695/1296, was an unusually productive poet.

*Fawāt* II, 107, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 363,15. From his 30-volume *dīwān*, ḤKh 111, 5457, 21, 792, he first made himself a selection in 7 hefty volumes; from this Khalīl al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1362 (II, 31), selected the *Luma' al-sirāj*, Berl. 7785. *Naẓm durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, see Suppl. I, 488,vi.

## F North African and Sicilian Poets

1. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Tamīm al-Khuṣrī was born in Kairouan and died after 413/1022 in al-Manṣūra.

Ibn Khall. 15. 1. *Kitāb zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb*, an anthology which, around 450/1058, he dedicated to Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Sulaymān, who had travelled to the East in order to buy books. This work could replace all the others, according to a report by al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr in the biography following the preface of his *Kitāb al-Jinān*, vol. 1, | Leid. 462, Bodl. I, 386, Esc. 2392,3, 315  
Garr. 189, Köpr. 1281, AS 4028 (vol. 4, 596 AH), Patna I, 197,1783/4, printed in the margin of the *Iqd*, Būlāq 1302.—*Dhayl z. al-a. awjam' al-jawāhir fi 'l-mulah wal-nawādīr*, C. al-Maṭba'a al-Raḥmāniyya, n.d.—2. *Kitāb al-maṣūn fi sirr al-hawā wal-maknūn*, similar to the first but in only one volume, ḤKh, V, 589,12205, Leid. 463.—| 3. *Kitāb nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-zarf*, a concise poetical anthology, Gotha 2129, Esc. 2392,1.—4. Poem on Kairouan, Esc. 2408,2.—5. *al-Mu'ashsharāt*, Cairo 1VI1, 110. 268

2. Al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, of the North African Zīrid dynasty, who was born in al-Manṣūriyya in 398/1007, came to power in al-Muḥammadiyya in 406/1015. In 440/1048 he dissociated himself from his suzerains, the Fāṭimids, whom his ancestors had recognised up to that point, proclaiming the caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amrillāh in the *khuṭba* instead. He died in 453/1061.

Ibn Khall. no. 761, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berb.* trad. I, 30ff., II, 18ff. see Suppl.

3. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Qayrawānī al-Judhāmī, d. 460/1048, see Suppl.

*Fawāt* II, 204, *Maqāma* on the most famous poets, Esc. <sup>2</sup>536<sub>3</sub>.

4. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Yaḥyā b.<sup>1</sup> ‘Alī al-Shaqrātīsī, d. 466/1073, see Suppl.

1. Poems with anon. commentary, composed in 622/1225, probably in Spain, Esc. <sup>2</sup>321<sub>1</sub>.—2. *Qaṣīda lāmīyya*, in praise of the Prophet, Algiers 1735<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 30. Commentaries: a. Abū Shāma, d. 665/1268, see Suppl. I, 530<sub>4,3</sub>.—b. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Tawzarī (2nd half 7th cent.), Br. Mus. 1406, 405b.—c. An abstract of this by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Mahjūb, Algiers 1833<sub>1</sub>.—d. Anon., ibid. 1834.—*Takhmīs*: a. al-Tawzarī with a commentary, ibid. 1835<sub>2</sub>.—b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marrākushī, Br. Mus. 888<sub>11</sub>.—c. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Tamīmī, AS 4033<sub>3</sub>, f. 164b, 180a.

316 | 5. Abu ‘l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Naḥwī al-Tawzarī, who was born around 453/1041, died in 505/1113 (according to others in 513/1119).

Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ* 22, no. 2. 1. *Waṣīyya* Berl. 3981.—2. *al-Qaṣīda al-munfarīja* or *al-Faraj ba‘d al-shidda*,<sup>2</sup> ascribed by some to al-Ghazzālī and by others to Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Andalusī al-Qurayshī, d. 590/1194, Gotha 1539<sub>1</sub> (where other MSS are listed, in addition:), Berl. 7636/7, Paris 743<sub>14</sub>, 3198<sub>3</sub>, AS 4182, Alex. Fun. 176<sub>4</sub>, 187<sub>3</sub> Qawala II, 220.—| Commentaries: a. Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naqāwusī al-Bijā‘ī, d. 810/1403, Berl. Brill M. 226 (= Daḥdāḥ), Esc. <sup>2</sup>440, Qawala II, 188, whence the biography of the poet, Berl. 7635.—b. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), completed in 881/1477, Berl. 7638/9, Leid. 672, Bodl. I, 1274<sub>2</sub>, II, 617, Esc. <sup>2</sup>441, 521, Algiers 1854/5, Garr. 32/3, 2003<sub>21</sub>, Alex. Fun. 174<sub>8</sub>, 177<sub>1</sub>, but 173<sub>11</sub>, 176<sub>3</sub>, 187<sub>1</sub>, under the title *Mufarrij al-karab*.—c. Muḥammad b. al-Kannān, d. 1153/1740, Berl. 7647/8.—d. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, Paris 4118<sub>2</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>521<sub>2</sub>, Rabat 90, 530<sub>1</sub> (al-Būṣīrī).—e. Turkish by Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad al-Anqirawī, d. 1025/1616 (II, 445), Vienna 475<sub>2</sub>, AS 2077, print.

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1 According to ḤKh IV, 540<sub>9469</sub> and Br. Mus. 265<sub>2</sub>, 405: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā.

2 According to ḤKh IV, 551<sub>9508</sub> it was composed in gratitude for the fact that some potentate had restored robbed items to him following a dream; for this reason it is considered effective as a prayer.

Bülâq 1300, Turkish translation AS 2077,2.—Ahlw. 7645 mentions 6 commentaries.—*Tashṭîr*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyüb al-Dimashqî al-Shāfi'î al-Mahdî, d. 905/1499, HKh IV, 553 (= Suppl. 111, 1258, ad 153?) Berl. 7463.—*Takhmîs*: a. Ibn Mulayk (II, 20) d. 917/1511, Berl. 7640, Alex. Fun. 187,2.—b. Aḥmad b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ta'izzî, Bod. 7641.—c. Anon. Paris 3118,1.—d. 8 *takhmîs*, collected by Salām b. 'Umar al-Mazzāhî under the title *al-La'ālî' al-mubahrija fî takhmîs al-Munfarija*, Berl. 7642.—e.—g. see Suppl.—h. 'Umar al-Qawsî al-Qurayshî, Garr. 2003,9.—Imitations: a. Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dîn al-Ṣiddîqî al-Bakrî, d. 1162/1749, Berl. 7651/2.—b. 'Abd al-Ghanî al-Nābulusî, d. 1143/1730 (II, 348), *ibid.* 7654,1.—c. Anon. *ibid.* 7554,2,3.

5a. The poet Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Gharawî of Fez glorified the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min and, especially, his son | Yūsuf and grandson Ya'qūb, but as a writer of *hijā'* poetry he made himself loathed by his compatriots. He died in Seville in 609/1212. 317

Ibn Khall. (not in Wüst. and Bülâq), quoted in 'Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribî* I, 100. *Ṣafwat al-adab wa-dīwān al-'Arab*, a collection of poems that was as famous in the Maghreb as was the *Ḥamāsa* in the East, from which a *Mukhtaṣar Fātih* 4079 (*MFO* V, 505, Suppl. 11, 901).

6. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥāzim al-Anṣārî al-Qartajannî, d. 684/1285, see Suppl.

1. *al-Qaṣīda al-alfiyya al-maqṣūra*, in praise of the Ḥafṣid Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Mustanṣir billāh of Tunis (645–75/1249–77), Esc. 2382, 454,1, Algiers 1842/3, with a commentary rich in biographical information by Abū 'Abdallāh Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Ḥusaynî al-Gharnāṭî al-Sabtî, d. 760/1358, Copenhagen 286, Br. Mus. 366,21, 367, Paris 3175, Algiers 1840/1, Alex. Adab 73, 89.—2. Other panegyric poems on the same prince, Esc. 2382,2.—3. Another collection *Majmū'*, *ibid.* 454,2.

7. In Sicily, towards the end of the fourth/tenth century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaqalî al-Kātib al-Ballanūbî al-Naḥwî al-Anṣārî flourished.

Poems, Esc. 2467,1.

8. The most famous poet of Sicily was Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Abî Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdîs al-Azdî al-Sīraqūsî al-Ṣaqalî. He was born in

447/1055 and even in his youth was famed as a poet. When the Normans conquered the island in 471/1078 he fled to Spain. It was only in Seville at the court of the 'Abbādid al-Mu'tamid that he found a setting appropriate for developing his talents. He followed this prince into captivity when the latter was defeated by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 484/1091, and was marched off to Aghmāt in Morocco. After al-Mu'tamid's death in 488/1095 he seems to have gone to al-Mahdiyya. | | There, in 509/1115, he composed an elegy for Yaḥyā b. Bādis, and a congratulatory poem on the accession to the throne of the latter's son 'Alī. He spent the last years of his life in Bijāya, where he died in 527/1132, having lost his vision, at around 80 years of age. According to others, though, he died on Mallorca.

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Ibn Khall. 369, Ibn al-Athīr x, 357, Dozy, *Script. de Abbad.* 1, 146, Wüst. *Gesch.* 234. *Il Diwan del poeta a. M. Abdalgabbar ibn Hamdis il Siciliano publ. da C.C. Moncada, Palermo 1893. I.H. Canzoniere, pubbl. da C. Schiaparelli, Rome 1897.*

## G Spanish Poets

*Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne par al-Makkari* (II 296), publiés par R. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl et W. Wright, 2 vols. Leiden 1855/61 (hereafter Maqq.).

A. Fr. v. Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien*, 2 vols., Berlin 1865, 2nd ed. 1877, *Majmū' al-aghānī wal-alḥān min kalām al-Andalus, dīwān al-awwal. Recueil de chansons et poésies qui ont été transmises par la tradition sous le titre général de Ghernata et qui constituent le répertoire des anciens Maures des 8e et 9e siècles, publ. par E. Yafil, 1904.*

H. Pérès, *La Poésie andalouse en Arabe classique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ses aspects généraux et sa valeur documentaire, Publications de l'Institut d'Études orientales, Faculté des Lettres d'Algiers, Paris 1937.*

Käte Axthausen, *Die Theorien über den Ursprung der provençalischen Lyrik*, Diss. Marburg 1937 (assumes a Neoplatonic origin for the common traits between Arabic poetry and that of Provence).

Menendez Pidal, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea, Bulletin hispanique* 40 (Bordeaux, Fertet Fils), 337–423, see R. Hartmann, *OLZ* 1941, 41/4, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea con otros estudios de literatura medieval*, Madrid 1941 (Coll. Austral 190), see Suppl. 1, 476/8.

1. Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī, d. 403/1012, see Suppl.

Ibn Khall. 819, al-Ḍabbī no. 1451, p. 478/81, Hartmann, | *Muwashshah* 75/8. A 319  
*qaṣīda* composed in captivity, Berl. 7598.

2. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Andalusī, who flourished around 420/1029.

*Al-Durr al-manzūm*, alphabetically ordered *dīwān*, for the most part long *qaṣīdas* in praise of friends and patrons, often as a greeting for the New Year, with mention of the year and the occasion, the greater part from the period 393–426/1002–35, especially 419–20/1028/9, Berl. 7608.

3. Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ b. al-Ḥaṣīna al-Sulamī flourished around the year 440/1048.

*Dīwān*, vol. 1, Esc. <sup>2</sup>275, in which there are poems from the years 433/1041 and 445/1053.

3a. Abu ‘l-Walīd b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥimyarī was the son of the vizier of the *qāḍī* of Seville, Ibn ‘Abbād. He died in 440/1048.

*Al-Badī fī waṣf al-rabī*, an anthology of Spanish poets, written as a follow-up to the lost *Kitāb al-ḥadā’iq* of Ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī, d. 366/976, Esc. <sup>2</sup>353 (wrongly attributed by Derenbourg to Abu ‘l-Walīd al-Gharnāṭī, vol. 11, 12), see H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, 52, 166/83, *Texte ar. publié pour la première fois par H. Pérès, Coll. de textes ar. publ. par l’Inst. des Hautes Études Marocaines VII*, Rabat 1940 (in the Introduction biographies from Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, al-Ḍabbī, *al-Bughya*, Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*).

4. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mayurqī b. Ṭunayz originated from Mallorca and died in 475/1082 in Kāzima, near Baghdad.

Yāqūt, *GW IV*, 722, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 327. Poems, Esc. <sup>2</sup>467,<sub>2</sub>.

5. The ‘Abbādid emir of Seville al-Mu‘tamīd (461–84/1068–91), who was deposed by the Almoravids and who died in captivity in Aghmāt in Morocco, was not just a friend of poets, | but also produced first-rate poetry himself. 271

| Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis* 1, 39ff. Individual poems, Berl. 7627,<sub>3</sub>, Gotha 26,<sub>1</sub>, 320  
 Schack I, 245/97.

6. Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Numayrī flourished in the first half of the sixth/twelfth century.

A poem in praise of the Prophet, Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,8.

7. Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh Hurayra al-Tuṭlī al-A‘mā al-Ishbīlī from Tudela died in 520/1126, when he was still very young.

*Al-Rawḍ al-mi‘tār* by al-Ḥimyarī, ed. Lévi-Provençal 64, Hartmann, *Muw.* 13. *Dīwān* in praise of the Almoravid ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, e.g. on the occasion of his campaign against Alfonso of Toledo and following the conquest of Talavera in 513/1119, of his brother Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm and of high officials, Br. Mus. 605, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 240, <sup>2</sup>111, 119.

8. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Abdūn al-Yāburī al-Fihrī was born in Yābura (Evora). The governor there, ‘Umar al-Mutawakkil b. Aftās, noticed his poetical talent at an early age. When the latter assumed power in Badajoz after the death of his brother Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr in 473/1080 he appointed Ibn ‘Abdūn as his secretary. After the Almoravids deposed and killed Ibn Aftās in 485/1092, Ibn ‘Abdūn entered into the service of the commander of the Berber troops, Sīr b. Bakr, as his secretary. After Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn’s death, his son and successor ‘Alī appointed him to the same office in Morocco. He died while visiting his family in Evora in 529/1134 (or, according to others, this occurred in 520/1126).

*Fawāt* 11, 8, Ibn Bashkuwāl 831, Wüst. *Gesch.* 239. *Al-Qaṣīda al-bassāma* (*bashshāma*), a rhyming chronicle on unfortunate dynasties, from Darius to the Aftāsids, Berl. 76/7. *Prolegomena ad editionem celebratissimi I.A. poematis in luctuosum Aftasidarum interitum scr.* Marinus Hoogvliet, Leid. 1839. Commentaries: a. *Kimāmat al-zahr wa-farīdat al-dahr* by Abu ‘l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī al-Shilbī b. Badrūn, ca. 560/1164 (MSS see Suppl., with Garr. 483, Alex. Adab 117). *Commentaire historique sur le poème*  
321 | *d’Ibn ‘Abdūn par I.B. publ. par R.P.A. Dozy*, Leiden 1846.—Abstract by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī al-Khālīdī, d. 764/1362, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* Leid. 663.—  
 b. by ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. al-Athīr, d. 699/1299 (p. 341), Paris 3134,1; a continuation by the same, a *dhayl*, on the *qaṣīda* *ibid.* 2.

272 | 9. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abi ‘l-Faṭḥ b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khafāja al-Khafājī was born in 450/1058 in Alzira on the Júcar river between Valencia and Xàtiva. He lived as a poet in his native land without making any attempt to obtain the favour of rulers, dying there in 533/1138.

Ibn Khall. 16. *Dīwān*, mostly poems in praise of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfin, as well as descriptions, mostly of gardens, Berl. 7684, Copenhagen 221, Pet. AM 295, Paris 3135, Br. Mus. 1667, Esc. <sup>2</sup>378, print. C. 1286; a poem, Gotha 261.

10. Abu 'l-Ḥakam 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Muẓaffar b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāhili al-Marī<sup>1</sup> was born in 486/1093 in Almeria. Following the pilgrimages that he made in 516/1122 and 518/1124 he spent time in Damascus, Upper Egypt and Alexandria. Having worked for a time as a teacher in Baghdad he entered into the service of the Saljūq sultan Maḥmūd b. Malikshāh (511–25/1117–31) as a physician, for whom he designed a field hospital on 40 camels. Later he returned to Damascus where he died in 549/1154.

Ibn Khall. 332, Maqq. 548, 898. His *dīwān* is lost; in it satirical poems predominated, which he also collected specifically in his *Najh al-raḍā'a li-ūli 'l-khalā'a. Ma'arrat al-bayt*, a poem in the *rajaz* metre, Berl. 8157,3.

11. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Quzmān, d. in 555/1160 in Cordova, see Suppl. I, 481.

| Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.* transl. de Slane III, 436/8. Maqq. II, 262, 431, 636, R. Nykl, Biographische Fragmente über I.Q., | *Islam* XXV (1938), 101/33. *Dīwān: Iṣābat al-aghrād fi dhikr al-a'rād* Pet. AM 296 (from Ṣafad, second half of the seventh cent.), *Le divan d'Ibn Guzman, texte, traduction, etc. par* D. Gunzburg, *Fs. 1. Le texte d'après le Ms. unique du Musée Asiatique Imp. de St. Pétersbourg* (facs.) Berlin 1896, *I.Q. Édition critique partielle et provisoire (Ch. X, XIX, LXXIV, LXXXVII, XC) par* O.J. Tuulio, Helsinki 1941 (*Studia Or. ed. Soc. Or. Fennica* IX, 2).—*Takhmīs* on one of his poems, Br. Mus. 631. 273  
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12. Abū Baḥr Ṣafwān b. Idrīs al-Tujībī al-Mursī, born in 560/1165, was a student of the *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Walīd b. Rushd (p. 384) and died in 598/1202.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* IV, 269, *Fawāt* I, 193, Maqq. II, 124. 1. *Zād al-musāfir*, an anthology of Spanish poets as a supplement to the *Qalā'id al-'iqyān* of Ibn Khāqān, d. 529/1134 (p. 339), ḤKh III, 527,6769, Maqq. II, 124, Esc. <sup>2</sup>355/6, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Maḥdād, Beirut 1358/1939.—2. Alphabetical *takhmīs* on an elegy on the death of al-Ḥusayn, Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,11.

<sup>1</sup> In Cat. Berl. al-Mursī.

13. Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yakhlaftan b. Aḥmad al-Fazāzī served several governors of the Almohads as a secretary, but was banished from Spain by the caliph al-Ma’mūn when the latter came to power in 626/1229. Even though he succeeded in being restored to favour during a visit to Marrakesh in Sha‘bān 627/1230, he died in Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da that year.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (cod. Paris 867), f. 147r/48r. 1. Works, poetry and belles lettres, collected by one of his students, perhaps Abū Bakr b. Sayyid al-Nās, a. *Fī ‘l-zuhd*, b. *al-Rasā‘il al-ikhwāniyya*, c. *Fī mukhāṭabatihī ‘ani ‘l-umarā‘ wa-mā yata‘allaq bi-dhālika*, Leid. 479.—2.—6. see Suppl. 2a. *al-Qaṣā‘id al-‘ishrīniyyāt* under the title *Safīnat al-sa‘āda li-ahl al-dīf wal-najāda*, C. 1320.—*Dīwān al-wasā‘il al-mutaqabbila*, with a *takhmīs* by Muḥammad b. al-Mahīb and explanations of individual expressions by a scholar from Timbuktu, together with *al-Ṣāfīnāt al-jiyād* by al-Nabhānī (Suppl. II, 764<sub>10</sub>), C. 1322.

323 14. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Isrā‘īlī al-Ishbīlī | had converted from Judaism  
274 to Islam and was drowned in 649/1251 (or 658/1260), | together with Ibn Khallās  
the governor of Ceuta.

*Fawāt* I, 23, Hartmann, *Muw.* 44. 1. *Dīwān*, mainly love songs addressed to a Jewish boy by the name of Mūsā, Esc. <sup>2</sup>379, *Hespéris* XII, 113, 979, edition by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-‘Aṭṭār, d. 1250/1834 (Suppl. II, 720), dated 1229/1814, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1074, lith. C. 1279, 1292, 1302, Beirut 1885.—2. *Muwashshaḥ* Berl. 817<sub>2,22</sub>.

15. Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Shushtarī al-Numayrī al-Fāsi originated in Shushtar in the region of Wādī Āsh. He was a student of the philosopher Ibn Sab‘īn (p. 465) and died in Damietta on 17 Ṣafar 668/16 October 1269.

Maqq. I, 583, Hartmann, *Muw.* 87, Massignon, *EI* IV, 423. 1. *Dīwān*, for the most part of mystical content and in modern metres, esp. *zajal* (but not *muwashshaḥ*) and often in Spanish popular dialect, Berl. 7773/7, Munich 525, Leid. 708, Pet. 137, Br. Mus. 1527<sub>3</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>278, Br. Mus. Or. 9254, Garr. 79, library of Shaykh Mubārak in Damascus.—2. A *muwashshaḥ*, Berl. 807<sub>2,1</sub>.—3. *Radd al-muftarī ‘an al-ṭa‘n fi ‘l-Shushtarī*, commentary by al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730, on one of his poems, Berl. 7780, Bodl. II, p. 347, n. 47, Alex. Tawḥīd 35, Fun. 152<sub>26</sub>.—4.—7. see Suppl.—8. *al-Maqālīd al-wujūdīyya wal-dā‘ira al-qidamiyya*, kabbalistic, Taymūr, Taṣawwuf 149, p. 444/7.

16. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, d. around 680/1281.



*Qaṣīda* mourning the grammarian Ibn Mālik, d. 672/1273 (p. 298), Berl. 778<sub>1,2</sub>.

17. Abu 'l-Ḥakam Mālik b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Muraḥḥal al-Mālaqī al-Andalusī al-Sabtī was born in 604/1207 in Malaga and died in 699/1299 in Fez.

Maqq. I, 836, II, 520, Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥijāl* II, 323/7, 'Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī* I, 158. 1. *Dūbayt* Esc. <sup>2</sup>288<sub>4,5</sub>.—2. *al-Wasīla al-kubrā al-marjuww naf'uhā fi 'l-ukhrā*, poetry in praise of the Prophet, Esc. <sup>2</sup>362<sub>1</sub>.—  
| 3. *Mu'ashsharāt* on the same theme, *ibid.* 398.—4. *Kitāb fi 'l-'arūḍ* Cairo <sup>2</sup>II, 324  
241.—5. *Urjūza fi 'l-naḥw*, *Hespéris* XI, 128<sub>1037,2</sub>.

## Chapter 2. Rhymed Prose and Stylistics

1. Abu 'l-Walīd Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ghālib b. Zaydūn al-Makhzūmī was born in 394/1003 in Cordova where, being from a good family, he soon gained a prominent role. He won the love of Wallāda, the witty and emancipated daughter of the Umayyad caliph al-Mustakfī billāh, who had been murdered in 416/1025.<sup>1</sup> This love raised the suspicions of the ruler of Cordova, Abu 'l-Ḥazm Jawhar, who had him thrown into prison. Even though he escaped to western Spain, he later returned to Cordova's suburb of al-Zahrā'. | When Abu 'l-Ḥazm's son Abu 'l-Walīd came to power, he appointed him as vizier. It was during this period that he composed a famous epistle in which Abū 'Āmir b. 'Abdūs tries to win the heart of Wallāda, and which he named after her. But it was not long before he raised the suspicions of Abu 'l-Walīd as well, possibly because of his relations with the art-loving Ḥammūdid ruler Idrīs II of Malaga. He was banished, whereupon he went to the 'Abbādid al-Mu'taḍid in Seville, who appointed him as *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*, i.e. prime minister and general commander of the armed forces. He kept this post under the latter's successor al-Mu'tamid, until he died in Rajab 463/April 1070.

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Ibn Khall. 56, Weijers in *Orientalia* 1, 384/499, *Ibn Zaiduni vitam scripsit epistolamque ejus ad Ibn Dschahvarum scriptam nunc primum ed.* R.O. Besthorn, Copenhagen 1889, al-Iskandarī, *RAAD* XI, 513/22, 577/92, 656/69, Muṣṭafā Jawād, *Mazāliq b. Z. al-lughawīyya*, *Apollo* 1, 1933, 1002/7. 1. *al-Risāla al-hazaliyya* | Letter to Ibn 'Abdūs: *Abi 'l-Walīdi b. Z. risalet seu epistolium ar. et lat. cum notulis ed.* J.J. Reiske, Leipzig 1755, ed. Hirt in *Inst. ling. ar.*, Jena 1777, cf. Behrmauer, *ZDMG* XIII, 477ff.—Commentaries: a. *Sharḥ al-'uyūn fī sharḥ R. b. Z.* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nubāta, d. 768/1366 (II, 10), Gotha 2830 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 191, Dam. 'Um. 87,<sup>52</sup> Qawala II, 196, print. C. 1278; its Turkish translation by Sa'īd Muḥammad Jalīl Efendīzāde, Paris Sch. Turc. 1026, and by Qara Khalīl Emīrzāde, completed in 1133/1721, Vienna 392, print. Istanbul 1257.—2. *al-Risāla al-jiddiyya*, letter to Abu 'l-Walīd b. Jahwar from captivity, in which he asks him to intercede on his behalf with his father, ed. Besthorn, loc. cit. Commentary: *Tamām al-mutūn fī sharḥ r. b. Z.* by Khalīl al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363 (II, 32), Berl. 8608, Ms. or. oct. 3849, Paris 3316/7, Leid. 404, Bodl. I, 1204,<sup>2</sup> Br. Mus. 1074, Esc. <sup>2</sup>497, 543, Garr. 190, Patna I, 195,<sup>1752/3</sup>, print. Wilāyat Sūriyya 1327 (Alex. Adab 27).—3. *al-Qaṣīda al-andalusīyya*, a call to war against the infidels and for the liberation of Spain from their rule, in

1 See Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣīla* 1418 (Dozy, Cat. I, 256), Maqqarī II, 563/8, al-Nawākī, *Ḥalba* 94,7.

60 verses, Gotha 2240.—4. *al-Qaṣīda al-nūniyya*, a love poem, Bodl. I, 1245, 2, II, 318.—5. Individual poems, Berl. 7619,2–4, Gotha 261.

2. Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Kātib al-Wazīr al-Adīb, from Denia, flourished at the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century.

*Risālat al-intiṣār fi 'l-radd 'alā ṣāhib al-Maqāma al-Qurṭubiyya*, possibly against one of *al-Maqāmāt al-Qurṭubiyya* by Abū Tāhir Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh al-Saraqustī b. al-Ashtarkūnī (p. 377), Esc. 2488,2.

3. Abū Bakr Aḥmad (Muḥammad) b. Ishāq b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿUmarī (Maʿmarī) Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt, who died after 578/1182 in Khwārizm, see Suppl.

| 1. Letter of apology, Berl. 8609.—2. Imitation of a *maqāma* by him, ibid. 8537,2.—3. *Rasāʾil*, see Suppl. Paris 4434, see M. Jawad, *REI* 1938, 286, AS 4015,1, 25 Arabic and 25 Persian letters and *qaṣīdas*, different from the *ʿUmdat al-bulaghāʾ* AS 4150 (ca. 600 A.H.).—4.—9. see Suppl.—10. *Ḥadāʾiq al-siḥr fī daqāʾiq al-shiʿr* Persian, on which an Arabic commentary, entitled *Rawḍat al-daqāʾiq*, by Maḥmūd Adham, d. after 899/1494, is in Garr. 499. 276

4. Rhymed prose reached its perfection in the *maqāmas* of al-Ḥarīrī. Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim | b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī was the son of a rich palmgrove owner from Māshān near Basra, but he had been born in the latter town, where he could pursue his literary inclinations, even though he did hold the office of *ṣāhib al-khabar* in his native village. He died on 6 Rajab 516/11 September 1122. 326

His *maqāmas* draw on the tradition of Hamadhānī (p. 93). Just like him, he recounts the adventures of a literarily gifted tramp, a certain Abū Zayd from Sarūj. But he is not so much interested in a depiction—as lively and vivid as possible—of his hero and his surroundings as he is in dressing up his stories with all kinds of syntactical and lexical trappings designed to captivate and busy the reader much more than the story itself. It represents the last flickering of the Arab national spirit,<sup>2</sup> but they are like fireworks; marvellous and delightful in real time but infertile and fizzling out without leaving a trace.

Ibn Khall. 508, Ibn al-Anbārī 453/8. L. Delatre, Hariri, sa vie et ses écrits, *Extr. de la Revue orientale*, Article 1, 2, Paris 1853.—1. 50 *maqāmas* which, according to an autograph seen by Ibn Khallikān, were apparently written for

2 A. v. Kremer, *Culturgesch.* II, 476.

the vizier of the caliph al-Mustarshid billāh, Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Amīd al-Dawla Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Abi ‘l-‘Izz ‘Alī b. Ṣadaqa, d. 521/1127, while the addressee of the dedication is usually identified as the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Anūsharwān b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. Muḥammad al-Qāshānī (cf. Houtsma, *Préf. au Recueil de textes rel. l’hist. d. Seldj.* II, p. XII). *Les Séances de H. avec un cmt. choisi par S. de Sacy*, first ed. Paris 1822, second ed. M. Reinaud and J. Derenbourg, 2 vols., Paris 1847/53. *H.s Assemblies, Arabic text with English notes, grammatical critical and hist. by F. Steingass*, London 1896/7. Editions see Suppl., Persian translation by M. Shams al-Dīn, Lucknow 1263 (*JA* s. 6, v. 3 p. 202ff.), Turkish translation by A. Ḥamdī, Istanbul 1290 (ibid. s. 7, v. 1, | 530, cf. s. 7, v. 19, p. 186, | *Bull. de l’Ac. de St. Pétersbourg* VI, 130 = *Mél. As.* I, 2), Hebrew translation of some *maqāmas*, ed. Neubauer, *JA* s. 6, v. 12, p. 91, Fr. Rückert, *Die Verwandlungen des Abu Seid von Serug oder die Makamen des H.* 1826 (collective edition of R.’s poetical works, Frankfurt a.M. vol. XI), *Makamat or rhetorical Anecdotes, transl. with Annotations by Th. Preston*, London 1850.— Critique by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Khashshāb al-Baghdādī, d. 567/1171 (Suppl. I, 493), *al-Istidrākāt ‘alā maqāmāt al-Ḥ. wantīṣār b. Barrī lil-Ḥ.*, Istanbul 1328, and after the *maqāmas* C. 1329, with Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, d. 629/1231 (p. 481), *al-Intiṣāf bayna Ibn Barrī wa-Ibn al-Khashshāb fī kalāmihimā ‘ala ‘l-maqāmāt*, ḤKh<sup>2</sup> 417, <sup>2</sup>1, 174, VI 61<sup>3</sup> as *Ḥāshiya laṭīfa*, Garr. 200. Commentaries: 1. Abū ‘Abdallāh or Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Abi ‘l-Sa‘āda ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mas‘ūd al-Panjdahī, d. 584/1188 (ḤKh VI, 62), Bodl. I, 403, Manch. 686, Esc. <sup>2</sup>494, Algiers 1892, Ḥamīd. 1195 (ZA 27, 148), *Maghāni ‘l-muqāmāt fī ma‘āni ‘l-m.*, anon. Teh. II, 302.—2. Abū ‘l-Khayr Salāma b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. Salāma al-Anbārī al-Dayrī, d. 590/1194, Gotha 2770, excerpts ibid. 99, f. 11v.—3. *al-Īdāḥ* by Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī, d. 610/1213 (p. 293), Berl. 8540/2, Ms. or oct. 3854, Munich 561, Paris 3937/8, Esc. <sup>2</sup>269,<sup>1</sup> 509/10, Br. Mus. 616, Alex. Adab 16, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 210, <sup>2</sup>111, 378, Patna I, 202,<sup>1803</sup>—4 ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Ukbarī, d. 616/1219 (p. 496), Berl. Ms. or qu. 2109, Munich 562, Upps. 85, Paris 3939,<sup>1</sup> Garr. 198.—5. Saḍr al-Afāḍil al-Ṭarā‘ifī, d. 617/1220, Berl. 8543.—6. Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-Qaysī al-Sharīshī, d. 619/1222, a. the great commentary, Leid. 413/4 (where other MSS are listed), additionally: Berl. 8544, Ms. or qu. 2056, Paris 3940/6, Algiers 1891, Patna I, 202,<sup>1805/6</sup>, print. Būlāq 1284, 1300, C. 1306.—b. the middle commentary, Leid. 415.—7. Anon. Berl. *al-Awḍaḥ*, perhaps by al-Taftāzānī, d. 792/1390 (II, 215), Leid. 417 (autograph).—8. al-Zabīdī, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 8545.—9. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaballabī,

3 Quoting al-Suyūṭī’s *Bughya*, who does not, however, mention this work on p. 311.

d. 962/1555, up to one third of the 24th *maqāma*, completed by his student Abu 'l-Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī in 960/1558, Leid. 419, Pet. AMK 943.—10. *al-Maqālāt al-jawhariyya* by Khayr al-Dīn b. Tāj al-Dīn Ilyās al-Madanī, fl. 12th cent., Cambr. 1085/7, Alex. Adab 163, Cairo 2111, 367, Patna I, 206,<sup>1839</sup>—11. Abū Ra's Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Nāṣirī, d. 1244/1828, Berl. 8546, Algiers | 1893/4.—12. Abū Ja'far b. Dā'ūd al-Bāghī, Leid. 416.—13. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Ḥamāma al-Maghrāwī al-Sijilmāsī, ḤKh 11, 534, Esc. 2496.—14.—16. see Suppl.—17. *al-Maqālāt al-jawhariyya 'ala 'l-m. al-Ḥ.* by Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zamzamī al-Shāfi'ī, ca. 993/1585, Lālelī 1850 (*MO* VII, 103), Makr. 57.—19. Anon. Leid. 418, Vienna 375, Upps. 83.—20. Maḥzar al-Dīn, Patna I, 202,<sup>1804</sup>—21. *al-Qushāmāt* by Muḥammad Ismā'īl Abu 'l-Mushtāq b. Muḥammad Wajīh al-Dīn, *ibid.* 1808.—Turkish translation by A. Ḥamdī Shirwānī (under 'Abd al-'Aziz), Istanbul 1290.—24 commentaries are mentioned in Ahlwardt, 8548.

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II. *al-Risāla al-sīniyya* and *al-Risāla al-shīniyya*, in the first of which every word contains a *sīn*, and in the second a *shīn*, Berl. 8610, Leid. 424/5 (where other MSS are listed), print. in Arnolds, *Chr. ar.* 202/9.

III. Some *qaṣīdas*, Berl. 7674.

IV. Poem in 18 verses in the *khafīf* metre on the difference between words with a *dād* and a *zā* (see Maq. ed. de Sacy 545/7, Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* II, 149), Berl. 679.

v. *al-Farq bayna 'l-dād wal-zā*, alphabetical, Berl. 7022.

VI. *Kitāb durrat al-ghawwāṣ fi awḥām al-khawāṣṣ*, mistakes in the language of the educated, Berl. 6503/4, Ms. or. oct. 3885, Munich 689, Leid. 69 (where other MSS are listed, see Suppl.), and also AS 3866, Alex. Fun. 67,<sup>22</sup> Patna I, 185,<sup>1688</sup>, ed. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1871, print. C. 1273. Commentary by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī, d. 1069/1659 (II, 285), Berl. 6505, de Jong 13, Köpr. 1312/3, Alex. Lughā II, Qawala II, 3, Patna I, 185,<sup>1692</sup>, print. Istanbul 1299/1300.

VII. *Mulḥat al-i'rāb*, a didactic poem on grammar with a commentary, Berl. 6507/9, BDMG 67a, Breslau Un. 213, Paris 2570,<sup>9</sup>, 3996/9, Leid. 157/8 (where other MSS are listed), see Suppl. Garr. 324, Qawala II, 97. *Mulḥat al-i'rāb ou les récréations grammaticales, poème grammatical, accompagné d'un cmt. par le cheikh a. M. el-Ḳ. b. 'A. connu sous le nom de Ḥ. trad. par L. Pinto, avec un choix de notes explicatives et critiques ainsi les variantes tirées du cmt. intitulé Toḥfat al-adab*, 1805/9, cf. de Sacy, *Anth. gr.* 145/51. Commentaries: 1. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mālik Badr al-Dīn (p. 363), Vat. v. 320, fragm. Berl. 6510, Gotha 229,<sup>2</sup>—2. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qurayshī al-Qalaṣādī (Qalaṣāwī, ḤKh Ind. 7101), d. 891/1486, Esc. 2121,<sup>1</sup>—3. *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb* | by

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Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 930/1524 (II, 403), Berl. 6511, Leid. 159, Br. Mus. Suppl. 924, Hamb. Or. Sem. 66, 72, 130, Alex. Naḥw 5, Patna I, | 171,1684, print. C. 1296, 1300, 1306, 1308, 1319.—4. *Kashf al-niqāb* by ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī, d. 972/1564 (II, 380), Hamb. Or. Sem. 59, 131, 134, Leid. 160.—5. Anon. Berl. 6512.—6.—11. see Suppl.—12. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Raslān al-Ramlī, d. 844/1440 (II, 96), BDMG 9, 83.—Abstract in verse by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jābir, d. 780/1378 (II, 13), Paris 4452,4.

5. The Christian physician Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Naṣrānī al-Baṣrī, who died in 589/1193.

*Al-Maqāmāt al-masīhiyya*, an imitation of the *maqāmas* of Ḥarīrī, Vienna 384.

5a. Al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Zubayr al-Ghassānī al-Aswānī, who hailed from an affluent family from Upper Egypt, was appointed as an inspector (*walī al-naẓar*) in Alexandria and directed the *dīwān* of the sultan. In Yemen, where he had gone as an envoy, he became *qāḍī l-quḍāt*, and even assumed power at times. But then the Egyptian government had him arrested and taken to Qūṣ. Nevertheless, he was pardoned by the emir al-Ṣāliḥ b. Ruzzik. In spite of this, he contacted Shīrkūh when the latter invaded Egypt, but in Muḥarram 563/Oct.–Nov. 1167, even before Shīrkūh could assert himself, he was sentenced to death by the vizier of the last Fāṭimid caliph al-‘Āḍid.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* I, 2416/22, Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 146. 1. *al-Maqāma al-ḥaṣībīyya* with commentary Alex. Adab 142, 163.—2. *Jinān al-jinān wa-riyāḍ al-adhhān fī shu‘arā’ Miṣr* as a supplement to al-Tha‘ālibī’s *Yatīmat al-dahr*, see Abū Makhrama, ed. Löfgren II, 4,23, p. 267 n. 1.—3. *Shifā’ al-ghilla fī samt al-qibla*.—4. *Munyat al-alma’i wa-munyat al-mudda’i*, an encyclopaedia.

5b. Rukn al-Dīn al-Wahrānī, Suppl. I, 489,56, II, 911,68.

5c. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammūya al-Kāmilī, d. 652/1254.

330 | *Taqwīm al-na‘īm etc.* see Suppl., AS 3825 (Rescher, *WZKM* 26, no. 36).

6. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Majd al-Dīn b. Qarnāṣ, ca. 672/1272.

*Maqāma* on Egypt, the Nile, and Rawḍa, Berl. 8549,2.

7. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf al-Qurṭubī Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Abu ‘l-‘Abbās, who died in 672/1272.

1. Fragment of a letter, Berl. 8613,<sub>1</sub>.—2. See Suppl.

8. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Barā’ī flourished around 674/1275.

A *maqāma* on the Nile, Berl. 8549,<sub>3</sub>.

9. Al-Qāḍī Ḥāshid, ca. 690/1291.

Beginning of a *maqāma* Berl. 8550,<sub>1</sub>.

### Chapter 3. Philology

In this period Arabic linguistics saw intense activity as well. Even though in grammar no new observations were made, the material assembled by Sībawayhi and his successors was recast over and over again, thus gaining much in manageability. Furthermore, one compendium after another was produced, some of which have maintained their canonical status until this very day. Lexicography produced some smart, specialised works, which nevertheless drew on older sources. Typical of this period were studies on stylistics and poetics, which often bear testimony to a sound aesthetic judgement. But this domain, too, eventually came under the sway of barren scholastics. Philology, which had originated in Iraq, now became studied in all Islamic lands, although the Iranians still asserted their old superiority.

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#### 1 *Philology in Iraq*

1. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. al-Iskāfī, who died in 421/1030.

1. *Mabādi’ al-lughā* Yeni 1121, see Suppl.—2. *ibid.*—3. *Luṭf al-tadbīr (fī siyāsāt al-mulūk* ḤKh V, 320, 11141, *fī ḥiyāl al-mulūk fī umūr al-salṭana)* ‘Āšir I, 1005, Top Kapu 2633 (*RSO* IV, 725).

2. ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Rabā‘ī, from Yemen, died in 480/1087.

*Nizām al-gharīb*, explanation of obsolete words in old poems, which are also quoted, Berl. 7039, Leid. 68, Br. Mus. 1010, Suppl. 918, 111, 1214, 11, Cambr. 63, AS 4335, Alex. Lughā 33, Garr. 33, Patna I, 90, 1719.

3. Abū (Bakr) Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī b. al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī, who was born in 421/1030 in Tabrīz, studied philology with Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī<sup>1</sup> and the science of *ḥadīth* in Šūr (Tyre). Having worked for a time as a teacher in Egypt he then went to Baghdad, where he held the chair of philology at the Nizāmiyya until his death on 28 Jumādā I 502/4 January 1109.

1 In a library in Baghdad one could see a memento of his diligence, a copy of the *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fī ‘l-lughā* by al-Azharī (p. 134) that he, too poor to buy himself a mount, had hauled in a rucksack from Tabriz to Ma‘arra to attend lectures on it there, and which was still saturated with his sweat.



Anb. 443/8, Ibn Khall. 77. 1. *al-Kāfi fī 'ilmay al-'arūḍ wal-qawāfi* Berl. 7110 (= Bodl. I, 1215?), Bat. 146,<sub>3</sub>, versified by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Faljī (according to ḤKh 11, 413, v, 21, he was born in 829/1426, while in Freytag, *Versk.* 36, n. 10, he died in 729), maybe Gotha 376,<sub>2</sub>.—2. *Kitāb al-wāfi fi 'l-'arūḍ wal-qawāfi* Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 196, <sup>2</sup>II, 246.—3. *Kitāb al-mulakhkhaṣ fī i'rāb al-Qur'ān* Paris 596.—4. *Sharḥ al-mu'allaqāt* see Suppl. p. 35—5. *Sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*, ed. G. Freytag, 2 vols., Bonn 1838/47, Bülāq 1286/290, C. 1322, 1341.—6. *Sharḥ dīwān Abī Tammām* see p. 85.—7. *Sharḥ saqṭ al-zand* see p. 294.—8. *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* Berl. Ms. or. quart. 2047.

| 4. His most important student and his successor at the Nizāmiyya was Abū Maṣṣūr Mawhūb b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Khaḍir b. al-Jawālīqī, who was born into an old Baghdad family in 465/1073, and who passed away on 15 Muḥarram 539/19 July 1144. 332

Anb. 473/8, Ibn Khall. 722. 1. *Kitāb al-mu'arrab min al-kalām al-'Ajāmī 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam*, explanations of foreign words, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867. Completion of a lacuna after the Cairo MS by W. Spitta, *ZDMG* 33, 208ff.; other MSS Esc. <sup>2</sup>124, AS 4277, Lālelī 3591, 3629.—2. *Kitāb al-takmila fī-mā yalḥanu fīhi 'l-'amma*, supplement to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, see p. 326, *Le livre des locutions vicieuses*, ed. H. Derenbourg in *Morg. Forsch.* Leipzig 1875, p. 107/66, *Takmilat iṣlāḥ mā taghliṭu fīhi 'l-'amma*, ed. al-Tanūkhī in *al-Majmū' al-'ilmī al-'Arabī* no. 7, Damascus 1936 (*RAAD* XIV, 164/226).—3. *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-naḥw* Köpr. 1501.

5. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Ishāq al-Ṣaymarī, who died in 541/1146.

Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 285 (without date). *Tabṣirat al-mubtadi' wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī*, on grammar, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>11, 179, <sup>2</sup>1, 339, Paris 4007, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Malkūn al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ishbīlī, d. 584/1188 (Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 188), wrote *nukat* on this work.

6. Abū Sa'āda Hibatallāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī b. al-Shajarī, who was born in Baghdad in Ramaḍān 450/November 1058, was the *naqīb* of the 'Alids in al-Karkh, a suburb of Baghdad, and who wrote a number of commentaries on grammatical works. He died on 26 Ramaḍān 542/9 February 1148.

Anb. 485/9, Ibn Khall. 745, *Fawāt* 11, 310. 1. *Dīwān mukhtārāt al-shu'arā'*, an anthology of complete *qaṣīdas*, based on the MS in the national library of Egypt, lith. C. 1306.—2.—4. see Suppl. (3. also *Br. Mus. Quart.* viii, 15).

7. Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abi ʿl-Hijāʾ b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥillī al-ʿIrāqī, d. 561/1170, see Suppl.

333 | 1. *Kitāb nuzhat al-anfus wa-rawḍat al-majlis* explains the origin of proverbs and metaphors in 29 chapters in alphabetical order (with lām-alif), Gotha 1250.—2. *Rawḍat al-ʿushshāq wa-nuzhat al-mushtāq*, anthology, Esc. 2471.—3., 4. see Suppl.

281 | 8. Kāfi ʿl-Kufāt Abu ʿl-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿd al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī b. Ḥamdūn was born into a noble family in Baghdad in 495/1101. 281 | Having served in the army under al-Muktafi, he moved up the ranks to the position of chief warden of the palace under al-Mustanjid and, finally, to that of secretary of state. Due to the fact that in this capacity, he openly—in an official letter—criticised the damages done by the government at the time, he was evicted from his post and thrown into jail in 562/1167, where he died soon after.

Ibn Khall. 626, *Fawāt* II, 286, Wüst., *Gesch.* 255. *Kitāb al-tadhkira fi ʿl-siyāsa wal-ādāb al-malakiyya*, a philological and historical anthology in 12 volumes, Berl. 8559/60, Paris 3324, Bodl. I, 379, 389, Pet. AM 207, Esc. 2508, a further part ibid. 280 (contra Derenbourg, see M. Antuña, *al-Andalus* III, 1935, 447/9), Br. Mus. Suppl. 1137/8, Istanbul Un. R. 101, ʿUm. 5363 (*ZS* III, 248), Bursa Haraccizade Edeb. 28 (vol. 5, Ritter), see A. v. Kremer, *ZDMG* VII, 215, idem, *Ideen* 469, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Geschichte und Sitten der Araber vor dem Islam, bearbeitet nach der Teskiret b. H., SBWA, phil.-hist. Cl.* April 1851.—abstract by Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd b. Sālim, composed in 618/1282, ḤKh 11, 256, 2780, 21, 383, Munich 595, anon. Gotha 2137, Paris 3325.

334 | 9. Abū Muḥammad Saʿīd b. al-Mubārak b. ʿAlī b. al-Dahhān was born on 21 Rajab 494/23 May 1101 in the Nahr Ṭābiq quarter of Baghdad, where he was regarded as one of the greatest grammarians of his time. When he was visiting the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī in Mosul, his house in Baghdad was hit by a flood. He tried to restore the books that had been damaged by fumigating | them with laudanum, but ruined his eyes in the process and went blind. He died soon after, on 1 Shawwāl 569/7 May 1174.

Ibn Khall. 251. 1. *al-Fuṣūl fi ʿl-qawāfi* Gotha 358, 2 = *al-Mukhtaṣar fi ʿl-qawāfi* ḤKh V, 450, 11622 or part of the *Fuṣūl b. al-Dahhān* ibid. IV, 432, 9076?—2. A *qaṣīda* with an anonymous commentary (maybe the copyist of the MS Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Batanūnī al-Azharī, in the year 1162/1749) dictated by Shams

al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khabbāz, Gotha 2255.—3.–6. see Suppl.

10. Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Sa'īd b. al-Anbārī<sup>2</sup> was born in Rabī' II 513/July 1119 in Anbār on the Euphrates. Under al-Jawālīqī and Ibn al-Shajarī he studied philology at the Nizāmiyya in Baghdad, where he would later teach the same subject. | He spent the last years of his life devoted to studying and spiritual exercises. He died on 3 Sha'bān 577/19 December 1181. 282

Ibn Khall. 342, *Fawāt* 1, 262, Wüst., *Gesch.* 269. 1. *Kitāb nuzhat al-alibbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-udabā'*, a history of philology from its beginnings until his own lifetime, Patna II, 318,<sup>2471</sup> lith. C. 1294.—2. *Kitāb asrār al-'arabiyya*, a grammar, ed. C.F. Seybold, Leiden 1886, see E. Kautzsch, *ZDMG* 28 (1874) 331ff., on the MSS see Suppl. and Garr. 335.—3. *Kitāb al-inṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf bayna 'l-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn wal-Kūfiyyīn*, composed at the request of his students at the Nizāmiyya, Leid. 169, Esc. <sup>2</sup>119, Yeni 1060, see Kosut, *Fünf Streitfragen der Baṣrenser und Kufenser*, Vienna 1878; ed. by G. Weil, Leiden 1913.—4. *Kitāb luma' al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw* Leid. 170.—5. *Kitāb luma' al-ighrāb fī jadal al-īrāb* Paris 1013,<sup>3</sup>—6. *Kitāb 'umdat al-udabā' fī ma'rifat mā yuktab bil-alif wal-yā'* Leid. 171.

11. The circumstances of the life of Abū | 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Khālid b. al-Saqqāṭ are unknown, although he belonged to the sixth/twelfth century. 335

*Kitāb ikhtiṣār al-'arūḍ* or *al-Ghumūḍ min masā'il al-'arūḍ* Leid. 270, Esc. <sup>2</sup>288,<sup>3</sup>, 330,<sup>5</sup>, 396, comment. by Ibn al-Barrī, d. 583/1187 (p. 365), Esc. <sup>2</sup>410,<sup>3</sup>.

12. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Baqā' 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Ukbarī al-Ḥanbalī, born in 538/1143 in Baghdad, studied philology and the science of *ḥadīth* there, started his career as the mentor of Ibn al-Jawzī (p. 500), and was later regarded as the greatest philologist of his time. He died on 8 Rabī' II 616/24 June 1219.

2 Rescher, *Abriss* II, 191, n. 2 claims that, as "al-Anbārī", our author should be distinguished from the older "Ibn al-Anbārī" (p. 122); in this he can, however, only draw support from Ibn Khallikān, while the *Fawāt* and al-Ṣafadī call Abu 'l-Barakāt also "Ibn al-Anbārī".

Ibn Khall. 322. 1. *Kitāb al-tibyān fī ʿrāb al-Qurʿān* Paris 620/1, Algiers 331, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 135, AS 73/4, Patna I, 24,<sup>2</sup>17.—2. *Kitāb al-mūjiz fī ḥikmah al-shiʿr al-mulghiz*, a commentary on syntactically unusual phrases among ancient poets, Berl. 6581.—3. *Kitāb al-lubāb fī ʿilal al-bināʾ wal-ʿrāb*, on the causes of declension and indeclinability, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 90, <sup>2</sup>II, 155.—4. *Kitāb al-talqīn fī ʿl-naḥw*, fragm. Leid. 177.—5. *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī* see p. 88.—6. *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* see p. 325.—7.—12. see Suppl.—13. On the basis of his *Muṣannaḥ*, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī, d. 1120/1708 (Mur. II, 120), wrote *al-Bayān wal-taʿrīf fī asbāb wurūd al-ḥadīth al-sharīf*, in 2 vols., Aleppo 1329/30 (Sarkis 88).—14. *Add al-āy* Fātiḥ Waḥf Ibr. 632.

13. Abū ʿAlī al-Muẓaffar b. Abī Saʿīd al-Faḍl b. Abī Jaʿfar Yahyā b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī wrote, at the command of the vizier of the last of ʿAbbāsīd caliph, Muḥammad al-ʿAlqamī, d. 655/1258:

*Kitāb naḍrat al-ighrīd fī nuṣrat al-qarīd*, a theory of the art of poetry, ḤKh VI, 353,<sup>1384</sup>, Berl. 7174, Vienna 224, Paris 1303,<sup>2</sup>, 4236,<sup>3</sup>, 4420,<sup>1</sup>, Br. Mus. 1055, Dāmād Ibr. 963.

14. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Hibatallāh al-Madāʿinī b. Abi ʿl-Ḥadīd, born in 586/1190 in al-Madāʿin, distinguished himself as a poet and philologist. He died in 655/1257 in Baghdad.

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| | *Fawāt* I, 248. 1. *Kitāb al-falak al-dāʿir ʿala ʿl-mathal al-sāʿir*, a refutation of the errors in Ibn al-Athīr's (p. 358) *Kitāb al-mathal al-sāʿir fī adab al-kātib wal-shāʿir*, Leid. 318, Garr. 551.—2. Versification (*naẓm*) of Thaʿlab's (p. 121) *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ*, completed in 24 hours, Esc. <sup>2</sup>188.—3. *al-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿalawīyyāt*, 1. on the conquest of Khaybar, 2. on the capture of Mecca, 3. and 4. in praise of the Prophet, 5. on the death of Ḥusayn, 6. addressed to the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575–622/1180–1225), praise of the Prophet, Berl. 7757/8, with a commentary by an unidentified ʿAlid, Leid. 703, see ḤKh IV, 577.

15. (16.) ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Faḍāʾil ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Abi ʿl-Maʿālī al-Khazrajī al-Zanjānī wrote in 625/1257 in Baghdad:

*Kitāb taṣrīf al-Zanjānī* or *al-ʿIzzī* Gotha 194,<sup>6</sup> (where other MSS are listed), Berl. 6615/6, BDMG 65, b, Garr. 396/7, Qawala II, 25/6. For printed editions see Suppl. Commentaries: 1. Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī, d. 792/1390

(II, 215), Berl. 6617/8, Gotha 200,<sup>2</sup> (where other MSS are listed), BDMG 82, Garr. 398/400, Qawala II, 34/6, print. Istanbul 1253, 1292. Glosses: a. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī, d. 855/1451, Berl. 6619, Br. Mus. 532,<sup>8</sup>.—b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Laḡānī, autograph dated 924/1511, Esc. <sup>2</sup>103, 183, Gotha 203, Vienna 201, de Jong 17.—c. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-‘Izzī (Ghazzī?) al-Shāfi‘ī, 10th cent., Esc. <sup>2</sup>182.—d. Muḥammad b. ‘Arab b. Ḥājjī b. ‘Arab, Kazan 146.—e.–f. see Suppl.—g. Kamāl al-Dīn Qara Dede Khalīfa Jūnkī, C. 1255 (Qawala II, 28).—h.–i. see Suppl.—k. Anon. Garr. 401/2 (*al-Mufarrij*).—2. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Afzarī, d. 815/1412, Berl. 6620, Leid. 204.—2a. al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Pet. AMK 926, Dam. Z. 64,<sup>6</sup>, print. Istanbul 1280, 1292, 1301, 1318.—3. al-Qārī’ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Berl. 6621, Istanbul 1289.—4. Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Zanjānī al-Imām al-Mu‘aẓẓam, around 1050/1640, Berl. 6622.—5. Yūsuf Jān b. ‘Abbās al-Pirḥadrānī, around 1094/1683, *ibid.* 6623.—6. Ḥājjī b. Ibrāhīm ‘Ukkāsha al-Jabalī, ḤKh IV, 210, Gotha 200,<sup>1</sup>, Munich 761, Pet. 159.—7. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī Nūr al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kīlānī al-Shāfi‘ī, Gotha 204, Ambros. 126, Esc. <sup>2</sup>86, print. C. 1305, 1307, 1312, 1344 (Alex. Adab 6).—8. Anon., Berl. 6625/6, Gotha 205,<sup>2</sup>, Pet. 156,<sup>1</sup>, Br. Mus. 502,<sup>1</sup>.—9.–19. see Suppl.—20. | *Ḍiyā’ al-Kalām* by Ibn Muḥammad Bāqir Naṣrallāh al-Shīrāzī, 13th cent., Bank. XX, 2089 = Patna I, 159,<sup>1507</sup>.—19 commentaries and glosses, 2 versifications in Ahlw. 6027.—II. *Mukhtaṣar al-hādī li-dhawi ‘l-ādāb fi ‘ilm al-‘rāb*, with comment. *al-Kāfi*, completed in 654/1256, Pet. 205.—III.–VIII. see Suppl.

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17. Badr al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Sayf al-Dawla b. Zammākh b. Baraka b. Thumāma al-Tha‘labī al-Ḥamdānī al-Mihmāndār, who was born in 602/1205 and died towards the end of the seventh/thirteenth century.

*Kitāb izālat al-iltibās fi ‘l-farq bayna ‘l-ishtiḡāq wal-jinās*, on the rhetoric of the Qur’ān, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 122, <sup>2</sup>II, 175.

## | 2 Philology in Persia and Neighbouring Countries

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The competition for grandeur amongst the numerous royal courts of Iran led to a renewed upsurge in poetry as well as scholarship. While in poetry, New Persian had continued to gain ground ever since the era of the Sāmānids, Arabic asserted itself as the language of the sciences. However, to help with its acquisition, numerous aids were created in the national language of the Iranians.

1. Abū Manšūr ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Tha‘ālibī was born in 350/961 in Nishapur and died in 429/1038. His great productivity in philology and belles lettres did, like that of his successors, often consist merely of compilations, whose accessible and attractive format was the only thing that counted. For instance, al-Tha‘ālibī did not shrink from copying verbatim whole passages from his predecessors without mentioning his sources.<sup>1</sup>

- Ibn Khall. 354, Wüstenfeld, *GGA*, 1837, p. 1103, no. 15, idem, *Gesch.* 191. 1. *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-‘aṣr*, on the poets of his time and the previous | generation, arranged by country, with many examples of their poetry, which was of more importance to him than the details of their lives; cf. Fr. Dieterici, *De anthologia Arabica Tsaalebii Unio aetatis appellata*, Berlin 1846, idem, *Mutanabbi und Saifuddaula* 177ff. Barbier de Meynard, *JA* s. v, v. 1 p. 169 ff., vol. 3, p. 291ff., Berl. 7401/8, Ms. or. qu. 2052, Gotha 2127 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 183/5, Köpr. 1409 (first volume), Patna II 561<sup>2951</sup>, print. Damascus 1304 in 4 vols. *Dhayl yatīmat al-d.* by the author himself Berl. 7407, Vienna 365, Pet. Ros. 86, cf. *ZDMG* IX, 627, continuation by al-Bākharzī, see p. 292.—
- 285 2. *Kitāb laṭā‘if al-ma‘ārif* Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 72, ed. P. de Jong, Leid. 1867.—| 3. *Shams al-adab fī sti‘māl al-‘Arab*, a work on synonyms written in old age, in two parts: a. *Asrār al-lughā al-‘arabiyya wa-khaṣā‘iṣuhā*, on synonyms in the narrow sense.—b. *Majāri kalām al-‘arab bi-rusūmiḥā wa-mā yata‘allaq bil-naḥw wal-īrāb minhā wal-istishhād bil-Qur‘ān ‘alā akthariḥā* or *Sirr al-adab fī majāri kalām al-‘arab*, stylistic notes mostly taken literally from the *Fiqh al-lughā* of Aḥmad b. Fāris (p. 135), *ḤKh* IV, 590, Berl. 7032/3, Leid. 60, Garr. 516, anon. abstract Berl. 7034, Vat. v. 1177<sub>6</sub>.—*Kitāb fiqh al-lughā wa-sirr al-‘arabiyya*, special edition of part 1 of no. 3, Berl. 7635/6, Ms. or. oct. 3779<sub>3</sub> (Fischer-Burch. 31), 3882/3, Tüb. 68, Vienna 231, Paris 4251, 4858, Br. Mus. 1648, Suppl. 853, Cambr. Preston 38/9, Palat. 515, Pet. AM 206, Algiers 244, Qawala II, 5, Dam. ‘Um. p. 70, no. 25/8, Patna I 187<sub>1699/1700</sub>, ed. R. Daḥdāḥ, Paris 1861, C. 1284, 1325, 1341, 1345, 1357/1938 (ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā’, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ Ṣalātī), Beirut 1885 (abbreviated, see Zayyāt, *Khazā’in al-kutub fī Dimashq* 22ff.), cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* III, 152/66. *Prooemium et specimen lexicī synonymici arab.* *Atthalibi ed. vertit notis instr.* J. Seligmann, Uppsala 1863. Versification, *Nazm fiqh al-l.*, by an unidentified author from the year 742/1341, Leid. 67, see Weijers, *Orient.* 1, 36off.—5. *Kitāb al-kināya wal-ta‘rīd*, a book of rhetoric, dedicated to the Khwārizmshāh Ma‘mūn b. Ma‘mūn (see Barthold, *Turkestan* 275/8), Berl. 7336, Vienna 84<sub>2</sub>, Esc. 2281(?).—6. *Kitāb ajnās al-tajnis* Esc. 2363<sub>4</sub> = *Risāla fī l-tajnis* Berl. 7330?—7. *Kitāb siḥr al-balāgha wa-sirr al-barā‘a* Berl. 8339, Tüb. 67,

1 Cf. I. Goldziher, *SBWA* 73 (1873) p. 539.

Vienna 232, Paris 3314,<sup>1</sup> 6724, Leid. 459, Esc. <sup>2</sup>504,<sup>8</sup> Köpr. 1283, excerpts as no. 3 in *Arba' rasā'il muntakhaba min mu'allafāt al-'allāma Abū Maṣūr al-Tha'ālibī*, Āsitāna, Jawā'ib 1301.—8. *Ghurar al-balāgha wa-ṭuraf al-barā'a*, a collection of aphorisms in 10 chapters, Berl. 8341, under the title *al-La'ālī wal-durar* AS 3795/6.—9. *Thimār al-qulūb fi 'l-muḍāf wal-mansūb*, dedicated to 'Ubaydallāh | b. Aḥmad al-Mikālī (no. 3, p. 340), an explanation of common connections in the genitive, such as *sayf Allāh, qaws quzah* etc., with supporting evidence, mostly in verse, Berl. 8342, Brill, M. 212, Vienna 83, Br. Mus. 725, Algiers 1442, Rāḡib 1207, Yeni 939, Köpr. 1230, cf. Hammer, *ZDMG* v, 179ff., 289 ff., VII, 542ff. VIII, 449ff., P. de Gayangos, *Hist. of the Muh. Dynasties in Spain*, I, 330ff. Abstract, *Imād al-balāgha*, by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1034/1622 (II, 302), Copenhagen 206.—10. *Kitāb al-lutf wal-latā'if* in 16 chapters, Vienna 1838,<sup>2</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>363,<sup>2</sup>.—11. *Kitāb nathr al-naẓm (wa-ḥall al-'iqd)*, a description in prose of the verses of *Mu'nis al-udabā'* by an unidentified author, composed at the order of the Khwārizmshāh, Berl. 8344/5, Leid. 457, Pet. AM 775/6.—12. *Kitāb man ghāba 'anhu 'l-muṭrib*, a. on eloquence, b. spring and the other seasons, c. description of day and night, d. love songs, e. wine songs, f. friendship, g. varia, Berl. 8333, BDMG 103, Paris 3305,<sup>1</sup>, 3401,<sup>4</sup>, 5934,<sup>3</sup>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1110,<sup>2</sup> Esc. <sup>2</sup>340,<sup>4</sup>, Garr. 188, print. in *al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya*, Istanbul 1302, p. 230/94.—13. *Kitāb bard al-akbād fi 'l-a'dād* Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 305, <sup>2</sup>III, 34, print. Istanbul 1301.—14. *Kitāb al-tawfiq lil-taflīq*, | on that which things and persons that differ have in common, of serious and cheerful content, Berl. 8338.—15. *Mir'āt al-muruwwāt wa-a'māl al-ḥasanāt*, on nobleness, Berl. 5409.—16. *Kitāb al-tamaththul (tamthīl) wal-muḥāḍara* Leid. 454 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 186, as *al-Tamthīl wal-munāẓara fi 'l-ḥikam* Patna I 195,<sup>754</sup>, *Muntakhabāt* also no. 1 in *Arba' rasā'il*, Istanbul 1301.—17. *Kitāb al-ghilmān*, a description of young men, ḤKh v, 127,<sup>10351</sup>, Berl. 8334, imitated in *Kitāb alf ghulām wa-ghulām* by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī (p. 352), Esc. <sup>2</sup>461.—18. *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā'*, a counterpart to his lost mirror for princes *al-Kitāb al-mulūkī* (or *Sīrat al-mulūk* ḤKh III, 643,<sup>7343</sup>), Gotha 1886.—19. *Kanz al-kuttāb*, 2500 passages from 250 poets, for use by secretaries, Vienna 242, commentary by Lāmi'ī, d. 938/1532, cf. Toderini, *Lit. Turch.* II, app. p. XXXIV.—20. *Kitāb al-farā'id wal-qalā'id*, a. on the excellence of science and reason, b. manual for austerity, c. control of the tongue, d. education of the soul, e. nobility of the soul, f. on the commendable lifestyle, g. good public administration, h. eloquence, Krafft 1479.—21. *Aḥsan mā sami'tu* Köpr. 1197.—22. *Kitāb al-mubhij (Mubahhij)*, aphorisms and anecdotes, Berl. 8332, Paris | 1176,<sup>35</sup>, 5914,<sup>2</sup> Köpr. 1366, Garr. 187, no. 2 in *Arba' rasā'il*, Istanbul 1301, C. 1322/1904 (Maṭba'at al-Najāḥ).—23. *al-Laṭā'if wal-ẓarā'if fi madḥ (maḥāsin) al-ashyā' wa-addādihā* Berl. 8334/5, Leid. 456, Esc. <sup>2</sup>531, dedicated to the Khwārizmshāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn, d. 407/

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1016.—24. *Kitāb yawāqūt al-mawāqūt fi madḥ al-shayʿ wa-dhammihi* Berl. 8336/7, Leid. 455 (where other MSS are listed), AS 4353, Bursa HÜ. Celebi Edeb. 16.—25. *Kitāb laṭāʾif al-ṣaḥāba wal-tābiʿīn* Leid. 452, *Selecta ex Thaalebii libro facetiarum* ed. P. Cool in the chrestomathy to Roorda's *Gramm. ar.* Leid. 1835.—26. *Aḥāsīn kalīm al-nabī wal-ṣaḥāba wal-tābiʿīn wa-mulūk al-jāhiliyya wa-mulūk al-islām wal-wuzarāʾ wal-kuttāb wal-bulaghāʾ wal-ḥukamāʾ wal-ʿulamāʾ*, Leid. 453, Paris 4201,2 (?), from which *Talibii Syntagma dictorum brevium et acutorum*, ed. J. Ph. Valetton, Leid. 1844. Included later in the work:—27. *Kitāb ijāz al-ijāz* Berl. 8340/1, Paris 3305,2 5934, Bodl. I, 338, II, 347,3, Br. Mus. 724, 1074, Copenhagen 207, Esc. 2291 (fragm.), Köpr. 1221, Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 204, 2<sup>III</sup>, 16, print. as no. 1 in *Majmūʿat khams rasāʾil*, Istanbul, Jawāʾib 1301, ed. Iskandar Āṣaf, C. 1897.—28. *Kitāb al-mutashābih* for Ṣāḥib al-Jaysh Abu ʿl-Muẓaffar Nāṣir, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 633, Mosul 264,16,3, also under the title of 6., Cairo 2<sup>II</sup> 215.—29. Mistakenly attributed to him is *Muʿnis al-waḥīd: Der vertraute Gefährte des Einsamen in schlagfertigen Gegenreden von et-T.* ed. G. Flügel, Vienna 1829, in reality it is a part of the anthology of Rāghib al-Isfahānī, d. 502/1108 (see no. 9), cf. Gildemeister, *ZDMG* 34, 171.—32.–51. see Suppl. (44. Persian translation by Muḥammad al-Sāwī Fātiḥ 3716, Ritter).—52. *al-Injās al-maʿrūf wa-ʿumdat al-qulūb* Patna I 145,1399.—53. *Nasīm al-ṣabā*, on synonyms, AS 4353,2 (Ritter).—54. *al-Anwār fi āyāt al-nabī* Berl., Ms. or. qu. 2083.

2. (3.) Abu ʿl-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Mikālī came from a noble Persian family that regarded Bahrām Gūr as their ancestor. In Khurāsān he was a poet, literary figure, and patron of the arts, dying in 436/1044.

287 | *Yatīma* IV, 247/68, *Fawāt* II, 25. 1. A collection of proverbs in alphabetical order, divided into further subsections with every letter, in each case starting with a quotation from the Qurʾān, abstract Berl. 8668.—2. *Kitāb al-maḥzūn*, 341 | stylistic examples from his letters, excerpts from *Yatīma* IV, 249/58.—cf. Suppl.

3. (4.) Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Aḥmad al-Kurdī was an admirer and emulator of al-Thaʿalibī who died in Ramaḍān 474/February 1082.

*Al-Bulgha al-mutarjama fi ʿl-lughā*, divided into 40 chapters by subject, the first of which deals with man and his limbs, while the last is devoted to weights and measures, HKh 1<sup>II</sup>, 65,1917, 2<sup>I</sup>, 253, Gotha 402.



4. (5.) Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī, a student of Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī (a nephew of Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī) and of ‘Alī ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jurjānī, died in 471/1078 or, according to others, in 474.

*Fawāt* I, 297. 1. *Kitāb al-‘awāmil al-mi‘a* or *Mi‘at ‘āmil* Berl. 6475/6, Gotha 212/4, Munich 696/7, Vienna 147/8, Krafft 50, Upps. 511,2, Copenhagen 175, 178,3, Pet. 175/6, Paris 3088,2, 3989/91, 4008,2, 4051,2, 4123,4, 4130,2, 4181,4, Algiers 15,2, 46,2, 49,4, 50,1, 54,4, Br. Mus. 486, 487,4, 495, 1389, 1522, Ind. Off. 981, Esc. 292,3, Garr. 391/4, 2121,2, 2124,1, Alex. Naḥw 34,2, Fun. 142,5, Qawala II, 60, 103, *Liber C. regentium*, ed. Th. Erpenius, Leiden 1617, J. Baillie, *Five Books on Arabic Grammar*, Calcutta 1803, A. Lockett, *The Miut Amil and Sharhoo M.A. two elementary treatises on Arabic Syntax transl. etc. with an Appendix, containing the original Text*, Calcutta 1814.—Commentaries: 1. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Amīr al-Ḥājj al-Ḥalabī, ca. 855/1451 (II, 93), Berl. 6477.—2. Ḥājjī Bābā Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭūsiyawī, ca. 870/1465 (II, 223), Berl. 6478, Munich 895, f. 68b, Vienna 149, Alex. Naḥw 33.—3. Yaḥyā b. Naṣūḥ b. Isrā‘īl, ca. 950/1543, Berl. 6479, Paris 3993,1, Pet. 177,1, Garr. 315/6, Alex. Fun. 175,2.—4. al-Tūrājī, Berl. 6480/4.—5. ‘Alī b. Ḥamīd al-Shaykhānī, ibid. 6485.—6. Khalīl b. ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm, with a supercommentary by ‘Alī b. Rasūl al-Qaraḥiṣārī, ibid. 6486.—7. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs, ibid. 6487.—8. Muḥammad Ṣādiq b. Darwīsh Muḥammad, Ind. Off. 982,1.—9. Muṣṭafā b. Bahrām, Leipzig 29, 130.—10. Anon., Gotha 217/24, Munich 762/3, Vienna 150/1, Krafft 51, Leid. 154/6 (155 = *Bibl. Ac. Scient.* ii, 6, Bat. 156,12), Paris 3989,4,5, 3990, 3992, 4015,6,7, 4144,3, 4149,2, Pet. 174,2, 176, 177,3, 237, Pet. Ros. 164,4, Esc. 2174, 175,2, Algiers 40/1, 549, Garr. 321/3.—11. Turkish by Muḥammad b. Sha‘bān, ca. 980/1572 | (probably in Gran in Hungary), Leipzig 15,3.—12. Turkish anon., Paris 4041,3.—13.–34. see Suppl.—Turkish translation, Vienna 152.—Versifications: 1. In 35 verses in the *basīṭ* metre by Naṣrallāh b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanbalī Jalāl al-Dīn, ca. 790/1388, Berl. 6496.—2. *al-Durra al-durriyya fi ‘l-‘awāmil al-naḥwiyya* by Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Dimashqī al-Ḥamawī, d. 1090/1679, with a commentary by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Arīḥawī, d. 1128/1716 (II, 286), Berl. 6497.—3. *Ḥulwat al-ṣibyān fi nazm al-‘awāmil* by Abū Bakr al-Qāḍī, composed in 1174/1760, Berl. 6498.—4. Ibrāhīm, ibid. 6499.—5. Anon., ibid. 6500/1.—6. Persian, Ind. Off. 983/4,2.—7.–9. see Suppl.—*Hadīyyat al-ṣibyān*, grammatical analysis by Muṣṭafā b. ‘Alī al-Awralawī, Gotha 1964, Paris 4212, Garr. 317.

| 11. *Kitāb al-jumal*, didactic poem on grammar, ḤKh 111, 624,4196,21, 602, Calcutta 938. Commentaries: 1. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khashshāb al-Baghdādī, d. 567/1171 (Suppl. I, 493), with the title *al-Murtajal*,

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Gotha 211.—2. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Faṭḥ b. Abi 'l-Faḍl al-Bālī, d. 709/1309 (II, 100), with the title *al-Fākhīr*, composed in 695/1296, Esc. 227.—3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Qayṣayrī, ca. 758/1357, Esc. 2173.—4. 'Ashīq Qapū al-Iznīqī, d. 945/1538, Br. Mus. 496,<sub>1</sub>.—6. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Sharaf b. Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī Qāḍī 'l-quḍāt bi-Ṭarābulus al-Shām, composed in 787/1384, Esc. 228.—7. Anon., completed in 596/1199, possibly by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī b. al-Kharūf, d. 609/1212, HKh II, 624, Esc. 2172.

III. *Kitāb al-tatimma*, on syntax, Ind. Off. 984, Br. Mus. 472.

IV. *Asrār al-balāgha fī 'l-ma'ānī wal-bayān*, on rhetoric and poetics, one of the most brilliant works of Arabic literature, AS 4354, Köpr. 1418/9, Faiz. 1771.

V. *Dalā'il al-i'jāz wa-asrār al-balāgha* Yeni 1031.

VI. *Sharḥ kitāb al-īdāḥ* by Abū 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār, d. 377/987, p. 116.

VII. *al-Masā'il al-mushkila*, quoted in 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī's *Khizānat al-adab* I, 134,<sub>16</sub>.

VIII. *Durj al-durar* see Suppl.

IX. *al-Mukhtār min dawāwīn al-Mutanabbī wal-Buḥturī wa-Abī Tammām in al-Ṭarā'if al-adabiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maymanī, C. 1937, 195/305.

5. (6.) Al-Qāḍī Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, d. 482/1089, see Suppl.

1. *Kitāb kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'* HKh v. 245, Vienna 84.—2.—4. see Suppl.

6. (7.) Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Zawzānī, from Zawzān between Herat and Nishapur, who died in 486/1093.

343 | 1. *Kitāb al-maṣādir*, a dictionary of Arabic infinitives with explanations in Persian (see Weijers, *Orient*. I, 367ff.), Gotha 101, 399, Leipzig I, 23, Vienna 93, Leid. 100, Upps. 12, Paris 4287/8, 6045, Br. Mus. 1685, Ind. Off. 993, Bodl. II, 231,<sub>3</sub>, Pet. 227, Pet. Ros. 71/2, Köpr. p. 232, no. 697, Schefer, *Bull. hist. phil. de St. Pétersb.* VI, 256.—2. *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*, Arabic-Persian dictionary of the Qur'ān, separately treating nouns and verbs in two sections, Gotha 401.—3. *Sharḥ al-mu'allaqāt* see Suppl. p. 35.—4. see Suppl.

7. (8.) Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Naṭanzī Dhu 'l-Bayānayn or Dhu 'l-Lisānayn, who died in Jumādā II 499/February 1106 or, according to Ibn Jamā'a in al-Suyūṭī and al-Qifṭī, in Muḥarram 497/October 1103.

*Dustūr al-lughā*, Persian explanations of difficult Arabic words in 28 books (following the number of the letters of the alphabet and of the mansions of the moon), of 12 chapters each (after the number of the months and the signs of the zodiac), with a grammatical introduction on the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs, the gender of the nouns etc., Leid. 102/4, Paris 4286, Upps. 10,2.

| 8. (9.) Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal<sup>2</sup> al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, d. 502/1108. 289

ZDMG 1851, p. 79. 1. *Kitāb muḥāḍarāt al-udabā' al-shu'arā' wal-bulaghā'* or *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarāt*, a philological-historical anthology, individual parts Berl. 8346/9, BDMG 116, Vienna 369/70, Leid. 464, Br. Mus. 777, 1094, AS 4254, 4255/8, Köpr. 1371,1, 1372, 1373/6, 1377/8, print. C. 1287.—2. *Mufradāt alfāz al-Qur'ān*, a dictionary of the Qur'ān, organised by the first letter in alphabetical order, with quotations of *ḥadīth* and Qur'ānic verses, very useful, ḤKh VI, 35,12638, Berl. 675, Ms. or. qu. 2062, AS 432, Yeni 58, 159, Köpr. 1577, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 216, 2<sup>II</sup>, 40, Qawala I, 82, Alex. Adab 27 (fragm.) Patna I, 33,340.—3. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* AS 212.—4. *Ḥall mutashābihāt al-Qur'ān* Rāghib 180.—5. *Tafsīl al-nash'atayn wa-taḥṣīl al-sa'adatayn* ibid. AS 4027, Köpr. 1371,3, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 555.—6. *Kitāb al-akhlāq*, on ethics, Berl. 5392.—7. *al-Dharī'a ilā makārim al-sharī'a*, an ethical masterpiece that al-Ghazzālī supposedly carried with him at all times, Vienna 1839, Rāghib 1179, Köpr. 1371,2, print. C. 1299, 1324, Persian translation Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. 146.—8.—12. see Suppl.

| 9. (10.) Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maydānī was a student of al-Wāḥidī who died on 15 Ramaḍān 518/27 October 1124 in Nishapur. 344

Ibn al-Anb. 460, Ibn Khall. 60. 1. *Majma' al-amthāl* Berl. 8670/1, Leid. 383/4 (where other MSS are listed), AS 4127, Dāmād Ibr. 95/8, Patna I 188,1709/10, print. Būlāq 1284, C. 1310, 1320, edited by G.W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, 3 vols., Bonn 1838/43. Abstract, *al-Durr al-muntakhab* by Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bakrajī, d. 1169/1756 (II, 287) Berl. 8672, a metrical revision by an Ottoman author from 1079/1668, ḤKh v, 393, Gotha 1250.—2. *al-Sāmī fi 'l-asāmī*, a dictionary: 1. *fiqh*, 2. living creatures, 3. heavenly creatures, 4. earthly things, Arabic terms with explanations in Persian, completed on 19 Ramaḍān 497/9 June 1104 (see Weijers, *Orient.* I, 368ff.) Berl. 7040, Leid. 105 (where other MSS are listed, and in addition:) Br. Mus. Suppl. 855, Garr. 269/70, AS 4680/1, Yeni 1128, Bursa,

2 After Berl. 675 Faḍl, after al-Suyūṭī *Bughya* 396, al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad etc.

Haraccizade Lughā 15, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 173, Alex. Lughā 13. Annotations and additions to it, Leid. 106, anon. under the title *al-Ibāna* ibid. 107 (Weijers, *Orient.* 1, 371ff.). Abstract following the arrangement by al-Jawhārī, composed by his son Abū Saʿīd Saʿd, d. 539/1144 (Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 254), perhaps Leid. 108 (Weijers op. cit., 371ff.).—3. *Kitāb al-hādī lil-shādī*, on syntax, with Persian annotations, composed after *al-Sāmī*, Ind. Off. 1027,<sup>1</sup> Bodl. 1, 1067,<sup>2</sup> AS 4441, with anonymous commentary (maybe by the author) Leid. 162 (Weijers, op. cit., 1, 371 n).—4. Treatise on the formation of plurals and the *ḥurūf* Leid. 163.—5. Small grammatical treatise, Paris 4000.—6.—8. see Suppl.

10. (11.) A student of al-Maydānī, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Ṭāhir al-Khuwwī (Khuwayhī) wrote in 532/1137:

1. *Farāʿid al-kharāʿid*, a collection of proverbs, ḤKh IV, 3968, Paris 3968, ʿUm. 5574, Istanbul Un. R. 255 (*ZS* III, 249), abstract *ʿUqūd al-ʿuqūl* Vienna 343, with annotations in Turkish.—2. *Sharḥ saqt al-zand* Suppl. 1, 453.

290 11. (12.) Abu ʿl-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, born in Zamakhshar in Khwārizm on 27 Rajab 467/19 March 1075, | made long study tours in his youth and, after making the pilgrimage, lived for a considerable time in Mecca (which is why he was called Jārallāh). As a theologian he declared himself one of the | Muʿtazila.<sup>3</sup> As well as Qurʾānic exegesis he devoted himself to philological studies. Even though he explained Arabic words in Persian in his *Muqaddimat al-adab*, he was so convinced of the pre-eminence of the Arabic language that he repudiated any *shuʿūbī* tendencies in the introduction to his *Mufaṣṣal*. He died in Jurjāniyya in Khwārizm on the day of ʿArafa 538/20 June 1144.

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Ibn al-Anb. 469/73, Ibn Khall. 682, Ibn Quṭlūbughā 217, Barbier de Meynard, *JA* 1875 II, 314.—1. *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa-ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wūjūh al-taʾwīl*, a Qurʾān commentary, against the study of which—in his days especially widespread in Persia—Ṭāshköprizāde warns in *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda* II, 409/10, Berl. 769/80, Ms. or qu. 2030 (Fischer-Burch. 9), oct. 3890, Leipz. 86/93, Munich 84/7, Paris 597/603; Algiers 320/5, Br. Mus. 64/7, Ind Off. 52/6, Pet. 44, AS 242/52, Köpr. 124/37, Yeni 84/91, NO 396/414, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 189, Garr. 1267/70, Patna 1 31,<sup>306/8</sup>, ed. by W. Nassau Lees, Mawlawis Khadim Hosain, and ʿAbd al-Hayi, 2 vols., Calcutta 1856, print. C. 1307, 1308 (with glosses by

3 This is why he originally opened his *Kashshāf* with the words: *al-ḥamdu lillāhi alladhī khalaqa ʿl-Qurʾān*, where the chastened, orthodox *vulgata* reads *anzala* instead.

‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurgānī no. 9) C. 1354 (with *al-Intiṣāf* by Ibn al-Munayyir al-Iskandarī, *Hāshiyat al-Marzūqī, al-Kāfi ‘l-shāfi fi takhrīj aḥādīth al-K.* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, II, 67). Glosses: 1. Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd al-Shīrāzī Qutb al-Dīn al-‘Allāma, d. 710/1310 (II, 211), Paris 604, AS 366/7.—2. *Futūḥ al-ghayb* by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī, d. 743/1342 (II, 64), Vienna 1639, Algiers 326, AS 368, 369/74, NO 560/1 Köpr. 195/202, Yeni 138/43, Cairo 1I, 187, Patna I, 28,273/6, II, 500,2678.—3. *al-Kashf ‘an mushkilāt al-K.* by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Fārisī al-Qazwīnī, d. 745/1344, Berl. 790, AS 360/2, Rāḡib 173, Köpr. 187/8, Yeni 154/7, NO 564/6, Cairo 1I, 192.—4. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Jārabardī Fakhr al-Dīn, d. 746/1345 (II, 193), NO 554/5, Rāḡib 166/7, Qawala I, 56.—5. *Sharḥ al-K.* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Taḥṭānī al-Rāzī, d. 766/1364 (II, 209), Berl. 792, Leid, AS 367, Rāḡib 172, Köpr. 193, Yeni 146, NO 556, Cairo 1I, 168.—6. Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-‘Alawī al-Fāḍil al-Yamanī ‘Imād al-Dīn, d. 750/1349 (Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 414), *Durar al-aṣḍāf*, Ind. Off. | 1095, NO 563, Dāmādzāde 299.—7. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bābartī, d. 786/1384 (II, 80), Köpr. 194, Dāmādzāde 270.—8. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, d. 792/1389 (II, 215), Berl. 793, Esc. 21300, 1417, NO 557, AS 364/5, Köpr. 189/91, Rāḡib 168, Yeni 134, Cairo 1I, 204, Qawala I, 57, Patna I, 28,277/8, on which superglosses by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-‘Alā’ī, first half 9th cent., Cairo 1I, 168, by al-Khiṭā’ī, d. 901/1495, ibid. 204, anon. Gotha 528, Leipzig. 109,1.—9. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413, (II, 216), Berl. 794/5, Ind. Off. 60, Garr. 1271, Rāḡib 171, Köpr. 192, Yeni 136/7, NO 358/9, Cairo 1I, 168, Selīm. 137/8, Patna I, 28,279 = (?) *Risāla fi ba‘ḍ mushkilāt al-K.*, AS 410, printed in the margin of the *Kashshāf*, C. 1308 (see above), on which superglosses by Khaṭībzāde, d. 901/1495, Cairo 1II, 165, 203, by Ibn Kamālpāshā, d. 940/1533, Yeni 148.—| 10. *al-Muḥākamāt ‘ala ‘l-K.* by ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, composed in 825/1422, NO 562, AS 363.—11. Khidr al-‘Aṭūfī, d. 948/1541, Yeni 144.—12. Ismā‘īl Qara Kamāl, ca. 900/1484, NO 553.—13. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. Mollā Khalīl, ca. 1150/1737, Berl. 797.—14. Anon., Berl. 796, Paris 605.—15. *Tanzīl al-āyāt*, commentary on the *shawāhid* of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Muftī al-Dimashqī, d. 1016/1608 (II, 361), Leid. 1667, Būlāq 1281, C. 1300, 1307.—16.–18. see Suppl. (17. *al-Is‘āf* also Patna I, 22,189/201). Other glosses mentioned in Ahlw., 799.—Abstracts: 1. *al-Taqrīb fi ‘l-tafsīr* by Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-Sīrāfī al-Qālī al-Shuqqār, composed in 698/1298, AS 88, Patna I, 26,245/6.—2. *Talkhīṣ al-K.* by ‘Umar b. Dā‘ūd b. Sulaymān al-Fārisī al-‘Ajāmī, first half of the eighth cent., Cairo 1I, 154.—2a. *Taqrīb al-K.*, anon., Berl. 788 (not = 1.).—3. *Takhrīj aḥādīth al-K.* by ‘Abdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Zayla‘ī, d. 762/1360, Cairo 1I, 167, Patna I, 24,221/2.—4. *al-Kāfi ‘l-shāfi fi takhrīj aḥādīth al-K.* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, d. 852/1448 (II, 67), abstract of 3., Berl. 1348, Yeni 174, Patna I, 31,305 (see above).—6.–11. see Suppl. (6. also Patna I, 29,282, where *al-Durr al-shaffāf*, 7. *Tajrīd al-K.*, Patna I, 24,218/21).—Refutations:

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1. *Kitāb al-intiṣāf min al-K.* against false teachings and some grammatical opinions, by Abū b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. al-Munayyir al-Mālikī, d. 683/1284 (p. 416), Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 127 (see above). Abstract by ‘Abdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām, d. 761/1359, Berl. 791.—2. *Kitāb al-tamyīz li-bayān mā fi tafsīr al-Zamakhsharī min al-‘itizāl fi ‘l-K. al-‘azīz*, against his Mu‘tazilī views, by ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl al-Sukūnī, d. 707/1307, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 154, abstract *al-Muqtaḍab*, Leid. 1608, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1547, NO 475.—3. see Suppl.

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| II. *Kitāb al-mufaṣṣal*, composed between 513/5 = 1119/21, a textbook on grammar, a classic because of the concise and clear wording of its material, ed. J.B. Broch, Oslo 1859, ed. II, *ibid.* 1879. Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary, Leid. 164, Vienna 154.—2. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khwārizmī, d. 617/1220, Br. Mus. Suppl. 927.—2a. *al-Muḥaṣṣal* by Abu ‘l-Baqā’ ‘Abdallāh b. Abī ‘Abdallāh Ḥusayn al-‘Ukbarī, d. 616/1219 (p. 495), Garr. 327, Cairo <sup>2</sup>II; 127. Abstract, *al-Mustarshid*, by the author himself, Patna I, 174, 1605.—3. Abu ‘l-Baqā’ b. Ya‘īsh, d. 643/1245 (p. 358), ed. by G. Jahn, Leipzig 1882, 2 vols.—4. *al-Mufaḍḍal* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī, d. 643/1245 (p. 410), Leid. 165, Paris 4004 (? fragm.) Esc. <sup>2</sup>61.4—4a. *Sifr al-sa‘āda wa-safir al-ifāda*, by the same, explanation of paradigms, ḤKh III, 599, 7175, VI, 39, 3, Berl. 7094 (wrongly identified by Ahlw.), Oct. 3582, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 566, <sup>2</sup>II, 17, 1, Dam. ‘Um. 86 (Z. 79, 14), A. Taymūr, RAAD III, 339, *ibid.* XII, 704, Maktabat Shaykh al-Islām (*Tadhk. al-Naw.* 119).—5. *al-Īdāh* by ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥājjib, d. 646/1248 (p. 367), Munich 693, Alex. Naḥw 4, Patna I, 161, 1523.—6. *al-Mukammal* by Muḥzir al-Dīn al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Muḥammad completed in 659/1261, Bodl. I, 1084, Esc. <sup>2</sup>60, Algiers 43, Patna I, 174, 1613.—7. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, d. 749/1348, composed in 712/1312, Berl. 6521.—8. *al-Iqlīd* by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Jundī al-Andalusī, eighth cent., Esc. <sup>2</sup>62, Bodl. I, 1100, Paris 4003.—9. Anon. fragm., Br. Mus. 1031.—10. Anon., on the *shawāhid*, Leid. 166.—11.—19. see Suppl.—24 commentaries, 2 *shawāhid* commentaries, 2 abstracts, 2 versifications, and 1 rebuttal in Ahlw., 6522.

III. *Kitāb al-unmūdhaj*, a short grammar, abstract from the *Mufaṣṣal* (see de Sacy, *Anth. gramm.* 99), Leid. 167 (where other MSS are listed), autograph by J. Broch, Christiana 1867, print. C. 1289, Istanbul 1298. Commentaries: 1. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Ardabīlī, d. 1036/1626, Berl. 6516/7, Gotha 224/6 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 329/31, 2121, 3, Alex. Naḥw 21, Qawala I, 89, Patna I, 167, 1560, print. Būlāq 1269.—2. Sa’d al-Dīn al-Barda‘ī, Berlin 6508, Vienna 155, Pet. 197, Ros. 129, Garr. 332/3, Alex. Naḥw 14.—3. Anon., Leid. 168, Garr 334.—4. Anon., on the *shawāhid*, Pet. 198.—5.—7. see Suppl.—8. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Zayn al-‘Arab, composed in 736/1335, Alex. Fun. 96, 1.

4 Contra Derenbourg, who follows Suppl. 510, 5a, see Leid., loc. cit.

IV. *al-Muḥājġāt wa-mutammim mahāmm arbāb al-ḥājāt* | *fi 'l-aḥājī wal-ughlūtāt fi 'l-naḥw* Cairo <sup>v</sup>VII, 162, II, 157. 348

V. *al-Qusṭās fi 'l-'arūd*, on metrics, Berl. 7111, Leid. 267, Garr. 497/8, Patna I, 191,<sup>1727/8</sup>. Commentary by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Naḥwī al-Mawṣīlī, Leid. 268, *Taṣḥīḥ al-miqyās* (attributed to 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zanjānī al-Khazrajī [see p. 336] in ḤKh IV. 514,<sup>9514</sup>).

VI. *Muqaddimat al-adab*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary, later with a Turkish part dedicated to Atsyz (see Suppl.) and provided with glosses in Mongolian by a later editor, Berl. 6960/2, Leid. 1090 (where other MSS are listed), Patna I, 189,<sup>1718</sup>. *Samachscharī Lexicon Ar.-Pers.* ed. J.G. Wetzstein, 2 vols., Leipzig 1844, N.N. Poppe, *Mongolskij Slovar Muqaddimat al-Adab*, | *Čast I–III, Ak. Nauk SSSR, Trudy Inst. Vostokoved.* XIV, Moscow—Leningrad 1938. Commentaries: 1. On the last two parts, anon., Esc. <sup>2</sup>167,<sup>3</sup>.—2. On the grammatical introduction by Muḥammad 'Iṣmatallāh b. Maḥmūd Ni'matallāh al-Bukhārī, composed in 645/1538, Ind. Off. 989,<sup>9902</sup>.—3. Anonymous glosses ibid. 990,<sup>1</sup>.—Turkish translation by Iṣḥāq Efendi Aḥmad b. Khayr al-Dīn al-Burūsawī, d. 1120/1708, Vienna 86. 292

VII. *al-Fā'iq fi gharib al-ḥadīth* Berl. 1648/9, Leid. 70, AS 4707/8, Köpr. 370/2, Yeni 1135/8, Dam 'Um. 71,<sup>36/40</sup>, Patna I, 187,<sup>1698</sup>.

VIII. *Asās al-balāgha*, on eloquence, with a special emphasis on metaphors, Berl. 6958, Leid. 71/3 (where other MSS are listed), Patna I, 183,<sup>1682</sup>, print. C. 1299, 1327. Abstract by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, d. 852/1448 (II, 67), Berl. 6959, anon. Br. Mus. Suppl. 857.

IX. *Kitāb al-amkina wal-jibāl wal-miyāh*, *Z. i lexicon geographicum cui titulus K. al-J. wal-a. wal-m. quod auspice T.G.J. Juynboll ed.* M. Salverda de Grave, Leiden 1856, Baghdad 1938.

X. *Mas'ala fi kalimat al-shahāda* Berl. 2406.

XI. *Kitāb khaṣā'is al-'ashara al-kirām al-barara* Berl. 9656.

XII. *Kitāb al-naṣā'ih al-kibār* (also called *Maqāmāt*), sayings in which the author addresses himself at the beginning of each with the phrase “yā Aba 'l-Qāsim!”, Vienna 348,<sup>3</sup>, 379, Garr. 201, Mosul 144,<sup>62,7</sup>, self-commentary Berl. 8749.

XIII. *Kitāb al-mustaṣā fi 'l-amthāl* Leid. 394, Vienna 338, Br. Mus. 730, 1426, Suppl. 1002, Köpr. 1388/9, NO 4249.

XIV. *Nawābigh al-kalim*, a collection of sayings, Berl. 8676, Leid. 391/2 (where other MSS are listed), AS 4339, Qawala II, 211, print. C. 1287. *Anthologia sententiarum arab. cum scholiis Z.*, ed. vertit ill. H.A. Schultens, Leiden 1772, | cf. Barbier de Meynard, *JA* s. 7. v. 6, p. 313ff. Commentaries: 1. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kabindī, ca. 718/1318, de Jong 52.—2. *al-Ni'am al-sawābigh* by al-Taftāzānī, d. 792/1389 (II, 215), Algiers 1445 (see Suppl.), print. Istanbul 1283, Turkish transl. by Muṣṭafā 'Iṣām al-Dīn, *Pet. Inst.* VIII, 27.—3. Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb 349

al-Khaywaqī, ca. 770/1368, Berl. 8675.—4. The Yemeni prince Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Nāṣir lil-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, composed in 782/1380, Paris 3966,<sub>1</sub>—5. al-Qūnawī, ca. 1000/1591, Berl. 8677.—6.–7. see Suppl.

xv. *Kitāb rabī' al-abrār (wa-nuṣūṣ al-akhbār)*, a collection of sayings (see Hammer, *Wien. Jahrb.* 63, Anz.-Bl. p. 231), Berl. 8351/3, Leid. 470 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 202, AS 3985, Dāmād lbr. 948, Patna I, 798,<sub>1779</sub>, anon. commentary entitled *Nafaḥāt azhār R. al-a.*, Patna I, 207,<sub>1851</sub>. Abstracts by: 1. The author himself, Br. Mus. 729.—2. *Rawḍ al-akhyār* by Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Ya'qūb, d. 940/1533 (II, 429), Berl. 8356, Gotha 2133/4, Leipz. 603, Dresd. 404, Munich 600, Paris 3501/2, Br. Mus. 513, 1125 (see Suppl.), Garr. 73, Alex. Adab 73.—3. Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Qabāqibī, d. 849/1445, Berl. 8355.—4. Anon., Berl. 8358, Vienna 376, Alex. Fun. 107,<sub>9</sub>, with the title *Zahr al-rabī'*, Berl. 8356, *Anwār R. al-a.*, Patna I, 194,<sub>1748</sub>—5. Turkish by 'Ashiq Čelebī, d. 979/1571, Vienna 378.

xvi. *Aṭwāq al-dhahab* or *al-Naṣā'ih al-ṣighār* (see de Goeje, *ZDMG* XXX, 569) Berl. 8678/9, Leid. 2153, Vienna 348,<sub>2</sub>, 349, Paris 3948,<sub>2</sub>, 3964,<sub>1</sub>, 3973,<sub>11</sub>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1003, ii (see Suppl.), AS 3780,<sub>1</sub>, Patna I, 193,<sub>1739</sub>, 207,<sub>1850</sub>, *Samachscharis Goldene Halsbänder; als Neujahrgeschenk, ar. u. deutsch* b. J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1835, S.s. *Goldene Halsbänder, von neuem übers. u. mit Anmm. begleitet* v. H.L. Fleischer, Leipzig 1835. *Gold. Halsbänder von neuem übers.* v. G. Weil, Stuttgart 1863. *Les Colliers d'or, allocutions morales de Z. Texte ar. suivi d'une trad. franç. et d'un cmt. phil.* par C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1876.—Imitations: a. *Aṭbāq al-dhahab* by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Hibatallāh al-Maghribī al-Iṣfahānī Shufurwa, a Persian poet from around 600/1203, Berl. 8684/5, Vienna 348,<sub>1</sub>, 350,<sub>2</sub>, 3948,<sub>3</sub>, 3964,<sub>2</sub>, 3973,<sub>1</sub>, Br. Mus. 1429, Esc. <sup>2</sup>544,<sub>2</sub>, AS 3780,<sub>2</sub>, Alex. Adab 134,<sub>2</sub>, Fun. 107,<sub>7</sub>, Cairo IV, 203, <sup>2</sup>III, 146, Patna I, 193,<sub>1738</sub>, print. Būlāq 1280, Lahore 1878, C. 1325, with glosses by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabhānī (see Suppl. II, 763), Beirut 1309.—b. *Aṭwāq al-dhahab* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Naḥwī, Brill-H. <sup>1</sup>496, <sup>2</sup>1146,<sub>13</sub> = Garr. 2005,<sub>15</sub> (which has al-Khuwayyī and where the work | is identified with a. without any justification).—c. *Aṭbāq al-dhahab* by Abu 'l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, d. 597/1200 (see p. 499), Garr. 204 (see Esc. <sup>1</sup>I, 221). Commentary, *Qalā'id al-adab fī sharḥ A. al-dh.*, by Muḥammad Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān b. I'tiṣām al-Mulk, completed in 1319/1901, C. 1321.—d. *Akhlāq al-dhahab* by Muḥammad Amīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus b. al-Efendī, Patna I, 192, 1736.

293 | xvii. *Nuzhat al-muta'annis wa-nahzat al-muqtabis* AS 4331 (*ZDMG* 64, 508).

xviii. *al-Qaṣīda al-ba'ūdiyya*, in praise of God and his messenger, in connection with a description of the mosquito, Berl. 7686/7.

xix. *Qaṣīda* on the question, by al-Ghazzālī, of how God is seated on the throne and on the limitations of human knowledge, Berl. 7688,<sub>1</sub>.

xx. Other poems *ibid.* 2, 3.



XXI–XXV. See Suppl.

XXVI. See *ibid.* 965.

12. (13.) Zamakhsharī's favourite student, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Makkī, wrote, around 550/1155:

*Kifāyat al-naḥw fi 'ilm al-i'rāb*, a commentary on the *Unmūdhaj*, see Suppl. 1, 510.

13. (14.) Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Bayhaqī Būja'farak, d. 30 Ramaḍān 544/31 January 1150 (see Suppl.).

*Tāj al-maṣādir*, a dictionary with infinitives in Arabic and explanations in Persian, Ind. Off. 994/6, Bodl. 1, 1089, AS 4664, NO 702, Yeni 1123.

14. Abū Ḥaḍḍ 'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Janẓī, a teacher of Sam'ānī (*Ansāb* 137b), was a poet and scholar, and died in 550/1155 in Marw.

*Al-Suyūṭī*, *Bughya* 362. *Al-Wāfi fi 'l-'arūd wal-qawāfi* Ind. Off. 4618 (*JRAS* 1939, 385 with the erroneous statement that he "died in 505," caused by a misreading of the number in the facsimile edition of al-Sam'ānī).

15. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī was allegedly born in Khwārizm in Rajab 538/January 1144, the year in which al-Zamakhsharī passed away, for which reason this follower of the latter was called Khalīfat al-Zamakhsharī. Besides philology, he also devoted himself to the study | of *fiqh* according to the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa, and to Mu'tazilī dogmatics. In the year 601/1204 he lived for a time in Baghdad, and died on 21 Jumādā 1 610/9 October 1213. 351

Ibn Khall. 729, Ibn Quṭlūbughā 241. 1. *Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ fi 'l-naḥw*, an abstract from the work of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī written for his son, Berl. 6530/1, Gotha 214, Leip. 418, 887<sup>5</sup>, 894<sup>2</sup>, Munich 695/7, Vienna 159/63, Krafft 46, Leid. 172/4, Paris 1136<sup>4</sup>, 4008, 4130<sup>3</sup>, 6351, Algiers 46<sup>3</sup>, 49<sup>3</sup>, 51<sup>3</sup>, Br. Mus. 486<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 880<sup>3</sup>, 1030<sup>2</sup>, 1390, 1522<sup>3</sup>, Ind. Off. 890, Copenhagen 171<sup>2</sup>, Upps. 46, Pet. 610<sup>2</sup>, Garr. 337/9, 2105, 2121, Qawala 11, 130/1, Patna 1, 174<sup>1604/8</sup>, 11, 520<sup>2796</sup>, print. Lucknow 1261, see de Sacy, *Anth.* 93, 224, Baillie, *Five Books*. Commentaries: 1. *al-Ḍaw'* by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā'inī, d. 684/1285 (p. 356), completed in 684/1285, Berl. 6532/3, Gotha 237 (where other MSS are

listed), BDMG 81<sub>1</sub>, Ind. Off. 4567 (*JRAS* 1939, 358), Garr. 340/5, Qawala II, 92/3, 98/9, Patna I, 171<sub>1586/7</sub>, print. Lucknow 1850.—Glosses: a. On the Preface, by Raḍī al-Dīn al-Khwārizmī, Br. Mus. 1000<sub>3</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>236<sub>9</sub>, Patna I, 166<sub>1551</sub>.—b. Also on the Preface, by Muḥammad Rukn al-Ushwānī, Gotha 247.—c. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī, d. 834/1430 (II, 233), Berl. 6536.—d. Anon., Pet. 193<sub>1</sub>, 194, Garr. 346.—e. *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Ḍaw'* by Ismā'īl b. 'Alī, Paris 4023<sub>4</sub>.—f. By an anonymous author, Berl. 6534/5, Gotha 246.—2. *al-Iftitāḥ* by Ḥasan Pāshā b. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Aswad, ca. 800/1397, Berl. 6538/9, or. oct. 3866, Paris 4017<sub>1</sub>, 4144<sub>5</sub>, Gotha 248 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 349/50, Alex. Naḥw 3, Qawala II, 60.—3. *al-Maqālīd* by Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Jundī, composed in 751/1350, Esc. <sup>2</sup>259 (fragm.).—4. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Barakāt Muḥammad al-Āqṣarā'ī (al-Aqrānī), ca. 780/1378, Berl. 6537.—| 5. *Khulāṣat al-ī'rāb* by Ḥājji Bābā b. Ḥājji Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭūsiyawī, second half of the ninth century, Berl. 6541/2, Leipz. 26, Vienna 166, Pet. Ros. 139<sub>1</sub>, Paris 4023<sub>3</sub>, Garr. 352, Qawala II, 86.—6. Yaḥyā b. Nāṣiḥ b. Isrā'īl, ca. 950/1532 (Suppl. II, 630), Gotha 206, Pet. 177.—7. *al-Iḥṣāḥ 'an anwār al-M.*, anon., Leid. 176.—8. *Mishkāt al-M.*, anon., Paris 4018.—9. Anon., Berl. 6540, '3, '4, Br. Mus. 500, Algiers 45, 47.—10. *al-Mu'rib fī sharḥ al-'awāmil*, anon., Gotha 203, 207, similar Bodl. II, 418, Munich 762/3, Krafft 51, Gotha 218/21.—10. On the *dibāja* by al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (?), Berl. 6545/6, BDMG 81a, glosses thereon: a. 'Alizāde Ya'qūb, | Leipz. 27/8, Dresd. 152, 246.—b. Anon., Berl. 6545, '7, '8.—11. Tāj al-Dīn al-Isfarā'inī, d. 684/1285 (Suppl. I, 520), Berl. 6549.—12. Anon., Gotha 214<sub>3</sub>, 229/33 (where other MSS are listed), on the *dibāja*, a supercommentary by Ya'qūb b. Sayyid 'Alī, Krafft 48 (autograph from the year 1067/1656), Paris 4023/4, Gotha 234 (where other MSS are listed), Alex. Naḥw 25.—15.–23. see Suppl.—24. *al-Iṣlāḥ fī sharḥ dibāja al-M.* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Qarabīrī, Alex. Naḥw 35.—25. Glosses on 19, *al-Ḥamdīyya* by Aḥmad al-'Imād al-Ḥanafī, Garr. 348, Alex. Naḥw 14.—26. Anon., Alex. Naḥw 25.—27. Anon., *I'rāb dibājat al-M.* Berl. 6545/6, Br. Mus. 406<sub>11</sub>, Suppl. 934, Garr. 354/8.—28. Anon., *al-Iḥṣāḥ* Qawala II, 61.—29. Anon., on the *Dibāja* Garr. 347, Qawala II, 90, on which glosses by Ya'qūb b. 'Alizāde al-Burūsawī, *ibid.*—30. Anon., *Risāla fī abyāt al-ḍaw' wal-miṣbāḥ wal-iftitāḥ wa-mishkāt al-miṣbāḥ* Garr. 348.—8 commentaries on the *Miṣbāḥ*, 3 on the *Dibāja*, 3 on the *Ḍaw'* in Ahlw., 6550.—Versifications: a. *al-Ghurar*, anon., Esc. <sup>2</sup>261<sub>2</sub>.—b. only of the *'awāmil*, by Aḥmad al-Ṣūfī, Gotha 215, Calc. 1039.

II. A grammatical treatise, different from the *Miṣbāḥ*, Paris 4254<sub>2</sub>.

III. *Kitāb al-mughrib fī tartīb al-mu'rib*, a dictionary, arranged by the first letter, second edition of his lost *Kitāb al-mu'rib* that, written for jurisconsults, enjoys the same reputation among the Ḥanafis as Azharī's *Gharīb al-fiqh* does

among the Shāfi'īs (see Weijers, *Orient.* 1, 678ff.), Berl. 6966/7, Or. Qu. 2106, Leid. 77/8 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 864, Garr. 1447, Alex. Lugha 32.—Commentary, *Īdāḥ al-mushkil*, by Ibn 'Uṣfūr, d. 669/1270 (Suppl. 1, 546), Ambros. 153.

iv. *al-Iqnā' li-mā huwiya tahta 'l-qinā'*, a lexicon of synonyms composed for his son, Berl. 6968, de Jong 32, Paris 4255, Esc. 2608, Garr. 336.

v. *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* see p. 327.

16. Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sakkākī was born in Khwārizm in 555/1160 and died in Qaryat al-Kindī near Ma'ī in 626/1229.

Ibn Quṭlūbughā 250, Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 197. 1. *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* in 3 parts: 1. *Ilm al-ṣarf*, 2. *Ilm al-naḥw*, 3. *Ilm al-ma'ānī wal-bayān*, whose third part, a treatment of rhetoric, is particularly significant, Berl. | 7184/6, 353  
Leid. 294/6, Esc. 2205, 232, Patna 1, 182, 1674/6, print. C. 1317, Istanbul 1317; part 3 especially BDMG 93, Munich 678/9, Br. Mus. 550/1, Ind. Off. 843, Paris 3955, 5, 4371/2, Esc. 2251/2. Commentaries on part 3: 1. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Dihqān 'Alī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Alī al-Nasafī al-Kabindī, composed in 718/1318 in Khwārizm, Leid. 297, Algiers 197.—2. al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215), written in 748/1318 in Herat, Vienna 235, 2, Leid. 298, Paris 4373, de Jong 46, Ind. Off. 847/8, Cambr. 18, Esc. 226, Qawala II, 159, Patna 1, 179, 1654/5.—3. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rashidī, completed in 803/1400, Algiers 198, Pet. AMK 942.—4. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī, ca. 750/1349, Berl. 7240.—5. *al-Miṣbāḥ* by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Berl. 7229/30, Vienna 236, Leid. 299, Paris 4418, Esc. 263, 206/8, 210, 284, 2, 645, Garr. 522, Alex. Balāgha 14, Qawala II, 171/2, Patna 1, 180, 1656/8, print. Istanbul 1241; glosses thereon: a. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī, d. 834/1430 (II, 233), Berl. 7231.—b. 'Uthmān al-Khiṭā'ī Mawlānāzāde, around 840/1436, *ibid.* 7232.—c. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shāhrūdī Muṣannifak, d. 875/1470 (II, 234), Esc. 2209, 701, Garr. 523, Cairo 211, 187.—d. Ibn Kamāl-pāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Esc. 2220, Qawala II, 158, Patna 1, 179, 1648.—| e. Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd al-Maqdisī al-Luddī, ca. 1080/1669, Berl. 295  
7233.—f. Anon., Berl. 7234/6.—g.–k. see Suppl. (h. also Qawala II, 141). 27 glosses mentioned in Ahlw., 7237.—6. Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd al-Shīrāzī (II, 210, Suppl. 1b), Paris 4377, Br. Mus. 550, Garr. 518 (*Miftāḥ al-M.*).—7. Anon., Paris 4376.—8. *Sharḥ bayt M. al-'u.* by Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Patna 1, 179, 1652.—19 commentaries and glosses, as well as 3 abstracts of part 3 in Ahlw., 7247.

Abstracts of the whole *Miftāḥ*: 1. *al-Miṣbāḥ* by Badr al-Dīn b. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Mālik, d. 686/1287 (p. 363), Berl. 7249, Paris 4375, Esc. 2250, Alex. Bal. 24,

Patna I, 181,<sup>1687</sup>, versified and commented on by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marrākushī al-Akmah, ninth cent., Esc. <sup>2</sup>219,<sub>1</sub>.—2. *Taghyūr al-Miftāḥ* by Ibn Kamāl-pāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Berl. 7238, Ind. Off. 4584 (*JRAS* 1939, 373), Alex. Bal. 4, Qawala II, 136, with comment. Paris 4374, Esc. <sup>2</sup>220,<sub>2</sub>, 234, glosses Berl. 7239.

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Abstracts of part 3: 1. *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī Khaṭīb Dimashq, d. 739/1338 (II, 22), Berl. 7187/8, BDMG 94, Leipz. 32, Munich 680,<sub>1</sub>, Krafft 69, Leid. 301/5, de Jong 45, Pet. 234, Paris 4378/83, Ind. Off. 849/50, Esc. <sup>2</sup>227, 232,<sub>2</sub>, 248,<sub>3</sub>, 420,<sub>3</sub>, 636,<sub>3</sub>, 1791,<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 519, Qawala II, 136/8, print. Calcutta 1813, Istanbul | 1260, 1275, 1280, Delhi 1305/1888, C. 1310, cf. Mehren, *Rhetorik* 1/46, 63/108. Commentaries: 1. *al-Īdāḥ*, by the author himself, Berl. 7190, Ind. Off. 850; glosses *Īdāḥ al-Īdāḥ* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Āqṣarā’ī, d. before 800/1397, Paris 4385, Patna I, 179,<sup>1651</sup>.—2. *Miftāḥ al-Miftāḥ* by Muḥammad b. Muzaḥfar al-Khalkhālī, d. 745/1344, Algiers 199, Vat. v. 1024.—3. Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Zawzanī Shams al-Dīn, around 750/1349, Berl. 7216.—4. al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215): A. *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal* Berl. 7191/2, Munich 681/2, Vienna 235, Copenhagen 200, Br. Mus. 533/4, Ind. Off. 852/60, Paris 4386/91, Algiers 200/1, BDMG 95a, 96, Garr. 524/8, Makr. 56, Qawala 172/4, Patna I, 18,<sup>166</sup> 18, II, 520,<sup>2801/2</sup>, Istanbul 1260, 1304, Lucknow 1265. Glosses: a. al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 206), Paris 4392/4, Algiers 202, Ind. Off. 861/4, Esc. <sup>2</sup>230, 253/5, Garr. 530/5, Alex. Bal. 9, Qawala II, 145/6, Patna I, 178,<sup>1631/40</sup>, print. Istanbul 1241, anon. superglosses Qawala II, 149.—b. Yahyā b. al-Sayf al-Sīrāmī, d. 833/1429, completed in 830/1426, Paris 4395, Ind. Off. 865/6, Esc. <sup>2</sup>213, 225, Qawala II, 146.—c. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qujhiṣārī, completed in 825/1425, Berl. 7193.—d. ‘Alī al-Biṣṭāmī Muṣannifak, d. 873/1470 (II, 24), Berl. 7195, BDMG 97, Paris 4396, Esc. <sup>2</sup>226, Qawala II, 141.—e. Abu ‘l-Layth al-Samarqandī, around 880/1475, Berl. 7194, BDMG 98, Ind. Off. 873, Pet. 209, lith. Istanbul 1307.—f. Ḥasan Čelebī al-Fanārī, d. 886/1481 (II, 229), Berl. 7203, Leid. 306, Ind. Off. 667/72, Esc. <sup>2</sup>212, 238, Patna I, 178,<sup>1641</sup>, Alex. Bal. 9, Qawala II, 151, print. Istanbul 1271 from which a *Tajrid* by Maḥmūd b. al-Sayyid Ayyūb, completed in 1292, print. Istanbul 1292 (Qaw. II, 135), by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Awwal al-Qazwīnī, for Sultan Süleymān (926–74/1520–66), Qawala II, 182.—g. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, d. 1060/1650 (II, 417), Ind. Off. 876, Esc. <sup>2</sup>233, Patna I, 178,<sup>1673/5</sup>, II, 521,<sup>2419</sup>, print. Istanbul 1227, 1241, 1266, 1290, 1311 (Qawala II, 147/9).—h. Aḥmad al-Abīwardī, Berl. 7196, Patna I, 178,<sup>1642</sup>.—i. Anon. Berl. 7117/7204, Buhār 404.—k.—w. see Suppl.—x. Qāḍī Qūṭb al-Dīn, Patna I, 178,<sup>1646</sup>.—y. Muḥammad Farīd b. Muḥammad Sharīf b. Farīd b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Ṣiddīqī al-Aḥmadābādī, *ibid.* 1647.—z. ‘Abdallāh al-Labīb, Patna II, 521,<sup>2898</sup>.

B. *al-Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar* Berl. 7206/7, Munich 863, Krafft 70, Leid. 307/8, Pet. 207, Copenhagen 201, Br. Mus. 555/6, Ind. Off. 877/85, Paris 4386<sub>2</sub>, 4398/4405, 4415<sub>2</sub>, Esc. 2211 (see F. Codera, *La Ciudad de Dios* XXXIX, 1896, 21), 231, Garr. 536/40, Qawala II, 168/71, Patna I, 181<sub>1664/6</sub>, print. Istanbul | 1267, 1289, 1304 (see Suppl.).—Glosses: a. ‘Uthmān Mollāzāde al-Khiṭā’ī, d. 901/1495, Berl. 7208/9, Paris 4408, Ind. 886, Pet. 210, Garr. 541/4, Patna I, 177<sub>1632/6</sub>, print. Calcutta 1256, superglosses by ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yazdī, d. 1015/1606, Berl. 7210, Munich 684, Alex. Bal. 6, Patna I, 177<sub>1628</sub>, by Mirzājān Ḥabiballāh al-Shirāzī, Patna I, 177<sub>1630</sub>, II, 521<sub>2797</sub>.—b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Harawī Ḥafid al-Taftāzānī, d. 916/1510 (II, 218), Berl. 7211, Leid. 309, Paris 1295, 4406/7, Esc. 2227<sub>2</sub>, 256/7, Garr. 546, Makr. 97, Qawala II, 142, superglosses by Yāsīn b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥimṣī al-‘Alimī, d. 1061/1651, composed in 1054/1644, Berl. 7212, Leid. 310, Paris 4412.—c. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Arabshāh al-Isfarā’īnī, d. 944/1537 (II, 410), Ind. Off. 877.—d. Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-‘Abbādī al-Azharī, d. 994/1586 (II, 410), Gotha 2783, Paris 4409/11, Esc. 2235, 239, Garr. 547, Alex. Bal. 10.—e. On the first *fann* by Ismā‘īl Ghunaym al-Jawharī, ca. 1160/1747, | Berl. 7213, Gotha 2785, Algiers 210.—f. *al-Tajrīd* by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī, composed in 1211/1796, Makr. 8, print. Būlāq 1285, 1297, 1313, C. 1315.—g. Yūsuf b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnawī (Ḥifnī), d. 1178/1764 (II, 283), Paris 4413.—h. On the preface, by Sīdī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb, Paris 4414/5.—i. Anon., Gotha 2784.—k.—w. see Suppl. (K. Qawala II, 143/4, Makram 19, Patna I, 178<sub>1637/8</sub>, read correctly as *al-qawl al-jayyid* etc., in part Patna I, 180<sub>1650/2</sub>).—x. Glosses by al-Jarbī, MS from 1137/1724, Alex. Bal. 8.—y. Superglosses on the glosses by al-Khayālī by ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm al-‘Alā’ī, Qawala I, 149.—12 glosses, 1 commentary with glosses and superglosses, 1 gloss on the *dībāja*, 1 commentary on the *shawāhid*, in Ahlw. 7215.—5. *al-Aṭwal* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā’īnī, d. 945/1538 (II, 410), Esc. 2228, 237, Qawala II, 133/4, Patna I, 176<sub>1620/1</sub>.—6. *Ma‘āhid al-tanṣīṣ fi sharḥ shawāhid al-Talkhīṣ* by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāhirī al-‘Abbāsī, d. 963/1556 (see Suppl. II, 394), completed in 901/1496, Leid. 315, Garr. 520, Qawala II, 175, Patna I, 162<sub>1679</sub>, another redaction, written in the home of the author in Istanbul in 937/1530 by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī al-‘Amirī, Berl. 7224/5, Leid. 316, Paris 4416, Copenhagen 202, Bodl. I, 1198, Köpr. 1432/3, print. Būlāq 1274, C. 1316.—7. *Sharḥ shawāhid al-T.* by Ibn al-Ṣabbān (i.e. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, d. 1206/1792, II, 288), Berl. 7226.—8. The same title, anon., ibid. 7227.—9. Anon. commentary and glosses, Berl 7218/21, Paris 4397.—10–14. see Suppl.

Abstracts: 1. *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* by Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Patna I, 182<sub>1677</sub>, print. Būlāq 1305, on which *Sharḥ abyāt al-M.* Garr. 550.—2. *al-Masālik fi ‘l-ma‘ānī | wal-bayān* by Ḥamza b. Durghūd (Ṭurghūd) Nūr al-Dīn, composed in Damascus in 862/1555 while he was on the pilgrimage, Qawala II, 171, with

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the commentary *al-Hawādī* Gotha 2787, Alex. Bal. 26.—3. Anon. *Aqṣa 'l-amānī fī 'ilm al-bayān wal-badī' wal-ma'ānī* with a commentary by the author entitled *Fatḥ manzil al-mathānī*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>260,<sub>1</sub>; another, anonymous, Qaw. 11, 152.—5. *Tamḥiṣ al-T.* by Ḥasan Efendi al-Āqḥiṣārī Kāfī, d. 1025/1616 (11, 443), Paris 4418, on which glosses entitled *Khulāṣat al-ma'ānī* by Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥusayn b. Mazyad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muftī, sec. half tenth cent., Qawala 11, 154.—6. *al-Fawā'id al-ghiyāthiyya* see 11, 219,<sub>IX</sub>.—Versification by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, *Uqūd al-jumān fī 'ilm al-ma'ānī wal-bayān* Berl. Ms. or oct. 3850, Br. Mus. 557, see Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 47/92, 109/40. Commentaries: a. Self-commentary *Ḥall Uqūd etc.* Esc. <sup>2</sup>218,<sub>3</sub>, 247, Algiers 211, Patna 1, 179,<sub>1652</sub>.—b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Īsā b. Murshid al-'Umarī, d. 1037/1627 (11, 380), Copenhagen 203, C. 1312.—10 glosses, 9 abstracts, and 6 versifications on the *Talkhīṣ* in Ahlw., 7228.

11. *Risāla ilā tilmīdhihi Muḥammad Sā'caqlizāde fī 'ilm al-munāẓara wa-qawānīnihā* Munich 685.

17. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḍarīr(ī) al-Quhandizī al-Bukhārī, who died in 666/1267.

Ibn al-Jazā'irī, *Ṭab. al-qurrā'* no. 3651 (with the reading al-Quhunduzī) *Mukhtaṣar al-naḥw* Ind. Off. 956/7, 983/4, Patna 1, 173,<sub>1603</sub>, print. Lucknow 1262, anonymous commentary Patna 1, 170,<sub>1579</sub>.

18. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Jamāl al-Qurashī (Qarshī?), born around 628/1231, wrote, in 681/1282 in Kāshghar:

*Al-Ṣūra*, an abstract of Jawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ* with Persian annotations, Calcutta 1812/5, Lucknow 1289, see p. 134.

19. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn al-Fāḍil al-Isfarā'inī, who died in 684/1285.

1. (*Lubb*) *al-Lubāb (albāb) fī 'ilm al-i'rāb* Gotha 284, Vienna 183, Leid. 198, Ind. Off. 894, Ambros. 150, Algiers 134/5, AS 4576/7, Alex. Naḥw 32, Cairo 11v, 90, <sup>2</sup>11, 155.—Commentaries: 1. Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Sirāfī, completed in 712/1312 in Sirāf (according to Esc. <sup>2</sup>116 in Shirāz ?), Leid. 199 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 4121, 4816/7, Patna 1, 170,<sub>1574</sub>.—2. Anonymous, composed in 728/1328, Esc. <sup>2</sup>169.—3. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zawzanī, composed between 686–777/1287–1375, Berl. 6666, Esc. | <sup>2</sup>24.—4. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad, d. 776/1374, who mentions 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Muḥammad al-Abarqūhī, ḤKh v, 306, as the author of the original work, Esc. <sup>2</sup>168.—| 5. *al-Ubāb* by Jamāl

al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī Nuqrakār, d. 776/1374, Gotha 285, Alex. Naḥw 246, anon. Berl. 6665, 6667, Ind. Off. 898, Alex. Naḥw 24.—6 other commentaries are mentioned in Ahlw., 6688. 11. *Sharḥ al-Miṣbāḥ lil-Muṭarrizī* see p. 351.

### 3 *Philology in Syria*

1. ‘Alī b. Ṭāhīr b. Ja‘far Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Sulamī al-Naḥwī was born in 431/1040. He held lectures in the mosque of Damascus and died on 21 Rabī‘ 1 500/October 1106.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 339 (following Ibn ‘Asākir). *Kitāb al-jihād, juz’* 9 Dam. Z. 30,<sup>20</sup> *juz’* 2, 8, 18 ibid. 33, 60.

1a. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Fakhr al-Islām Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Naṣrallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jazarī b. al-Athīr<sup>1</sup> was born in Jazīrat b. ‘Umar, studied in Mosul, and entered the service of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 587/1191. The following year he was made vizier under the latter’s son al-Malik al-Afḍal, who inherited Syria and Damascus upon Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s death in 589/1193, as well as formal sovereignty over all the other Ayyūbids. He is said to have alienated the ruler ever more from his affairs and to have removed him from the influence of the old emirs of his father, causing the latter to go to Egypt where they set al-Afḍal’s brother al-‘Azīz against him. Al-‘Azīz had threatened him as early as 590 in Damascus, and in 592/1195 expelled him permanently from there by limiting his possessions to Ṣarkhad. Threatened with death by the population of Damascus, the vizier fled to Egypt. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil conquered Egypt after it had been occupied for a short period of time by al-Afḍal upon the death of al-‘Azīz in 592/1195, | Ibn al-Athīr had to remain in hiding for a brief period. Once al-Afḍal had established himself in Sumaysāt as a vassal of the Rūm Saljūq Rukn al-Dīn 11, Ibn al-Athīr went to stay with him. Nevertheless, in 607/1210 he moved into the service of the latter’s brother al-Malik al-Zāhir. But it was not long before he left him too, to live in Mosul, Irbil, and Sinjār. In 618/1221 he once more found a job as a *munshi’* with the *atabeg* of Mosul, the Zangid Nāṣir al-Dīn. He died in Jumādā 1 or 11 637/December 1239 in Baghdad. At the end of his eventful life he still had the energy to publish a collection of sample letters and to dedicate himself to literary and aesthetic criticism.

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1 For his brothers, the theologian Majd al-Dīn, d. 606/1209, and the historian ‘Izz al-Dīn, d. 630/1232, see Suppl. 1, ad 357 and 345.

Ibn Khall. 734. 1. *Kitāb al-washy al-marqūm fī ḥall al-manzūm* Berl. Or oct. 3847,<sub>1</sub> (earlier Daḥdāḥ 181), Paris 4435, NO 4364, Alex. Adab 187, print. Beirut 1298, cf. D.S. Margoliouth, On the Royal Correspondence of Diya-eddin El-Jazari, in *Actes du Xe Congr. intern. des Or. Sect.* III, 7/21.—2. *Kitāb al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr fī ṣinā‘at al-manzūm min al-kalām wal-manthūr* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 654, <sup>II</sup>, 184.—3. *Kitāb al-mathal al-sā‘ir fī adab al-kātib wal-shā‘ir* Vienna 233, Br. Mus. 1054,<sub>1</sub>, Paris 4421, Esc. <sup>2</sup>214, 262, 507, Köpr. 1367, A 4237, Patna I, 176,<sub>1627</sub>, 205,<sub>1831/2</sub>, print. Būlāq 1282, cf. *ZDMG* XXXV, p. 148, Goldziher, *Abh.* I, 161ff. Against this work see Ibn Abi ‘l-Ḥadīd, d. 655/1257, who wrote *Kitāb al-falak al-dā‘ir*, see above p. 336.—4. *Kitāb al-burhān fī ‘ilm al-bayān*, on poetry, Berl. 7248.—5. *Risālat al-azhār*, a conversation with flowers, Paris 321,<sub>3</sub>.

1b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Asākir, the youngest brother of the historian of Damascus (p. 331), was probably the author of the *Tawshī‘ al-tawāshīḥ* (MS: *tawāshī‘*), a collection of *muwashshaḥāt*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>438, see *ibid.* II, XIV, Hartmann, *Muw.*, 27/30.

2. Abu ‘l-Baqā’ Ya‘īsh b. ‘Alī b. Ya‘īsh b. al-Ṣā‘igh was born in 550/1155 in Aleppo, and studied there and in Damascus. He wanted to visit Ibn al-Anbārī in Baghdad | but learned of his death while he was in Mosul on his way there, and so remained in Mosul for some time. He then returned to his hometown by way of Damascus and worked as a teacher there until his death in 643/1245.

Ibn Khall. 804. 1. *Sharḥ al-mufaṣṣal* see p. 347.—2.—4. see Suppl.

3. Tāj al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Hibatallāh b. Sa‘dallāh al-Jabrānī taught at the great mosque in Aleppo and died on 7 Rajab 668/3 March 1270.

Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 172. 1. Grammatical treatise with anonymous commentary Paris 4067,<sub>1</sub>.—2. Grammatical definitions, *ibid.* 2.

4. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā‘ī al-Jayyānī was born around 600/1203 in Jaén in Spain and went to Damascus at a young age. After attending the lectures of Ibn Ya‘īsh in Baalbek he settled as a teacher in Damascus and was soon regarded as the greatest philologist of his time. He died in 672/1273.

*Fawāt* II, 227. 1. *Tashīl al-fawā‘id wa-takmil al-maqāsid*, an abstract of the lost and larger *Kitāb al-fawā‘id fī ‘l-naḥw*, Berl. 6628, BDMG 77, Leid. 194, Paris 1077,<sub>2</sub>, 4117, Ind. Off. 963, Esc. <sup>2</sup>64, 140, Garr. 403, Alex. Naḥw 5, Algiers 116. Commentaries:



1. Self-commentary, Esc. <sup>2</sup>66, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 125.—2. Athīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Andalusī, d. 745/1344, Esc. <sup>2</sup>52/7.—3. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Aqīl, d. 769/1367, Algiers 117/8, 700,<sup>3</sup>—4. 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Abi 'l-Qāsim al-'Imādī al-Anṣārī, d. ca. 820/1417, unfinished, Esc. <sup>2</sup>13.—5. Muḥammad al-Damāmīnī, d. 827/1424 (II, 26), Ind. Off. 964,<sup>3</sup>—6. Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Murādī, d. 749/1348 (II, 22), Esc. <sup>2</sup>58/9, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 67, <sup>2</sup>11, 125.—7.—10. see Suppl. 29 commentaries, 1 abstract, and 1 versification mentioned in Ahlw., 6629.

II. *al-ʿAlfiyya*, a didactic poem on grammar in around 1000 verses, MSS in almost every library. Printings see Suppl., C. 1936 (Dār al-kutub). *L'ʿAlfiyya, trad. en franç. avec le texte en regard et des notes explic. dans les deux langues par* L. Pinto, Constantine 1887. A. Goguyer, *Manuel pour l'étude | des grammairiens ar.: L'ʿAlfiyya d'Ibn M. suivie de la Lamīyyah du même auteur*, Beirut 1888. Commentaries: 1. *al-Durra al-muḍīʿa* by his son Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, d. 686/1287 (no. 5), Berl. 6635,<sup>1</sup> 6636, Or. Qu. 2010 (*Asrār al-'arabiyya*), Munich 721, Vienna 180, Upps. 41, Pet. Ros. 137, Br. Mus. 509, Ind. Off. 959, Heid. A. 338 (*ZDMG* 91, 391), Garr. 406/7, Alex. Naḥw 20, Patna I, 167,<sup>1558</sup>—Glosses: a. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Berl. 6635,<sup>2</sup>, Patna I, 166,<sup>1552</sup>—b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abi 'l-Qāsim al-'Abbādī al-Makkī, d. 880/1475 (Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 309, Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥijāl* II, 398, no. 1121), Berl. 6637, Esc. <sup>2</sup>126, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 93.—c.—e. see Suppl. (e. *BDMG* 91, Garr. 408).—5 other glosses in Ahlw., loc. cit.—2. *al-Tawḍīḥ* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Murādī b. Umm Qāsim, d. 794/1348 (II, 22), Berl. 6638, Gotha 280, Paris 4075/6, Esc. <sup>2</sup>4, 12, 71/3 (see P. Lazcoano, *La Ciudad de Dios* XLIV 197, 600/2), 217, Algiers 77/8, on which glosses by Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-Qarūmī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>5.—3. *Awḍaḥ al-masālik* or *al-Tawḍīḥ* by Ibn Hishām, d. 762/1361 (II, 23), Berl. 6639/40, Leid. 195 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 409, print. Calcutta 1832.—Glosses: a. His grandson Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām, d. 835/1431, Br. Mus. 505/6. Suppl. 964.—b. *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-maḍmūn al-T.* by Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Azharī, d. 905/1499 (II, 27), | Berl. 6651/2, Or. Qu. 2095, Gotha 102 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 4078/85, Qawala II, 66, 80, Makram 10, Patna I, 163,<sup>1529/31</sup>—c. On the *shawāhid*, by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī, d. 1091/1680, de Jong 18, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 89.—d. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Laḳānī, d. 958/1551, Esc. <sup>2</sup>100, 113,<sup>2</sup>—e.—k. see Suppl.—l. al-Maḥallī, Berl. Brill, M. 164.—16 glosses mentioned in Ahlw., 6641.—4. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jābir al-Huwārī al-Andalusī, d. 780/1378, completed in 756/1355 in Mecca, Leid. 196, Paris 4095, Esc. <sup>2</sup>74/5, Garr. 414.—5. *Manhaj al-sālik* by Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Andalusī, d. 780/1378 (II, 109), Algiers 76.—6. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Abnāsī, d. 802/1400, completed in Jerusalem in 765/1363, Esc. <sup>2</sup>68, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 109, Alex. Naḥw 17.—7. 'Abdallāh b.

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‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Aqīl, b. 769/1367, MSS see Suppl., Garr. 410/1, Qawala II, 89, Patna I, 167,<sup>1559</sup>. *Alfijjah, carmen didacticum grammaticum auctore I.M. et in Alf. comt. quem conscripsit I.A. ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1851. I.A’s Cmt. zur A. des I.M. aus dem Arab. zum ersten Mal übers. v. Fr. Dieterici, Berlin 1852, print. Bülāq 1251, 1253, 1281, Beirut 1872, C. 1306.*—Glosses: a. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghāzī | al-‘Uthmānī al-Miknāsī, d. 919/1513 (II, 240), on the verses Br. Mus. 512.—b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shāfi‘ī, Gotha 276.—c. Ibn al-Mayyila, ca. 1100/1688, Berl. 6644.—d. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Sijā‘ī, d. 1197/1783 (II, 323), completed in 1178/1764, Gotha 277, Paris 4094, Garr. 412, print. C. 1298, 1306.—e. Muḥammad al-Khiḍrī al-Dimyā‘ī, d. 1288/1871, composed in 1250/1834, Garr. 412, print. C. 1305, 1322 (see Suppl.).—f. on the *shawāhid* by ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Jirjāwī, d. ca. 1175/1781 (Suppl. II, 439), C. 1280, 1308 (in the margin of the same by Muḥammad b. Quṭṭa al-‘Adawī, only Beirut 1872), 1325.—g. anon., Gotha 278.—h., i. see Suppl.—k. *al-Qawl al-jamīl* by Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Qāhirī al-Asqā‘ī al-Ḥanafī, d. 1159/1746 (II, 327), Alex. Naḥw 30.—8. *Tashīl al-bunā fi ta‘lil al-binā*, on verses 15–17, by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Zarkashī, second half of the eighth cent., Esc. <sup>2</sup>107, 138.—9. Ibn al-Jarād, eighth cent., Esc. <sup>2</sup>114.—10. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. Šāliḥ al-Makkūdī al-Muṭarrizī, d. 801/1398 (II, 25), completed in 799/1396, Berl. 6645/6, Gotha 279 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 415, Alex. Naḥw 21, Qawala II, 88, print. C. 1279, 1305.—Glosses: a. Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī, d. 1181/1767 (II, 355), Paris 4097,<sup>2</sup>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 102, in the margin of print C. 1305.—b. al-Butīwī, Algiers 91.—c. Sīdī al-Ḥājj Abū Barakāt, Krafft 35.—e.–k. see Suppl.—11. *al-Maqāšid al-naḥwīyya fi sharḥ shawāhid al-Alfīyya* by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, d. 855/1451 (II, 52), on the verses in commentaries 1–3 and 7, Esc. <sup>2</sup>14 (first half), *Mukhtaṣar* ibid. 142,<sup>2</sup> (see P. Lazcano in *La Ciudad de Dios* XLVII [1898], 311/2), Garr. 416, printed in the margin of the *Khizānat al-adab*, Bülāq 1299.—Abstract by the author himself, *Farā‘id al-qalā‘id*, Berl. 6647/8, Paris 1741, 2429, Br. Mus. 513, Bold. II, 610,<sup>6</sup>, Algiers 115,<sup>1</sup>, Garr. 417, Patna I, 172,<sup>1590</sup>.—12. *Manhaj al-sālik (al-masālik)* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ushmūnī (-unnī), d. 872/1467 (II, 82), Munich 724, Copenhagen 186, Paris 4100/7, Algiers 92/9. Esc. <sup>2</sup>11, Alex. Naḥw 42, Qawala II, 125, Patna I, 175,<sup>1615</sup>.—Glosses: a. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Šabbān, d. 1206/1791 (II, 288), composed in 1193/1779, Makram 21, print. C. 1305 with superglosses by Ismā‘īl al-Ḥāmīdī.—b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnawī, d. 1101/1689 (II, 323), Paris 4108/9, Alex. Naḥw 10.—c. *Tanwīr al-ḥālik* by Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Asqā‘ī, d. 1159/1746 (II, 327), Algiers 100,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Naḥw 8.—d. *Zawāhir al-kawākib* by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd al-Tūnisī al-Mālikī, d. 1199/1785, Algiers 101, print. Tunis 1298.—e., f. see Suppl.—

g. ‘Ullaysh, d. 1299/1881 (II, 486), | Makram 24.—13. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-‘Aynī, d. 893/1487, Cairo <sup>2</sup>II, 123, Garr. 418.—14. *Tamrīn al-tullāb fī šinā‘at al-i‘rāb*, on the part that deals with conjugations, by Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azharī, d. 905/1499 (II, 27), Berl. 6649/50, Or. oct. 3870, Paris 5438, 6568, Esc. <sup>2</sup>137, Algiers 108, Garr. 419, Qawala II, 69, print. C. 1305, 1308, 1310.—15. *al-Nahja (bahja) al-mardīyya* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Berl. 6653/4, or. oct. 3871, Paris 4074,<sub>2</sub>, 4110/1, Pet. 186, Esc. <sup>2</sup>69, Br. Mus. 511,<sub>1</sub>, Ind. Off. 962, Garr. 420, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 27, <sup>2</sup>II, 182, Qawala II, 63, Makram 7 (under the title *Nukat* Alex. Naḥw 44), Patna I, 162,<sub>1025/6</sub>, print. C. 1310, glosses by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Aḥsā‘ī, composed in 1073/1662, Paris 4112/3.—16. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, d. 1061/1651 (II, 291), Algiers 109.—17. al-Juzūlī, Paris 4098.—18. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī al-Damlījī, d. 1234/1819 (II, 485), Paris 4114.—19. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāriḍī, Esc. 28.—20. On the *shawāhid* by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Kharfūshī, d. 1059/1649, Berl. 6657.—21. Anon., Berl. 6655, 6658, Gotha 280, Paris 4088, Esc. <sup>2</sup>15, Algiers 112/4.—22.–45. see Suppl.—46. Glosses by Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd b. Aḥmad al-Ṭurunbulālī, composed in 1206/1791, Alex. Naḥw 90.—Anon. abstract, *Khulāṣat al-khulāṣa*, Gotha 2282, print. Lucknow n.d. (*BO* II, 118). Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Waḥfiyya fī kḥtiṣār al-‘Alfiyya* Esc. <sup>2</sup>1792,<sub>3</sub>. *Al-Iḥmīrār fī mu‘araḍat al-A.* by al-Mukhtār b. Būn al-Shinqīṭī (see Suppl. no. 25), Rabat 262,<sub>13</sub>, print. C. 1327.—43 commentaries and glosses and 2 abridgements mentioned in Ahlw., 6660.

| II. *Lāmiyyat al-af‘āl* or *al-Miftāḥ fī abniyat al-af‘āl* Gotha 207, Munich 718, BDMG 38, Krafft 36, Paris 672,<sub>4</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>139,<sub>1</sub>, 248,<sub>10</sub>, Algiers 12, 68,<sub>9</sub>, Alex. Adab 8. Commentaries: 1. His son Bahr al-Dīn, Berl. 6661, Paris 4119,<sub>1</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>1</sub>, 139,<sub>2</sub> Algiers 14,<sub>2</sub>, Patna I, 160,<sub>1514</sub>. Ed. Kellgren, Helsingfors 1854, Kellgren and Volck, St. Petersburg 1864, Volck, Leipzig 1866.—2. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Dā‘im al-Birmawī, d. 831/1427 (II, 95), Leid. 197, Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>2</sub>, 144.—3. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās, Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>3</sub>, 79, 270.—4. Ya‘qūb b. Sa‘īd al-Mukallātī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>4</sub>, Br. Mus. <sup>2</sup>548,<sub>2</sub>, on which glosses by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Zayyātī, d. 1023/1614 (see Suppl.), Esc. <sup>2</sup>145.—5. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Sa‘īdī, Munich 719.—6. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Baḥraq al-Yamanī al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 930/1524 (Suppl. II, 554), *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* and *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, Paris 4118,<sub>1</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>7</sub>, 144, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 104, Alex. Naḥw 7 (*al-ṣaghīr*), printed with glosses by Aḥmad al-Rafā‘ī, C. 1305.—7. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Ṭanjī al-Jazā‘irī, Algiers 13.—8. | Abu ‘l-‘Abbās al-Wahrānī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>6</sub>, 143,<sub>1</sub>—9. anon. Esc. <sup>2</sup>16,<sub>7</sub>, 144.

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III. *al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya*, on morphology and syntax in 2757 *rajaz* verses, Krafft 31, with a self-commentary Patna I, 170<sup>1573</sup>.

IV. *Uddat al-ḥāfiẓ wa-ʿumdat al-lāfiẓ*, elements of syntax, Berl. 6641, self-commentary *ibid.* 6642<sub>3</sub>, other commentaries, Ahlw., *ibid.*

v. *Sabk al-manẓūm wa-fakk al-makhtūm*, a grammatical treatise, Berl. 6630.

VI. *Ījāz al-taʿrīf fi ʿilm al-taṣrīf* Esc. 286<sub>3</sub>.

VII. *Shawāhid al-tawḍīḥ wal-taṣḥīḥ li-mushkilāt al-Jāmiʿ*, a grammatical commentary on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Esc. 2141.

VIII. *Kitāb al-ʿarūd*, on metrics, Esc. 2330<sub>6</sub>.

IX. *Tuḥfat al-mawḍūd fi ʿl-maqṣūr wal-mamdūd* Cairo 1<sup>IV</sup>, 166 = Gotha 207<sub>2</sub>?

X. *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-mukhtalifa*, on synonyms, Berl. 7041.

XI. *al-ʿitidād fi ʿl-farq bayna ʿl-ẓāʿ wal-ḍād*, a *qaṣida* with a commentary, Berl. 7023, Gotha 414.

XII. *Urjūza fi ʿl-muthallathāt* Gotha 412, different from Bodl. I, 272<sub>3</sub> (II, 575a).

XIII. *Manẓūma fi-mā warada min al-afʿāl bil-wāw wal-yāʿ*, 39 verses in the *kāmīl* metre, Berl. 7029/30; see, however, ad p. 298<sub>8</sub>.

XIV.–XXX. see Suppl.

5. His son Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Ṭāʿī al-Jayyānī, who died in 686/1287 in Damascus (see Suppl.).

1. *Rawḍ al-adhhān fi ʿilm al-maʿānī wal-bayān* Leid. 315.—2. Abstract of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ*, see p. 353.—3. Commentaries on the works of his father, see p. 360, 362.—4. *Sharḥ kāfiyat b. al-Ḥājjib* see p. 367—5.—6. see Suppl.

6. Bahāʿ al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī b. al-Naḥḥās, who died on 9 Jumādā II 698/15 March 1299 (see Suppl.).

1. *Sharḥ Dīwān Imraʿ al-Qays al-musammā bil-Taʿlīqa* Esc. 2302, see Suppl. p. 50.—2.—4. see Suppl.

#### 364 | 4 *Philology in South Arabia*

1. As the owner of a castle in the Jabal Sabār region, Nashwān b. Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. Abī Ḥimyar al-Ḥimyarī belonged to the higher nobility of Yemen. He died on 24 Dhu ʿl-Hijja 573/14 June 1178 in Ḥawt. In his role as a poet and scholar he tried to resuscitate the traditions regarding the glory of ancient South Arabia as al-Ḥamdānī (p. 263) had done previously. | But unlike his predecessor, who mostly moved on the solid ground of facts, al-Ḥimyarī placed too much

confidence in a notorious Ḥimyarite pseudo-tradition that tried to whitewash a lack of learning through pompous names and empty prattle.

‘Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, ed. Derenbourg, *Oumara du Yémen* II, 601/3, see *ibid.* XXIII, XXIV n. 1.

1. *Shams al-‘ulūm wa-dawā’ (shifā’) kalām al-‘Arab min al-kulūm*, a dictionary, Berl. 6963/4, Esc. <sup>2</sup>34, 603, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 173, <sup>2</sup>II, 20, Patna I, 186,<sup>1815/6</sup>. K.V. Zetterstéén, On a proposed edition of the Sh. al-‘U. of N. b. S. al-Ḥ. *Or. Studies publ. in commemoration of the 40th anniversary 1883–1923 of P. Haupt as Director of the Or. Sem. of the Johns Hopkins Un.*, Baltimore 1926, p. 462. Abstract by his son ‘Alī entitled *Ḍiyā’ al-‘ulūm*, Patna I, 187,<sup>1697</sup>. Anonymous abstract, *Lawāmi’ al-nujūm al-mustaḍī’a*, Ind. Off. 998 (see Suppl.), Patna I, 188,<sup>1708</sup>.—2. *Kitāb fi ‘l-qawāfi*, on rhyme, Leid. 269.—3. *Kitāb al-ḥūr al-‘īn wa-tanbīh al-sāmi‘īn*, in rhymed prose, pointing out the futility of the efforts of various peoples, sects, and philosophers to arrive at a sound conception of God, Berl. 8753/4.—4. *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥimyarīyya* or *al-Nashwāniyya*, with an extensive historical commentary, Berl. 9736/8, Leid. 670 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 584/5, 1071, 1236, Garr. 585, Patna I, 281,<sup>2316</sup>, anon. comm. *Khulāṣat al-siyar al-jāmi’ li-‘ajā’ib akhbār mulūk al-Tabābi’a wa-ghayrihim min mulūk al-anām*, Cambr. 348, Alex. Ta’r. 63.—*Die himyarische Qaṣīde*, hsg. v. A. v. Kremer, Leipzig 1865, W.F. Prideaux, *The Lay of the Himyarites*, Lahore 1879, Th. Nöldeke, *GGA* 1866, no. 20, D.H. Müller, *SBWA* vol. 86, p. 171, *ZDMG* XXIX, 620/8.—5. Some *qaṣīdas*, Berl. 7696.—6.—11. see Suppl.

### | 5 Philology in Egypt

1. Apart from attending the classes of al-Najīramī (see Suppl.), Abu ‘l-Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad Bābāshādh also studied under al-Tabrīzī when the latter stayed in Egypt. He is believed to have given up his job in the *dīwān al-inshā’* in Cairo, where he edited administrative documents, trusting in God’s goodness. His life came to an end in Rajab 469/February 1077, when he fell from a minaret onto the roof of the central mosque.

Ibn Khall. 285, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 306. 1. *al-Muqaddima (al-kāfiyya) al-muḥsiba fi fann al-‘arabiyya*, a textbook on grammar in 10 chapters, Berl. 6470/1, Leid. 147 (cf. Weijers, *Orient.* I, 333ff.), Br. Mus. Suppl. 917 Esc. <sup>2</sup>1827,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Naḥw 41. Commentaries: 1. *al-Hādī* or *al-Jumal al-hādiyya* by the author himself, see Suppl.—2. *al-Khāṣir* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad Jamāl al-Dīn b. Huṭayl, before 800/1397, Berl. 6473/4 (where it is wrongly

labelled *al-Khāṣṣ*).—3. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. Rasūlallāh, d. 749/1348, Br. Mus. Suppl. 919/20, Rāmpūr I, 553,236.—2. *Sharḥ jumal al-Zajjājī* see Suppl. p. 171.

1a. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ja'far Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān al-Naḥwī al-Iskandarānī, ca. 517/1123.

Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 218. *Thamarat al-ṣinā'a* Alex. Naḥw 8.

2. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Barrī b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Maqdisī al-Miṣrī, born on 5 Rajab 499/14 March 1106, worked, like Ibn Bābāshādh, | at the chancery as an editor of administrative documents. He died in Cairo on 27 Shawwāl 582/11 January 1187.

Ibn Khall. 326, Suyūṭī, *Husn* I, 307, *Bughya*, 287. 1. *Ghalaṭ al-ḍu'afā' min ahl al-fiqh* Paris 4231,2.—2. 13 verses on the different meanings of the word *al-khāl*, Berl. 7068,1.—3. Annotations on Jawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ*, see p. 134.—4.—9. see Suppl.

3. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā al-Bulayṭī (Balaṭī) was born on 27 Ramaḍān 524/3 September 1130 in Balaṭ on the Tigris, north of Mosul. As a young man | he distinguished himself as a linguist and a poet in Mosul and Damascus. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn acceded to power in Egypt in 567/1171 he was appointed as superintendent of the old mosque in Fustāṭ, as a reciter of the Qur'ān, and a teacher of grammar. However, he lost the ruler's favour because of his recklessness and habitual drunkenness. He died in Ṣafar 599/November 1202.

*Fawāt* II, 31, Wüst., *Gesch.* 288, Hartmann, *Muw.* 94. Of his works, only the linguistic masterpiece *al-Qaṣīda al-ḥirbawīyya* is extant, whose rhyme consonants allow for different vocals depending on the construction in which they are read, Bodl. I, 1268,2, AS 4072,4 (*WZKM* XXVI, 3).

4. (5.) Sulaymān b. Banīn b. Khalaf Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Miṣrī al-Daqīqī al-Naḥwī, a student of Ibn Barrī, who died in 613/1216 in Cairo.

*Kitāb ittifāq al-mabānī waftirāq al-ma'ānī*, a lexicological work, Cairo IIV, 162, 2II, 1.

5. (6.) Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. ('Abd) al-Mu'tī b. 'Abd al-Nūr al-Zawāwī Zayn al-Dīn had already made a name for himself as a writer and teacher in his hometown of Damascus when the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil (615–35/1218–38)

gave him a position in Cairo. | He worked there as a teacher at the ancient mosque, dying on 30 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 628/29 September 1231.

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Ibn Khall. 772, 'Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī* 86/7. 1. *al-Durra al-alfiyya*, grammar in verse, Berl. 6552, Esc. <sup>2</sup>195,3.—Commentaries: a. *al-Ghurra al-makhfiyya* by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. al-Khabbāz al-Mawṣilī, d. 637/1239 (Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 131), by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Is'irdī, completed in 639/1241, Berl. 6533, Paris 6509, Esc. <sup>2</sup>22/3, Alex. Naḥw 26.—b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sharīshī, d. 685/1296, *al-Ta'liqāt al-wafiyya*, Leid. 178.—c. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Mālik al-Gharnāṭī al-Ru'aynī, d. 779/1377, Berl. 6554, Bodl. I, 1201, 1209, II, 209, Ambr. 144.—d. see Suppl. 7 other commentaries in Ahlw., 6555.—2. *Fuṣūl khamsīn*, on grammar, Berl. 6536, Bodl. II, 247,3. Commentaries: a. *al-Maḥṣūl* by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Ayāz, d. 681/1282, Leid. 179, Bodl. I, 1079, 1097, Patna II, 173,1611.—| b. Ibn al-Khabbāz al-Mawṣilī (1a), Munich 703.—c. see Suppl.—3. *al-Badī' fī ṣina'āt al-shi'r*, on poetry, in verse, Leipz. 488, iii.

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6. (7.) Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Iskandarānī al-Lakhmī was born on 4 Ramaḍān 550/1 November 1155 and died in 629/1231.

*Kitāb al-mithāl fi 'l-jawāb wal-su'āl*, 160 grammatical and lexical questions, abstract by Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Ṣadafī, d. 651/1253, or al-Anṣārī, d. 662/1263 (?), Berl. 6529.

7. (8.) Son of a Kurdish chamberlain of the emir 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ṣalāhī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥājib was born in Asnā in Upper Egypt some time after 570/1174. In Cairo he studied Qur'ān recitation and Mālikī law, but then devoted himself entirely to philology. After the completion of his studies he went to Damascus where he taught in the *zāwiya* of the Mālikīs inside the Great Mosque. When the Ayyūbid Ismā'īl al-Ṣāliḥ relinquished Safad and Qal'at Shaqīf to the crusaders in 639/1241 he protested against this with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī (p. 430,9) by ceasing to mention the ruler's name in the *khuṭba*, something for which he was banished from Damascus. He returned to Cairo and moved later to Alexandria, where he died soon after, on 26 Shawwāl 646/12 December 1249.

Ibn Khall. 386, Suyūṭī, *Husn* I, 307, *Bughya* 323, Wüst., *Ak.* 240 (following Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba).

1. *al-Kāfiya*, a short textbook on syntax, manuscripts in almost every library, print. Rome 1592, Kanpur 1888, 1891, Kazan 1889, Tashkent 1311, 1312, Istanbul

- 1234, 1249, 1264, 1266, 1273, 1274, 1276, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1307 (see Suppl.).—  
 Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary, Berl. 6559/60, abstract *ibid.* 6561, glosses  
 by Najm al-Dīn Sa'īd al-'Ajāmī, Ind. Off. 938.—2. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, d.  
 672/1273 (p. 508), Esc. <sup>2</sup>191.—3. Naṣīr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-Bayḍāwī, d. 716/1316  
 (p. 416), on which glosses by Mawlā Ṣādiq al-Kilānī, completed in 961/1554, Esc.  
 285.—4. Badr al-Dīn b. Mālik, d. 686/1287 (p. 363), Esc. <sup>2</sup>200.—5. Raḍī al-Dīn  
 368 Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādī, | d. 686/1287, Berl. 6562/3, Munich 715,  
 Ind. Off. 912/6, Pet. 168, Esc. <sup>2</sup>91, 318, Qawala, II, 85, Patna I, 169,<sup>1569/70</sup>, print.  
 Istanbul 1305, 1310, a *shawāhid* commentary entitled *Khizānat al-adab* by 'Abd  
 al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, d. 1093/1682 (II, 286), Berl. 6564, Köpr. 1486/7, S. 160,  
 304 no. 305, Qilič 'A. 939/40, Selim. 1132, print. Būlāq 1299, 4 vols., C. 193off.—| 6.  
 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zayd b. Jum'a al-Mawṣilī, completed in 694/1295,  
 Esc. <sup>2</sup>89, 90.—7. *al-Muwashshaḥ* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad  
 al-Khabīṣī, d. 801/1398, Berl. 6568, Leid. 187, Gotha 257 (where other MSS  
 are listed), Garr. 380, Alex. Naḥw 43, Patna I, 175,<sup>1617</sup>, glosses by al-Jurjānī, d.  
 816/1413, Berl. 6570; *Sharḥ abyāt al-muwashshaḥ* by 'Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Shirwānī,  
 Garr. 381.—8. Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, d. 715/1315  
 (according to others 717 or 718), composed after 672/1273: a. *al-Sharḥ al-akbar*  
 Ind. Off. 912/6, Pet. 169, Bonn. 291, Esc. <sup>2</sup>94, print. Lucknow 1280.—b. *al-Sharḥ*  
*al-mutawassiṭ* or *al-Wāfiya fī sharḥ al-K.* Berl. 6565/6, Or. oct. 3795, Leid. 185  
 (where other MSS are listed), BDMG 70, Garr. 361/5, Qawala 130/1, Patna I,  
 175,<sup>1619</sup>. Glosses: α. al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413, Esc. <sup>2</sup>81,<sup>1</sup>, 154, Alex. Naḥw 13, Patna  
 I, 165,<sup>1549</sup>.—β. *Kashf al-kashf* by Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥalabī, ca. 860/1456,  
 Berl. 6567, Paris 4040, Garr. 366/7.—γ. On the *Dībāja* by Abū Sa'īd b. Aḥmad  
 al-Zawāri, Gotha 256 (where other MSS are listed).—δ. (ε.) *'Awn al-W.*, on the  
*shawāhid*, by Kamāl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq (see Suppl.), Garr. 383, Alex.  
 Naḥw 26 (MS dated 926/1520), Qilič 'A. 920.—c. *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr* Munich  
 715, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 130.—9. Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Ghujduwānī,  
 ca. 720/1320, Berl. 6571/2, Munich 714, Leid. 185 (?), Alex. Naḥw 23.—10.  
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qamūlī, d. 727/1327, Br. Mus. 1880/2.—11. Mas'ūd b.  
 Yaḥyā al-Kashshāfi, composed in 814/1411, Munich 709.—12. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad  
 al-Nizāmī (under Meḥmed b. Bāyezīd 805–24/1402–21), Paris 4041.—12a. *Sharḥ*  
*al-Hindiy(ya)* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Dawwānī al-Dawlatābādī,  
 d. 849/1445, Berl. 6584/5, Gotha 258 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 4054,  
 Esc. <sup>2</sup>80, 151/2, Pet. 175, Garr. 370. Alex. Naḥw 23, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 73, 88, Qawala  
 II, 95, anon. abstract Ind. Off. 937, glosses *Kashf ḥujub farā'id al-Hindī* by  
 Shihāb al-Dīn b. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Tuqātī b. Araqiyyajī, composed in 973/1583,  
 Esc. <sup>2</sup>184 (but see Suppl. II, 323,<sup>3,23</sup>), glosses entitled *Ghāyat al-taḥqīq*, by  
 Ṣafi b. Naṣr, Patna I, 171,<sup>1589</sup>.—12b. *Awfa 'l-wāfiya* by Ḥajjī Bābā b. Ibrāhīm b.



‘Uthmān al-Ṭūsiyawī, ca. 870/1465, Berl. 6573/4, Br. Mus. 496<sup>2,3</sup>, Garr. 371.—  
 | 13. *al-Fawā'id al-Ḍiyā'īyya* by Mollā Jāmī, d. 898/1492 (II, 207), composed for his son Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, Berl. 6575/6, Or. oct. 3868, Gotha 259, Leipzig 21/2, 427/8, Munich 716, Vienna 176, Krafft 39, Pet. 164/5, Ros. 133, Br. Mus. 491, 1032/4, Esc. 282, 147/8, 150 (F. Codera, *La Ciudad de Dios* 39, 1896, 81), Algiers 57/8, Garr. 372/5, Qawala II, 109/13, Patna I, 172<sup>1591/4</sup>, II, 520<sup>2795</sup>, print. Bombay 1883, Lucknow 1887, Kazan 1890.—Glosses: a. ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī, d. 912/1506 (II 235), Berl. 6577/8, Leid. 188 (where other MSS are listed), Qawala II, 74, Patna I, 164<sup>1537</sup>, 165<sup>1574</sup>, II, 520<sup>2791</sup>, print. Istanbul 1253, 1272, 1282, 1306, 1309, 1312, Kazan 1889. Superglosses: α. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, d. 1067/1656 (II, 417), Ind. Off. 330/1, Qawala II, 73, Patna I, 163<sup>1532/4</sup>, print. Istanbul 1256, 1302, 1308.—β.—ε. see Suppl.—b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Maymūnī, d. 1079/1668 (II, 307<sup>12</sup>), Berl. 6579, Leid. 189, Paris 4187<sup>2</sup> (autograph dated 1012/1603), on which superglosses by Maqarīmī, composed in 1080/1669, Berl. 6580, by Emīr Čelebī, ibid. 6582.—c. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kūhistānī, composed in 952/1545, Ind. Off. 1040<sup>14</sup>.—d. *Hāshiyā Ināyāt Allāh Ma'rūf bi Akhund Shaikh bar Sharhi Molla Jāmi*, Lucknow 1883.—e. Muḥarram Efendi, completed by ‘Abdallāh b. Šāliḥ, 1237/1821, Istanbul 1266, 1274, 1277, 1287, 1292, 1318, 1320 (Qawala II, 78).—f. ‘Išām al-Dīn al-Isfarā'inī, d. 943/1536 (II, 410), MSS see Suppl., Garr. 376/8, Qawala II, 75, 93, Patna I, 164<sup>1538/9</sup>, 169<sup>1572</sup>, II, 619<sup>2798</sup>, print. Istanbul 1235, 1256, 1281, 1306, 1309, 1313, 1320, Calcutta 1233, 1256, Lucknow 1265, 1282, Kazan 1307, superglosses by Muḥammad Amīn al-Uskudārī, d. 1149/1736 (II, 440), Istanbul 1310, by Ḥasan Efendi ibid. 1277, by Mūsāzāde, Garr. 379.—g. Muḥammad b. Muḥarram al-Takkānī (= e?), Copenhagen 183.—14 other glosses in Ahlw., 6583.—h.—ii. see Suppl. (and Muḥammad ‘Išmatallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Bukhārī, Patna I, 165<sup>1540</sup>, print. Istanbul 1307, Qawala II, 79ff., Patna I, 165<sup>1542</sup>; hh. ibid. 1546; v. Patna I, 165<sup>1543</sup>; w. ibid. 1545).—kk. *al-'Aqd al-nāmī* by Muḥammad Raḥmī b. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad al-Akīnī, completed 1313, Istanbul 1313 (Qaw. II, 99/100).—ll. On the *khuṭba* by Maqṣūd Efendi, Qawala II, 77.—14. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Arabshāh ‘Išām al-Dīn al-Isfarā'inī, d. 944/1537 (II, 410), Berl. 6584/5, Esc. 217, print. Istanbul 1256, on which glosses by al-Šafawī, d. 955/1548, Berl. 6586.—Anon. Pet. 170.—15. Maḥmūd b. Edhem, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 6587, on which glosses by ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Ḥaqqī, ca. 1010/1601, Berl. 6588.—16. Turkish by Busnawī Sūdī Efendi, d. 1005/1596, | Pet. 172, Garr. 384.—17. al-Khālīdī i.e. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Khālīdī al-Šafadī, d. 1034/1625, Berl. 6590.—18. Muḥammad Taqī b. Ḥasan, composed in 1275/1858, Berl. 6591.—19. Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn Muftī, d. 1050/1640 (II, 407), Ind. Off. 930.—20. = 12a.—21. Muḥammad b. ‘Išmatallāh b. Maḥmūd, Pet. 167.—22. Najm al-Dīn Sa'īd, Esc. 287.—23. Šafī, print. Delhi 1888.—24. Najm al-Dīn al-Riḍā, Paris 4036.—25. see 12.—26. see 12a.—27. Rukn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥadīthī,

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Paris 4056.—| 28. Muḥammad b. ‘Ullaysh b. ‘Alī, d. 1299/1881 (II, 486), *ibid.* 4057.—29. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad Zaynizāde, composed in 1167/1754, Br. Mus. 494, Qawala II, 106/9.—30. Anon. *Tarkīb al-K.*, Ind. Off. 939/40, print. Calcutta 1261.—31. Anon., Berl. 6579, 6592, 6598, Gotha 261, Munich 714, Algiers 61/5, Garr. 382.—32.—53. see Suppl. (36. read *al-Burūd al-dāfiya*, re-edited as *al-Najm al-thāqib* by his son Ṣalāḥ b. ‘Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī, Patna I, 175,1618).—54. *Īdāḥ al-ma‘ānī al-saniyya* by ‘Alam al-Dīn Qāsim b. Yūsuf b. Mu‘awwiḍa, Patna I, 162,1524.—55. Glosses by Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Ṣalāḥ b. Ḥasan, *ibid.* 165,1547/8.—56. *al-La‘ālī’ al-ṣāfiya fī silk ma‘ānī alfāz al-K.* by ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Nāzirī, Patna I, 173,1600.—Abstract, *Lubb al-lubāb fī ‘ilm al-īrāb*, by al-Bayḍāwī, d. 716/1316 (p. 416), Esc. 2167, commentary by Muḥammad Pīr ‘Alī al-Birgīlī, d. 981/1573, Paris 1293, Pet. 202, Esc. 2113, on which glosses by Muṣṭafā b. Ḥanafī, Pet. 203, anon. commentary Paris 6633.—Versifications by: 1. The author himself under the title *al-Wāfiya*, Esc. 2146.—Commentaries: a. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī, Munich 713.—b. Anon., Leid. 190, Bodl. I, 1181, Algiers 66.—2. Ibrāhīm al-Naqshbandī al-Shabistārī, composed in 900/1494, Dresd. 1803, Paris 4196(?), with a commentary by Muḥammad Efendi al-‘Ajamī, Gotha 262.—3. Anonymous, composed in 752/1351, Paris 4035.—Anon. adaptation, *Hidāyat al-naḥw*, Ind. Off. 941/2, Br. Mus. 643, ed. Baillie in *Five Books on Ar. Grammar*, vol. II, Calcutta 1803.—30 Commentaries, 3 abridgements, and 3 versifications mentioned in Ahlw., 6599.

II. *al-Shāfiya*, a short textbook on morphology, Berl. 6600, Or. oct. 3837, Gotha 199 (where other MSS are listed, see Suppl. and also Qaw. II, 30/2, Patna I, 152,1502/3), print. Calcutta 1805, Constantinople 1850, Kanpur 1885 and often elsewhere. Commentaries: 1. Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādī, d. 684/1285 or 686, Berl. 6601, Esc. 2159, Ind. Off. 952/3, print. Lucknow 1262.—2. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nīshābūrī, d. ca. 710/1310 (II, 210), Berl. 6602/3, Garr. 390, Patna I, 159,1508.—3. Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, d. 713/1313, Berl. 6604, Pet. 174, Qawala II, 38.—4. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jārabardī, | d. 746/1345, Berl. 6605/6, Gotha 50,3 (where other MSS are listed), BDMG 73, Garr. 391, Alex. Adab 7, 12, Qawala II, 37, Patna I, 159,1510/3, print. Calcutta 1262, Lahore 1304, Istanbul 1310. Glosses (see Suppl.): a. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ghazzī al-Gharābilī, d. 918/1512, BDMG 74, Pet. AMBuch 483.—b. ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jamā‘a, d. 816/1415, Alex. Adab 12.—c. *al-Durar al-kāfiya* by Ḥusayn al-Kamālānī al-Rūmī, composed in 785/1383, Alex. Adab 12, Qawala II, 28.—5. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Nuqrakār, d. ca. 776/1374, Berl. 6607/8, Pet. Ros. 130/2, Algiers 19, Garr. 392/3, Qawala II, 39, Alex. Adab 12, print. also Istanbul 1319, 1320, Turkish translation Berl. 6609.—6. *al-Ṣāfiya* on the *Dībāja* by Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Bakhshāyish Qara Sinān, composed in 838/1434, Berl. 6610, Qawala II, 44.—7. *al-Manāhij al-kāfiya* by Zakariyyā’

al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520, Paris 4062, Garr. 394, Alex. Adab 12, Qawala II, 52.—8. *al-Manāhil al-ṣāfiya* by Luṭfallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ghiyāth, d. 1035/1625 (II, 400), Ind. Off. 954.—9. Abū Jum‘a Sa‘īd b. Mas‘ūd al-Marrākushī al-Ṣanhājī, Esc. 220.—10. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Kīlānī, *ibid.* 86<sub>1</sub>.—11. *Sharḥ shawāhid shurūḥ al-Sh.* by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, d. 1093/1682 (II, 162), Leid. 193.—12.—23. see Suppl.—24. *al-Manāhil al-ṣāfiya* by Luṭfallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ghiyāth Zāfirī Ḥajjājī (Suppl. II, f. 248<sub>11/19</sub>), Patna I, 160<sub>1515</sub>.—Versification in *rajaz* by al-Mawāhibī, d. 1119/1707, with a commentary Berl. 6611, *al-Farā‘id al-jāmila* by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Garmiyānī al-Sharīfī, d. 1016/1607, Qawala II, 45.—9 commentaries and glosses, 4 versifications mentioned in Ahlw., 6612.

III. *al-Maqṣad al-jalīl fi ‘ilm al-Khalīl*, on metrics (see Freytag, *Darst. d. ar. Verskunst*, 334ff.), Berl. 7126, Leid. 273, Bodl. I, 1267<sub>2</sub> (Hebr.), 36<sub>2</sub>, Patna I, 191<sub>1732</sub>. Commentaries: 1. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Sālim b. Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, d. 697/1298, Paris 4451, Garr. 503.—2. Muḥammad b. Abi ‘l-Maḥāsīn al-Ṭībī, ca. 715/1315, Leid. 275.—3. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥusayn al-Asnawī, d. 772/1331 (II, 90), Esc. 2410<sub>1</sub>, Patna I, 192<sub>1734</sub>.—4. Anon., very detailed, composed between 640–65, Leid. 274, *Shifā‘ al-‘alīl wa-siqā‘ al-ghalīl*, Patna I, 190<sub>1724</sub>.—5. Other commentaries in Ahlw., 7126.

IV. *al-Amālī*, dictations, on: 1. the Qur’ān, Damascus 621/1224, 2. al-Mutanabbī and other poets, Damascus 617/21, Cairo 612/1215, 3. on general matters, Cairo 609/10/13/14/16, Damascus 617/9, 4. | on rare and interesting questions, 306 | Cairo 613, Damascus 617/8, Jerusalem 620, 5. on *ḥadīth*, Damascus 617/20/4/5, 372 6. Controversial issues regarding “*law*”, Berl. 6613, Vienna 386, Paris 4392, 6214, Cairo 1IV, 24, 2II, 79 (only no. 3).

V. *al-Amālī*, 1. On some passages from the Qur’ān and Zamakhsharī’s *Mufaṣṣal*, in Cairo and Damascus in 610 and 624, Paris 4392<sub>3,2</sub>, Patna II, 360<sub>2052,1,2</sub>, 2. on the verses in the work *Ma‘āni ‘l-Qur’ān*, *ibid.* 4, cf. de Sacy, *Anth. gramm.* 454, 3. on his lost *Muqaddima fi ‘l-naḥw*, *ibid.* 6<sub>1</sub> Patna 4, ‘*ala ‘l-masā‘il al-mutafarriqa fi ‘l-naḥw*, Patna 3, ‘*alā shi‘r al-Mutanabbī wa-ghayrihi*, *ibid.* 5; *Ta‘līqa* on this by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Mālīkī, *ibid.* 6.

VI. *al-Qaṣida al-muwashshaḥa bil-asmā‘ al-mu‘annatha* or *al-Q. fi ‘l-mu‘annathāt al-samā‘iyya*, on feminine nouns without a feminine ending, Vienna 1776<sub>4</sub>, 1805<sub>1</sub>, Ind. Off. 982, Cairo 1VI, 76, 2II, 25, VII, 576.

VII. *Risāla fi ‘l-‘ushr*, on the forms of the words ‘first’ and ‘last’ when connected with ‘tenth’, Berl. 6894.

VIII. *Muntaha ‘l-su‘āl wal-amalfi ‘ilmayal-uṣūl wal-jadal*, a handbook of Mālīkī law, Berl. 4374, Leipz. 342, Paris 817, Algiers 975.—Abstract by the author himself entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fi ‘l-uṣūl*, BDMG 42, Ind. Off. 298, As‘ad 3804<sub>2</sub>

1 His *Amālī ‘alā abyāt al-Mufaṣṣal* is quoted in *Khiz.* I, 532, II, 461, 6.

(? *Uṣūl al-fiqh* 42 Bl. Kr.), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 159, Algiers 1074/6, Patna I, 74,756, II, 354,2541.—Commentaries: *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl* by al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Ḥillī, d. 726/1326, Br. Mus. Suppl. 262.—1a. Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd al-Shirāzī, d. 710/1312 (II, 21), Dāmādzāde 685, Fez, Qar. 1390, Patna I, 72,729/30.—2. ‘Isā al-Miklātī, d. 743/1342, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 168.—2a. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Qurashī al-Asadī (see Suppl. I, 966, zu 537), Patna I, 72,734.—3. *al-‘Aḍudīyya* by ‘Aḍud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī, d. 756/1355 (II, 208), composed in 734/1334, Berl. 4375, Paris 801, Br. Mus. 1605, Ind. Off. 299/301, Algiers 966/7, Yeni 334/5, Löwen, Mus. L. 98, Garr. 1478/9, 1627/8, 2170,1, Alex. Fun. Mut. 77,4, Qawala I, 286, Bank. XIX,1, 1545/7 = Patna I, 72,731/3, II, 354,2544,2.—Glosses: a. al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215), Berl. 4376, Vienna 1773, Ind. Off. 302/4, Algiers 968, Garr. 1629, Qawala I, 282, Patna I, 70,710, print. C. 1217.—Superglosses by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, Patna I, 69,707.—b. *al-Sharīfiyya* by al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Berl. 4377, Ind. Off. 305/9, 1480/5, 1873, Garr. 2170,2, Qawala I, 282, Patna I, 70,711/3, II, 354,2541,3, 504,2710.—Superglosses | α-γ see Suppl.—δ Muḥammad Ḥumayd al-Kaffawī, d. 1168/1754, Qawala I, 284.—ε see Suppl.—ζ Muḥammad Ya‘qūb b. ‘Alī al-Banbānī, d. after 1081/1670, Ind. Off. 1871.—η al-Sīwāsī (Ismā‘īl b. Imām?), Alex. Fun. 99,2.—θ Ḥasan al-Harawī, print. C. 1317.—ι Anonymous, dated 1014/1605, Gotha 1048.—κ Sayyid Mollā Ḥusayn al-Khalkhālī, Patna II, 354,2541,5.—c. Mīrzājān Ḥabīballāh al-Shīrāzī, d. 994/1586 (II, 414), Paris 2391, Ind. Off. 310/1.—d. see Suppl., Patna II, 354,2544.—e. Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Abharī, ca. 800/1397, Ind. Off. 1869, Bank. XIX,1, 1549 = Patna I, 70,709.—f. Hafīd al-Taftāzānī, d. 916/1510 (II, 218), Patna I, 70,714(?).—4. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Yūsuf al-Khawwārī (or al-Jawādī?), ca. 700/1300, Berl. 4507, Algiers 1085.—5. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Farḥūn al-Ya‘marī, d. 799/1396 (II, 263), Br. Mus. 872,9.—6. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā b. ‘Umar al-Rahūnī, d. 774/1372 or 775 in Cairo (Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥijāl* II, 490, no. 1424), Algiers 969.—7. Anon. *al-Tawdīḥ*, Paris 4549.—8. Anon. fragm., Algiers 1086/7.—9. Anon. biographical notes on the authorities mentioned therein, Paris 2103.—10. (12.) *Raf‘ al-ḥājib* by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, d. 771/1370 (II, 89), see Suppl.—13. *al-Nuqūd (Nuqūl) walrudūd* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kirmānī, d. 786/1384 (Suppl. II, 211), see Suppl.—14.—20. see Suppl.—21. *Kāshif al-rumūz* by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, d. 706/1306 in Damascus, Alex. Uṣūl 14, Fez, Qar. 1393.—22. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Hādī, d. 1100/1688 (*Sh.N.* II, 438), Dam. ‘Um. 57,1.—23. Bahrām Fez, Qar. 1008/13.—24. al-Bisāṭī, *ibid.* 1014/7.

VIII A. *Mukhtaṣar al-Furū‘ (Far‘)* or *Jāmi‘ al-ummahāt* see Suppl., and also Alex. Fiqh Māl. 7, Br. Mus. 226 (?), Commentary by Khalīl b. Ishāq al-Jundī, d. 767/1365 (II, 83), Algiers 1077/84; glosses by Muḥammad al-Laḳānī, d. 954/1551 (Suppl. II, 435), Br. Mus. 241. Along with this *Asmā’ al-a‘lām* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām, Patna II, 299,2381.

9. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zāfir b. Abi ‘l-Iṣba‘ al-‘Adwānī<sup>2</sup> al-Miṣrī, who was also known as a poet, died in 654/1256.

*Fawāt* 1, 294 (almost exclusively samples of poetry). 1. *Kitāb taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī ‘ilm al-badī‘*, completed in 640/1242, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 214, <sup>2</sup>II, 181.—2. *Badī‘ al-Qur’ān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>312, <sup>2</sup>II, 178.—3. *Bayān al-burhān fī i‘jāz al-Qur’ān* Patna 1, 23, 212 (see Suppl.).

|| 10. Amīn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Anṣārī al-Maḥallī, who died in Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 673/May 1275.

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1. *Miftāḥ al-i‘rāb* Algiers 185.—2. *Shifā‘ al-‘alīl fī ‘ilm al-Khalīl*, on metrics, Leid. 276, Köpr. 331.—3. *Urjūza fī ‘l-‘arūḍ* Leid. 277.—4. *Kitāb al-‘unwān fī ma‘rifat al-awzān*, in verse, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 195/6. <sup>2</sup>II, 236.

## 6 *Philology in North Africa and Sicily*

1. The son of a goldsmith, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Rashīq al-Azdī al-Qayrawānī was born in 390/1000 (according to others in 370/980) in al-Muḥammadiyya. In 406/1016 he went to Kairouan, where his laudatory poetry won him the favour of the sovereign al-Mu‘izz b. Bādis (see p. 315). When the latter rejected the dominion of the Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt his suzerain roused the local nomadic Bedouin tribes of the Banū Hilāl to invade his country, and they ransacked the city in 443/1051.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rashīq ran away from this fighting to Sicily and settled in Māzar, where he died in 456/1064 (or, according to others, in 463/1070).

Ibn Khall. 157, cod. Wetzst. II, 289, f. 107v, Wüst., *Gesch.* 210, Muḥammad al-Ḥilyawī, *Ibn Rashīq, ra’yuhu fī ‘l-shi‘r*, Apollo 1, 1161/7. 1. *Kitāb al-‘umda fī maḥāsīn al-shi‘r wa-ādābihi*, on poetry, with a lengthy introduction on the art of poetry in general, hailed by Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolog. Not. et Extr.* XVIII, 337) as groundbreaking in its appraisal of modern poetry, Leid. 292, Br. Mus. 600, Esc. <sup>2</sup>285/6, Algiers 233, see de Sacy, *Anth. gramm.* 307, 442, Goldziher, *Abh.* 1, 157/61. Abstract, *al-‘Udda fī khtīṣār al-‘Udda* by Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Ṣaqalī al-Naḥwī, Alex. Adab 98.—2. *Qurāḍat al-dhahab fī naqd ash‘ār al-‘Arab* Paris 3417,7.—3. Poems, Esc. <sup>2</sup>467.—4. *Kitāb*

2 Corrupted to al-Qayrawānī, Ahlw. 673,3.

3 Fournel, *Les Berbères* II, 169, Wüst. *Fat.* 235, A. Müller, *Islam* 1, 634.

*al-unmūdhaj fi shu'arā' al-Qayrawān* ḤKh 7901, quoted by Ibn Khall. no. 12 and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>—5. *Kitāb al-gharā'ib wal-shudhūdh fi 'l-lughā* is quoted in Damīrī II, 140, under *'uṣfūr*.

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2. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ja'far b. al-Qaṭṭā' al-Sa'dī al-Ṣaqalī, an Aghlabid, was born in Sicily on 10 Ṣafar 433/9 October 1041. After studying in Spain he lived as a celebrated poet and philologist in his native country. When this was invaded by the Normans he went to Egypt sometime around 500/1106, where he was a tutor of the children of al-Afḍal b. Amīr al-Juyūsh Badr al-Jamālī, the vizier of the Fātimid caliph al-Amīr billāh Maṣṣūr (495–524/1101–30). He died in Fuṣṣṭāṭ in 514/1120.

Ibn Khall. 420, Wüst., *Gesch.* 228. 1. *Kitāb abniyat al-af'āl*, an augmented edition of the work by the same name by Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (see p. 157), is probably incorrectly attributed to him, Gotha 405, Esc. <sup>2</sup>576, *Dībāja*, Garr. 253.—2. *Kitāb al-'arūḍ al-bāri'*, on metrics, Br. Mus., Suppl. 1214,<sub>3</sub>, Cairo I<sub>IV</sub>, 194, <sup>2</sup>236, abstract by the author himself entitled *Kitāb al-shāfi fi 'ilm al-qawāfi*, ḤKh IV, 7384, Cairo, loc. cit., <sup>2</sup>II, 233, a second abstract may be in Leid. 265.

3. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hishām al-Lakhmī al-Sabtī al-Ṣūfi, ca. 557/1162.

1. *Kitāb al-madkhal ilā taqwīm al-lisān wa-ta'līm al-bayān* or *Kitāb al-radd 'ala 'l-Zubaydī fi laḥn al-'awāmm*, written against the *Kitāb laḥn al-'a.* by al-Zubaydī (see p. 140) and the *Kitāb tathqīf al-lisān wa-talqīh al-janān* of Abū Hafṣ 'Umar b. Makkī al-Māzarī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>46, 99, as well as a copy in the possession of 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (Marçais, *JA* 223, 88).—2. *Sharḥ Maqṣūrat b. Durayd*, see p. 113,<sub>1</sub>.

4. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭarābulusī al-Lughawī al-Maghribī al-Ifriqī b. al-Ajdābī, who died before 600/1203.

Yāqūt, *GW* I, 131. *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffiz wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffiz fi 'l-lughā al-'arabiyya*, on synonyms, Berl. 7043/4, Gotha 423, Br. Mus. 1010,<sub>2</sub> BDMG 67a, Garr. 271, Alex. Fun. 188,<sub>9</sub>, Patna I, 188,<sub>1705</sub>, print. C. 1287, 1313, put into verse by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī Jamāl al-Dīn, d. 694/1294, *Umdat al-mutalaffiz*, Vienna 88, Bursa, Haraccizade Edeb. 101.

4 Listed in the correct place in Ahlw. 7434,<sub>12</sub>, but also as a lexicon (?) in 6981,<sub>18</sub>.

| 5. Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yalalbakht b. ʿĪsā b. Yūmarīlī al-Juzūlī al-Yazdaktanī al-Marrākushī al-Barbarī, who died in 607/1210 in Marrakesh (see Suppl.). 376

Ibn Khall. 486, ʿAbdallāh Gannūn al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī fi ʿl-adab al-ʿarabī*, Tetouan 1357, I, 85/6. *Al-Muqaddima al-Juzūlīyya fi ʿl-naḥw*, by means of succinct, often mysterious, brief, and strange glosses, mostly of a logical character, on al-Zajjājī's *Jumal* (p. 112), following his teacher Ibn Barrī, Fez, Qar. 1457,<sup>1</sup> commentary by ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Shalawbīnī, d. 645/1247 in Seville (Ibn Khall. 471), Esc. <sup>2</sup>2, 36, 190, see P. Lazcano, *La Ciudad de Dios* XLII, 1897, 341/7, which contain part of the original 10 volumes.

6. Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (Yaʿqūb), *al-Fihrī al-Lablī*, was born in Niebla in 623/1226 and died in Tunis in 691/1292.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 176. 1. *Bughyat al-āmāl fi maʿrifat al-nuṭq bi-jamīʿ mustaqbalāt al-afʿāl*, on the vocals of the imperfect, Bank. XX, 2104 = Patna I, 158,<sup>1501</sup>—2. *Sharḥ Jumal al-Zajjājī*, Suppl. I, 171.—3. *Sharḥ al-Faṣīḥ*, ibid. 181/2.

## 7 Philology in Spain

1. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl (Aḥmad) al-Mursī b. Sida, who died in Denia on 26 Rabīʿ II 458/28 March 1066 (see Suppl.).

| Ibn Khall. 422, al-Ḍabbī 405, no. 1205. 1. *Kitāb al-mukhaṣṣaṣ fi ʿl-lughā*, a dictionary in 17 volumes, arranged by subject, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 187, <sup>2</sup>II, 36, volumes 16 and 17, Esc. <sup>2</sup>575, print. C. 1316/21.—2. *Kitāb al-muḥkam wal-muḥīṭ al-aʿzam*, likewise, Br. Mus. Suppl. 854, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 84, <sup>2</sup>II, 250, 309, volume 18 Garr. 26. Abstract, *Khulāṣat al-muḥkam* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ansī, after 680/1281, Br. Mus. 471.—3. *Sharḥ mushkil dīwān al-Mutanabbī* Suppl. I, 142.—3. An *urjūza*, ed. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, *al-Mashriq* XXVI, 18/9. 309

2. Abu ʿl-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Sulaymān (ʿĪsā) al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī was born in 410/1019 in Santamaria, studied in Cordova from 433/1041, and died in 476/1083 in Seville.

| Ibn Khall. 812. 1. *Sharḥ al-shuʿarāʾ al-sitta*, cf. Ahlwardt, *The Divans* XVIII, Dyroff, *Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung des Zuhairdiwans*, Munich 1892, Landberg, *Primeurs arabes*, Fasc. II.—2. *Kitāb al-ḥamāsa*, cited in Khiz. I, 563,<sup>6</sup> VII, III, 165,<sup>20</sup>, 330,<sup>24</sup>—3. *Taḥṣīl ʿayn al-dhahab min maʿdin jawhar al-adab fi ʿilm majāzāt al-Arab* (Suppl. 160,<sup>5</sup>) ʿĀšīr I, 764 (571 AH), Qawala II, 190, see Suppl. 377

3. Abū Bakr ʿĀṣim b. Ayyūb al-Baṭalyawsī, who died in 494/1101.

Dozy, *Ibn Badroun*, p. 1, Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 966, (HKh IV, 7521 mistakenly: “died in 194”), Vandenhoff, *Tarafa*, 5, Hartmann, *Muw.* 240. *Sharḥ al-shuʿarāʾ al-sitta* see Suppl. 50.

4. Abu ʿl-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh al-Saraqusṭī al-Ashtarkūnī al-Tamīmī, who died on 21 Jumādā I 538/2 December 1143 in Cordova.

1. *Kitāb musalsal*, on remarkable expressions in 50 chapters, each of which begins with a linguistically complicated verse, Berl. 7093, Cairo 11V, 187, 2111, 38.—2. *al-Maqāmāt al-Saraqusṭiyya al-Tamīmiyya al-luzūmiyya*, 50 in number, composed in Cordova (HKh 12710), Berl. 8588,1, Ms. or. oct. 3855.

5. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Sarrāj al-Shantarīnī (according to Maqq. al-Shantamarī), who left Spain for Egypt and Yemen in 515/1121. Later he worked as a *muqrīʾ* in the main mosque in Cairo, which is also where he died, probably in 549/1154.

310 | Maqq. I, 619. 1. *Kitāb tanbīh al-albāb fī faḍāʾil al-iʿrāb* Berl. 6523.—2. *Kitāb talqīh al-albāb fī ʿawāmil al-iʿrāb* ibid. 6524.—3. *Kitāb jawāhir al-ādāb wa-dhakhāʾir al-shuʿarāʾ wal-kuttāb*, an abstract of the *ʿUmda* of Ibn Rashīq (see 374), Esc. 2352.—4.–6. see Suppl.

6. Abu ʿl-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khayra al-Mawāʿinī al-Ishbīlī, who came from Cordova, first served as secretary to the governor of Granada, Abū Saʿīd, then under the prince of Seville, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Muʾmin, and from 558/1163 onwards under the Almohad Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf. He died in 564/1168 in Marrakesh.

378 | Wüst., *Gesch.* 257. *Kitāb rayḥān al-albāb wa-rrayāʾn al-shabāb*, an *adab* work with historical elements in 7 *martabas*, composed in 559/1164 and dedicated to the aforementioned Almohad and his brother Abū Ḥafṣ, Leid. 471. The part dealing with the ʿAbbādids is in Dozy, *Script. ar. Loci de Abbadidis*, vol. 11.

7. Abu ʿl-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Balawī b. al-Shaykh was born in 526/1132 in Malaga, where he studied under al-Fakhkhār, before moving to Alexandria in 516/1166, where was taught by al-Silafī. In Malaga he was also active as a master builder and is believed to have participated in the construction of 25 mosques and 50 wells and fountains. He died in 604/1207.



*Kitāb alif bā'*, an encyclopaedia of the knowledge of his time, composed for his son 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Berl. 6965, Leid. 474/5, Bodl. I, 465, Algiers 8, Garr. 203, Köpr. 1215/8, print. C. (Wahbiyya) 1287.

8. Abū 'Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Andalusī al-Anṣārī al-Qistī, who died in 626/1229.<sup>1</sup>

*Kitāb al-'arūḍ al-Andalusī*, on metrics, Berl. 7141/2, Gotha 259/60 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 500, Alex. Fun. 175,3, Qawala I, 180/1, Patna I, 191,1781, print. Istanbul 1262. Commentaries: 1. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī, d. 761/1360, Berl. 7143/4, Ms. or. fol. 4182,2, Gotha 361, Pet. 134, Esc. 2410,2, 411/2, Garr. 501/2, Alex. 'Arūd 2, Fun. 64,2, 69,5, 187,2, Cairo 1VII, 274, 2II, 238, Qawala II, 179, 182/3 (*Tarjamat Faṭḥ al-nuqūd*), Patna I, 190,1725.—2., 3., 4., see Suppl.—5. Muḥammad b. al-Khalīl al-Aḥsā'ī, d. 1044/1634, Br. Mus. 1398,1.—6. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir b. Abī 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī, d. 1083/1672, completed in 1076/1666, Berl. 7145.—7. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī, Vienna 223.—8. Maḥmūd b. Khalīl al-Mustarī, Pet 238,9, Cairo 2II, 238.—9. Anon., Berl. 7146, Paris 3955,3, Bodl. I, 1236,2.—9 other commentaries in Ahlw., 7147.

9. Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. Dihya al-Kalbī al-Sabtī al-Andalusī al-Balansī Dhu 'l-Nasabayn, thus called | because on his father's side he was descended from Dihya al-Kalbī and on his mother's side from Ḥusayn b. | 'Alī. He was born in Valencia in 544/1149 (according to others in 546 or 548). Having studied *ḥadīth* and linguistics in all the major cities of the country he was twice *qāḍī* in Denia, but was eventually removed from office due to his controversial lifestyle. As a wandering man of letters he went to Morocco, Bijāya, and Tunis, where he lectured on the science of *ḥadīth* in 595/1198. While making the pilgrimage to Mecca he stayed for some time in Egypt, then travelled through Syria, Iraq, Persia, and Mazandaran, before visiting various scholars in Baghdad, Wāsit, Isfahan, and Nishapur. When he arrived in Arbela on the occasion of the birthday of the Prophet in 604/1207 he offered the ruler Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Malik al-Mu'azzam a commemorative text that ended in a long *qaṣīda*, which earned him a significant fee. His enemies, however, claimed that he had stolen the *qaṣīda* from Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209). Upon his return to Egypt, al-Malik al-'Ādil made him responsible for the education of his grown-up son, who would later become Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil. When the latter acceded to the throne in 615/1218 he held his teacher in such high regard

1 According to Freytag, *Darst. der ar. Versk.* 36, without source reference; only the margins 538/1143 and 800/1397 are known.

that in 621/1224 he had al-Kāmiliyya college constructed especially for him, which is where he went to teach *ḥadīth*. Later, however, he fell into disgrace, was ousted, and died on 14 Rabīʿ I 633/30 October 1235.

Ibn Khall. 470, al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāz* IV, 213, Ḥuff. XVIII, 16, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* IV, 292/8, no. 829, Maqq. 525/9, Wüst., *Gesch.* 319, Goldziher, *Zāhir*. 175/9. 1. *Kitāb tanbīh al-baṣāʾir fī asmāʾ umm al-kabāʾir*, on the names of wine, with strong diatribes against etymologies of the names for wine that have a favourable or sympathetic basis (Goldziher, op. cit., 177), dedicated to al-Malik al-Kāmil, Leid. 79.—2. *Kitāb al-muṭrib min ashʿār ahl al-Maghrib*, an anthology, HKh 12247, Br. Mus. 631.—3. *Kitāb al-āyāt al-bayyināt fī khaṣāʾiṣ aʿdāʾ rasūl Allāh* HKh I, 498, Algiers 1679.—4. *Nihāyat al-suʿūl fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-rasūl*, | on the privileges of the Prophet, Berl. 2567, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 445, <sup>2</sup>I, 158.—5. Poem on the Prophet, similar to the aforementioned, at the end of | *Kitāb al-tanwīr fī mawlid al-sirāj al-munūr* (HKh 3702)? Paris 1476, 314<sub>1,2</sub>.—6. *Taʾrīkh khulafāʾ Ibn al-Abbās* NO 3116 (read to the author in 613, Ritter).

10. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī, who flourished around the year 650/1252 (although according to some sources he died in 626/1228).

*Al-Rāmiza al-shāfiya fī ʿilm al-ʿarūd wal-qāfiya* or *al-Qaṣida al-Khazrajīyya*, a didactic poem on metrics, Berl. 7112/3, Paris 1077<sub>6</sub>, Leid. 278/9, Algiers 376<sub>12</sub>, Alex. ʿArūd 4, Fun. 64<sub>2</sub>, Qawala II, 189/90, ed. Ph. Guadagnoli in *Breves Ar. linguæ inst.*, Rome 1642, 286ff.—Commentaries: 1. Abu ʿl-Qāsim al-Fattūh b. ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Ṣanhājī, completed on 1 Jumādā I 816/30 July 1413, Gotha 367, Leid. 285.—2. Abu ʿl-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī al-Sharīf al-Andalusī al-Sabtī al-Gharnāṭī, d. 760/1359, Berl. 7114/5, Gotha 363, Leid. 280, Paris 446<sub>1</sub>, Algiers 87<sub>2</sub>, 235, Alex. ʿArūd 1, Fun. 68<sub>1</sub>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 284, <sup>2</sup>II, 235.—3. *al-Uyūn al-fākhira* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, d. 828/1424, Berl. 7116/7, Leid. 282/4, Br. Mus. 1398<sub>2</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>186<sub>2</sub>, 410<sub>4</sub>, Algiers 1236, AS 4093, 4176, Alex. ʿArūd 2, Qawala II, 182.—4. Muḥammad b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī Muḥibb al-Dīn, ca. 881/1476, Berl. 7119/20, Bodl. I, 1236<sub>4</sub>, Garr. 505, Alex. ʿArūd 4 (which has al-Baṣrī).—5. By the same, a larger commentary, Berl. 7121.—6. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī b. Shukūr, d. 893/1488, Berl. 7118.—8. *Faṭḥ rabb al-bariyya* by Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Berl. 7122/3, Gotha 364/5, Algiers 237, Alex. ʿArūd 2, Fun. 65<sub>5</sub>, 131<sub>13</sub>, Patna II, 368<sub>2551</sub>, 1.—9. Abu ʿl-Baqāʾ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Aḥmadī, composed in 904/1499, Paris 447.—10. Badr al-Dīn b. ʿUmar Khūj b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fattānī,

second half of the twelfth cent. (Suppl. II, 511), *ibid.* 4450, with glosses by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā.—11. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Naqāwusī, Br. Mus. 511,3.—12. *Rafʿ ḥājib al-‘uyūn al-ghāmiza* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Dalajī, d. 950/1544 (II, 319), Bodl. I, 1236,5, Alex. ‘Arūḍ 413, *Taqyīd al-abyāt al-mushār ilayhā fī Q. al-Kh.* (only scansion of verses) by Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Manjūrī, d. 955/1587 (Suppl. II, 697), Leid. 281.—14. Anon., Berl. 7124, Paris 3955,4, Esc. 2334, 416.—15.—27. see Suppl.—28. Mollā Ghulām Naqshbandī b. ‘Aṭā’llāh al-Laknawī, Patna I, 190,1723, II, 368,2551, 2.—II. *Mukhtaṣar fī ‘ilal al-a‘ārīḍ wa-ḍurūb khāṣṣa* Alex. ‘Arūḍ 4.

| 11. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mursī al-Sulamī, 381  
who died on 15 Rabī‘ I/3 April 1257 (see Suppl.).

*Al-Ḍawābiḥ al-kullīyya fī-mā tamassu al-ḥāja ilayhi min al-‘arabiyya* ḤKh IV, 7858 (imprecise), Berl. 6614, a didactic letter on grammar to various students, *ibid.* 150,2.<sup>2</sup>

12. Abu ‘l-Muṭarrif Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī, who was born in 580/1184 in Valencia. He initially studied *fiqh* but felt more attracted to philology. He later emigrated to Morocco, where the caliph al-Rashīd (630–40/1232–42) first appointed him as his secretary and then as *qāḍī* in Salé and subsequently in various other towns, the last of which was Ceuta. When this town was conquered by the Marīnids he lost all his possessions, so emigrated to Tunis. | 313  
Having worked for a considerable period of time as a *qāḍī* in Urbus and Gabès, the Ḥafṣid al-Mustaṣir billāh I (647–75/1249–77) appointed him to his court where he wielded great influence on the government. He died on 20th<sup>3</sup> Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 658/26 November 1261.

Maqq. I, 200ff. *Kitāb al-tanbīhat ‘alā mā fī ‘l-Tibyān min al-tamwīhāt*, a rebuttal of a work by ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Zamlakānī (p. 415,2), Esc. 2115.—Derenbourg wrongly takes him to be the same author as Abu ‘l-Muṭarrif who is criticised in Esc. 2296 (*Kitāb al-tanbīh ‘alā ghalat al-adīb*), in which an equally unidentified Abū Ḥātim confronts the former with his inaccuracies in his explanations of the poems of Imra’ al-Qays and Nābigha al-Ḍubyanī; see Melchor M. Antuña, *al-Andalus* VI, 271/6.

2 Listed once more as *al-Ḍawābiḥ al-naḥwīyya fī ‘ilm al-‘arabiyya* in Ahlw., 6844/5.

3 Such according to Maqq., but in fact the 19th, given that it was a Friday.

12a. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mu'min b. Muḥammad b. 'Uṣfūr, d. 669/1270 (see Suppl.).

4 *Kitāb al-muqarrib fi 'l-naḥw* additionally Taymūr, *RAAD* III, 341, Patna I, 174,1612.

382 | 13. (14.) Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Rabī' al-Qurashī, who died in 688/1289 in Seville (see Suppl.).

## Chapter 4. Historiography

### 1 *Individual Biographies*<sup>1</sup>

Just as the beginnings of Arabic historiography had been inspired by chronicles written in Middle Persian, it was again the literary taste of the Iranians that had a decisive influence on one of its most important offshoots. In the chancelleries of the states that arose upon the remains of the crumbling caliphate secretaries developed a pompous administrative style of writing that took its example from Iranian rhetoric and that was embellished by rhymed endings and dazzling, obscure expressions. This style they now applied to the biographies that were written to glorify their sovereigns and which, though they must be used with caution, grant us an insight | into the inner workings of these states far sharper than the one provided by general histories. 314

1. The first book of this kind originated on Iranian soil itself, namely the biography of the Turkish sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Its composer, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-‘Utbī, who hailed from a distinguished Arab family, served under Sebūktigin and his son Maḥmūd in the administration, finally becoming postmaster in Ganj Rustāq, before dying in 427/1036.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 174. *Al-Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, a history of Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī, d. 421/1030, but which ends in the year 409/1018 with a eulogy on the brother of the sultan, Naṣr, who died that year; in an appendix he complains about having been pushed out of office by a certain | Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Baghawī, and it seems as if the book was a means of warning the sultan of conspiracies; Berl. 9807/9, Munich 423, Vienna 947, Leid. 1006/7, Br. Mus. 311, 1214, Suppl. 548, Or. 5615 (DL 36), Ind. Off. 701, Paris 1894/5, Pet. AM 157, Rosen 34, Yeni 830, Qawala II, 250, Patna I, 289,<sup>2338</sup>, ed. Maulawi Mamluk al-Aliy and A. Sprenger (lith.), Delhi 1847, Ḥamīd al-Dīn, Lahore 1883; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Über das Kitāb Jamīni*, *SBWA* 23, 1857, p. 15ff., Elliot-Dowson, *History of India* II, 14 ff.—Commentaries: 1. *Basātin al-fuḍalā’* by Abū ‘Abdallāh Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Najāṭī al-Nīshābūrī, ca. 720/1320 (Suppl. II, 257), NO 3357, Yeni 859/60.— 2. *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī ‘alā ta’rīkh Abī Naṣr al-‘Utbī* by Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Dimashqī al-Manīnī, composed in 1144–7/1731–4, Vienna 948, Pet. Ros. 35, Qawala II, 242, print. C. 1286.—3. ‘Alī b. Muṣliḥ al-Sam‘ānī al-Kirmānī, abstract Br. Mus. Suppl. 549.—Persian translations: 1. Abu ‘l-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ b. Ḥafṣ al-Jarbādhakānī, composed in 582/1186, Vienna 949/50, Br. Mus. Pers. I, 157, Paris Sch. pers. 1564, 383

1 With the exception of biographies of the Prophet which will be treated separately in the chapter on Tradition.

cf. de Sacy, *Not. et extr.* IV, 325.—2. more literal by Muḥammad Karāmat ‘Alī, Berl. 441, Br. Mus. Pers. III, 900, *JAS Bengal* XXIII, 1855, 239, no. 68.—Engl. transl. by J. Reynolds, London 1858.

1a. The long list of Shī‘ī martyrologies begins with Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Isfarā’inī, who died on ‘Āshūrā 418/21 February 1027.

*Nūr al-‘ayn fī mashhad al-Ḥusayn*, Cat. Browne 13, C5 (different from Berl. 6129), print. C. 1271, 1298 (together with *Qurrat al-‘ayn fī akhdh tha’r al-Ḥusayn* by Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, Alex. Ta’r. 113), Bombay 1302.

2. In the Near East the strong personality of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn provided much material for biographical representations, such as the one written by his contemporary Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Hibatallāh b. Āluh ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī. Born in 519/1125 in Isfahan, he studied at the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad before the vizier Yaḥyā b. Hubayra ‘Awn al-Dīn conferred administrative posts on him, first in Basra, and then in Wāsiṭ. When ‘Awn al-Dīn died in 560/1165 | al-Iṣfahānī not only lost his job, but was also thrown into prison. | Even though he was soon released, he could not regain his previous positions in Iraq and so two years later left for Damascus. There, the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Shahrazūrī introduced him to the Kurdish emir Najm al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, while he also gained the favours of the latter’s son Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The *atabeg* Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī made him his secretary and entrusted him with a mission to the caliph al-Mustanjid in Baghdad. Once he had completed this mission with success, Nūr al-Dīn conferred upon him a professorship in the newly constructed al-‘Imādiyya academy in 569/1173, an academy that was named in al-Iṣfahānī’s honour. A year later Nūr al-Dīn made him president of the council of state. However, the latter’s son and successor al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl, who acceded to the throne in 569/1171 at the age of eleven, relieved him of all his duties and banished him from the court. On his way to Baghdad al-Iṣfahānī fell ill in Mosul, where he learned that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had seized power in Egypt and was already marching on Syria. He went to see him in Homs, gained his favour, and accompanied him on all his future campaigns. After Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn passed away in 589/1193 he had to retire from public life, devoting the rest of his days to literary pursuits, until he himself died on 13 Ramaḍān 597/20 June 1201.

Ibn Khall. 676, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* 1, 325, Wüst., *Gesch.* 284, *JA* s. IX, v. 3, p. 489. 1. *Kitāb al-faṭḥ al-Qussī fi ‘l-faṭḥ al-Qudsī*<sup>2</sup> (MSS Suppl. ‘Āšir 1, 656/7

2 On the title see Landberg, *ZDMG* 48, 166.

and Garr. 587), *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalāḥaddīn*, publ. par C. de Landberg, vol. I, *texte ar.*, Leiden 1888.—2. *Kitāb al-barq al-Shāmī*, a history of his time in 7 volumes, ḤKh 1778, 21, 229, vol. v on the years 578–80/1182–4, Bodl. 1, 761, selection of poems and stylistic examples Leid. 966.—| 3. *Nuṣrat al-fiṭra wa-ʿuṣrat al-faṭra*, a history of the Saljūqs and their viziers, being a condensed translation of the copious Persian work by Sharaf al-Dīn Anūsharwān, d. 532/1137, in a bombastic *munshi*’ style, Bodl. 1, 662, Paris 2145; abstract by al-Bundārī, see 2,2.—4. *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat ahl al-ʿaṣr*, on the poets of the sixth century, as a complement to the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī (p. 337) and the *Zīnat al-dahr* of Abu ʿl-Maʿālī Saʿd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥazīrī (p. 248), Paris 3326/32, Br. Mus. 574, 1096, Leid. 1125, Vol. I Munich 505, NO 3774 (MSOS XV, 11), abstract *ʿAwd al-shabāb* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Riḍāʿī al-Quṣṭanṭīnī al-Rūmī, d. 1039/1629, Berl. 7412/3, Cairo 2111, 259.—3. a poem, Gotha 26, f. 136b.<sup>3</sup>

| 2. Abu ʿl-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Rāfiʿ b. Shaddād Bahāʿ al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī was born in Mosul on 10 Ramaḍān 539/6 March 1145. He studied in his hometown before becoming a lecturer at the Niḏāmiyya in Baghdad, until he was appointed as a professor at the academy in his hometown in 569/1173 (?). When, on his

3 Here al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-ʿAsqalānī al-Baysānī, a friend of ʿImād al-Dīn, should also be mentioned. Despite the fact that he did not present himself as a historian, his literary legacy interests us most of all as a record of the history of his time. Son of the *qāḍī* of Ashkelon and born on 15 Jumādā 1 529/3 April 1135, he started his career in the *dīwān al-inshāʿ* in Cairo and then became a secretary to the *qāḍī* of Alexandria. He was called back from there by al-ʿĀdil Ruzzik to join the *dīwān al-jaysh* in Cairo, where he asserted himself in office during the turmoil marking the end of the Fātimid reign, until Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn—then vizier—appointed him as the chairman of the *dīwān al-inshāʿ*. When the latter seized power himself the following year it was al-Baysānī who led the reforms in the military and finances, accompanying the sultan on his campaigns until his death in 589/1193. When war broke out between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s sons al-Malik al-Afḍal in Damascus and al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in Egypt he sided with al-ʿAzīz and brokered a peace between the brothers in 591/1195. He then retired from public life and died on 6 or 7 Rabīʿ 11 596/26 or 27 January 1200.—Ibn Khall. 384, 857, Wüst., *Gesch.* 283, Maqr. *Khiṭaṭ* 11, 366, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* 1, 325, *Hist. d. Crois.* I, Introd. LVI, *JA* s. 9, v. 3, p. 303. A description of his life was given by Qāḍī Muḥyi ʿl-Dīn ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Zāhir (no. 8) under the title *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī awṣāf al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm*.—A selection of stylistic examples taken from his private correspondence with ʿImād al-Dīn is preserved in Munich 402, Br. Mus. 778/9, letters to the caliph in Baghdad as volume 1 in a collection of 8 volumes Paris 6024, individual pieces Berl. 8621. A selection from his correspondence with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfarī, Br. Mus. 1540, another collection *ibid.* 1541, his correspondence with Usāma b. Munqidh (see no. 9) on the occasion of his book *Kitāb al-ʿAṣā* from the *Kharida* by ʿImād al-Dīn in Derenbourg, *Nouv. Mél. or.* 147/52, *Vie d’Ousama* transl. 383/92. His diary (*al-Mutajaddidāt*) is cited in Maqr., *Khiṭaṭ* 1, 269, 10, 19, 281, 8, 11, 164, 6 (see Suppl.).

way back from the pilgrimage, he visited Damascus in 584/1188, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn appointed him both as *qāḍī* 'l-*askar* and as a *qāḍī* in Jerusalem. After the latter's death, he joined his son al-Malik al-Zāḥir in Aleppo and served him and his son al-Malik al-'Azīz as a judge. | His income allowed him to found two academies there. When al-'Azīz relinquished power in 629/1231 he retired from public life, dying in 632/1234.

Ibn Khall. 813, Abu 'l-F. *Ann.* IV, 408, Wüst., *Gesch.* 318. 1. *Kitāb al-nawādir al-sultāniyya wal-mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya* Berl. 9811, Leid. 967, Br. Mus. 1630, Bodl. I, 588, II, 135 (p. 368). *Vita et res gestae Saladini auctore Bohadino f. Sjeddadī* ed. A. Schultens, Leiden 1732, 1755, cf. de Slane, *Hist. d. crois.* Introd. 45, C.R. Conder, *The Life of Saladin by Beha ad Din compared with the original Arabic and annotated, with a Preface* by Ch. Wilson, London, Palestine Pilgrims Texts Soc. 1897.—2. *Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāḥir Baybars*, vol. II, Adrianopolis, Selīm. 1507, Turkish translation *Baipars Tarihi, al-Malik al-Zahir (Baybars) hakkındaki tarihin ikinci cildi, türkçeye çeviren* M. Şerefüddin Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941 (*Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınlarından* II, Seri, no. 3).—3. *Ta'riḫ Ḥalab*, Pet. AM 203.—4. *Dalā'il al-aḥkām*, the foundations of jurisprudence with specification of relevant traditions, Paris 736.—5. *Malja' al-ḥukkām 'inda 'ltibās al-aḥkām*, Cairo 1111, 277/8.—6. Lectures on *ḥadīth*, held by him in Cairo when he was staying there as an envoy in 629/1231, Bodl. I, 117,3, cf. II, 569.—7. *Kitāb al-ʿaṣā* (Moses and Pharaoh) Patna II, 516,2772.

4. Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl Abu 'l-Samā<sup>24</sup> was born in Damascus on 23 Rabī' II 599/10 January 1203. | There and in Alexandria he studied philology and jurisprudence. When he returned to his hometown he became a professor at the Rukniyya madrasa and in 662/1264 head of the Dār al-ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya. When his obsession with slander finally turned itself against him, he was murdered by a rabble on 19 Ramaḍān 665/13 June 1268.

*Fawāt* I, 252, *Huff.* XIX, 10, Maqr., *Khit.* I, 46, *Orientalia* II, 253, Wüst., *Gesch.* 349. 1. *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, a history of the reigns of sultans Nūral-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Berl. 9812, Munich 404, Vienna 898, Leid. 968, Br. Mus. 313, 1228, Bodl. I, 745, II, 138, Paris 1700/1, 5882, Patna I, 283,2323, print.

4 The man with the birthmark (over the left eyebrow).



C. 1287/8, 1292, 2 vols., cf. Fleischer, *SB SGW* 1859,<sup>11</sup> p. 14ff., *Arab. Quellenbeiträge zur Gesch. der Kreuzzüge, übers. u. hsg. v. E.P. Goergens und R. Röhrich*, vol. 1, *Zur Gesch. Ṣalāḥaddīns*, Berlin 1879. Abstract of *ʿUyūn al-R.* by Khalīl b. Kaikāldī al-ʿAlāʾī, d. 767/1360 (II, 64), autograph Br. Mus. Suppl. 554.—2. *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn* on the years 591–665/1195–1266, Berl. 9813/4, Copenhagen 156, Paris 5852, Br. Mus. Suppl. 555/6, cf. Wahl, *Neue arab. Anthologie*, p. 208.—3. *Sharḥ sabʿ qaṣāʾid al-Sakhāwī fī madḥ al-nabī*, composed in 642/1244, Paris 3142.—4. *Sharḥ al-burda* (p. 309) Munich 547, Paris 1620,<sup>3</sup>—5. *Qaṣīda* in 40 verses, in which he complains about depression, his violent temper, and feelings of resentment, asking his teacher ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, d. 643/1245, for advice, Berl. 103 = 7772.—6. *Ibrāz al-maʿānī fī sharḥ Ḥīrz al-amānī* (i.e. the *Shāṭibiyya*) see p. 409.—7.–13. cf. Suppl. (10. also Alex. Mawāʿiz 7, Patna 1, 40,<sup>408</sup>).

| 5. Abu ʿl-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad b. Naṣrallāh (al-Dīn) b. Naṣr b. Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī b. ʿUnayn was born in Damascus on 9 Shaʿbān 549/20 October 1154. He distinguished himself as a poet at an early age, but was banished by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on account of his caustic wit. After a long journey through Persia and India he arrived in Yemen, which was ruled by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s brother al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. He stayed there for some time, before going to Cairo by way of the Hijaz. | When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn died, he returned to Damascus. The latter’s successor al-Malik al-Afḍal appointed him as vizier and entrusted him with diplomatic missions several times. He died in his hometown on 22 Rabīʿ 1 630/7 January 1233. 318  
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Ibn Khall. 656, Wüst., *Gesch.* 317. 1. *al-Taʾrīkh al-ʿAzīzī*, a biography of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, ḤKh 12257, 2298.—2. Elegy on al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, d. 624/1227, Berl. 7712.

6. Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Abi ʿl-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥamzī, who studied around the year 666/1267 under Aḥmad b. Abi ʿl-Khayr al-ʿUmarī al-Madhḥijī and died in 677/1278 in Yemen.

*Sīrat mawlānā wa-malikina ʿl-imām al-Mahdī li-dīn allāh amīr al-muʾminīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Rasūlallāh*, who was born in 612/1216 and died in battle in 656/1258. It was begun in Rabīʿ 1 646/1248, Berl. 9741, Ambr. NF 434, C 178.

7. A biography of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd b. 'Īsā b. Abī Bakr<sup>5</sup> was written by one of his sons with the title:

*Al-Fawā'id al-jaliyya fi 'l-farā'id al-Nāṣiriyya*, with a selection of his poems and prose writings, Br. Mus. Suppl. 557, AS 4823 (photograph Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 277).

8. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Zāhir al-Sa'dī al-Judhāmī al-Rawḥī was born in Cairo on 9 Muḥarram 620/12 February 1223. He served in the chancery of Baybars and died at the age of 72 in 692/1293.

*Fawāt* I, 271, *Orient.* II, 285, *Wüst.*, 366 (contra Björkman, *Beitr.* 82ff., see E. Strausz, *WZKM* 45, 191/202). 1. *Sīrat al-sultān al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars* (r. 658–76/1260–77), in verse, vol. I, Br. Mus. 1229, rendered as an abstract into prose by Shāfi' al-Asqalānī (II, 28), *ḤKh* 7341, Paris 1717.—| 2. *al-Altāf al-khaṭiyya min al-sīra al-sharīfa al-sultāniyya al-Malikiyya al-Ashrafiyya*, a history of the reign of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf (689–93/1290–3), | vol. III, on the last three months of the year 690 until Rabī' I 691, Munich 405 (autograph), cf. J. Marcel, *Hist. de l'Égypte*, p. XIV. 3. Selected poems, Leid. 710.—4. *Maqāma* about Egypt, the Nile, and the Rawḍa, Berl. 8550,2.—5. A biography of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, p. 385.—6. *al-Rawḍa al-baḥiyya al-zāhira fi khitāṭ al-Mu'izziyya al-Qāhira*, an important source for Maqrīzī's *Khitāṭ*, see *ibid.* I, 5, 20, II, 365 etc.—7. *Tamā'im al-ḥamā'im*, on the pedigrees of pigeons, *ḤKh* II, 420, 3582, <sup>2</sup>I, 483 (which seems to transfer him to the era of the Fāṭimids), see R. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 70, 500, n. 5.

9. An unknown author wrote:

*Al-Faḍl al-ma'thūr min sīrat al-sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḥḥ Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī* (678–89/1279–90) Bodl. I, 766.<sup>6</sup>

5 Born in 603/1206, son of Mu'azzam 'Īsā and grandson of Sayf al-Dīn al-'Ādil, he assumed power in Damascus in 624/1227, but two years later was bought off with Karak, conquered Jerusalem in 637/1239, was expelled from Karak by the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in 647/1249, spent some years after that wandering, and then died in Damascus on 26 Jumādā I 656/1 June 1258, see Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ann.* IV, 336, 350, 448, 500, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā', *Jawāhir* I, 237.

6 *ḤKh* III, 641, 7342 attributes this work to Qāḍī al-Fāḍil al-Baysānī, d. 596 (p. 385), which involves a glaring anachronism. This is why Wüstenfeld posits another author by the same name and whose death he fixes in 695, which is not very likely to be correct either.

10. In Persia, where the biography genre originated, al-‘Utbī found just one successor in the person of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī (see Suppl.).

*Sīrat al-sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī*, composed in 639/1241, ed. O. Houdas, text and translation, 2 vols., Paris 1891, 1895 (*Publ. de l'École des lang. or. viv.* 111<sup>e</sup> s., vol. IX, x); cf. Abu 'l-F. IV, 278, d'Ohsson, *Hist. d. Mongols*, 1834, I, p. xviff, Wüst., *Gesch.* 324.

11. A new kind of literature,<sup>7</sup> the autobiography, was introduced by Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Usāma b. Murshid Majd al-Dīn Mu'ayyad al-Dawla b. Munqidh. He was born on 27 Jumādā 11 488/25 June 1095 in Shayzar, where his family possessed a small principedom. In | the year 532/1138 he was banished by his uncle 390 'Izz al-Dīn, for whom his bravery and ambition were on the point of becoming a threat. | He then went to Damascus where he received a friendly recep- 320 tion from the *atabeg* Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Tāj al-Mulk Būrī. Here, he was also able to enter into friendly relations with the Templars because relations between the Būrīds and the Kingdom of Jerusalem were governed by a treaty. Driven out of Damascus by conspiracies, he left for Egypt in 538/1144 where he initially lived a reclusive life devoted exclusively to hunting. In 544/1150 and 548/1153 he took part in the battles against the crusaders at Ashkelon. Loathing his life in Egypt, he returned to Damascus in 549/1154. Meanwhile, Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn, in whose army he had already served in Mosul in the years 1129–38, had come to power there. After completing the pilgrimage in 555/1160 he took part in Nūr al-Dīn's campaign against the Franks that ended with the capture of Ḥārim in 560/1164. The same year he migrated to Diyarbakr where he was welcomed by the Artuqid Qara Arslān in Ḥiṣn Kayfā. He lived there for ten years, devoting himself mainly to his literary work. In 570/1174, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whose favours his son Murhaf had already won before him, called him to his court in Damascus. However, after some time he fell into disgrace, and was forced to stay there when the sultan moved his residence to Cairo. He died in Damascus on 13 Ramaḍān 584/6 November 1188.

H. Derenbourg, *Opuscules d'un arabisant*, Paris 1905, 313/36, Ph. Hitti, *RAAD* X (1930), 513/25, 592/603. 1. *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, an autobiography with colourful descriptions of the life of that period,<sup>8</sup> ed. H. Derenbourg, *Ousama b.*

7 If we disregard the essentially different autobiography of 'Umāra (p. 407).

8 The much briefer autobiography of his contemporary and polymath Ibn al-Jawzī (see p. 502) essentially only describes his studies.

391 *Mounkidh* | II, Paris 1886 (*Publ. de l'École d. lang. or. viv.* II, s. vol. XII), ed. Ph. Hitti, Princeton 1930 (with a better text after the Escorial MS), translation see Suppl., also Russian by M. Sallier, Petrograd 1922 (with a preface, notes and a bibliography by I. Kračkovsky).—2. *Kitāb al-badī fi 'l-badī*, on the good and the bad in poetical style, Berl. 7277, Leningrad, Kračkovsky, *Zap. Koll. Vost.* 1, 3/4, Alex. Adab 17 (*fi naqd al-shi'r*), Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 124. Abstract, *Mukhtaṣar muqaddimat al-shi'r*, Leid. 293, see Derenbourg, *Ousama* I, 691/722.—3. *Kitāb al-ʿaṣā* Leid. 472, see Derenbourg, *Mél. or.* 1886, p. 116, *Ousama* I, 449/543.—4. Selected poems, Gotha 2196,<sub>2</sub>, see Derenbourg, *Nouv. mél. or.* p. 115, *Ousama* I, 543–51.—5.–8. see Suppl.

321 | 2 **Histories of Dynasties**

1. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḍāfir al-Azdī al-Khazrajī, d. 613/1216 in Cairo (see Suppl.).

*Fawāt* II, 51, Wüst., *Gesch.* 309. 1. *Kitāb al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a*, in 4 volumes (ḤKh 5142), the last one of which covers the history of the Ḥamdānids, Sājids, Ṭulūnids, Ikhshīdids, Fāṭimids, and 'Abbāsids up to the year 622/1225, Gotha 1555, Br. Mus. Suppl. 461; the history of the Sājids was edited by Freytag in *Lokmani Fabulae*, Bonn 1823; for the Ḥamdānids see *ZDMG* X, 439; for the Egyptian dynasties Wüst., *Statthalter von Ägypten und Geschichte der Fāṭimiden*.—2. *al-Manāqib al-nūriyya*, on poetical metaphors, completed in 587/1191 and dedicated to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Esc. <sup>2</sup>425.—3. *Badā'i' al-badā'ih*, literary improvisations in an artificial style, often interlaced with reminiscences from his personal life, which he dedicated—after having worked for 25 years on them—to al-Malik al-Ashraf in 603/1206, on the advice of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Paris 3514 (where he is designated a Sicilian due to confusion with Ibn Ḍafar, p. 431), Copenhagen 209, abstract by Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>420,<sub>2</sub>.—4.–5. see Suppl.

2. Abū Ibrāhīm Fakhr al-Dīn al-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad b. al-Faṭḥ Qiwām al-Dīn al-Bundārī al-Iṣbahānī wrote, in 623/1226:

392 1. *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukhbat al-ʿuṣra*, an abstract of 'Imād al-Dīn's history of the Saljūqs (p. 385) in a more accessible | style: *Histoire des Seldjoudes de l'Iraq publ. p. M. Th. Houtsma, Recueil de textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldj.* vol. 2, Leiden 1889.—2. Arabic translation of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāme*, dedicated to Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā b. 'Ādil of Damascus, d. 624/1257, Berl. 8440, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1660, Bodl. I, 845, II, 769, Tunis, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 27, no. 93; cf. Nöldeke, *Das*

*Iranische Nationalepos*,<sup>2</sup> p. 85, § 62; ed. by Dr. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-A‘zam, 2 vols., C. 1350.—Wüst., *Gesch.* 312.

3. During the caliphate of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575–622/1180–1225), Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Sayyid al-Imām al-Shāhid Abu ‘l-Fawāris Nāṣir b. ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī wrote:

| *Zubdat al-tawārikh*, for the older period a summary of the history of the Saljūqs by ‘Imād al-Dīn (385) up to the death of Sultan Ṭughril, d. 590/1194, then it follows the history of the *atabegs* to 620/1223, Br. Mus. Suppl. 550, cf. v. Rosen, *Zapiski* I, 243/52, Houtsma, *Recueil* I, ix, II, p. xxvi. 322

4. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammād wrote, around the year 617/1220:

A history of the North African dynasty of the ‘Ubaydids up to 617/1220, Paris 1888, 4614/5, 4625, 2, Algiers 1588, 2, cf. Cherbonneau, *JA* 1852, v. II, p. 470, 1853, p. 575, 1855, v. I, p. 159.

5. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahīd b. ‘Alī Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn al-Tamīmī al-Marrākushī, who was born in Marrakesh on 8 Rabī‘ II 581/10 July 1185. He studied there under Ibn Zuhr (p. 489), then in Fez and Spain, where he stayed in the period 605–10, and again in 611–13. In 613/1216 he went to Egypt which, apart from a pilgrimage to Mecca in 620/1223, he does not appear to have left again.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 306, ‘Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fi ‘l-adab al-‘arabī*, Tetouan 1357, I, 87. *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fi akhbār ahl al-maghrib*, composed in 621/1224, Leid. 997, *The History of the Almohades, preceded by a Sketch of the History of Spain from the Times of the Conquest till the Reign of | Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn and of the History of the Almoravides by Abd-al-wāhid al-Marrékoshi*, ed. by R.A. Dozy, Leiden 1847, 2nd ed. 1881. E. Fagnan, *L’Histoire des Almohades d’après Abd el Wahid Marrakechi*, *Rev. Afr.* XXXVI, 205, p. 166/208, 206, 262/88, 207, 347/88, XXXVII, 208, p. 22/51, 209/10, p. 181/246, offprint, Algiers: Jourdan, 1893. 393

5a. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī al-Miṣrī wrote, in 659/1260:

*Al-Tuḥfa*, an introduction to a lengthy work on the genealogy of the Arab tribes, dedicated to the Ḥafṣid Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā (647–75/1249–76) as propaganda against the ‘Abbāsids in Cairo, see M. Jawad, *REI* 1938, 286.

6. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sālīm b. Wāṣil Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī was born in 604/1207. He taught Shāfi‘ī fiqh, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy in Hama. In 659/1261 he was summoned to Cairo, whence Sultan Baybars sent him as an envoy to the court of King Manfred—the son of Frederick II—in Sicily, where he stayed for a considerable period of time. After his return he became the chief *qāḍī* and professor at the academy of Hama, dying on 28 Shawwāl 697/9 August 1298.

323 | Abu ‘l-F. v, 144, *Orient.* II, 295, Wüst., *Gesch.* 371. 1. *Kitāb muḥarrir al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, 3 vols., ḤKh 12620 (cites al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* I, 52,3), vol. 2. (the years 595–635), Molla Celebi 119 (Ritter), fragments Paris 1702/3,1, Cambr. 241, a continuation until the year 695/1296 by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad, secretary and client of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the predecessor of Abu ‘l-Fidā’ as ruler of Ḥamā, *ibid.* 1703,2, excerpts in Reinaud, *Extraits d’hist. ar.* Paris 1822, p. 548, Quatremère, *Mamlouks* I, 252. An abstract, different from the MSS in Paris, by Qartāy al-‘Izzī al-Khazandārī, for the years 626–89/1128–90, Gotha 1655, see v. Tiesenhhausen, *Goldene Horde* I, 70/5.–2. *Sharḥ al-maqṣad al-jalīl li-Ibn Ḥājib* p. 371.—3. *al-Impirūriyya*, a précis of logic, composed for Emperor Manfred and published after his return to the Orient as *Nukhabāt al-fikar fī ‘l-manṭiq*, ḤKh VI, 317,13635.—4., 5. see Suppl.

394 | 7. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Yamanī al-Hamdānī wrote, around the year 694/1295:

*Kitāb al-simṭ al-ghālī ‘l-thaman fī akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ghuzz bil-Yaman*, a history of the Ayyūbids and Rasūlids covering the years 569–694/1173–1295, which ended at the year of death of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, in whose army he held the rank of *amūr*, Br. Mus. 1584, Leid. 491, Cairo 2v, 220.

8. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī wrote, in 700/1300 in Cairo:

*Kitāb al-taqrīb fī-mā yata‘allaq bil-sayyid al-naqīb*, a history of the sharifs of Mecca, Esc. 21694, Wüst. *Gesch.* 374.

### 3 *Histories of Individuals and Genealogy*

Following the example of the books of classes of men used in the science of *ḥadīth*, collections of biographical data on important men from other professions, notably poets and philologists, made their first appearance in the previous period. In the post-classical era, too, this type of literature was eagerly

pursued. All the relevant works are mentioned here, with the exception of those dealing with traditionists, which will be discussed in the section on *ḥadīth*. Furthermore, local histories, though often consisting solely of accounts of the great men of a city or state, can nevertheless not be separated from works that also take political history into account.

1. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm (Suppl. p. 153) b. Hilāl b. Zahrūn (Chwolson, *Die Ssabier* 1, 517) al-Ṣābi', a nephew of Ibn Sinān (Suppl. 1, p. 386), was born in Shawwāl 359/August 969 and converted to Islam while he was a *kātib* in the service of the state. He died on 17 Ramaḍān 448/29 November 1056.

| Ibn Khall. 756, Wüst., *Gesch.* 198, Chwolson, *Die Ssabier* 1, 604, 606. 1. *Kitāb al-amāthil wal-a'yān* or *Akhbār al-wuzarā'* ḤKh 1<sup>1</sup>, 192, 2<sup>1</sup>, 30, or *Tuḥfat al-umarā' fī ta'riḫ al-wuzarā'* | Paris 5901; from the life of three viziers of the caliph al-Muqtadir billāh (r. 295–320/908–32), Gotha 1756, cf. A. v. Kremer, *Das Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreiches* v. J. 306, *Denkschr. der ph. hist. Cl. der Vienna. Ak.* 36, p. 283–362.—2. *Ta'riḫ*, a continuation of the history of Thābit b. Sinān, d. 365/975, from 290 until his own time (447/1055), ḤKh 1, 123, 219<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 290, vol. 8 is on the years 390–2/1000–2, Br. Mus. 930; an edition of the *Akhbār al-qarāmiṭa* is in preparation by B. Lewis (*Or.* VIII, 285). 324  
395

2. His son Ghars al-Ni'ma Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (Ḥusayn) b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi' wrote:

1. *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, MS in al-Azhar, see al-'Azzāwī in *Belleten* IV, 17, n. (245, n. 1).—2. *al-Hafawāt (al-bādira min al-mu'aqqalīn al-malḥūzīn wal-saqāṭāt al-bārīda al-mughaffalīn al-malfūzīn)* ḤKh VI, 503, 14419 (which has al-Ṣābūnī), Top Kapu 2631,2 (*RSO* IV, 725).—3. *Uyūn al-tawāriḫ*, following Ṭabarī up to the year 479, cited in Maqrīzī, ed. Bunz, 15, 18, Ibn Taghribirdī, year 776,3.

1b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāsī, *Kitāb al-rijāl* Patna II, 309, 2496.

2a. (see Suppl.) *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* Patna II, 307, 2465.

3. Qiwām al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Faḍl al-Taymī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Iṣbahānī Abu 'l-Qāsim, d. 538/1140.

*Kitāb siyar al-salaf*, biographies of the companions of Muḥammad, the *tābi'ūn*, and a number of saints, Paris 2012.—4 commentaries on the Qur'ān are mentioned in Ahlw., 939, 23.

4. Zāhir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Zayd al-Bayhaqī, d. 565/1169 (see Suppl.).

1. *Ta'riḫ ḥukamā' al-Islām*, a supplement to the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Bahrām al-Sijazī (Suppl. I, 378), Berl. 10052, see al-Maghribī, *RAAD* II, 193/7, Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī, *Bīst Maqāla*, Tehran 1313, p. 78ff.—2. Persian history of Bayhaq, completed 5 Shawwāl 563/14 July 1168 in Shastamad, Berl. pers. 535, Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. 89 (cf. Ibn Khall. transl. de Slane II, 323, *HKH* III, 238, VI, 443, 510).—3., 4. see Suppl.—5. *Azhār al-riyāḍ al-marī'a wa-tafāsīr alfāz al-muḥāwara wal-sharī'a*, A. Taymūr, *RAAD* III, 339.

396 | 5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ash'arī al-Yamanī al-Nassāba Shihāb al-Dīn, d. 500/1106, or, according to others, 600/1203 (see Suppl. I, 558).

*HKH* v, 298<sub>1</sub>. 1. *al-Ta'rif bil-ansāb*, an abstract of al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-ansāb* (p. 401).—3. *Lubb al-lubāb al-majmū' min kulli kitāb*, 100 tales, Vienna 414, with the title *L. al-l. fī laṭā'if al-ḥikāyāt wa-maḥāsin dhawi 'l-albāb*, composed in 600/1203, fragm. Esc. <sup>2</sup>1702, 1, *L. al-l. wa-nuzhat al-aḥbāb* Garr. 242.

6. (7.) After the death of his father in 587/1191 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb took over as the governor of Hama, Ma'arra, Salamiyya, and their hinterlands. Even though he lived in a perpetual state of warfare with the crusaders the sciences were very important at his court. He died in his castle in Hama in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 617/January 1221.

Abu 'l-F. IV, 114, 288, Wüst., *Gesch.* 303. 1. *Akḥbār al-mulūk wa-nuzhat al-malik wal-mamlūk fī ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā' al-mutaqaddimīn min al-jāhiliyya wal-muḥaḍramīn etc.*, *HKH* 7901, vol. IX, composed in 602/1205, Leid. 884, cf. Weijers, *Spec. crit.* 13, *Orient.* 1, 490/9.—2. *Durar al-ādāb wa-maḥāsin dhawi 'l-albāb*, composed in 600/1203, frgm. Leipz. 606.

325 | 7. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī al-Qifṭī Jamāl al-Dīn, d. 646/1248 (see Suppl.).

*Fawāt* II, 96, Yāqūt, *GW* IV, 152, al-Ṣafadī, ed. Flügel in *Abulfeda, Hist. anteisl.*, ed. Fleischer, p. 233/5, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 319, Wüst., *Gesch.* 331, Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Literatur* (AKM 1877), p. 129, no. 111, Leclerc II, 193/8. 1. *Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā' = Rawḍat al-'ulamā'* Yeni 854, abstract entitled *al-Muntakhabāt al-multaqaṭāt min k. Ṭ. al-ḥ.* or *Ṭabaqāt*



*al-ḥukamā'* or *Ta'riḫ al-ḥ.*, by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zawzanī, composed in 647/1249, Berl. 10053/4, Vienna 1161/2, Strassb. 30, Munich 440, Leid. 1059/60, Paris 2112, Br. Mus. 1583, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1778, Rāḡib 988, cf. Wenrich p. IV–IX, A. Müller, Verzeichnis der aristotelischen Schriften, in *Morg. Forsch.*, Leipzig 1875, 1–32, idem, Über das sogen. *Ta'riḫ al-ḥ.* des Ibn al-Qiftī, | in *Actes du 8ème congr. intern. d. or. sect. I*, fsc. 1, Leiden 1891, p. 15/36, J. Lippert, Ibn al-Qiftī über den Ursprung der Apaturien, *ZDMG* 48, p. 486/9.—2. *Kitāb akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, abstract by al-Dhahabī, d. 748/1347 (II, 46), Leid. 1048 (autograph).—3. *Kitāb al-Muḥammadīn min al-shu'arā' wa-ash'aruhum*, on poets named Muḥammad, arranged alphabetically by their fathers' names, an opus posthumum, Paris 3335, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 336 (photograph).

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8. Abū Naṣr Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Bukhārī al-Nassāba wrote, during the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir billāh (575–622/1180–1225):

*Ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, MS in the library of al-Ḥasan Ṣadr al-Dīn, *Dharī'a* II, 337,<sup>1517</sup>.

9. Ḥusām al-Dīn Abī 'Abdallāh Ḥamīd (Ḥumayd) b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallī al-Hamdānī al-Shahīd, who was killed in 652/1254 in Yemen by a sharif of the Banū Ḥamza.

1. *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya fī dhikr a'immat al-Zaydiyya* Landberg—Brill 261 (see Suppl.); a continuation by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Raḥīf b. Fand al-Ṣa'dī, composed in 916/1510 with the title *Ma'āthir al-abrār etc.*, MS. Or. Qu. 2038 (Burch. Fischer 37), Garr. 1622; another continuation *al-La'ālī' al-muḍrā* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāh al-Sharafī, d. 1045/1645, see Suppl. II, 550.—3. *Maḥāsin al-azhār fī manāqib al-'itra al-aṭhār*, a commentary on a *qaṣida* in praise of 'Alī and his offspring, additionally Hamb. Or. Sem. 382.

9a. Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Mubārak b. Abī Bakr b. Shi'ār (?) al-Mawṣilī, d. 654/1256.

ḤKh II, 236,<sup>8220</sup>, *'Uqūd al-jumān fī farā'id shu'arā' hādha 'l-zamān (al-mudhayyal 'alā k. Mu'jam al-shu'arā' li-Muḥammad b. Imrān al-Marzubānī* Suppl. I, 191, vol. I (Hamza) As'ad 2323 (he refers in his preface to his *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā'*, Ritter).

10. Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Abī Uṣaybi'a al-Sa'dī al-Khazrajī, who was born in 590/1194 in Damascus, where his father was an ophthalmologist. He studied medicine in his hometown and then at the Nāṣiriyya hospital in Cairo. | He was particularly motivated by the famous

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398 physician and botanist Ibn al-Bayṭār | (p. 492). In 631/1233 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave him a position in a newly founded hospital in Cairo, but as soon as 632 he went to the Bīmārīstān al-Nūrī in Damascus and in 634 became the personal physician of the emir ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamur b. ‘Abdallāh in Safad. He died there in Jumādā I 668/January 1270.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 350, Leclerc II, 187/93. ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (additionally Patna II, 317,2469), in two recensions, one from the year 640/1242 and a later one with many additions, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg (Cairo) 1884, cf. idem, *ZDMG* 34, 471, *Travaux du VIe congr. intern. d. or. à Leyde II*, 218ff., *SBBA, phil.-hist. Cl.* 1884, p. 857ff.

11 (13). Shams al-Dīn Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. Khallikān al-Barmakī al-Irbilī al-Shāfi‘ī was born on Thursday<sup>1</sup> 11 Rabī‘ II 698/23 September 1211 in Arbela, the son of a professor at al-Madrasa al-Muẓaffariyya who traced his lineage back to the Barmakids. Having initially completed his studies in his homeland, in 626/1229 he went to Mosul and Aleppo, where he heard the lectures of—among others—the grammarian Abu ‘l-Baqā’ b. Ya‘īsh (p. 358) at the academy that had been founded by Ibn Shaddād (p. 386). | After the death of Ibn Shaddād he went to Damascus, and in the following years he lived alternately there and in Aleppo. In 636/1238 he went to Alexandria and Cairo, and shortly after replaced the chief *qāḍī* Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Sinjārī, marrying in 650/1252. After some years of literary activity, he received the profitable post of chief *qāḍī* of Syria, which had its main office 327 in Damascus. However, in 664/1266 the sultan appointed | independent chief 399 *qāḍīs* for the other three *madhhabs* as well, which had thus far come under his jurisdiction. Then, on 13 Shawwāl 669/26 May 1271, he lost his office altogether, although its influence had, by that time, been diminished by the others. Following a temporary professorship at al-Madrasa al-Fakhriyya in Cairo and having completed his historical work, he was reinstated in his office on 17 Muḥarram 676/11 June 1278. At the beginning of the year 679/1280, he fell under suspicion of favouring a revolt by the governor of Damascus and spent some weeks in jail, but was then restored to his office. However, in Muḥarram 680/May 1281 he was deposed once more. He died as a professor at al-Madrasa al-Amīniyya, on 16 Rajab 681/21 October 1282.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥ.* I, 320, Wüst., *Gesch.* 358, de Slane, *Biogr. Dict.*, Introd., Quatremère, *Mamlouks* I, 2, p. 1801, II, 21, *JA* s. IX, v. 3, p. 467. *Kitāb wafayāt*<sup>2</sup>

1 As stated by himself in no. 205; according to Wüst. is was a Tuesday.

2 Called thus because it only contains those persons whose year of death has been ascertained.

*al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, started in Cairo in 654/1256 and completed there on 12 Jumādā II 672/4 January 1274, after the work had been suspended by his move to Damascus. Excluded from his scheme were the contemporaries of the Prophet, as well as the first four caliphs and the *tābi'ūn*. In this period he wanted to modify and enlarge the work once more, but he seems to have given up on this idea when he picked up where he had left off. This is why the biographies from no. 817 (Wüst.) until the end are much more elaborate than the earlier ones. It is significant that his autograph (Br. Mus. 1505, Suppl. 607, cf. Cureton, *JRAS* VI, 1841, p. 225, Wüstenfeld, *GGA* 1841, 286) shows many additions. MSS in Gotha 1725/31 and Suppl. (with Berl. Ms. Or. Qu. 2080, Garr. 678/80, AS 3530/6, Patna II, 300,<sup>2387/8</sup>), | *Ibn Challikani Vitae illustrium virorum nunc primum ar.* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1835/43. *Vies des hommes illustres de l'Islamisme en Arabe par I. Kh.*, ed. M.G. de Slane, Paris 1838/42 (only up to no. 678), print. Bülāq 1275, 1299.<sup>3</sup> Cod. Amsterd. 106 contains 24 biographies that are missing in the other | MSS, 13 of which are 400 in J. Pijnappel, *Vitae ex lex biogr. Ibn Challicanis quae non extant nisi in cod. Amstelod.*, Amsterdam 1845.—Persian translation by: 1. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān, completed in 895/1490, Br. Mus. Pers. I, 334.—2. Kabīr b. Uways b. Muḥammad al-Laṭīfī, composed under Sultan Selim I (918–26/1512–19), Ouseley, no. 376, Kings Coll. 110, Cambr. Suppl. 1359, Bodl. Pers. 361.—Abstracts: 1. by his son Mūsā (who was born on 2 Šafar 651/13 April 1253 in Cairo, Wüst., *Gesch.* 376), completed in 752/1351, Ind. Off. 705.—2. *Mukhtaṣar al-anbā'* by 'Alī b. Ya'qūb al-Bārīzī, completed in 751/1350, Paris 2060.—3. on poets and *udabā'* by al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, d. 779/1377 (II, 36), Berl. 9860.—4. Others, Br. Mus. 353,<sup>3</sup>, Bodl. I, 299,<sup>4</sup>, II, 120, Munich 436, Pet. AM 204 (biographies of older Arab poets,<sup>4</sup> making use of the *Qalā'id al-'iqyān*, p. 414, among other works), cf. Strandmann, *De cod. msto vitas veterum poetarum Arabum sub nomine Ibn Challikani exhibente* (Helsinki, 1866), Calcutta p. 30, no. 250, Constantine, *JA* 1854, p. 435, no. 12.—5.–10. see Suppl. (7. Patna II, 299,<sup>2383</sup>).—Continuations: 1. *Tālī Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān* by al-Muwaffaq Faḍlallāh b. Abī Muḥammad Fakhr al-Šaqā'ī (Wüst., *Gesch.* 391), on those who died in Egypt and Syria in the years 660–715 and 717–25/1261–1325, Paris 2061.—2. *Fawāt al-wafayāt* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kutubī, d. 764/1362 (II, 40), 2 vols., Bülāq 1283, 1299.—3.–4. see Suppl.—II. Poems, which are rated as mediocre, Berl. 7781,<sup>3,4</sup>, Gotha 2196,<sup>5</sup>, *Fawāt* I, 55ff., Subkī, *Ṭab.* v, 15.

3 For a concordance of the printing cited here with the edition by Wüstenfeld, see p. 3.

4 Cited by Wüstenfeld as an independent work.

12. (14.) His brother, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khallikān, who died in 683/1284 as the *qāḍī* of Baalbek, probably wrote:

*Kitāb al-ta'riḫ al-akbar fī ṭabaqāt al-'ulamā' wa-akhbārihim* Bodl. I, 747, Wüst., *Gesch.* 359.

#### 4 Local history

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##### | A Baghdad

1. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, d. 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 463/5 September 1071 (see Suppl.).

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| Ibn Khall. 33, *Huff.* XIV, 14, Yāqūt, *GW* II, 567, Wüst., *Gesch.* 208, *Schaf.* 423. 1. *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, mostly a history of scholars, in 14 vols., ḤKh <sup>1</sup>11, 2179, <sup>2</sup>1, 288, individual volumes Berl. 9449, 9757, Br. Mus. 1281/3, 1625, Suppl. 655/6, Paris 2128/9, Algiers 1006/7, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 26, <sup>2</sup>v 109, print. C. 1349/1931 (a gap in the section on Muḥammad is appended in vol. v, 231/477), see G. Le Strange, A Greek embassy to Baghdad in 917, transl. from the Ar. Ms. of al-Khatib in the Br. Mus. Libr., *JRAS* 1897, 35/45, A. Riḍā in *RAAD* III, 129/36, 161/8, 260/7.—Abstracts: a. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Bukhārī, d. 461/1068 (ḤKh, loc. cit., Wüst., *Gesch.* 209), Berl. 9850, Buhār 243, Bank. XII, 799 = Patna II, 320,<sup>2479</sup>, from which a further abstract by Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā b. Jazla, d. 493/1100 (p. 485), Br. Mus. 1625.—b. Anon., autograph from the 14th cent., Paris 2132.—2. *Kitāb al-kifāya fī ma'rīfat uṣūl 'ilm al-riwāya* Berl. 1034 (2nd half), Leid. 1737, AS 1364, Qara Muṣṭafā p. 144, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 244, Bank, v, 498 = Patna I, 36,<sup>363</sup>, a detailed exposition of the requirements for a specialist of *ḥadīth*, a monument to his zeal in the cleansing of *ḥadīth*, Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 183.—3. *Kitāb taqyīd al-'ilm*, which proves that it is certainly admissible to write down *ḥadīths*, Berl. 1035, cf. Goldziher, op. cit., II, 198ff.—4. *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* Berl. 9920/1.—5. *al-Mu'tanaf fī takmilat al-Mu'talaf wal-mukhtalaf*, on the proper spelling and pronunciation of names, surnames, and sobriquets, with biographical information, meant as a supplement to the *Kitāb al-mu'talaf wal-m.* of Dāraquṭnī, d. 385/995 (p. 173), Berl. 10157.—6. *Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih fī 'l-rasm wa-ḥimāyat mā ashkala minhu 'an nawādir al-taṣḥīf wal-wahm* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 232, Dam. Z. 35, 95, 'Um. 26,<sup>390</sup>.—abstract by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Turkumānī, d. 750/1349 (II, 64), Leid. 134.—7. *Kitāb al-bukhalā'* Br. Mus. Suppl. 1132.—8.—22. see Suppl. (14. *Muntakhab min al-zuhd wal-raqā'iq*, in 10 volumes, MS from 500 AH, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 8.—15. read: *wa-ādāb al-sāmi'*).—23. *Kitāb al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* ḤKh 10131, Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 175ff.

2. Abū Saʿd (Saʿīd) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmī al-Samʿānī was born on 21 Shaʿbān 506/11 February 1113 into a family of scholars from Marw. He made lengthy journeys<sup>1</sup> to study *ḥadīth*, | during | which he also stayed in then-Christian Jerusalem and Damascus. He returned to Marw in 538/1143, where he taught at al-Madrassa al-Aḥmadiyya, dying on 10 Rabīʿ I 562/5 January 1167.

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Ibn Khall. 368, *Huff.* xvi, 12, Abulf. III, 605, Wüst. in *Lüddes Zeitschr. f. Geogr.* I, 43, no. 73, *Gesch.* 234, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 373. 1. *Dhayl taʾriḥ Baghdād*, a continuation of the history of Baghdad by al-Khaṭīb in 15 vols., ḤKh 2179. Abstract Leid. 1023 (see Suppl.).—2. *Kitāb al-ansāb*, which was begun in 550/1155 at the behest of ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Biṣṭāmī, whom he had met in Transoxania, and which explains *nisbas*. The information on Iranian and Transoxanian names offers particularly important data, with brief biographies of the most famous bearers of the names, in 8 vols., ḤKh 1, 1350, 2I, 179, complete Köpr. 1010, Br. Mus. 1286, Patna I, 304,2410, individual parts Br. Mus. 345, Lee 91, Pet. AM 196, AS 2976 (just individual leaves, remainder Ibn Khall.), 2980, Yeni II, 244, Bešir Āġā 445.—Abstract *al-Lubāb* in 3 vols., which almost completely superseded the original work, by ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr, d. 630/1232 (p. 345), Gotha 481 (*Alif-Khāʿ*), Lee 91 (*sīn-ʿayn*), Cairo 1v1, 21, 2v, 314, Garr. 293/4, print. C. 1358, cf. *Specimen al-Lobabi s. Genealogiarum Arabum, quas conscriptas ab Abū Saʿd Samʿanensi abbrev. emend. Ibn el-Athir*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1835. Abstract *Lubb al-lubāb fī taḥrīr al-ansāb* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505 (see Suppl., Patna II, 308,2421), ed. P.J. Veth, Leiden 1830/2.—3.—12. see Suppl.—13. His work on Tradition, *Afānīn (al-basātīn)*, ḤKh 1, 307,1001, 2I, 131, is cited in Yāqūt, *GW* III, 135,15.—14. *al-Muntakhab*, a *muʿjam* of his shaykhs, Topqapū Sarayi 2234 (photograph Berlin).

3. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Abi ʿl-Maʿālī Saʿīd b. Abī Ṭalīb Yaḥyā b. al-Dubaythī al-Wāsiṭī al-Shāfiʿī, whose ancestors had migrated from Ganja in Arrān to Dubaytha near Wāsiṭ, was born in Wāsiṭ on 26 Rajab 558/1 July 1163. A specialist of Tradition, he lived most of his life in Baghdad, where he died on 8 Rabīʿ II 637/8 October 1239.

Ibn Khall. 633, *Huff.* xviii, 14, Wüst., *Gesch.* 323. 1. *Dhayl taʾriḥ Baghdād*, a follow-up to al-Samʿānī (ḤKh 2179), a first redaction, Br. Mus. Add. 2524 (*ʿayn*),

1 Which were ungenerously called into question by the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Jawzī (p. 500), see Ibn al-Athīr XI, 134, Goldziher, *M.St.* II, 185.

- 403 a second redaction, | 10 years later, Paris 2133, Cambr. 169 (according to Muṣṭafā Jawād). Abstract by al-Dhahabī, d. 748/1374 (II, 46), Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 145, 2<sup>v</sup>, 335.—  
2. see Suppl.

## B Damascus

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Shujā' al-Raba'ī al-Mālikī, who died in 435/1043.
- 331 | *Kitāb al-i'lām fī faḍā'il al-Shām wa-Dimashq wa-dhikr mā fihimā min al-āthār wal-biqā' al-sharifa*, a historical topography of Damascus, ḤKh IV, 9126, on which a didactic letter by Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn, d. 952/1546 (II, 367), Berl. 173<sup>v</sup>, an abstract by Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fazārī, d. 729/1329 (II, 130), ḤKh 1<sup>i</sup>, 952, 2<sup>i</sup>, 127, Berl. 6074, Gotha 54<sup>i</sup>, Tüb. Wetzst. 26<sup>2</sup> (not in Weisw.).
2. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh Thiqat al-Dīn b. 'Asākir al-Shāfi'ī, born on 1 Rajab 499/9 March 1106, studied, from the year 520/1126, *ḥadīth* at the Nizāmiyya in Baghdad and the most important towns of Persia. After his return to Syria he became a professor at al-Madrasa al-Nūriyya in Damascus, where he died on 11 Rajab 571/26 January 1176.

- Ibn Khall. 414, *Ḥuff*. XIV, 16, Wüst., *Gesch.* 267, see *Orientalia* II, 161. 1. *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, biographies of famous Damascenes and of scholars who had resided there for some time, following the example of the *Ta'riḫ Baghdād*, which he worked on from early adolescence, in 80 volumes, ḤKh II, 2101, 2218, 2<sup>i</sup>, 294, complete (?) in 7 volumes in Istanbul (see Suppl.), individual parts Berl. 9781, Gotha 1775 (where other MSS are listed, in addition 2 volumes that formerly belonged to Landberg, Br. Mus. Suppl. 658, see Suppl. and Paris 2087, after M. Jawad, *REI* 1938, 285, Patna II, 320, 2480/1).—Abstracts by: a. Abū Shāma, d. 665/1266 (p. 387), a part Berl. 9782, Paris 2137 (M. Jawad, *REI* 1938, 285).—b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukarram al-Kātib al-Anṣārī, d. 711/1311 (II, 21), part II, Gotha 1776 (autograph), Köpr. 1148/51.—c. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, d. 851/1447 (II, 51), Berl. 9783.—d. Anon., Gotha 1777 (beginning), see *ZDPV* IV, 83, Goldziher, *WZKM* IX, 359/71.—e.,—f. see Suppl.—g. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Khaṭīb, Garr. 584.—2. *Tabyīn kadhib | al-muftarīfī-mā nusiba ilā Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī* (see p. 307), Leipz. 113, Leid. 1097, Bodl. 1, 181, Esc. 21801, Patna II, 295, 2368: Abstract with the addition of the *ṭabaqāt* under the title *Ashraf al-mafākhir al-'aliyya fī manāqib al-a'imma al-ash'ariyya* by 'Abdallāh b. As'ad al-Yamanī, Leid. 1098, cf. Spitta, *Zur Gesch. des A.'l-Ḥ. al-A.*, p. 10ff.—3. *Kitāb al-ishrāf 'alā ma'rifat al-aṭraf*, indices to the

4 works on *ḥadīth* (excluding Bukhārī and Muslim), AS 455/6, Cairo 1<sub>I</sub>, 268, 2<sub>I</sub>, 89.—4. *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn al-buldāniyya*, 40 traditions, HKh 1, 397, 2<sub>I</sub>, 54/5, maybe Berl. 1466.—5. *Tabayīn al-īmīnān bil-amr bil-ikhtitān* Cairo 1<sub>I</sub>, 278, 2<sub>I</sub>, 94.—6.—8. see Suppl.

3. An anonymous author wrote a chronicle of Syria covering the years 490–593/1097–1197.

*Bustān al-jāmiʿ*, une chronique syriaque du VI<sup>e</sup>/VII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bodl. Hunt. 142, Istanbul, Sarāi 2959) publié par Cl. Cahen, *Bull. d'Études or. de l'Institut franç. de Damas*, VII/VIII, 1937/8, p. 113/58.

## C Jerusalem

1. Al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir, son of the aforementioned person, d. 600/1203 (see Suppl.).

*Al-Jāmiʿ al-mustaḥṣā fī faḍāʾil al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, revised by an anonymous editor with excerpts from the *Faḍāʾil al-Quds wal-Shām* by Abu ʿl-Maʿālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḥḍī (see Suppl. 1, 567, 1<sup>a</sup>, 876, 2<sub>a</sub>), and which forms the basis of the *Bāʿith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-maḥrūs* by Ibn al-Firkāh 11, 130.

| 2. Abū Saʿd ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan Niẓām al-Dīn b. ʿAsākir was born in 600/1203 in Damascus and died in 645/1247.

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Wüst., *Gesch.* 330. *Faḍāʾil al-maḥḍī*, HKh 9149, has not been preserved.

## D Aleppo

Kamāl al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Qāsim ʿUmar b. Aḥmad Hibatallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Jarāda b. al-ʿAdīm al-ʿUqaylī al-Ḥalabī was born in Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 588/Jan. 1193 in Aleppo, where his ancestors had held the office of | the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* for five generations. He studied in his hometown and then in Baghdad, Damascus, Jerusalem, the Hijaz, and Iraq. After his return to Aleppo he first became a secretary, then a *qāḍī*, and served several petty kings as vizier. When the Tatars captured and destroyed Aleppo on 8 Šafar 658/26 January 1260 he fled with al-Malik al-Nāšir to Egypt. Appointed chief *qāḍī* of Syria by Hulāgū, he returned there for a brief spell but died on 26 Jumādā I 660/21 April 1262 in Cairo.

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*Fawāt* II, 101, Abu'l-F. IV, 634, Ibn Qutlūbughā, *Tab. al-Ḥan.* 143, *Orient.* II, 248, Wüst., *Gesch.* 345.1. *Kitāb bughyat al-talab fī ta'riḫ Ḥalab*, an alphabetically ordered history of learned men in 10 volumes, dispersed as a result of the Mongol onslaught, which is why from an early date there was hardly a complete copy to be found, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 1877, 2205, <sup>2</sup>I, 249, 291, individual parts Paris 2138, Br. Mus. 1290, in Istanbul (see Cahen, *REI* 1936, no. IV), Sarāi A. III, 2925, 8 vols., (vol. III, Paris 2138), Faiz. 1404, see Hamdani, *JRAS* 1938, 562.—Continuations: a. *Nuzhat al-nawāzīr* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Shihna, d. 890/1485 (II, 43), exordium Leid. 951, anon. abstract by one of his descendants with additions up to the year 936, MSS see Suppl.—b. using a., *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī (takmilat) Ta'riḫ Ḥalab* by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya al-Jibrīnī, who died in 843/1439 (II, 34), see Suppl.—2. *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī ta'riḫ Ḥalab*, an alphabetically ordered abstract of the previous work up to the year 641/1243, which he could not turn into a clean copy before he died, Paris 1666, Pet. AM 160. *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, ed. G.W. Freytag, Paris 1819, *Regnum Saahd-Aldaulae in oppido Halebo*, ed. G.W. Freytag, Bonn 1820, E. Blochet, L'histoire d'Alep de Kamaladdin, vers. franç. d'après le texte ar., *Revue de l'or. lat.* 1896, p. 509/65, 1897, p. 146/235, 1898, p. 37/107.—3. *Kitāb al-darārī fī dhikr al-dharārī*, which was presented to al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī on the birth of his son al-Malik al-'Azīz in the year 610/1213, NO 3790, printed as no. 2 in *Majmū'a*, Istanbul 1298.—4. *al-Wasila (wuṣla) ila 'l-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-tayyibāt wal-ṭīb*, on the preparation of delicacies and perfumes, ḤKh VI, 14273 (without author), Berl. 5464 (see Suppl.), Patna, I, 259, 2193.—5. 54 verses in praise of 'Ā'isha, Berl. 7760, 2.—6. Elegy | on the fall of Aleppo, fragment in Abu'l-F., loc. cit.—7. *Tadhkirat b. al-'Adīm*, an anthology, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 58, IV, b, 42.—8. *Bulūgh al-āmāl mim mā ḥawa 'l-kamāl*, an alphabetically ordered collection of *qasīdas* and *muwashshahāt*, *Mukhtaṣar*, Alex. Adab 123.—9. *al-Inṣāf wal-taḥarri fī daf' al-zulm wal-tajarrī 'an Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, as *Daf' al-zulm wal-t.* in ḤKh <sup>1</sup>III, 231, 5098, <sup>2</sup>I, 757, as *Daf' al-tajarrī* in Ṭāsköprizāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* Ind. I, 192, MSS Aḥmad Taymūr and 'Īsā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf, see *RAAD* II, 236/44.

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| E Dunaysir

The physician Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Abi 'l-'Abbās al-Khiḍr b. Ilälāmiš b. Ildüzmiš al-Turkī wrote, around 610/1233:

*Kitāb ḥilyat al-sariyyīn min khawāṣṣ al-Dunaysariyyīn*, on scholars in various fields who lived or resided temporarily in Dunaysir, with an abstract, the *Muntakhab*, by the author himself, Berl. 9851.



## F South Arabia

1. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī from Ṣan'ā' was alive in 460/1068.

*Ta'riḫ al-Rāzī*, part III, a description of Ṣan'ā' and its surroundings, with information on legends and traditions, together with biographical notes on the companions of the Prophet and other important people who resided there, Paris 1643, 5824, Br. Mus. Suppl. 583.

2. Abū Muḥammad 'Umāra b. 'Alī b. Zaydān Najm al-Dīn al-Yamanī al-Ḥakamī was born around 515/1121 in Murṭān in the Wādī Wasā' region of the Tihāma in Yemen. He studied in Zabīd from 531/1137 onwards and went on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 549/1154. The emir of the city sent him as an emissary to Cairo, where he gained the favour of al-Fā'iz and his vizier. In Shawwāl 550/December 1155 he returned to Mecca and in Ṣafar 551/March 1156 to Zabīd. When he again went | as a pilgrim to Mecca that same year he was once more entrusted with a mission to Cairo. He arrived there in Sha'bān 552/September 1157 and took up permanent residence. Even though he remained a Sunnī, he nevertheless recognized the Fāṭimids' claim to the infallible Imamate. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conquered the country he initially tried to win his favour through laudatory poems while remaining true to the Fāṭimids. However, because of some poems in their praise, or, according to others, because he was implicated in a conspiracy to raise the son of the last of the Fāṭimids to the throne with the aid of the Franks, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had him executed by strangulation on 2 Ramaḍān 569/6 April 1175.

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| Ibn Khall. 462, Wüst., *Gesch.* 263. H. Derenbourg, 'Oumāra du Yemen, sa vie et son œuvre (XII<sup>e</sup> s.), vol. 1 *Autobiographie et récits sur les vizirs d'Égypte et choix de poésies, Texte ar. Publ. de École d. lang. or. viv. s. IV, v. X*, Paris 1898. 1. *Ta'riḫ al-Yaman*, dedicated to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (p. 385, n. 1). *Yaman its early mediaeval history by Najm al-din Omarah al-Hakami, etc., the orig. texts with translation and notes* by H. Cassels Kay, London 1892; cf. W. Robertson Smith, *JRAS* 1893, p. 181/207, Kay, *ibid.*, 218/36.—2. *Kitāb al-nukat al-'aṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā' al-miṣriyya*, an autobiography with an account of his poetic relations with the viziers al-Ṣalāḥ Ṭalā'ī b. Ruzzik, Shāwar, al-Kāmil, and the son of the latter, with poems and poetic letters, Gotha 2256, Paris 2147,<sup>11</sup> Bodl. 1, 835, ed. Derenbourg, see above.—3. *Dīwān* Copenhagen 266, Pet. AM 298, Cairo <sup>2</sup>111, 140, *Mukhtārāt* *ibid.* 341.—4. *Qaṣīda* on the Nile, Egypt, and the downfall of the Fāṭimids, Berl. 7696,<sup>1</sup>—5. Poems on the pyramids, *Fundgr. d. Or.* IV, 238.—6. *Qaṣīda* on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, see al-Qalqashandī, *Geogr. und Verwaltung v. Ägypten*, transl. by Wüst., p. 222, Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* I, 495.

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## G Jurjān

Abu 'l-Qāsim Ḥamza b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Qurashī al-Sahmī al-Jurjānī, a well-travelled *ḥadīth* specialist who died in 427/1036.

- 408 | *Ḥuff*. XIII, 60, Wüst., *Gesch.* 186. 1. *Ta'riḫ Jurjān* ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 219, <sup>2</sup>I, 290 (where it is incorrectly stated that he died in 670) = *Notitiae doctorum virorum Gurganae*, Bodl. I, 746.—2. *Ta'riḫ Astarābādh*, ḤKh II, 2135, <sup>2</sup>I, 281 (with the incorrect year 670).—3. *Arba'īn fī faḍā'il al-'Abbās*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>I, 397, 422, VI, 13040, <sup>2</sup>I, 55, 57 (lacking date).

## H Egypt

1. Al-Amīr al-Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Qāsim 'Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Musabbihī was born on 10 Rajab 366/4 March 977 in Fustāṭ. In 398/1007 he entered the service of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim as a secretary and gained his total trust. Having governed the districts of al-Qays and al-Bahnasā' in Upper Egypt for a time he became head of the pay office, before dying in Rabī' II 420/April 1029.

Ibn Khall. 625, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 254, Wüst., *Gesch.* 81. *Kitāb akhbār Miṣr wa-faḍā'ilihā wa-'ajā'ibihā wa-tarā'ifihā wa-gharā'ibihā wa-mā bihā min al-biqā' wal-āthār wa-siyar man ḥallahā wa-ḥalla ghayrahā min al-wulāt wal-umarā' wal-a'imma al-khulafā' ābā' amīr al-mu'minīn*, vol. 40 (sic), on the years 514–5/1023–4, Esc. <sup>2</sup>543,2. Continuation by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Muyassar, see Suppl. 574.

- 335 | 2. Abu 'l-Makārim As'ad b. al-Khaṭīr b. Abi 'l-Maliḥ b. Mammātī, d. 606/1209, see Suppl.

Ibn Khall. 88, Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* II, 160,<sup>if</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 325, Wüst., *Gesch.* 295. 1. *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, administrative measures regarding the *dīwāns* of Egypt at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the sultan al-'Azīz (see Suppl.), Gotha 47, 1892, Br. Mus. Suppl. 553, AS 3360, Esad 2352, cf. Hammer, *SBWA* xv, 5ff., Wüst., *Calcaschandi*, 35, 148, *Heerwesen der Mus.* 1.—2. *Kitāb al-fāshūsh fī aḥkām Qaraqūsh*, a satirical account of the poor administration of Qāsim, a minister of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn Khall. 516), ḤKh 8655, Paris 3552, Qawala II, 236 (*Risāla fī-mā warada fī Q.*), wrongly attributed to al-Suyūṭī, cf. de Sacy, *Abd-Allatif* p. 206.—Abstract Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 95, <sup>2</sup>v, 280, 328. P. Casanova, *Qarakouch, sa légende et son histoire*, Communication faite à l'Institut Égyptien, Cairo 1892,

idem, Karakouch, *Mém. publ. par les membres de la | Mission archéologique franç. au Caire*, v. VII, Paris 1893, G. Jacob, *Ramaḍān, Mitt. der Geogr. Ges. zu Greifswald*, special issue, 25.—3.—4. see Suppl.—5. *A'lām al-naṣr*, see Kračkovsky, CR Ac. Leningrad 1928, 1/6. 409

3. 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī al-Ṣafadī Fakhr al-Dīn wrote, during the reign of Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637–48/1240–9):

1. *Kitāb luma' al-qawānīn al-muḍr'a fī dawānīn al-diyār al-miṣriyya*, on the administration of Egypt, using his many years of experience as the basis, Gotha 1891 (with the wrong date), Cairo <sup>1</sup>v1, 22, <sup>2</sup>v, 319.—2.—3. see Suppl.

4. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīm b. Yaḥyā al-Jazzār al-Anṣārī, d. 669/1270, see Suppl.

*Orient*. II, 267, Wüst., *Gesch.* 357. 1. *al-'Uqūd al-durriyya fī 'l-umarā' al-miṣriyya*, a chronicle in verse of the Egyptian sovereigns up to al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars, d. 676/1277, or al-Malik al-Sa'īd, deposed in 678/1279, with a continuation up to the reign of al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, d. 857/1453, Berl. 9814,2, 9824,1, ii, Leid. 969, Esc. <sup>2</sup>470,10 anon. until 872/1467, Gotha, 1667/8, Pet. 139,2, by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Paris 1608.—2.—3. see Suppl. (2. AS 4296,2).

5. Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf Shāh al-Miṣrī wrote, before 606/1209, which is the date on MS Pet. AM 204 (Dorn):

| *Kitāb jawāhir al-buḥūr wa-waqā'i' al-umūr wa-'ajā'ib al-duhūr wa-akhbār al-diyār al-Miṣriyya*, a history of Egypt from its earliest, legendary times until 606, often used in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 4272, <sup>2</sup>I, 613 (where 599 is given as the year of death). An abstract with a simple list of the names of the sultans up to Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī in 923/1517, which is further continued in Gotha 1644 (where other MSS are listed, with Br. Mus. Suppl. 687, Bursa Ḥü. Čelebi Heyet 18). From this: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die älteste ägyptische Geschichte nach den Zauber- und Wundererzählungen der Araber, Orient u. Occident* 1861, I, 326ff., Chwolson, *ZDMG* VI, 408, Wüst., *Gesch.* 373a. 336

I The Maghreb

'Abdallāh Gannūn al-Ḥasanī, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fī 'l-adab al-'Arabī*, 2 vols., Tetouan 1357.

- 410 | 1. Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Warjalānī was born in Warjalān in the Algerian Sahara, studied in Wād Rir' under the famous Ibādī shaykh Abū Rabī'a Sulaymān b. Ikhlaf al-Mazatī, and died in 471/1078.

*Kitāb al-sīra wa-akhbār al-a'imma*, a history of the Ibādī imams of the Mzab: *Chronique d'Abou Zakarya*, ed. Masqueray, Paris-Algiers 1878, cf. *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1885, p. 36/8, 242, no. 2.

2. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. Ikhlaf al-Darjīnī wrote, soon after 626/1229:

*Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh*, biographies of the companions of the Prophet, the *ṭabī'ūn*, the Rustamid imams, and the major teachers of the Ibādīs up to the seventh century AH. See *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1885, 38/43, Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*.

3. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Maghribī Nūr al-Dīn was born on 22 Ramaḍān 610/5 February 1214 in the castle of Yaḥṣub (Alcala la Real) near Granada, and studied in Seville. Having left on the pilgrimage with his father in 638/1240, the latter passed away six months after their arrival in Alexandria on 8 Shawwāl 640/2 March 1243. Ibn Sa'īd remained in Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ until 648/1250. Then he went to Baghdad, accompanied Ibn al-'Adīm (p. 404) to Aleppo, and travelled by way of Damascus, Baghdad, and Basra to Arrajān. After finally visiting Mecca as well he returned to the Maghreb, and in the year 652/1254 entered the service of the emir Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mustansīr in Tunis. In 666/1267 he travelled to the Orient again. Having learned of Hūlāgū's feats in Alexandria, | he went to see him in Armenia. After staying as his guest for a period of time he returned to north Africa and died in Tunis in 685/1286,<sup>1</sup> or as early as 673/1274 in Damascus.<sup>2</sup>

- 411 | *Fawāt* II, 112, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 320, Maqq. I, 534/7, 634/707, Wüst., *Gesch.* 353. 1. *Falak al-arab al-muḥīṭ bi-ḥulā lisān al-'arab al-muḥṭawī 'alā kitābay al-Mushriq fī ḥula 'l-mashriq wal-Mughrib fī ḥulā (maḥāsin ahl) al-maghrib* (see Suppl.), of which only the second part, *al-Mughrib*, has been preserved, HKh v, 12079. Fragmente aus dem *Mughrib* des b. S. ed. by K. Vollers in *Semit. Stud.*, ed. by C. Bezold, part I, Weimar 1895 (for an account of the MSS and of the life of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn, see de Goeje, *ZDMG* 49, 706ff.).—

1 According to al-Suyūṭī and Maqq.

2 According to Ibn Taghribirdī and HKh.

2. *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh jāhiliyyat al-ʿarab*, autograph Tüb. 1, see Suppl.—  
 3. *Kitāb baṣṭ al-arḍ fī ṭūlihā wal-ʿarḍ*, an abstract based on his *Kitāb al-juḡhrāfiyya* or *Juḡhrāfiyya fī ʿl-aqālīm al-sabʿa*, based on Ptolemy, often used by Abu ʿl-Fidāʾ, whose personal copy is preserved in Paris 2234,<sup>1</sup> also Br. Mus. Suppl. 696, Ğārullāh 1581,<sup>1</sup> an abstract with a determination of the degrees by Ibn Fāṭima, Bodl. I, 1015, II, 266,<sup>6</sup> Pet. AM 233.—4. *Kitāb al-badʿ*, a general geographical work (Griffini, *Cent. Amari* I, 416, n. 3), Bodl. I, 984, II, 263, excerpts in Amari, *Bibl. Ar. Sic.* 136ff., *Boll. ital. degli studi or.*, n.s. Sept. 1881, 388/92.—5. *Unwān al-murqīṣāt wal-muṭribāt*, an anthology of Western poets in 2 parts (1. Spain: a. western Spain, b. eastern Spain, c. central Spain, d. the Balearic islands, with an appendix on poets of unknown origin, II. al-Maghrib: a. Morocco, b. Algeria, c. Tunisia, d. Sicily) as an introduction to the larger work *Jāmiʿ al-murqīṣāt wal-muṭribāt*, which contains samples of around 150 contemporary poets classified on the basis of five aesthetical considerations: 1. *murqīṣ*, delightful, 2. *muṭrib*, delectable, 3. *maqbul*, pleasing, 4. *masmūʿ*, bearable, 5. *matruk*, boring, Berl. 7175, Copenhagen 212, print. C. 1286.—6. *Kitāb al-qidh al-muʿallā fī ʿl-taʾrīkh al-muḥallā*, on the poets of Spain of the first half of the seventh century, following the example of the *Qalāʾid* of Ibn Khāqān, in a very artificial style, abstract by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jalīl, dedicated to Prince Abū Zakariyyā, the son of the Ḥafṣid caliph al-Mustanṣir billāh (I, 647–75/1249–77), Paris 3340, Patna I, 204,<sup>1818</sup>, probably = *al-Muḥallā bil-ashʿar*, Maqr. II, 181,<sup>37</sup> Maqq. I, 653 in Vollers, op. cit., no. v, who does not mention the Paris MS.—8.–9. see Suppl.

4. Ibn al-ʿIdhārī<sup>3</sup> al-Marrākushī wrote, towards the end of the seventh century:

| *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, intitulée al-Bayano l-moghrib par Ibn al-Adhari (de Maroc) publ. (Leid. 995), par R.P.A. Dozy, Leiden 1848/51, Wüst., Gesch. 373.* 412

5. Two anonymous authors offer material for the history of the Almohads in the years 1170–1263:

*L'Anónimo de Copenhague y Anónimo de Madrid*, ed. Huici 1917.

J Spain

| 1. Abu ʿl-Walīd ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr al-Azdī b. al-Faraḍī, who was born on 21 Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 351/22 December 962 in Cordova. He made the pilgrimage in 382/992 and on the way studied in Egypt and Kairouan. In 338

3 Thus according to *Lubb* 177, cf. Gildemeister, *Cat. Bonn* 13.

400/1009 he became a *qādī* in Valencia. When the Berbers captured Cordova in 403/1012 he was killed during the plundering of the city, on 7 Shawwāl/22 April.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 165. *Ta'riḫh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. Fr. Codera, *Bibl. Ar.-Hisp.* vols. 7 and 8, Madrid 1891/2.

2. Abū Marwān Ḥayyān b. Khalaf b. Ḥasan b. Ḥayyān was born in Cordova in 377/987 and was one of the foremost historians of Spain. He died on 28 Rabī' I 469/31 October 1076 (or, according to others, on 28 Rabī' I 460/6 February 1068).<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Khall. 199, al-Ḍabbī, p. 260, no. 679, Ibn Bashkuwāl 342, Maqq. II, 119, 122, Wüst., *Gesch.* 212, Pons Boigues, no. 114. 1. *Kitāb al-matīn* (or *al-mubīn*, according to ḤKh 2166, 10460, 11345), a history of Spain in 60 volumes, which is said to have formerly been kept in the great mosque of Tunis (*ZDMG* IX, 626), but is now lost.—2. *Kitāb al-muqtabis fī ta'riḫh al-Andalus* in 10 volumes (about which ḤKh 12730 only has confused information, see Wüst.), of which only remain, of vol. 3, the history of the seventh Marwānid caliph 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad (275–308/881–912) in Bodl. II, 137 and the history of al-Ḥakam II (359–66/961–976), in fragments for the years 360/2, in Constantine in the library of the estate of Sīdī Ḥammūda (see F. Codera, *Bol. R. Ac. Hist.* v. XIII, 53ff.). The chronicle of the years in power, which mostly follows 'Isā al-Rāzī (p. 156), | is preceded by information on his officials, the rebels that he fought, and the poets who sang his praise, with brief facts about the circumstances of their lives. *Ibn Ḥ. al-M. Tome troisième, chronique du règne du calife Umayyade Abdallah à Cordoue, texte ar. publié pour la première fois d'après le ms. de la Bodl. avec une introduction par le P. Melchior M. Antuña O.S.S. (Textes rel. à l'histoire de l'occident musulman, vol. III), Paris 1937, see Brockelmann, OLZ 1941, 168/71.—3.–5. see Suppl.*

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3. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Futūḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥumaydī al-Mayurqī, whose father hailed from Ruṣāfa, a suburb of Cordova, but who had settled in Mallorca, was born there in 420/1029. After studying under the Zāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (p. 400) he made the pilgrimage in 448/1056, after which he settled in Baghdad, where he died on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 488/19 December 1095.

Ibn Khall. 588, *Ḥuff.* xv, 9, Abu 'l-F. III, 306, Ibn Bashk. no. 1114, al-Ḍabbī, p. 113, no. 257, Wüst., *Gesch.* 219, Goldziher, *Zāhiriten*, 172. 1. *Kitāb jadhwat al-muqtabis*

1 Antuña, *al-Muqtabis* VIII: Oct. 1070, Palencia, 136: 1070.

*fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus wa-asmā' ruwāt al-ḥadīth wa-ahl al-fiqh wal-adab wa-dhawi 'l-nabāha wal-shi'r*, drawn up chronologically at the request of his acquaintances in Baghdad and then ordered alphabetically following the advice of his friend Ibn Mākūlā (p. 435), ḤKh <sup>1</sup>11, 4000, <sup>2</sup>11, 783; according to ḤKh 12730 an abstract of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabis*.—2.—5. see Suppl. (3. Patna 1, 47,474, commentary *al-Ifṣāḥ*, also Qawala 1, 423).

3a. The last Zīrid of Granada, 'Abdallāh (460–83/1073–90), wrote an account of his deeds as the ending of a lost history of his dynasty:

Lévi Provençal, *Les Mémoires de 'Abd Allah dernier Ziride de Grenade, texte ar. et trad. Andalus* III, 2 (1935), 233/344, IV (1936), 29/145.

| 4. Abū Naṣr al-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Khāqān al-Qaysī, from 339  
 Ṣakhrat al-Walad, a village in the district of Qal'at Yaḥṣub near Granada, lived  
 the life of a literary vagrant and a freeloader until | he found a job as a secretary 414  
 with Tāshfīn b. 'Alī, the ruler of Granada. He then went to Morocco where he  
 was strangled in a tavern on 22 Muḥarram 529/13 November 1134 (or, accord-  
 ing to others, in 535/1140), possibly at the instigation of 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn,  
 whose enmity he had incurred by an extravagant poem in praise of his brother  
 Ibrāhīm.

Ibn Khall. 498, Lisān al-Dīn, *al-Iḥāṭa* in Dozy, *Abbad.* 1, 4ff., Wüst., *Gesch.*  
 238. 1. *Qalā'id al-'iqyān wa (fī) maḥāsīn al-a'yān*, dedicated to the aforemen-  
 tioned prince Ibrāhīm, in 4 parts: a. sovereigns, b. viziers, c. *qāḍīs* and scholars,  
 d. aesthetes and poets. It was particularly appreciated because of its stylistic  
 form, as it was in rhymed prose, Gotha 2130/2 (where other MSS are listed), Br.  
 Mus. 366, 530,2, Suppl. 604, Paris 3318/20, Algiers 1727/8, NO 4144, Qawala 11,  
 209, Patna 11, 321,2484, ed. S. al-Ḥarā'irī in the magazine *al-Birjīs*, offprint, Paris  
 1277, Beirut 1283.—2. *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus wa-masraḥ al-ta'annus fī mulah ahl al-*  
*Andalus* in a smaller edition, Leipz. 546, Pet. AM 776, a medium one, Br. Mus.  
 367, and a large edition, which is probably identical with no. 1 and developed  
 gradually out of the smaller, cf. Dozy, *Script. ar. loci de Abbadidis* 1, 10; print.  
 Istanbul, Jawā'ib 1302.—3. A biography of his teacher 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad  
 b. al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, d. 521/1127 (see p. 427), with a selection from his poems,  
 Esc. <sup>2</sup>488,1. 4. *Maqāma* on the same, *ibid.* 538,7.

5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Bassām al-Shantarīnī, from Santarém, was born in  
 477/1084 in Lisbon and in 494/1101 went to Cordova. He secured a living with  
 his literary work since many dilettantes purchased the honour of being men-  
 tioned by him for a fee. He is said to have died in 542/1147.

- Wüst., *Gesch.* 244a. *Kitāb al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra*, a Spanish history and literary history of the fifth century, Paris 3321/3, Algiers 1615, 2, 1616, part I, Mohl 1755, part II Bodl. I, 749, II, 594, part III Gotha 2136, Copenhagen 162, vols. I–III, see Lévi Provençal, *Hespéris* XVII (1934), p. 19ff., vol. IV in Morocco, see Allouche, *ibid.* XXV, 92, cf. de Slane, *JA* s. 5, v. 17, p. 261ff., 415 Dozy, *Recherches* 211, 7ff., | Wright, *JRAS* XVI, 353. Abstract *Laṭā'if al-dhakhīra wa-ẓarā'if* (Gómez mistakenly *ṭarā'iq*) *al-Jazīra* by As'ad b. Mammātī (p. 408), Welieddīn 2636 (*MFO* V, 527), photograph in possession of A. Zeki P.S., see S.E.G. Gómez, *al-Andalus* II, 329/36, Leningrad, see Kračkovsky, *ibid.* III, 89/96.
- 340 | 6. (7.) Abū Marwān Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh b. Badrūn al-Shilbī al-Ḥaḍramī was from Silves. He probably lived in Seville, wrote during the reign of Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Muwaḥḥidī (558–80/1163–84), and died in 608/1211.

*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat b. 'Abdūn* (p. 320) *Commentaire historique sur le poème d'Ibn A. publié par R. Dozy*, Leiden 1846, Wüst., *Gesch.* 271.

7. (8.) Abu 'l-Qāsim Khalaf 'Abd al-Malik b. Mas'ūd b. Bashkuwāl al-Qurṭubī, born on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 494/30 September 1101, was for a time the deputy *qāḍī* of Seville. He died in Cordova on 8 Ramaḍān 578/5 January 1183.

Ibn Khall. 204, *Huff.* XVII, 1, Wüst., *Gesch.* 270. 1. *Kitāb al-ṣila fī akhbār a'immat al-Andalus*, a continuation of the history of learned men by Ibn al-Faraḍī (no. 1), completed on 3 Jumādā I 534/27 December 1139, ed. F. Codera in *Bibl. Ar.-Hisp.* I, II, Madrid 1883.—Continuations: a. *Ṣilat al-ṣila* by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Zubayr al-Gharnāṭī, d. 708/1308, Pons Boigues, no. 268 (Suppl. I, 733.10a), ed. E. Lévi Provençal, Paris 1938.—b. *Kitāb al-dhayl wal-takmila li-kitābay al-Ṣila wal-Mawṣūl* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Awsī al-Anṣārī al-Marrākushī, a contemporary of al-'Abdarī (p. 482) who died after 688/1289 (Pons Boigues, 414), Paris 2156 (see Suppl.).—2. *Kitāb al-ghawāmiḍ wal-mubhamāt min al-asmā'*, on persons inadequately identified in *ḥadīth*, Berl. 1673; abstract by the author himself entitled *Ghawāmiḍ al-asmā' al-mubhama al-wāq'ā fī mutūn al-aḥādīth al-musnada*, *ibid.* 1674.—3.–5. see Suppl. (4. Garr. 1893).

8. (9.) Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. 'Amīra al-Ḍabbī al-Qurṭubī was born in Vélez, lived in Murcia and Cordoba, and died in 599/1202 (?).



| Maqq. 714, Wüst., *Gesch.* 282. *Kitāb bughyat al-multamis fī taʾrīkh rijāl ahl al-Andalus*, a history of the conquest of Spain and of the Umayyad caliphs and their successors up to 592/1196, including the biographies of famous men and women, ed. Fr. Codera and J. Ribera, *Bibl. Ar.-Hisp.* 111, Madrid 1885. 416

9. (10.) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. al-Abbār al-Quḍāʿī was born in 595/1199 in Valencia. He became the secretary of the local governor Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ and his son Abū Zayd and, when the latter converted to Christianity for the king of Aragon, he joined Zayyān b. Mardānīsh. When the Christian prince of Barcelona laid siege to Valencia he left on a mission to Africa to beg for help. A *qaṣīda* that he recited on that occasion soon became legendary (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. d. Berbères* 1, 392, Maqq. 11, 755/9). The armada that he had summoned was, however, unable to prevent the capture of his hometown in 636/1238. He next went to Bijāya and then to Tunis, where he was employed in the *dīwān*. Under al-Mustanṣir he was promoted to the rank of vizier, | but was then suspected of having participated in a conspiracy, and consequently was murdered in his own house on the order of the ruler on 15 Muḥarram 658/2 January 1260. 341

Maqq. 1, 827, Wüst., *Gesch.* 344, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* 1, 99. 1. *Kitāb al-ḥulla al-siyarāʿ*, biographies of princes and notables who were active as poets in North Africa and Spain, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1654<sub>1</sub>, cf. M.J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der westl. Araber* p. 161, Dozy, *Notices sur quelques mss. arabes*, Leiden 1847/51, p. 29 ff.—2. *Tuḥfat al-qādim*, an imitation of the *Zād al-musāfir* of Abū Baḥr Ṣafwān b. Idrīs (p. 322), ḤKh <sup>1</sup>11, 2642, 111, 6769, <sup>2</sup>1, 372, *Muntakhab* Esc. <sup>2</sup>356<sub>2</sub>.—3. *Kitāb takmilat al-ṣila*, a continuation of the history of learned men by Ibn Bashkuwāl (no. 8), ed. Fr. Codera, *Bibl. Ar.-Hisp.* v. VI, Madrid 1887/9.—4. *Itāb al-kuttāb*, on secretaries who had fallen into disgrace and were then pardoned, which he used to regain the favour of the prince of Tunis after he had incurred the latter's wrath (Maqq. 11, 755<sub>17</sub>), Esc. <sup>2</sup>1731.—5.–6. see Suppl.

| 11. Abu 'l-Fidā' Ismāʿīl b. Abī Saʿīd b. Muḥammad ʿImād al-Dīn b. al-Athīr was born in 652/1254 in Cairo and succeeded to his father's position at the chancellery when the latter passed away on 19 Shawwāl 691/4 October 1292. He was supposed to accompany Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf to Damascus in Jumādā 1 692/April 1292, but he refused to issue a death sentence in Karak, whereupon he returned to Cairo to join the governor Baydarā, who had stayed behind. When the latter had the sultan murdered in Muḥarram 693/December 1293 417

but subsequently failed to assert himself in power, it seems that Ibn al-Athīr lost his position. In 699/1299 he took part in the campaign against the Tatar Qāzān, but after the defeat of the Egyptian army on 28 Rabi' 1/29 December, there is no further trace of him.

*Orient.* II, 299, Wüst., *Gesch.* 372. 1. *Kitāb 'ibrat uli 'l-abṣār fī mulūk al-amṣār*, a commentary on a poem by Ibn 'Abdūn (p. 320), taken almost literally from Ibn Badrūn (no. 6), with a continuation in 55 verses up to the year 697/1297, with a commentary, HKh 8037, 9444, Paris 3134, Br. Mus. 2, 74, Gayangos, *Praef.* XXII.—2. *Sharḥ kitāb 'Umdat al-aḥkām min kalām sayyid al-anām* of al-Jammā'ī, cf. S. 437.—3.—4. see Suppl.

### 5 *Histories of the Caliphs and World History*

342 | 1. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marghanī (from Marghan, in Ghūr in Afghanistan) al-Tha'ālibī dedicated to Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr, the brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna who died in 412/1021:

*Kitāb al-ghurar fī siyar al-mulūk wa-akhbārihim* (see Suppl.); volumes 3 and 4, which have been lost, related the history of the caliphs, with particular emphasis on Abū Muslim and the Barmakids, as well as the Ṭāhirids, Sāmānids, Ḥamdānids, Būyids, Sebukteḡīn, and Maḥmūd.

2. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Miskawayh, d. 421/1030, see Suppl.

418 | *Abulf. hist. anteisl.* ed. Fleischer, p. 203. Wüst. *Ärzte*, no. 126, *Gesch.* 182, Leclerc I, 482. 1. *Kitāb tajārib al-umam wa-ta'āqib al-himam*, a general history up to the death of his patron, the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla, in 372/982, HKh 111, 2430, 21, 344.—2. *Kitāb ādāb al-'arab wal-furs*, a book of practical philosophy in 6 parts: a. a portion of the *Jawīdān khīrad*, AS 4304, which, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, had been translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl,<sup>1</sup> under the title *Istiṭālat al-fahm*, see al-Rājkūtī, *RAAD* IX, 131/9, 139/202. *Muntakhab J. kh. fī 'l-naṣā'ih*, AS 4304, b. Persians, c. Indians, d. Arabs, e. Greeks, f. modern philosophers, Leid. 381, Bodl. I, 292, Paris 3957, see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* x 95n, *Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscr.* IX, iff. From the part on the Greeks: *Tabula Cebetis, Graece, Arabice, Latine. Item aurea carmina Pythagorae cum paraphrasi Arab. auctore Joh. Elichmann*, | *cum praef.*

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1 According to Éthé, *Cat. of the Pers. Mss. in the Bodl. Libr.* no. 1417, the Persian work *Qānūn al-ḥikma wa-dastūr* discussed there is the basis for this book (?), see also *Nawā'ī* in Quatremère, *Chrest. Turc. or.* I, Paris 1841, 41,9.

S. Salmasii, Leiden 1640; cf. Wenrich 86.—Persian translations by: a. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Arrajānī al-Tusturī (during the reign of Akbar), Br. Mus. Pers. II, 441a.—b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm, Ind. Off. 173.—3. *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq wa-taḥrīr al-a'rāq*, on ethics, Br. Mus. Suppl. 721,ii, print. C. 1298, 1299 (in the margin *OB* II, 6081). Abstract Br. Mus. 1349,22.—4. *Kitāb al-fawz al-aṣghar*, on theology, Esc. 2609,2, Patna II, 373,2558,14.—5. Proof that death is not to be feared, Br. Mus. 980,22.

3. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Salāma (Sālim) b. Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥakmūn al-Quḍā'ī studied *ḥadīth* and Shāfi'ī law in Baghdad, became a *qāḍī* in Egypt, and was entrusted on one occasion with a mission from there to Byzantium. When the Fāṭimid caliph al-Zāhir appointed Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Jarjarā'ī—both of whose hands his father al-Ḥakīm had had cut off—in 418/1027 as vizier, al-Quḍā'ī was ordered to sign the decrees on his behalf. In 445/1053, while on pilgrimage, he met Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (p. 400) and studied *ḥadīth* under him. He died in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 454/November 1062<sup>2</sup> in Fustāṭ.

| Ibn Khall. 565, Abulf. III, 189, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 227, Wüst., *Gesch.* 419  
199. 1. *Kitāb al-inbā' 'alā (bi-anbā') al-anbiyā' wa-tawārikh al-khulafā'* or *Uyūn al-ma'ārif wa-funūn akhbār al-khalā'if*, a survey of world history from the Creation until the year 417/1026 or 422/1031, Berl. 9433, Bodl. I, 713 (see II, 592), 865, Paris 1490,1, 1491, Dāmādzāde 1410 (see Cahen, *REI* 1936/8, SA 4), anon. continuation until 926/1520, Paris 1490,2.—2. (4). *Kitāb al-shubuhāt fi 'l-mawā'iz wal-ādāb min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh ṣ'l'm* or *Shihāb al-akhbār fi 'l-ḥikam wal-amthāl wal-ādāb min al-aḥādīth al-marwīyya 'an al-rasūl al-mukhtār* Berl. 1271, Paris 1952, Leid. 372 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 240, Cairo 1I, 367, 408, VII, 57, Alex. Ḥad. 34, 49, with the title *Risāla tashtamil 'alā alf kalima min al-ḥikam al-nabawīyya wa-kathīr min al-waṣāyā wal-mawā'iz*, Alex. Adab 134,1, with the title *Jawāhir al-kalim al-sanīyya wa-badā'i' al-ḥikam al-nabawīyya*, see Suppl. Garr. 1370, Persian adaptation *Tark al-iṭnāb fī sharḥ al-Sh.* by Najm al-quḍāt Abu 'l-Ḥasan, AS 602 (Ritter).—3. (5). *Musnad al-Shihāb*, an index of transmitters for the previous work, Esc. 2752, 1529, Cairo 1I, 419, 2I, 147.—4. (6). *Kitāb al-mukhtār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wal-akhbār*, which is mentioned by Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* I, 5,1, 36,10, among his sources, and as *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* in Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 393,14.—5,6 (7, 8). see Suppl.

2 According to Maqr., *Khiṭaṭ* I, 5,2, in 457/1065.

4. Abu 'l-Qāsim Šā'id b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Šā'id al-Qurṭubī, who was born in 420/1029 in Almería, was a *qāḍī* in Toledo, and died on 4 Shawwāl 462/6 July 1070.

344 | Wüst., *Gesch.* 206. 1. *Kitāb al-ta'rif bi-ṭabaqāt al-umam*, a history of the sciences among different peoples, composed in 460/1068 (Maqq. I, 905), Br. Mus. 1622, extracts *ibid.* 281, 1503,2, Leid. 754, cf. Steinschneider, *al-Farabi* p. 141/6; the chapter on India was translated by G. Ferrand in *Les grands rois du monde*, *BSOS* 1931, 329ff.—2. See Suppl.

5. Abū Shujā' Shīrawayh b. Shahridār b. Fannā Khusraw al-Hamadhānī al-Daylamī, who was born in 445/1053, was a Shāfi'ī *faqīh* and traditionist, and a lecturer at the madrasa of Hamadan. He died on 9 Rajab 509/29 November 1115.

420 | *Huff.* xv, 31, Wüst., *Gesch.* 225. 1. *Kitāb riyyād al-uns li-'uqalā' al-ins*, a history of prophets and caliphs up to al-Mustazhir billāh (487–512/1094–1118), Cairo v, 64, | 2v, 209.—2. *Ta'rikh Hamadhān* ḤKh 111, 2339, 21, 310, which was used by Yāqūt in *GW*, see F.J. Heer, *Die hist. u. geogr. Quellen J.'s GW*, Strasbourg 1898, p. 35/6.—3. *Kitāb Firdaws al-akhbār*, a collection of 10,000 short traditions from the *Kitāb shihāb al-akhbār* by al-Quḍā'ī, alphabetically ordered, without *isnād* but containing information on the *rāwī*, Berl. 1278, Cairo 11, 382, Bursa Ulu Cami Hadis 188, Patna 1, 57,575.—Abstracts: *Nuzūl al-sā'irīn ila 'llāh rabb al-'ālamīn* by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Darkazīnī, d. 743/1342 (Ibn Ḥajar, *DK* IV, 338) Berl. 1279, Gotha 595.—b. by Ibn al-Shihāb al-Hamadhānī, d. 786/1384, Br. Mus. 890,4.—c. *al-Bustān al-mustakhraj min al-Firdaws*, 1140 traditions by 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Qāsim b. 'Alī, Algiers 496.—4. *Nuzhat al-aḥdāq fī makārim al-akhlāq*, a small collection of traditions, Algiers 497,1.

5a. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Azīmī al-Tanūkhī al-Ḥalabī was born in 483/1090, lived as a teacher and court poet in Aleppo, and died sometime after 556/1161.

1. *Ta'rikh*, starting with the history of the Bible, ordered by year from the Hijra onwards, and ending with the year 538/1143, Qara Muṣṭafā 398, see Horovitz, *MSOS* x, 6, Mükrimin Yananç: *XII asir tarihçileri ve müverrihi Azimi*, Istanbul 1937, İkinci Türk Tarik Kongresi neşriyatı, the years 455–538 are reproduced in Cl. Cahen, *La chronique abrégée d'al-'A.*, *JA* CCXXX, 353/448.—2. *Ta'rikh Ḥalab* ḤKh 111, 127,2, 138,1, 21, 291.—3. *Kitāb al-muwaṣṣal 'ala 'l-aṣl al-mawṣil* (?), biographies of famous Muslims, cited Kamāl al-Dīn, in Cahen, *op. cit.*, 354.

5b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Abu ‘l-‘Abbās b. Bābā wrote, during the reign of al-Muqtafi billāh (530–55/1136–60):

*Ra’s māl al-nadīm*, a collection of historical notes up to his own time, see al-Ṣafadī, preface to the *Nakth al-himyān*, ḤKh 1111, 342, <sup>2</sup>1, 830, autograph Yeni 234 (see Hamdani, *JRAS* 1938, S. 562), NO 3296, Bank. xv, 1044 = Patna I, 270, <sup>2247</sup>.

5c. During the reign of al-Mustanjid billāh (555–66/1160–70) an anonymous author wrote *Ta’rikh al-dawla al-‘Abbāsīyya*, Veliyeddin 2360 (Ritter).

6. Abū Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Ḥubaysh (Ḥabīsh) al-Anṣārī, born in Almería in 504/1110, was | released from prison on 20 Jumādā I 542/24 October 1147 because Alfonso VII—who had conquered Almería—was impressed by his knowledge of genealogy. He then went to Murcia, became a *qāḍī* there, and died on 14 Ṣafar 584/14 April 1188. 421

*Huff.* xvii, 2, Maqq. 11, 761, Wüst., *Gesch.* 277. D.M. Dunlop, *JRAS* 1941, 359ff.—*Kitāb al-ghazawāt al-dāmīna al-kāfila wal-futūḥ al-jāmi’a al-ḥāfila* or shorter *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, a history of the first three caliphs and the Muslim conquests, mostly following Wāqidī and Ṭabarī, composed on the order of the Almohad Yūsuf<sup>3</sup> (558–80/1163–84), completed in 583/1187, Berl. 9689, Leid. 885, cf. de Goeje, *Mém. d’hist. et de géographie or.* Leiden 1864, p. 3ff, App. ivff.

7. In the fifth or sixth century, an unidentified supporter of the Fāṭimids wrote:

*Kitāb al-‘uyūn wal-ḥadā’iq fi ‘l-ḥaqā’iq*, a history of the caliphs from al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik up to al-Mu‘taṣim, valuable because of its extensive and unbiased history of the Umayyads; 111, ed. M.J. de Goeje and P. de Jong, *Fragm. Hist. Ar.* I, Leiden 1869.

| 8. Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Kardabūs al-Tawzarī wrote, probably towards the end of the sixth century: 345

*Al-Iktifā’ fi akhbār al-khulafā’*, up to the Almohad Yūsuf, ḤKh 111, 129, <sup>4</sup>, <sup>2</sup>1, 293, <sup>26</sup>, MS of <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> of the text formerly in the possession of Gayangos, now Madr. 139, extracts in his *Hist. of the Moh. Dynasties in Spain*, vol. I, App. D, vol. II, App. C,

3 Of course not Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh of Baghdad (575–622), as Ahlwardt inferred from the *laqab* without taking the *kunya* Abū Ya‘qūb into consideration, cf. Ibn Khall. no. 815.

Dozy, *Script. ar loci de Abbad*. vol. II, II, *Recherches*, 2nd ed. v. II, XXI, cf. 45, 3rd ed. II, XVIII, cf. p. 41; other MSS Tlemcen 27 and Tunis, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 18, no. 55.—Wüst., *Gesch.* 298.

9. Badr al-Dīn Badal b. Abi 'l-Ma'mar Ismā'īl al-Tabrīzī, who flourished around 601/1204.

422 | Wüst., 293. 1. *Tuḥfat al-awliyā' al-atqiyā' fi dhikr ḥāl sabīl al-anbiyā' wa-ma'rīfat al-khulafā'*, a history of Muḥammad, his companions, and the caliphs, up to the coming to power of al-Mustaḍī in the year 566/1170, ḤKh 111, 223, 255, 21, 363, Gotha 45 (see Suppl.).—2. *Arba'ūn*, dictated in 601/1204, ḤKh I, 232, 396, 21, 54.

10. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Karam Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Athīr al-Shaybānī<sup>4</sup> was born on 4 Jumādā I 555/13 May 1160 in Jazīrat b. 'Umar in Mesopotamia. When his father was removed from his position as a prefect in 576/1180 Ibn al-Athīr moved with his family to Mosul, where he completed his studies. In 584/1188 he took part in the battles against the crusaders in Syria. He increased his knowledge of *ḥadīth* and history, both in Baghdad—which he had visited as part of the pilgrimage but also as an envoy of the ruler of Mosul—as well as in Syria and Jerusalem, which he appears to have visited in 603/1206 (Kāmil I, 232, 16) for this specific purpose. Later he lived as a private individual in Mosul where he devoted himself entirely to scholarship. In the year 626/1229 Ibn Khallikān (p. 398) met him as a guest of Shihāb al-Dīn Tuḡhril, the *atabeg* of al-Malik al-'Azīz in Aleppo. In 627/1230 he travelled first to Damascus, returned to Aleppo the following year, whence he went, after a brief stay, again to Mosul. He died there in Sha'bān or Ramaḍān 630/May or June 1233.

Ibn Khall. 433, Abu 'l-F. IV, 389, *Ḥuff.* XVII, 4, de Slane, *Hist. des Crois.*, p. 752, Wüst., *Gesch.* 315. 1. *Kitāb al-kāmil fi 'l-ta'rikh*, a world history up to the year 628/1231. The first part, running to the year 310, is, with the exception of the

346 | section on the battles of the Arabs, | an abridgement of Ṭabarī (see p. 148), augmented with elements from other sources. *Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon, quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, 12 vols, Leiden. 1851/76.

423 | *Ibn-el-Athirs Chrönika, Elfte delen ifrån Arabiskan öfversatt af C.J. Tornberg, Hälttet I*, Lund 1851. C. Brockelmann, *Das Verhältnis von Ibn al-Athirs Kāmil*

4 For his brothers Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, see above p 357, and Majd al-Dīn, see below p. 436.

*fi-l-ta'rikh zu Ṭabarīs Akhbār al-rusul wal-mulūk*, Diss. Strasbourg 1890, E. Mittwoch, *Proelia Arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, p. 30 ff.—Continuation by Ibn Fahd al-Ḥalabī, d. 725/1325, see II, 44.—2. *Historia Dynastiae Atabegidarum Mosulae principum*, composed in 608/1211, Paris 1898, an abstract in de Guignes, *Not. et Extr.* 1, 542, print. in *Recueil des historiens arabes des croisades* II, 1869.—3. *Kitāb usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣahāba*, AS 3379 (vol. 3.), Patna II, 300, 2396/8, accounts of more than 7,500 contemporaries of Muḥammad, 5 vols., C. 1285/7.—3. *Kitāb al-lubāb Mukhtaṣar al-ansāb lil-Sam'ānī*, see p. 402.

11. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Mun'im Shihāb al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Dam al-Hamdānī al-Ḥamawī was born in Hama on 21 Jumādā II 583/29 September 1187. He studied in Baghdad, taught in Aleppo and Cairo, and then became a Shāfi'ī *qāḍī* in his hometown. When al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī, the ruler of Mayyafāriqīn, died in 642/1244, the ruler of Hama, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, sent him to Baghdad as the head of a diplomatic delegation to obtain the enfeoffment of the vacant territory. On the way he fell ill, which obliged him to return from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān to Hama, where he died in the same year, on 15 Jumādā II/19 November 1244.

Abu 'l-F. IV, 480, Wüst., *Gesch.* 326. 1. *Ta'rikh*, a history of prophets and caliphs until the year 628/1231, ḤKh II, 99, 268, <sup>2</sup>I, 276, Bodl. I, 728, Patna II, 533, 2868/9.—2. *al-Ta'rikh al-Muẓaffarī*, a detailed history of the Islamic peoples in 6 volumes up to 627, dedicated to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd of Hama, (626/42) (Zambaur 98), ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 150, 2313, <sup>2</sup>I, 305, Alex. *Ta'rikh* 40. Passages with references to Sicily in an Italian translation in Aug. Inveges, *Annali di Palermo*, 1650, Part II, 659, *lat. excerpta ab historia cui Titulus Almodferi composita in 6 voll. ab Alkadi Scichabadin filio Abiddami Amaniensī, conservata in Bibl. Esc. lat. reddita à Marco Dobelio et relata in secundo Tomo Annal. ab Aug. Inveges, in Bibl. hist. regni Siciliae op. et studio Jo. Bapt. Carusii*, Palermo 1723, v. 1, 19/23 | reprinted in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scr.* v. 1, P. 2, p. 251. *Al-Kadi Sheaboddini historia Siciliae supplementis aucta et innumeris mendis expurgata, quibus antea scatebat in ed. Carusii in Rerum Arab. quae ad hist. Siculam spectant ampla collectio op. et st. Rosarii Gregorio*, Palermo 1790, p. 53/68.—3. *Kitāb tadqīq al-'ināya fī taḥqīq al-riwāya* Algiers 544.—4. *Kitāb adab al-qaḍā'* Paris 996.—5. *al-Firaq al-islāmiyya* ḤKh IV, 414, 9024, see Suppl.

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12. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Bayyāsī, from Baeza in Spain, moved to Tunis and died there in 653/1255.

347 Ibn Khall. 822, Maqq. II, 213, Wüst., *Gesch.* 338. 1. *Kitāb al-i'lām bil-ḥurūb al-wāqī'a fī ṣadr al-islām*, from the assassination of 'Umar to the uprising | of Walid b. Ṭarīf against Hārūn al-Rashīd in Mesopotamia, 2 vols., presented to the emir Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Ḥafṣī in Tunis, ḤKh I<sup>11</sup>, 362,<sup>950</sup>, <sup>21</sup>, 126, Cairo I<sup>v</sup>, 11, <sup>2v</sup>, 22.—2. *Kitāb al-ḥamāsa al-maghribiyya*, composed in Tunis in Shawwāl 646/Dec.–Jan. 1248–9, ḤKh I<sup>111</sup>, 116, <sup>21</sup>, 692, abstract Gotha 13.

13. Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Qizoghlū b. 'Abdallāh Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī was born in 582/1185 in Baghdad. His father had been a Turkish slave of the vizier Ibn Hubayra (d. 560/1165), who set him free and had him educated. His father married a daughter of the famous Ḥanbalī preacher and polymath Ibn al-Jawzī, d. 597/1200 (p. 500), and seems to have died shortly after the birth of Yūsuf, who was brought up by his maternal grandfather. From him the grandson inherited a talent for uplifting sermons and an inclination for historiography. After the completion of his studies in Baghdad he went travelling, eventually settling in Damascus where he was a preacher and a teacher of Ḥanafī *fiqh*. By the year 606/1209 he had recruited, with great success, people for the struggle against the crusaders, and even led a victorious army to Nablus. He died in Damascus on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 654/10 January 1257.

425 | Ibn Khall. 378, 817, Maqq. I, 64, Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Ṭab. al-ḥan.* 236, Wüst., *Gesch.* 340, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 451. *Kitāb mir'āt al-zamān fī ta'rikh al-a'yān*, a general history from the Creation until the year 654/1256, see Suppl., Patna I, 267,<sup>2228</sup>; cf. *Recueil d. Hist. d. Croisades* II, *Hist. or.* v. I, Introd. 60, III (1872), Introd. Abstracts by: a. Anon., on the year 134/645, Br. Mus. 279.—b. Muḥammad b. al-Sinjābī, from part I, Bodl. I, 294,<sup>2</sup>.—c. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Yūnīnī al-Ba'labakkī, d. 726/1326, part I, Berl. 9442, the years 56/74, 75/96, 577/654, Br. Mus. 1225/7.<sup>5</sup> A continuation (*dhayl*) by the same, in 4 vols., of which the first, on Egypt and Syria in the years 658/74, is preserved in Bodl. I, 700, anon., on the years 655–7, 671–86, Cairo I<sup>v</sup>, 58, <sup>2v</sup> 192.—d. see Suppl. and II, 35.—2. *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma bi-dhikr khaṣā'iṣ al-a'imma*, a history of 'Alī, his family, and the 12 imams, Leid. 906, Patna I, 276,<sup>2193</sup>.—3. *Kitāb al-jalīs al-ṣāliḥ wal-anīs al-nāṣiḥ*, partly in praise of, | and partly lecturing, the Ayyūbid ruler Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Mūsā b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb (d. 635/1237), the governor of Damascus; a. his birth and education, b. the necessity of admonishment, c. what the sovereign should make use of, d. the rank and dignity of the

5 The abstract by Ibn Majd al-Dīn al-Jawzī of Paris 772, mentioned by Wüstenfeld, loc. cit., is instead based on the *Kitāb al-muntaẓam* by Ibn al-Jawzī; see de Slane 1550.



governor, e. the virtue of justice and of the encouragement of the righteous, f. on censuring injustice, g. the struggle for the faith, h. a selection of royal biographies, i. selected tales of pious and abstinent men, their speeches, who made it to kingship, and who did not, k. admonishments of sovereigns by the ancients, especially regarding who among them accepted money and who did not, Gotha 1881.—4. *Kanz al-mulūk fī kayfīyyat al-sulūk*, a collection of anecdotes, Paris 3515, AS 2021.—5. An edifying work, whose title and author remain uncertain, Berl. 8781.—6. *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa* Istanbul Un. R. 3180 (ZS III, 252).—7. *al-Aḥādīth al-Mustaʿšimīyyāt al-thamāniyyāt*, cf. al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, I, 145.

14. Jirjīs (ʿAbdallāh) b. Abi ʿl-Yasīr b. Abi ʿl-Makārim al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd was born in 602/1205 in Cairo, the son of a Christian official in the ministry of war, and, as a young man, he held a | similar post. When his father's patron, the proconsul of Syria ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭaybars, fell into disgrace with the sultan, all the officials of his war office, among them Abu ʿl-Yasir and his son, were summoned to Egypt and incarcerated there. The father died in 636/1238. The son, however, was soon released and restored to his post in Syria. But after a jealous colleague raised suspicions about him there, leading to him spending some more time in jail, he retired from public life to Damascus, where he died in 672/1273. 426

Jourdain, *Biogr. univ.* XIII, 42, Rödiger in *Ersch. u. Grubers Enc.* XXIII, 426, A. Bonneau, *Biogr. génér.* xv, 901, Wüst., *Gesch.* 351. *Kitāb al-majmūʿ al-mubārak*, a general world history, part I from Creation until Muḥammad, Gotha 1557 (where other manuscripts are listed), excerpts in *Hottingers Smnegma or.*, part II from Muḥammad until 658/1260 Berl. 9443, Bodl. II, 47. *Historia Saracenicā qua res gestae Muslimorum inde a Muhammede, Primo Imperii et Religionis Muslimicae auctore, usque ad initium imperii Atabacaei, Per XLIX imperatorum successionem fidelissime explicantur, insertis etiam passim Christianorum rebus in Orientis potissimum ecclesiis eodem tempore gestis, arabice olim exarata a Georgio Elmacino fil. Abuljaferi Elamidi Abulmacaremi Abultibi, et lat. red-dita op. et st. Thomae Erpenii*, Leiden 1625, English translation by S. Purchas, London 1626, French: *L'histoire Mahommétane ou les quarante-neuf Chalifes du Macine, etc. par Pierre Vattier*, Paris 1657. Continuation *al-Nahj al-sadīd wal-durr al-farīd fī-mā baʿd taʾrīkh b. al-ʿAmīd* by the Egyptian Christian al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi ʿl-Faḍāʿil, a history of the Mamlūk sultans from al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars 658/1260 until al-Malik al-Nāṣir b. Qalāwūn 741/1340, and specific events up to 749/1348, including a history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, the Muslims of Yemen and India, and the Tatars, Paris 4525.

349 | 15. Abū Bakr Buṭrus b. al-Rāhib Abū Karam b. Muḥadhdhib was, in 669/1270, a deacon at the Mu‘allaqa, i.e. the Church of Mary in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, and is known to have still been alive in 681/1282.

427 | Wüst., 360. *Chronicon orientale*, from the creation of the world until the year 657/1259, Assemani, *BO* 1, 574, with the exception of the history of the 7 ecumenical councils figuring at the end translated in: *Chron. or. nunc primum latinitate donatum ab Abr. Ecchelensi*, Paris 1651, in *Scrip. hist. Byzant. nova ed.*, Paris 1685; again, in the new edition of *Script. hist. Byz.: Chron. or. Petri Rahebi Agyptii primum ex Ar. lat. redditum ab Abr. Ecch. nunc nova interpretat. donatum a. J.S. Assemani*, Venice 1729, see *Revue de l’Or. chrét.* xxviii, 390/405.

16. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Bārīzī al-Ḥamawī al-Juhanī Najm al-Dīn, born in 608/1211, was a *qādī* in Hama and died in Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 683/Jan.–Febr. 1284 on the pilgrimage, being buried in Medina.

*Orient.* 11, 273; on his father (see p. 92) Abu ‘l-F. 1v, 538. 1. *Mudāwalat al-ayyām wa-mumāthalat al-aḥkām*, a historical poem in *rajaz*: a. the life of Muḥammad and the history of Islamic dynasties in Asia, Africa, and Spain; b. geographical overview of the regions brought under Islam; c. non-Islamic dynasties and dynasties from before the time of Islam, Vienna 808.—2. 41 verses on the Prophet in *ṭawīl*, Berl. 7782<sub>1</sub>.

17. Yuḥannā Abu ‘l-Faraj b. al-‘Ibrī, Barhebreus, al-Malaṭī was born in 623/1226 in Malaṭīyya as the son of the physician Ahron, a baptized Jew. After the invasion of the Mongols in 643/1243 his father moved with him to Antioch, where he became a monk. Soon after he went to Tripoli to study dialectics and medicine with a Nestorian. On 12 September 1246 he was appointed the bishop of Gubos near Malaṭīyya, and in that capacity he adopted the name Gregorius. In 1252 he was elevated to the position of bishop of Aleppo by the new Jacobite patriarch, whose election he had actively promoted. On 20 January 1264 he was elected Mafriyān or Head of the Eastern Jacobites in Sis, in Cilicia. In this capacity he had his seat in Mosul, but often resided in Tabriz and Marāgha to

428 | keep in contact with the Mongol rulers. He died in Marāgha on the night of 29–30 July 1286.

Wüst., *Ärzte* 214, *Gesch.* 363, Leclerc 11, 147, Nöldeke, *Or. Skizzen* 253/73, L. Cheikho in *al-Mashriq*, 1, 1898, 289/295, 365/70, 413/8, 449/53, 505/10, 555/61, 605/12, A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Lit.* 312/20. 1. *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, an abbreviated translation of his Syriac chronicle, augmented with additions,

in particular on the medical and | mathematical history of the Arabs, prepared shortly before his death at the request of some highbred Muslims. *Historia or. autore Gregorio Abul-Pharagio*, ed. E. Pococke, Oxford 1663, Suppl. 1672, ed. A. Şālḥānī, Beirut 1890. *Ebülfereb Ibnülicri Tarihi Muhtasar üddüvel türkceye çeviren Şerefeddin Yaltkaya*, Istanbul 1941.—2. see Suppl.—3. *Mukhtaşar fî ilm al-nafs al-insāniyya*, C. 1928, partly different from the *Maqāla mukhtaşara fî 'l-nafs al-bashariyya*, *al-Mashriq* 1, 745f., 838f., 934f., 1084f. 1113, in *Douze Traités phil.*, Beirut 1918, 76/102.

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18. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī b. Barakāt al-Ḥamawī wrote, in the second half of the seventh century:

1. *Mukhtaşar siyar al-awā'il wal-mulūk wa-wasīlat al-'abd al-mamlūk*, a compendium of pre-Islamic history and the history of Islam up to the caliph al-Muhtadī 255/869, dedicated to the Isfahsālār Sayf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Hasan, Paris 1507.—2. *al-Ta'rikh al-Manşūrī talkhūş al-Kashf wal-bayān fī ḥawādith al-zamān*, composed in 631/1233, Pet. AM 159. see Suppl.

19. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Kāzarūnī al-Baghdādī was born in 610/1213. He was an estate executor, poet, and historian, and died around 700/1300.

Al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-kubrā* (not in print), Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭab.*, al-Adfuwī, *al-Badr al-sāfir. Mukhtaşar al-ta'rikh min awwal al-zamān ilā muntahā dawlat Ibn al-'Abbās*, autograph Carullah 1625, from a lost work in 27 volumes. Lost: *al-Nibrās al-muḍḍ' fī 'l-fiqh*; *Kanz al-ḥussāb*; *al-Milāḥa fī 'l-filāḥa*; and others.

## 6 *Histories of Prophets*

1. Abū Bakr (Abu'l-Ḥasan Abū 'Abdallāh) Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ('Abdal-Malik) or Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kisā'ī, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century.

| Brockelmann, *EI* II, 1114. 1. *Kitāb bad' (khalq) al-dunyā wa-qīṣaş al-anbiyā'* 429  
Berl. 1021, Bonn 7, Munich 444/5, Leipz. 106, Leid. 2042, Paris 1909/17, Br. Mus. 351, 811/2, 1274/5, 1500, Suppl. 497/8, Ind. Off. 715, Bodl. I, 127,<sup>3</sup> 756, 833, II, 123, Garr. 728, 765, see J.H. Hottinger, *Promptuarium s. Bibliotheca or.*, Heidelberg 1658, p. 209, M. Lidzbarski, *De prophetis quae dicuntur leg. Ar.* Diss., Leipzig 1893, 20/5. 2. *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-malakūt*, a history of Creation, Berl. 6160, Landb.—Br. 281, Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 328.<sup>1</sup>

1 Of course not to be identified with Muḥammad Masīḥ al-Kisā'ī, author of a *khuṭba* in a Cairene *majmū'a*, as surmised in *Qu. St. z. Gesch. d. Nat. u. Med.* VII, 124.

2. Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Thaʿlabī al-Nishābūrī al-Shāfiʿī, who died in Muḥarram 427/November 1035.

Ibn Khall. 30, Wüst., *Gesch.* 185. 1. *Kitāb ʿarāʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* Berl. 1019/20, Bodl. II, 47, Br. Mus. 901 Suppl. 494/6, abstract Gotha 99,6 (where other MSS are listed), print. C. 1297, 1306, 1308, 1310, Bombay 1306, with the title *Nafāʾis al-ʿarāʾis* (see Suppl.) Patna I, 34,346.—Anon. *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, from al-Kisāʾī and al-Thaʿlabī combined, Paris 1923.—2. A different work, on the pre-Islamic prophets, Algiers 848,2.—3. *Kitāb al-kashf wal-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān* Berl. 737/43, Landb.-Br. 489, Br. Mus. 821, Garr. 1255, AS 289, 296, Cairo 1I, 198, 2I, 58, cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qor.*, 176,4, 2II, 173; along with the criticism of *Mabāhith al-tafsīr* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Rāzī, ca. 631/1233, Cairo 1I, 198; abstract by Ibn Abī Randaqa, d. 521/1126, Cairo 1I, 209.—4. *Kitāb mubārak yudhkar fīhi qaṭla ʾl-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm alladhīna samiʿu ʾl-Qurʾān wa-mātū bi-samāʾihi* Leid. 1988, AS 65,3, f. 128a/130a.—| 5. *Kitāb al-durra al-fākhira fī ʾl-amthāl al-sāʾira* Rāgīb 1079 (perhaps composed by al-Thaʿlibī, p. 337?).

### Chapter 5. Belles Lettres in Prose

1. Abū Saʿīd (Saʿd) Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿĀbī, the vizier of the Būyid Majd al-Dawla, the ruler of Rayy, Hamadan, and Isfahan (387–420/997–1029), who died in 421/1030.

Yāqūt, *GW* I, 57. *Kitāb nathr al-durar (wa-nafāʾis al-jawhar) fi ʿl-muḥāḍarāt*, an anthology in verse and prose, in brief | pieces arranged by subject, with a wide range of interest, Berl. 8329/31, Leid. 450 (parts I and II), Bodl. I, 301 (?), 374, Pet. AM Dorn p. 19, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 336, <sup>2</sup>III, 403.—Abstract by ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zaydī, Paris 3490.

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1a. Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn Yahyā b. Najāḥ b. al-Fallās al-Qurṭubī, d. 422/1031 (see Suppl.).

1. *Jāmiʿ subul al-khayrāt fi ʿl-dhikr wal-daʿawāt* also Fez, Qar. 1520.—2. *al-Gharīb al-muntaqā min akhbār ahl al-tuqā* ibid. 1517.

1b. Abū ʿAbdallāh Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Ḥaddādī al-Marwazī al-Bukhārī, d. 406/1015.

*ʿUyūn al-majālis wa-surūr al-dāris*, an *adab* work, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>IV, 291, <sup>8477</sup>, Garr. 182.

1d. Abu ʿl-ʿAlāʾ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥassūl Ṣafī al-Ḥaḍratayn, who came from Hamadan, grew up in Rayy, and was in charge of the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* there. Later he worked in a similar position with Masʿūd of Ghazna, and died in that town in 450/1058.

Al-Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* I, 407, al-Bākhazrī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr*, 90. *Kitāb tafḍīl al-Atrāk ʿalā sāʿir al-qjnād wa-manāqib al-ḥaḍra al-sulṭāniyya*, a polemic against the glorification of the Būyids in Hilāl al-Ṣābiʿ' s *Kitāb al-tājī*, ed. ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī in *Belleten* IV, 14/5, Ankara 1940, p. 1/50 with Turkish translation Şerefettin Yaltkaya ibid 235/66.

2. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Sulaymān al-Isfarāʾīnī, d. 488/1095.

*Maḥāsīn al-adab wajjtināb al-rīyab* ḤKh v. 411, <sup>11489</sup>, 8 chapters on morals and the intercourse between men, Paris 3401, <sup>5</sup> (see Suppl.).

3. In the second half of the fifth century Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī al-Thaqafī wrote:

*Al-Muntakhab min kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'* Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 332, print. C. 1308, together with al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Nihāya fi 'l-ta'riḍ*.

- 431 | 4. Abū Muḥammad Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sarrāj al-Qāri' al-Baghdādī, who died in 500/1106 in Baghdad (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. I, 311. *Kitāb maṣāri'* *al-'ushshāq*, tales and poems on lovers and love, Br. Mus. 1419, Suppl. 1133, print. Istanbul 1302; Abstract, *Kitāb aswāq al-ashwāq min M. al-'u*, by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. Ḥusayn al-Biqā'ī, d. 885/1480 (II, 142), Paris 3065 (see Kosegarten, *Chrest.* x, 3), Esc. <sup>2</sup>468 (vol. II).—Selection *Tazyīn al-aswāq bi-tafṣīl tartīb ashwāq al-'ushshāq* by Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, d. 1005/1596 (II, 364), Berl. 8421, Gotha 2700/1, Vienna 410, Br. Mus. 774, Suppl. 1120/2, Copenhagen 287, print. C. 1279, Bülāq 1281, 1299, see Kosegarten, *Chrest.* 22, A. v. Kremer, *Ideen* 408, Goldziher, *SBWA, ph.-hist. Cl.* 78, p. 513, no. VII.—2. *Urjūza fī nazā'ir al-Qur'ān* Alex. Fun. 200,<sup>2</sup>.

5. Abū 'Abdallāh (Abū Hāshim) Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Abū Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zafar al-Ṣaqalī Ḥujjat al-Dīn, d. 565/1169 (see Suppl.).

- 352 | 1. *Kitāb subwān al-muṭā' fī 'udwān al-atbā'*, a mirror for princes (outline by Flügel in *Intelligenzbl. der Leipz. Litztg.* 1829, p. 312). 1st version from the year 545/1150, Br. Mus. 1530,<sup>1</sup>, 2nd version from the year 554/1159, dedicated to Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Qurashī, the *qā'id* of Sicily, Berl. 8750/1, Leid. 537/40 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 1160 (uncertain AS 4043,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Adab 152, Patna I, 200,<sup>1788</sup>), print. C. 1278, Tunis 1279, Beirut 1300, M. Amari, *Conforti politici di Ibn Zafar*, Florence 1851, *Solwan or waiters comfort by M.A. rendered into Engl. by the translator of "the Sicilian Vespers"*, London 1851, 2 vols.—Turkish translation by Qara Khalīl Efendizāde, d. 1168/1754, Berl. 8752, Vienna 382, see Hammer, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches* VIII, 251/3, *JA* 1869, II, p. 86,<sup>23</sup>.—2. *Kitāb anbā' nujabā' al-abnā'*, characters and anecdotes of: a. 10 *ṣaḥāba*, b. the descendants of the *ṣaḥāba*, c. of pious men, d. of the princes of the pagan Arabs and of Persian kings, Paris 212/3, Garr. 675/6, shortened, revised edition *Durar al-ghurar fī An. al-ab.* (already cited *Sulwān*, Tunis 4,<sup>2</sup>), Berl. 9506/7, Gotha 1780, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1139.—3. *Kitāb khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar*, prophecies on the Prophet, a. in Holy Scripture, b. by Jewish *aḥbār*, c. by the | Arab *kuhhān*, d. by the *jinn*, Paris 1959, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 520, lith. C. 1863, see Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* <sup>1</sup>III, 728, Steinschneider, *Pol. u. apolog. Lit.* 396.—4. *Kitāb yanbū' al-ḥayāt*, Qur'ān commentary vol. 2, Paris 608, vol. 6, *ibid.* 6607, vols. 2. 3, 5, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 223.

6. Ṣafī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Īsā b al-Buḥturī al-Ḥalabī wrote, in the second half of the sixth century:

*Kitāb uns al-maṣjūn wa-rāḥat al-maḥzūn*, poems and tales that he had collected to comfort himself while in captivity, Br. Mus. 1097.

7. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' b. 'Abdallāh b. Zakariyyā' al-Marāghī wrote, in the second half of the sixth century:

*Kitāb al-'adad al-ma'dūd fi 'l-muḥāḍarāt*, in 5 chapters, Cairo <sup>IV</sup>, 281, <sup>III</sup>, 248, Selīm Āġā 750, Patna I, 203,1815/6.

8. In 632/1234, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Fihri wrote:

*Kitāb kanz al-kuttāb wa-muntakhab al-ādāb*, a florilegium of the best prose writers and poets of Spain of the fifth and sixth centuries, Krafft 147.

8c. *Sharḥ al-risāla al-qawsīyya* by Rafī' al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Abharī, 'Āṣir I, 1000.

8l. *Nuzhat al-albāb al-jāmi'a li-funūn al-ādāb* (Suppl. I, 897) Patna I, 202,1836.

9. Al-Amīr 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī al-Ṭūsī b. al-Sharīf Defterkhān al-'Ādilī wrote, around 654/1256:

*Kitāb alf jāriya wa-jāriya*, as a side piece to his *Kitāb alf ghulām wa-ghulām*, an imitation of the *Kitāb al-ghilmān* by al-Tha'ālībī (p. 339), in 8 chapters, in which he dedicates an epigram of 3 or 4 distiches to each girl at a time, Vienna 387.

| 10. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Durr Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī al-Baghdādī, who was famous as a calligrapher. He died in 698/1298 in Baghdad (see Suppl.). 353

*Orient*. II, 291, Quatremère, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks* II, 140. 1. *Kitāb akhbār wa-ash'ār wa-mulaḥ wa-fiḡar wa-ḥikam wa-waṣāyā muntakhaba*, written in 662/1264, an anthology, Br. Mus. 1428.—2. *Asrār al-ḥukamā'*, a collection of aphorisms, | Köpr. 1205, print. Istanbul 1300.—3. *Fiḡar ultuqīṭat etc.*, see Suppl., also Fātiḥ 4011 (Ritter). A *risāla* by him, Patna I, 198,1780. 433

11.–18. See Suppl.

19. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-‘Irāqī wrote, before 714/1314:

*Uns al-waḥīd*, an anthology of poets, AS 1667,<sup>2</sup> 3786 (wrongly attributed to Nūr al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī by Rescher in *WZKM* 26, 80, afterwards Suppl. II, 913,<sup>84</sup> Ritter).



## Chapter 6. Ḥadīth

When the widespread movement that resulted in the shaping and collecting of *ḥadīths* had come to a standstill as a consequence of the completion of the canonical collections, any possibility of further creative production in this area ceased. But the *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* continued to keep writers busy. From the large collections, smaller collections were put together by disregarding the *isnād* and putting the emphasis on content and edifying effect. Following a saying of the Prophet, collections of 40 traditions summarising the quintessence of the creed were particularly popular. While these works addressed a wide audience, other books, directed at a small circle of specialists, would either summarise whatever was known about the circumstances of the lives of the traditionists, thus serving as a measure of their trustworthiness, or critically engage with individual traditions. But it is also true that this criticism did no more than apply the principles of *‘ilm al-rijāl* which had long-since been fixed, which is why no new or seminal insights were produced. In general there was no area of literature that came to be dominated by | the custom of excerpting and compiling—so characteristic of utter decay—as early as did *ḥadīth* studies. 434

### 1 *Iraq, the Jazīra, Syria, and Arabia*

1. Abu ‘l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Baḥr b. Bahrām al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, who died in 418/1027 or 428/1037 (see Suppl.).

| Ibn Khall. 185, cf. 72. 1. *Sīrat al-nabī*, following Ibn Hishām, vol. II Landb.-Br. 243.—2. *Kitāb al-īnās bi-‘ilm al-ansāb*, names of Arab tribes that are alike, in alphabetical order, with quotations from poetry, accompanied by occasional biographical and historical notes, Br. Mus. Suppl. 594.—3. *Kitāb fi ‘l-siyāsa* Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup> 565.—4.–7. cf. Suppl. 354

2. Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Karājakī al-Shī‘ī was born in Egypt around 425/1034 and died in 449/1057.

1. *Kitāb ma‘dīn al-jawāhir wa-riyādat al-khawāṭir*, sayings by Muḥammad, including, among others, those in which the numbers 1–10 occur, in the sense that they are associated with some property or their occurrence in association with people or things is discussed, Berl. 8704, Rāmpūr II, 366,<sup>312</sup>.—2. *Kanz al-fawā‘id*, in individual *rasā‘il*, Mashh. I, 70,<sup>226</sup>.—3. *al-Istinṣār fi ‘l-naṣṣ ‘ala ‘l-a‘imma al-aṭḥār*, Tabriz, cf. *Lughat al-‘Arab* VII, 159, print. Najaf 1346, cf. *Dharī‘a* II, 16,<sup>14</sup>, 34,<sup>132a</sup> (which has *al-Istibṣār*).

2a. Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Sam‘ānī al-Tamīmī al-Qāḍī, who died in 450/1058.

Al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* 307v, ‘Abd al-Qādir, *al-Jawāhīr al-muḍrā’a* II, 73, *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyya* 70. *Majmū‘ arghā'ib al-aḥādīth*, Köpr. 396 (Ritter).

2b. Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Zanjānī al-Dāraquṭnī al-Baghdādī studied in Damascus and then settled in Baghdad, where he died in Jumādā I 459/March–April 1064.

Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 8. *Al-Mu‘tamad min al-manqūl fī-mā ūḥīya ila ‘l-rasūl* ḤKh v, 623, 12303, Alex. Ḥad. 61 (however, see Suppl. II, 212, 3a).

435 | 3. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Manda, who died in 473/1082.

*Ṣaḥīfat Hammām b. Manda* (d. 151/748), traditions by Abū Hurayra, d. 58/678, ḤKh IV, 7731, Berl. 1348.

4. Al-Amīr Abū Naṣr ‘Alī b. Hibatallāh b. ‘Alī b. Mākūlā’ al-‘Ijlī was born into a highbred Persian family in ‘Ukbarā near Baghdad on 5 Sha‘bān 422/29 July 1031.

355 | When his father became the vizier of the caliph al-Qā‘im (422–67/1031–75) he went to the capital and studied there. On one of his lengthy study tours he was robbed and murdered by his Turkish slave. Information regarding his place of death varies between Khurāsān, al-Ahwāz, and Jurjān, and its date between 475, 479, 486, and 487/1094.

Ibn Khall. 420, *Fawāt* II, 93, *Ḥuff.* XV, 1, Wüst., *Gesch.* 215. 1. *Kitāb al-ikmāl fī ‘l-Mukhtalaf wal-mu‘talaf min asmā’ al-Baghdādī* (p. 400), supplemented by the books of al-Dāraquṭnī (Suppl. I, 275) and al-Azdī (ibid. 281), written in 464–7/1071–4, Berl. 10158/60, Br. Mus. Suppl. 621, Esc. 21647/9, Cairo 1I, 228. Supplements of this are *Kitāb takmilat al-Ikmāl* and *Kitāb mushtabih al-nisba* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. Nuḥṭa al-Baghdādī, d. 629/1231 (p. 439), vol. I, Gotha 1759, vols. II, III, Br. Mus. Suppl. 622, vol. III, Garr. 1448, with a *Dhayl* by Wajih al-Dīn Maṣṣūr b. Salīm al-Hamadhānī Muḥtasib al-Iskandariyya, d. 673/1274 (Suppl. I, 573), Cairo 1I, 239, 2v, 192.

5. Al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Thaqafī, d. 489/1096.

*Arba‘ūn*, 40 traditions, Paris 722, 4.

6. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mawṣilī b. Wad‘ān Abū Naṣr, d. 494/1101.

*Kitāb (al-Khuṭab) al-arba‘īn al-Wad‘āniyya*, edited with a commentary by his student Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī, d. 576/1180 (p. 449), ḤKh III, 159, 4728, VI, 433, 14201, Berl. 1458/60, Paris 722, 7, Cambr. 591, Cairo 1, 409, Alex. Ḥad. 5, Garr. 2168, 1, with a commentary by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Bārjilaghī (ḤKh III, 4728), eighth cent., Berl. 1461, Selīm Āgā 193, Alex. Ḥad. 30 (which has al-Daylamī).

| 7. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥamdān, fifth cent.

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*Kitāb mu‘jizāt al-anbiyā’*, miracles by the prophets, ḤKh v, 152, 10504, Berl. 2553.

8. Abu ‘l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ‘Alī al-Maqdisī b. al-Qayrasānī al-Ẓāhirī was born in Jerusalem on 6 Shawwāl 448/18 December 1058 and started studying in 468/1074 in Baghdad. After a study tour that lasted many years, and during which he endured many hardships, he took up residence in his home town. Returning from the pilgrimage, he died in Baghdad in Rabī‘ 1 or 11 507/August or September 1113.

Ibn Khall. 59, *Ḥuff*. xv, 21, Yāqūt, *GW* IV, 601, Wüst., *Gesch.* 224. 1. *Kitāb al-ansāb al-muttafiqa fi ‘l-khaṭṭ al-mutamāthila fi ‘l-naqṭ wal-ḍabṭ* Berl. 10162, Leid. 132, with an appendix by | Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Iṣfahānī, d. 581/1185 (p. 450): *Homonyma inter nomina relativa*, ed. P. de Jong, Leiden 1865.— 2. *Kitāb fi ‘l-aḥādīth allatī rawatha ‘l-kadhāba wal-mudallisūn*, ca. 1400 bogus traditions, Berl. 1628, Alex. Fun. 95, 9 (see Suppl.).— 3. *Aṭrāf al-gharā‘ib wal-afrād* Cairo 1, 269.— 4.— 11. see Suppl. (5. Patna II, 371, 2557, 2, 9. also Alex. Ḥad. 10).— 12. *Dhakhīrat al-ḥuffāz ‘ala ‘l-ḥurūf wal-alfāz*, a reworking of the *Kitāb al-kāmīl* of Abū Aḥmad ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Adī al-Jurjānī, d. 375/985 (al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, 126v) Köpr. 290 (Ritter).

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9. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Farāwī, d. 530/1137 (see Suppl.)

*Arba‘ūn*, composed in 528/1134, Paris 722, 4.

9a. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Tammām al-Takrītī.

*Sīrat al-nabī*, which his son had read to him in 546/1151, ‘Umūm. 748 (Ritter).

10. Abu 'l-Futūḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭā'ī al-Hamadhānī, d. 555/1160.

*Kitāb al-arba'in al-Ṭā'iyya ilā irshād al-sā'irīn ilā manāzil al-yaqīn* ḤKh 1, 414, 21, 56 (following al-Sam'ānī) following 40 shaykhs, each one from among the *ṣaḥāba*, with biographical data and an explanation of the edifying elements within each *ḥadīth*, | Berl. 1464/5, Landb.—Br. 173, Cairo 1, 263, Wargla (?) Bull. de Corr. Afr. 1885, p. 244, no. 30.

11. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. al-Munajjim al-Ma'arrī was a court chaplain of the 'Abbāsids who died in 557/1162.

*Kitāb al-aqā'iq*, sermons on the life of the Prophet, Leipz. 165, Br. Mus. 352, 1440, cf. add. p. 771.—2. See Suppl.

12. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mas'ūd al-Fanjdahī (al-Banjdahī or al-Bandahī), who died in 584/1188 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 631. *Muntakhab min Kitāb al-zuhd*, an abstract of the work of Ibn Ḥanbal (p. 193) following Abū Hurayra, ḤKh v, 91<sub>10162</sub>, Berl. 1385.

13. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥāzim Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāzimī al-Hamadhānī al-Shāfi'ī was born in Hamadan in 548/1153 and studied in Baghdad, where he settled after an extended study tour. He died on 18 Jumādā 1 584/16 July 1188.

Ibn Khall. 597, *Huff.* xvii, 10, Wüst., *Gesch.* 278. 1. *Kitāb al-i'tibār fi 'l-nāsikh wal-mansūkh min al-ḥadīth* Berl. 1627, Cairo 1, 269, 21, 90, Garr. 1337, Patna 1, 39<sub>399/400</sub>.—2. *Kitāb 'ujālat al-mubtadi' wa-fuḍālat al-muntahī, nisbas of ḥadīth-scholars in alphabetical order*, Berl. 9378.—3.—4. See Suppl.

14. Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Surūr al-Jammā'īlī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, who died in 600/1203 in Cairo.

*Huff.* xviii, 16. 1. *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-kubrā* Landb.—Br. 43.—2. Abstract of which *Kitāb 'umdat al-aḥkām 'an sayyid al-anām (min aḥādīth al-nabī 'am.)* or *fī ma'ālim al-ḥalāl wal-ḥarām 'an khayr al-anām*, traditions on the principles of law shared by Bukhārī and Muslim, ḤKh iv, 254<sub>8300</sub>, Berl. 1304/8, Hamb. Or. Sem. 58, Paris 726/7, Garr. 1377/9, Cairo 1, 371, Qawala 1, 137, 424, Alex. Ḥad. 35.—Commentaries: a. *Iḥkām al-aḥkām* by | Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad b. al-Athīr

al-Ḥalabī, d. 699/1299 (p. 417), in the rendering of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, d. 702/1302 (II, 63), Berl. 1309, Landb.—Br. 42, Paris 2088, Garr. 1390, Cairo 1I, 260.—b. *Umdat al-afhām*, | composed between 600 and 703, Berl. 1310.—c. ʿAlī b. Thābit, excerpt Br. Mus. 548<sub>ii</sub>.—d. Muḥammad b. Farḥūn al-Yaʿmarī, d. 769/1367, Alex. Ḥad. 4, Cairo 1I, 368.—e. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Marzūq al-Tilimsānī, d. 781/1379 (II, 239), AS 1331, Cairo 1I, 292.—f. Ibn al-Mulaqqin, d. 804/1401 (II, 92), Cairo 1I, 269, <sup>2I</sup>, 90.—g. (Patna I, 50<sub>495</sub>).—h. see Suppl.—i. Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāʿūd b. al-ʿAṭṭār al-Shāfiʿī, d. 724/1324 (II, 85), Garr. 1391.—k.—o. see Suppl.—3. *Kitāb al-kamāl fi maʿrifat (asmāʾ) al-rijāl*, based on the authoritative opinions of the 6 canonical books, Berl. 9924/5, Br. Mus. Suppl. 625/6 Cairo 1I, 244, Patna II, 307<sub>2426</sub>, cf. Yāqūt, *GW* II, 113<sub>17</sub>, Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 263 (see Suppl. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, Patna II, 305<sub>2416</sub>, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, ibid. 2415, *al-Kāshif fi asmāʾ al-rijāl* also Alex. Taʿr. 101, Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 13).—4. *Kitāb al-durra al-muḍḍā fi ʿl-sīra al-nabawiyya*, Paris 1966.—5. *Aqīda*, Creed, Berl. 1985.—6. *Kitāb miḥnat al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī*, the afflictions and punishments that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (p. 193) endured as a result of his stance on the question of whether or not the Qurʾān is created, Berl. 10016.<sup>1</sup>—7. *al-Naṣiḥa fi ʿl-adʿiya al-ṣaḥīḥa* Cairo 1I, 410, 444.

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14a. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Jalīl b. Mūsā al-Anṣārī, before 605/1208 (see Suppl.).

2. *Mukhtaṣar shuʿab al-īmān*, also Alex. Ḥad. 33, Dam. Z. 49<sub>15</sub> (which has al-Qaṣrī).

15. Majd al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Saʿādāt al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Athīr al-Shaybānī al-Jazarī,<sup>2</sup> who died on 30 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 606/26 June 1210 (see Suppl.)

Ibn Khall. 524. 1. *Kitāb jāmiʿ al-uṣūl li-aḥādīth al-rasūl*, a. Introduction, b. Arrangement of the traditions by subject in alphabetically ordered sections, c. Biographies of the Prophet and his contemporaries, Berl. 1311/6, Paris 728/9, Br. Mus. Suppl. 483, Garr. 1381/3, Yeni 183/93, Faiz. 300, Alex. Ḥad. 13, Cairo 1I, 294, Patna I, 43<sub>436/7</sub>.—Commentary entitled *al-Fuṣūl* by ʿAlī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī (II, 384), Patna I, 56<sub>559</sub>.—Abstracts: 1. *Tajrīd al-uṣūl* by Hibatallāh b. ʿAbd | al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamawī b. al-Bārīzī, d. 738/1337 (II, 116), Munich 129, Cairo 1I, 278, Patna I, 40<sub>411/2</sub>, probably also Berl. 1317 (anon.).—2. *Taysīr al-wuṣūl* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Daybaʿ al-Zabīdī, d. 944/1537 (II, 400),

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1 Not used by W.M. Patton, *A. b. Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leiden 1897.

2 For his brothers ʿIzz al-Dīn and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, see p. 357, 422.

in alphabetical order with several alterations, Paris 730, Algiers 498, Rāḡib 251, Cairo 1, 291, *Dībāja*, Gotha 2,109, with a commentary by Muḥammad ‘Abbād al-Mawza‘ī, ca. 1215/1800, Berl. 1318.—3. ‘Abdallāh al-Madanī, completed in Mecca in 971/1563, Berl. 1319.—4. *Jam‘ al-fawā‘id min Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl wa-Majma‘ al-zawā‘id* (by ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-Haythamī, d. 807/1405, [II, 76], with special consideration of Ibn Māja) by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Maghribī, d. 1094/1683 (see Suppl.), Berl. 1320, Garr. 1414, Alex. Ḥad. 16, Qawala 1, 112.—5. Anon. Cairo 1, 411.—6. see Suppl.—II. *Kitāb al-nihāya fi gharib al-ḥadīth wal-athar*, a dictionary of *ḥadīth*, Berl. 1650/8, Ind. Off. 999, Br Mus. 1386, 1686, Bodl. 1, 1061, II, 607, AS 4781/2, Rāḡib 359/62, Cairo 1, 445, Patna 1, 190,1720/1, II, 523,2809, print. Tehran 1269, C. 1308, 1311, 1322.—Abstract (*talkhīṣ*), *al-Durr al-nathīr* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Bodl. 1, 208, Br. Mus. 1687, Ind. Off. 1000, Garr. 1384, Patna 1, 185,1689, printed in the margin of *OB* v, 2414, 5137, in *Majmū‘a* C. 1322 (Qawala 1, 102), excerpt Gotha 98,12.—Versification *al-Kifāya fi naẓm al-N.* by Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. Bardis al-Ba‘lī, d. 786/1384 (II, 34,6), Berl. 1659.—Supplement *al-Tadhīl wal-tadhnīb ‘alā N. al-gh.* by al-Suyūṭī, Berl. 1660, anon. abstract ibid. 1661.—III. *Kitāb al-muraṣṣa‘*, a *kunya* dictionary Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3884, NO 4115, print. Istanbul 1304 (*OB* II, 4331), not used in the edition by C.F. Seybold, in *Semit. Stud. (Ergänzungshefte zur ZA)*, 10, 11, Weimar 1896.—IV. *Kitāb al-mukhtār fi manāqib al-akhyār (abrār)*, biographies of famous Muslims, vol. 1, Leid. 1090.—V.—VII. see Suppl. The cosmography *al-Durra al-muḍī‘a* etc. is attributed to ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Jazarī in Top Kapu Serāi 2963.

16. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr Mu‘īn al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī al-Baghdādī b. Nuqṭa, who was born soon after 550/1155, lived, following extensive study tours, as a teacher of *ḥadīth* in Baghdad where he died on 22 Ṣafar 629/20 December 1231.

Ibn Khall. 632, *Ḥuff.* xviii, 13, Wüst., *Gesch.* 313. 1. *Kitāb al-taqyīd li-ma‘rifat al-ruwāt wal-sunan wal-masānīd* Br. Mus. 1629.—2. *Takmilat al-Ikmāl*, p. 435.

440 | 17. ‘Umar b. Badr b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥanafī al-Mawṣilī was born in 557/1162 in Damascus and died in 622/1225, or, according to others, in 619/1222.

Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Ṭab. al-Ḥan* no. 138. *Kitāb al-mughnī ‘an al-ḥifẓ wal-kitāb fi-mā lam yaṣiḥḥi min al-ḥadīth* ḤKh v, 653,12488, Berl. 1629.

18. Al-Mu‘āfā b. Ismā‘īl b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abi ‘l-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad b. Ḥaddūs al-Nahrawānī Abu ‘l-Sinān al-Mawṣilī was born in 551/1156 and died in Ramaḍān or Sha‘bān 630/May or June 1233.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba in Wüst., *Ak. d. Ar.*, no. 180. 1. *Kitāb ins (anīs) al-munqaṭi'īn wa-riyāḍ al-sālikīn*, 300 traditions mixed with as many tales, Berl. 8777/8, Gotha 612, Breslau St. 1, 14, Br. Suppl. 144, Esc. 2747, Algiers 518/20, 763, AS 1671/2, Nafiz 142, Halis 1, 14, Riza P. 667, Alex. Ḥad. 7, Mawā'iz 6, Cairo 1, 273, 400, 21, Patna 1, 40, 406; cf. J. Cohn, *al-Muḥfae b. Ism. Mausiliensis K. Anīs al-M. pars I*, Diss. Wrocław 1875.—2. *Nihāyat al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Br. Mus. Suppl. 112, Cairo 1, 220.—3. *Kitāb al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Köpr. 65.

19. Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān b. Mūsā b. Abi 'l-Naṣr b. al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūri, who was of Kurdish descent, was born in 577/1181 in | Sharakhān between Arbela and Hamadan. 359 Having started his studies in Mosul, he continued them in the most important cities of Islam, after which he came to Jerusalem where he taught at the al-Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya. In 616/1209 he received the Shāfi'i professorship at the Rawāhiyya in Damascus, the head professorship at the Sha'miyya Juwāniyya—the madrasa that had newly been founded by Sitt al-Sha'm Zumurrud, the sister of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn—as well as a senior teaching position at the al-Ashrafiyya school of *ḥadīth*. He died there on 25 Rabī' II 643/20 September 1243.

Ibn Khall. 384, Abulf. IV, 466, 482, *Ḥuff.* XVIII, 21, Wüst. *Gesch.* 325. 1. *Kitāb aqṣa 'l-amal wal-shawq fī 'ulūm ḥadīth al-rasūl* | Br. Mus. 1597/8, Suppl. 1237, Pet. 120, Algiers 545, 3, Yeni 164, Patna 1, 36, 370/1 = *Kitāb ma'rifat anwā' al-'ulūm* Cairo 1, 253, Alex. Ḥad. 63, see Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 187 n. 5, printed as *Muqaddima fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, Bombay 1938.—Commentary by 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, d. 806/1403 (II, 65), Berl. Br. M. 255, Br. Mus. 1598, Cairo 1, 232, Patna 1, 35, 350, glosses thereon *Iṣlāḥ b. al-Ṣalāḥ* by Mughlaṭā'i, d. 762/1360 (II, 48), Cairo 1, 232.—Abstracts: a. *Irshād al-ḥadīth* or *Irshād tullāb al-ḥaqā'iq ilā ma'rifat sunan khayr al-khalā'iq* (or *li-ma'rifat ḥadīth khayr al-'ibād*) by al-Nawawī, d. 676/1277 (p. 394), Berl. 1038/40, Br. Mus. Suppl. 164, AS 433, Alex. Fun. 63, commentary by 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Dūmānī, AS 439.—Second abstract, *al-Taqrīb wal-taysīr li-ma'rifat sunan al-bashīr al-nadhīr*, Berl. 1041/3, Leipz. 851, ii, Garr. 1453, Rāḡib 235, Alex. Ḥad. 52, Cairo 1, 231.—Commentaries: α. *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, together with the original work, by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Berl. 1044/5, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 6, Cairo 1, 229, Qawala 1, 89, print. C. 1307.—β. see Suppl.—b. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamā'a, d. 733/1332 (II, 74), Br. Mus. 191, ii.—c. *Mukhtaṣar 'ulūm al-dīn* by Ismā'il b. 'Umar b. Kathīr, d. 774/1372 (II, 74), Garr. 1451/2, print. C. 1937.—d. *Maḥāsīn al-iṣṭilāḥ wa-taḍmīn kitāb Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, with additions, by 'Umar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī, d. 805/1402 (II, 93), Berl. 1048.—e. *Nukhabat al-fikar fī muṣṭalaḥ al-athar* by Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, d. 852/1448 441

- (II, 67), with the self-commentary *al-Tawdīh* or *Nuzhat al-nazar*, Berl. 1088/1107, Ind. Off. 199, 1036<sub>3</sub>, Paris 760/1<sub>1</sub>, 4257<sub>2</sub>, 5049, Esc. 2853<sub>3</sub>, Algiers 193<sub>3</sub>, 724<sub>8</sub>, Alex. Muṣṭ. al-Ḥad. 14/6, Fun. 103<sub>2</sub>, 110<sub>2</sub>, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 246, VII, 254, Qawala I, 95/6, Garr. 1452, 1467, Patna I, 36<sub>372</sub>, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1862, print. C. 1308, 1323.—Commentaries and glosses: α. Qāsim b. Quṭlūbughā, d. 879/1474 (II, 82), Tunis Zayt. II, 134, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 15.—αα. a. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, b. Abu 'l-Sharīf al-Majdī, d. 906/1500, Berl. 1108.—β. al-Qāri' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Berl. 1109/10, Ind. Off. 200/1, Alex. Muṣṭ. 16, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 251, Qawala I, 94, Patna I, 35<sub>360/1</sub>.—γ. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1031/1622 (II, 306), Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 255, Garr. 1468.—δ. *Qaḍā' al-waṭar* by Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī, d. 1041/1631 (II, 310), composed in 1023/1614, Paris 761<sub>2</sub>, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 242, Patna I, 35<sub>362</sub>.—ε. Athīr al-Dīn, composed in 1053/1633, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 243, 2<sub>1</sub>, 72.—ζ. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, d. 1142/1729, Berl. 1111.—η. the same, amalgamated with the glosses of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, d. 1060/1655, Berl. 1112.—θ.—Φ. see Suppl.—| κ. Mollā Taqī b. Shāh Muḥammad Lāhūrī, Patna I, 35<sub>359</sub>.—ψ. *Muṣṭalahāt ahl al-athar* by 'Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn Khāṭir al-'Adawī al-Mālikī, completed in 1309/1891, C. 1323. Other commentaries in Ahlw., 1115.—Versifications: a. *Aqsa 'l-amal wal-sūl fī 'ulūm ḥadīth al-rasūl* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl al-Khuwayyī, d. 693/1294, Berl. 1046, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 18.—b. *Tabṣīrat al-mubtadi' wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī* or *al-Maqāsid al-muhmala* or *Alfīyyat al-'Irāqī* by 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, d. 806/1463 (II, 65), composed in 768/1366 in Medina, Berl. 1071/5, Gotha 579, Paris 754/5, Ind. Off. 197, NO 409/10, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 228, Garr. 1459/60, Patna I, 35.—Commentaries: α. Self-commentary *Faṭḥ al-ghayth (mughīth)*, Berl. 1076/7, Yeni 1608, NO 414, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 241, Patna I, 35<sub>353/6</sub>, print. Bombay n.d.—β. *Faṭḥ al-bāqī* by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Berl. 1078/83, Ms. or. oct. 3975, Gotha 580, Algiers 193<sub>4</sub>, 547/8, Alex. Fun. 64<sub>3</sub>, Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 72, glosses Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 325, by Sulṭān al-Mazzāhī al-Shāfi'ī, d. 1075/1665 (Suppl. II, 452<sub>7a</sub>), Garr. 2114<sub>1</sub>.—γ.—ε. see Suppl.—c. (versified) *Silk al-durar fī muṣṭalah ahl al-athar* by Raḡī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī, d. 936/1528 (II, 284), Berl. 1113, Leipz, 33011.—d. anon. Berl. 1114.—f., g. see Suppl.—h. *al-Shadha 'l-fayyāḥ min 'ulūm Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ* by Burhān Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Abnāsī, d. 802/1400, ḤKh IV, 16<sub>7429</sub>, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 10.
- II. *Kitāb al-aḥādīth fī faḍl al-Iskandariyya wa-'Asqalān*, Berl. 1389.
- III. *Liber oderatus odorum terrae sanctae*, a fantastical life of Muḥammad, Flor. 121.
- IV. *Kitāb adab al-muftī wal-mustaftī* ḤKh 1<sub>1</sub>, 204<sub>341</sub>, 2<sub>1</sub>, 48, Flor. 121.
- V. *Fatāwī b. al-Ṣalāḥ fī 'l-tafsīr wal-ḥadīth wal-uṣūl* Sulaim. 650, Cairo 1<sub>111</sub>, 248, 2<sub>1</sub>, 527, print. C. 1348.



VI. *Ṣilat al-nāsik fī ṣifat al-manāsik* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 691, <sup>2</sup>I, 524.  
VII–XI. see Suppl.

20. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Najjār Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Baghdādī al-Shāfi‘ī, born in Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 578/February 1183, was a student of Ibn al-Jawzī (p. 500). Having travelled for 27 years, he finally settled down in Baghdad as a teacher and writer. He died there on 5 Sha‘bān 643/27 December 1245.

| *Fawāt* II, 264, *Ḥuff.* XVIII, 20, Wüst., *Gesch.* 327. 1. *Kitāb al-nuzha (durra) al-thamīna fī akhbār al-Madīna*, composed in 593/1196 in Medina, Gotha 1713, Paris 1630, adapted in *Taḥqīq al-nuṣra fī talkhīṣ ma‘ālim Dār al-Hijra* by Zayn al-Dīn al-Marāghī, d. 816/1413 (II, 172), Lee 112 (autograph), Bodl. I, 769, 852, cf. II. 595.—2. *Dhayl (al-Mustadrak) ‘alā Ta’rikh Baghdād*, p. 401, abstract by Aḥmad b. Aybak b. al-Dimyāṭī, d. 749/1348, Cairo <sup>1</sup>V 150, *al-Mukhtār al-mudhāyyal bihi ‘alā Ta’rikh b. al-Najjār* by Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad b. Rāfi‘a al-Sallānī, d. 774/1372 (II, 33), from which *Muntakhab al-Mukhtār* by Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, ed. ‘Abbās al-‘Azzāwī, Baghdad 1357/1938.

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21. Raḍī al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Faḍā’il al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (Ṣaghānī) b. Ḥaydar b. ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-‘Umarī al-‘Adawī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī, who died in 650/1252 in Baghdad (see Suppl.).

Ibn Quṭlūbughā, *Ṭab. al-Ḥan.* no. 61, Wüst., *Gesch.* 336. 1. *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīyya min ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār al-Muṣṭafawīyya*, collections of ḥadīth from | Bukhārī and Muslim, together with the genuine traditions from the *Kitāb al-shihāb* of al-Quḍā‘ī, d. 454/1062 (p. 418), and the *Kitāb al-najm* of al-Uqlīsī, d. 550/1155 (p. 370), Berl. 1322, Upps. 394, Br. Mus. p. 713a, Suppl. 145, Paris 737, 5788, Algiers 476, Yeni 280/4, Istanbul Un. zs III, 83, Alex. Ḥad. 60, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 420, <sup>2</sup>I, 147, Qawala I, 151, Garr. 1385/8, cf. V. Zetterstéen, *Om el-H. b. M. b. el-H. al-Ṣarānī och hans arbete* M. el a. enn. min ṣ. a. al-M., Leipzig 1896.—Commentaries: a. *Ḥadā’iq al-azhār* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Arzanjānī, d. 643/1245, Alex. Ḥad. 19, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 335, <sup>2</sup>I, 110.—b. *Tuḥfat al-abrār* by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bābartī al-Ḥanafī, d. 786/1384 (II, 80), Br. Mus. 1575/6, Alex. Ḥad. 9, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 280, <sup>2</sup>I, 94, 127.—c. *Mabāriq al-azhār* by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Kirmānī b. Malikshāh b. Fereshte, ca. 800/1397 (II, 213), Berl. 1323/4, Vienna 1651, Copenhagen 56, Paris 738/9, Alex. Ḥad. 45, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 395, <sup>2</sup>I, 142, Qawala I, 147/8, Patna I, 59, 593, print. Istanbul 1311, 1315,

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1328; rearranged under the title *al-Muḥawwal* by ‘Alī b. Ḥasan, completed in 936/1529, ḤKh v, 551, Garr. 1396/7.—d. Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭā’allāh al-Rāzī al-Harawī, d. 829/1426 (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’* VIII, 51/5, al-Shawkānī II, 201/8), Berl. 1325, glosses thereon by Shaykhzāde, d. 950/1453, *ibid.* 1326, Qilič ‘A. 252.—e. Anon., Algiers 477, Patna I, 53, 539/40.—g.—i. see Suppl.—a.—d. Abstracts: see 444 Suppl. (b. *Bāwariq al-anwār* Patna II, 501, 2682).—| e. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. Faḍlallāh al-Ḥamawī, ca. 1148/1738, Garr. 2071, 3.—f. Anon., Vienna 1650.—2. *Risālat al-aḥādīth al-mawḍū‘āt* (see Suppl.) Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 123, 1, Qawala I, 156, Alex. Fun. 162, 6, 174, 6, different from *al-Durr al-multaqāṭ fī tabyīn al-ghalaṭ*, proof of spurious traditions in *al-Shihāb* and *Kitāb al-najm*, Algiers 1359, 4, Alex. Fun. 95, 10, 174, 7.—2a. *Risāla fī ‘l-ḥadīth al-mawḍū‘ fī faḍā’il al-qirā’a sūra sūra al-marwiyya ‘an Abī Umāma* Alex. Fun. 95, 11.—3. *Kitāb dār (darr) al-ṣaḥāb fī bayān mawāḍi‘ wafayāt al-ṣaḥāba* Berl. 9652, Cairo <sup>1</sup>V, 52, <sup>2</sup>V, 175.—4. *Kitāb al-ubāb al-zākhīr wal-lubāb al-fākhīr*, a dictionary in 20 volumes, AS 4702/4, Köpr. 1551/3, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 175, <sup>2</sup>II, 20.—5. *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn fī ‘l-luḡha* Köpr. 1570.—6. *Kitāb al-takmila wal-dhayl wal-ṣila*, see Suppl. I, 197.—7. *Kitāb al-aḍḍād* Berl. 7092.—8. *Mukhtaṣar fī ‘l-‘arūḍ* Berl. 7127, Dāmādzāde 1789g.—9. *Ta‘zīz baytay al-Ḥarīrī*, a poem in honour of two verses in the 41st *maqāma* of al-Ḥarīrī, Berl. 7756, Dāmādzāde 1789d.—10.—20. see Suppl. (11. see RAAD V, 524/5).—21. *Risāla fī ‘l-aḥādīth al-wārīda fī ṣadr al-tafāsīr fī faḍā’il al-Qur‘ān wa-ghayrihā* Qawala I, 118 (= 2a?).

21a. ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Riḍwān b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥanbalī wrote, probably in the seventh century:

*Maṭla‘ al-nayyirayn al-mukhtaṣar min al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, MS dated 706/1306, Garr. 1425, dated 902, Rāmpūr I, 196, 304.

22. Ṣadr al-Dīn Kāmil al-Mukhtār, d. 674/1278.

*Kitāb jāmi‘ al-ṣaghīr ma‘a ziyādāt*, Yeni 395.

23. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu ‘l-‘Abbās (Abū Muḥammad Abū Ja‘far) Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī al-Shāfi‘ī, who died in Jumādā II 684/March 1295 (see Suppl.).

*Ḥuff*. XX, 4, *Orient*. II, 290, Wüst., *Gesch.* 367. 1. *Kitāb al-riyād al-naḍīra fī faḍā’il (manāqib) al-‘ashara*, on the 10 companions of Muḥammad distinguished by the promise of Paradise, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>III, 6735, IV, 9135, <sup>2</sup>I, 937, Berl. 9657, Leid.

1748, Landb.-Br 232, Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 65, 2<sup>v</sup>, 210, Patna II, 306,<sup>2418</sup>, abstract Berl. 9658, *Tatimma*, supplement by al-Ḥurayfīsh, d. 801/1398 (II, 177), Berl. 9759.—2. *Kitāb dhakhkār al-‘uqbā fi manāqib dhawi ‘l-qurbā*, on the relatives of the Prophet, ḤKh 1<sup>III</sup>, 5770, 2<sup>I</sup>, 821, Goth. 1834, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī, C. 1356/1937, attributed to Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī (II, 411), just like Berl. 9684 | and Patna II, 534,<sup>2875</sup>.—3. *Aḥādīth mushkila* Landb.—Br. 51.—4. *Ṣafwat al-qirā fi ṣifat ḥijjat al-Muṣṭafā wa-tawāfihi bi-umm al-qurā*, ibid., Cairo 2<sup>v</sup>, 239, an abstract of *al-Qirā li-qāṣid umm al-qurā*, Cairo 1<sup>III</sup>, 260, 2<sup>I</sup>, 137.—5. *Ghāyat al-iḥkām fi ‘l-aḥādīth wal-aḥkām* Paris 793, vol. II, Garr. 1802.—6. *Khulāṣat siyar sayyid al-bashar*, | the life of Muḥammad in 24 chapters, Paris 1546, Alex. Ta’r. 362 7, from which *Nuqāyat al-athar* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (see Suppl.) additionally Patna II, 535,<sup>2880</sup>.—7. A Sufi *qaṣīda*, Berl. 3435.—8. see Suppl. (Khālidiyya Jerusalem).

24. Al-Wā‘iz Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Abū b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Baṣrī (see Suppl.).

14. *Ghazāt sab‘ ḥuṣūn* AS 3307.—15. *Islām al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Āmir al-Dawsī* C. 1322 (Alex. Qiṣaṣ 7).

## 2 Persia

1. Abū Nu‘aym Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Iṣḥāq al-Iṣfahānī, who died on 20 Muḥarram 430/23 October 1038 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 32, *Huff*. XIII, 62, Wüst., *Gesch.* 187, *Schaf.* 346. 1. *Kitāb ḥilyat al-awliyā’ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā’* or *Hilyat al-abrār*, a history of pious and holy men, Berl. 8512, 8669, 9973/4, Leid. 1071, Paris 2028/9, Garr. 669/72, Rāḡib 1004/5, vols. I–VIII, C. 1932/8.—Abstract, supplemented from other sources, *Ṣafwat (ṣifat) al-ṣafwa* in 5 volumes by Ibn al-Jawzī, d. 597/1200 (p. 500), starts with Muḥammad and the pious men of Mecca and Medina, then moves to Baghdad, subsequently treats those of the lands to its east and its west, and ends with the pious among the *jinn*, Berl. 8069, 9975/8, Paris 2030/1, Br. Mus. 962/3, Suppl. 638, Köpr. 1100, Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 75, 2<sup>v</sup>, 239; whence, in turn, abstracts: a. *Aḥāsīn al-maḥāsīn* by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Raqqī, d. 703/1303 (II, 31), Berl. 9979, Ms. Or. Qu. 2130, Leipz. 242, Gött. 84, Bursa, Haraccizade Tarih 10, Alex. Mawā‘iz 3.—b. *Majma‘ al-aḥbāb wa-tadhkirat uli ‘l-albāb* by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥusaynī, d. 776/1374, Paris 2032.—c. see Suppl. Additionally a. *Naẓm rijāl Ḥ. al-a.* by Muḥammad b. Jābir, composed in 793/1391, Cairo 1<sup>VI</sup>, 32, 2<sup>v</sup>, 393.—b. *Taqrīb al-bughya fi tartīb aḥādīth al-Ḥ.* by ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr

446 al-Haythamī, d. 807/1104 (II, 76), Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 286, <sup>2</sup>I, 97.—2. *Ṭibb al-nabī*, traditions related to | medicine, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1619, Yeni 273b, cf. Leclerc I, 484; abstract, omitting the *isnāds* and with additions from other works, by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Rūmī, Pet. Ros. 224,2.—3. Two booklets with traditions, Berl. 1567/8.—4. *Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān* ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 2142, <sup>2</sup>I, 282, Leid. 1020, ed. S. Dederling I, Leiden 1931, II, 1934.—5. *al-Musnad al-mustakhrāj ‘alā Muslim* Br. Mus. Suppl. 137, Bursa Ulu Cami Hadis 187.—6. *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa* Br. Mus. Suppl. 510, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 341, <sup>2</sup>I, 116, Patna I, 270,2246.—7. *Musnad* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 418.

2. Abū Ya’lā al-Khalīl b. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Khalīlī al-Qazwīnī was a *qāḍī* in Qazvin and died in 446/1054.

1. *Kitāb al-irshād fī ma’rifat ‘ulamā’ al-bilād*, short statements on ancient, trustworthy traditionists, arranged by their place of residence, abstract by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Silafī, d. 576/1180 (p. 449), Berl. 99,9 (see Suppl.).

363 3. Abū ‘Uthmān Ismā’il b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ṣābūnī, the son of a preacher, was born in 373/983 in Nishapur (according to Yāqūt in Būshanj). After studies at home and abroad he succeeded his father, whom he had lost to violence. | A highly respected authority, he died of the plague on 4 Muḥarram 449/13 March 1057.

Wüst., *Schaf.* 393. *Kitāb al-mi’atayn*, 100 choice traditions and 100 tales, Landb.—Br. 102.—2., 3. see Suppl.

447 4. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Bayhaqī al-Khusrawjirdī was born in Sha’bān 384/September 994 in Khusrawjird in the district of Bayhaq, 20 parasangs from Nishapur. During long travels he had devoted himself to the study of *ḥadīth*, but after his return to his homeland he was persecuted by the vizier ‘Amīd al-Mulq because of his Ash’arī leanings, forcing him to flee to Mecca with al-Qushayrī (p. 432) and Imām al-Ḥaramayn (p. 388). However, in 441/1049 he was called to Nishapur where | he taught Shāfi’ī law, using his own collection of al-Shāfi’ī’s legal propositions (no. 9). He died there on 10 Jumādā I 458/9 April 1066.

Ibn Khall. 27, *Huff.* XIV, 13, Yāqūt, *GW* I, 804 (where it is stated that he died in 454), Wüst., *Gesch.* 203, *Schaf.* 407. 1. *Kitāb al-sunan wal-āthār* or *Kitāb al-sunan al-kabīr*, a collection of traditions in 10 volumes, Löwen L 97, Garr. 1371, Yeni 204/6, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 452/4 (among which there is an autograph); thereto *Fawā’id al-muntaqī li-zawā’id al-B.* by Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Būṣīrī, d. 840/1436 (II, 67),

Cairo 1, 383, <sup>21</sup>, 136, *Dibāja*, Gotha 2,<sup>122</sup>; against this work ‘Abū b. ‘Uthmān b. al-Turkumānī, d. 747/1346 (II, 64), wrote *Kitāb jawhar al-naqī fi ‘l-radd ‘ala ‘l-B.*, Paris 753, Copenhagen 54, Cairo 1, 328, <sup>21</sup>, App. 13, v, 110.—2. *Kitāb al-sunan al-ṣuḡhrā* Cairo 1, 351, <sup>21</sup>, 124.—3. *Kitāb dalā’il al-nubuwwa* Br. Mus. Suppl. 511, Cairo 1, 341, <sup>21</sup>, 116, cf. K. Nylander, *Die Upsalaer Hds. der D. al-N.* Upsala 1891.<sup>1</sup>—4. *Kitāb al-ba‘th wal-nushūr*, on the Last Judgement, Pet. AMK 924, Mosul 228,<sup>17</sup>, a part of it in, Berl. 2734.—5. *al-Jāmi‘ al-muṣannaḡ fi shu‘ab al-īmān* Alex. Ḥad. 16, Cairo 1, 324, abstract by Abū Ḥaḡṣ ‘Umar al-Qazwīnī, Patna 1, 59,<sup>598</sup>, II, 513,<sup>2757</sup>, Persian translation Muḡammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḡammad al-Ījī, AS 1738.—6. *Kitāb al-adab* Cairo 1, 257 abstract *al-Adab fi ta‘rib al-arīb* by Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Paris 4593.—7. *Kitāb takhrīj aḡādīth al-Umm* (see Suppl. I, 180,<sup>3</sup>) vol. 2, Cairo 1111, 206.—8. *Kitāb faḡā’il al-awḡāt*, a prayer book, Vienna 1675.—9. *Kitāb nuṣūṣ al-īmām al-Shāfi‘ī* (see above), in 10 volumes, ḤKh VI, 11330, 13823, Bodl. I, 828.—10. *Kitāb fi ḡayāt al-anbiyā’ fi qubūrihim* Landb.—Br. 108.—11.—22. see Suppl. (II, Patna I, 113,<sup>1134</sup>).

5. Abu ‘l-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh b. Aḡmad b. Maḡmūd al-Balkhī died in Balkh in Jumādā II 488/June 1095.

1. *Kitāb qabūl al-akhbār wa-ma‘rifat al-rijāl* Cairo 1, 242, <sup>21</sup>, 77.—2. see Suppl. (no. 3 to be excised, see Suppl. I, 343).

6. Abū Muḡammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Baḡhawī, who died in Shawwāl 516/December 1122 or, according to others, in Shawwāl 510/February 1117 (see Suppl.).

| Ibn Khall. 177, *Ḥuff.* xv, 31. Suyūṡī, *De Interpr.* ed. Meursinge, p. 12, no. 35. 1. *Kitāb maṣābīḡ (al-dujā) al-sunna (sunan)*, a collection of traditions compiled from | seven foundational works, divided into *ṣaḡīḡ* from Bukhārī and Muslim, *ḡasan* from the *Sunan*, *ḡarīb* and *ḡa‘īf* for the very uncertain ones, Berl. 1280/8, Paris 719, 5497, 6606, Copenhagen 55, Br. Mus. 1190, Suppl. 138/9, Ind. Off. 149/50, 4580 (JRAS 1939, 370), Yeni 281/91, Cairo <sup>21</sup>, 422, <sup>21</sup>, 148, Qawala I, 94, Garr. 1372/5, 152, Patna I, 62,<sup>630/3</sup>, a *Madkhal* by the author himself, Qawala I, 94.—Commentaries: a. ‘Abd al-Laṡīf b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Malak (Fereshte), ca. 850/1446, Rāḡīb 322/4, Sulaim. 282/3, NO 1102/4, Cairo 1, 362, <sup>21</sup>, 128.—b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar al-Bayḡāwī, d. 716/1316 (p. 416), Cairo 1 326.—c. Zayn al-‘Arab

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1 On which C. Landberg, *Dr. K. Nylanders Specimenschrift kritisch beleuchtet*, Leiden 1892, K.N., Dr. C.A. Graf L. als Kritiker beleuchtet, Uppsala 1892.

‘Alī b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Aḥmad, Berl. 1289, Leipz. 185, Br. Mus. 1573, Alex. Ḥad. 32, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 363, 2<sup>I</sup>, 128.—d. *al-Mafātīḥ* by al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Zaydānī Muḥzir al-Dīn, composed in 720/1320, Berl. 1290, Rāḡib 325, Alex. Ḥad. 63, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 427, 2<sup>I</sup>, 128, Qawala 1, 153, Patna 1, 63, 642.—e. Abū ‘Abdallāh Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umar al-Fuqqā‘ī al-Ashraf, d. Jum. 1 715/Aug. 1315 (Ibn Ḥajar, *DK*, 1, 377), Alex. Ḥad. 32.—f. Aḥmad al-Rūmī al-Āqḥiṣārī, d. 1041/1631 (ḤKh, 1, 250, 1043 *ibid.* III, 392, see II, 445), in 100 *majālis*, Vienna 1652/4, Munich 125.—g. Anon., Berl. 1291, Ind. Off. 151, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 363.—h. ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, Alex. Ḥad. 32 (MS dated 858), Selīm Āḡā 216.—i.–q. see Suppl.—r. *Asmā’ al-ṣaḥāba wal-tābī‘īn mimmā dhakarahu ‘l-M.* by Abū Muḥammad Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Fuḍālī al-Farḡharī (gh?) al-Sakādārī, from the year 777 AH, AS 39, f. 83b/90b (Ritter).—An abstract, *Kashf al-manāḥij wal-tanqīḥ fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Maṣābīḥ*, by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Munāwī, d. 803/1400 (see Suppl.), Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 389.—A revised edition, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (II, 195), composed in 737/1336, is, due to its richness and practical usefulness, still widely in circulation; for the Muslim, in particular scholars, it replaces all other collections, avoids all the complicated, ostentatious business of *isnāds*, and is not so much geared towards pedantry as it is towards edification (Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 270/1), Gotha 597 (where other MSS are listed), Yeni 285, Faiz. 257, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 420, 2<sup>I</sup>, 148, Patna 1, 61, 634/7, II, 503, 2705, printed several times in India (see Suppl.), lith. St. Petersburg 1898/9 in 2 vols.; to this *Asmā’ al-rijāl* Patna II, 302, 2399.—Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī, d. 743/1342, *al-Kāshif ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-sunan* Berl. 1293, Gotha 597, Paris 751/2, Br. Mus. 1569, Ind. Off. 157, Rāḡib | 321, Yeni 245, 259, Qawala 1, 144, Patna 1, 56, 568/9, *Muqaddima*, Alex. Fun. 100, 2, *idem*, *Asmā’ rijāl al-Mishkāt* NO 656.—b. al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), BDMG 13, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 332, Patna 1, 49, 488.—c. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, d. 974/1566 (II, 387), Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 374.—d. *Mirqāt al-mafātīḥ* by al-Qārī’ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Ind. Off. 158/60, Br. Mus. Suppl. 140, Algiers 510/6, Rāḡib 319/20, Yeni 246/54, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 416, Qawala 1, 149, Patna 1, 59, 601/4, print. C. 1309, 5 vols.—e. *Nujūm al-M.* by al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Sharīf, Patna 1 64, 672.—Persian translation with commentary, Tippi 20/1, Berl. Spr. 526/9, Persian commentary *Lama‘āt al-Tanqīḥ* by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Miskīn al-Dihlawī, d. 1052/1642, Br. Mus. Suppl. 141, Patna 1, 58, 59, print. Calcutta and Chinsura 1251/9, anon. abstract Ind. Off. 16.—2. *Kitāb sharḥ al-sunna*, an extensive collection of traditions, Berl. 1295/6, Yeni 235, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 357, Patna 1, 52, 521 (no. 14 attributed).—3. *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fī ‘l-furū‘*, a juridical handbook, Cairo 1<sup>III</sup>, 212, 2<sup>I</sup>, 507.—4. *Kitāb ma‘ālim al-tanzīl*, Qu’rān commentary, an abstract from Tha‘labī’s *al-Kashf wal-bayān*, Gotha 524/7 (where other MSS are listed), BDMG 8/9, Br. Mus. 62/3, 1544/8, Suppl. 101/3, Esc. 21279, Algiers 317/8, AS 269, 295, 277, 279, 272/3, 283, 271, 270, 275/6, 274 (ordered by

date, Ritter), Rāgīb 230, Yeni 95, Garr. 1262/4, Cairo 1I, 211, 2I, 62, Qawala I, 80, Patna I, 32, 325/6.—Abstracts by: a. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Fayyūmī, d. 770/1368 (II, 25), Esc. 21327.—b. *Nafā’is al-marjān fi jam‘ qiṣaṣ al-Qurʿān* by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, d. 875/1470 (II, 132), Algiers 319.—c., d. see Suppl.—5.—8. see Suppl.

7. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī was born in Rabī‘ II 451/May 1059 in Nishapur. He studied in his hometown at al-Madrasa al-Nizāmiyya and then travelled through Khwārizm and, by way of Ghazna, all the way to India. After his return he became a preacher in Nishapur, where he died in 529/1134.

| Ibn Khall. 375, *Huff.* xv, 41, Wüst., *Gesch.* 236. 1. *Kitāb al-arba‘īn*, a collection of 40 traditions, Berl. 1463, Cairo 2I, 87.—2. *Kitāb majma‘ al-gharā’ib wa-manba‘ al-raghā’ib*, a collection of traditions, completed in 527/1133, Bodl. I, 1154, Cairo 1I, 400, 2I, 144.—3. (4.) see Suppl. 365

8. Zāhir b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Shahḥāmī al-Nisābūrī Abu ‘l-Qāsīm, who died in 533/1138.

| *Kitāb al-aḥādīth al-ilāhiyya*, traditions with precise *isnāds* in 19 books, with two *naw’*s from the work of Ibn Ḥibbān, d. 354/965 (p. 172), as book 10, Berl. 1297. 450

8a. Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn Sa‘īd b. Hibatallāh (Sa‘dallāh b. ‘Abdallāh) b. Abi ‘l-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī was a Shī‘ī *faqīh* who died in 573/1177.

Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, 476. *Al-Kharā’ij wal-jarā’ih fi ‘l-mu‘jizāt*, on the miracles of the Prophet and the 12 imams (Kentūrī 1046), Berl. 2619, Oct. 3164, Mashh. IV, 35, 110/1.

9. Abu ‘l-Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Silafī (b. Silafa) al-Iṣbahānī al-Jarwānī, who died in 576/1180 or 578 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 43, *Huff.* xvi, 4, Wüst., *Gesch.* 268, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 339/42, 1. *Kitāb al-abḥāth*, a collection of traditions, vols. 5 and 9 Landb.-Br. 75/6.—2. *al-Mashyakha al-Baghdādiyya*, in more than 100 quires, completed in 574/1178, Esc. 21783 (MS from Alexandria dated 594/1198), see al-Kattānī II, 61, selection in *Muntaqāt min al-Safīna al-Baghdādiyya* by Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Lubūdī (Suppl. II, 85, 23), Landb.-Br. 117.—3. *Kitāb al-arba‘īn al-mustaghna bi-ta’yīn mā fihi min al-mu‘īn*, usually called *al-Buldāniyya* because each tradition was

collected in another town (cf. Ibn Khall.), Paris 722,<sup>1</sup> Algiers 763,<sup>4</sup>.—4. An explanation of remarkable expressions in the Qurʾān, incorporated by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿArrāq, d. 933/1526 (II, 332), into his work *Jawharat al-ghawwās*, Berl. 427, cf. 698.—5. a *qaṣīda*, Berl. 7697,<sup>1</sup>.—6.—10. see Suppl.—11. *Arbaʿīn ḥadīth fī ḥaqq al-fuqarāʾ*, collected by his student ʿIsā b. Ḥasan al-Silafī, Alex. Ḥad. 48.—12. Correspondence with al-Zamakhsharī, Garr. 2066,<sup>3</sup>.

9a. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd al-Ghaznawī, d. 593/1197.

*Rawḍat al-shihāb fī bayān maʿāni ʾl-alfāz al-nabawiyya wal-ādāb al-sharʿiyya* Alex. Ḥad. 64.

10. Abu ʾl-Karam ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥijjī<sup>2</sup> al-Firdawsī al-Andarasfānī, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century in Khwārizm.

451 | 1. *Kitāb al-mustaḡṣā*, an expansion of his earlier work *al-Muṭtabā*, a history of Muḥammad according to Bukhārī, Muslim and the *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, of the conquests, of the first 4 caliphs and of Ḥasan, translated into Persian by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Khwārizmī, d. ca. 840/1436, Br. Mus. Pers. I, 144.—2. *al-Jāmiʿ al-bahī li-daʿawāt al-nabī*, composed in 564/1169, Garr. 1945, Mosul 36, 49.

11. Muḥyi ʾl-Sunna Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ʿUmar b. Abī ʿIsā Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿIsā al-Iṣbahānī was born in Dhu ʾl-Qaʿda 501/June 1108 in Isfahan where he died on 8 Jumādā I 581/8 August 1185.

366 | 1. *al-Laṭāʾif min ḍaḡāʾiq al-maʿārif fī ʾulūm al-ḥuffāz al-aʿārif* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 394, <sup>2</sup>I, 142, app. 16.—2. *Kitāb taqdhīyat mā yuqḍhi ʾl-ʿayn min hafawāt Kitāb al-gharībayn* by Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī (p. 137), Bodl. II, 381,<sup>4</sup>.—3. see Suppl.

12. (13). Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʿĀtiq b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Harawī dictated to a student in 637/1239:

*Arbaʿūn*, 40 traditions, each of which was taken from another work, Paris 722,<sup>2</sup>.

13. (14). Fakhr al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanbalī, who died in 690/1291 (see Suppl.).

2 According to al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb* 157b, the common form of al-Ḥājjī in Khwārizm.



Al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 58. *Kitāb al-Mashyakha al-Fakhriyya* or *Asna 'l-maqāšid wa-a'dhab al-mawārid*, a collection of traditions, arranged by his 62 male and 6 female teachers, Paris 750, Bank. v, 2, 322 = Patna I, 62,269.

13a. *Jam' masānīd imām Abi Ḥanīfa* Patna I, 47,481.

14. (15). Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Baghawī, seventh cent., see Suppl.

1. *Kitāb fi 'l-ḥadīth* also Patna I, 57,576.—2. *al-Jawāhir* Alex. Mawā'iz 14.—3. *Sharḥ al-sunna* Patna I, 52,521 (but see no. 7,11).

### 3 Egypt and North Africa

1. Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. As'ad b. 'Alī al-Jawwānī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mālikī al-Qāḍi 'l-Ajall Dhu 'l-Ḥasabayn Nassābat Amīr al-Mu'minīn, who was born on 1 Jumādā II 525/1 May 1131 and died in 588/1192 in Egypt.

| 1. *Kitāb shajarat rasūl Allāh*, a genealogy of the Prophet and his family, with a brief mention of historical ties, dedicated to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Berl. 9511.—2.—6. see Suppl. (3. also Paris 2101). 452

2. Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Lakhmī al-Sabtī b. al-'Azafī wrote, in 633/1256:

*Kitāb al-durr al-munazzam fī mawlid al-nabī al-mu'azzam*, completed by his son Abu 'l-Qāsim, Br. Mus. 919 (where Ibn 'Abdallāh), Esc. 21741, Yeni 851.

3. Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Qāḍī Abu 'l-Makārim al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Alī b. al-Mufarrij al-Maqdisī, who was born in 544/1149 in a place near the Syrian-Egyptian border. He was for a time the acting *qāḍī* in Alexandria and then a professor at the madrasa of Ibn Shukr in Cairo, where he died in Sha'bān 611/December 1214.

Ibn Khall. 404, *Huff*. xvii, 23, al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥ.* I, 200. *Kitāb al-arba'īn al-murattaba 'alā ṭabaqāt al-arba'īn* or *Arba'ūna ḥadīthan 'an arba'īna shaykhan*, with precise information on the lifetime of each teacher and complete *isnāds*, Berl. 1467, Br. Mus. 1628, Suppl. 158.—2. see Suppl.

| 4. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhirī 367  
was born in Egypt on 1 Sha'bān 581/28 October 1185, studied in Mecca,

Damascus, Ḥarrān, Edessa and Alexandria, before becoming a teacher at al-Zāfirī mosque in Cairo. He then held the Shāfiʿī professorship for the science of *ḥadīth* at al-Kāmiliyya mosque for twenty years, dying on 4 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 656/3 November 1258.

*Ḥuff.* XVIII, 24, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 201, Wüst., *Gesch.* 342. 1. *Kitāb al-targhīb wal-tarhīb, ḥadīths*, ordered by subject, encouraging the good and the just and discouraging the bad and unjust, HKh <sup>111</sup>, 2937, <sup>21</sup>, 400, Berl. 1328/31, Ms. Or. Qu. 2067, Paris 740/1, Garr. 1309, Yeni 175/6, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 369, 453 no. 20, Cairo <sup>1</sup>, 284, <sup>21</sup>, 96, Qawala I, 105, Patna I, 41,4203.—Commentaries: | a. *ʿUjālat al-implāʿ*, mainly to correct flippancies, slips of the pen, and omissions, by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Nājī, d. 900/1495 (II, 98), Berl. 1332/3, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1269.—b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Fayyūmī, ninth cent., Br. Mus. Suppl. 146.—Abstracts: *al-Taysīr wal-taqrīb* by Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Mālikī, d. 844/1440, Paris 742.—c. *al-Taqrīb al-muntazaʿ* by Sālim al-Murtaḍā al-Wāsiṭī al-Ḥuburī al-Saʿdī (see Suppl.), Br. Mus. 1594.—d. *Ithāf al-muslim bi-aḥādīth al-T. wal-t.*, only from Bukhārī and Muslim, by Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, d. after 1345/1926 (Suppl. II, 764), C. 1329.—2. *Arbaʿūn (fi ʾiṣṭināʿ al-marʾuf lil-muslimīn)*, from Bukhārī and Muslim, Berl. 1470.—3. *Majālis fi ṣawm yawm ʿĀshūrā* Landb.-Br. 103.—4. *al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*, biographies of *ḥadīth* scholars from 625/1228 until 642/1244, Br. Mus. Suppl. 629, Alex. Taʿr. 52.—5. *Kifāyat al-mutaʿabbid wa-tuḥfat al-mutazahhid* Cairo <sup>1VII</sup>, 66, <sup>21</sup>, 139.—7. see Suppl.

#### 4 Spain

1. Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Qurṭubī, who was born on 24 Rabīʿ II 368/30 November 978, studied in Cordova and became the greatest *ḥadīth* specialist in the Maghreb in his lifetime. While having been a Zāhirī in his younger years, he later professed 368 Mālikism, | although he was also very much inclined towards the teachings of al-Shāfiʿī. Having wandered around western Spain for some time, he finally settled in Denia, but also often stayed in Valencia and Játiva. During the reign of the Aftasid al-Muzaffar he was appointed *qāḍī* of Lisbon and Santarem. He died in Játiva on 29 Rabīʿ II 463/3 February 1071.

Ibn Khall. 808, *Ḥuff.* XIV, 12, Ibn Bashkuwāl no. 1386, Wüst., *Gesch.* 207, Goldziher, *Zāhir.* 171/2. 1. *Kitāb al-istīʿāb fi maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, in alphabetical order, Berl. Ms. Or. Qu. 2107, Br. Mus. 1623/4, Suppl. 623, *Cat. Ital.* 288, no. 67, Madr. 511, 527,

Garr. 673, AS 4353/4, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 225, <sup>2</sup>I, 78, Patna II, 301, <sup>2391/5</sup>.—Abstract: a. *I'lām al-iṣāba bi-a'lām al-ṣaḥāba* by Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khalīlī, eighth cent., Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 227, <sup>2</sup>I, 69, Beirut 109.—b.—e. see Suppl.—2. | *Kitāb al-durar fi 'khtiṣār al-maghāzī wal-siyar* Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 53, <sup>2</sup>v, 180.—3. *Kitāb jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-fadlihi wa-mā yanbaghī fi riwāyatihī wa-ḥamlihi* Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 77, <sup>2</sup>I, 283, Dam. Z. 79, <sup>13</sup>.—4. *Kitāb al-intiqā' fi faḍā'il al-thalātha al-fuqahā'*, i.e. Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa, and al-Shāfi'ī, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1807.—5. *al-Istidhkār fi sharḥ madhāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār etc.*, see Suppl. 1, 297.—6. *Kitāb al-inbāh fi dhikr uṣūl al-qabā'il wal-ruwāt 'an rasūl Allāh* Esc. <sup>2</sup>1699.—7. *Kitāb bahjat al-majālis wa-uns al-mujālis*, an anthology of proverbs, verses of poetry, aphorisms, and tales, dedicated to the prince al-Muzaffar, Br. Mus. 333, Bodl. II, 106, Algiers 1868, Tunis, Zaytūna IV, 676 (*Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 9, no. 10), AS 3812, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 213, <sup>2</sup>III, 39, printed together with Ibn al-Muqaffa's *al-Adab al-kabīr* with the title *Jawāhir al-ḥukamā'*, C. 1907.—Abstract Algiers 1869.—8. Another anthology in verse and in prose, in 70 chapters, ordered by subject, Br. Mus. 726.—9.—15. see Suppl.—16. *al-Taqaṣṣī fi 'l-ḥadīth al-nabawī* Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 98.

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2. (3). Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, professor of *ḥadīth* at the mosque of Cordova, died on 12 Sha'bān 498/30 April 1105.

Ibn Khall. 187, Ibn Bashkuwāl 326, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 254. 1. *Taqyīd al-muḥmal wa-tamyīz al-mushkil fi rijāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, alphabetically listed, in 2 volumes, Berl. 10161, Patna II, 538, <sup>2896</sup>.—2. *Kitāb al-kunā wal-alqāb* Garr. 1449.—3. see Suppl.

4. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Khalṣa b. Abi 'l-Khiṣāl al-Ghāfiqī was born in 465/1072 in Burghalīṭ (Farghalīṭ, i.e. Gorgolitas?) in the Shaqūra district in the province of Jayyān. | He was a multifaceted scholar and poet, lived in Cordova and Granada, and held a high military and government post with the title Dhu 'l-wizāratayn. When the Almoravids stormed Cordova, he died in Pharaoh's Street, not far from 'Abd al-Jabbār gate, on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 540/27 May 1146.

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Maqq. II, 124. Wüst., *Gesch.* 242. 1. *Kitāb zill al-ṣaḥāb*, on Muḥammad's wives and relatives, Br. Mus. 888, <sup>5</sup>, with the title *Zill al-ghamāma wa-ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1787, versified *ibid.* 1745, <sup>3</sup>.—2. *Minḥāj al-manāqib wa-mi'rāj al-ḥasab al-thāqib*, | a poem in praise of the Prophet and his companions, Br. Mus. 888, <sup>6</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>404, <sup>1</sup>.—3. *Manāqib al-'ashara wa-'ammay rasūl Allāh* Esc. <sup>2</sup>1745, <sup>2</sup>.—4. Imitation of *Mulqa 'l-sabīl* by Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (p. 296), ordered

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by the letters of the alphabet, with, for each person, an aphorism and a verse, Br. Mus. 888,<sup>11</sup>—4. Letters, *maqāmas* and an imitation of the *Mulqa 'l-sabīl*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>519.—5. Letters on religion to 'Abd b. Ḥabīb, Esc. <sup>2</sup>306,<sub>2</sub>—6.—9. see Suppl.

5. Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Iyād b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād al-Yaḥṣībī (Yaḥṣubī) al-Sabtī al-Mālikī, who was born in the middle of Sha'bān 476/December 1083 in Ceuta, studied in Cordova and became a *qāḍī* in his hometown. In 532/1137 he assumed the same office in Cordova, but soon after went to Marrakesh. He died there on 7 Jumādā II 544/13 October 1149, or, according to others, in Ramaḍān.

Al-Ḍabbī no. 1269, Maqq. I, 388, Ibn Khall. 484, *Huff*. xvi, 5, Wüst., *Gesch.* 246, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 183/9, 'Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī* I, 79/81, *Kitāb azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār 'Iyād* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, d. 1041/1631 (II, 297), Paris 2106 (see Suppl.), O. Houdas and R. Basset, *Mission scientifique en Tunisie*, Algiers 1884, p. 46, no. 6, Basset, *Gion. d. Soc. As. Ital.* x, 56, n. 2. 1. *Kitāb al-shifā' fī ta'rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā'*, on the duties of Muslims towards the Prophet, Berl. 2559/63, Ms. or. oct. 3910, Paris 1953/6, Br. Mus. Suppl. 159, Gotha 719 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 634/5, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 363/6, <sup>2</sup>I, 128, Patna I, 271,<sub>2358/61</sub>, lith. C. 1276, print. *ibid.* 1312 and later (see Suppl.).—Commentaries: a. *al-Iktifā'* by 'Abd al-Bāqī b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Qurashī al-Yamanī, d. 743/1342 (II, 171), Esc. <sup>2</sup>1795, anon. abstract, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 2566.—b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-'Ajamī, d. 841/1437 (II, 67), composed in 797/1394, Cairo<sup>1</sup> I, 428, <sup>2</sup>I, 151.—c. Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥijāzī, ca. 850/1446, Berl. 2564.—d. *Muzīl al-khafā'* 'an *alfāz al-Sh.* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qāhirī al-Shumunnī, d. 872/1467 (II, 82), Berl. 2565, Leid. 2102, Paris 1957,<sub>2</sub>, 4626, Br. Mus. 872,<sub>7</sub>, Algiers 1075,<sub>2</sub>, Yeni 237, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 417, Makram 55.—e. *al-Manhal al-aṣfā'* by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Tilimsānī, completed in 917/1511, Algiers 1678.—f. *Raf' al-khafā'* 'an *dhāt al-Sh.* by al-Qārī' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Paris 1958, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 359, <sup>2</sup>I, 126, Qawala I, 128/9, 456 | Patna I, 271,<sub>2250/1</sub>, print. Istanbul 1264, 1290, 1316, Būlāq 1257, C. 1264, 1325/7 (together with i.).—g. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1031/1622 (II, 306), Paris 1957.—h. *Manhaj al-wafā'* by Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Subkī, d. 1037/1627, Gotha 720.—i. *Nasīm al-riyāḍ* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī, d. 1069/1659 (II, 285), Algiers 824/9, 1673/6, Yeni 238/40, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 443, Qawala I, 157, Patna I, 274,<sub>2277/80</sub>, printed in 4 vols. Istanbul, 1267, 1314, 1317, C. 1315/7.—k. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Raslān al-Ramlī, d. 844/1440 (II, 96), Algiers 1677,<sub>1</sub>.—l.—w. see Suppl.—Abstracts of the *ḥadīths*: a. *Manāhil al-ṣafā'* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Berl. 1434, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1796, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 428, Alex. Ḥad. 54, lith. C. 1276.—b.—c. see Suppl. 370 (c. Garr. 1441).—| Juridical adaptation *al-Hidāya wal-i'lām fī-mā yatarattab 'alā qabīḥ al-qawl min al-aḥkām* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Sa'dī al-Mālikī,

d. 778/1375, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 448.—2. *Kitāb al-ilmā' ilā ma'rifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa (taqyīd) al-samā'* (ḤKh <sup>1</sup>I, 1158, <sup>2</sup>I, 158, *al-Ilmā' fī ḍabṭ al-riwāya etc.*), on the theory of ḥadīth, published by one of his students, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1572, AS 433.—3. *Kitāb mashāriq al-anwār 'alā ṣaḥīḥ (ṣaḥā'ih, ṣiḥāh) al-āthār fī tafsīr gharīb al-ḥadīth*, on genuine traditions, Algiers 540, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 420, <sup>2</sup>I, 147, Qawala I, 150, Patna I, 61,<sup>622</sup>, print. Fez 1328/9 (at the end of vol. 2: 1333), revision by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. Faṭḥallāh al-Ḥamawī ca. 1148/1735, Garr. 2071,<sup>3</sup>—4. *Bughyat al-rā'id fī-mā fī ḥadīth Umm Zar' min al-fawā'id* Berl. 1567/8.—5. *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-ma'rifat a'lām madhhab Mālik*, Br. Mus. Quart. x, 134, Zaouiyah d'El Hamel, *Giorn. d. Soc. As. It.* x, 56, Codera and Zaidin, *Missión histórica en la Argelica y Tunez*, Madrid 1892, 174/5.—6. *Kitāb al-i'lām bi-ḥudūd qawā'id al-Islām* Esc. <sup>2</sup>1487,<sup>1</sup>, Vat. v, 416,<sup>12</sup>, *al-I. fī ḥudūd al-aḥkām*, a commentary by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-Judhāmī al-Qabbāb, d. 779/1377 (Suppl. II, 347), Algiers 570, probably = the 'aqīda with an anonymous commentary Cairo VII, 295.—7. *Qaṣīda* on sura 65,<sup>7</sup>, Berl. 7691.—8.—13. see Suppl.

6. Abu 'l-'Abbās (Abū Ja'far) Aḥmad b. Ma'add b. 'Isā b. Wakīl al-Tujībī al-Uqlishī was born in Denia, and studied there and in Valencia. In 542/1147 he made the pilgrimage and then stayed for a number of years in Mecca. He undertook the return journey only in 547/1152, but died on the way in Qūṣ in Upper Egypt on 4 Ramaḍān 549/13 November 1154.

| Maqq. I, 872, cf. 809,<sup>15</sup>. 1. *Kitāb al-kawkab al-durrī al-mustakhraj min kalām (kalim) al-nabī*, alphabetical abstract based on the 10 canonical collections, Berl. 1298, Leid. 373, Alex. Fun. 143,<sup>11</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 392, <sup>2</sup>I, 141.—2. *Anwār al-āthār*, 40 traditions on the blessing of the Prophet, Br. Mus. Suppl. 157,<sup>1</sup>—3. *Kitāb al-naǰm min kalām sayyid al-'arab wal-'aǰam* Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 442, <sup>2</sup>I, 157, <sup>1</sup>VII, 270, print. C. 1302 (see above p. 444).—4. *al-Durr al-munazzam fī-mā yuzīl al-humūm wal-ghumūm* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 467, <sup>2</sup>I, 294.—5.—6. see Suppl.

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7. As a young man Abū 'Abdallāh (Abū Bakr) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yasīr al-Anṣārī al-Jayyānī travelled to the East where he lived for a time in Damascus. In 520/1126 he went from there with Ibn 'Asākir (p. 403) to Baghdad, then to Khurāsān and, by way of Mosul, back to Ḥalabiyya, where he died in 563/1167.

Maqq. I, 564. *Kitāb al-arba'in min riwāyat al-Muḥammadīn*, composed in 557/1162, Paris 722,<sup>3</sup>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 88.

8. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Bādīs al-Qā'id al-Ḥamzī b. Qurqūl was born in Almería in 505/1111 and died in Fez in 569/1173.

371 | Ibn Khall. no. 18. *Kitāb maṭāli‘ al-anwār ‘alā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār (fī gharīb al-ḥadīth)*, following the example of Ibn ‘Iyāq’s *Kitāb mashāriq al-anwār* (see Suppl.). Abstracts: a. see Suppl.—b. *Tahdhīb al-maṭāli‘* by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, d. 834/1430 (II, 66), Cairo 1I, 291, 2I, 99, *Khātima*, Alex. Ḥad. 22, used by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, in his *Kitāb tuḥfat dhawi ‘l-adab* (II, 149,97).—c. see Suppl.—d. *Mushkil al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (from the *Maṭāli‘* and the *Mashāriq*) by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Aṣṣārī, Köpr. 334 (758 AH, Ritter).

9. Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Umar al-Qurashī al-Mayyānishī al-Mahdawī, who was born in Mayyānish, a village near al-Mahdiyya in Ifrīqiya, and died in Mecca, wrote, in 579/1183:

1. *Kitāb ma‘rifat ma lā yasa‘u ‘l-muḥaddithīn jahluhu* ḤKh v, 354, Leid. 1743.—  
2.–3. see Suppl.

458 10. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdī al-Ishbīlī b. al-Kharrāṭ was born in Rabī‘ I 510/July | 1116, moved from Spain to Bijāya where he became an imam and a preacher, and died in Rabī‘ II 581/July 1185 after Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb had threatened to kill him because he refused to mention his name in the *khuṭba*.

Nawawī 375, *Fawāt* I, 248, *Ḥuff*. xvii, 4, Maqq. I, 807, II, 47, Wüst., *Gesch.* 274.  
1. *Kitāb al-jam‘ bayna ‘l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, put together from Bukhārī and Muslim, Br. Mus. 1563, Cairo 1I, 325, 2I, 109, Patna I, 47,473, see Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 270.—2. *Kitāb al-aḥkām*: a. *al-kubrā* Br. Mus. 1574, Garr. 376, Alex. Ḥad. 4, Cairo, 1260, 284, Patna I, 37,375.—b. *al-wuṣṭā* Cairo 1I, 261.—c. *al-ṣuḡhrā* Br. Mus. 1593, Cairo 1I, 261. Criticism: *Kitāb al-wahm wal-ihām al-wāqi‘ayn fī Kitāb al-aḥkām* by Ibn al-Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī, d. 628/1230 (whose *Masā‘il al-muṭārahāt* are preserved in Ind. Off. 1777), Cairo 1I, 450, 2I, 161.—3. *Kitāb al-‘āqiba fī ‘l-ba‘th (fī aḥwāl al-ākhirā)*, reflections on death, traditions, passages from the Qur’ān, aphorisms, pious verses etc., Berl. 2652/4, Leid. 2008, Yeni 725.—4.–5. see Suppl.

11. (12). As a preacher and *qāḍī*, Abū ‘l-Rabī‘ Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. Sālim al-Kalā‘ī, born in Murcia on 3 Ramaḍān 565/22 May 1172, actively participated in the struggle against the Christians and died in battle against James I the Conqueror on 20 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 634/16 August 1237, near Ānisha (Inja), not far from Valencia.

*Ḥuff*. xviii, 15, Maqq. II, 768, Wüst., *Gesch.* 320, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* I, 367. *Kitāb al-iktifā’ bi-mā taḍammanahu min maghāzī rasūl Allāh ṣl’m wa-maghāzī*

'*l-thalātha al-khulafā'* Berl. 9575, Paris 1568/9, Br. Mus. 918, 1277, Algiers 1577/84, Garr. 639, Alex. Ta'r. 4.

| 12. (14). Abu 'l-Makārim b. Abī Aḥmad b. Musdī al-Azdī al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī, who was born in 599/1202 in Wādī Āsh and died in Mecca on 10 Shawwāl 663/27 July 1267. 372

*Al-Arba'ūn al-mukhtāra fī faḍl al-ḥajj wal-ziyāra* Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 264 (attributed by others to Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Mughīra).

13. (15). 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd (Sa'īd) b. Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jamra (Ḥamza?) al-Azdī al-Andalusī, who died in Cairo in 699/1300 (or, according to others, in 675/1276 or 695).

| 1. *Kitāb jam' al-nihāya*, see p. 166 (Suppl. I, 263).—2. *Kitāb al-marā'ī (al-ḥisān)*, a collection of dreams proving the excellence of his commentary on no. 1, the *Bahjat al-nufūs*, Br. Mus. 1468,4, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 416, Patna I, 59,600.—3. see Suppl. 459

14. (16). Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās (Abu 'l-Qāsīm) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Farah al-Lakhmī al-Ishbīlī was born in 625/1227, taken prisoner by the Franks in 646/1248, and after his release in the fifties of that century, went to Cairo, where he died in Jumādā II 699/March 1300.

Maqq. I, 819. 1. *Qaṣīda (manzūma) ghazaliyya fī alqāb al-ḥadīth*, in which the technical vocabulary from the science of *ḥadīth* is used for puns, Berl. 1049/50, Leid. 83, Algiers 377,3, 701,4, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 15, Fun. 198,8.—Commentaries: 1. *Zawāl al-tarah* by 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Jamā'a, d. 816/1413 (II, 94), Berl. 1051/4 Paris 746,2, Garr. 1454/5, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 15, Fun. 123,5, 145,2, edited with explanations by F. Risch, Leiden 1885.—2. *al-Bahja al-san'iyya* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatā'ī, d. 937/1540 (II, 316), Cairo 2<sub>1</sub>, 250.—3. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī al-Qarāfī al-Zabīdī, composed in 962/1555, Berl. 1056/8, Paris 4257,1, Algiers 546, 995,2, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 249, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 14, Fun. 123,4.—4. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Amīr al-Kabīr, d. 1232/1816 (II, 328), Berl. 1059, Alex. Muṣṭ. Ḥad. 11.—5. Anon., Berl. 1055 (after 894/1488), 1060/1 (dated 887/1482), 1062, Gotha 578.—6.–14. see Suppl.

## Chapter 7. *Fiqh*

### 1 *The Ḥanafīs*

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Nāṭifi, who died in Rayy in 444/1054.

Ibn Quṭlūbughā 16. 1. *Kitāb al-aḥkām fi ’l-fiqh al-Ḥanafī* Cairo <sup>111</sup>, 111. = *Jumal al-aḥkām* Br. Mus. Suppl. 275 ii, Garr. 2129, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 4.—2. *al-Rawḍa fi ’l-furū’* ḤKh <sup>111</sup>, 509, <sup>6668</sup>, <sup>21</sup>, 931, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 29.

2. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nāsihī, a *qāḍī* in Bukhārā who died in 447/1055 (see Suppl.).

460 | Ibn Quṭl. 90. *Jam‘ (Mukhtaṣar) Waqfay al-Hilāl wal-Khaṣṣāf* (p. 181) Yeni 351.—  
2. see Suppl.

2a. Abu ’l-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ṣughdī, the Shaykh al-Islām in Bukhārā, died in 461/1069.

Cf. Suppl. *Nutaf al-fatāwī* additionally Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 69.

3. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) al-Dāmaghānī, *qāḍī l-quḍāt*, was born in Dāmaghān in Rabī‘ II 398/December 1007 and died on 24 Rajab 478/16 November 1085 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb masā’il al-ḥiṭān wal-ṭuruq*, legal claims involving ownership of walls, corridors, water courses etc., Berl. 4982.—2. *al-Zawā’id wal-nazā’ir wa-fawā’id al-baṣā’ir (fi gharīb al-Qur’ān)* ḤKh 111, 543, <sup>6871</sup>, Cairo <sup>11</sup>, 176 (anon.).

4. Abu ’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Pazdawī Fakhr al-Islām, who was born around 400/1009 and died in 482/1089 in Samarqand.

Ibn Quṭl. 122, Flügel, *Classen* 275, 307. 1. *Kanz al-wuṣūl ilā ma’rifat al-uṣūl* Berl. 4369/70, Paris 836, 4541, Br. Mus. Suppl. 258, Ind. Off. 1423/5, Pet. Rosen 16, Garr. 1677, Rāgīb 364/5, Yeni 305/7, Cairo <sup>11</sup>, 236, Qawala 1, 273, Patna 1, 66, <sup>682/3</sup>.—Commentaries: a. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Sindī, Cairo <sup>111</sup>, 248, <sup>21</sup>, 389 (MS dated 689/1298).—b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Sam’ānī, d. 704/1304, Yeni 324.—c. *Kashf al-asrār* by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī, d. 730/1329 (II, 198), Yeni 325/30, Qawala 1, 293, Patna 1, 74, <sup>751/3</sup>, print. Istanbul 1307.—d. *al-Taqrīr* by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bābartī, d. 786/1384 (II, 80), Yeni 323, Cairo <sup>11</sup>, 241, Qawala 1, 275.—e. Anon. Berl. 4371, Ind. Off. 1426/7.—f.—i. see



Suppl., 8 commentaries and glosses mentioned in Ahlw.—2. *Risāla fī qirāʿat al-muṣallī wa-mā yataʿallaq bihā* Cairo 1111, 114.—3.–6. see Suppl.—7. *Zallat al-qārīʿ* Köpr. III, 3, 1.

5. Shams al-Aʿimma Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Sahl Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, who died in 483/1090 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Quṭl. 157, 477, Flügel, *Cl.* p. 303. 1. *Kitāb al-uṣūl* Gotha 997, Cairo 1111, 237, 21, 378.—2. *Kitāb al-mabsūṭ fī ʿl-furūʿ* (see Suppl.), in 15 vols., ḤKh 1v, 11323, Br. Mus. Suppl. 276/7, Ind. Off. 204, 1523, Ibr. Pāshā 648/51, Yeni | 542/4, Cairo 1111, 109, Calcutta 349, As. Soc. p. 18, Buhār 151, printed in 30 *juzʿ*, C. 1324/31.—3. *Kitāb ash-rāṭ al-sāʿa*, on the signs of the Day of Judgement, Paris 2800,24.—4.–6. see Suppl.

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5a. His student Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Anūsh al-Ḥaṣhīrī, who died in 500/1106.

*Al-Ḥāwī fī ʿl-fiqh (furūʿ)*, which contains legal opinions of many *fuqahāʿ* and which is regarded as one of the foundational works of the Ḥanafīs, ḤKh 111, 5,4378, 21, 624, Berl. Qu. 1661 (in Suppl. 653 mistakenly attributed to no. 36), Garr. 1686 (with the wrong name, following no. 36), Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 22, possibly also Qilič ʿA. 484, see ʿAbd al-Qādir, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍrāʿa* 11, 2.

6. Abu ʿl-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Simanānī, who died in 493/1100 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb rawḍat al-quḍāt wa-ṭariq al-najāt* or *Adab al-qāḍī*, completed in 478/1085, details everything a *qāḍī* should know, ḤKh 111, 510,6676, 21, 931 (attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zaylaʿī, d. 743/1342, 11, 78), Cairo 1111, 62.—2. see Suppl.

7. Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī wrote, in 522/1128:

*Kitāb khizānat al-akmal fī ʿl-furūʿ* Yeni 413/5, 1111, 43 (see Suppl.), Patna 1, 86,874.

8. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, who died in 522/1128.

1. *Khizānat al-fatāwā fī ʿl-furūʿ* Yeni 606/7, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 23 (anon. abstract of 2.).—2. *Majmaʿ al-fatāwī* Sulaim. 684, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 51.—3. see Suppl.

9. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Azīz b. ʿUthmān al-Faḍlī al-Qāḍī al-Nasafī was a *qāḍī* and *muftī* in Khurāsān who died in Rabīʿ 1 533/November 1138.

Ibn Quṭl. 105. *Kitāb kifāyat al-fuḥūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* ḤKh v. 10785, mistakenly identified with Gotha 643 by Pertsch.

10. Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Māza al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd al-Bukhārī, who was born in 483/1090 and died on 5 Ṣafar 536/10 September 1141 (see Suppl.).

- 462 | Ibn Quṭl. 139. 1. *Kitāb uṣūl al-fiqh* Ind. Off. 1429 (? Berl. 4372 is rather *al-Ḥusāmī*, p. 381, see Ind. Off. 1438).—2. *al-Wāqī'āt al-Ḥusāmīyya fī madhhab al-Ḥanafīyya*, legal cases and decisions, organised by the usual chapters of the *furū'*, Gotha 1144, Yeni 689/90.—3. *Kitāb 'umdat al-fatāwā* Berl. 4812, Brill, M. 290 = *'Umdat al-muḥtā' (wal-mustaḥṣin)* Br. Mus. Suppl. 278, Cairo 1111, 81 = Gotha 1041?—4. *Kitāb al-fatāwā 'l-kubrā* Yeni 639/40, Patna 1, 99,1008.—5. *al-Fatāwā 'l-ṣughrā* ibid. 657/9, Garr. 1687, Patna 1, 98,991.—6. *al-Fatāwī 'l-Khāṣṣīyya*, ed. Yūsuf al-Khāṣṣī, ca. 620/1223, Cairo 1111, 89<sup>1</sup>, see below p. 380,31.—7. *Kitāb masā'il da'wa 'l-ḥūtān wal-ṭuruq wa-mas'il al-mā'*, a sequel to the work by al-Dāmaghānī (no. 3), Berl. 4983.—8. *Kitāb masā'il ṭabkh al-'aṣīr* Leid. 1789.—9. Revised edition of *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr* by al-Shaybānī, see p. 179, Qawala 1, 316.—10., 11. see Suppl.

11. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Samarqandī Abū Bakr, who died in 538/1144.

1. *Kitāb tuḥfat al-fuqahā'* Yeni 374, Patna 1, 81,818, commentary *Badā'i' al-ṣanā'i' fī tartīb al-sharā'i'* by Abū Bakr Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad al-Kāshānī, d. 587/1191 (no. 22), Berl. 447/9, Yeni 370/3, Cairo 111, 12, abstract *Zād al-ghā'ib al-dā'i' min B. al-sh.* by Muḥammad al-Bardīnī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī, with a *taqrīz* of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mutawakkil from the year 925/1519, RAAD IX, 308.—2., 3. see Suppl.—4. *Mizān al-uṣūl fī natā'ij al-'uqūl* Garr. 1626.

12. Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Bukhārī Iftikhār al-Dīn, who died in 542/1147 in Bukhārā.

1. *Kitāb khizānat al-fatāwā* Cairo 1111, 44.—2. *Kitāb khulāṣat al-fatāwā* Paris 840, Landb.-Br. 654, Ind. Off. 205, Yeni 610/2, Garr. 1688/90, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 24, Cairo 1111, (see Suppl.), Patna 1, 87,881 = Bank. XX, 1616.

1 Where he is confused with Muwaffaq b. Muḥammad al-Khāṣṣī, d. 634/1237 (Ibn Quṭl. no. 238).

13. Rukn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Kirmānī, who was born in Kirmān in Shawwāl 457/1063, studied in Marw and died there on 20 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 543/2 April 1149.

| Ibn Quṭl. 96. 1. *Kitāb al-īdāh fi 'l-furū'*, commentary thereon Yeni 369.— 463  
2. *Fatāwā Abi 'l-Faḍl* ibid. 626.—3. see Suppl.

13a. His student Rukn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Mafākhir 'Abd al-Rashīd b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq Abū Bakr Rukn al-Dīn al-Kirmānī wrote, in 577/1181:

*Jawāhir al-fatāwī*, in which he mainly collected the fatwas of his teacher and of al-Muṭahhar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yazdī, d. 591/1195 (see Suppl. 1, 296<sub>5</sub>), ḤKh 11, 644<sub>6490</sub>, <sup>2</sup>1, 615, Br. Mus. Or. 6906 (DL 23), Qawala 1, 318, Rāmpur 1, 184<sub>133/4</sub>.

14. Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī, a student of Ḥuṣām al-Dīn (no. 10), had teaching positions at two academies in Aleppo but was fired by Nūr al-Dīn after being accused of plagiarising his teacher in his mag-nus opus *al-Muḥiṭ al-Raḍawī*. He then went to Damascus, | where he taught at 375  
the Khātūniyya, dying there in 544/1149.

Flügel p. 317. 1. *Kitāb al-muḥiṭ al-Raḍawī* in 2 vols., Ind. Off. 206/7, Garr. 1691, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 61, Yeni 561/3, Patna 1, 103<sub>1047</sub>. Abstract, *al-Wajīz al-muḥiṭ*, Bank. XIX, 1619 = Patna 1, 118<sub>1018</sub>, with the title *Wasīṭ al-muḥiṭ* Bank. XIX, 1718.— 2. *al-Ṭarīqa al-Raḍawīyya* Munich 330, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 79, 125, 444, 460.—3. *al-Wajīz* Leipz. 199, Mosul 64<sub>225</sub>, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 72 (attributed to Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī, d. 616/1119).

15. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Kashshī wrote, around 550/1155:

*Kitāb majma' al-nawāzil wal-ḥawādith wal-wāqī'āt* Yeni 547/8.

16. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Ḥasan al-Usmānī al-Samarqandī, who died in 552/1157 (see Suppl.).

*Mukhtalif al-riwāya* Patna 1, 105<sub>1103</sub>, with the title *Ṭarīqat al-khilāf bayna 'l-a'imma* Qawala 1, 368.

17. His student As'ad b. Muḥammad al-Karābīsī al-Nisābūrī Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muzaffar, who died in 570/1174.

464 | *Kitāb al-furūq fi 'l-furū'* Cairo 1111, 96, 21 451.

18. Burhān al-Dīn (al-Islām) Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd (no. 10) al-Bukhārī b. Māza, who was born in Marghinān in 551/1156 and died in 616/1219.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Kitāb al-muḥiṭ al-Burhānī fi 'l-fiqh al-Nu'mānī* Yeni 549/60, Alex. Fiḥ Ḥan 60, Cairo 1111, 125, 21, 460.—2. *Kitāb al-dhakhīra al-Burhāniyya*, according to ḤKh an abstract of 1, Yeni 613/8, Cairo 1111, 51, 21, 421, Patna 1, 88, 891/3.—3. *Tatimmat al-fatāwī* Yeni 597.

19. Rukn al-Islām Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Bukhārī Imāmzāde al-Sharghī, who was born in Rabī' 1 491/February 1098 and died in Bukhārā in 573/1177.

1. *Kitāb sharī'at (shir'at) al-islām ilā dār al-salām* Berl. 1730/3, Krafft 429, Bodl. II, 82, Pet. 44, AM 109, *Cat. Ital.* p. 213, no. 35, Ind. Off. 1524, Garr. 1693/5, Mosul 63, 193, 156, 86, 175, 74/5, 232, 88, Alex. Taṣ. 22, Qawala 1, 248.—Commentaries: 1. *Maḥfātīḥ al-jinān wa-maṣābiḥ al-janān* by Ya'qūb b. 'Alī al-Rūmī al-Burūsawī, d. 931/1524, Berl. 1734/5, Paris 1248/9, Br. Mus. Suppl. 178/9, Ind. Off. 209, 1526, Pet. 80, Algiers 575/6, Yeni 711, Garr. 1696, Alex. Mawā'iz 44, Taṣ. 45, Qawala 1, 264, Patna 1, 106, 1072, print. Istanbul 1306, 1326, with the title *Asrār al-aḥkām*, Patna II, 515, 2767.—2. *Murshid al-anām ilā dār al-salām* by Muḥammad b. 'Umar Qurd Efendi, d. 996/1588, Berl. 736, Leipz. 214.—3. Yaḥyā b. Ya'ish, Paris 1250.—4. *Asrār al-aḥkām* by Muḥammad Ya'qūb al-Banbānī, completed in 1081/1670, Ind. Off. 1525.—4a., 5. see Suppl.—6. Anon. Mosul 127, 90.—II, III see Suppl.

20. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣābūnī al-Bukhārī, who died in Bukhārā on 16 Ṣafar 580/30 May 1184.

Ibn Quṭl. 20. *Kitāb al-kifāya fi 'l-hidāya*, abstract of *al-Bidāya min al-kifāya*, Berl. 1737, Garr. 862/3 (see Suppl.), anon. *Hāshiya*, Ind. Off. 1714.

465 | 21. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Naṣr (Abū 'Umar) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-'Attābī al-Bukhārī, who died in Bukhārā in 586/1190.

2 According to Ahlw. 4436, 2, 4851, 4 ca. 570/1174. *Faw. al-bah.* 85, ḤKh v, 431 without date, *Cat. Yeni*: d. 536. Because of a confusion with his father, the catalogues of Cairo and Alexandria give the above dates without source reference; what supports the above date is the fact that he made the pilgrimage as late as the year 603/1206.

*Kitāb jāmiʿ al-fiqh* or *al-Fatāwi ʿl-ʿAttābiyya* Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 111, <sup>2</sup>1, 414.

22. Abū Bakr Masʿūd b. Aḥmad al-Kāsānī was a student and the son-in-law of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (no. 11). At the court of the Saljūq ruler Masʿūd I in Qonya he had made himself impossible as a result of his obsessive arguing. As such, he was sent, on the advice of the vizier, as an envoy to Nūr al-Dīn in Aleppo (after 541/1146). There he was received with all honours and appointed as professor of Ḥanafī *fiqh* in the newly founded (543/1148) Madrasa Ḥalawīyya, replacing al-Sarakhsī (no. 14), who was not up to the task because of a speech defect. He died on 10 Rajab 587/3 August 1191.

| Ibn Quṭl. no. 262, Heffening, *EI Erg.* 115/6. 1. *Kitāb badāʿi al-ṣanāʿi fī tartīb al-sharāʿi*, supposedly a commentary on the *Tuḥfa* of his teacher that served him as a dowry when he married his daughter, but in truth a more independent work of a rigidly systematic structure, ḤKh 11, 235, print. C. 1327/8, 7 vols.—2. *Kitāb al-taʿwīlāt*, a Qurʾān commentary, Rāgib 32/4. 376

23. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-ʿUzjandī al-Farghānī Qāḍīkhān, who died on 15 Ramaḍān 592/13 August 1196.

Ibn Quṭl. 16, 56, Flügel p. 314. 1. *Fatāwā Qāḍīkhān*, vol. 1, Gotha 999 (where other MSS are listed), vol. IV, Berl. 4813, Ind. Off. 1643/8, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 67, Qawala 1, 378, Bank. XIX, 1623/6 = Patna 1, 98, <sup>1004</sup>/7.—Abstracts: a. *Maḥkama* by Ashraf b. Yūsuf Ināl al-Ṭirāzī, d. 761/1360, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 124, <sup>2</sup>1, 460.—b. Anon. *Muntakhab*, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 67.—c. *Munyat al-dalāʿil etc.* see Suppl.—2. *Kitāb masāʿil al-ghurūr*, on fraud in business deals, Berl. 4984.—3.–4. see Suppl.<sup>3</sup>

| 24. ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghīnānī al-Rishtānī Burhān al-Dīn, who died in 593/1197. 466

Ibn Quṭl. 124, Flügel 316, Krafft, *Wiener Jahrb.* 110, *Anz. Bl.* p. 27; anon. biography *al-Iqd al-thamīn* Garr. 2102<sub>2</sub>. 1. *Bidāyat al-mubtadiʿ*, a compendium of the *furūʿ*, mainly based on al-Shaybānī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (S. 179) and al-Qudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar* (p. 183), Berl. 4487, Leid. 1799, Ind. Off. 1538/48, Garr. 1697 Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 16, Qawala 1, 406/7, Mosul 159, <sup>144</sup>—Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary, *al-Hidāya*, Berl. 4488/9, Vienna 1779, Munich 268/73, Leid. 1800, Paris 842/4, Br.

3 The works attributed to him in Derenbourg, Esc. <sup>2</sup>405, 4, 5, 7 are by an author of the tenth century at the earliest; one would think of al-Muttaqī al-Hindī (11, 384) were it not for the fact that he is named al-Ḥasan in 405, 4.

Mus. 196/8, Ind. Off. 211/7, Algiers 985/6, Garr. 1698/1700, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 149, Patna I, 109,<sub>1100/4</sub> print. Calcutta 1234, 2 vols., Kazan 1888 (cf. Suppl.), see Reinaud, *JA* 1833, I, 71. *Hedayah or Guide, a commentary on the moosoolman Laws*, transl. by Ch. Hamilton, London 1791 (based on the Persian translation by Ghulām Yaḥyā, made in 1190/1776, print. Calcutta 1807, see Rieu, *Pers. Cat.* 23/4), 2nd ed. with Pref. by S.G. Grady, London 1870.—Super-commentaries: 1. Ḥamīd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḍarīr al-Bukhārī, born in 666/1268 (Ibn Quṭl. 136), Ind. Off. 1549.—1a. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Khabbāzī, d. 691/1292 (p. 476), according to ḤKh VI, 482, 14366, completed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qūnawī, d. 764/1362, with the title *Takmilat al-fawā’id*, Berl. 4491, Yeni 406.—2. *Nihāyat al-kifāya li-dirāyat al-Hidāya* by Tāj al-Sharī‘a ‘Umar b. Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-Awwal (p. 473), composed in 694/1295,<sup>4</sup> Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 146.—3. (4.) *al-Nihāya* by Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Sighnāqī, d. 710/1310 (II, 116), completed in 700/1300, Ind. Off. 218, Alex. Fiḡh Ḥan. 70, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 148, Patna I, 94,<sub>5920</sub>, on which *Khulāṣat al-N.* by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Qūnawī, see II, 81.—4. (5.) *al-Kifāya* by Maḥmūd b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Tāj al-Sharī‘a al-Maḥbūbī, d. 745/1344, Yeni 509, 517 Patna I, 103,<sub>1036</sub>.<sup>5</sup>—5. (6.) *Mī‘rāj al-dirāya* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sinjārī al-Kākī, d. 749/1348, Paris 845, 5444/6, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 132.—6. (7.) *Ghāyat al-bayān* by Amīr Kātib b. Amīr ‘Umar b. Amīr Ghāzī al-Itqānī, d. 758/1357 (II, 79), commenced in 721/1321 in Cairo, continued in Arrān and Baghdad, and completed in 747/1346 in Damascus (ḤKh VI, 483), Berl. 4492, Yeni 490/502, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 83, Patna I, 96,<sub>970/4</sub>.—7. (8.) *al-‘Ināya* by Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bābartī, d. 786/1384 (II, 80), Berl. 4493, Ind. Off. 219, Garr. 1746/8, Yeni 487/9, 511, 467 Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 81, | Qawala I, 371, Alex. Fiḡh Ḥan. 38, Patna I, 95,<sub>915/6</sub>, ed. Moonshee Ramdhan Len, Calcutta 1831, 1837, 1840. Glosses thereon: a. Sa’dallāh ‘Īsā Sa’dī, d. 945/1538, completed by his student ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Berl. 4494, Br. Mus. Suppl. 279, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 37, Qawala I, 321.—b. Abu ‘l-Su‘ūd Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Durūrī, d. 1066/1655, Yeni 405.—8. (9.) *al-Nihāya* by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, d. 855/1451 (II, 52), Algiers 987/8, Yeni 512/4.—9. (10.) *Faṭḥ al-qadīr lil-‘ājiz al-faqīr* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Humām, d. 861/1457 (II, 82), commenced in 829/1424, Berl. Ms. Or. Qu. 2068, Paris 850, Ind. Off. 1650, Yeni 503/8, Qawala I, 380, Bank. XIX 1643/9 = Patna I, 99,<sub>1011/6</sub>, *As. Soc. Beng.* 1904, p. 17, on which a *Dhayl* by Shams A. Qāḏīzāde, d. 988/1580, Yeni 377, Tunis, Zayt. IV 260,<sub>2429</sub>, Qawala I, 403.—10. (11.) *Nihāyat al-Nihāya* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Shiḥna, d. 890/1485 (II, 42), Yeni 510.—377 11. (12.) on particular passages by Sulaymān b. Kamālpāshā, | d. 940/1533, Berl. 4497, Leid. 1808, *Kitāb al-ḥajj*, Alex. Fiḡh Ḥan. 33.—12. (13.) ‘Arabzāde,

4 According to ḤKh VI, 482, 2 it was completed in 673/1274 in Kirman.

5 *Tashīl al-hidāya etc.*, Suppl. I, 644, ab penultimo, see p. 485.

d. 950/1543, Yeni 405.—13. (14.) Sinān Efendi, d. 980/1572, Gotha 1000, on the *Kitāb al-karāhiya* and the *Kitāb al-waṣāyā*, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 21 (where it is stated that he died in 965).—14. (15.) *Ta'liqāt* by Abu 'l-Su'ūd al-'Imādī, d. 982/1574 (II, 438), Yeni 372.—15. (16.) Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Shaykhzāde, d. 951/1544 (II, 438), ḤKh VI, 490, Berl. 4498 (mistakenly ca. 1000/1591).—16. (17.) Zakariyyā' b. Bayrām, d. 1001/1592, Berl. 4499, on the *Bāb al-wakāla*, Bank. XIX, 1, 1649.—17. (18.) 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Akhīzāde, d. 1013/1604, Berl. 4495.—18. (19.) Ismā'īl b. al-Yazījī, d. 1121/1709, Berl. 4496.—19. (20.) 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730 (II, 345), Berl. 4500.—20. (21.) Sayyid Efendi, Leid. 1807.—21. (22.) *al-Kifāya* by Jalāl al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn al-Karlānī al-Khwārizmī, Berl. Brill M. 300, Cairo 1111, 104 (MS dated 748/1347), print. Bombay 1280, 4 vols., 1288.—22. (23.) Anon., Berl. 4501/2, Garr. 1702.—23.–42. see Suppl. (30. 1. al-Ḥamawī, 33. Garr. 1701).—43. *Risāla fi 'l-ghaṣb min Kitāb al-Hidāya* by Ḥinnālīzāde, d. 979/1572 (II, 433), Qawala I, 348.—44. *Risāla fi tafsīr ba'd masā'il al-H. min k. al-rahn* by Walī b. Yūsuf al-'Imādī, composed in 988/1580, *ibid.* I, 342.—Abstracts covering traditions: a. *Naṣb al-rāya* (Suppl. 42, Patna I, 188,1094), abstract *al-Dirāyafī takhrīj ahādīth al-H.* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, d. 852/1448 (II, 67), Pet. 81,4 Cairo 11, 239, cf. v, 132, Patna I, 87,883, print. Delhi 1882.—b. *Takhrīj ah. al-H.* by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Wafā', d. 775/1373, Yeni 261, Cairo 11, 283.—c. the same by 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Zayla'ī, d. 762/1362 (Suppl. II, 232), Cairo 11, 283.—  
| 28 commentaries, 18 glosses, 4 abstracts, 3 abstracts of the *ḥadīths* are mentioned in Ahlw. 4503.—

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Abstracts: 1. *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fi masā'il al-Hidāya* (sometimes mistakenly referred to as a commentary) by Burhān al-Dīn (al-Sharī'a) Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Awwal 'Ubaydallāh b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Maḥbūbī, seventh cent., Berl. 4491, Ind. Off. 1559/61, Garr. 1680/2, Br. Mus. Suppl. 285, Qawala I, 408, Patna I, 109,1099.—Commentaries: a. His grandson 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī, d. 747/1346 (II, 214), Berl. 4548/9, Ms. Or. Qu. 2071/2, BDMG 356, Gotha 1024 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 287, Ind. Off. 1577/91, Garr. 1744/5, Qawala I, 362/3, Bank. XIX, 1654/7, Rāmpūr 304/9, print. Lucknow 1883 (see Suppl.).—Glosses:  $\alpha$  *Dhakhīrat al-'uqbā* by Akhī Čelebī Yūsuf b. Junayd Tūqātī, d. 905/1499 (II, 227), Berl. 4552/3, Ind. Off. 231/2, 1592/3, Yeni 401/2, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 20, 26, Qawala I, 335, Tunis Zayt. IV, 120,2052/4, Mosul 62,178, 96,70, Calc. Madr. 306, Patna I, 85,859/60, II, 506,2722, print. Calcutta 1245, Lucknow 1304.— $\alpha\alpha$  Muḥammad Khaṭībzāde al-Rūmī, d. 901/1495 (II, 229), Esc. 2236,10.— $\beta$  Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad 'Iṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarā'īnī, d. 944/1537 (II, 410), Ind. Off. 1594, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 20, Qawala I, 324, Āṣaf. 1082.— $\gamma$  Qara Ḥasan al-Ḥamīdī, composed in 959/1552, Leid. 1804, Yeni 403.— $\gamma\gamma$  al-Taftāzānī (see Suppl.), Patna I, 85,861.— $\delta$  Ya'qūb Pāshā b. Khīḍr Bek, d. 891/1480, | Berl. 4550, Paris 914/6, Algiers 1015, Alex. Fiqh

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Ḥan. 21.—ε Zakariyyā' b. Bayrām al-Muftī, d. 1001/1592, Gotha 1025.—ζ Dede Efendi, Paris 922.—η Sinān Efendi, d. 986/1578, Berl. 4554.—θ Tūrsūn b. Murād, d. 966/1588, *ibid.* 4557.—ι Anon. *ibid.* 4555/6.—κ-ββ see Suppl. (κ Garr. 1684).—γγ Sayyid Mahdī al-Ḥanafī, Patna 1, 85,<sup>862</sup>.—b. 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Malak, d. 854/1450 (Suppl. II, 315), Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 36, Qawala 1, 367 (see Suppl. i).—c. *Īdāḥ al-islāḥ* by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Kamālpāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Berl. 4559, Paris 917/20, Algiers 1016, Br. Mus. 212, Ind. Off. 1595/6, Garr. 1749, Yeni 365, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 8, Qawala 1, 306/7, perhaps also Upps. 438 (anon.).—d. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Aswad, Cairo 111, 81.—e. *Sharhi Wikaya ma' Hashiyahi Umdat al-Ri'ayah, commentary by Maulavi M. Abdulhaqq on the W. etc.* Lucknow 1883, 2nd ed. 1884.—f. M. Abdur Rahim, *Sharhi Ilyās*, (i.e. Mollā Ilyās Efendi Alex. Fiqh Ḥan 36) *a commentary on the W.*, Delhi 1883.—g. M. Qamaruddīn, *Sharhi W.*, Delhi 1889.—h. Turkish translation and annotations by Muṣṭafā b. Nūḥ al-Rūmī, Berl. 4560.—i.—t. see Suppl. (r. also Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 15, MS dated 926, Qawala 1, 315, where *tawfiq*).—u. *Kitāb fi ba'd mabāḥith al-talāq min k. al-W.* by Khwājazāde, composed in 1045/1635, Qawala 1, 339.—v. *Risāla fi sharḥ ba'd al-mawāḍi' min al-W.* by 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Isbijābī, *ibid.* 346.—w. *al-Fawā'id al-Ārifīyya* by Mahdī al-Ḥanafī, Patna 1, 101,<sup>1028</sup>.—Abstract of the *Wiqāya* entitled *al-Nuqāya* by Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Thānī (see above), Berl. 4562, Munich 280, Leid. 1805, Ind. Off. 234/5, 1561/8, Garr. 1683, Cairo 111, 143,<sup>21</sup>, 470, Qawala 1, 405 Patna 1, 105,<sup>1061/2</sup>, ed. Mirza Kazem Beg, Kazan 1260, Lucknow 1873, 1884, Delhi 1885, Lahore n.d. (see Suppl.).—Commentaries: a. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad, composed in 806/1403, Munich 281, Yeni 481.—b. *Kamāl al-dirāya* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shumunnī, d. 872/1467 (II, 82), Munich 282, Yeni 403, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 35, Cairo 111, 305, Qawala 1, 366.—c. Ibn Quṭlūbughā, d. 879/1474 (II, 82), Yeni 480.—d. Abu 'l-Makārīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, composed in 907/1501 (his *al-Ajwiba al-rāḍiya al-murḍiya 'ani 'l-as'ila al-Rāziyya al-muzriyya*, Qawala 1, 159), Munich 283, Ind. Off. 236, 1573, Bank. XIX, 1668/70 = Patna 1, 93,<sup>942/4</sup>.—e. 'Abd al-'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Barjandī, d. 932/1525 (II, 413), Ind. Off. 1569/71, Yeni 482, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 35, Bank. XIX, 1671 = Patna 1, 93,<sup>945</sup>, print. Lucknow 1301, 1314.—f. *Jāmi' al-rumūz* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kūhistānī, d. ca. 950/1534 (see Suppl.), Munich 284, Leid. 808, Ind. Off. 237, 1552/3, Algiers 1017, Yeni 382/5, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 16, Bank. XIX, 1672 = Patna 1, 83,<sup>841</sup>, ed. W. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1858, Istanbul 1289, Kazan 1890.—g. Anon. Ind. Off. 1576.—h.—m. see Suppl. (i. additionally Ind. Off. 1572, k. *ibid.* 1574, Delhi 1314/5, m. Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Yamanī, Patna 1, 93,<sup>341</sup>).—Versification *al-Fawā'id al-saniyya* by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Kawākibī, d. 1096/1685 (II, 315), with the commentary *al-Fawā'id al-samiyya*, composed in 1067/1656, Munich 285, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 45.—2. *Mukhtārāt al-hidāya* by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Jamālī, d. 931/1525 (II, 431),



Paris 851, Yeni 564.—Versification of the *Hidāya: al-Naẓm al-manthūr* or *Durr al-muhtadī wa-dhukhr al-muqtadī* by Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī al-Hāmīlī, d. 769/1367 II, 185), completed in 760/1359, Paris 927, Bodl. I, 254, cf. II, 575.

II. *Mukhtār al-nawāzil* (*Mukhtaṣar al-nuzūl*), Yeni 565/6, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 61, Qawala I, 391 (anon.), Patna I, 103,<sup>1048</sup>

III. *al-Tajnīs wal-mazīd fi ‘l-fatāwā* Yeni 533, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. II, Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 17.

| 25. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Ghaznawī was a tutor for al-Kāsānī (no. 22) in Aleppo, and died there in 593/1197. 470

Flügel 318. 1. *Muqaddimat al-Ghaznawī*, on the *‘ibādāt* or religious duties, Gotha 1003/6, Leipz. 110,<sup>4</sup> Paris 852, Algiers 577/8, Garr. 1894, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 66, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 135, Mosul 160,<sup>182</sup>.—Commentaries: a. *al-Ḍiyā’ al-ma’ nawī* by Abu ‘l-Baqā’ Muḥammad b. al-Ḍiyā’ al-Qurashī, d. 852/1448, Paris 606,<sup>5</sup>, 4804, Yeni 470, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 37, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 78, Patna I, 94,<sup>963</sup>. Abstract by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī, Paris 853 (autograph, from the year 1007/1598).—b., c. see Suppl. (c. also Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 71).—2. *Kitāb al-ḥāwī ‘l-Qudṣī fi ‘l-furū’* Berl. Qu. 1600, Yeni 408/9, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 22, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 40, Patna I, 86,<sup>864</sup>.—3. *Aqā’id*, creed, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 50.

26. Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rashīd al-Sajāwandī, who flourished towards the end of the sixth century.

Ibn Qutl. 42, 116, Flügel 318, Basset, *Giorn. d. Soc. As. Ital.* x, 58 ff. I. *Kitāb al-farā’id al-Sirājīyya*, law of inheritance, Gotha 1099 (where other MSS are listed), Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 384, Ind. Off. 1741/7, Alex. Fun. 174,<sup>10</sup>, Qawala I, 429, Patna I, 110,<sup>1112/6</sup>, II, 362,<sup>2545</sup>, 2 363,<sup>2546</sup>, 2, cf. W. Jones, *Works*, vol. III, London 1799, print. Calcutta 1260, Ind. n.d. 1284 (Euting 2688), Persian translation by Maulawi M. Rashīd, Calcutta 1811, Turkish translation in verse, with a commentary, by Ṭürsünzāde Efendi, Paris 861,<sup>6</sup>.—*The Serajīyyah, or the Muhammedan Law of Inheritance*, transl. by Prasauna Kumār Sen, Serampore 1885. A. Rumsey, *Al Sirajīyyah, or | the Muhammedan Law of Inheritance, reprinted from the Translation of J.W. Jones, with Notes and Appendix*, London 1869, 2nd ed. 1890.—Commentaries: 1. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Majd al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dawla, d. 658/1260, Leid. 1810.—2. *Ḍaw’ al-Sirāj*, by Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Kalābādihī al-Bukhārī, d. 700/1300, completed in 676/1277, Paris 865,<sup>2</sup>, Ind. Off. 245, Bodl. I, 82, Alex. Far. II, Qawala I, 431, Patna I, 111,<sup>1121</sup>, *al-Minhāj al-muntakhab min Ḍaw’ al-S.*, Alex. Far. 17.—3. *al-Fawā’id al-Khurāsāniyya* by Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bihishtī al-Isfarā’īnī Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khurāsānī, eighth cent., Ind. Off. 246/8.—4. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Siwāsī, d. 803/1400 379

(see Suppl. II, 973<sub>16</sub>), Berl. 4703, on which glosses *ibid.* 4704, Pet. AMK 937.—  
 471 5. *al-Farā'id al-Sharīfiyya* by al-Jurjānī, | d. 816/1413 (II, 217), Berl. 4705, Gotha 1102 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 435, Ind. Off. 1748/54, Garr. 1872/3, Alex. Far. 10, 15, Qawala I, 429/30, Patna I, 111<sub>119</sub>, 21<sub>11</sub>, 362<sub>2015</sub>, 5, print. Kazan 1889, 1894, on which glosses: a. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Ajamī, from the time of Bāyezīd II (886–918/1481–1512), Esc. 2547<sub>13</sub>, Garr. 2073<sub>1</sub>.—  
 b. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khaṭīb Qāsim b. Ya'qūb, completed in 922/1516, *ibid.* 2.—c. see Suppl.—d. Badr al-Dīn, Mosul 81<sub>28</sub>.—e. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Kūrānī al-Wānī, composed in 992/1584, Alex. Far. 6, 15.—f. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Awwal al-'Abdī al-Sa'īdī al-Qazwīnī, d. 966/1559 (II, 438), Alex. Far. 16.—5a. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī, d. 834/1430 (II, 233), Paris 864.—  
 6. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. al-Ḥājī Aḥmad al-Jānī, composed in 872/1467, Munich 328.—  
 7. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Kamālpāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Algiers 1314/5, Alex. Far. 10, 15, Qawala I, 430.—8. *Sharḥ taṣḥīḥ Mukhtaṣar al-S.*, by the same, Alex. Far. 8.—9. Badī' al-Dīn, before 956/1549, Dresd. 257, Pet. Ros. 23<sub>5</sub>.—10. Ibrāhīm b. Khidr, composed in 961/1554, Vienna 1797<sub>1</sub>.—11. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī al-Harawī (d. 830/1427?), Alex. Far. 10.—12.–24. see Suppl. (22. also Garr. 1874, 2112<sub>4</sub> Alex. Far. 7, MS dated 1133. 24. with the title *Jāmi' al-durar*, Alex. Far. 5).—25. *Izhār al-Sirājīyya* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad, Suppl. I, 970, Patna I, 110<sub>1108</sub>.—26. *Taṣwīr al-farā'id* (Suppl. I, 970) Patna II, 362<sub>2546</sub>, 1.—27. Anon. *al-Jadālī*, Alex. Far. 13, others Berl. 4706/7, Gotha 1100<sub>1</sub>, 1101, Paris 861<sub>2</sub>, 866/72.—Versification by 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī, d. 755/1354 (ḤKh. II, 408<sub>8997</sub>), Munich 313<sub>2</sub>, 322<sub>2</sub>, Paris 1266<sub>7</sub>, with a commentary, Paris 867<sub>4</sub>.—b. *Khulāṣat al-farā'id*, with a commentary by 'Abd al-Malik al-Fattānī al-Makkī al-Madanī (Indian, ca. 1900 in Cairo) print. C. 1292/3, 1305.—19 commentaries, numerous glosses, and an abstract are mentioned in Ahlw. 4708.—11. *Kitāb al-tajnīs fi 'l-ḥisāb* Paris 2330<sub>12</sub>, perhaps a part of I.—111. *al-Fatāwā al-Sirājīyya* is wrongly attributed to him in Algiers 1034<sub>3</sub> and elsewhere, see p. 430.

27. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Marghīnānī Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, who flourished around 600/1203.

Ibn Quṭl. no. 59, p. 153, no. 474, *al-Fatāwā al-Zahīriyya*, ḤKh IV, 368, part II on the *shurūṭ*, Br. Mus. Suppl. 280. Beginning of the *furū'* Ind. Off. 1671, Rāmpūr 371/2, Bank. XIX, 1, 1678/80.

27a. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Timurtāshī, the *muftī* of Khwārizm in Gurganj, who died around 600/1203.

| ‘Aq., *Jaw.* 1, 61, *al-Faw. al-bah.* 12, al-Laknawī, *Ṭab. al-Ḥan.* 15, Ibn Quṭl. 90, 472  
no. 89. *Kitāb al-farā’id* Vat. v. 1477,5, Tunis, Zayt. IV, 406,2861.

28. ‘Imād al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Abi ‘l-Ḥasan al-Fārābī (Faryābī) Abu ‘l-Maḥāmil, who died on 20 Jumādā I 607/10 November 1210.

Ibn Quṭl. 207. *Kitāb khālīṣat al-ḥaqā’iq li-mā fīhi min al-asālīb al-daqa’iq*, compiled from around 70 works and completed in 597/1200, Berl. 8771/3, Ind. Off. 623/4, Pet. AM 87, Garr. 2076,3, Alex. Taş. 16, Mosul 72,20.—Abstracts: 1. by the author himself, *Khālīṣat al-ḥaqā’iq wa-niṣāb ghā’iṣat al-daqa’iq*, Berl. 8774.—2. *Akhlaṣ al-Kh.* or *Khulāṣat al-Kh.* by ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Rā’iḍ al-Badakhshānī, composed in 854/1450, Berl. 8775/6, Gotha 1216, Vienna 1844, Garr. 925, 2028,1, ed. Gottwaldt, Kazan 1850, cf. Flügel, *ZDMG* VI, 436/8.—3. Anon., Cairo VII, 114, Calcutta p. 58, no. 410.

29. Badī‘ al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Sūbākhī wrote, in 615/1218:

*Mawāhib al-niṣām* Yeni 581 (where al-Sūkhī, see ‘Aq. *Jaw.* 1, 319, corrupted to al-Suwaykhī, *ibid.* 1, 382, see al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* 316 b).

30. Ḥāhir al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Bukhārī, who was *muhtasib* of Bukhārā and who died in 619/1222.

*Al-Fawā’id al-Zahūrīyya*, a collection of fatwas, Paris 856/7, Yeni 643/4 (see Suppl.), as *Fatāwī Z.* Qawala 1, 377, Patna 1, 98,992/4.

| 31. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Khwārizmī al-Khāṣṣī Najm al-Dīn, ca. 380  
620/1223.

*Kitāb al-fatāwā al-ṣughrā*, a sequel to the work by al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd (no. 10), Berl. 4814 = Yeni 680?

32. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Qazwīnī Badī‘ al-Dīn wrote, around 620/1223:

*Kitāb jam‘ al-fāz al-kufr*, expressions common among ordinary people, but whose use actually characterises them as infidels, Berl. 3102.

473 33. ʿĪsā b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Ghanāʾim, born in 576/1180, | came to power in Damascus in 615/1218 and died on 30 Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 624/11 November 1227.

Ibn Quṭl. no. 146. 1. *Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr* (p. 178) Cairo 1v, 70.—2. see Suppl.

34. Aḥmad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḥbūbī Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Awwal al-Akbar, ca. 630/1232.

*Kitāb talqīh al-ʿuqūl fi ʿl-furūq bayna ahl al-nuqūl*, in which particular cases are used to show and explain different legal opinions, Berl. 4505, Paris 923.

35. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ustrūshānī Majd al-Dīn, who died in 632/1234.

1. *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-ṣaghāʾir fi ʿl-furūʿ or Jāmiʿ al-ṣighār* Garr. 1704, Algiers 991, Yeni 348, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 16, Cairo 1111, 31, 124, Qawala I, 315.—2. *Kitāb al-fuṣūl fi ʿl-muʿādālāt (muʿāmalāt)* Yeni 527/9, Mosul 97,83, Ind. Off. 1649, Patna I, 101,1027.—3., 4. see Suppl.

36. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Maḥāmid Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaṣīrī was born in Jumādā I 546/August-September 1151 in Bukhārā, studied in his hometown, Nishapur and Aleppo, became a professor at al-Nūriyya in Damascus, and died on 8 Ṣafar 636/21 September 1238.

Ibn Quṭl. 208. 1. *Kitāb khayr al-maṭlūb fi ʿl-ʿilm al-marghūb* Cairo 1111, 43.—2. *Kitāb al-ṭarīqa al-Ḥaṣīriyya fi ʿilm al-khilāf bayna ʿl-Shāfiʿiyya wal-Ḥanafīyya*, Cairo 1111, 243 (ad Suppl. 3 and 5, see no. 5a).

37. Yūsuf b. Abī Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Sijistāni wrote, in 639/1240 in Sīwās:

*Kitāb munyat al-muḥtāḥ* in 40 books, Gotha 1140, Paris 858, Yeni 684/7, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 68, Cairo 1111, 115, 140.

381 | 38. Abū Naṣr Masʿūd b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Farāhī, ca. 640/1242.

474 ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Abi ʿl-Wafāʾ, *Jaw.* 11, 172. *Dhāt al-ʿiqdayn*, a poem about the legal | opinions of Abū Ḥanīfa, with due regard to al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik, ḤKh 111, 324,5761, 21, 821 (only the title) Berl. 4506.

39. Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Wajh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Sattār al-'Imādī al-Kardārī al-Barānīqī, who died in 642/1244 in Bukhārā (see Suppl.).

*Kitāb al-radd wal-intiṣār li-Abī Ḥanīfa imām fuqahā' al-amṣār* or *al-Fawā'id al-munīfa fi 'l-dhabb 'an Abī Ḥanīfa* Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 59, 127, <sup>2</sup>v, 94, 361.

40. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Akhsikātī Ḥusām al-Dīn, who died on 23 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 644/2 April 1247.

Ibn Quṭl. 167, Flügel 277. *Kitāb al-muntakhab fi uṣūl al-madhhab*, usually called *al-Ḥusāmī*, ḤKh v1, 163, 335, Berl. 4372 (wrongly attributed to Ibn Māza), Br. Mus. 118, Ind. Off. 293/7, 1430/3, Garr. 1705, Yeni 304, Alex. Fun. 103,<sub>3</sub> Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 260, 266, <sup>2</sup>1, 395, Patna 1, 75,<sup>767/8</sup>, 11, 505,<sup>272/3</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. *al-Wāfi* by Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Sighnāqī, d. 710/1310 (11, 116), Paris 880, 6452, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 269,<sub>31</sub>, 347.—2. *Ghāyat al-tahqīq* by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, d. 730/1330 (Suppl. 11, 268), Leid. 1816, Br. Mus. 1578, Suppl. 261, Ind. Off. 1434/6, Esc. <sup>1</sup>163, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 239, <sup>2</sup>1, 380, Patna 1, 67,<sup>689</sup>.—3. *al-Tabyīn* by Amīr Kātib b. Amīr 'Umar al-Itqānī, d. 758/1357 (11, 79), composed in 716/1316 in Tustar while he was on his way to the Hijaz, Berl. 4858, Paris 802, Br. Mus. 207, Alex. Uṣūl 5, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 239, <sup>2</sup>1, 372, Yeni 339/41.—4.–8. see Suppl.—9. *Ḥāshiyat al-Sāmī* by Muḥammad Ya'qūb al-Banbānī, d. after 1081/1670, composed in Kabul, also Ind. Off. 1437.—10., 11. see Suppl.—12. Anon., Ind. Off. 1438.

41. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Tarjumānī al-Makkī al-Khwārizmī, who died in 645/1257 in al-Jurjāniyya in Khwārizm.

*Yatīmat al-dahr fi fatāwā ahl al-'aṣr* Vienna 1807, Yeni 593/4, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 151.

41a. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Khaṭīb al-Ushfūrqānī fled in 616/1219 ahead of the Mongols from Khurāsān to India and wrote, in 642/1244, probably in Delhi:

| *Ṣinwān al-qaḍā' wa-'unwān al-iftā'* Bank. XIX, 1682/3, Āṣaf. I, 33.

42. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. Malakdādh b. al-Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd Abū 'Abdallāh Ṣadr al-Dīn (Kamāl al-Dīn) al-Khilāṭī, who died in Rajab 652/August–September 1254.

Ibn Quṭl. 187. 1. *Talkhīṣ al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr* (p. 178) Yeni 378.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary, vol. 3, Landb.-Br. 655.—b. *Tuḥfat al-ḥarīṣ* by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Balabān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Fārisī, d. 739/1338 in Cairo, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 11.—c. *al-Īdāḥ* see Suppl.—2. see *ibid.*

42a. Najm al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Faḍā’il Abu ‘l-Shujā‘ Bakbars (Mängübars) b. Yaltaqqilič al-Turkī, d. 652/1254 (see Suppl.).

*Al-Mukhtaṣar al-ḥawī li-Bayān al-shāfi‘*, additionally Garr. 1706.

43. Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (according to others, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad) al-Samarqandī al-Madanī, who died in 656/1258.

1. *Kitāb al-fiqh al-nāfi‘*, composed in 655/1257, Berl. 4480, Munich 286/7, Leipz. 477, Garr. 1692, Yeni 530, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 97.—Commentaries: a. *al-Mustaṣfā* by ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi, d. 710/1310 (II, 196), Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3728, Ind. Off. 208, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 130, <sup>2</sup>1, 462.—b., c. see Suppl.—2. *Kitāb al-multaqaṭ fi ‘l-fatāwa ‘l-Ḥanaḥfiyya* Yeni 575, on which *Tajnis (Tartīb)* by Maḥmūd b. Ḥusayn al-Ustrūshanī (son of no. 35?), Garr. 2125,<sup>1</sup> Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 13.

382 | 44. Najm al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Rajā’ Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Zāhidī al-Ghazminī, from Khwārizm, who died in 658/1260.

1. *Kitāb qunyat al-munya li-tatmīm al-Ghunya*, an abstract of the *Munya al-fuqahā’* by his teacher Fakhr al-Dīn Badī‘ b. Abī Maṣṣūr al-‘Arabī al-Qubaznī, Munich 288/9, Br. Mus. 199, Suppl. 281, Ind. Off. 1651, Yeni 531, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 41, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 99, <sup>2</sup>1, 454.—2. *Jawāhir al-fiqh* Leipz. 295.—3. *al-Ḥawī fi masā’il al-Wāqi‘āt wal-Munya* (see 10, 2) Yeni 407, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 22, Qawala I, 337.—4. *Qunyat al-fatāwā* (= 1.?) Yeni 670/2.—5. *Faḍā’il Ramaḍān* Berl. 3827.

476 45. Abu ‘l-Faḥ Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Bakr | ‘Imād al-Dīn b. ‘Alī (no. 24) Burhān al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī al-Rishtānī, ca. 670/1271.

*Kitāb fuṣūl al-Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām* (mistakenly believed by some to be the *Fuṣūl al-‘Imādī* of Jamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Imād al-Dīn, ḤKh, IV. 440,<sup>9094</sup>), on legal procedures in civil cases, started by his father and which he completed in Samarqand in 651/1253, Berl. 4788, Br. Mus. 1606, Ind. Off. 1652/3, Garr. 1707/8 Mosul 219,<sup>138</sup>, Patna I, 100,<sup>1024/5</sup>, II, 508,<sup>2734</sup>.

46. Abu 'l-Rabī' Ṣadr al-Dīn Sulaymān b. Abi 'l-'Izz Wuhayb al-Adhra'ī, who was a professor at the Ṣālihiyya and *qāḍi* 'l-'askar in Cairo, then *qāḍi* in Syria, and who died in 677/1278.

*Al-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-muḥ.* 1, 260. *Kitāb al-wajīz al-jāmi' li-masā'il al-Jāmi'* (see Suppl. p. 290), commentary by al-Māridīnī, d. 731/1331, Cairo 111, 75, 148.

47. Abu 'l-Faḍl Majd al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawḍūd al-Mawṣilī al-Buldajī was born in Mosul in 599/1202 (according to others in 609), was a *qāḍi* in Kufa before being removed from that position, after which he lectured in Baghdad, where he died in 683/1284.

Ibn Quṭl. no. 88, Flügel p. 326. 1. *Kitāb al-mukhtār lil-fatwā* Berl. 4565/6, Gotha 1009/11, Munich 290/4, Leid. 1814, Br. Mus. Suppl. 282/3, Ind. Off. 1527, Paris 875/7, 891,2, Nan. 31, Algiers 993, Garr. 709/12, Qilič 'A. 393, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 5, 61, Cairo 111, 119, Bank. XIX, 1, 1684a = Patna 1, 103,1049.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary, *al-Ikhtiyār*, Paris 878/9, Ind. Off. 238, Garr. 1713, Yeni 595/6, Cairo 111, 3.—b. see Suppl.—c. Anon., Garr. 1714.—7 commentaries, abstracts and versifications in Ahlw.—2. *Kitāb al-fawā'id* Yeni 534.

48. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Khabbāzī al-Bakhtiyārī al-Khujandī, a professor at the Khātūniyya in Damascus who died in 691/1292.

Ibn Quṭl. 141, Flügel 329, Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* v, 419. 1. *Kitāb al-mughnī fī uṣūl al-fiqh* Leipz. 475, Leid. | 1825, Garr. 1715, Alex. Uṣūl 20, Cairo 111, 265.—Commentaries: a. Abū Muḥammad Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Qā'ānī al-Khwārizmī, d. 705/1305, Garr. 1716, Qawala 1, 286, Patna 1, 72,737 (see Suppl.).—c. 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī, d. 773/1371 (11, 80), completed in 746/1345, Berl. 4384, Alex. Uṣūl 11.—b. see Suppl.—8 other commentaries and 1 gloss in Ahlw.—2. *Sharḥ al-Hidāya*, p. 466.

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49. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Tha'lab b. al-Sā'ātī al-Baghdādī, who died in 696/1296 (or, according to others, in 694) (see Suppl.).

| 1. *Kitāb majma' al-baḥrayn wa-multaqa 'l-nayyirayn*, compiled from the *Mukhtaṣar* of Quḍūrī (p. 183) and the *Manzūma* of al-Nasafī, d. 537/1142 (p. 427), completed in 690/1291, Berl. 4569/70, Gotha 1012 (where other mss are listed), Paris 881/4, 6189, Garr. 1678/9, Qawala 1, 390, Mosul 97,89, 167,45, Patna 1, 102,1042/3.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary, Berl. 4571, Ms. or. qu. 2073,

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Yeni 454, Alex. *Fiqh Ḥan.* 34, Cairo 111, 65, <sup>2</sup>1, 438, 460, on which glosses by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Āqsarāʾī, eighth cent. (Suppl. II, 328), Paris 885.—b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAntabī, d. 767/1365, Cairo 111, 137.—c. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Malakshāh (Firishte), ca. 850/1447 (II, 213), Berl. 4572, Copenhagen 64, Munich 2, 6/7, Leid. 1828, Paris 886/9, 970,<sup>2</sup>, Ind. Off. 4579 (*JRAS* 1939, 370, dated 28 Muḥarram 842/21 July 1438), Yeni 456, Alex. *Fiqh Ḥan.* 34, Qawala I, 354.—d. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī al-ʿUmarī, d. 854/1450, Cairo 111, 67.—e. *al-Mustajmaʿ* by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, d. 855/1451 (II, 52), Bodl. I, 244, Cairo 111, 130, <sup>2</sup>1, 463, versified Paris 4543/4, Br. Mus. 202, cf. Add. p. 767.—f. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿbān al-Ṭarābuluṣī, d. 967/1559, Yeni 455.—g. Muṣṭafā b. ʿUmar, composed in 1066/1655, Cairo 111, 137.—h. Anon., Leid. 1829, Pet. AMBuch. 918.—Anon. metrical reworking, Br. Mus. 202. Calcutta p. 57, no. 852.—10 other commentaries, 1 abstract, and 1 versification in Ahlw. 4573.—2. *Kitāb badīʿ al-nizām fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, which unites the *Uṣūl* of al-Pazdawī (see no. 4) with the *Aḥkām* of al-Āmidī (Ibn Quṭl. no. 10), Leid. 1826.—Commentaries: a. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Hindī, d. 773/1371 (II, 80), Leid. 1827, Paris 1260, Cairo 111, 256.—b. *Bayān mushkil (maʿānī) al-Badīʿ* by Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, d. 749/1348 (II, 110), Ind. Off. 1460, Cairo 11, 379.—c., d.—3., 4. see Suppl.

478 | 50. Zayn (Tāj) al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rāzī, fl. around the end of the seventh century.

1. *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* (also attributed to Muḥammad b. Tāj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Tūqātī in ḤKh 111, 2673, <sup>2</sup>1, 375), Berl. 4517/8, Gotha 1007/8 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 873, Garr. 1717, Alex. *Fiqh Ḥan.* 12, Qawala I, 311.—Commentaries: a. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Kirmānī b. Malikshāh, ca. 850/1446 (II, 213), Berl. 4519, Paris 874.—b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, d. 855/1451 (II, 52), Berl. 4520/1, Algiers 992.—c. *Hadīyyat al-sulūk* by Abu ʿl-Layth al-Muḥarram b. Muḥammad al-Zilī (Zaylaʿī), tenth cent. (II, 439), written in Sīwās, Upps. 435.—d. see Suppl.—e. Anon., Garr. 1713.—2.—9. see Suppl. (2. Berl. Oct. 3889, AS 87/8, 6. Garr. 1904, Bursa, Ulu Cami Tas. 101).—10. *Muʿānī ʿl-maʿānī*, literary criticism, Alex. Adab 101.—11. *al-Mukhtār min Kitāb al-taḥbīr* by al-Qushayrī, p. 432,3.

51. Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī, seventh century.

*Kitāb munyat al-muṣallī wa-ghunyat al-mubtadīʿ*, on the theory of prayer, Leid. 1812 (where other MSS are listed), Hamb. Or. Sem. 22, Ind. Off. 1654/66, Garr. 1750/1, Qawala I, 402, Mosul 97,<sup>9</sup>, 114,<sup>209/10</sup>, 133,<sup>196,1</sup>, 146,<sup>106</sup>, Patna X, 107,<sup>1085</sup>, print. Kazan 1889 (see Suppl.).—Commentaries: 1. *Ḥilyat al-mujallī (muḥallī)*



by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, d. 879/1474, Paris 1147/8, Ind. Off. 1668, Qawala I, 327, Bank. XIX, 1. 1690.—2. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, d. 956/1549 (II, 432): a. the larger one, *Ghunyat al-mutamallī (mustamlī)*, Gotha 766 (where other MSS are listed), Ind. Off. 1667, Garr. 1752, Alex Fiqh Ḥan. 55, Qawala I, 373, Patna I, 86,<sup>873</sup>.—b. the smaller one, *Mukhtaṣar Gh. al-m.*, Munich 166/9, Dresd. 185, 225, Leid. 1813, Ind. Off. 359, Paris 1149/51, Algiers 778/86, Garr. 1753, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 34, 62, Cairo 1111, 69, Qawala I, 356/7, Mosul 181,<sup>21</sup>, Patna I, 104,<sup>1051/2</sup>, print. Istanbul 1242, 1268, 1286, 1289, 1275, 1312, 1316, 1317, lith. Lahore 1889.—Glosses: *Hilyat al-nāji* by Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Güzeliḥşārī, completed in 1241/1825 (Qawala I, 328), print. Istanbul 1251, 1308, 1322 (see Suppl.).—c. *Tamniyat al-mutamallī* Paris 1152.—3. see Suppl.

52. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zakariyyā (Zikrī) b. Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī al-Manīhī (?) al-Ḥanafī, whose son Muḥammad became a professor at the Mu'azzamiyya in Jerusalem in 711/1311, wrote:

*Al-Lubāb fi 'l-jam' bayna 'l-sunna wal-Kitāb* Yeni 536 (where al-Masiḥī), photograph Cairo <sup>2</sup>, App. 16, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 49 | (attributed to Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī, p. 473), Rāmpūr I, 106,<sup>314</sup> (which has al-Manbijī), see 'Aq., *Jaw.* I, 362, II, 93, ḤKh v, 301,<sup>11054</sup> (which has Musabbiḥī, without date).

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## 2 The Mālikīs

1. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Lakhmī, who died in 478/1085 or, according to others, 498/1104 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb al-tabṣira*, on Malikī law, Paris 1071.—2. *Kitāb al-nihāya wal-tamām fi ma'rifat al-wathā'iq wal-aḥkām*, Algiers 1072, abstract ibid. 1073.

1a. Aḥmad b. Muḥith Abū Ja'far, who was born in 406/1015, was the greatest *faqih* of Toledo of his time. He died in 459/1067.

Ibn Farḥūn, C. 40, S. Vila, Abenmoguit, Formulario notarial in *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* VII, 1, 1931,<sup>6ff</sup>.

2. Abu 'l-Aṣḥagh 'Īsā b. Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī, who died in 486/1093 (see Suppl.).

E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X. siècle*, p. 80, n. 2. *Kitāb al-i'lām bi-nawāzil al-aḥkām*, | legal rulings by eminent Mālikīs, Algiers 1332, abstract ibid. 1298,<sup>4</sup>.

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3. Abu 'l-Walīd Hishām b. Aḥmad al-Waqashī al-Kinānī al-Ṭulaytilī, who died in Denia on 28 Jumādā II 489/24 June 1096 (see Suppl.).

Maqq. II, 256. *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh* Br. Mus. 251<sub>6</sub>, commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Fakhkhār Abū Bakr al-Arkushī al-Judhāmī, d. 723/1323 in Malaga, Br. Mus. 228<sub>2</sub> (cf. Add. 768).

4. Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rushd,<sup>1</sup> born in 450/1058, was *qāḍī* and imam of the great mosque in Cordova, and died in 520/1126.

Al-Ḍabbī, p. 40, no. 24. 1. *Compendium juris canonici* Br. Mus. 251<sub>4</sub>.—  
 2. *al-Muqaddamāt al-mumahhadāt li-bayān mā iqtadathu rusūm al-*  
 480 *Mudawwana* (p. 186) *min al-aḥkām | al-shar'iyāt wal-taḥṣīlāt al-muḥkamāt*  
*li-ummahāt masā'iliha 'l-mushkilāt* Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 184.—3. Treatise on forbidden  
 meat, Paris 1057<sub>3</sub>.—4. *al-Fatāwā*, compiled by al-Warrāq, Paris 1072.—5. *Risāla*  
*fī ḥukm amwāl al-ḡalama al-wulāt al-mu'tadīn wa-man kāna fī ma'nāhum* Cairo  
<sup>1</sup>111, 690.—6. *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar ma'āni 'l-āthār lil-Ṭaḥāwī* (p. 181), from the year  
 503/1109, Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 414, <sup>2</sup>1, 493.—7.–11. see Suppl.

5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Ḥawfī, from Seville, died in 588/1192 (see Suppl.)

*Kitāb al-farā'id*, on laws of inheritance, Paris 213, Algiers 1311.—Commentaries:  
 1. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Arafa al-Warghamī, d. 803/1400 (II, 247),  
 Algiers 1311<sub>2</sub>.—2. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Ajāna al-'Adnānī, Paris 1075,  
 Algiers 1312.—3. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, Algiers 1450, see *JA*  
 1854<sub>1</sub>, p. 175.—4. Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-'Uqbānī, see Suppl. I, 664, II, 251, 1018.

6. Abu 'l-Walīd Hishām b. 'Abdallāh b. Hishām al-Azdī, who died in 606/1309.

*Kitāb al-mufīd lil-ḥukkām (al-mulham) fī-mā ya'riḍu lahum min nawāzil*  
*al-aḥkām*, a handbook for judges to help settle difficult legal cases, Paris 1074,  
 Br. Mus. 225, Algiers 1364/5, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1885, p. 472, no. 16.

6b. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Najm b. Shās al-Jalāl al-Judhāmī, d. 610/1213 (see Suppl.).

*Ṭiqd al-jawāhir etc.* also Fez Qar. 812/5, 857.

<sup>1</sup> Grandfather of the philosopher of the same name.

6c. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Aṣḥab al-Azdī al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī b. al-Munāṣif was born in Rajab 563/April 1168 in Tunis (or, according to others, in al-Mahdiyya), where his father had fled after the downfall of the Almoravids of Cordova. He studied there and in Tlemcen before returning to Spain. He became a *qāḍī* in Valencia and from 608/1211 onwards in Murcia, but was deposed because of his excessive harshness. In 614/1217 he was in Cordova, but then he went to Marrakesh, where he died in Rabī‘ 11 620/May 1223.

Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila* (Bibl. Ar.-Hispan. v), 326, no. 963, Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 229,3. 1. *Tanbīh al-ḥukkām fi ‘l-ahkām* Tunis Zayt. IV, 283,2441.—2. *Kitāb al-mudhhaba fi nazm al-ṣifāt | min al-ḥulā wal-shīyāt*, ca. 1000 *rajaḥ* verses on Arabic lexicology, 481 Berl. 5370 (mistakenly identified by Ahlwardt as being about physiognomy, thus it was listed as such in Suppl. I, 910 in chapter 17), Esc. 2581,1, Bank. XX, 1989 = Patna I, 187,1704, see J.M. Peñuela, *Die “Goldene” des b. al-M., ein Betrag zur mediz. ar. Lexikographie etc.*, Rome 1941.—3. *al-Mu‘aqqiba*, supplement thereto, Esc. 2581,2.

7. Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī died in Alexandria on 14 Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da 656/12 November 1258.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 260. 1. *Kashf al-qinā‘ ‘an ḥukm al-wajh wal-samā‘* Cairo 1VII, 546.—2. see Suppl.

8. Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Nu‘mān al-Fāsī al-Marrākushī al-Muzālī al-Ishbīlī al-Hintātī, fl. seventh cent.

| 1. *Kitāb al-nūr al-wāḍiḥ ilā maḥajjat al-munkir ‘ala ‘l-ṣāriḥ fi wajdihi ‘l-ṣā‘ih*, a detailed answer to the question of whether it is right or wrong to express one’s feelings loudly in case of excitement or grief, Berl. 3350,14, 5410.—2. *Miṣbāḥ al-ḥalām fi ‘l-mustaghthīn bi-khayr al-anām fi ‘l-yaqāza wal-manām*, composed during the pilgrimage in 639/1241, demonstrates the effectiveness of the invocation of Muḥammad in various kinds of hardship by means of examples, Berl. 3914, Garr. 1902, Cairo 1VII, 94, 2I, 359.—3. *I‘lām al-ajnad wal-‘ibād ahl al-ijtihād bi-faḍl al-ribāṭ wal-jihād* Berl. 4089. 385

9. Shihāb al-Dīn Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yallīn al-Qarāfī al-Ṣanḥājī al-Bahnasī, who died in Jumādā 11 684/August 1285 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb anwāʾ* (*anwār*) *al-burūq fī anwār* (*anwāʾ*) *al-furūq fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Algiers 1355/6, Alex. Fiqh Māl. Cairo 1111, 154, *Dībāja*, Gotha 2,28.—Comment.: a. *Idrār al-shurūq* by al-Ishbīlī, d. 725/1325 (11, 264), see Suppl.—b. al-Qalqashandī, d. 1035/1625, mentioned in Ahlw. 4380.—*Mukhtaṣar al-qawāʾid*, abridged and completed by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Baqqūrī al-Ṣūfī al-Sabtī, d. 707/1307, Berl. 4380.—2. *Kitāb al-dhakhīra fī ʿl-furūʿ* Cairo 1111, 165, 21, 482.—3. *Kitāb al-istighnāʾ fī aḥkām al-istithnāʾ*, on legal exceptions, Esc. 2620.—4. *Kitāb al-istibṣār fī-mā tudrikuhu ʿl-abṣār* Esc. 2707,9, Cairo 1VI, 88.—
- 482 5. *Kitāb al-qawāʾid al-saniyya | fī asrār al-Arabiyya* Paris 1013,5.—6. *Kitāb al-ajwiba al-fākhira ʿan (fī ʿl-radd ʿala) al-asʿila al-fājira*, a rebuttal of objections against the truth of Islam raised by Jews and Christians, Gotha 858, Leid. 2105 (where other MSS are listed), Cairo 1111, 153, cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Lit.* 8, 17.—7.–11. see Suppl.—12. *al-Munjiyāt wal-mūbiqāt fī ʿl-adʿiya*, Alex. Fiqh Māl. 16.

10. Abū Ishāq (ʿAbdallāh) Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā al-Tilimsānī al-Anṣārī al-Burrī al-Washqī, who was born in Tlemcen in 609/1212 and died in Ceuta in 690/1291.

1. See Suppl.—2. *al-Urjūza (al-Manzūma al-Tilimsāniyya) fī ʿl-farāʿid*, a didactic poem on the law of inheritance composed in 635/1237, Algiers 149,0, 1317. Commentaries see Suppl. (d. Alex. Far. 8., Patna I, 111,1117).

10a. Abū Yaḥyā b. Jamāʿa al-Tūnisī, seventh cent.

*Masāʾil fī ʿl-buyūʿ*, with a commentary by Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Judhāmī al-Fāsī al-Qabbāb, d. 778/1376, see Suppl. 11, 346, Leid. 1824, Rabat 503,3.

### 3 The Shāfiʿīs

1. Abū Maṣṣūr ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, who died in 429/1037 in Isfarāʾīn (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 365, Wüst., *Schaf.* 345. 1. *Kitāb al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh* Berl. 478/9.—2. *Kitāb al-farq bayna ʿl-firaq*, on sects in Islam, ibid. 2800.—3.–9. see Suppl.

2. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Juwaynī studied with his father in Juwayn, on the caravan route between Bisṭām and Nishapur, then in Nishapur and Marw, | returned to Nishapur in 407/1016, and died there in Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 438/May 1047.

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Ibn Khall. 308, Yāqūt, *GW* II, 165/6 (where it is said that he died in 434), Wüst., *Schaf.* 365a. 1. *Kitāb al-jam' wal-farq*, on legal questions, Berl. 4811, Cairo 1111, 215, 21, 508.—2. *al-Wasā'il fi furūq al-masā'il* Garr. 1653.—3. *Mawqif al-imām wal-ma'mūm* Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 38,2.

3. Abū Ḥātim Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī | began his studies in Āmul, continued them in Baghdad, and died in 440/1048 or, according to others, in 460/1068. 483

Wüst., *Schaf.* 371. *Kitāb al-ḥiyal*, on legal tricks, Berl. 4974.

4. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Māwardī studied in Basra and Baghdad, then lectured in both cities, was for a time chief *qāḍī* in Ustuwā near Nishapur, and finally settled permanently in Baghdad. It is said that he published nothing during his lifetime, and that it was not until after his death that his works were published by one of his students. He died at the age of 86 on 30 Rabī' I 450/27 May 1058.

Ibn Khall. 401, Wüst., *Schaf.* 395, R. Enger, *de vita et scriptis M.*, Bonn 1851. 1. *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, a purely abstract representation of Islamic constitutional law without any regard for reality, *Constitutiones politicae*, ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853, C. 1298, 1324, 1327, revised by Toḡhan Shaykh 875/1470 for Qā'it Bāy, AS 2905, see H.A.R. Gibb, Al-M's Theory of the Khilāfat, *Isl. Cult.* XI, 291/302.—2. *Kitāb naṣīḥat al-mulūk* Paris 2447,3.—3. *Kitāb qawānīn al-wizāra* Krafft 475.—4. *Kitāb tashīl al-naẓar wa-tajīl al-zafar*, on politics and the art of government, Gotha 1872.—5. *Kitāb al-ḥāwi 'l-kabīr fi 'l-furū'* Garr. 1778, Cairo 2111, 215, 21, 512, Patna I, 85,865/7.—6. *Kitāb a'lām al-nubuwwa*, on the signs of prophethood, Berl. 2527, Cairo 11, 270, 21, 90, cf. Fr. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, II, 382, M. Schreiner in *Kohuts Sem. Studies*, 502/13.—7. *Kitāb al-amthāl wal-ḥikam*, 300 traditions, 300 aphorisms, and 300 verses in 10 *fuṣūl* of 30 each, Leid. 382.—8. *Kitāb al-bughya al-'ulyā fi adab al-dīn wal-dunyā*, on ethics, Berl. 5393/4, Br. Mus. 1512, Bodl. I, 299, 307, 322, Qawala I, 217, Patna I, 192,1737, print. Constantinople 1299, C. 1309, 1310, in the margin *OB* I, 4500.—9. *Kitāb ma'rifat al-faḍā'il* Esc. 2224.—10. *Kitāb al-ḥisba*, an independent work, Jer., Khāl. 49, 17,2 *al-Rutba fi ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Fātiḥ 3495, see Suppl. III, 1223/4.—11. see Suppl.—12. *Kitāb al-nukat wal-'uyūn*, a Qur'ān commentary, additionally Garr. 1258, library of Yāsīn Bāsha'yān al-'Abbāsī in Basra (letter to Ritter).

| 5. Abū 'Āmir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-'Abbādī al-Harawī was born in Herat in 375/985, and studied there and in Nishapur. 484

After much travelling he became a *qāḍī* in Herat where he died in Shawwāl 458/September 1066.

Ibn Khall. 558, Wüst., *Gesch.* 204. *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyyīn* ḤKh IV, 139,7900, Berl. 1033, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1203,5, AS 3302, Alex. Fun. 170,4, see Suppl.

387 | 6. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fūrānī al-Marwazī was the head of the Shāfi'īs in Marw and died at the age of 73 in Ramaḍān 461/June 1069.

Ibn Khall. 337, Wüst., *Schaf.* 417. *Kitāb al-ibāna fi 'l-fiqh*, on which a *Tatimma* by al-Mutawallī 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma'mūn al-Nisābūrī, d. 478/1085, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 200.

7. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Marwarrūdhī al-Qāḍī was regarded as the greatest *faqīh* of his time in Khurāsān, and died on 23 Muḥarram 462/1 November 1069.

Ibn Khall. 337, Wüst., *Schaf.* 418. *Fatāwā* Paris 983, see Suppl.

8. Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Imād al-Dīn Shahfūr Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'īnī, who died in 471/1078.

*Kitāb al-tabṣīr fi 'l-dīn wa-tamyīz al-firqa al-nājiya 'an firaq al-hālikīn* Berl. 2801, Paris 1452 (see Suppl.).

9. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Fīrūzābādī al-Shīrāzī, born in 393/1003 in Fīrūzābād, went to Shiraz in 410/1019, then to Basra, and in 415/1024 to Baghdad. When Nizām al-Mulk founded the Madrasa that was named after him in 459/1066 he appointed him as its head on the first of Dhū 'l-Ḥijja, despite earlier doubts. In Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 475/April 1083 he went as an envoy to the caliph al-Muqtadī in Nishapur. This trip was something of a homecoming parade, as people everywhere paid homage to this famous scholar. He died soon after his return, on 21 Jumādā II 476/6 November 1083.

485 | Ibn Khall. 5, Wüst., *Schaf.* 452. 1. *Kitāb al-muhadhdhab fi 'l-madhdhab* Berl. 4456/8, Gotha 939 (fragment), Pet. Ros. 18, Ind. Off. 1775, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 280, <sup>2</sup>I, 542.—Commentaries: a. al-Nawawī, d. 676/1277 (p. 496), Berl. 4459, Garr. 1780/1, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 241.—b. *Kitāb al-su'āl 'ammā fi kitāb al-M. min al-ishkāl* by

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Khayr b. Sālim al-'Imrānī al-Yamanī, d. 558/1163 (Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 324, Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadh. al-dhahab* IV, 185), Leid. 1783.—c. *Ihtirāzāt al-M.* by Ibn al-Haytham 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣan'ī, d. 550/1158 (ḤKh VI, 275), Ind. Off. 1776.—d. *Ma'ānī alfāz al-M.* by Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Ikrima al-Jazarī, AS 457,4, f. 94a/163b).—e. Anon. *Tafsīr alfāz al-mushkilāt fi 'l-M.* AS 457,3 (f. 55a/93a).—10 other commentaries, 3 abstracts, and 3 books with traditions in Ahlw, loc. cit.—II. *Kitāb al-tanbīh fi 'l-fiqh*, composed in 452–3/1061–2, one of the five most famous works on Shāfi'ī law, Berl. 4460, Leid. 1782, Bodl. I, 200, Cairo 1111, 210, 21, 506, H. Keizer, *Handboek voor het Mohammedaansch regt*, Leid. 1853, ed. Th. W. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, see R. Grasshof, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts usw. Ein Abschnitt aus dem K. al-buyū' des A.Y. al-Sh.*, Diss. Göttingen 1895.—Commentaries: 1. *Ghunyat al-muftī* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Irbilī al-Mawṣilī, d. 622/1225, Bodl. I, 212, 238, Cairo 1111, 236, 248, 21, 527.—2. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī, completed in 629/1231, Cairo 1111, 282, 21, 543.—3. *Taṣḥīḥ al-T.* by al-Nawawī, d. 676/1277 (p. 496), Br. Mus. 254, Cairo 1111, 111, 202 (glosses see Suppl. in Fir. Ricc. 7).—4. *al-Iqlīd li-dar' al-taqlīd* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Firkāh, d. 690/1291 (p. 497), Berl. 4461, Patna I, 78, 788.—5. *Kifāyat al-nabīh* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī b. al-Raf'a, d. 710/1310 (II, 133), Cairo 1111, 266/7, 21, 536, Patna I, 103, 1035. Abstract, *Taṣḥīḥ al-hidāya*, by Aḥmad b. Lu'lu' al-Miṣrī b. al-Naqīb, d. 769/1367 (II, 104), Berl. 4465, Garr. 1782.—6. (see Suppl.) Abū Bakr b. | Ibrāhīm al-Zankalūnī (Sankalūnī), d 740/1339, Berl. 4462/3, Paris 1023 (?), Bodl. I, 210.—7. *Nukat al-nabīh* by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Nashā'ī, d. 757/1356, Cairo 1111, 287.—8. Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, d. 794/1392 (II, 91), vol. I Berl. 4466, Patna I, 91, 927.—9. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 804/1401 (II, 92), Cairo 1111, 236.—10. *al-Wāḍiḥ al-nabīh* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sulamī, eighth cent., Cairo 1111, 289, 21, 546.—11, 12. see Suppl.—13. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Zuhrī, composed in 784/1382, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 25.—Abstracts: 1. *al-Mughnī fi'khtīṣār al-T.* by Hibatallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamawī b. al-Bārīzī, d. 738/1337 (II, 86), Berl. 4467, commentary by Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Abnāsī, d. 802/1399, Cairo | 1111, 211.—2. *Taṣḥīḥ al-nabīh fi'khtīṣār al-T.* by Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dimashqī 486 al-Biqā'ī, d. 795/1393, Berl. 4468.—29 commentaries, 2 abstracts, and 1 versification are mentioned in Ahlw., 4469.—III. *Talkhūṣ 'ilal al-fiqh*, on all kinds of legal questions, Berl. 4980.—IV. *Kitāb al-ma'ūna fi 'l-jadal*, on the art of disputation, Gotha 1183, possibly identical with *Ma'ūnat al-mubtadī'n wa-tadhkirat al-muntahīn*, Garr. 867.—V. *ʿAqida*, creed, Berl. 1946.—VI. *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'* Berl. 9991, Leipz. 704, Esc. 11848, printed together with *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya* by Ibn Hidāyatallāh al-Ḥusaynī, d. 1014/1605, Baghdad 1356.—VII. *al-Ishāra ilā madhhab al-ḥaqq* Alex. Tawḥīd 30,2.—VIII., IX. see Suppl.

10. Abū Ḥākim ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khabrī came from Khabr near Shiraz. A student of Abū Ishāq, he lived as a teacher in Baghdad and died in Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 476/April–May 1083.

Wüst., *Schaf.* 453. *Kitāb al-talkhīṣ fi ‘ilm al-farā’id*, on the law of inheritance, Berl. 4687, BDMG 43.

11. Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Sayyid b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāgh was born in Baghdad in 400/1009. When, at the opening of the Nizāmiyya, Abū Ishāq was reluctant to assume the position as its head, Abū Naṣr was given this task, but just three weeks into the job, had to step aside to make way for Abū Ishāq. After the latter’s death Abū Naṣr first became his successor, but after going blind he was no longer up to the task and had to cede his position to Abū Sa’d al-Mutawallī, d. 478/1086 (Ibn Khall. 338, Abū Bakr b. Hidāyatallāh, *Ṭab. al-shāf.* 62, see no. 6). Nizām al-Mulk, whom he visited in Isfahan, promised him his own school in Baghdad, but he died within three days of his return, on 14 Jumādā I 477/19 September 1083.

Ibn Khall. 372, Wüst., *Schaf.* 457. *Kitāb al-shāmil fi ‘l-furū‘* Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 234, <sup>2</sup>520, *Muntakhab* by Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 776/1374, *ibid.* III, 273, <sup>2</sup>1, 537.

487 12. Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh (no. 2) b. Yūsuf  
al-Juwaynī Imām al-Ḥaramayn, was born | on 18 Muḥarram 419/12 February  
1028 in Bushtaniqān,<sup>1</sup> a village near Nishapur. When he was not even twenty  
389 years old he assumed his father’s teaching position after the latter had died.  
However, | when Sultan Ṭughril Beg persecuted the Mu‘tazilīs at the instigation  
of his vizier Maṣṣūr al-Kundarī he had to flee to the Hijaz, in 445/1053. There  
he taught for four years in Mecca and Medina, which is how he got his *laqab*.  
After he returned to his homeland Nizām al-Mulk founded a Nizāmiyya for  
him in Nishapur, where he continued to work until the end of his life. He died  
in his village of origin, where he had gone in hopes of being healed from an  
illness, on 25 Rabī‘ II 478/20 August 1085.

Ibn Khall. 351. Wüst., *Akad.* no. 38, *Schaf.* 365c, M. Schreiner in *Graetz’ Monatsschr.* xxv, 314ff. 1. *Kitāb al-waraqāt*, on the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Berl. 4358/9, Hamb. Or. Sem. 128, Paris 672,5 (?), Br. Mus. 252,3, 557,3, Algiers 213,3, 959/62.—  
Commentaries: 1. *al-Darakāt* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Firkāh,

1 Corrupted to Nashiqān in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* 284,14.



d. 680/1291 (p. 497), Berl. 4360, Gotha 922, Tüb. 108, Paris 1266,<sup>2</sup> Br. Mus. 548,<sup>3</sup>, Suppl. 256.—2. Jalāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, d. 864/1460 (II, 114), Berl. 4361/2, Gotha 923, Tüb. 107,<sup>2</sup>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 257, Bodl. I, 152, (cf. II, 570b), Esc. <sup>2</sup>102,<sup>1</sup>, 521,<sup>6</sup>, Garr. 1794, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 371, no. 34, Alex. Fun. 170,<sup>1</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 262, 254, 258, Makr. 45.—Glosses: a. *Qurraṭ al-ʿayn* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Mālikī (II, 387), completed in 953/1546, Gotha 924, Esc. <sup>2</sup>102,<sup>5</sup>, 521,<sup>6</sup>, Paris 813, Algiers 963, Alex. Uṣūl 17.—b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dimyāfī al-Shāfiʿī, print. C. 1303.—3. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Imām al-Kāmiliyya, d. 874/1469 (II, 77), Berl. 4368, Paris 624,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Uṣūl 12, 18, Fun. 176,<sup>2</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 261.—4. At the same time glosses to 2, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-ʿUbādī al-Qāhirī, d. 994/1586 (II, 320), a. *al-Kabīra* Berl. 4363/4, Patna II, 45,<sup>2628,1</sup>—b. *al-Ṣaghīra* Berl. 4365, Alex. Uṣūl 12.—Glosses by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Sunbātī, d. 995/1587 (II, 368), Berl. 4366, Algiers 218,<sup>2</sup>, by Aḥmad b. Salāma al-Qalyūbī, d. 1069/1658 (II, 364), Berl. 4367, Alex. Uṣūl 9, 18.—5.—10. see Suppl. (6. also Alex. Fun. 114).—11. *Zubdat al-mukhtaṣarāt* | by Sharaf al-Dīn Yūnus al-ʿAythāwī, d. 978/1570 (II, 320), Alex. Fun. 174,<sup>14</sup>.—5 commentaries and 4 versifications are mentioned in Ahlw., 4368.—11 (III). *Nihāyat al-maṭlab fī dirāyat al-madḥhab* Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 44, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 288, <sup>2</sup>I, 546.—Abstract, *Ghāya fī ikhtiṣār al-N.*, by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī, d. 660/1262 (p. 430), Gotha 949 (autograph dated 645/1247), Cairo <sup>2</sup>III, 245, abstract *Ṣafwat al-madḥhab*, see Suppl. I, 971,<sup>672</sup>, with Patna I, 104,<sup>1066</sup> (autograph). Versification *al-Kifāya fī naẓm bayt al-Gh.* by Muḥammad Najal Fatā al-Zahīr, Garr. 1783.—111 (IV). *Mughīth al-khalq fī bayān al-ḥaqq*, a demonstration of the fact that the legal opinions of al-Shāfiʿī are superior to those of the other orthodox imams, Berl. 4853 (only the preamble), Paris 984, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1221,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Uṣūl 20, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 265, VII, 700, <sup>2</sup>I, 395.—IV (V). *Kitāb al-irshād (ilā qawāʿiʿ al-adilla) fī uṣūl al-ʿitiqād (ilā sawāʿ al-ʿitiqād)* Leid. 1983, Br. Mus. 1628,<sup>2</sup>, Algiers 616, ed. and transl. J. Luciani, Paris 1938.—Commentaries: 1. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-Marʿa, d. after 616/1219, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 58, <sup>2</sup>I, 188.—2. *al-Muqtaraḥ* by Abu ʿl-ʿIzz b. al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī al-Shāfiʿī, Algiers 617, abstract by the same, ibid. 618.—Abbreviation *al-Aqīda al-Silālijīya* by Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Silālijī (Suppl. I, 676), ḤKh IV, 243, Garr. 1559.—V (VI). *Kitāb lumaʿ al-adilla fī qawāʿid ʿaqāʿid ahl al-sunna* Berl. 2073, BDMG 16.—Commentary by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Fihri al-Tilimsānī, d. 658/1260 (Subkī, *Ṭab.* v, 60), Berl. 2074, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 30.—VI (VII). *Risāla fī ithbāt al-istiḥwāʿ wal-fawqīyya*, on sura 20,4, Landb.—Br. 591.—VII (VIII). A sermon, Berl. 3953.—VIII (IX). A *qaṣīda* for his son as an injunction to piety (usually attributed to Ismāʿīl b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muqriʿ, d. 837/1433, II, 190) Berl. 7621,<sup>3</sup>.—IX. *Ghiyāth al-umam fī ʿltiyāth al-ẓulam* Alex. Taʿr. 92.—X.—XVII. see Suppl. (XI. expressly attributed to Imām al-Ḥaramayn in AS 2246,<sup>3</sup> Ritter; XII.

cited as *al-Risāla al-Nizāmiyya* by Ibn Taymiyya, *Majm. ras. al-kubrā* I, 464,<sup>9</sup>; XVII. also Patna II, 543,<sup>2916</sup>.—XVIII. *Risāla fi 'l-fiqh* Mosul 101,<sup>387</sup> (corrupted, see Suppl. II, 973,<sup>8</sup>).

- 390 | 13. (14). 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ismā'īl al-Rūyānī Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, d. 502/1108 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 363. 1. *Kitāb baḥr al-madhhab*, the most detailed account of Shāfi'ī *fiqh*, Cairo I<sup>III</sup>, 197, <sup>2</sup>I, 500.—2. See Suppl.

- 489 | 15. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kiyā' al-Harāsī al-Ṭabaristānī, who was born on 5 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 450/25 December 1058, studied together with al-Ghazzālī in Nishapur under Imām al-Ḥaramayn then taught for a time in Bayhaq, before becoming a professor at the Nizāmiyya in Baghdad. Under the Saljūq Barkyārūq b. Malikshāh (487–98/1094–1104), with whom he stood in high regard, he occasionally acted as a *qāḍī*. He died on 1 Muḥarram 504/20 July 1110.

Ibn Khall. 403, al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥay*. II, 196. 1. *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* Cairo I<sup>II</sup>, 4, <sup>2</sup>I, 164.—2. *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān* ibid. I<sup>I</sup>, 122, <sup>2</sup>I, 31.—e. see Suppl.

16. Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ushnuhī, who came from Ushnuh<sup>2</sup> in Azerbaijan, flourished around 505/1111.

*Al-Ushnuhiyya fi 'l-farā'id*, on the laws of inheritance, ḤKh IV, 8973, Berl. 4689, Gotha 1098, Garr. 2109,<sup>2</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba, d. 874/1469 (II, 30), composed in 832/1428, Munich 367, Bodl. I, 277,<sup>3</sup>.—2. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sha'bī (ḤKh IV, 397), Tüb. 127, Paris 1037, Alex. Far. 3.—3.–5. see Suppl.—6. Anon. *al-Mawāhib al-saniyya*, Alex. Far. 17.

17. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Shāshī<sup>3</sup> al-Qaffal Fakhr al-Islām al-Mustazhirī, d. 507/1113 (see Suppl.).

2 I.e. the capital of what is now the Kurdish district of Ushnuya, on the southern tip of Lake Urmia; see M. Bittner, *SBWA, phil.-hist. Cl.* 133, 1895, III.

3 Whose family came from Shāsh (following Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* I, 369,<sup>5</sup> also Tāshkān = Tāshkänd, misprint Tārken) on the right bank of the Syr Daryā, al-Sam'ānī 325,<sup>19</sup>, Bartold, *Turkestan* 169ff.

| Ibn Khall. 561. *Kitāb ḥilyat al-ʿulamāʾ fi madhāhib al-fuqahāʾ*, an account of Shāfiʿī doctrine with a rejection of the other *madhhabs*, named *al-Mustazhirī* because it was dedicated to the caliph al-Mustazhir billāh, vol. 1, Gotha 1149, Cairo 1111, 224, 21, 512.—Abstract *Tuḥfat al-nubahāʾ fi ʾkhtilāf al-fuqahāʾ* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Bahrām al-Dimashqī, d. 705/1305, Berl. 4860.—2. *Kitāb al-ʿumda fi furūʿ al-Shāfiʿiyya* ḤKh IV, 8339, Mosul 170,26. Commentaries: a. Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Dībāja*, Gotha | 2, 79.—b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Dāʾim al-Birmāwī, d. 831/1427 (11, 95), *Dībāja*, ibid. 80.—3. *Talkhīṣ al-qawl fi ʾl-masʾala al-mansūba li-Abi ʾl-Abbās b. Surayj* (d. 306/918, p. 191) *fi ʾl-ṭalāq* Br. Mus. Suppl. 1203,2.—4. *Kitāb al-uṣūl* or *Kitāb al-khamsīn fi u. al-Ḥanafīyya* ḤKh V, 81,10091, Ind. Off. 1439/40, Bank. XIX, 1, 1501, Āṣaf. 88, Rāmpūr 2, Calc. Madr. 17, print. Lucknow 1210, 1279, Delhi 1303.—Commentaries: a. Ilāhdād al-Jawnpūrī (? d. 923/1517 or 932/1525, see Suppl. 11, 267/8), Ind. Off. 1441/3, Bank. XIX, 1, 1494, Calc. Madr. 18, print. Delhi 1293, 1302.—b. *Maʿdin al-uṣūl* by Ṣafī Allāh b. Nuṣayr, Ind. Off. 1444.

18. Abu ʾl-Maʿālī ʿAyn al-quḍāt ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Miyānājī al-Hamadhānī, who died in 525/1131 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 561. 1. *Kitāb zubdat al-ḥaqāʾiq*, on the foundations of religion, Berl. 1727, AS 1839/40, Šehīd ʿAlī Pāšā 1209 (Meier, *Isl.* XXIV, 6), Zanjān, *Lughat al-Arab* VI, 1928, 94.—2. *Kitāb shakwa ʾl-gharīb ʿani ʾl-awṭān ilā ʿulamāʾ al-buldān*, a defence against accusations of heresy and pretention to prophethood, for which he was jailed in Baghdad and then crucified in Hamadan, Berl. 2076.

19. Abu ʾl-Khayr Yaḥyā b. Saʿd b. Yaḥyā al-ʿImrānī, who died in 558/1163 (see Suppl.)

Ibn Hidāyatallāh, *Ṭab. al-Shāf.* 79. *Kitāb al-bayān fi ʾl-furūʿ* Brit. Mus. Suppl. 308/9, Cairo 1111, 199.

19a. Quṭb al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Maʿālī Masʿūd b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī, who taught in Damascus and died in 578/1182.

*Kitāb al-hādī fi ʾl-furūʿ* ḤKh VI, 470,14331, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 45 (al-Subkī, *Ṭab.* IV, 317 who only mentions his brother Mawdūd, d. 554/1159).

20. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Raḥbī Muwaffaq al-Dīn b. al-Muttaqīna, who died in 579/1183.

*Bughyat (Ghunyat) al-bāhith ‘an jumal al-mawārith (fī ‘ilm al-wārith wal-farā’id)*, usually *al-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya*, 180 *rajaz* verses on the law of inheritance (wrongly attributed to a certain Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥamawī | in ḤKh IV, 8636), Berl. 4691/2, Gotha 111/2 (where other MSS are listed), Alex. Fun. 92,<sup>1</sup>, 146,<sup>5</sup>, 149,<sup>6</sup>, print. C. 1310, cf. *Jones’ Works*, quarto ed. III, 467ff.—Commentaries: 1. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Zamzamī, d. 864/1460, Berl. 4693.—2. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Salāmī, d. 879/1474, Berl. 4676, 4696, Alex. Far. 9.—3. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Māridīnī, d. 934/1527 (II, 357), Berl. 4694/5, Gotha 1113/4 (where other MSS are listed), Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 394, Garr. 211,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Far. 9, 15.—Glosses, see Suppl.—4. *al-Fawā’id al-Shinshawriyya*, by ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Shinshawrī, d. 999/1590, (II, 320), Berl. 4697, Garr. 1870, 211,<sup>2</sup>.—Glosses: a. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Adfīnī al-Buḥayrī, completed in 1018/1609, Berl. 4698.—b. Yūsuf al-Zayyāt, *ibid.* 4699.—c. Muḥammad al-Ḥifnāwī (see Suppl.), also Alex. Far. 6.—d. see Suppl.—e. Muḥammad al-Khiḍrī al-Dimyāṭī al-Shāfi‘ī, Būlāq 1293.—5. Anon., Berl. 4700, Gotha 1114, *Ta’līq*, Ind. Off. 1740.—6. *Faṭḥ aqfāl al-mabāḥith* by ‘Abdallāh al-Sirmīnī al-Shafi‘ī or by Yūsuf al-Ḥalabī, Alex. Far. 12, Mosul 36,<sup>173</sup>.—7–15. see Suppl. (II. Alex. Fun. 82,<sup>3</sup>, 14. *Ibid.* Far. 7).—16. al-Ushmūnī, Berl. Brill M. 161,<sup>4</sup>.—17. al-Jawjarī, *ibid.* 5.—II. *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ‘ulamā’ al-firāq*, Medina, *ZDMG* 90, 119 (where Abu ‘l-Barakāt?).

21. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Samura b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ja‘dī, who died in 586/1190.

*Ṭabaqāt fuqahā’ jibāl al-Yaman wa-‘uyūn (sādāt, ru‘asā’)* *al-Yaman*, on the Shāfi‘īs in Yemen, Berl. 10034, ‘A. Emīrī 2401, Alex. Ta’r. 85.

392 | 22. Abū Shujā‘ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb b. al-Dahhān Fakhr al-Dīn al-Baghdādī received a very diverse education in law, philology, mathematics, and astronomy in Baghdad. In Mosul he joined the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, then went to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who sent him to Mayyafāriqīn to take up an administrative post. But because he did not get along with his principal there he left for Damascus, and in 586/1190 went to Egypt, hoping to find a better job there, but soon returned to Damascus. In 589/1193 he made the pilgrimage but, on | the way back, in Ṣafar of the following year/February 1194, he was killed by the fall of his camel near Ḥilla.

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Ibn Khall. 655, Wüst., *Gesch.* 281. *Taqwīm al-naẓar fī ‘l-masā’il al-khilāfiyya*, tables over several columns: 1. a question, 2. the Shāfi‘ī position, 3. the Ḥanafīs, 4–7. the foundations of these views, 8. the Mālikī view, 9. the Ḥanbalī view, 10. general remarks. The questions are divided into four classes: 1. *al-‘ibādāt*,

2. *mu'āmalā* 3. *nikāh*, 4. *jināyāt*. In the introduction there is a summary of the elements of logic and grammar. It was composed in 563/1167, Paris 788/9, Cairo 1111, 209.

23. Abū Shujā' Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Iṣfahānī al-'Abbādānī Taqī al-Dīn, allegedly born in 434/1042 in Basra, taught there for more than 40 years and died after 500/1106.<sup>4</sup>

Yāqūt, *GW* III, 598. *Kitāb al-taqrīb fi 'l-fiqh* or *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiqh 'alā madhhab al-imām al-Shāfi'ī* or *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār*, a compendium of the *furū'*, Berl. 4481, Gotha 942 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 307, 1234<sub>2</sub>, Patna 1, 96<sub>969</sub>, II, 418<sub>2587,4</sub>; *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite chāfēite par A. Ch. publiée par S. Keijzer*, Leiden 1859, cf. E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach shāfi'tischem Ritus*, Berlin 1897 (*Lehrb. des Or. Sem.* XVII)—Commentaries: 1. *Tuḥfat al-labīb* by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Daqīq al-Īd, d. 702/1302 (II, 66), Berl. 4482.—2. *Kifāyat al-akhyār* by Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Ḥiṣnī, d. 829/1426 (II, 95), Berl. 4483, Ms. or. qu. 2042, Gotha 946 (where other MSS are listed), Hamb. Or. Sem. 62<sub>4</sub>, Garr. 1785, Patna 1, 10<sub>1083</sub>.—3. *Faṭḥ al-qarīb al-mujīb* or *al-Qawl al-mukhtār fi sharḥ Gh. al-i.* by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ghazzī, d. 918/1512 (II, 320), Patna 1, 99<sub>1017</sub>. *La révélation de l'omniprésent, publ. et trad. par L.W.C. van den Berg*, Leiden 1895 (cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG* L, 313), lith. C. 1279, print. C. 1285, 1289 (see Suppl.).—Glosses: a. Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, d. 1277/1861 (II, 487), print. Būlāq 1272, 1285, 1289 and others (used by Sachau as the basis for his account).—b.—e. see Suppl. | (c. Garr. 1786)—f. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bilbaysī, completed in 1179/1765, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 16 (but going by the title rather to 4.).—g. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Khālīd al-Anṣārī, Patna 1, 85<sub>858</sub>.—4. *al-Iqnā'* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī, d. 977/1569 (II, 320), Berl. 4494, Munich 364, Leid. 1791, Garr. 1787, Makr. 5, Patna 1, 78<sub>789</sub>, print. C. 1306, 1307.—Glosses: a.—d. see Suppl.—e. Ibrāhīm b. 'Aṭā' al-Marḥūmī al-Azharī, completed in 1073/1662, Gotha 944, Haupt 115, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 20.—f. *Taqrīb al-jumal* by Sulaymān al-Jamal, d. 1202/1790 (II, 353), Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 2.—g. al-Qalyūbī, *ibid.* 19. | — 7 glosses in Ahlw., 4484.—5.—11. see Suppl.—12. *Tuḥfat al-abrār fi ḥall alfāz Gh. al-i.* by Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Bulqīnī al-Shāfi'ī, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 9.—13. Anon. on the preamble, Garr. 1788, anon. *al-Bidāya* Patna 1, 79<sub>802</sub>.

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23a. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Amīr, sixth cent.

4 The information 'd. 593' taken from Sarkis 318 in the Supplement is not authenticated.

*Durar al-farā'id*, with the commentary *Ta'līqa* from the seventh century, Berl. 1746, Bank. XX, 2, 1941 = Patna I, 110, 1109.

24. Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Tabrīzī, who was born in 558/1163 and died in 621/1224.

*Al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-furū'*, commentaries: 1. Majd al-Dīn al-Sankalūnī, d. 740/1339, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 235.—2. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 804/1401 (11, 96), *ibid.* 236.—3. Anon., Leid. 1808.—4. others in Ahlw., 4663, 7.

25. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī lectured in the great mosque of Qazvin and died at the age of around 66 in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 623/November 1226.

Naw. 753, *Fawāt* II, 3, Suyūṭī, *de Interpr.*, ed. Meursinge 63, Ibn Hidāyatallāh, *Ṭab. al-Shāf.* 83. 1. *Kitāb al-muḥarrar* Br. Mus. Suppl. 310, Ind. Off. 278, Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 272, Patna I, 103, 1046. Commentaries: a.–e. see Suppl. (e. Garr. 1790).—f. Abu Bakr al-Shahrazūrī, Br. Mus. Suppl. 311.—Abstracts: a. *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* by al-Nawāwī, no. 29.—b. *al-Ījāz fī mukhtaṣar al-M.* by Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Kirmānī al-Shāṭibī, d. 807/1404, Alex. Fiḥ Shāf. 7, anon. commentary on the *farā'id* Garr. 2060, 3.—c. Anon., Br. Mus. Suppl. 312.—2. *Kitāb al-tadwīn fī dhikr ahl al-'ilm bi-Qazwīn* Br. Mus. | 959, Alex. Ta'r. 47.—3. *al-Amāli 'l-shāriḥa li-mufradāt al-Fāṭiḥa*, in 30 *majlis*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 272, <sup>2</sup>1, 91.—4. *Sharḥ al-wajīz* see p. 543.—5., 6. see Suppl.

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26. Sayf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Tha'labī al-Āmidī, who was born in 551/1156 in Āmid, was originally a Ḥanbalī, but moved to Shāfi'ism in Baghdad. Having studied philosophy in Syria, he became a teacher at the Madrasat al-Qarāfa al-Ṣuḡhrā, and in 592/1196 became a professor at the Zāfirī mosque in Cairo. Because he had an interest in philosophy he was accused of heresy, causing him to flee to Hama. Even though he once more received an appointment, at the al-Madrasa al-'Azīziyya in Damascus, he was soon dismissed because, behind al-Malik al-Kāmil's back, he was negotiating a post as a judge with the prince of Āmid, who had been deposed by the former in 631/1233. He died in 631/1233.

Ibn Khall. 405, I. A. Uṣ. II, 174. 1. *Kitāb abkār al-afkār*, on philosophical dogmatics, composed in 612/1215, Berl. 1741, AS 2163/8.—2. *Kitāb iḥkām al-ḥukkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, dedicated to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam of Damascus (615–24/1218–27), Paris 791, Yeni 303, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 235, <sup>2</sup>1, 377.—3.–6. see Suppl. (4. Garr. 828).

27. (29). Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. 'Abd al-Karīm (no. 25) al-Qazwīnī, who was famous as a Sufi and a miracle worker, died in Muḥarram 665/October 1266 in Qazvin.

1. *al-Ḥāwī 'l-ṣaghīr fī 'l-fatāwī* Leipz. 374, Paris 997, Br. Mus. 252, Bodl. I, 188, II, 94, Ambros. 64, Esc. 1047, Garr. 1801, Patna I, 85<sub>863</sub>.—Commentaries: 1. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Tūsī, d. 707/1307, Cairo 1111, 275.—2. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Qūnawī, d. 727/1326 (II 86), Berl. 4512, Ind. Off. 1767, Cairo 1111, 236, Patna I, 91<sub>9239/31</sub>.—3. *Iḡhār (Taysīr) al-fatāwī min asrār al-Ḥ.* by Hibatallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Bārīzī, d. 738/1337 (II, 86), Ind. Off. 1768, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 17, Yeni 437.—4. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jārabardī, d. 746/1345 (II, 193), Yeni 438.—5. *Khulāṣat al-fatāwī* by 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 804/1401 (II, 92), Cairo 1111, 225, 21, 513.—6. Anon., eighth cent., Br. Mus. Suppl. 315.—  
| 7. Muḥammad b. Zankī al-Shu'aybī al-'Irāqī, d. 747/1346, Berl. 4515.— 495  
8. Anon., Paris 998 (dated 710/1310), Cairo 1111, 237, 264.—9.—11. cf. Suppl. (9. Ind. Off. 1769, anon.).—12. *Bayān al-fatāwī* by 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad al-Kūhī al-Kilūnī, Ind. Off. 1770.—Abstract *Irshād al-ghāwī ilā masālik al-Ḥ.* by Sharaf al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Abī Bakr al-Muqri' al-Yamanī, d. 837/1433 (II, 190), Berl. 4513, Gotha 951, Bodl. I, 236, Hamb. Or. Sem. 54, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 3.—Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary, *Ikhhlāṣ al-nāwī*, Br. Mus. Suppl. 316(?), Bodl. I, 186 (cf. II, 571), Cairo 1111, 190.—2. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jawjarī, d. 889/1484 (II, 97), Berl. 4514, Bodl. I, 198/201.—3. *Faḥ al-jawād fī sharḥ al-I.* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, d. 973/1565 (II, 387), 2 vols., C. 1305/6.—4. see Suppl.—5. Anon., *al-Tamshīya*, Dam. 'Um. 51, 403/4, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 13, on which *al-Masā'il al-mufīda al-ṣariḥa fī 'ibārāt al-I. al-ṣaḥīḥa* by Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar al-Fatā b. Mu'aybid al-'Abdalī al-Zabīdī, d. 781/1379, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 40.—16 commentaries and 4 abstracts mentioned in Ahlw., 4516.—Versifications: 1. *Kitāb al-bahja al-Wardīyya* by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī, d. 749/1348 (II, 140), Garr. 83, Cairo 1111, 199, 21, 501, lith. C. 1311.—Commentaries: a. *al-Bahja al-marḍīyya* by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī, d. 826/1423 (II, 66), Gotha 952/3, Paris 999, Br. Mus. 897. Bodl. I, 208, II, 572, Garr. 1805/6, on which glosses by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Garr. 1807.—b. Anon., Gotha 954.—c. *al-Ghurar al-bahīyya* by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, Paris 1000, Cairo 1111, 247.—d. see Suppl.—  
2. *Naẓm al-Ḥāwī* by Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, d. 729/1329 (II, 130), Cairo 1111, 286.—  
3. see Suppl.—Anon. revision entitled *Tashīl al-fatāwī fī khulāṣat asrār al-Ḥāwī*, Paris 1001.—11. *al-Lubāb fī uṣūl al-fiqh* ḤKh v, 302, self-commentary, *al-'Ujāb*, Ind. Off. 285.

28. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. Rabī'a al-Mawṣilī was born in Mosul in 598/1201, left his native land upon the invasion of the

Tatars and acceded to judicial office in the western part of Baghdad, where he died in 671/1272.

Al-Subkī, *Ṭab.* v, 72, Ibn Hidāyatallāh 86. *Al-Taʿjīz*, abstract of al-Ghazzālī's *al-Wajīz* (p. 543) with a commentary, *al-Taṭrīz*, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 12. At the request of the Ḥanafīs he also composed an abstract of al-Qudūrī that was still available to al-Subkī.

496 | 29. (30). Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Sharaf b. Murī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Jum'a b. Ḥizām al-Ḥizāmī al-Ḥawrānī Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Nawawī (Nawāwī) was born in Muḥarram 631/October 1233 in Nawā, south of Damascus in the Jawlān.<sup>5</sup> He studied theology at the Rawāḥiyya in Damascus from 649/1251 onwards. After making the pilgrimage in 651/1253 he became a private teacher in Damascus until he took over Abū Shāma's (p. 387) professorship at the Ashrafiyya school of *ḥadīth* following the latter's death in 665/1262. He was the only *faqīh* in Damascus to have the courage to refuse to consent to Sultan Baybars' levying of extraordinary war taxes, which is why he was banished. In his native Nawā, where he had hoped to recuperate from the side effects of an ascetic life and intense labour, he passed away on 24 Rajab 676/22 December 1278.

F. Wüstenfeld, *Über das Leben und die Schriften Scheich Abu Z.J. el N.* in *Abh.*, *GGW* 4, 1849, *Gesch.* 355, Heffening, *Isl.* XXII, 165/90, XXIV, 131/50.

1. *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn*, an abstract of *al-Muḥarrar* by Rāfi'ī (no. 25), completed in 669/1270, Berl. 4522/3, Gotha 955/7 (where other MSS are listed), *BDMG* 44, Mosul 160,<sup>184</sup> 182,<sup>118</sup> 200,<sup>211</sup> Patna I, 107,<sup>1082</sup>. *Le guide des zélés croyants, manuel de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite de Chāfi'ī, texte ar. publié par ordre du gouvernement avec traduction et annotation par L.W.C. van den Berg*, 3 vols., Batavia 1882/4, print. C. 1305, 1308, 1314, cf. Sachau, *Muh. Recht* XXII.—Commentaries: 1. *al-Nukat 'alā ba'ḍ alfāz al-M.* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Firkāh, d. 729/1339 (II, 130), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 286.—2. al-Zankalūnī, d. 740/1339, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 240.—3. *al-Ib(t)hāj fi sharḥ al-M.* by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, d. 756/1355 (II, 66), see Suppl., Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 3.—4. *al-Nukat* or *al-Sirāj fi nukat al-M.* by Ibn al-Naqīb, d. 764/1362, Berl. 4524, Garr. 2128, (fragm.), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 240.—5. *al-Furūq* by Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Asnawī, d. 772/1370 (II, 90), Gotha 964/5, Bodl. I, 245, Alex. | Fiqh Shāf. 32/3.—6. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Adhra'ī, d. 783/1381 (II, 90): a. *Qūt al-muḥtāj* Berl. 4526/7, Gotha 964,<sup>3</sup> Paris 1005, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 261, Patna I, 101,<sup>1030</sup>.—b. *Ghunyat al-muḥtāj* Berl. 4528.—c. *Tuḥfat al-nabīh* by al-Zankalūnī (see Suppl.), Patna I, 81,<sup>824</sup>.—7. *Tawḍīḥ al-M.*

<sup>5</sup> See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* IV, 105,<sup>3</sup>.



by Badr al-Din Muḥammad al-Zarkashī, d. 794/1392 (II, 91), Berl. 4525, Paris 1007/8.—8. *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj* by ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān al-Ghazzī, d. 799/1396 (III, 92), Berl. 4530 (?).—9. *Taṣḥīḥ al-muḥtāj* by ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī, d. 805/1402 (II, 93), Cairo 111, 207.—10. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 804/1401 (II, 93): a. *Umdat al-muḥtāj* Berl. 4536/7, Paris 1009, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 28.—b. *al-Ishārāt ʿalā mā waqaʿa fi ʿl-M. min al-asmāʾ wal-amākin*, completed in 774/1374, Berl. 4531/5, Gotha 960, Br. Mus. 255, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 5.—c. *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj fi adillat al-M.*, AS 463, Cairo 1, 95, Patna I, 81,<sup>819</sup>.—d. *Ujālat al-muḥtāj*, see Suppl., Garr. 1790, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 21.—11. *al-Najm al-wahhāj* by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī, d. 808/1405 (II, 138), Hamb. Or. Sem. 52, Ind. Off. 279.—12. Abu ʿl-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿIrāqī, d. 842/1438, Berl. 4529. 13. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Raslān al-Ramlī, d. 844/1440 (II, 96), Gotha 968, on which glosses: a. *Ghāyat al-muḥtāj* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī, d. 1004/1596 (II, 321), Paris 1017/20.—b. ʿAlī al-Shabrāmallisī, d. 1087/1676 (II, 322), Gotha 969, Paris 1021/2.—14. *Ghawāmiḍ al-fikar fi tartīb masāʾil al-M. al-mukhtaṣar* by ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣayrafī, d. 844/1440 (Suppl. II, 114), Garr. 1798.—14a. Abu ʿl-Faṭḥ al-Marāghī, d. 859/1455, Leid. 1820.—15. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī, d. 864/1460, Berl. 4538, Gotha 958/62 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 1792, Patna I, 94,<sup>952</sup>.—Glosses: a. al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, Paris 1012.—b. al-Qalyūbī and Shihābaddīn b. ʿAmīra al-Burullusī (ca. 950/1543), printed in 4 vols., C. 1306, 1318.—16. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Qāḍī Shuhba, d. 874/1469 (II, 30), see Suppl.—17. *Durr al-tāj fi ʿrāb mushkil al-M.* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Gotha 967, Paris 2677,<sup>18</sup>.—18. *Faṭḥ al-wahhāb* by Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1530 (II, 99), see Suppl. (delete Princ. 262 = Garr. 1792, p. 15), glosses by ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī, d. 1044/1634 (II, 307), Paris 1015/6.—19. *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-Haythamī, d. 973/1565 (II, 387), Ind. Off. 218, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 11, Patna I, 81,<sup>820/3</sup>, C. 1282, 1290, see Suppl. Glosses: a. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-ʿIbādī, d. 994/1586 (II, 320), additionally Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 18.—20. *Ghāyat | Nihāyat al-muḥtāj* by Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamza al-Ramlī, d. 1004/1595 (II, 321), composed in 973/1565, Paris 1017/20, 6453, Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 44 (see Suppl.).—Glosses by ʿAlī al-Shabrāmallisī, d. 1087/1676 (II, 322), Paris 1021/2.—21. *Mughni ʿl-muḥtāj* by Muḥammad b. al-Khaṭīb al-Shirbīnī, d. 977/1569 (II, 330), print. C. 1308, 1329, 4 vols.—22. Shams al-Dīn b. al-Qāyātī, Paris 1013,<sup>1</sup>.—23. Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Abbār al-Māridīnī, composed in 865–70/1460–5 in Aleppo, Bodl. I, 219.—24. Anon., Gotha 960, 970/2, Garr. 1793/7.—25.–31. see Suppl. (30. read: *Khatm al-M.*).—32. *Surūr al-rāghibīn* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dayrūṭī, ca. 950/1543, Bank. XIX, 1843 = Patna I, 90,<sup>918</sup>.—33. See Suppl. I, 972 and 682, Patna I, 88,<sup>896</sup>.—34. Anon., Garr. 1793/7.—Abbreviations: 1. *Minhāj al-rāghibīn* by Muḥammad al-Qūnawī, d. 788/1386, Paris 1006.—2. *Manhaj al-tullāb* by

396 Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, | d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Berl. 4539.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary, *Faṭḥ al-wahhāb*, Berl. 4540/1, Gotha 973/5 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 314, Patna I, 100,1001/23. Glosses: α 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, d. 1044/1624 (II, 307), Alex. Fiḥ Shāf. 16.—β see Suppl.—γ Sulaymān b. 'Umar al-Jamal, d. 1204/1789 (II, 353), print. C. 1305.—δ Sulaymān al-Bajīramī, d. 1221/1806, Alex. Fiḥ Shāf. 15, Būlāq 1296, 1309.—ε, ζ see Suppl.—η Shams al-Dīn al-Shawbarī, d. 1069/1158 (II, 330), part III (?) Marseille 1632.—θ 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ujhūrī, after 1080/1669, Alex. Fiḥ Shāf. 15.—ι 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Ziyādī al-Miṣrī, d. 1024/1615, ibid. 17.—b.—d. see Suppl. (c. Garr. 1799).—supplement *I'lām al-nabih bi-mā zāda 'ala 'l-M. al-Ḥāwī wal-Bahja* (no. 29) *wal-Tanbih* (no. 9) by Shaykh al-Islām b. Qādī 'Ajlūn, d. 928/1522 (Suppl. II, 119), Gotha 977.—31 commentaries, 2 abstracts, 3 versifications are mentioned in Ahlw., 4544, abstracts with reference to traditions, ibid. 1833,54/5.

II. *Kitāb al-daqa'iq*, glosses on his *Minhāj* and the *Muḥarrar* of Rāfi'ī (no. 25), see Suppl., Alex. Fiḥ Shāf. 38,2, Mosul 36,187; on which *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ fi 'l-Minhāj wal-D.* by Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Nawāwī, autograph dated 871/1466, Gotha 876.—III. *Kitāb (al-ma'thūrāt wa) 'uyūn al-masā'il al-muhimmāt*, legal opinions collected and published by his student 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-'Aṭṭār, d. 724/1324, Berl. 4816, Gotha 1136, Ind. Off. 288 ii, Yeni 656 (?), Cairo VII, 180 = (?) *Ru'ūs al-masā'il* Alex. Fiḥ Shāf. 39,1 = (?) *Fatāwī*, Patna II, 446,2642/10.—IV. *Kitāb taṣṣiḥ al-Tanbih* (see no. 9), completed in 671/1272, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 207.—499 v. *Kitāb al-tahrīr fī sharḥ alfāz al-Tanbih*, dictionary to the same, Berl. | 6969/70 (see Suppl.).—VI. *Kitāb al-qawā'id wal-ḍawābiṭ fī uṣūl al-fiḥ* Berl. 4379, with the title *Ḍawābiṭ al-fuṣūl* Ind. Off. 1171 (?), extract Br. Mus. Suppl. 1203,6.—VII. *Rawḍat al-tālibīn wa-'umdat al-muftīn*, see p. 424,30c.—VIII. *Khulāṣat al-aḥkām min muhimmāt al-sunan wa-qawā'id al-islām* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 338, <sup>2</sup>I, 114.—IX. *Kitāb al-arba'in* 40 traditions, Berl. 1476/87, Leipz. 325, Munich 127, Leid. 1746/7, Paris 744, Br. Mus. 878, 1488,4, Garr. 1430/1, Alex. Fun. 175,1, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 264, <sup>2</sup>I, 87, Qawala I, 99.—Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary, Alex. Ḥad. 29, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 403, <sup>2</sup>I, 125, Patna I 37,379/80, 52,519.—2. Aḥmad b. Farāḥ al-Ishbīlī, d. 699/1299 (p. 459), Berl. 1488/9.—3. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Miṣrī, ca. 730/1329, Berl. 1490/1.—4. *al-Manhaj al-mubīn* by Ibn 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Fākihānī, d. 731/1331 (II, 22), Berlin, Brill M. 219, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 432, <sup>2</sup>I, 153, Garr. 1432/3.—4a. Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Qawī al-Ṭawfi al-Ḥanbalī, d. 716/1316 (II, 108), Alex. Ḥad. 29.—5. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mas'ūdī, composed in 788/1386, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 340.—6. *Jāmi' al-'ulūm wal-ḥikam* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Rajab al-Baghdādī, d. 795/1393 (II, 107), completed up to 50 traditions, Berl. 1492, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 321, Rāmpūr I, 76,99, Patna I, 46,471.—7. As'ad b. Mas'ūd Zāhir al-'Umarī, composed in 812/1409, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 355.—8. 'Izz al-Dīn b. Jamā'a, d. 819/1416 (II, 94), Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 410, <sup>2</sup>I, 94.—8a. *Idāḥ al-kalimāt al-nūrāniyya* by Ibrāhīm

b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, d. 851/1447, Alex. Ḥad. 30.—9. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (1196), Gotha 617/8.—10. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Dalājī al-'Uthmānī, d. 947/1540 (11, 319), Gotha 614.—11. *al-Faṭḥ al-mubīn* by Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Haythamī, d. 973/1565 (11, 387), composed in 951/1544, Berl. 1493/6, Paris 748<sub>1</sub>, Ind. Off. 169/70, Garr. 1434, Alex. Fun. 117<sub>3</sub>, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 379, 400, Qawala 1, 140, Makr. 49, Mosul 232<sub>10</sub>, Patna 1, 55<sub>5537</sub>, C. 1317.—Glosses: a. Aḥmad al-Madābighī, d. 1170/1756, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 334, Makr. 25.—b. *Tā'liqāt* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Shawbarī, d. 1069/1658 (11, 330), Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 286, Garr. 2003<sub>7</sub>.—12. *al-Majālis al-sanīyya etc.* by Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī (11, 305), completed in 978/1570, Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3895, Qawala 1, 148/9, print. C. 1278, 1299, 1303, 1305, 1310, 1323 (*Fihṛ.* 1<sub>1</sub>, 397).—13. *al-Jawāhir al-bahīyya* by Walā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Shabshīrī, tenth cent., ḤKh 1, 241, Garr. 1436, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 327, 2<sub>1</sub>, 110, on which glosses Gotha 616.—14. *al-Mubīn al-mu'īn* by al-Qāri' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (11, 394), Berl. 1497, Garr. 1435, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 396, Patna 1, 59<sub>594</sub>.—15. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1031/1622 (11, 306), Berl. | 1500, Garr. 1435.— 500  
16. *al-Futūḥāt al-wahbiyya (ilāhiyya)* by Ibrāhīm b. Mar'ī al-Sabrakhītī, d. 1106/1694, Berl. 1501/2, Paris 749, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 381, 2<sub>1</sub>, 135, Qawala 1, 141, Patna 1, 55<sub>558</sub>, print. C. 1304, 1307, 1318.—17. 'Abdallāh al-Nabrāwī, composed in 1255/1839, C. 1291 (*Fihṛ.* 1<sub>1</sub>, 369).—18. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, Paris 746.—19. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Lakhmī, Paris 1746.—19a. *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn* by Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī al-Madanī, d. after 1158/1745 (Suppl. 11, 522), Algiers 1532, Patna 1, 41<sub>418</sub>, 360<sub>2540</sub>.—20. *Zād al-muttaqīn*, to the first two traditions, Gotha 615 (= ḤKh 1<sub>111</sub>, 6788, by Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Bukhārī ?). |— 397  
21. Anon., Berl. 1503, Paris 745, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1231 i, Mosul 102<sub>56,11</sub> 6.—22.—35. see Suppl. (25. Alex. Ḥad. 44).—36. Mu'īn b. Ṣafī, Garr. 1437.—37. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās al-Mas'ūdī al-Ḥanafī, Patna 1, 52<sub>516</sub>.—38. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-'Asqalānī, *ibid.* 518.—39. Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Muttaqī, *ibid.* 519.—40. Turkish translation, *Qyrq ḥadīth*, Istanbul 1341/3.—Other commentaries Ahlw., 1504.

x. *Riyād al-ṣālīhīn*, traditions leading to a blissful life, in 256 chapters, Berl. 1334/41, Munich 128, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1202, Ind. Off. 167/8, Algiers 879, Garr. 1898, Alex. Mawā'iz 20, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 345, 2<sub>1</sub>, 121, Mosul 165<sub>7</sub>, Patna 1, 133<sub>1321</sub>, 11, 514<sub>2763</sub>, *Dibāja*, Gotha 2<sub>97</sub>.—Commentaries: 1. Muḥammad 'Alī b. Muḥammad 'Allān al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, d. 1057/1647 (11, 390), Berl. 1342, Garr. 1899/1900, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 343, 2<sub>1</sub>, 116.—2. Anon., *Dibāja*, Gotha 2<sub>98</sub>—abstract Paris 743.

xI. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* see p. 167.—xII. *Irshād al-ḥadīth* see p. 441.

xIII. *al-Īdāh fi 'l-manāsik*, on the pilgrimage, Berl. 4045, Ind. Off. 1038<sub>11</sub>, Cairo 1<sub>111</sub>, 195, *ḥāshīya* by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (11, 387), Ind. Off. 1772 (cf. Suppl.), Patna 1, 84<sub>849</sub>, anon. comm. Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 25, anon. gloss completed in 938/1531, *ibid.* 17.

XIV. *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wal-lughāt* (see Suppl.) Berl. Brill M 200, Alex. Lughā 10, Qawala II, 231, Patna II, 295,<sup>2369</sup>, part I = *Biographical dictionary of illustrious men, chiefly at the beginning of Islamism*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 2 vols., Göttingen 1843/8.—Abstracts, see Suppl. c. Garr. 715, with the title *Talkhīṣ laṭīf*, ibid. 716, d. by Ibrāhīm al-Dhara'ī, Patna II, 299,<sup>2384</sup>.

XV. *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā bayān al-asmā' al-mubhamāt*, a medium-large abstract of the work by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (p. 401), enlarged with additions, Berl. 1675.

501 XVI. *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' al-Shāfi'iyya*, abstract of | the work of Ibn al-Ṣalāh (p. 441), Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 79, <sup>2</sup>, 249, excerpts Gotha 99,7.

XVII. *Kitāb al-tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalāt al-Qur'ān*, composed in 666/1267, on the merits of studying the Qur'ān, the requirements made of reciters and teachers, and how they should conduct themselves, Berl. 6104/2, Leid. 1636, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1206,2, Paris 592,5, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1425, Garr. 1209, AS 33, Alex. Fun. 63,1, 87,1, 167,11, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v1, 180, 536 (abstract ibid. 181), <sup>2</sup>1, 275, Mosul 100,<sup>28,12</sup>, Patna I, 24,<sup>216</sup>.

XVIII. *Kitāb bustān al-'arīfīn*, unfinished, Berl. 3018, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v11, 542, <sup>2</sup>1, 272, Patna I, 129,<sup>1286</sup>, *Dībāja*, Gotha 2,<sup>34</sup>.

XIX. *Kitāb ḥilyat (nuzhat) al-abrār wa-shi'ār (sha'ā'ir) al-akhyār*, regulations for religious worship in accordance with the sunna, also called *Adhkār al-N.*, completed in Muḥarram 667/September 1268, Berl. 3694/5, Gotha 806 (where other MSS are listed), Leipz. 194/5, Paris 1177,1, 1130, 5117, Brit. Mus. Suppl. 248, 1206, Ind. Off. 340, Garr. 1949/50, Yeni 170/2, Alex. Ḥad. 21, Cairo <sup>1</sup>1, 337, 406, <sup>2</sup>1, 113, Mosul 72,<sup>16,17</sup>, print. C. 1306.—Commentaries: a. *Tuḥfat al-abrār bi-nukat al-adhkār* by al-Suyūṭī, Garr. 1951.—b. *al-Futūḥāt al-rabbāniyya* by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Muḥammad 'Allān al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddiqī (II, 390), Rāmpūr 1, 354,<sup>237</sup>.—c. al-Mollāwī, book I, Paris 1131.—Abstracts: 1. *Adhkār al-Adhkār* by al-Suyūṭī, Paris 1178, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v11, 11, 465.—2. Anon., Garr. 2168,2, Yeni 276, Mosul 106,<sup>30,10</sup>.

XX. *Kitāb al-qiyām li-ahl al-takrīm wal-ihtirām*, completed in 665/1266, Paris 4577,2, Cairo VII, 320, 563, <sup>2</sup>1, 135.—Abstract by Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī, d. 1181/1767 (II, 323), Garr. 2036,6.

XXI. *al-Ad'iya al-mu'adda 'inda l-karab wal-shidda* Paris 744,2.

XXII. *Ḥizb*, ejaculatory prayer, Berl. 3882, Gotha 821, 864, Leid. 2200,6, Bodl. II, 73,<sup>3,2</sup>, Mosul 128,<sup>169,8</sup>, Patna II, 374,<sup>2561/3</sup>, 444,<sup>2620/2</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. *al-Maṭla' al-tāmm al-sawī* by Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddiqī, d. 1162/1749 (II, 348), Berl. 3883, Garr. 1948,1.—2. Aḥmad al-Sijā'ī, d. 1190/1777 (II, 323), Berl. 3884, Garr. 1948,3.—3.–7. see Suppl.

XXIII. *Tadhkirat al-tawwābīn*, a paraenesis (author?), Berl. 8788, Nafiz 373 (attributed to Ibn 'Arabī).

XXIV.–XXXIII. See Suppl. (XXVI. = III. also Garr. 1803, Mosul 38,<sup>219,3</sup>, XXVII. Mosul 200,<sup>20,9</sup>).

31. Tāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī | al-Badrī al-Miṣrī b. al-Firkāḥ, born in Rabī‘ 1 624/February 1227, studied in Damascus under Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (p. 440). In 650/1252 he became a lecturer at the newly founded Madrasa Nāṣiriyya. In 676/1277 he became senior professor at the Bādharā’iyya, the Supreme Head of the Shāfi‘is, and *muftī* of Syria. He died in Jumādā II 690/June 1291. 502

*Fawāt* I, 250, *Orient.* II, 282, *Wüst., Gesch.* 365. 1. *Kitāb al-ishkālāt*, legal questions, Berl. 4957.—2. *Sharḥ Waraqāt* by al-Juwaynī, p. 487.—3. See Suppl.

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1. Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Farrā’ al-Baghdādī, who died in 458/1066 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb al-kifāya fī uṣūl al-fiqh* Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 268.—2. *Kitāb al-‘idad fī l-uṣūl*, completed in 428/1036, *ibid.* II, 254.—3. *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* As‘ad 543 (mistakenly Suppl. I, 557, 2a).—4.–7. see Suppl.—8. *Ibtāl al-ta‘wīl* is quoted in Ibn al-Taymiyya, *Majm. ras. al-kubrā* I, 445,1.

1b. Abū ‘l-Khaṭṭāb Maḥfūz b. Aḥmad al-Kalwadhānī, d. 510/1116 (see Suppl.).

Al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* 486v. 6. *al-Tahdhīb fī l-farā‘id*, Munich 338.

2. Abū ‘l-Wafā’ ‘Alī b. ‘Aqīl b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl, who died in 513/1119 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb al-fuṣūl* Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 295, <sup>2</sup>1, 550.—2. *al-Wāḍiḥ fī l-uṣūl* Garr. 1842.—3. See Suppl.—4. *Kitāb al-funūn*, vol. 70 Paris 787, Muṣṭafā Jawād after Massignon, *REI* 1938, 285.

2b. ‘Awn al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī b. Hubayra al-Ḥanbalī, d. 560/1165 (see Suppl.).

2. *Kitāb al-ishrāf ‘alā madhāhib al-ashrāf*, also Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 5, Patna I, 78,786.

3. Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, d. 620/1223 (see Suppl.).

| *Fawāt* I, 203, *Wüst., Gesch.* 305. 1. *Kitāb al-Muqni‘*, on Ḥanbalī law, Tüb. 114.—Commentaries: a.–g. see Suppl.—h. Anon., de Jong 152.—Abstracts: a. *al-Iqnā‘ li-ṭālib al-intifā‘* or *Zād al-mustaqni‘* by Abū ‘l-Najā’ Mūsā b. Aḥmad 503

al-Muqaddasī al-Khūjawī al-Šāliḥī, d. 968/1560 (II, 325), Berl. 4504, Garr. 1845 Patna I, 104,1057.—Commentaries: a, b. see Suppl. (a. Patna I, 91,925, II, 501,2729, 507,2725/9, supercommentary *al-Rawḍ al-murbiʿ*, also Alex. Fiqh Ḥanb. 4, Indian printing 1305.—b. *al-Tanqīḥ al-mushbiʿ fī tahrīr aḥkām al-M.* by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Mardāwī, d. 885/1480 (Suppl. II, 130), Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 548 (anon. comm. ibid.), Garr. 1844. Abstract *al-Iqnāʿ* (see Suppl.), Patna II, 305,2714.—Imitation a. *al-Muṭliʿ ʿalā abwāb al-M.* by Muḥammad al-Baʿlī, d. 709/1309 (II, 102), Gotha 596.—b. al-Najjār al-Futūḥī, *Muntaha ʿl-irādāt* (see Suppl.), also Alex. Fiqh Ḥanb. 7, Patna I, 93,951, commentary by Maṣṣūr b. Yūnus al-Bahūtī (II, 447), *Irshād uli ʿl-nuhā li-daqaʿiq al-M.* ibid. 3.—2. *Kitāb al-mizān fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Berl. 4373.—3. *al-Kāfi fī ʿl-furūʿ* Paris 1104, Garr. 1843.—4. *Kitāb al-rawḍa fī ʿl-uṣūl* Esc. 1233.—Abstracts: a. Muḥammad b. Abi ʿl-Faṭḥ al-Baʿlī, d. 709/1309 (II, 102), Br. Mus. Suppl. 260.—b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṭawfī, d. 716/1316 (II, 108), Alex. Uṣūl 19.—5. *Kitāb al-mughnī Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Khiraqī*, d. 333/944 (I, 194), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 298.—6. *Juzʿ fī dhamm al-waswās wa-ahlihi*, on combatting the influence of Satan, Berl. 2518/9, with the title *Risāla fī ʿl-waswās wal-muwaswis* Alex. Tawḥīd 43,16.—7. *Kitāb al-tawwābīn* Paris 1384/5, Leid. 1074, Alex. Mawāʿiẓ 31, Patna I, 149,1429.—8. Treatise in 6 *faṣl* on the conditions of purity, ritual cleansing, and prayer, Algiers 1349,2.—9. *Risāla fī ʿtiqād ahl al-sunna wal-jamāʿa* Ind. Off. 467 = *Lumʿa fī ʿtiqād al-hādī ilā sabīl al-rashād*, Berl. 1986?—10. *Kitāb al-riqqa fī akhbār al-šāliḥīn* Cairo <sup>1</sup>v 60 <sup>2</sup>v, 203.—11. *Kitāb minhāj al-qāsidīn fī fadl al-khulafāʿ al-rāshidīn* Leipz. 650 (see Suppl.).—12. *Kitāb ghāyat al-kamāl fī sāʿir al-amthāl wa-anāb al-ʿArab al-jāhiliyya wal-tabyīn fī ansāb al-ṣaḥāba al-Qurashiyyīn*, the geneological part Munich 453, Algiers 656, ʿĀšir I, 593, ʿAlī Emīrī ʿArabī 2413, the proverbs Leid. 396 (where the name of the author is mistaken).<sup>1</sup>—13. *Kitāb al-mutaḥabbīn fī ʿllāhi taʿālā* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 189, <sup>2</sup>I, 138.—14.–24. see Suppl.—25. *Kitāb ʿumdat al-aḥkām* ḤKh IV, 254,8299, | on which a commentary, *al-Mudda*, by Bahāʿ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, Alex. Fiqh Ḥanb. 4.—26. *Risāla fī ʿl-taṣawwuf* Patna I, 132,1311.

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4. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAlī b. Abi ʿl-Surūr al-Maqdisī wrote, around 630/1232:

1. *Kitāb al-jadal*, on the art of disputation, Berl. 5319.—2. See Suppl.

5. Ḍiyāʿ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī was born in Dayr al-Mubārak in 569/1173, commenced his studies in Egypt in 595/1197, | then

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1 Rödiger, *ZDMG* XIII, 229. Anm. and Aumer, loc. cit., disagree, without sufficient reason, against Dozy's identification.

continued them in Baghdad, where he studied under Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), and after that in Hamadan. In 600/1203 he went to Damascus, but undertook a second study tour which he extended all the way to Marw, and then made the pilgrimage. He died in 643/1245.

*Fawāt* II, 238. 1. *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-nabawī* Paris 2562,<sup>18</sup>—2. *Kitāb faḍā'il al-a'māl*, in particular on the merits of *dhikr*, Berl. 3692, Cairo <sup>VI</sup>, 161, abstract Berl. 3693.—3. *Aḥkām al-ṣibā* Cairo <sup>I</sup>, 260, <sup>2I</sup>, 184.—4.—14. see Suppl.

6. Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abdallāh b. Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī, the grandfather of Taqī al-Dīn (II, 100), was born in 590/1194, studied in Baghdad and Ḥarrān, and died in 652/1254.

*Fawāt* I, 254. 1. *Kitāb uṣūl al-fiqh*, with addenda by his son 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, d. 682/1283, and by his famous grandson Aḥmad, Cairo <sup>II</sup>, 257, <sup>2I</sup>, 392.—2. *Kitāb al-muḥarrar* Cairo <sup>III</sup>, 297, commentary by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, before 766/1365, Garr. 1846.—3. *Kitāb al-muntaqā fi 'l-aḥkām al-shar'īyya min kalām khayr al-bariyya*, a collection of *ḥadīth*, an abstract from his *al-Aḥkām al-kubrā*, Br. Mus. 1192, Alex. Ḥad. 65, Cairo <sup>I</sup>, 429, <sup>2I</sup>, 551, Patna I, 64,<sup>660</sup>—4. *Kitāb fi 'l-aḥādīth al-mawḍū'a allatī yarwīha 'l-amma wal-quṣṣāṣ 'ala 'l-ṭuruqāt* Cairo <sup>VIII</sup>, 664.—5., 6. See Suppl.

7. Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Umar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, who was born in Muḥarram 597/October | 1200<sup>2</sup> in Damascus, studied under his uncle Muwaffaq al-Dīn (no. 3), among others, on whose *Mughnī* he wrote a commentary of ten volumes, which is lost. He then became a preacher and professor at the Dār al-Ḥadīth. When, in 664/1265, separate chief judgeships for each of the four *madhhabs* were established in Damascus, he received the Ḥanbalī post. He was regarded as the greatest Ḥanbalī of his time and his named lived on in a madrasa endowed by him. He died in 683/1283.

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Cod. Wetzst. II, 289, fol. 32r, JA s. IX. v. 3, p. 295, Quatremère, *Mamlouks* II, 68. 1. *Tashīl al-maṭlab fi taḥṣīl al-madhhab* Cairo <sup>III</sup>, 293, <sup>2I</sup>, 548.—2.—5. see Suppl.

2 The statement according to which Ibn al-Jawzī, who died in this very same year, gave him an *ijāza* is not credible, despite the abomination discussed in Goldziher, *MSt* II, 191.

## 5 *The Zāhirīs and Almohads*

1. The most important representative of Zāhirī doctrine and the only one whose literary work is known to us in some detail | was Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. 400 Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥazm, who died in 456/1064 (see Suppl.).

C. van Arendonk, *EI*, add. 93, ad A. I, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, Ožerelie golubki, Russian translation by M.A. Salie, with an introduction by I. Kračkovsky, Moscow and Leningrad 1933. *Halsband der Taube über die Liebe und die Liebenden von a. M. ‘A. b. Ḥazm al-Andalusī, aus dem Arab. übers.* v. M. Weisweiler, Leiden 1941 (see Brockelmann, *ZDMG* 96, 552/7, J.H. Kramers, *Act. Or.* 19, 459/64). E. García Gómez, *El Ṭawq de J.Ḥ. y el Dīwān al-sabāba* (11, 13), *al-Andalus* VI, 65/72.—

3. The *Naqṭ al-‘arūs* as contained in the Munich MS, edited by Seybold (also ‘Um. 5215), is only an abstract of a more complete text that was used by al-Nuwayrī in the *Nihāya*; appendix *Ta’nīf al-nufūs fī ikmāl N. al-‘a.* by Ismā‘īl b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmar (11, 241), see G. Marçais, *Ibn al-Aḥmar, Hist. des B. Merin* IX; L. Seco de Lucina Paredes, *al-Andalus* VI, 357/75.—A. 4. *Jamharat al-nasab*, 506 Patna I, 282, 2317/8.—17. *Marātib | al-ijmā‘*, additionally Patna I, 105, 1064, with a critique, *naqd*, by Ibn Taymiyya, printed at the end of the *Maḥāsīn al-islām wa-asrār al-islām* by Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Bukhārī, C. 1357.

2. While still a young man, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Tūmart<sup>1</sup> had acquired a reputation for extraordinary piety amongst the late-fifth century Berbers of the 401 Mašmūda tribe | in the Deren Mountains (Western Atlas), in the province of Sus, in the south-west of present-day Morocco. In 501/1107 he went to Cordova and, after making the pilgrimage, to Baghdad, where he immersed himself at the Niẓāmiyya in the study of Ash‘arī dogma. On the way back to his country of origin, in Tripoli, he lectured on their teachings, which he called *tawḥīd*, but which he associated with the Shī‘ī dogma of the infallibility of the Imam of the house of ‘Alī. Chased from Tripoli and, in 512/1118, from Bijāya because of the unrest that he had created there, he retired to his tribe the Mašmūda, among whom he soon gained many devoted supporters. In 515/1121 he openly declared himself the Mahdi and started his war against the Almoravids. He died in 524/1130, four months after a failed assault on Marrakesh. However, his successors did subject North Africa and Spain to his teachings.

Ibn Khall. 699, Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane 11, 161, Goldziher, *ZDMG* XLI, 30ff., A. Müller, *der Islam* 11, 64off., Brockelmann,

1 This is the Berber form of the name ‘Umar.



*Gesch. der isl. Völker* 190. All in Paris 1451. 1. *A'azzu mā yuṭlabu fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, dictated in the *ribāṭ* of the Hergħa, a Berber tribe in the south of Morocco, in 515/1121.—2. *al-Kalām fī 'l-ṣalāt*.—3. *al-Dalīl 'alā anna 'l-sharī'a lā tathbutu bil-'aql min wujūh*.—4. *al-Kalām fī 'l-'umūm wal-khuṣūs wal-muṭlaq wal-muqayyad wal-mujmal wal-mufassar wal-nāsikh wal-mansūkh wal-ḥaqīqa wal-majāz wa fā'idatihā wal-kināya wal-ta'rīd wal-taṣrīh wal-asmā' al-lughawiyya allatī ghalaba 'alayha 'l-'urf wa-khaṣṣaṣahā wal-asmā' al-manqūla min al-lughā ilā 'urf al-sharī'*.—| 5. *al-Kalām 'alā 'l-'ilm*.—6. *al-Ma'lūmāt (fī 'l-ma'lūm wal-mawjūd)*.—7. *al-Muḥaddath*, print. Algiers 1325.—8. *al-'Ibādāt*.—9. *al-'Aqīda*, printed in *Majmū'at al-rasā'il*, C. 1328.—10. On the oneness of the Creator and the Imamate.—11. On the principles of the religious sciences.—12. Against the *Murābiṭūn* and the *Mulaththamūn*, printed in *Majm*.—13. Islam and the duties of the believers.—14. *al-Tawḥīd*.—15. Traditions on dogma.—16. Traditions on Muḥammad.—17. Against *ghulūl*, the embezzlement of booty.—18. Against wine drinking.—19. *al-Jihād*.—20. See Suppl.

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| 6      *The Shī'a*

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## A      The Zaydīs

1. Al-Imām al-Nāṭiq bil-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Baṭḥānī, born in 340/951, was recognized as the caliph by the Zaydīs in Daylam, and died in 424/1033.

1. *Kitāb al-tahrīr fī 'l-fiqh* Berl. or. Oct. 3777 (Fischer-Burch. 28), Br. Mus. Suppl. 340, augmented edition ibid. 342, with the title *al-Lum'a* by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Hādī, beginning of the sixth cent., ibid. 342, a gloss thereon ibid. 343.—Commentaries, see Suppl.—2. *Kitāb al-īfāda fī ta'rīkh al-a'immā al-sāda*, a history of the Zaydī imams up to al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, d. 360/971, with a continuation, *Tatimma*, by 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-Ḥasanī al-Qāsimī up to al-Mutawakkil 'alā 'llāh Ismā'īl, d. 1087/1676, Berl. 9665/6.—3.–5. see Suppl. (3. read: Ambr. B. 49, *RSO* IV, 106).

1d. Abu 'l-Qāsim Zayd b. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd al-Hāshimī, fl. fifth century.

See Suppl. I, 699. *Al-Arba'ūn al-Saylaqiyya*, additionally Ambr. A, 29, 472, B. 12, 4, commentary by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza, *al-Anwār al-muḍ'fa*, ibid. D 454, anon. B 74 xxxi, 123 iii, Patna I, 40,407.

2. Taqī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Abi 'l-Najm wrote, around 560/1165:

*Durar al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyya bil-asānīd al-Yaḥyawīyya* after Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, who himself did not find time to collect *ḥadīth* as he was entirely taken up with religious war, Berl. 1299.

508 | 2a. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq al-Mutawakkil billāh, d. 566/1070 (see Suppl.).

1. *Uṣūl al-aḥkām fi 'l-ḥalāl wal-ḥarām*, revised by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥurayṣa, Hamb. Or. Sem. 18 (copy dated 1136 AH).

3. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān b. Ḥamza, who died in 613/1216.

*Al-Durar al-yatīma fi tabyīn al-sibā' wal-ghanīma*, a Zaydī polemical pamphlet that makes use of the *Kitāb al-'umda fi 'l-radd 'ala 'l-Muṭarrifiyya al-murtadda* of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. al-Hādī, d. 566/1170 (2a), Berl. 2077.

4. Zayd b. Aḥmad al-'Ansī, ca. 600/1203.

*Kitāb al-sirāj al-wahḥāj al-mumayyiz bayna 'l-istiḳāma wal-i'wījāj*, on the nature of God, Berl. 10284.

5. His son 'Abdallāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad al-'Ansī, fl. ca. 630/1233.

1. *al-Fatāwi 'l-nabawīyya al-muṣṣiḥa 'an aḥkām al-Muṭarrifiyya*, a demonstration that the Muṭarrifis are heretics, Berl. 10286.—2. *Manāḥij al-bayān li-rijāl*  
403 *Sinḥān*, a warning against heresy, | with special regard to the Muṭarrifis, directed at the inhabitants of the Sinḥān district in Yemen, ibid. 10287.—  
3. *al-Risāla al-ḥākima bi-taḥrīm munākaḥat al-firqa al-Muṭarrifiyya* ibid. 10288.—4. *al-Risāla al-nāṭiqa bi-ḍalāl al-Muṭarrifiyya al-zanādiqa* ibid. 10289.—5. *al-Risāla al-nā'iya 'alā muṣāramat al-kuffār min al-Muṭarrifiyya al-kafara al-ashrār* ibid. 10290.—6. *Risālat al-tawqīf 'alā tawbat ahl al-taṭrīf* ibid. 10291.—7. *Kitāb al-irshād ilā (ṭarīq al)-najāt al-'ibād*, composed in 632/1234, Berl. 3134, Or. Qu. 2039 (= Fischer-Burch. 38).—8., 9. see Suppl.

5a. Al-Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Abī Yaḥyā, who died in 573/1177 (see Suppl.).

RSO II, 166. 5. *Masā'il al-ijmā'* Ambr. C. 56, iv (RSO VII, 69).—6. *al-Naqd 'alā ṣāḥib Majmū' al-muḥiṭ fi-mā khālaḥa fīhi 'l-Zaydiyya min bāb al-imāma* Alex. Fun. 132,1.

6. Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Bakr al-Raṣṣās, who died in 584/1188 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb al-tafṣīl li-jumal al-taḥṣīl*, on God's mercy, in particular with regard to Muḥammad and the imams, revised by Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh al-Kharrāshī, Berl. 10279, part 3.—2. *Kaṣḥf al-aḥkām | wal-ṣifāt 'an khaṣā'īs al-mu'aththarāt wal-muqtaḍabāt*, metaphysical investigations, Berl. 5126.—3.—5. see Suppl.

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7. His son Shihāb al-Dīn Zayn al-Muwaḥḥidīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās, who died on 22 Muḥarram 621/17 February 1224.

See Suppl. Versification, *Durrat al-ghawwās etc.*, additionally Alex. Adab 129<sub>16</sub>.—2. *al-Shihāb al-thāqib fī manāqib 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* Patna II, 353<sub>2539</sub>, 13.

8. His grandson Shams (Bahā') al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣās al-Hafid, who died on 19 Ramaḍān 656/19 September 1258.

1. *Miṣbāḥ al-'ulūm etc.*, see Suppl. Commentaries: b. *al-Īdāḥ* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Ḥābis (II, 359), also Hamb. Or. Sem. 20.—c. *ibid.* 76.—2. Epistle to the two emirs Yaḥyā and Muḥammad, sons of al-Ḥasan, written in 635/1237, an admonition to return from unbelief, Berl. 2175, 6.—3., 4. see Suppl.

9. Al-Imām al-Manṣūr billāh 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamza b. Sulaymān, who was born in Rabī' I 561/January 1166, became the Imam in 594/1198 and died in 614/1217 (or, according to others, in 613) in Kawkabān.

Biography from Abū Makhrama, *Cat. Leid.* 21, 417ff. 1. *Dīwān* Berl. 7703, Leid. 675, Brit. Mus. 1668, Suppl. 1065.—2. *Rajaz* on horses with commentary, Berl. 6181, Brit. Mus. Suppl. 814.—3. *Kitāb al-bayān wal-thabāt ilā kāffat al-banīn wal-banāt*, on mutual care between parents and children, Berl. 5598.—4. *al-Risāla al-kāfiya li-ahl al-'uqūl al-wāfiya*, a call to true belief and the party of the Zaydīs, Berl. 1275<sub>4</sub>.—5. *Risāla ilā bilād ins walhān*, a letter of consolation, *ibid.* 5.—6. *Kitāb al-shāfi*, on the principles of religion, in refutation of *al-Khāriqa*, a treatise in which Zaydī teachings had been vehemently attacked, completed in 609/1212, Berl. 12080.—7. Answers to questions about the first three caliphs, Br. Mus. Suppl. 157v.—8. *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī tabyīn aḥkām al-a'imma al-hādīn*, *ibid.* 210, i.—9. Polemic against the Muṭarrifiyya, *ibid.* ii. |—10. *al-Durra al-yatīma fī tabyīn aḥkām al-sibā' wal-ghanīma*, *ibid.* iii, 1230, iv.—11. *al-Jawhara al-shawwāfa rāthiyat al-ṭawwāfa* *ibid.* v.—12. *al-'Aqīda al-nabawiyya* *ibid.* 211. i.—13. *al-Risāla al-nāsiḥa* *ibid.* ii.—14. Answers to various

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questions, *ibid.* 210,4, 9, 211,4, 16.—15.—21. See Suppl. Other works in Ahlw., 4950 xi.

- 510 | 10. In 614/1217, after the death of al-Manṣūr, Yaḥyā b. al-Muḥsin b. Maḥfūz al-Mu'taḍid billāh arrogated the imamate to himself, which was, however, disputed by his son. He died in 636/1238.

*Al-Muqni' fi uṣūl al-fiqh*, with a continuation by al-Muqtadir billāh, seventh cent., Br. Mus. Suppl. 266.

11. Al-Faḍl b. Abī al-Sa'd al-Uṣayfirī, who flourished around 600/1203.

1. *Miftāḥ al-fā'id fi 'ilm al-farā'id* Hamb. Or. Sem. 122, Br. Mus. Suppl. 439 iii. Commentaries: a. *Īdāḥ al-ghāmiḍ* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khālidī, composed in 867/1462, B. Mus. Suppl. 440/1. Ambr. D. 445.—b.—see Suppl. (c. also Hamb. Or. Sem. 19, 19B, 74, 129).—2. See Suppl.

12. Al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, who died in 656/1258 (see Suppl.).

1. *Risālat Khalīfat al-Qur'an fi nukat min aḥkām ahl al-zamān*, which defends Zaydī claims with some passages from the Qur'an, Berl. 275,2.—2. An epistle calling for people to be pious and to join the Zaydīs, *ibid.* 10282.—3. See Suppl.

13. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Bannā' who flourished around 680/1281.

*Al-Manhaj al-qawīm fi tafsīr al-Qur'an al-karīm* Br. Mus. Suppl. 115.

14. Al-Mutawakkil 'ala 'llāh al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Hādī, who died in 697/1298.

Al-Khazrajī, *al-Uqūd al-lu'lu'yya*, 310. 1. *al-Risāla al-muzalzila li-a'ḍā' al-Mu'tazila* Patna 11, 352,2539, 6.—2. *al-Masā'il al-nājiya* *ibid.* 7.—3. *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* *ibid.* 353,2539, 14.

B The Imāmīs

Dwight M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion, an History of Islam in Persia and Irak*, London 1933.

1. Dhu 'l-Majdayn 'Alam al-Hudā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ṭāhir Dhi 'l-Manāqīb Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī Zayn | al-Ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was born in Rajab 355/ July 967, was the *naqīb* of the 'Alids in Baghdad and died in 436/1044. 511

Ibn Khall. 416. List of his writings, Berl. 16, see 16 f. *Ijāza* regarding his works for Abu 'l-Hasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrāwī, dated 417, at the beginning of a *majmū'a* of his *Rasā'il* and *Masā'il* in Mashhad, *Dharī'a* I, 216,<sup>1132</sup>. 1. *Kitāb al-ghurar wal-durar* or *Ghurur al-fawā'id wa-durar al-qalā'id bil-muḥādarāt*, in 82 *majālis* (see Suppl.), part II also Berl. Or. Qu. 2059, 2064, Mosul 36,<sup>186</sup>, 66,<sup>261</sup> (which has *Majālis al-Sharīf al-Mūsawī*) appendix, *Mulḥaqāt*, Berl. 8743, probably = *al-Majlis fī kashf āyāt al-Qur'ān* NO 594. | — 405

2. Answers to dogmatic, juridical, and philosophical questions, Berl. 4977/8.—

3. *Kitāb al-shihāb fī 'l-shayb wal-shabāb* print. Constantinople (Jawā'ib) 1302.—4. *A qaṣīda*, Berl. 7609,<sup>6</sup>.—5. *Nahj al-balāgha*, composed in 400/1009 according to AS 4344 (Ritter), see Suppl., Massignon, Salman Pāk, *Publ. de la soc. ét. ir.* no. 7 (1933), p. 49, also Garr. 238, AS 4342/4, 4346, Patna I, 208,<sup>1853/4</sup>, see Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī (Suppl. II, 807), *Mā huwa Nahj al-balāgha*, Sidon ('Irfān) 1352.—Commentary by 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Madā'inī (see 335), also Garr. 239, Patna 202,<sup>1809/10</sup>.—b. Mītham b. 'Alī al-Baḥrānī, Patna I, 203,<sup>1811/2</sup>, dedicated to the Ata Malik, Juwaynī *Ta'r. Jahāngushā* I, 41, abstract *Anwār al-faṣāḥa wa-asrār al-balāgha* by Nizām al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Nizāmaddīn al-Jilānī, MSS *Dharī'a* II, 436,<sup>1701</sup>.—f. Faṭhallāh al-Kāshānī, who died, according to the chronogram in the *Rawḍat al-j*, in 988 (Heffening).—i. *Minhāj al-barā'a* by Ḥabīballāh al-Mujtahid al-'Alawī al-Mūsawī, lith. in 6 vols., Tehran 1350/1. (Suppl. wrongly under no. 18).—6.–20. see Suppl. (7. see *Lughat al-'Arab* VI, 512, 4; 8. *Dharī'a* II, 260,<sup>1455</sup>; 10. i.e. questions asked from Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tabbān, d. 27 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 419/18 December 1028, *Dharī'a* II, 78,<sup>310</sup>).—21. *Aḥkām ahl al-ākhirā*, printed in *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, see *Dharī'a* I, 295,<sup>1542</sup>.—22. *al-As'ila al-Sallāriyya* by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza Sallār b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Daylamī, d. 463/1070 in Mashhad, *Dharī'a*, II, 83,<sup>331</sup>.—23. *al-As'ila al-rassīyya al-ūlā wal-thāniyya*, asked by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. al-Naṣr al-Ḥusaynī al-Rassī and answered in 429/1037, MS in possession of Muḥammad Muḥsin, *ibid.* II, 82,<sup>3278</sup>.—24. *Risāla fī jawāb masā'il kathīra*, see *Lughat al-'Arab* VI, 514,<sup>18</sup>.—25. *Masā'il al-Ramlīyya*, *al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt al-thāniyya*, *al-thālitha*, *al-Radd 'ala 'l-munajjimīn*, | and *Ajwibat al-masā'il al-wārida 'alayhi min al-Rayy* are preserved in Birjand, *Lughat al-'Arab* VI, 515,<sup>317</sup>. 512

1a. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī al-Āmidī, who died in 436/1144.

*Rawḍat al-jannāt* 464. 1. *Ghurar al-ḥikam* see Suppl. 1, 75.—2. *Jawāhir al-kalām fi ’l-ḥikam wal-aḥkām min kalām* (ḤKh *qiṣṣat*) *sayyid al-anām* is wrongly attributed to him in ḤKh 11, 646,<sup>4294</sup> 21, 616; since, according to the preface, the author had studied in 510/1116 in Āmid under his father Qādī Muḥammad and Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, he can surely only be a grandson of ‘Abd al-Wāḥid; Abstract *Nafā’is al-jawāhir* by Qudratallāh al-Murtaḍā al-Ādharī, composed in 937/1530, Alex. Fun. 68,<sup>8</sup>.

1b. Abu ’l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, who was a student of ‘Alam al-Hudā.

*Risāla fi ta’līfāt al-sayyid al-Murtaḍā* Mashh. v, 66,<sup>216</sup>.

2. Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī Shaykh al-Ṭā’ifa, who was born in 385/995 and died in Najaf in 458/1066 (or, according to others in, 459 or 460).

Shahrāshūb § 742. *Kitāb al-fuṣūl fi ’l-uṣūl* with anon. commentary, Ind. Off. 471,<sup>13</sup>.—2. *Kitāb tahdhīb al-aḥkām* Bodl. 11, 87,<sup>1</sup>, Ind. Off. 1782, Garr. 1610, Birjand, *Lughat al-‘Arab* VI, 512 Patna, I, 42, 430/<sup>2</sup>, II, 501,<sup>4684</sup>.—Abstract *Kitāb al-istibṣār fi-ma ’khtulifa fihi min al-akhbār* Berl. 1272/6, Pet. AM 56, Birjand loc. cit., cf. Goldziher, *M.St.* 11, 148, n. 4: on harmony with respect to legislating traditions. On the commentaries and glosses see *Dharī’a* 11, 14/6,<sup>43</sup>.—*Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, regulations regarding acts of worship recurring in the course of the year, including selected prayers for each of these, Berl. 3513, Patna I, 157,<sup>1494</sup>. *M. al-m. al-ṣaghūr* Patna 11, 518,<sup>2784</sup>. An abbreviation in verse, Berl. 3514, abstract *Minhāj al-ṣalāh* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 726/1326 (11, 164), Ind. Off. 342.—4. *Kitāb al-ḥall wal-‘aqd fi ’l-‘ibādāt*, a prayer book, Ind. Off. 336.—5. *Kitāb al-mabsūt fi ’l-fiqh* Br. Mus. Suppl. 331, Patna I, 102,<sup>1041</sup>.—6. *Kitāb asmā’ al-rijāl*, with industrious detailing of book titles, Berl. 10044.—7. *Fihrist kutub al-shī’a*, *List of Shyiah Books* ed. A. Sprenger and Mawlawy Abdal Haqq, Bibl. Ind. | no. 60, 71, 91, 107, Calcutta 1853/5, ed. M. Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, Najaf 1356/1937. Completion by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī, d. 588/1192 (Suppl. 1, 710), Berl. 1004.—7. *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*, ed. ‘Abbās Eghbal, Tehran 1934. Continuation by ‘Alī b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Bābūya, d. 580/1184 (Suppl. 1, 710), Berl. 10048 printed in the last volume of the *Biḥār al-anwār* by al-Majlisī.—8. *al-Amālī fi ’l-ḥadīth* Mashh. iv, 5, 16,

in edition Tehran 1313 mistakenly attributed to his son Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, see *Dharī'a* II, 309,<sup>1236</sup>. Vol. II divided into *Majālis*, *ibid.* 313,<sup>1248</sup>.—8.–13. see Suppl. (9 = 1a; 10. Mashh. VI, 62,<sup>188</sup>; 11. Ind. Off. 1781, Garr. 1779).—14. *al-Tibyān* Garr. 1259.—15. *Thalāthūna mas'ala 'alā madhhab al-Shī'a* Taymūr 'Aqā'id 237.—16. *al-Iqtisād al-hādī ilā ṭarīq al-rashād*, MSS in Najaf and Yazd, *Dharī'a* II, 269, 1089.—17. *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn*, with a commentary by Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Muḥammad Mufīd al-Qummī, ca. 1099/1688, in the library of Rājā Muḥammad Mahdī in Fayḍābād, *Dharī'a* II, 123,<sup>495</sup>.—18. *al-Ījāz fi 'l-farā'id*, MSS in Najaf, *Dharī'a* II, 486,<sup>1905</sup>.—19. *Tamhīd fi 'l-uṣūl* Mashh. I, 23,<sup>54</sup>.

2b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Fattāl.

The *Rawḍat al-wā'izīn wa-tabṣirat al-mutta'izīn* is attributed in Mashh. IV, 40,<sup>124</sup> to a certain Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Wā'iz al-Nisābūrī al-Fārisī Fattāl.

3. Raḍī al-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan Amīn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarsī, who died in 518/1153 (see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb majma' al-bayān li-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, a large Qur'ān commentary completed in 536/1141, Berl. 802/4, Ind. Off. 61/3, Br. Mus. 1473, Bodl. I, 50, Garr. 1272, Patna I, 32,<sup>316/8</sup>, print. Tehran 1275 and others (wrongly attributed to al-Ṭūsī, d. 561/1166, in ḤKh V II, 437).—2. *Kitāb jāmi' al-jawāmi' fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* interconnects the content of the *Majma'* and *al-Kāfi 'l-shāfi'*, which he had written after his completion of the *Majma'* and after reading Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*. This work was composed in 542/1147 at the request of his son Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan, Ind. Off. 64, Mosul 94, 27 (where the *nisba* is corrupted to al-Ṭurtūshī, as it is in ḤKh I<sup>11</sup>, 638,<sup>4248</sup> 21, 611 to al-Ṭarasūsī).—3. *Kitāb al-ihtijāj*, a defence of the Shi'ī doctrine of the twelve imams, Ind. Off. 166, Patna I, 122,<sup>130</sup> (attributed to 3a), as *al-Ihtijāj 'alā ahl al-lijāj*, attributed to Ibn Shahrāshūb (Suppl. I, 710, 3 f.), printed in Persia 1268, 1300, Najaf 1354 (*Dharī'a* I, 283,<sup>1472</sup>).—4. *Kitāb al-ijāz al-muttasim bi-simat al-ijāz*, a grammar book with an anonymous commentary, Esc. 2180.—5. *Makārim al-akhlāq*, according to *Dharī'a* I, 18/9,<sup>89</sup>, abstracted by his son from his *al-Ādāb al-dīniyya lil-khizāna al-Mu'iniyya*, and preserved in the library of Ḥasan Ṣadr al-Dīn.—6.–8. See Suppl. (ad 7. see 2, 19).

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3b. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Warrām al-Ashtarī see Suppl.

2. *Majmū'a* Rāmpūr I, 109,<sup>337</sup>, see Kantūrī 3261.

3d. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Bābüyā al-Qummī, d. 585/1178 (see Suppl.).

1. *Arba‘ūna ḥadīthan*, written as the counterpart to the *Arb. ḥad. fi faḍā’il amīr al-mu’minīn* by Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Khuzā‘ī Ṣāḥib *Rawḍat al-zahrā’* (Suppl. I, 708, 2a), numerous MSS in Iraq, *Dharī‘a* I, 432/3, 2210/2.

3ea. His nephew Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī, who died in 655/1257.

*Arba‘ūna ḥadīthan*, MSS in different private libraries, *Dharī‘a* I, 426, 2181.

3eb. His student Sadīd al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Faḍl Shādhān b. Jabrā‘il b. Ismā‘il b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qummī Nazīl al-Madīna.

*Amal al-āmil* 474, 13, 476. 1. *al-Faḍā’il wal-manāqib*, print. Tabriz 1304.—2. *Izāḥat al-‘illa fi ma‘rifat al-qibla min sā’ir al-aqālīm*, composed in 558/1163, included by al-Majlisī in his *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. *Ṣalāt, Bāb al-qibla*, and wrongly attributed to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (Suppl. II, 1201 zu 319) by al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Dharī‘a* I, I, 517, 2572.

3g. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-‘Ijlī, who died in 598/1202 (see Suppl.).

*Sarā’ir al-ḥāwī fi taḥrīr al-fatāwī*, additionally Alex. Firaq II, Patna I, 90, 917.

4. Najm al-Dīn Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥillī Abu ‘l-Qāsim al-Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal was born in Ḥilla in 602/1205 and died in Baghdad in 676/1277 (or, according to others, in 726).

1. *Kitāb sharā’i‘ al-islām*, the account of *fiqh* that is the most celebrated among the Shī‘īs, Leid. 1792, Br. Mus. 1607, Ind. Off. 1783/5, Alex. Firaq 7, Patna I, 91, 920/3, print. Calcutta 1839 and others, with a Russian translation by Kazembeg, fs. I, 515, St. Petersburg | 1862 (see *JA*, 1865, 295).—Commentaries: a. *Masālik al-afḥām ilā tanqīḥ Sh. al-i.* by Zayn al-Dīn b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Shāmī al-‘Āmilī al-Shahīd al-Thānī (II, 325), composed in 964/1557, Leid. 1793, BDMG 45, Patna I, 84, 847, 105, 1065, 7, a *Hāshīya* thereon by his grandson Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī, eleventh/seventeenth cent., Ind. Off. 1789, by his son ‘Alī, d. 1103/1691 (*Rawḍāt al-jannāt* 44), *ibid.* 1788, Āṣaf. 1180, according to Bank. XIx, p. 134, by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Ālī al-Karakī, d. 940/1533 (II, 411).—b.—o. see Suppl.



(b. al-A'sam *Dharī'a* II, 497,<sup>1951</sup>, where other MSS).—Abstract *al-Nāfi' fī mukhtaṣar al-Sh.* by the author himself, Leid. 1794/5, Br. Mus. Suppl. 332, Ind. Off. 1786/7, Alex. Firaq 17, Patna I, 104,<sup>1058/9</sup> lith. Delhi, *BO* II, 92.—Commentaries and glosses: a.—i. see Suppl. (c. Patna I, 83,<sup>836/7</sup>).—k. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Ālī, Leid. 1796.—2.—6. see Suppl.—7. *Irshād al-adhān* Br. Mus. Or. 8335/6 (Quart. VIII, 286).

4a. As'ad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥillī wrote, in 610/1213:

*Arba'ūna ḥadīthan*, MSS in private libraries in Tehran and Najaf, *Dharī'a* I, 410,<sup>2131</sup>.

5.—2. See Suppl.

10, 1 *Kashf al-ghumma etc.*, Patna I, 277,<sup>2302</sup>.—2. *Risālat al-ṭayf*, an autobiographical tale resembling a *maqāma*, in which the author relates an encounter with a beautiful girl on a spring meadow, and with whom he has a literary conversation; in the end it all turns out to be a dream (Ritter), additionally AS 3850, 4137, Sarāi 2393 (*RSO* IV, 707).

## Chapter 8. Sciences of the Qurʾān

### 1 *The Art of Reading the Qurʾān*

1. Abū Muḥammad Makkī<sup>1</sup> b. Abī Ṭālib Ḥammūsh al-Qaysī was born in Kairouan on 23 Shaʿbān 354/25 August 975 and travelled to Egypt at the age of 13 in order to study philology and arithmetic. Upon returning to his homeland he turned to the study of the readings of the Qurʾān, | which he completed in 374/984. After making the pilgrimage in 377/987 he again studied in Egypt and then returned to Kairouan. In 382/992 he went to Egypt for a third time and remained there until 383. In 387/997 he went to Mecca, where he remained for four years. By way of Egypt and Kairouan, where he stayed for about another year, he arrived in Spain in Rajab 393/May 1003. After lecturing at various mosques in Cordova, he was appointed as preacher and imam of the main mosque by al-Ḥasan b. Jawhar. Despite not being quite up to the task, he kept these posts until his death on 2 Muḥarram 437/21 July 1045.

Ibn Khall. 708, Ibn al-Anbārī 421. 1. *Kitāb al-riʿāya fī tajwīd al-qirāʾa wa-taḥqīq lafẓ al-tilāwa* Bodl. II, 244, Qawala I, 19, q 15.—2. *al-Tabṣira*, an enlargement of his compendium *al-Mūjīz*, on the art of reciting/reading the Qurʾān (composed in 385/995, but which he did not publish because of several shortcomings), composed in 392/1002, with 14 *riwāyāt* based on the 7 well-known readers, following the lectures of—notably—Ibn Ghalbūn, d. 389/999, Berl. 577; in this work he announced a further work, *al-Kashf ʿan wujūh al-qirāʾāt*, which he completed in 424/1033, *ibid.* 578.—3. *Iʾrāb mushkilāt al-Qurʾān wa-dhikr ʿilalihi wa-ṣaʿbihi | wa-nādirihi (mushkil iʾrāb al-Qurʾān)*, grammatical explanations, Berl. 703, Garr. 1257, Cairo 1<sup>1</sup>, 211, 2<sup>1</sup>, 62.—4. *Kitāb sarḥ kallā wa-balā wa-naʿam wal-waqf ʿalā kullī wāḥida minhunna wa-dhikr maʿāniḥā wa-ʿilalihā*, Gotha 548 (ḤKh v, 10614 only has *kallā*, Ibn Khall., *loc. cit.*, has *kallā* and *balā*), as the *Risāla fī ḥukm kallā wa-balā wa-naʿam wal-waqf ʿalayhā wal-ibtidāʾ* in Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 28,<sub>2</sub>, Fātiḥ 68,<sub>8</sub>, Qawala I, 17, q 23.—5.–7. see Suppl.

2. Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dānī al-Qurṭubī b. al-Ṣayrafī al-Umawī al-Munīrī, who was born in 371/981, spent four months in Kairouan and one year in Cairo when he went on pilgrimage in 397/1006. In 399/1008 he settled in Cordova, moved to Denia in 409/1018 and, in the same year, to Mallorca, then returned in | 417/1026 to Denia where he died in the middle of Shawwāl 444/February 1053 or, according to others, in 441.

1 Thus not Makī (Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qorans* 336, n. 1), as is shown by the diminutive *mukayk* (Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII, 177,<sub>8</sub>, Ibn Khall. II, 160,<sub>7</sub>), see my *Ar. Gramm.* § 73, Anm. 1.

Maqq. I, 550, *Huff.* XIV, 5, Yāqūt, *GW* II, 540, Wüst., *Gesch.* 197. *Kitāb al-taysīr fi 'l-qirā'āt al-sab'*, which contains the fourteen readings that all go back to seven but, out of the fourteen different *riwāyāt*, it considers only one in each case (Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qor.* 1337), Berl. 379/89, Gotha 550 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 84, Garr. I 191, 2067,4, Fātiḥ 72,3, Waqf Ibr. 39, Köpr. 14, Carullah 17,8, Patna I, 12,104/7. Commentary *al-Durr al-nathīr wal-'adhb al-namīr*, by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Saddād al-Umawī al-Mālaqī (Jazarī, *Tab.* 1985, Suppl. II, 370,1b), Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 10.—Versification *Ḥirz al-amānī*, by al-Shātibī, d. 590/1194, see no. 12.—The three recensions (out of ten) that are missing here are supplemented by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī, d. 833/1429 (II, 201), in *al-Durra al-muḍrā'a fi qirā'at al-a'imma al-thalātha al-marḍiyya*, Gotha 558 (where other MSS are listed), lith. C. 1285, and in *Taḥbīr al-Taysīr*, Berl. 590, Garr. 1192, NO 60, Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 54, 70 Cairo 1I, 92, Patna I, 12,10, II, 367,2549/4.—2. *Jāmi' al-bayān fi 'l-qirā'āt al-sab' al-mashhūra* Cairo 1I, 94, 2I, 18 Patna I, 13,110.—3. *Kitāb al-muqni' fi ma'rifaṭ rasm (khaṭṭ) maṣāḥif al-amṣār*, on the compilation of the Qur'ān and the determination of the orthography, Berl. 419, Vienna 1624, Paris 593, Br. Mus. Suppl. 83, Qawala I, 33/4, Patna I, 20,174/5, a fragment (?) in Leid. 1635, see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* VIII, 290/332, Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qor.* 1243. Abstract AS 48,14 (Suppl. I, 158,2 to be deleted, Ritter).—Versification *al-'Aqīla*, by al-Shātibī, see no. 12.—4. *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fi 'l-qirā'a* AS 39, Patna I, 12,103.—5. *Kitāb al-ijāz wal-bayān*, the foundation of the system of Nāfi', Paris 592,3.—6. *Kitāb al-ta'rīf (fi 'l-qirā'āt al-shawādh)* Algiers 367,2 374,1.—7. *Mufradāt al-qurrā' al-sab'a* Cairo 1I, 114.—8. *Kitāb al-muktafā fi 'l-waqf wal-mubtada'* Paris 592, as *al-Waqf al-tāmm wal-kāfi wal-ḥasan* in Qawala I, 28/9.—9. *Kitāb al-iḍḍighām* Br. Mus. Suppl. 92 i.—10.—21. see Suppl. (16. also Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 14,3, Qawala I, 8 q 48).—22. *al-Tarjama* Qawala I, 27.—23. *Zawā'id*, 26 verses on the spelling of the Qur'ān, Paris 610,3, *rajaz* on the pronunciation of the letters, *ibid.* 4, see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* VIII, 352.

3. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazdād b. Shāhūh (Shāhwayh?) b. Hurmuz al-Ahwāzī, who was born in 362/972, | declared himself a Sālīmī and settled in Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 391/October 1001, dying there in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 446/March 1055.

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See Suppl. 3., additionally Istanbul Un. R 259 (ZS III, 249). Bergsträsser-Pretzl, *Gesch. d. Qor.* III, 229 mistakenly called him al-Hudhalī al-Miṣrī; the *Kitāb al-iqnā'* mentioned there is identical with the one mentioned in note 8 following ḤKh 1I, 385,1078, 2I, 140 (Spitaler).

4. Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl b. Khalaf b. Sa'īd b. Imrān al-Ṣaqalī al-Sarāquṣṭī al-Miṣrī, who died in Egypt on 1 Muḥarram 455/4 January 1063.

Ibn Khall. 94, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* 1, 283. 1. *Kitāb al-iktifāʾ fi ʾl-qirāʾāt* NO 53<sub>2</sub>, abstract *al-ʿUnwān fi ʾl-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ* Berl. 591/2, AS 58, Patna 1, 17<sub>51</sub> (wrongly *al-ʿUyūn*), commentary by Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad b. al-Zāhir b. Abi ʾl-Makārim Nashwān al-Rūḥī, d. 649/1251, AS 55.—2., 3. see Suppl.

408 | 5. Abū Maʿshar ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān al-Ṭabarī al-Shāfiʿī, who died in 478/1085 in Mecca, was a teacher of Qurʾān recitation.

1. *Kitāb sūq al-ʿarūs*, which lists the most important reciters of the Qurʾān, with their students and their students' students, ḤKḤ 1111, 7289, Berl. 593, Makram 30, abstract *Kitāb fahm al-Qurʾān*, Alex. Fun. 144<sub>3</sub>.—2. *Kitāb al-talkhīṣ fi ʾl-qirāʾāt al-thamānī*, on the 8 readers and their principal *rāwīs*, each of whom is again represented by two main branches of his tradition, Berl. 653.—3. *Uyūn al-masāʾil (fi ʾl-tafsīr)* Cairo 1, 183, <sup>2</sup>1, 55.

5a. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣūfi al-Baghdādī was born in 392/1002 and died in 486/1093.

Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab.* no. 368. A *qaṣīda* on the number of Qurʾān verses, AS 491<sub>4,2</sub>.

6. Abu ʾl-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAtīq b. Khalaf b. Abī Bakr b. Abī Saʿīd b. al-Faḥḥām al-Ṣaqalī, who died in Alexandria in 516/1122.

1. *Kitāb al-tajrīd li-bughyat al-murīd* Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3813 (652<sub>h</sub>), Garr. 2094<sub>1</sub>, Makram 8 (Pretzl, *Islca* VI, 31).—2. *Kitāb mufradāt Yaʿqūb* NO 95 (ibid. 46).

519 | 7. Abu ʾl-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (b. ʿAlī) b. Bundār al-Wāsiṭī al-Qalānisi was born in 435/1044 in Wāsiṭ and died in 521/1127.

1. *Kitāb irshād al-mubtadiʾ wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī* assembles the readings of the 10, following their many students and students' students, Berl. 654/5, Br. Mus. Suppl. 86, NO 88, see Nöldeke, *Gesch.* 1339.—2. *Risāla fi ʾl-qirāʾāt al-thalāth*, on the readings of the Qurʾān in the Hijaz, Syria, and Iraq, Vienna 1627.—3. See Suppl.

8. Abu ʾl-Karam al-Mubārak b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Shahrazūri was born on 17 Rabīʿ II 462/3 February 1070 and died in Baghdad on 22 Dhu ʾl-Ḥijja 550/17 February 1156.

*Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ al-zāhir fi 'l-qirā'āt al-'ashr* Bodl. I, 35 (*Rend-Linc.* 1938, 86, n. 1).

9. Aḥmad b. Ja'far al-Ghāfiqī Abu 'l-Qāsim b. al-Abzārī was born in 500/1106 and died in Alexandria in 569/1173.

Treatise on the Qur'ān reading of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (p. 97) in the *riwāya* of al-Yazīdī, d. 202/817, and Abū Nu'aym, ca. 200, Berl. 634, see Nöldeke, p. 343.

10. Muḥammad (Aḥmad) b. Ṭayfūr al-Ghaznawī al-Sajāwandī, who died around 560/1165.

Suyūṭī, ed. Meursinge, 98. 1. *Kitāb al-waqf wal-ibtidā'*, which names 7 kinds of pause, each of which is marked by a separate letter, a system which, despite its artificiality, was soon universally adopted, Munich 100, Vienna 1625, Ind. Off. 46/7, Garr. 1193, AS 42/3, Fātiḥ 64, 66, Waqf Ibr. 7, Qawala I, 29 (*Kitāb al-wuqūf*), Patna I, 21, 187/8. See Nöldeke 352.—Commentary by Niẓām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī (II, 200,) Br. Mus. 85, Garr. 1194.—2. *Kitāb al-mūjiz*, from which a passage on the fivefold pause, Berl. 565 (= 1? Ritter).—3. *Ayn al-ma'ānī fī tafsīr al-sab' al-mathānī* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 182, <sup>2</sup>I, 55.—4. Précis on syntax and etymology, Ind. Off. 889, anon. commentary, *al-Durar*, ibid. 981,3.—5., 6. See Suppl.

11. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qawwāsī al-Marandī, a second-generation student of | Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Hamadhānī who died in 569/1173 (Ibn al-Jazarī I, 945, Suppl. I, 724, 11d). 520

*Qurrat 'ayn al-qurrā' fi 'l-qirā'āt* Esc. 1337 (Pretzl, *Gesch. des Qorantextes* 229).

11a. Abū Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Wāthiq al-Umawī al-Ishbīlī al-Andalusī, who was born in 567/1171 and died on 4 Rabī' II 651/2 June 1256.

Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab.* I, 24, no. 101, *ShDh* v, 2641. *Fī tajwīd al-qirā'a wa-makhārij al-ḥurūf* AS 39,7, Pretzl, *Iscla* VI, 233.

12. Abu 'l-Qāsim (Abū Muḥammad) al-Qāsim b. Firruh<sup>2</sup> b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ru'aynī al-Shāṭibī, born in 539/1143 in Játiva, went to Cairo in

<sup>2</sup> Probably *ferro* (Old Spanish for *hierro* 'iron'), Nöldeke, *Gesch. des Qor.* 337, n. 5.

572/1176 where he became a teacher in the reading of the Qurʾān at the al-Madrassa al-Fāḍiliyya, and died on 18 or 28 Jumādā II 590/11 or 21 June 1194.

Ibn Khall. 510, al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* 1, 284; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī, d. 923/1517 (II, 73), *al-Faṭḥ al-waḥḥāb fī tarjamat (sīrat) al-imām (Abu 'l-Qāsim) al-Shāṭibī* Berl. 10123, Br. Mus. 88,<sup>2</sup>, whence *Minḥa min minah Faṭḥ al-Mawāhibī tunbi' 'an lamḥa min sīrat Abi 'l-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī*, Garr. 707. 1. *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-taḥānī al-Shāṭibiyya*, versification of the *Taysīr* (p. 517) “which incorporates the content of the *Taysīr* in a barbaric language, which is unintelligible if one does not know the meaning of the characters that are jotted down in many colours. The reputation of this work is founded only on its brevity, made possible by an idiosyncratic arrangement facilitating the memorization of its verses. Other than that, it is a vacuous work, which really shows the obscurity of this science”, Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qur.*, 1338. Berl. 594/603, Gotha 501/3 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 87i, 88,<sup>1</sup>, Garr. 1196/9, 2094,<sup>2</sup>, Makr. 26, Teh. II, 30, Patna I, 144,<sup>116/9</sup>, lith. C. 1286, Persian translation by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd, *Kashf al-amānī fī sab' al-mathānī*, AS 57,<sup>1</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. *Faṭḥ al-waṣīd* by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (no. 14), Munich 102, Paris 611, Cairo 1I, 103, <sup>2</sup>I, 25, Patna I, 16,<sup>141</sup>.—1a. *al-Mabsūṭ* by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd | al-Samarqandī, ca. 600/1203 (see Suppl.), Garr. 1204, 2094,<sup>3</sup>.—2. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Su'la al-Mawṣilī, d. 656/1258, Berl. 604, BDMG 10, AS 46, Fātiḥ 51, Cairo 1I, 104.—3. *al-La'ālī' al-farīda* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fāsī, d. 656/1258 (no. 16), Fātiḥ 48, AS 49, 50, Cairo 1I, 104.—3a. *Kanz al-Ma'ānī* by the same (see Suppl.), lith. Peshawar 1279.—4. Anon., maybe by 'Alam al-Dīn Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Lūrqī, d. 661/1263 (whose *Qaṣīda fī rihlatihi fī ṭalab al-Qurʾān wa-qīra'ātihi ma'a riwāyatihī*, Dam. Z. 34, 82,<sup>1</sup>), Garr. 1200 or by Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Andalusī, d. ca. 660/1262, Berl. 605.—5. *Ibrāz al-ma'ānī* by Abū Shāma, d. 665/1266 (p. 386), Berl. 606/7, Br. Mus. 1558, Garr. 1200, Fātiḥ 46, 56, Patna I, 11,<sup>87</sup>.—6. *Ḥall al-rumūz* by Ya'qūb b. Badrān al-Jarā'idī, d. 688/1289, in 199 *ṭawīl* verses, Vienna 1629.—7. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, composed in 723/1323, Cairo 1I, 100.—8. *Kanz al-ma'ānī* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Ja'barī, d. 732/1331 (Suppl. II, 134), Berl. 611, (see 612), Gotha 554, Munich 103, Algiers 371, *Hespéris* XII, 1931, 119,<sup>1007</sup>, Garr. 1201/3, AS 47, Köpr. 25, Fātiḥ 52, Waqf Ibr. 7, Cairo 1I, 100, Patna I, 18,<sup>160/4</sup>.—9. On the *Bāb waqf Hamza wa-Hishām 'ala 'l-hamz* by Ibn Umm Qāsim, d. 749/1348 (II, 22), Cairo 1I, 99.—10. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Samīn, d. 756/1355, Cairo 1I, 102, <sup>2</sup>I, 24.—11. *Sirāj al-qārī' al-mubtadī' wa-tadhkīr al-muqrī' al-muntahī* by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. al-Qāsiḥ, d. 801/1398 (II, 165), completed in 759/1358, Berl. 609, Paris 612,<sup>1</sup>, 5127, 5430, Algiers 372, Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 8, Qawala I, 19. q. 61, Patna I, 15,<sup>130/1</sup>, print. C. 1293, 1304, 1317.—

12. *al-Farīda al-bāriziyya* by Abū Bakr al-Maghribī, Cambr. p. 19, Suppl. 399 (Abū 'Abdallāh).—13. al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Cairo 1, 100. |—14. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Sunbātī, d. 990/1582 (II, 368), *ibid.* 101.—15. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd, AS 57.—16. Anon., Berl. 608, 610, Leipz. 100,2, Paris 4530, Br. Mus. 1559/60.—17.–30. see Suppl. (22. also Patna I, 17,147; 23., also Qawala I, 21, q 32. 27. al-Dabbā', *Isl.* XXI, 133).—31. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Qūṣī (i.e. al-Qūjawī) Shaykhzāde, d. 950/1543 (Suppl. II, 650), Qawala 23 q 7.—32. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Fārisī, Patna I, 16,130/40.—33. *Jāmi' al-fawā'id fī sharḥ asna 'l-qaṣā'id* by al-Zahidī (Suppl. I, 656,3), Fātiḥ 471 (Ritter).

II. *Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fī asna 'l-maqāṣid*, a versification of al-Dānī's *Muqni'* on *rā'*, Berl. 487/94, Gotha 555,2/6 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. 87 ii, 88 ii, Garr. 1205, 1253,2, AS 37,2, 38, 60,3, Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 61,3, Qawala | I, 23/4, lith. C. 1282, see de Sacy, *Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscr.* L. 419, 329ff., *Not. et Extr.* VIII, 1, 1787, 342ff.—Commentaries: I. *al-Wasīla ilā kashf al-'Aqīla* by al-Sakhāwī (no. 14), Berl. 495/6, Vienna 1634, Paris 610,1, Br. Mus. Suppl. 89, Cairo 1, 119, 21, 30, Qawala I, 36, Patna I, 21,186.—2.–7. see Suppl. (2. Waqf Ibr. 40, Qawala I, 9, q 56. 7. Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 45, Fātiḥ 40,3, 45, Köpr III, 14).—8. Anon. *Sharḥ al-Rā'yya*, Garr. 1206, *Taysīr al-'Aqīla* Qawala I, 10 q 18.—6 commentaries are mentioned by Ahlw., loc. cit.—III. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Copenhagen 47.—IV. *al-Risāla al-quḍsiyya* AS 37.—V. *Nāẓimat al-zahr fī a'dād āyāt al-Qur'ān etc.*, Fātiḥ, Waqf Ibr. 41, Garr. 1195; commentaries: a. Riḍwān b. Muḥammad al-Mukhallilātī, see Spitaler, *Verszählung* 6, b. 'Abdallāh Ṣāliḥ al-Ayyūbī, d. 1252/1836 (II, 505), *Lawāmi' al-badr fī N. al-z.*, Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 27.—VI.—X. see Suppl.

12a. See Suppl. I, 727, II, 982,36. 4. Book without title on *wuqūf*, the arrangement and number of verses of the Qur'ān, Fātiḥ, Waqf Ibr. 15 (Ritter).

13. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ṣafrāwī, d. 636/1238.

*Kitāb al-taqrib wal-bayān fī ma'rifat shawādh al-Qur'ān*, supplement to his *al-I'lān fī 'l-qirā'āt al-sab'* (*bil-mukhtār min riwāyāt al-Q. fī 'l-q. al-sab'*), Garr. 1207, assembles readings that are transmitted only sporadically and go against linguistic usage and analogy, Berl. 613.

14. 'Alam al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī al-Hamadhānī, who died in 634/1243 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 429, al-Suyūṭī, *de Interpret.* 78. 1. *Hidāyat al-murtāb wa-ghāyat al-ḥuffāz wal-ṭullāb*, 427 *rajjaz* verses about identical and similar expressions

- and passages in the Qurʾān, Berl. 710/4, Br. Mus. Suppl. 95v, Garr. 1208, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 129, 2<sub>1</sub>, 30, 65, Patna 1, 20, 172.—2. *Umdat al-mufīd wa-ʿuddat al-mujīd*, 64 *kāmil* verses on *tajwīd*, Ber. 497, Algiers 561,6, with the title *Umdat al-mujīd fi ʿl-naẓm wal-tajrīd* in Garr. 1263,6.—Commentary, see Suppl. anon. Patna 1, 16, 144/5.—3. Poem on the reading of the Qurʾān, ending in *ān*, Paris 651,4.—3a. Abstract of his book on the *pausa*, Br. Mus. 1406.—4. *Jamāl al-qurrāʾ wa-kamāl al-iqrāʾ*, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 94, 2<sub>1</sub>, 18.—5. *Sharḥ ḥirz al-amānī*, see no. 12, 1.—6. *Sharḥ al-ʿaqīla*, ibid. 11.—7. *Urjūza fi sīrat al-nabī*, 770 verses in 20 chapters, Berl. 9576.—8. *al-Kawkab al-waqqād fi ʿl-iʿtiqād, fi uṣūl ad-dīn*, a commentary thereon by al-Suyūṭī, Munich 883,2, Alex. Fun. | 134,7, 190,1.—9. *Tuhfat al-furrād wa-ṭurfat al-muhadhdhib al-murtād*, 330 *rajaz* verses on the law of inheritance, Berl. 4709, a didactic letter on the same dated 640/1242, Berl. 150,1.—10. Lexical poem containing homonyms, 225 verses with commentary, Berl. 7062.—11. *al-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ*, religious poems in praise of the Prophet, collected by one of his contemporaries, Berl. 7752, commentary by Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Maḥdisī al-Ḥanafī Abū Shāma, d. 665/1268 (p. 387), composed in 642/1244, Paris 3141,1.—12. A poetical correspondence with Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sharīshī (the commentator of al-Ḥarīrī, d. 619/1222 ?), Gotha 104,2.—13. *Sifr al-saʿāda wa-safīr al-ifāda fi ʿl-lughā*, a commentary on Zamakhsharī's | *Mufaṣṣal*, see p. 347.—14. *al-Mufaḍḍal* ibid.—14a.—16. See Suppl.—17. *Manẓūma fi aḥzāb al-Qurʾān* Bursa, Ulu Cami Lughā 1, ff. 121b/23a (Ritter).

15. Abu ʿl-Faḍl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. Saʿd al-Wāsiṭī, d. ca. 690/1291.

*Kitāb durr al-afkār fi qirāʾāt al-ʿashara aʿimmat al-amṣār*, in *rajaz* verse, ḤKh III, 186,4850, 2<sub>1</sub>, 730, with an anon. comm. Esc. 2244,1, used in Berl. 608.

16.—18. See Suppl.

19. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Khābūrī, who died in 690/1291 in Aleppo.

Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab*. no. 322. *Al-durr al-naḍīd fi ʿl-tajwīd* Fātiḥ 52,2 (Ritter).

## 2 *Qurʾānic Exegesis*

1. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm (Faḍḍāl) b. Saʿīd al-Ḥawfī Abu ʿl-Ḥasan hailed from the village of Shubrā near Bilbīs (vulg. Bilbays) in north-eastern Egypt and died on 1 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 430/24 August 1039.

Ibn Khall. 409, al-Suyūṭī, *de Interpr.*, 76. 1. *Kitāb al-burhān fi tafsīr* (ʿulūm) *al-Qurʾān* vols. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 20, 24/8, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 132, 2<sub>34</sub>, vol. 3 Garr. 1256,



vol. 4 Landb.-Br. 217, vol. 13 Leid. 1656, vol. 15, Berl. 744.—Abstract *I'rāb al-Q.* by Ismā'īl b. Khalaf al-Ṣaqalī, d. 455/1063 (p. 518), vol. 4, Berl. 745.

2. Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ammār al-Mahdawī al-Tamīmī, who died after 430/1038.

| Al-Suyūṭī, *Interpr.* 9 (d. 403/1012?). *Al-Taḥṣīl li-fawā'id Kitāb al-tafṣīl al-jāmi'* 524  
*li-'ulūm al-tanzīl* Cairo 1I, 136.—2.–4. see Suppl.

3. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mattūya<sup>1</sup> al-Wāḥidī al-Nisābūrī was a student of al-Tha'ālibī (p. 429) and died in 468/1075 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 411, al-Suyūṭī, *Int.*, 70. 1. *Kitāb asbāb al-nuzūl*, which explains when the various suras and verses were revealed, Berl. 464, Leid. 1660, Landb.-Br. 216, AS 65, Rāḡib 19, Yeni 11, Cairo 1I, 124, 2I, 32, Makr. 4, omitting the authorities Berl. 463.—2. *Al-Tafsīr al-basīṭ*, a lengthy commentary, vol. 17, Cairo 1I, 133, 2I, 35, Patna 1, 242.—3. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-wajīz* Berl. 740/9, Leid. 1661, Algiers 315, AS 290/1, Yeni 99, Cairo 1I, 221, 2I, 66, Patna 1, 26, 243.—4. *al-Wasīṭ bayna 'l-maqbūḍ wal-basīṭ*, | extensive commentary, Berl. 750/2, Br. Mus. Suppl. 991, 412  
Esc. 21267/8, Algiers 316, Cairo 1I, 221, 2I, 66, Garr. 1260. Thereon *'Umdat al-qawī wal-ḍa'if al-kāshif li-mā waqa'a fī Wasīṭ al-W. min al-tabdīl wal-tahrīf* by Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 678/1279 (Ibn al-'Imād, *ShDh* v, 361), Cairo 1I, 181.—5. *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī* p. 88.—6.–8. See Suppl.

4. Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Marwazī al-Sam'ānī al-Tamīmī al-Shāfi'i, d. 489/1096 (see Suppl.).

*Tafsīr*, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1291, Cairo 1I, 147, 2I, 39.

5. Abū Sa'īd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. Karāma al-Jushamī al-Bayhaqī died in 494/1101 or, (according to others, in 545/1150, see Suppl.).

1. *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Leid. 1662, Landb.-Br. 214/5, Patna 11, 499, 2670/6.—2. *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* Landb.-Br. 215.—3.–5. See Suppl.

1 From Mattai (Nöldeke, *Pers. St.* 1, 407) and therefore originally from a Christian, Aramaic, or Persian family.

6. Burhān al-Dīn Tāj al-Qurrā' Maḥmūd b. Ḥamza b. Naṣr al-Kirmānī, who died soon after 500/1106.

525 | 1. *Lubāb al-tafāsīr*, which ḤKh v, 299 criticises for its arbitrary interpretations, vol. 1 Br. Mus. Suppl. 100.—2. *al-Burhān fī (tawjīh) mutashābih al-Qur'ān* Cairo 1, 133, VII, 397, 21, 34, Qawala 1, 43, Patna 1, 23, 211.

7. Abū Sa'īd al-Dihistānī, d. 503/1109.

Commentary on sura 1, Berl. 949, 2.

8. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālib b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥāribī al-Gharnāṭī b. 'Aṭīyya, born in 481/1088, was a *qāḍī* in Almería and died in Lorqa in 546/1151.

Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībāj* C. 1329, 174/5, Suyūṭī, *Interpr.*, 49. *Kitāb al-jāmi' al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīz* Berl. 800, Algiers 327/9, AS 119/21 Cairo 1, 208.—2. See Suppl.

9. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ishbilī al-Ma'āfirī b. al-'Arabī, who was born in Seville in 469/1076, travelled to the Orient with his father in 485/1092, going to Damascus, Baghdad, and the Hijaz. After making the pilgrimage in 489/1096 he studied in Baghdad under al-Ghazzālī and then returned to Spain by way of Alexandria and Cairo, arriving in 493/1100. After that he taught in Seville, where he died in 546/1151.

43 | Ibn Khall. 598, Suyūṭī, *Interpr.*, 103. 1. *Qānūn al-ta'wīl fī 'l-tafsīr* Cairo 1, 188, 21, 57.—2. *Kitāb aḥkām al-Qur'ān* Berl. 801 (suras 1–4), Brit. Mus. 142, Cairo 1, 121, Makram 2.—3. *Farā'id al-nikāḥ wa-sunanuhu wa-ādābuhu* Cairo 1, VII, 128.—4.–9. see Suppl.

9a. Maḥmūd b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Nisābūrī, see Suppl. 733, 10b.

*Ījāz al-bayān fī ma'āni 'l-Qur'ān* also in *Majmū'a* Köpr. 1589 (Ritter).

10. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī, who died in 556/1161 (see Suppl.).

*Kitāb al-iḥqāq*, on the rhetorical subtleties of the Qur'ān, with an appendix, Berl. 728.

11. Abu 'l-Qāsim (Abū Zayd) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Suhaylī al-Khath'amī, who was born in 508/1114 in Suhayl, a village near Malaga. He studied philology in Granada, then resided for a time in Seville, before finally settling in Malaga. When his fame in learning reached Morocco the Almohad ruler Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr summoned him there, where he died on 25 Sha'bān 581/22 November 1285. 526

Ibn Khall. 344, Wüst., *Gesch.* no. 272. 1. *Kitāb al-ta'rif wal-i'lām li (fi) mā ubhima min al-Qur'ān min al-asmā' wal-a'lām*, which explains, for each sura, the passages where nouns, especially proper nouns, are not specifically mentioned but are instead implied, Berl. 720/1 (under the title *al-Īdāh wal-tabyīn li-mā ubhima min tafsīr al-Kitāb al-mubīn*), Landb.-Br. 504, Br. Mus. Suppl. 110, Bodl. II, 19, Garr. 2067<sub>2</sub>, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 138, 2<sub>1</sub>, 36. His student's student Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Khiḍr b. Hārūn al-Ghassānī b. 'Askar, d. 636/1238, wrote thereon *al-Takmil wal-itmām* Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 153, 2<sub>1</sub>, 42.—2. *al-Rawḍ al-unuḥ wal-mashra' al-rivā fi tafsīr mā yashtamil 'alayhi ḥadīth al-sīra waḥṭawā*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām (see p. 141); see P. Brönnle, *Die Commentatoren des Ibn Ishāq* VIII ff., with Garr. 636, 638, Yeni 852/3, Bursa Hū. Celebī Ta'r. 4, Alex. Ta'r. 8.—3. *al-Qaṣida al-'ayniyya* HKh IV, 541<sub>9479</sub> or *al-Istighātha* Berl. 3938<sub>1</sub>, with a *takhmīs* by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. Taymiyya, d. 682/1283, composed in 668/1269, Leid. 671, by al-Fayyūmī, Gotha 94<sub>7</sub>, several others Berl. 6797<sub>2</sub>.—4. A Sufi *qaṣida* Berl. 3436.—5. Answers to grammatical questions asked by his teacher, the *faqīh* Abū Ishāq b. Qurqūl (see p. 457), Esc. 2189.—6. *Fī 'ilm al-farā'id* Br. Mus. 420<sub>6</sub>.

12. Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl al-Ghaznawī al-Ḥanafī, d. 582/1186.

*Al-Taqshīr fi 'l-tafsīr* HKh 111, 391, 2<sub>1</sub>, 466, Mashh. 111, 15<sub>42</sub>.

13. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Rajā' al-Jankānī wrote, around the year 600/1204:

*Kitāb al-īdāh*, a Qur'ān commentary abridged from *al-Jāmi' fi 'l-tafsīr*, Berl. 806, different from HKh 1<sub>1</sub>, 511<sub>1562</sub>, 2<sub>1</sub>, 211.

| 14. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Abi 'l-Naṣr al-Fasawī al-Shīrāzī al-Baqīlī al-Kāzarūnī al-Ṣūfī, d. 606/1209 (see Suppl.). 414

| 1. *Kitāb 'arā'is al-bayān fi ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān* Berl. 807, Ns. or. oct. 3983, Br. Mus. 1587, Rāḡib 197, Yeni 150, Cairo 1<sub>1</sub>, 180, 2<sub>1</sub>, 155, print. Calcutta 1883 (can therefore 527

not have been composed in refutation of al-Kāshānī's *Tafsīr*, as assumed in Suppl. II, 280).—2.—6. See Suppl.

14a. Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghāfiqī al-Mallāhī, who was born in al-Mallāḥa near Granada in 549/1154 and died in 619/1222.

Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila (Bibl. Ar.-Hispan.)*, 323/5, no. 960. *Lamaḥāt al-anwār wa-nafaḥāt al-asrār fi thawāb qārī' al-Qur'ān* (HKh v, 11165 *fi faḍā'il al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*) Fez, Qar. 263 (see al-Kattānī, *Fihris* II, 252), Āṣaf. I, 302,40 (*fi 'l-tajwīd*, with the wrong name, see Suppl. II, 981,27). Not preserved is his *Shajara fi ansāb al-umam al-'Arab wal-'Ajam*.

15. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥirālī (Ḥarālī)<sup>2</sup> was born in Morocco, travelled to the Orient, settled in Hama, and died there in 637/1239.

Suyūṭī, *Interpr.*, 68. 1. *Miftāḥ al-bāb (lubb) al-muqaffal li-fahm al-Qur'ān al-munazzal* Paris 1398,<sup>1</sup>, an appendix to it, entitled *Urwat al-miftāḥ*, ibid. 6, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 180 (where the author is not mentioned).—2. *Kitāb al-lamḥa*, on the mystical meaning of letters, Paris 1398,<sup>2</sup> = Br. Mus. 984,<sup>6</sup>?—3. *Tafhīm ma'āni 'l-ḥurūf allatī hiya mawādd al-kalim fi alsinat jamī' al-umam* Paris 1398,<sup>3</sup>.—4. *Kitāb al-tawshīya wal-tawfiya*, a mystical treatise on the Qur'ān, ibid. 5.—5. *Kitāb al-īmān al-tāmm bi-Muḥammad 'alayhi al-salām* Berl. 1743.—6.,7. See Suppl.

16. Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. al-Mukhtār al-Rāzī wrote, around 631/1233:<sup>3</sup>

1. *Adhkār al-Qur'ān*.—2. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*.—3. *Laṭā'if al-Qur'ān*.—4. *al-Istidrākāt*, on traditions whose literal meanings contradict the teachings of al-Shāfi'ī, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 470, <sup>2</sup>I, 89.—5. *Hujaj al-Qur'ān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 170, print. 528 C. | 1320.—6. *Mabāḥith al-tafsīr*, against al-Tha'labī, see p. 429.—7. *Kitāb fi ma'rifat khuṭūṭ al-kaff* Patna II, 551,2924,1.—8. *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* Lālelī 3739.—9. *Dhakhīrat al-mulūk fi 'ilm al-sulūk* ibid.—10. *Dhikr al-āyāt allatī nazalat fi amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī* ibid.—11. *Sirr al-asrār w (?) al-astār* ibid. (Ritter).

<sup>2</sup> In Ḥrāla near Murcia.

<sup>3</sup> From this year dates an *ijāza* in the author's own hand from the Madrasa al-Muẓaffariyya in Aqsarā in the Cairo MSS.

17. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khalīl al-'Ashshāb al-Ifriqī, who died in 637/1239 in Seville.

*Tafsīr* Cairo 1, 148, 2, 40.

18. Al-Muntakhab b. Abi 'l-'Izz b. Rashīd b. Abī Yūsuf al-Hamdānī al-Muqri' al-Shāfi', who died in Damascus in Rabī' 1 643/August 1245.

*Al-Farīd fi i'rāb al-Qur'ān al-majīd* Cairo 1, 188, 2, 37.

| 19. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Khalaf al-Anṣārī al-Zamlakānī, who died in Damascus in 651/1253 (see Suppl.). 415

1. *Kitāb al-tibyān fi 'ilm al-bayān al-muṭṭali' 'alā i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, composed in 637/1239, Esc. 2223, 263, on which *Kitāb al-tanbīhāt 'alā mā fi 'l-Tibyān min al-tamwīhāt* by Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, d. 658/1260, *ibid.* 115.—1a., 2.—4. see Suppl.

20. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Rizqallāh b. Abi 'l-Hayjā' al-Ra's 'Aynī al-Ḥanbalī 'Izz al-Dīn, who was born in Ra's al-'Ayn in 589/1193 and died in 661/1263.

1. *Kitāb rumūz al-kunūz*, a Qur'ān commentary (= *Maṭālī' anwār al-tanzīl wa-mafātīḥ asrār al-ta'wīl*), completed in 659/1261, ḤKh, 11, 369, 3330, V, 594, 12231, 2, 452, vol. 2. Paris 622, vol. 4. Berl. 809.—2. *Durrat al-qāri'*, on words with a *zā'* occurring the Qur'ān, brought together in 31 *basīṭ* verses, Berl. 679a/81, Garr. 1253/4, 3.—3. On ethics, Berl. 5395.

21. Aḥmad (ḤKh Muḥammad) b. As'ad al-'Irāqī was born in 580/1184 and died in 667/1268.

*Kitāb asbāb nuzūl al-Qur'ān bil-āyāt al-qur'āniyya wal-qīṣaṣ al-furqāniyya* explains when a certain verse was revealed, linking it to the story of the prophets mentioned therein, Berl. 465.

| 22. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī died on 9 Shawwāl 671/31 March 1273 (according to ḤKh 11, 255, 2, 383, in 668/1269) in Munyat Banī Khaṣīb in Upper Egypt. 529

Suyūṭī, *Interpr.*, 88. *Kitāb jāmi' aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, very extensive, vol. 1 Berl. 810, vol. 3 *ibid.* 812 (see 813), vol. 4 *ibid.* 811, vol. 6 Landb.-Br. 213, several parts Leid.

1674, Garr. 1274, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 159, Patna 1, 26,<sup>252</sup>.—2. *Kitāb al-tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-aḥwāl al-ākhirā*, on eschatology, Berl. 2744/5, Gotha 749/51 (see 753), Br. Mus. 173, Algiers 848/92, Bursa Ula Cami Taş 104, Alex. Mawā'iz 10, Qawala 1, 224, Patna 1, 145,<sup>1403</sup>, abstract by Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Ayyūb b. Dā'ūd al-Kutubī al-Lu'lu'ī (eighth or beginning of the ninth cent.), *al-Nujūm al-muzhira bikhtišār al-Tadhkira* Berl. 2746.—3. *Qam' al-ḥirṣ bil-zuhd wal-qanā'a* | *wa-dhill al-su'āl bil-kaff wal-shafā'a*, on the reprehensibility of the pursuit of wealth and begging as opposed to abstention and trust in God's goodness, Berl. 8787.—6.—9. See Suppl. (6. Fātiḥ Waqf Ibr. 42, *Br. Mus. Quart.* x, 34; 8. Garr. 265, Patna 1, 24,<sup>223</sup>).

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23. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawāshī al-Mawṣilī al-Shaybānī was born in 951/1195 in al-Kawāsha, which was previously known as Ardmusht, in the mountains east of Mosul, and died in Mosul in Jumādā 11 680/September–October 1281.

1. *Tabṣirat al-mutadhakkir wa-tadhkirat al-mutadabbir*, sometimes shortened to *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-tafsīr*, ḤKh, 111, 181,<sup>2385</sup>, 377,<sup>3390</sup>, 2<sup>I</sup>, 339, 457, vol. 2 Berl. 814, vol. 4 Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 135, 2<sup>I</sup>, 35; abbreviation *al-Talkhīṣ fi 'l-tafsīr* Berl. 815/6, Leid. 1675, Basle M. 11, 5, AS 90/3, Yeni 92/3, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 154, 2<sup>I</sup>, 42.—Anon. excerpt on pausas from the original work: *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-jannat al-manāẓir* Berl. 563.—2. *Kitāb mutashābih al-Qur'ān*, a compilation of phrases that occur just once in the Qur'ān, and then of those that are repeated in two or more places, Berl. 715.—3. *Kitāb 'adad aḥzāb al-Qur'ān*, the division of the Qur'ān into 120 *aḥzāb*, 28 *ajzā'* and ninths, Berl. 432.—4. *al-Maṭālī' fi 'l-mabād' wal-maqāṭi'*, on pausas, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 203, 2<sup>I</sup>, 62.

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24. Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Abī Bakr Maṣṣūr b. Abi 'l-Qāsim b. Mukhtār b. Abī Bakr 'Alī b. | al-Munayyir al-Iskandarānī al-Mālikī, who was born in 620/1223 and died in 683/1284.

1. *al-Baḥr al-kabīr fī baḥth al-tafsīr* Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 130, 2<sup>I</sup>, 34.—2. *Kitāb al-intiṣāf min al-Kashshaf* see p. 346.

25. Abū Sa'īd (Sa'd) 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Abu 'l-Khayr Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī was the son of the chief judge of Fārs under the *atabeg* Abū Bakr b. Sa'd, worked as *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt* in Shiraz and died there (or in Tabriz), probably in 685/1286.

Al-Şafadī mentions this year in Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 286; in Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rikhi Guzīda*, p. 811 it is corrupted to 605 (transl. 222). According to al-Suyūṭī, al-Subkī supposedly said 691; in the printed edition v, 59 the date is lacking. In Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥijāl* II, 348, no. 969, who mentions the same sources, both numbers are corrupted to 785 and 791. Al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān* IV, 220 (cit. *Ḥabīb al-siyar* III, 177) gives 692. The date 685 also tallies with the statement of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Ardabīlī (see Suppl. I, 535, no. 46)—who was born in the seventies of the seventh century and who died in 747/1346—that even though he had lived to see al-Bayḍāwī, he did not study under him (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* III, 73,3, cod. Vienna II, 267r). See also Cod. Wetzst. II, 289, f. 152, Elliot, *Hist. of India* II, 252ff., Rieu, *Pers. Cat.* II, 823. |

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1. *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*, a Qur'ān commentary using al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*, which he corrected and supplemented with the help of other sources. "Among the Sunnis he is today regarded as the best and almost as a saint. Having said this, he stands out by incorporating a lot of material in a succinct and lucid manner, though he is imprecise and for none of the fields that he considers—historical interpretation, lexicography, grammar, dialectics, readings—anywhere near complete", Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qur.* 1XXIX. Ed. H.O. Fleischer, 2 vols., Leipzig 1846/8, indices by W. Fell, *ibid.* 1878. Print. Būlāq 1282/3, Istanbul 1285 and others (see Suppl.). D.S. Margoliouth, *Chrestomathia Bayḍāwiana* (sura III with translation), London 1894.—Glosses: 1. Amīr Pādīshāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī, end tenth cent. (II, 412), Ind. Off. 81, Yeni 129, Rāḡib 155.—2. Ḥājjī Bābā al-Ṭūsiyawī, d. 871/1466 (? II, 223), Yeni 123/4, | print. Istanbul 1287, 7 vols.—3. Muşṭafā b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Tamjīd ca. 880/1475, Cairo 1, 202, 21, 44.—4. Mollā Khusraw b. Farāmurz, d. 885/1480 (II, 226), Garr. 1283, AS 307/8, Yeni 130/2, Rāḡib 138, Cairo 1, 202, 21, 47, Qawala I, 62.—5. *Nawāhid al-abkār wa-shawārid al-afkār* by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Berl. 834, Ind. Off. 82, AS 305, Cairo 1, 220.—6. *Faṭḥ al-jalīl* by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Algiers 340, Rāḡib 137, Cairo 1, 185, 21, 156, Makram 47.—7. Muḥammad b. Muşṭafā b. al-Ḥājj Ḥasanzāde, Berl. 835.—8. Muḥammad al-Qurayshī al-Şiddīqī al-Khaṭīb al-Kāzarūnī, d. 940/1533, Ind. Off. 83, AS 355/6, Yeni 127, Rāḡib 159/60, Cairo 1, 169, 21, 72.—9. Kamālpāshāzāde, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Rāḡib 145, Cairo 1, 163, 21, 44.—10. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Arabshāh al-Isfarā'īnī, d. 944/1537 (II, 410), Berl. 836/7, Br. Mus. Suppl. 117, Ind. Off. 84, AS 324/34, Garr. 1284, Patna I, 27,264/5, superglosses by al-Kawākibī AS 358.—11. *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyya* by Sa'dallāh 'Isā Sa'dī Efendi, d. 945/1538, Berl. 638/42, de Jong 125, Ind. Off. 85, Pet. 46, Garr. 1285, AS 312/20, Yeni 102/4, Rāḡib 124/7, Alex. Fun. 95,1, Qawala I, 57.—Superglosses by Muḥammad al-Kawākibī, d. 1096/1685

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- (II, 315), Garr. 1288, AS 358, larger 316.—12. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Qūjawī Shaykhzāde, d. 950/1543, Berl. 843/5, Rāḡib 111/6, Yeni 114/23, AS 335/8, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 169, <sup>2</sup>I, 47, Qawala I, 59/60, Garr. 1286.—13. Shams (‘Iṣām) al-Dīn al-Isfarā’īnī, d. 951/1544, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 167, Qawala I, 60.—14. On the *Fātiḥa* by al-Sayyid al-Ṣafawī, d. 953/1546, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 201.—15. Muṣṭafā b. Sha’bān al-Surūrī, d. 969/1561 (II, 438), Munich 93, Rāḡib 128/31.—15a. *Wāridāt* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Bilāl (II, 334,<sup>8</sup> Suppl. II, 993,<sup>37</sup>), AS 406.—16. Faḍl Rawshanizāde, d. 969/1561, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 165, <sup>2</sup>I, 45.—17. Maḥmūd b. Ḥusayn al-Ṣadiqī al-Jilānī, d. ca. 970/1562, Algiers 377.—18. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Bustān, d. 977/1567, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 170, Patna I, 28,<sub>270/2</sub> (Muḥammad b. Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-Dīn).—18a. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Bukhārī Ṣāmisūnizāde, d. 978/1570 (‘Aṭā’ī, *Dhayl al-Shaqā’iq* 145), AS 322,<sub>186</sub>.—18b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Ḥalabī, d. 984/1576 (Siĉ. Osm. I, 95), AS 303.—19. Sinān Efendi Yūsuf b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Amāsī, d. 986/1578, Berl. 846/52, Leipz. 107, Munich 94, AS 319/21, 44off., Rāḡib 147/8, Yeni 105/7, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 165, <sup>2</sup>I, 45, Qawala I, 58.—20. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī, d. 982/1574 (II, 339), composed in 963/1555, Esc. <sup>2</sup>237,<sub>15</sub>.—
- 532 21. On sura 7 by Zakariyyā’ b. Bayrām al-Anqirawī, | d. 1001/1592, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 19.—
22. On the *Fātiḥa* of Ḥusayn al-Khalkhālī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 413), NO 486, AS 303, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 201, <sup>2</sup>I, 45 (fragm.).—22a. On the same by Ḥasan al-Būrīnī, completed in 1039/1629 (II, 290), Cairo<sup>1</sup>, I, 201, Berl. Oct. 1334 (?).—22b. see Suppl. also Patna I, 28,<sub>268</sub>.—23. Muḥammad Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī, d. 1030/1621 (II, 414), Gotha 531, Br. Mus. 77, Patna I, 28,<sub>266/7</sub>.—24. Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shirwānī, d. 1063/1653, Copenhagen 46, Ind. Off. 86/9, AS 354/5, Yeni 122, Rāḡib 144, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 167, Patna I, 29,<sub>261/2</sub>.—25. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, d. 1033/1623, Berl. 862.—26. Ghanizāde Nādirī, d. 1036/1626, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 168.—
27. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Busnawī, d. 1046/1636, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 164, 201.—
28. ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, dedicated to Sultan Murād, d. 1049/1639, Berl. 853.—29. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, d. 1067/1656 (II, 417), Ind. Off. 90/1, 1122, Garr. 1287, AS 302, Rāḡib 140/1, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 166, Qawala I, 58, Patna II, 500,<sub>2677</sub>.—30. *Ināyat al-qāḍī wa-kifāyat al-rāḍī* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafājī, d. 1069/1658 (II, 285), Algiers 338/9 (author only al-Shihāb), *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 373, no. 45, Yeni 108/17, Rāḡib 103/10, AS 339, 341/53,
- 418 Qawala I, 72, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 181, print. Būlāq 1283, 8 vols., Istanbul 1854, | used in Berl. 864.—31. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Ṣaffūrī, d. 1081/1670, on sura 19,<sub>33</sub>, Berl. 865.—32. Muḥammad al-Kawākibī, d. 1096/1685 (II, 315), Yeni 128, AS 358.—33. Muḥammad al-Mar’ashī Sājaqlizāde, d. 1150/1737 (II, 370), Berl. 861.—34. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bulayḍī al-Ash’arī al-Andalusī, d. 1176/1762 (II, 331), Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 164, <sup>2</sup>I, 45.—35. Ismā’īl b. Muḥammad al-Qūnawī, d. 1195/1781, Cairo 1<sup>I</sup>, 168, Qawala I, 62.—36. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, *qāḍī* of Medina, twelfth cent., *ibid.* 163.—37. Anon., Berl. 854/60, 863, Leid.



1680/3.—39.—83. see Suppl. (62. Garr. 1389; 67. Ibid. 1290).—84. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Qurashī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Kāzarūni, Patna I, 27,<sup>263</sup>.—85. 'Abdallāh Mestjizāde, d. 1148/1735 (*Osm. Mü'ell.* 11, 27), AS 304.—86. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad Ghurābzāde, AS 323.—Anon. abstract *al-'Imādī*, Philadelphia, no. 23—Anon. supplement *Tahqīq al-tafsīr wa-takthīr al-tanwīr*, Qawala I, 44.—Critiques: 1. *al-Ithāf bi-tamyīz mā tabī'a fihi 'l-Bayḍāwī ṣāhib al-Kashshāf* by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Dā'ūdī, d. 945/1538 (11, 289), following up on the glosses of his teacher al-Suyūṭī, Garr. 1298, Cairo I<sub>1</sub>, 120, <sup>21</sup>, 31, Alex. Fun. 95,<sub>3</sub> (where the author is Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Shāmī?).—2. *Kashf al-aqwāl al-mubtadhala fī sabq qalam al-Bayḍāwī li-madhhab al-Mu'tazila* by Aḥmad al-Nūbī | (11, 385), autograph from al-Ṭā'if dated 1027/1617, identification of places where al-Bayḍāwī seems to approach Mu'tazilī phraseology out of negligence, Gotha 532.

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II. *Minhāj al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl* Berl. 4381/2, Paris 727,<sub>2</sub>, Algiers 949, Alex. Uṣūl 21.—Commentaries: 1. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī, d. 743/1342 (11, 198), Yeni 242, Patna I, 73,<sup>742</sup>.—2. Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, d. 749/1348, composed in 734/1333, Paris, 799, Ind. Off. 1477, Bank. XIX, 1. 1562 = Patna I, 73,<sup>741</sup>, Āṣaf. p. 98 (?)—3. *Nihāyat al-su'ūl* by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥasan al-Asnawī, d. 772/1370, Algiers 950, Bodl. 11, 88 Alex. Uṣūl 22, Qawala I, 301.—4. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ramlī b. Raslān, d. 844/1440 (11, 92), Berl. 4383, Paris 800.—5.—19. see Suppl.—20. Anon. *Manāhij al-'uqūl* Patna I, 75,<sup>766</sup>.

III. *al-Ghāya al-quṣwā* on Shāfi'ī law, an abstract of al-Ghazzālī's *al-Wasīṭ* (p. 543), Cairo I<sub>111</sub> 246.—Commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Farghānī (see II, 1)?, Paris 1024.

IV. *Lubb al-albāb fī 'ilm al-i'rāb* Qawala (11, 119. Cmt) a. see Suppl.—b. *Imtīhān al-adhkīyā'* by al-Birgīli (Birkawī), d. 981/1573 (11, 441, 17), Paris 4120, Cairo I<sub>IV</sub>, 25, <sup>211</sup>, 79.

v. *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, a handbook of theology, Ambros. 319, Esc. <sup>2650</sup>, 6, anon. comm. Leid. 1545, Br. Mus. 171.

VI. *Ṭawālī' al-anwār min maṭālī' al-anzār*, on metaphysics, Berl. 1772/4, Gotha 645 (where other MSS are listed), BDMG 87, Garr. 1487, Qawala I, 204.—Commentaries: 1. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī, d. 743/1342, Berl. 1775/6, Gotha 646, Bodl. I, 146, 11, 570, Esc. <sup>1161</sup>, Alex. Tawhīd 21, Qawala I, 195, Patna I, 121,<sup>1217</sup>.—2. *Maṭālī' al-anzār* by Abu 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, d. 749/1348, Berl. 1777/85, Gotha 645 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 186, Garr. 1489/91, Alex. Tawhīd 44/5, Qawala I, 210/1, Makram 56, Patna I, 126,<sup>1259/60</sup>.—Glosses thereon: a. al-Jurjānī (11, 216), d. 816/1413, Berl. 786/9, Vienna 1534, Paris 2390, Ind. Off. 595, Esc.<sup>2664,2</sup>, 666.—Superglosses *γ Sharḥ awā'il al-Ṭawālī' min al-ḥikma* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī (11, 217), Rāgīb 1457,<sup>13</sup>, print. C. 1323.—b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn b. Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, d. 909/1503, Leid. 2014, Esc. <sup>2664,1</sup>, 678,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Tawhīd 14.—3. Humām Gulnārī, Ind. Off.

432.—4. *Nashr Ṭawālī‘ al-anwār* by Sājaqlīzāde, d. 1150/1737 (II, 370), Berl. 1790.—5.—11. see Suppl.—12. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Khalafī, *Qawala* I, 168.—13. Anon. *Nihāyat al-afkār* ibid. I, 212.—14. Mu‘īn al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Tūnī, Patna I, 119,1200/1.

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| VII. *Risāla fī mawḍū‘āt al-‘ulūm wa-ta‘rīfihā* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 482.

VIII. *Nizām al-tawārīkh*, a universal history in Persian from Adam until 674/1275, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 823 (where other MSS are listed), see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* IV, 672/95.

IX. *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāfiya li-Ibn al-Ḥājjib* see p. 370.—X.—XIII. see Suppl.—XIV. *Ta‘rīfāt al-‘ulūm* Alex. Fun. 79,7 (= VII?).

### Chapter 9. Dogmatics<sup>1</sup>

1 (2). Abu 'l-Walid Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī, who was born in Badajoz in 403/1012, travelled to the East in 426/1034 where he stayed for 13 years, 3 of which were in Mecca, 3 in Baghdad, and one in Mosul. After his return to his native land he strove to promote Ash'arī dogma. The Mālikī Muḥammad b. Sa'īd invited him to Mallorca, where Ibn Ḥazm was in those days highly regarded by the island's governor (see Suppl. 1, 694), to assist him in his struggle against him. Having pushed through Ibn Ḥazm's expulsion, he then tried—as a *qāḍī* in various towns—to incite the smaller potentates in his homeland to take up arms together against the Christian enemy, but without any success. He died in Almeria in 474/1081.

Al-Ḍabbī, p. 289, no. 777, Ibn Khall. 261, Maqqarī I, 504/11, Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībāj* 123, Asín Palacios, *Abenházam* I, 200/10, J. López Ortiz, *al-Andalus* VI, 79.

1. *Sunan al-ṣāliḥīn*, ethical traditions, Leid. 1738.—2. *Sharḥ fuṣūl al-aḥkām wa-bayān mā maḍā bihi 'l-'amal 'inda 'l-fuqahā' wal-ḥukkām* Cairo <sup>1</sup>111, 181, Fez Qar. 1392 (title corrupted).—3. Answer to the apology of Christianity in a letter from the monk from 'Ifransa' for al-Muqtadir billāh, ruler of Zaragoza (438–741, 1046–81), Esc. <sup>2</sup>538,<sub>11,12</sub>.—5.–7. see Suppl.—8. *Sharḥ al-Sawād al-a'zam* 183.

| 2. Abū Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd al-Mutawallī, al-Shāfi'ī, d. 478/1085.

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*Al-Mughnī fī uṣūl al-dīn 'alā ṭarīqat Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī* Alex. Tawḥīd 30.

3 (4). Abū Shukūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Sayyid b. Shu'ayb al-Kashshī (Kashshānī) al-Ḥanafī al-Sālimī, who flourished in the second half of the fifth century.

*Kitāb al-tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd wa-hidāya li-kull mustarshid wa-rashīd*, dogmatics following the ideas of Abū Ḥanīfa with particular attention to the Mu'tazila and the philosophers, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>11, 423, <sup>2</sup>1, 484, Ind. Off. 384, 1033,2 (see Suppl.), Patna I, 115,<sub>1152/3</sub>, 11, 51<sub>12743</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> This chapter includes some authors of works on religious practices who should actually have been classed among the *fuqahā'* and not among the *mutakallimūn*, but whose allegiance to one of the Schools of *fiqh* could not be ascertained.

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-Ghazzālī<sup>2</sup> 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.

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While al-Ash'arī 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, Ṭashköprüzāde, *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-Ghazzali'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, Ghazālīs 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 <sup>1</sup>VII, 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 <sup>1</sup>VII, 544, <sup>2</sup>I,

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- 135.—3. *Aqīda*, Creed, Berl. 1947, Bodl. II, 68, Tippu 140, no. 21, Alex. Fun. 164,<sup>4</sup>, 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,<sup>9</sup>.—b. see Suppl.—4. *al-ʿAqīda al-qudsīyya*, on God's names and properties, Berl. 1948, Gotha 95, 661,<sup>4</sup>, 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,<sup>4</sup>, 1130,<sup>2</sup>, Garr. 1891, Alex. Ṭas. 35,<sup>9</sup>, abstract Gotha 99,<sup>3</sup> 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. Mawāʿiẓ 40,<sup>2</sup>, Fun. 75,<sup>2</sup>, Mosul 263,<sup>8</sup>), *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<sup>VII</sup>, 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,<sup>3</sup>, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 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-mawāʿiẓ fi ʿl-aḥādīth al-qudsīyya*, of doubtful authenticity, Gotha 3,<sup>13</sup>.—11. *Kitāb iljām al-ʿawāmm ʿan ʿilm al-kalām* print. Madras 1306, C. 1309 and others (see Suppl.), fragm. Leid. 1492, excerpt Gotha 99,<sup>4</sup>, with the title *Risāla fī madhāhib ahl al-salaf* Berl. 2801, AS 2200,<sup>2</sup>.—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 *Mawāʿiẓ* Garr. 1544.—13. | *Kitāb al-tafriqa bayna ʿl-īmān wal-zandaqa*, against the accusation of heresy, Berl. 2075, Garr. 2005,<sup>12</sup> = *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<sup>VII</sup>, 554, Mosul 75,<sup>1</sup>, 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 fī ʿl-mawt* Alex. Fun. 65,<sup>1</sup>.—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,<sup>2</sup>.—17. *Risāla fī bayān maʿrifat Allāh* Leid. 1491 = *Risāla fī ʿl-maʿrifat* Berl. 3208.—18. *Sharḥ ʿalā qawl ḥujjat al-islām Abī Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī laysa fi ʿl-inkān abdaʿ min ṣūrat hādha ʿl-ʿālam etc.* by Muḥammad al-Nashshārī, Qawala I, 200. |—19. *Risāla fī uṣūl al-dīn* Munich 885,<sup>4</sup>.—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<sup>VII</sup>, 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* <sup>1</sup>IV, 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. <sup>2</sup>731.—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 <sup>1</sup>II, 132, <sup>2</sup>I, 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 <sup>1</sup>VII 297.—7. Anon., Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 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. 1594<sub>2</sub>.—27. *Kitāb mizān al-ʿamal* Esc. 2875<sub>2</sub> (fragm.), Cairo 1<sup>vii</sup>, 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. 2631<sub>3</sub>, Cairo 1<sup>vii</sup>, 700<sup>3</sup>, anon. comm. *al-Mizān al-qawīm* Bat. 122<sub>7</sub>, commentary by Muḥammad Qāḍī Patna I, 122<sub>1227</sub>.—29. *Kūmiyyāʾ al-saʿāda*, popular representation | of ethics with special regard to mysticism, 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 Humāʿī, 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. Mawāʿiẓ 48, Qawala I, 223, Patna I, 146<sub>1404</sub> 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. Mawāʿiẓ 23.—32. *Kitāb ayyuha ʿl-walad* Berl. 3975/6 Gotha 1165 (where other MSS are listed), see Suppl. with Alex. Mawāʿiẓ 35, Fun. 194<sub>8</sub>, 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<sup>vii</sup>, 623, <sup>21</sup>, 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 hāʿiyyūnīm*, 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-zuḥd al-fātiḥ*, an admonishment, Br. Mus. 741.—38. *Minḥāj al-ʿābidīn 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-Balaṭunīsī, 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 ʿl-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 ʿl-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 ʿllāh* Patna II, 447,2663,5.—x. also Alex. Fun. 90,20.—z. under the title *Risāla fī taḥqīq bayān maʿna ʿl-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-ʿIḥq al-nafīs* ibid. II, 411,2500,4.—

III. Fiqh. 48. *Kitāb al-basīṭ fī ʿl-furūʿ*, based on the *Nihāyat al-maṭlab* of his teacher Imām al-Ḥaramayn, Ind. Off. 1766, Esc.<sup>1</sup> 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 ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣalāh, d. 643/1245 (p. 440), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 242, 275, <sup>2</sup>I, 539.—b. *Muntaqa ‘l-ghāyāt fi mushkilāt al-W.* by Ḥamza b. Yūsuf al-Ḥamawī al-Tanūkhī, d. 670/1271, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 278, <sup>2</sup>I, 540.—c. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raf‘a, d. 710/1310 (II, 133), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 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 <sup>1</sup>III, 215, <sup>1</sup>I, 508, Patna I, 79, 801.—e., f. see Suppl.—g. Anon., Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 242.—Abstracts: a. *al-Ghāya al-quṣwā* by al-Bayḍawī (p. 530), Berl. 4597/8, Garr. 1789.—b. al-Mas‘ūdī, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 278.—50. *Kitāb al-Wajīz*, abstract of the above, Paris 985, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 289.—Commentaries: a. *Sharḥ ibhām al-Wajīz wal-Wasīṭ* by As‘ad b. Maḥmūd al-‘Ijlī, d. 600/1203 (Subkī, *Tab.* V, 50), Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 235.—b. *Fath al-‘azīz* by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Rāfi‘ī al-Qazwīnī, d. 623/1226 (p. 493), Berl. 4470/1, Br. Mus. Suppl. 305, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 238, 251, <sup>2</sup>I, 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 ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. al-Mulaqqin, d. 814/1401 (II, 92), Berl. 1345, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 114, *al-Talkhīṣ al-kabīr etc.* (see Suppl.) by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, d. 852/1449 (II, 68), Berl. 1346, Alex. Ḥad. II, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 282, <sup>2</sup>I, 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-Rāfi‘ī, 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 <sup>1</sup>III, 280, <sup>2</sup>I, 542, *al-Kalimāt al-muhimma*, Br. Mus. Quart. x, 134; on which again glosses *αα al-Mubhamāt ‘ala ‘l-Muhimmāt* by Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī, d. 806/1403, thereto anonymous *Zawā‘id*, from which an abstract by Abū Yazīd al-Dawwānī, Paris 992.—*ββ al-Ta‘aqqubāt* by Aḥmad b. ‘Imād b. Yūsuf al-Aqfahsī, d. 808/1405 (II, 93), Berl. 4476, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 208, 280, Dam. ‘Um. 51, 394/3.—Rebuttal *al-Mulimmāt ‘ala ‘l-Muhimmāt* by ‘Umar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī, d. 805/1403 (II, 93), Pet. AM 125, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 278, <sup>2</sup>I, 540.—*β.* *Khādim al-Rāfi‘ī 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. ‘Alī Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīqī, *qāḍī* | of Alexandria, d. 891/1648 (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi‘* VII, 284), Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 17.—Abstract of the *Rawḍa* by Ismā‘īl b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muqri’ al-Yamanī, d. 837/1433 (II, 254), Gotha 941, on which a commentary by Zakariyyā’ 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-Ta‘jīz* by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī, d. 671/1272 (p. 495, 28).—Versification of b. and c.: *Rumūz al-kunūz* by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Dīrīnī, d. 697/1297 (p. 451), Bank. XIX, 183, 8 = Patna I, 89, 96.—51. *Kitāb al-mustasfā min ‘ilm al-uṣūl*

Gotha 925,<sup>4</sup> Cairo 111, 275, Mosul 64,<sup>216</sup>, 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,<sup>69</sup>.—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,<sup>2616,3</sup>.

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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 1331<sub>2</sub>, 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 1331<sub>3</sub>, Pet. 247<sub>3</sub>, AS 2000<sub>3</sub>, Cairo 111, 115, Taymūr, Majm. I, 12, Alex. Fun. 87<sub>1</sub>, 151<sub>9</sub> (with the title *al-Ilq al-m. etc.*), print. in *Majmū'a*, C. 1309; with the same title but completely different Berl. 1722/3.<sup>5</sup>—59. *Fathīyyāt 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,<sup>63b/68a</sup>, 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,<sub>1</sub>.—60. *Risāla fī ḥaqāʾiq al-ʿulūm li-ahl al-fuhūm* Paris 1337,<sub>12</sub>.—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,<sub>4</sub>).—64g. *Maʿārij al-quḍs*, on the soul, Welīddīn 1814,<sub>10</sub>, 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. *Maqālat 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,<sub>1</sub>. 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 *qaṣīdas* | in praise of the Prophet, Berl. 7633.—69. *Qaṣīda*, supposedly written in consolation for and admonition of his students shortly before his death (see Suppl.), Berl. 3978/9, Gotha 28,<sub>2</sub>, Br. Mus. 754,<sub>2</sub>, Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 197, cf. M. Schreiner, *ZDMG* 48, p. 43.

VII. Letters collected under the title *Faḍāʾil al-anām*, AS 4821,<sub>43a/46b</sub>, 4301, 4792,<sub>692b/726b</sub>, 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, *Nafahāt* 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,<sub>3</sub>, Ambr. B. 75<sub>ix</sub> (*RSO* IV, 1030), Garr. 2003,<sub>19</sub>, Alex. Tawḥīd 6, Fun. 160,<sub>11</sub>, Cairo <sup>111</sup>, 8, VII, 5, 47, 229, 359, 373, 518, 531, Qawala I, 162, Un. Egypt 11900, 15008, anon. comm. Cairo <sup>111</sup>, 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 <sup>VI</sup>, 118, VII, 228, <sup>21</sup>, 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,<sup>1</sup>—7. Abstract of the *Ihyā'*, see p. 539.—8.–16. see Suppl. (13. 'A. Emīrī Fārisī 199,<sup>4</sup>)—16. *Sawāniḥ, Aphorismen über die Liebe, hsg. | von H. Ritter, Bibl. Isl.* 15, 1942 (see *Isl.* XXI, 94). 6b. Suppl. see *ibid.* 769,<sup>25</sup>.

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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,<sup>6</sup> Gotha 100,<sup>3</sup>, Heid. ZDMG 91, 402,<sup>6</sup>, Munich 892, f. 72b, Vienna 1523,<sup>11</sup>, Paris 1232/3, 4599,<sup>4</sup>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 175, NO 2095, Alex. Tawḥīd 5, Fun. 80,<sup>2</sup>, 86,<sup>3</sup> Cairo <sup>111</sup>, 6, 42, 46, 50/1, VII, 537, <sup>21</sup>, 167, Patna I, 113,<sup>1138</sup>, 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 <sup>111</sup>, 8, <sup>21</sup>, 167, Alex. Tawḥīd 6.—3. *Kitāb al-tamhīd li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd* Cairo <sup>111</sup>, 51, <sup>21</sup>, 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 circos, *al-Andalus* IV, 45/54.—2. *Sharḥ adab al-kātib li-Ibn Qutayba* see p. 126.—4.–11. see Suppl. (4. Patna I, 66,<sup>686</sup> 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. <sup>2982,5</sup> would leave us reason to suspect.

9. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-Kāriziyātī al-Farawī al-Nisabūrī, d. 530/1135.

*Kitāb najāt al-murīdīn*, an overview of religious duties with the force of law, Berl. 1728 (fragm.).

548 | 10. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq<sup>7</sup> al-Ṣaffār al-Bukhārī, who died in 534/1139.

1. *Kitāb talkhīṣ al-adilla li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd*, a defence of Sunnī teachings against heretics, Br. Mus. 1577, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1472.—2. Answers to questions of dogma, Cairo <sup>v</sup>II, 314, <sup>2</sup>I, 162.

11. Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī al-Māturīdī, who was born in 460/1068 in Nasaf, a large city between the Oxus and Samarqand, was one of the greatest Ḥanafī *fuqahā'* of his time. He died in Samarqand on 12 Jumādā I 537/4 December 1142.

Ibn Quṭl. 140, Suyūṭī, *Interpr.* 27, de Sacy, *Biogr. univ.* xxxII, 7, Flügel, *Classen* p. 310, Wüst., *Gesch.* 241.

1. *al-'Aqā'id*, creed, Berl. 1953/4, Gotha 55,<sup>1</sup> Tüb. 138,<sup>5</sup> (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 1545, 2100,<sup>1</sup> Alex. Tawḥīd 31, Qawala I, 204/5. *Pillar of the Creed of the Sunnites by Hafidh uldīn abu l-Barakāt Abdullah al-Nasafi (d. 710/1310) to which is subjoined a shorter treatise of a similar nature by Najmuldīn Abu Hafṣ Umar al-Nasafi*, ed. by W. Cureton, London 1843; transl. by Muradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, vol. 1. *Türkischer Catechismus der Religion, nach dem arab. Original übers. und erklärt von C.H. Ziegler*, Hamburg and Leipzig 1792.—Commentaries: 1. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215), Berl. 1855/65, Gotha 671/3 (where other MSS are listed), Heid. A. 359,<sup>1</sup> (*ZDMG* 91, 391), Br. Mus. Suppl. 176, Garr. 1546/9, 2147,<sup>2</sup> 2155,<sup>2</sup> 2179,<sup>1</sup> Alex. Tawḥīd 22,<sup>1</sup> 31,<sup>2</sup> Patna I, 112,<sup>1220/1</sup> print. Calcutta 1224, 1244, Istanbul 1260.—Glosses: a. Qara Aḥmad, d. 854/1450, Garr. 1550, Alex. Tawḥīd II, Qawala I, 169, 172, Makram 18. *The Commentary of Maulavi A. on the Commentary on Akāidi Nasafi and the Second Commentary of Mulla Kasim on the Last Portion of the Commentary on Akāidi Nasafi*, Lucknow 1883, 1894.—aa. *Ḥall al-ma'āqid fī sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* by Shams al-Dīn Manlāzāde al-Harawī al-Ḥarazīyānī, completed before 845/1441 (date of the MS, ad ḤKh IV, 227, see Houtsma ad Br. 980), Garr. 1554.—b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Khayālī, d. after 862/1458 (Suppl. II, 318), Berl. 1966/70, Gotha 673,<sup>2</sup> (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 1550, Alex.

7 See Br. Mus. Cairo Ism.

Tawhīd 11, | Qawala 1, 169/72, Makram 18, Patna 1, 119, 1126/8, 11, 511, 2746, print. 549  
 C. 1297, 1335.—Superglosses:  $\alpha$ . Qara Kamāl Ismā'īl Qaramānī, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 1972, Paris 1243, 1, Ind. Off. 396, Garr. 1551, Qawala 1, 179, on which superglosses by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ghazzī b. al-Gharābilī, d. 918/1512 (11, 320), Garr. 1582, 2179, 2, designated as a straight gloss on Taftazānī by ḤKh IV, 120 and Esc. 21583/4, 1586.— $\beta$ . 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, d. 1067/1656 (11, 417), Gotha 675, Paris 1242, Qawala 1, 173, Patna 1, 117, 1174/8, print. Istanbul 1820, 1841, 1304, lith. Delhi 1870, 1880; superglosses by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Manlā Rasūl b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Rasūl, d. 1264/1848, Istanbul 1303.— $\gamma$ . Qul Aḥmad, Ind. Off. 399, Qawala 1, 179, print. Istanbul 1227.— $\delta$ . Ḥilmī, Pet. 49.— $\epsilon$ . Anon., Paris 1241.— $\zeta$ — $\psi$ . See Suppl. ( $\mu$ . Patna 1, 116, 1160, 11, 511, 2744).— $\omega$ . Aḥmad Rushdī b. 'Uthmān Efendi Bakjajizāde, Qawala 1, 165.— $\alpha\alpha$ . 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Ayyūbī, Istanbul 1306.— $\beta\beta$ . Shujā' al-Dīn, Qawala 1, 176.— $\gamma\gamma$ . 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan al-Uskudārī al-Anṣārī al-Kānqarī, thirteenth cent., Būlāq 1244 (Qawala 1, 179).—c. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Qastallānī, d. 907/1495, Berl. 1973, Leid. 1998, Esc. 21582, Garr. 1553, | on which glosses by Ja'farshāh al-Kistālī al-Rūmī, Leid. 428  
 1999.—d. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (11, 99), Berl. 1974/5.—e. al-Qārī' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (11, 394), Berl. 1436, Munich 866.—f. Aḥmad Jundī, Ind. Off. 399, 1.—g. Mollā 'Alā' al-Dīn, Ind. Off. 400.—h. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Sharīf al-Maqdisī, d. 907/1500 (11, 98), ibid. 401, Alex. Tawhīd 26, Makram 49.—i. Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī Arikān al-Qāḍī al-Badakhshī, Ind. Off. 402, Paris 1244.—k. Muḥammad al-Shiḥna, Paris 1240.—l. *Kanz al-farā'id* by Ramaḍān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, Leid. 1997, Algiers 568, print. Istanbul 1292/3, 1316.—m. al-Qarabāghī, Qawala 1, 178 (= suppl. 1, 760,  $\Phi$  ?).—n. Aḥmad al-Fursī, Yeni 743.—o. Anon., Leid. 1996, Ind. Off. 403, Paris 1245.—p. al-Bājūrī, Alex. Tawhīd 9.—q.—ff. see Suppl. (y. print. Istanbul 1276, 1304, 1317, Qawala 1, 177),—Abstract of the traditions by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, Cairo 1<sup>vii</sup>, 51, by al-Qārī' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605, Cairo<sup>1</sup>, vii, 123.—2. Glosses on an anonymous commentary, by al-Sīnābī, Pet. 49, 2.—4.—9. see Suppl.—Versifications: a. *Ṣiyānat al-'aqā'id* by Manṣūr al-Ṭablāwī, d. 1014/1605 (11, 321), Berl. 1977/8, Gotha 866, 2, 688, Cairo 2<sup>i</sup>, 195, 211, Bat. Suppl. 196.—b. see Suppl.—c. *Nazm al-'Aqā'id al-N.* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī, d. 1215/1800 (11, 488), Cairo | 2<sup>i</sup>, 211, 211.—d. *Idā'at al-dujunna fī 'aqā'id ahl al-sunna* by Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, d. 1041/1632 (11, 296), Alex. Tawhīd 38. 5 commentaries, 17 glosses, 3 versifications in Ahlw. 1979.

11. *al-Manzūma al-Nasafīyya fī 'l-khilāfiyyāt*, 2700 *rajaz* verses on the different views of the major Imāms, Berl. 4854/5, Gotha 1150 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 320, Ind. Off. 1779, Garr. 1623/4, Alex. Fiqh Ḥan. 67, Bank. xix, 1, 1609 = Patna 1, 107, 1081.—Commentaries: 1. *Ḥaṣr al-masā'il wa-qaṣr al-dalā'il* by 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, d. 552/1157, Br. Mus. 229,

Yeni 410, Alex. Fiḡh Ḥan. 22.—2. *Ḥuṣūl al-ma'mūl* by Maḥmūd b. Dā'ūd al-Lulu'ī al-Bukhārī al-Afshanjī, d. 671/1272 (?), Paris 4570, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 41, Alex. Fiḡh Ḥan. 22, Patna I, 86,<sub>872</sub>.—3. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣili, d. 652/1254, Paris 4569.—4. *al-Mustasfā* by Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Nasafī, d. 710/1310 (II, 196), Yeni 473, abstract *al-Muṣaffā*, completed in 670, Berl. 4856, Leid. 1787, Paris 4571, Alex. Fiḡh Ḥan. 64, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 131, 275.—5. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Sadīdī, Yeni 474.—7.—12. see Suppl.—13. *Multaqa 'l-bihār* (see Suppl. II, 270,<sub>6,3</sub>), Patna I, 106,<sub>1076/7</sub> (only here qualified as a commentary).—Supplement: *Khilāfiyyāt al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, 580 *rajjaz* verses by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Ḥanafī, d. 643/1243 in Cairo ('Abd al-Qādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā', *Jaw.* I, 305), Berl. 4851.

III. *Kitāb al-taysīr fi 'l-tafsīr*, Qur'ān commentary, Berl. 767/8, AS 94/7, Fātiḥ 236,<sub>19</sub>, Halis 169, 325, 335, 338, Cairo I, 1155, <sup>2</sup>42/3.

IV. *al-Akmal wal-aṭwal (fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān)* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 126.

V. *Kitāb zallat al-qārī'* Berl. or. oct. 3808, Paris 592,<sub>4</sub> = *Risāla fi bayān anwā' khaṭa' al-qārī' fi 'l-ṣalāh*, mistakes that one can make while reading the Qur'ān, Cairo<sup>1</sup> III, 114.

VI. *Ṭalibat al-ṭalaba (fi 'l-lughā 'alā alfāẓ kutub fiḡh al-Ḥanafīyya)* Br. Mus. Suppl. 275,<sub>i</sub>, Garr. 1625, Yeni 1146, Alex. Lughā 14, = *Sharḥ al-gharīb* Algiers 964.—

VII.—XII. See Suppl (VIII, Alex. Fun. 179,<sub>9</sub>, XI Patna I, 189,<sub>1106</sub>).

XIII. *Taṭwīl al-asfār li-taḥṣīl al-akhbār* see al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris* I, 215.

XIV. *Risāla fi 'l-firaq al-islāmīyya*, and an anonymous commentary on it, entitled *Jāmi' ikhtilāf al-madhāhib fi kashf al-maqāṣid wal-ma'ārib* Qawala I, 165.

551 12. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī | was born in Shahrastān in Khurāsān in 469/1077 (or, according to others, in 479) and studied in al-Jurjāniyya and Nishapur, where he spent most of his time studying Ash'ārī dogmatics. In the year 510/1116 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he stayed for three years in Baghdad. Having returned to his homeland he died at the end of Sha'bān 548/November 1153.

Ibn Khall. 583, Yāqūt, *GW* III, 343, Wüst., *Gesch.* 247 1. *Kitāb al-milal wal-niḥal*, composed in 521/1127, MSS see Suppl., Garr. 1605, Alex. Fun. 95,<sub>8</sub>, Patna I, 268,<sub>2230/1</sub>, *Book of religious and philosophical Sects*, ed. W. Cureton, 2 vols. London 1846, print. Būlāq 1261 and others, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, transl. Th. Haarbrücker, 2 vols., Halle 1850/1, Turkish transl. by Nūḥ b. Muṣṭafā, d. 1070/1659, Berl. 2804/5, Gotha 82/3, Vienna 976, Upps. 311, cf. *Wiener Jahrb.*

429 LXXI, Anz.-Bl. p. 50; | Persian transl. by Afḍal al-Dīn, made in 843/1439 in



Isfahan, Ind. Off. 1323, by Muṣṭafā Khālīqdād al-Hāshimī, made in 1021/1612 in Lahore, Br. Mus. Pers. I, 139, a Persian commentary in Eton College, cf. Bland, *JRAS* 1844, 104.—2. *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'* (*al-falāsifa* ḤKh, <sup>1</sup>11, 2204, <sup>2</sup>1, 291), 2 vols., in the possession of Bland, Persian translation in the possession of Fraser, purchased from the Prince of Oud and taken to India, see Cureton II, p. 11 n. 4.—3. *Kitāb nihāyat al-iqdām fi 'ilm al-kalām*, a lengthy exposition on dogmatics, Berl. 1729, Paris 1246, Bodl. I, 444, Yeni 758, *The Summa Philosophiae of Al-Sh.*, ed. A. Guillaume, Oxford, 1934, see P. Kraus, *ZDMG* 89, 131/6.—4. *Muṣāra'at al-falāsifa*, a discussion of 7 metaphysical questions, against Ibn Sinā, dedicated to Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Mūsawī, Gotha 1163.—5. See Suppl.

13. Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Sa'dūn b. Tammām b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Qurṭubī, who died in Mosul in 567/1171 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 767. *Urjūzat al-wildān* or *al-Muqaddima al-qurṭubīyya*, on the 5 pillars of Islam, Br. Mus. 126,<sup>3</sup>, 862, 1463, 1617, Fez Qar. 1103. Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Zarrūq al-Fāsī, d. 899/1493 (II, 253), Berl. 1871, Br. Mus. 126,<sup>3</sup>, 862, Algiers 573.—b. *al-Durra al-bahīyya fi ḥall alfāz al-qurṭubīyya* by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatā'ī, d. 942/1535 (II, 316), Makram 27.

| 14. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Kh(w)āharzāde wrote, around 560/1165:

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*Kitāb al-jawāhir wa-ʿuqūd al-ʿaqā'id fi funūn al-fawā'id*, in verse, Cairo <sup>2</sup>11, 12, <sup>2</sup>1, 171.

15. Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Ūshī al-Farghānī Imām al-Ḥaramayn, fl. ca. 569/1173.

*ZDMG* 16, 685. 1. *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fi 'l-tawḥīd*, also called *Bad' al-amālī* or, from the words with which it begins, *Qaṣīdat yaqūlu 'l-ʿabd*, creed, MSS see Suppl., AS 4059,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Tawḥīd 40, Fun. 195,<sup>1</sup>, Qawala I, 161, Patna II, 379,<sup>2564</sup>, with a Persian transl. Halet, Ilave 174,<sup>1</sup>, *Carmen arab. Amalī dictum*, ed. P. v. Bohlen, Königsberg 1825.—Commentaries: 1. *al-Hidāya min al-i'tiqād li-kathrat naf' bayna 'l-ʿibād* by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī, d. 660/1262, Berl. 2409/10, Br. Mus. Suppl. 177, Garr. 2003,<sup>21</sup>, 2127,<sup>3</sup>, Alex. Tawḥīd 47, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 60.—2. *Nafīs al-riyād* by Khalīl b. al-'Alā' al-Bukhārī Gharth al-Dīn, ca. 750/1349, Berl. 2411, Leipz. 872,<sup>11</sup>, Alex. Tawḥīd 46, Qawala I, 212.—3. *Daraj al-ma'ālī* by Muḥammad b. Jamā'a, d. 819/1416 (II, 94), Berl. 2412, Gotha 667, Bodl. I, 498,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Tawḥīd 16.—4. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Luṭf al-Ṣafawī, d. 928/1522,

Berl. 2413/4.—5. al-Qarabāghī, d. 942/1535, on which glosses by Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf, Pet. 57.—6. *Ḍaw' al-amālī* by al-Qārī' al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), composed in 1010/1601 in Mecca, Berl. 2415/8, Paris 1251<sub>1</sub>, 405<sub>1,4</sub>, 4282<sub>1</sub>, 6084<sub>1</sub>, Garr. 1555/7, 2100<sub>2</sub>, Alex. Tawḥīd 24, Fun. 86<sub>1</sub>, 102<sub>2</sub>, 109<sub>5</sub>, Qawala I, 202/3, Patna I, 122<sub>1,1228</sub>, on which anon. glosses *Tuḥfat al-a'ālī* C. 1309.—7. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nikūsārī, Berl. 2420.—8. Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Nazīf, Berl. 2421.—9. Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Wālastī Iftikhār, twelfth cent., Berl. 2422.—10. Sharaf al-Dīn Qāsim al-Ḥanafī, Berl. 7695, Munich 147.—11. *Iqd al-la'ālī* by Raḍī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bakrī, Gotha 668/9, Leid. 2004.—12. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bustī (? MS al-Istī), Leid. 2005.—13. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, d. 1105/1663 (see Suppl.), Br. Mus. 160<sub>2</sub>.—14. Ibrāhīm al-Tūnisī, *ibid.* 166<sub>1</sub>.—15. Ibn Kamālpāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Alex. Tawḥīd 23.—15a. Anon. Berl. 2419, 2423, Leipz. 878<sub>1</sub>, Leid. 2006/7, Algiers 574<sub>2</sub>, Mosul 36<sub>1,175,8</sub>, 224<sub>3,32,2</sub>.—16. Turkish by Faḍlallāh, Vienna 469, Pet. 28, Copenhagen, 142, 430 | Upps. 91, Br. Mus. 96, 105.—17. Anon. Turkish, Vienna 1661<sub>1</sub>.—18.—29. See Suppl. (18. Patna I, 15<sub>1,158</sub>, 23. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rafī', Patna II, 512<sub>2,2752</sub>).—553 | 30. *al-Nihāya* by Raḍī al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Qāsim b. Ḥasan al-Bakrī, Patna I, 127<sub>1,1267</sub>.—31. 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Mawlā Rājī Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī, Patna II, 494<sub>2,2653,7</sub>.

II. *Kitāb ghurar al-akhbār wa-durar al-ash'ār*, abstract *Niṣāb al-akhbār wa-tadhkirat al-akhyār*, 1000 short traditions in 100 chapters, Berl. 1300/1, Munich 126, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 444, <sup>2</sup>I, 158.

III. See Suppl.

IV. *al-Fatāwi 'l-Sirājiyya*, completed in 569/1173, ḤKh IV, 338<sub>8,787</sub>, Ind. Off. 1640<sub>2</sub>, Algiers 1034<sub>3</sub>, Pet. Buch. 689, Buhār II, 168, Bank. XIX, 1, 1674.<sup>8</sup>

16. Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ash'arī al-Shāfi'ī, who died around 600/1203.

1. *Turfat al-majālis wa-tuḥfat al-mujālis*, a collection of tales, Br. Mus. 1531, Pet. Rosen 106 (without title).—2. *Kitāb shajarat al-yaqīn wa-taḥlīq nūr sayyid al-mursalīn wa-bayān ḥāl al-khalā'iq yawm al-dīn* Br. Mus. 146<sub>1,16</sub> (attributed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī in Rieu, Add. 765), falsely attributed to him, is a later concoction, see Suppl. 346.—3., 4. See Suppl.

17. Abu 'l-Baqā' Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ja'farī wrote, in 618/1221:

<sup>8</sup> Not to be confused with the work of the same title by al-Shibli (II, 80).

1. *Kitāb al-bayān al-wāḍiḥ al-mashhūd min faḍā'iḥ al-Naṣārā wal-Yahūd*, an abstract of his *Takhjīl man harrafa 'l-Tawriya wal-Injīl*, ḤKh 111, 249, 263<sup>6</sup>, 21, 379, a refutation of Christianity and Judaism on the occasion of an open letter from the Greek emperor to the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (615–35/1218–37), de Jong 133, Br. Mus. 864, Bodl. I, 131, 167, 11, 569, abstract by Abu 'l-Fidā' al-Su'ūdī, written in 942/1535, Br. Mus. Suppl. 190, cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Lit.* 36, Spitta, *ZDMG* 30, 313. *Liber decem quaestionum contra Christianos, auctore Ṣaliḥo ibn al-Ḥusain*, ed. F. Triebs, Diss. Bonn 1897.

17a. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥusaynī (Zaydī) wrote, in 631/1233:

*Hidāyat al-ghabī al-mutaḥayyir min ḍalālat al-jabrī al-mughawwir* autograph Qara Muṣṭafā P. 364 (photograph Ritter).

18. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Fahd al-'Alfī, d. 627/1229.

| *Kitāb al-'udda*, on the 99 names of God, Berl. 1527.

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19. 'Abd al-'Azīz (b. 'Abdallāh) b. 'Abd al-Salām b. Abi 'l-Qāsim Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Mufti 'l-Shām wal-Miṣr 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Sulamī Sulṭān al-'Ulamā', d. 660/1262 (see Suppl., Qal'at Shaqīf).

Anon., *Manāqib al-shaykh 'Izz al-Dīn al-Sulamī* Garr. 2083<sub>3</sub>, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 141. 1. *Qawā'id al-shar'īa al-kubrā* Gotha 948 (?), abstract Leid. 1817.— 2. *al-Qawā'id al-ṣughrā* Gotha 947, Br. Mus. Suppl. 234.— 2b. *Qawā'id al-aḥkām fī maṣāliḥ al-anām* Alex. Fiqh Shāf. 33, Cairo 21, 533.— 3. *Kitāb al-ghāya fī 'khtiṣār al-Nihāya*, on the Shāfi'ī *furū'*, an abbreviation of the *Nihāyat al-maṭlab* of Imām al-Ḥaramayn, p. 488.— 4. *Farā'id al-fawā'id wa-ta'āruḍ al-qawlayn li-mujtahid wāḥid*, on the contradictions for which al-Shāfi'ī is criticised, Berl. 4359.— 5. *Fatāwī* Berl. 4815, Cairo 1VII, 31, 21, 527.— 6. *Majāz al-Qur'ān* Br. Mus. 834.— | 7. *al-Majāz ilā ḥaqā'iq al-i'jāz* Landb. Br. 503.— 8. *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī 'khtiṣār al-maqāsid*, what one has to do and to abstain from in order to obtain one's future reward, Berl. 3013.— 9. *Maqāsid al-ṣalāh*, composed when he was still in Damascus, Paris 1178<sub>2</sub>, Esc. 2679<sub>4</sub>, 1536<sub>4</sub>, Cairo 1VII, 3, 21, 539, with the title *Risāla fī anna 'l-maqṣūd bil-'ibādāt kulliḥa 'l-taqarrub ila 'llāh ta'ālā* Kairouan, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 184, n. 33.— 10. *Kitāb aḥkām al-jihād wa-faḍā'iluhā*, on religious war, Berl. 4088.— 11. *Mulḥat al-i'tiqād*, an exposition of Ash'arī dogma and polemic against the Ḥashwiyya sect and other

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innovators, Berl. 2080.—12. *Kitāb shajarat al-ma'ārif wa-adillat al-aḥkām*, guidance towards a true understanding of God and the duties respecting Him, one's neighbours, and oneself, Berl. 2304.—13. *Kitāb al-anwā'* insights into individual aspects of God's nature, with a commentary, Berl. 2426.—14. *Kitāb bidāyat al-su'ūl fī tafḍīl al-rasūl* Berl. 2568, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 400, VII, 3, 41, 685, <sup>2</sup>I, 92.—15. *Qīṣṣat waḥāt al-nabī* Berl. 9614.—16. *Kitāb bayān al-aḥkām al-muta'alliqa lil-malā'ika wal-mursalīn*, rules applying to angels, God's messengers, and all believers in general, Berl. 4787.—17. Answers to 90 legal questions asked of him by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṭūsī Shams al-Dīn of Mosul, and dated Cairo 654/1256, Berl. 4986.—18. *Kitāb targhib ahl al-islām fī sukna 'l-Shām* Copenhagen 296.—19. 33 **555** *wāfir* verses in praise of the Ka'ba, Berl. 6068.—20. *al-Amālī*, | dictations from various scientific fields, mostly theology, Berl. 294, a fragment of which is, so it seems, *Fi 'l-maṣāliḥ wal-mafāsīd* ibid. 2634 (but see Suppl. 2).—21. *Masā'il al-ṭarīqa fī 'ilm al-ḥaqīqa al-mushtahira bil-sittīn mas'ala*, print. C. 1322 together with Aḥmad al-Dardīr, *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī uṣūl wa-ādāb ṭarīq al-qawm*.—22. *Kitāb fī 'l-farq bayna 'l-īmān wal-islām* Kairouan, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 184.—23. *Fawā'id fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 188.—24. *al-Ishāra ila 'l-i'jāz fī ba'd anwā' majāz al-Qur'ān* Selīm Āgā 1016, print. Istanbul 1311, 1313.—26.–35. see Suppl. (35. printed in *Jarīdat al-Islām* 1317/1899, p. 86, Sarkis 165).

19a. His son 'Abd wrote:

*Muntaha 'l-su'ūl fī tafḍīl al-rasūl* Pet. AMK 944.

20. Faḍlallāh al-Ḥasan al-Tūrapushtī died in 661/1263. He wrote:

*Kitāb maṭlab al-nāsik fī 'ilm al-manāsik*, anon. abstract Leid. 1818.

21. 'Izz al-Dawla Sa'd b. Maṣṣūr b. Abī Sa'd b. Ḥasan b. Hibatallāh b. Kammūna al-Isrā'īlī, d. 683/1284, see Suppl.

Collection of his writings from the year 670/9: *al-Luma' al-Juwainiyya fī 'l-ḥikma al-'ilmīyya wal-'amalīyya* for Šāḥib Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Šāḥib Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, together with excerpts from al-Bīrūnī's *al-Āthār al-bāqīya*, the *Shamsiyya* by al-Kātibī, *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* and *Kitāb al-hay'a* by Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Arūḍī in *al-Khizāna al-Gharawiyya*, see *Dharī'a* II, 296,<sup>1157/60</sup> excerpts from *al-I'tirādāt* (Suppl. I, 817,<sup>20,c</sup>) ibid. 1161.—1. excise: Berl. 101.—6. *Risāla fī abadiyyat al-naḥs* Rāgīb 1482.—8. *al-'Aqlīyyāt*, a *risāla* to the vizier Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, also Fātiḥ 3141 f. 263a/285b.—9. Correspondence

with Najm al-Dawla, also Rāġib 1482.—10. A dogmatic treatise without title, Fātiḥ 3141, 696h, f. 1–262.—11. Answer to the question about the reason for his conversion, *ibid.* f. 263a/264b.

22. Bahā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Maqdisī al-Dimashqī al-Sulamī, d. 685/1286.

*Kitāb 'iqd al-durar fī akhbār al-imām al-muntaẓar*, on the manifestation of the Mahdī, composed in 658/1260 in Damascus on | the occasion of the 556  
civil disturbances at the time, Berl. 2723, Gotha 854, Alex. Firaq 8, cf. Wüst. *Gesch.* 346.

| 23. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad al-Yamanī al-Tustarī wrote, around 432  
700/1300:

(ḤKh v, 597) a brief theological treatise, with the beginning of a commentary, Ind. Off. 433.

## Chapter 10. Mysticism

1. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṭalḥa b. Muḥammad al-Qushayrī, d. 465/1072 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 367, Jāmī, *Nafahāt* 354, Flügel, *Wiener Jahrb.* 47, Anz. Bl. p. 3. 1. *Risālat al-Qushayrī*, written in 438/1045, an exposition of the foundations of mysticism, with an introduction describing the lives of famous Sufis and an explanation of their terminology, addressed to Sufis in general, with the aim of giving a boost to mysticism, which had fallen into neglect at the time, Berl. 2822/3, Munich 136, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 383,7, Vienna 1890, Paris 1330, Br. Mus. Suppl. 227, Ind. Off. 598, Bodl. I, 325, Dāmād Ibr. 739 (488h), Köpr. 724 (608h), Murād Mollā 1244 (610h), 'Āšir I, 460, 'Āṭif 1403, Es'ad 1435/6, Nafiz 403/4, Hūdāi Taş. 661, Sarāi 1385, 1387/90, 1445, Lāleli 1366, Alex. Fun. 96,4, Qawala I, 240, Patna I, 133,1318/20, print. Bülāq 1284, see *Not. et Extr.* XII, 321, Allioli, *Denkschr. d. Kgl. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss. phil. hist. Cl.* 1835, I, 55ff., Merx, *Mystik* 29, Goldziher, *Vorl.* 175.—Abstract by Nu'mān Pāshā Köprülüzāde, d. 1132/1720, Köpr. II, 121, Persian transl. Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. no. 16.—Commentaries: a. *Ihkām al-dalāla 'alā taḥrīr al-R.* by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), completed in 893/1488, Berl. 2824, Leid. 1659, Basel M II, 4, Yeni 709/10, AS 1818/20, Halet 224, Şehīd 'Alī 1237, NO 4, 2429, Sarāi 1386, print. C. 1304, abstract Berl. 2825.— b, c. see Suppl.—*Mukhtaşar al-R.* by Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, composed in 954/1547, Fātiḥ 2823.—Persian transl. AS 2077,3, Turkish transl. AS 1712.—2. *Kitāb tartīb al-sulūk fi ṭarīq Allāh*, for the beginner in mysticism, Berl. 3262, Bursa Ulu Cami 15, Nafiz 745.—3. *Kitāb al-taḥbīr fi 'ilm al-tadhkīr*, on God's names and their use in prayer, Berl. 3753, Algiers 746, AS 1703, Köpr. 711, Alex. Mawā'iz 40,1, Cairo 1VII, 243, 2I, 275, extract (*mukhtār*) by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr | al-Rāzī (p. 478,50), Paris 1383, Tūnis, Zayt. III, 36, 353, Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 14, anon. *Mukhtaşar* Alex. Faw. 21 (where *al-takhyīr*).—4. *Istifāḍāt al-murādāt fi asmā' Allāh ta'ālā 'alā wajh al-khāṣṣ* AS 1793.—5. *Iqd al-jawāhir wa-nūr al-baṣā'ir fi faḍīlat dhikr al-dhākir* Munich 161 (not in ḤKh, by another al-Qāsim?).—6. *Arba'ūna ḥadīthan* Berl. 1457?, Garr. 1419.—7. *Latā'if al-ishārāt bi-tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, composed before 410/1019, Yeni 101, Ğārullāh 119, Fātiḥ 640, Faiz. 224, Patna I, 323,3210.—8. A dogmatic *qaṣīda* Berl. 7619,5 = *Manthūr al-khiṭāb fi mashhūr al-abwāb* Garr. 2217,2, AS 4128,3, Bursa, Ulu Cami, Taş. 163f. 151a/b, Alex. Taş. 21, with the title *Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* Kairouan, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 190, no. 74.—11. *Bulghat al-maqāsid* Cairo 1VII, 556.—12. *Kanz al-yawāqīt*, Br. Mus. Quart. VI, 97.—13. *al-Fuṣūl fi 'l-uṣūl* Cairo 1VII, 551,

<sup>2</sup>1, 200.—14.—18. see Suppl. (15. Garr. 1261<sub>16</sub>, Patna I, 273<sub>2269</sub>).—19. *al-Uṣūl fī naḥw arbāb al-qulūb al-mustanbaṭ min naḥw arbāb al-ghuyūb* Alex. Taṣ. 6 = *Naḥw al-qulūb* ḤKh 1314, Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3805.—20. *al-Maqāmāt al-thalātha* ‘Um. 3551 (Ritter).

1a. His son ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, d. 514/1120 (see Suppl.).

1. *al-Maqāmāt wal-ādāb* Alex. Taṣ. 46.—2. *al-Shawāhid wal-amthāl*, Sufi sayings that were collected by his father, AS 4128<sub>1</sub> (Ritter).

1b. Abu ‘l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Wā‘iẓ al-Ma‘rūf bil-Wazzān, who wrote before 484/1091:

*Kitāb al-adab*, on mystical ethics, AS 2021<sub>2</sub>.

2. Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, who was born in 396/1005 in Quhandiz and died in Herat in 481/1005 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Rajab, *Tab. al-Ḥanābila* (‘Āsir I, 669) f. 17a (Ritter). Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 316, Rieu, *Pers. Cat.* I, 35, de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* XII, 352, *Grundr. der Ir. Phil.* II, 282, Browne, *Lit. Hist.* II, 269/70. I. *Manāzil al-sā‘irīn*, an overview of Sufism and its developmental stages, to be learned by heart, Berl. 2826/7, Vienna 1891<sub>112,1</sub>, Br. Mus. 753<sub>1</sub>, Ind. Off. 599, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 556, Garr. 2117<sub>3</sub>, Patna I, 142<sub>383/4</sub>.—Commentaries: | 1. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī, d. 735/1335 (II, 204), completed in 731/1331, Paris 1346, Ind. Off. 600, Bodl. II, 81, Bat. 116<sub>2</sub>; abstract by ‘Alawī b. ‘Abdallāh, Ind. Off. 601.—2. Explanation of three verses at the end concerning the profession of the unity of God by Yūsuf b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kūrānī, d. 768/1366 (II, 205), Berl. 2831.—3. Supposedly by ‘Afif al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-Tilimsānī, d. 690/1291 (p. 300), *ibid.* 2828, (see ḤKh, VI, 131, 1).—4. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanbalī, d. 971/1563, *ibid.* 2830 (fragm.).—5. Anonymous, *ibid.* 2829.—6.—13. see Suppl. 1. (6. Qawala I, 261).—5 other commentaries mentioned in Ahlw. 2831.

II. *Kitāb dhamm* (‘ilm) *al-kalām*, on metaphysics, Br. Mus. 1571, Dam. ‘Um. 24, 587.

III. *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, an enlargement of the work by al-Sulamī (p. 218), lies at the basis of the Persian *Nafaḥāt al-uns* by Jāmī, d. 898/1492 (II, 207), ed. Lees, Calcutta 1859, see Rieu, *Pers. Cat.* p. 349.—IV—VIII see Suppl. IX. *Anwār al-taḥqīq fī ‘l-muntakhab min kalimāt Khwāja Harawī*, selected by ‘Alī b. Ṭayfūr al-Biṣṭāmī, library of ‘Imād al-Fihriṣī al-Ṭihrānī in Mashhad, *Dhari‘a* II, 421<sub>1664</sub>.

3. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'Azīzī b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Maṣṣūr al-Jīlī Saydhala, a *faqīh* and *wā'iz* who died in Baghdad on 17 Ṣafar 494/23 December 1100.

Ibn Khall. 391. *Kitāb lawāmi' anwār al-qulūb fī jam' asrār al-maḥbūb*, on the different levels of mystical love for God, Berl. 3084,<sup>3</sup> Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 298, see Pines, *Or.* VII, 1938, p. 336ff.

3a. Abu 'l-Khalīl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ash'arī al-Tabrīzī (see Suppl.).

*Sirāj al-qulūb* Berl. 3314, Gotha 915,<sup>3</sup> Vienna 1916,<sup>17</sup>, Pet. AMK 934, Ğarullāh 1084,<sup>97a/104b</sup>, 206,<sup>135a/6b</sup>, Cairo <sup>2</sup>I, 317, Alex. Fun. 98,<sup>2</sup>, Bank. XIII, 959,<sup>IV</sup> = Patna II, 447,<sup>2623,4</sup>.

4. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muẓaffar b. 'Alī al-Shahrazūrī al-Murtaḍā was born in Sha'bān 468/April 1073, studied in Baghdad, became a *qāḍī* in Mosul, and died in Rabī' I 511/July 1117.<sup>1</sup>

559 | Ibn Khall. 310. 44 *khafīf* verses of mystical content, Berl. 3404 (mistakenly attributed by Ahlw. to his father al-Qāsim, d. 489/1096, Ibn Khall. 509), in Ibn Khall., loc. cit., and following him in Ulughkhānī, *Hist. of Gujarat*, ed. Ross I, 12/4.

434 | 5. 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ishbīlī al-Lakhmī b. Barraĵān, d. 536/1141 in Morocco.

*Sharḥ ma'ānī asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* Br. Mus. 1612, whence the *Mulakhkhaṣ* of 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Badr al-Maqdisī, composed in 934/1527, Berl. 2221.—2. *Kitāb tanbīh al-afhām ilā tadabbur al-Kitāb wa-ta'arruf al-āyāt wal-naba' al-'aẓīm*, a Sufi Qur'ān commentary, part II, Munich 83.—3. *Tarjumān lisān al-ḥaqq al-mabthūth fī 'l-amr wal-khulq*, on kabbalah and divination, Paris 2642.

6. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mūsā al-Ṣanhājī al-Marī al-Andalusī b. al-'Irrīf,<sup>2</sup> who died in 536/1143 in Morocco.

1 According to al-Sam'ānī in the *Kharīda* of al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (384); in Ibn Khall. only after 520/1126.

2 Like this, with a *tashdīd* on the *rā'*, Welieddīn 1821 (Ritter).



Ibn Khall. 67, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 615. 1. *Kitāb maḥāsīn al-majālis*, an overview of the qualities that are required in a Sufi, Berl. 2834/5, Alex. Fun. 173,7, Patna I, 508,<sup>2579,4</sup> under the title *Majālis al-mujālis* Alex. Mawā‘iz 37,<sup>3</sup>, see Horten *Isca* = *AKM* XXIII, 1/17, commentary by Ishāq b. Daḥḥān, Patna I, 409,<sup>2579,5</sup>—  
2. A Sufi poem, Berl. 7685,<sup>2</sup>.

6a. Abu ‘l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Qasī (read thus), see Suppl.

Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* I, 247, no. 775 (Ritter).

6b. Here belongs, perhaps, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hamadḥānī, see II, 412,3, Suppl. II, 583.

7. Tāj al-Islām Majd al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Ka‘bī b. Khamīs al-Mawṣilī al-Juhanī was born on 20 Muḥarram 460/1 December 1067 in Juhayna, a village in the vicinity and to the south of Mosul, on the same bank of the Tigris. He studied Shāfi‘ī law in Baghdad under al-Ghazzālī, became a *qāḍī* in Raḥbat Malik b. Ṭawq on the Euphrates between Raqqa and Baghdad, and subsequently moved to Mosul, dying there in Rabī‘ II 552/May 1157.

| Ibn Khall. 180, Wüst., *Gesch.* 249. *Kitāb manāqib al-abrār wa-maḥāsīn al-akhyār*, 560  
an imitation of Qushayrī’s *Risāla* with a history of the Sufis, Berl. 9980, Bodl. I, 816, Br. Mus. 1285, 1627, Bursa, Haraccizade Ta‘r. 20, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 672, <sup>2</sup>V, 360, Garr. 674, with the title *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā’* Alex. Ta‘r. 84 (with the incorrect year of 762).

7a. Sulaymān b. Dā‘ūd al-Saqṣīnī, see Suppl. I, 776, II, 1010,<sup>137</sup>.

*Zahrāt al-riyāḍ* also AS 4329, Sarāi 1420, Bursa, Haraccizade Muḥāḍarāt 43 (part II, Ritter).

8. ‘Adī b. Musāfir b. Ismā‘īl al-Umawī al-Shāmī al-Hakkārī was born in Bayt Fār near Baalbek, and the house in which he was born was still a place of pilgrimage at the time of Ibn Khallikān. After extensive travels, during which he befriended some of the most distinguished Sufis of his time, he founded a monastery on the mountain of Hakkār<sup>3</sup> near Mosul where, as a descendant of the Umayyads, he assembled the last representatives of the ultra-Umayyad Yazīdī sect, who lived in those mountainous regions. He died there in 558/1163

3 Cf. *Rachideldin, Histoire des Mongols par Quatremère* I, 328, n. 125.

or 557. The Sufi order of the 'Adawiyya, which he founded with some of his followers, was still flourishing under the leadership of one of his descendants at the time of Ibn Khallikān.

Ibn Khall. 338, Jāmī, *Nafahāt* 617, *Akhbār 'Alī b. Musāfir b. Marwān al-Umawī* from the *Kitāb al-ḥabashī fī tarājim al-ṣūfiyya wa-akhbārihim wa-ḥikāyātihim wa-manāqibihim* (II, 189) Makram 2, 51, M. Guidi, *RSO* XIII, 408/14. R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjār*, Beirut 1938.—1. *I'tiqād al-al-sunna wal-jamā'a*, a creed, Berl. 1980/1.—| 2. *Waṣāyā*, admonitions to the caliphs, Berl. 3982, to his students *ibid.* '3.—3. Two Sufi *qaṣīdas* Berl. 3405.—A letter to him by al-Ghazzālī, 'Um. 3750 (Ritter).

561 9. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abī Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. Jandikūst al-Jīlī al-Ḥanbalī al-Zāhidī, | allegedly of 'Alid stock, was born in Gilan in 471/1078 and studied, from 488/1095 onward, Ḥanbalī *fiqh* in Baghdad. In 521/1127 he started to organise Sufi gatherings and was soon regarded as the greatest Sufi of his time. He was just as certain himself of his own holiness as were the masses whom he succeeded in convincing of it through the miracles (*karāmāt*) he performed. He died on 8 or 9 Ramaḍān 561/9 or 10 July 1167. His teachings live on in the dervish Qādiriyya order, which he founded.

Biographies: 1. *Bahjat al-asrār* by 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Jaḥzam al-Hamdānī al-Shaṭṭanawfī, d. 713/1313 (II, 118), Leipz. 225, Paris 2016,<sup>2</sup> 2038/9, Ind. Off. 702, Garr. 683/4, 'Āṣir I, 443, Serāi 1379, Patna II, 362, 2442, print. C. 1304.—2. *al-Janī al-dānī fī dhikr nabdhā min manāqib 'Abd al-Qādir al-J.* by Ja'far b. Ḥasan al-Barzanjī, d. 1179/1765 (II, 384), Berl. 10064,<sup>3</sup> Leipz. 268.—3. Anon. AS 2105 (723 h).—4.—20. see Suppl. (6. Patna II, 312,<sup>2444</sup>; 7. Garr. 703, Halet 278, Patna II, 312,<sup>2445</sup>; 8. Fātiḥ 5328,<sup>24</sup>).—21. *Iqd al-jawāhir fī manāqib al-shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-J.* by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir, twelfth cent. (Suppl. II, 999,<sup>30</sup>), Alex. Taṣ. 42,<sup>2</sup> 43.—*Fawāt* II, 2, Jāmī, *Nafahāt* 586.—M.'A. 'Aynī, *Abd al-Qādir Guilani, Un grand saint de l'islam en collaboration avec F.J. Simore-Munir*, Paris 1938 (*Les grandes figures de l'orient*, VII).

1. *Kitāb al-ghunya li-tālībī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq*, a detailed exposition and rationale of the religious and legal precepts that aim at knowledge of God, Berl. 2836, Leid. 1940, Ind. Off. 617/8, Stewart 141, Yeni 718/9, Wehbī 734, Köpr. 752/3, Garr. 1484, Patna I, 138,<sup>1354</sup>.—2. *Kitāb futūḥ al-ghayb*, rules of conduct for believers, with a Persian paraphrase, probably by the author's son, Berl. 2837/9 (Pers. Cat. 233, print. Lucknow 1880), Leipz. 22, Leid. 2154, Ind. Off. 616, 'Āṣir, 485, III, 134,

Fātiḥ 5388,<sup>8</sup> 5339, Lālelī 1473, Wehbi 697,<sup>1</sup> Qaṣīdajī S. Sirrī 321, Hālis 1869, Yildiz 804, 820, 831, 837, ‘Um. 3444, Ḥusāmaddīn 228, Köpr. 761, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII 37, 181, print. C. 1289, 1304, in the margin of *OB* I, 905.—3. *Kitāb asmā’ | maqāmāt sulūk al-ṭariq ila ‘llāh ta‘ālā* Berl. 3690.—4. *Khawāṣṣ al-fātiḥa al-sharīfa* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 523.—5. A collection of short Sufi treatises, Ind. Off. 692.—6. *Jalā’ al-khāṭir*, a collection of sermons from the years 545/1150 and 546/1151, some given in the madrasa and some in the *ribāṭ* of the Sufis in Baghdad and collected after his death, Ind. Off. 619/21, a part of which Berl. 3986.—7. Collection of 15 sermons (*khutab*), Berl. 3401, a continuation *al-Faṭḥ al-rabbānī wal-fayḍ al-raḥmānī*, 62 *majālis* from the years 454/6, *ibid.* ‘2, Es‘ad 1676, Wehbī 702, Hālis 3369, Yildiz 336/7, ‘Um. 3813, 3716, print. Būlāq 1289, C. 1302; *Malfūzāt al-Qādirīyya* (see Suppl.) Patna I, 142,<sup>1382</sup> II, 555,<sup>2929,4</sup>—8. *Waṣīyya, Nuzhat al-khāṭir* to his son and students, Berl. 3984/5, Fātiḥ 5388,<sup>8</sup>—9. *Ḥikam al-mawā‘iz*, translated from the Persian by ‘Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī, d. 977/1569 (II, 384), Berl. 8680.—10. *al-Asmā’ al-‘azīma lil-ṭariqa ila ‘llāh ta‘ālā*, a Sufi explanation of the 130 chief names of God, of which 7 are understood as *uṣūl* and 6 as *furū’*, Berl. 2222, Gotha 96,<sup>4</sup>—11. *Du‘ā’ fath al-baṣā’ir* Gotha 808, Br. Mus. 125,<sup>3</sup>, Calcutta 697.—12. *Ḥizb al-kabīr al-a‘ẓam* Gotha, 808,<sup>4</sup>, 822, another prayer with the same title, Br. Mus. 136,<sup>6</sup>, 844,<sup>3</sup>—13. *al-Ḥizb al-sharīf wal-wird al-munīf* Vienna 1844,<sup>2</sup>—14. *Ḥizb bashā’ir al-khayrāt*, | print. Alexandria 1304 (*OB* I, 302).—15. *Ḥizb*, a quick prayer, Berl. 3867.—16. A prayer, *ibid.* 3653.—17. *Awrād*, a pericope prayer, Berl. 3771.—18. *Munājāt*, a prayer, *ibid.* 3901.—19. Prayers, Copenhagen 52.—20. Five Sufi *qaṣīdas*, Berl. 3406, *al-Qaṣīda al-ghawthīyya* Patna II, 345, 253,<sup>1,8</sup>—21. Edifying poems, partly with *takhmīs*, Berl. 7692/3.—22. *Farīdat asna ‘l-dhakhā’ir wa-lahjat al-nāẓir*, a *muwashshah* on his ascent to the highest sphere, Br. Mus. 887,<sup>1</sup> (not in Hartmann).—23. *Qaṣīda* on unification with God, *ibid.* ‘2.—24. *al-Wasīla*, a short poem, *ibid.* 98.—25. *al-Risāla al-ghawthīyya*, Alex. Taṣ. 45,<sup>5</sup>—26.—52. see Suppl. (35. *Kawkab al-mabānī* also Alex. Faw. 16; 37. print. Tunis 1325 in *Majmū‘a* with *Ta‘ālīq al-tis‘ ṣalawāt*, Patna I, 204,<sup>1821</sup>, with a commentary by Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Abu ‘l-Faraj Muḥammad Fāḍil *ibid.* 201,<sup>1799</sup>; 46. *Nuzhat al-khāṭir* Garr. 40, which has Muḥammad Ṣadaqa b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad).—53. *Ḥizb al-wasīla* with the commentary *al-Mawāhib al-jalīla* by Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kattānī, completed in 1272/1855, in *Majmū‘a*, Tūnis 1325, no. 3.—54. *Qaṣīda min kalām al-Quṭb al-Jilānī ma‘a qaṣā‘id wa-amdāḥ qīlat fīhi min ba‘ḍ murīdīhi* *ibid.* 4, Patna II, 555,<sup>2929,7</sup>—55. *Wird al-bāz al-ashhab* Alex. Faw. 247.—56. *al-Waṣāyā* Patna II, | 426,<sup>2599,25</sup>—57. Letters, *ibid.* 555,<sup>2929,2</sup> (see 43), 15 letters translated from Arabic into Persian with explanations in Turkish by ‘Alī Ḥusām al-Dīn

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al-Muttaqī, Istanbul 1276 (Maṭb. ‘Āmire).—58. Persian *dīwān*, Gr. ir. Phil. 22,282, ‘Alī Emīrī Fārisī 397, Kanpur 1308/1882.

10 (11). ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d al-Suhrawardī Ḍiyā‘ al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Najīb b. ‘Ammūya was a descendant of the caliph Abū Bakr. He was born in Ṣafar 490/January–February 1097, studied Shāfi‘ī *fiqh* at the Niẓāmiyya in Baghdad, and worked there from 15 Muḥarram 545/14 May 1150 onwards as Vice-Chancellor. He then turned to Sufism and, after living for a long time in seclusion, built a convent on the western side of Baghdad. Because of the crusaders he was unable to carry out a planned pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but was received with all honours by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Damascus. Having returned to Baghdad, he died in Jumādā 11 563/March 1168.

Ibn Khall. 366, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 478, 872, Ritter, *Isl.* xxv, 31ff. 1. *Kitāb ādāb al-murīdīn fi ‘l-taṣawwuf* Berl. 3084/5, Paris 1337, 6, Algiers 908, AS 1643, Köpr. 702, Alex. Fun. 87,3, Patna 1, 127,1269, 11, 513,2859, commentary by al-Qāri‘ al-Harawī (11, 394), d. 1014/1605, Berl. 3086.—2. *Sharḥ al-asmā‘ al-ḥusnā* Vienna 1661,11, probably pseudepigraphic, see Suppl. p. 783, n.—3. See Suppl.

11. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Burrī, d. 576/1180.

*Sirāj al-‘uqūl ilā minḥāj al-wuṣūl* AS 1848.

12. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bijā‘ī Abu ‘l-Qāsim Jamāl al-Dīn wrote, in 577/1181:

1. *Quṭb al-‘arīfīn wa-maqāmāt al-abrār wal-asfiyā‘ wal-ṣiddīqīn*, a Sufi understanding of God’s nature, of the means by which it is possible to get nearer to God by immersion in Him, and to gain paradise through self-improvement, Berl. 2840/1, Rabāt 519,1, Alex. Taş. 36,2.—2. *Maḥajjat al-sa‘āda* | Alex. Taş. 36,3.—3. *‘Ayn al-ḥaqīqa* ibid. 4.—4. *al-Bustān al-ma‘rūf bi-shams al-qulūb* ibid. 36,1.

12a. Aḥmad b. Abi ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Rafā‘a al-Rifā‘, d. 578/1182. (see Suppl.)

*Kitāb al-barāhīn* Alex. Taş. 26.

| 13. Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak<sup>4</sup> al-Suhrawardī studied *fiqh* in Marāgha, and then wandered as a Sufi through Anatolia in the Saljūq empire. There, at the court of Qiliç Arslan II, he was able to propagate his doctrine of enlightenment (*Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*) among the young, a doctrine that would continue to have influence well into eighteenth-century Persia amongst the dervish orders of the Ishrāqiyyūn and the Nūrbakhshiyya. Following Ibn Sīnā, he had begun with Aristotle, but then soon turned to Neoplatonic ideas, which he amalgamated with hermetic, gnostic, and Neopythagorean elements. At the centre of his doctrine was his appreciation of light, which was not regarded, as it was by Ibn Sīnā and other philosophers, as the symbol of emanation, but rather as the nature of all existence, and from which he even deduced his proof of the existence of God. With these gnostic teachings he connected the Shīʿī dogma of the hidden Imām. Passing through Baghdad, he arrived at Aleppo in 579/1183 where he was initially well received by the local ruler Bahāʾ al-Dīn, the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. However, it was not long before his teachings raised the suspicions of the orthodox, who denounced him to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, accusing him of propagating Qarmaṭian sentiments. At the latter's order, Bahāʾ al-Dīn had him executed in 587/1191. Through his still-extant tomb, his memory as *al-Shaykh al-maqtūl* lives on, even to the present day.

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| Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 167/71<sup>b</sup>, Khall. 784, al-Qazwīnī, *Kosmol.* 383, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 683, A. v. Kremer, *Gesch. der herrsch. Ideen* 89ff., S. van den Bergh, *EI* IV, 547/8, H. Corbin, *S. d'Alep (± 1191) fondateur de la doctrine illuminative (Ishrāqī)*, Publ. de la Soc d'Études Iran. no. 16, Paris 1939. 1. *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, completed in 582/1186, Vienna 1521, Leid. 1498, Br. Mus. 427, Bodl. I, 461, Taymūr Ḥikma 94.—Commentaries: a. Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd al-Shīrāzī, d. 710/1310 (II, 211), Leid. 1499/1501, Paris 2349, Köpr. 881, Alex. Fun. 131<sup>9</sup>, Patna I, 212<sup>1895/6</sup>, glosses by Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī (II, 413), Patna I, 209<sup>1863</sup>.—b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūri, Yeni 767.—c. Persian by Muḥammad Sharif b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Harawī, Berl. 5062.—2. *Kitāb al-tawḥīdāt*, on logic, physics, metaphysics, from his early, peripatetic period, Berl. 5062, Taymūr Ḥikma 119/20, 130 (only physics and metaphysics), Zanjān, *Lughat al-Arab* VI, 93, Patna II, 456<sup>263,4</sup>.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary Yeni 765.—b. Saʿd b. Manṣūr b. Kammūna al-Isrāʿīlī (p. 555), completed in 667/1268,

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4 Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa calls him, loc. cit., Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ... (the name of the father was already missing in the copy used by Ibn Khallikān), apparently because of a confusion with the younger Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (no. 22). In catalogues, too, the two are not always clearly separated, which is why the above inventories of their writings may not be entirely without mistakes either.

Vienna 1531, Leid. 1496, Yeni 766, Br. Mus. Or. 7728 (DL. 12), Taymūr Hikma 92 (only part 2), Patna I, 212,<sup>1812/4</sup>—3. *Kitāb al-mashārī‘ wal-muṭārahāt*, propa-  
 438 deutics to the foregoing, | Cambr. p. 84, Leid. 1502, Yeni 775/6, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 105  
<sup>2</sup>I, 257, Zanjān loc. cit.—4. *Kitāb al-lamaḥāt fi ‘l-ḥaqā‘iq*, on logic, physics, and  
 metaphysics, Leid. 1503, Alex. Hikma 20.—5. *Kitāb hayākil al-nūr*, on mysti-  
 cism, commentaries: a. *Shawākil al-ḥūr* by Muḥammad al-Dawwānī, d. 907/1501  
 (II, 217), Gotha, 87,<sup>10</sup>, Vienna 1895, Leid. 1504/5, Ind. Off. 485,<sup>1032</sup>, Pet. 86,<sup>1</sup>,  
 Esc. <sup>2</sup>706, Alex. Fals. 15, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 99, <sup>2</sup>I, 253, Ṭal‘at (Dār al-kutub al-mišriyya)  
 Hikma 359, Taymūr Hikma 15/6, Calcutta 832, Patna I, 213,<sup>1901/3</sup> II, 410,<sup>2579,19</sup>,  
 glosses by Mīr Zāhid b. Qādī Aslam al-Harawī (Suppl. II, 621,<sup>20</sup>), Patna I,  
 211,<sup>1877</sup>—b. *Ibrāq H. al-n. li-kashf ḡulumāt shawākil al-ḥūr* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn  
 Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusaynī, d. 949/1542 (II, 414), Leid. 1506, Rāḡib 1478,<sup>2,3</sup>, under the  
 title *Ishrāq H. al-n ‘an ḡulumāt shawākil al-ghurūr*, MS in the possession of the  
 author of the *Dharī‘a* II, 103,<sup>404</sup>—6. *al-Abwāḥ al-‘imādiyya*, a work he wrote  
 when he was still quite young, composed on the order of ‘Imād al-Dīn Qara  
 Arslān Dā‘ūd b. Artuq, on the limits of finitude, the absolute, the properties  
 of God and the nature of the soul, Berl. 1738, Leipz. 261,<sup>2</sup>, Upps. 393,<sup>10</sup>—7.  
*Maqāmāt al-Ṣūfiyya wa-ma‘ānī muṣṭalahātihim* Br. Mus. 1349,<sup>23</sup>—8. *Kitāb*  
*al-munājāt* Cairo VII, 624, <sup>2</sup>I, 207, commentary by Muḥammad al-Isfarā‘inī,  
 Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 625.—9. *al-Arba‘ūn ism al-Idrīsīyya*, the effects of God’s names,  
 566 Berl. 4143, | Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 299, with a commentary Gotha 717 (attributed to the  
 younger al-Suhrawardī), Paris 2644, Br. Mus. 105,<sup>8</sup>, 175,<sup>4</sup>, Jakarta 28,<sup>2</sup>—10.  
 A mystical poem, Br. Mus. 886,<sup>1</sup>—11. Samples of poetry, Berl. 7699,<sup>2</sup>—14–34.  
 see Suppl. (14. Taymūr, Hikma 189; 17. *Le Familier des amants, trad. fr. avec*  
*introd. par* H. Corbin, *Recherches phil. II*, 1932/3, 371/423; 21. Three treatises ed.  
 and transl. by O. Spies and S.K. Khattas, Stuttgart 1935, trad. fr. Deux épîtres  
 mystiques de S. d’A. par H. Corbin, Épître de la modulation de Simourgh et  
 Épître de la langue des fourmis, in *Revue Hermes III*, 1939; 25 = 30, original title  
 25; 28. Gotha 914,<sup>5</sup> see HKh v, 209,<sup>1720</sup>—29. See Gunzbourg, *Les mss. ar. de*  
*l’inst. d. I. or. St. Pétersbourg* 1891, no. 230, Corbin p. 46).

13a. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Bustī wrote, before 589/1193 (the date  
 of the MS):

*Al-Ri‘āya bi-waṣiyyat al-murīdīn fi makārim al-akhlāq* Bursa Haraccizade Taṣ.  
 17 (Ritter).

14. Abu ‘l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi ‘l-Ḥajjāj al-Naḥḥās completed, in  
 599/1202:

*Shams al-qulūb* Alex. Taş. 22.

14a. *Wasīlat al-mutaʿabbidīn* Patna I, 274,2281/6.

15. al-Ghawth Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥasan al-Maghribī al-Andalusī al-Tilimsānī, d. 598/1193 (see Suppl.).

Jāmī, *Nafahāt* 612. 1. *Aqīda* Berl. 1892/4.—Commentaries: a. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī ʿl-Luṭf, composed in 957/1550, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 618.—b. *al-Qawl al-abyan* by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (II, 345) also Heid., *ZDMG* 91, 382, Alex. Fun. 90,15.—2. *Ḥikam*, aphorisms, a part of which Berl. 8682 (different from *Ḥikam muḥida* Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 228 ?).—Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAllān al-Naqshbandī, d. 1033/1624, Berl. 8681.—b. *al-Asrār al-khafīyya al-muwaṣṣila ila ʿl-ḥaḍra al-ʿaliyya* by ʿAlī b. Ḥijāzī al-Bayyūmī, d. 1183/1769 (II, 351), Gotha 1228.—3. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir, *al-Bayān wal-mazīd*, a commentary on the mystical tradition of the A.M., C. 1306.—4. *al-Istighfāra*, a *qaṣīda*, each verse of which starts with *astaghfiru*, Berl. 3940,1, Gotha 2254,2, 2258, Bodl. I, 9,4,5, II, 566,6.—5. *Takhmīs* thereon and various *qaṣīdas*, Berl. 7700.—6. | Four *basīt* verses, an admonition to patience and faith, Berl. 3987.— 567  
7. *Bidāyat al-murīdīn*, on the spiritual life, recorded by one of his students, Algiers 938.—8. *Uns al-waḥīd*<sup>5</sup> *wa-nuzhat al-murīd*, a moral piece, Paris 2405,8.—10.–17. See Suppl. (10. Alex. Taş. 41,3, 13. ibid. 145,1).

16. Ḍiyāʿ al-Dīn Abū ʿUmar (Abū Yāsir) ʿAmmār b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī wrote, around 590/1194:

| 1. *Kitāb bahjat al-ṭāʿifa*, a Sufi work, Berl. 2842.—2. *Kitāb ṣawm al-qulūb*, on the purification of the heart, ibid. 3133. 439

16a. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Qurayshī al-Hāshimī al-Andalusī, d. 599/1203.

Ahlw. 8471 f. 148b. *Al-Ishārāt*, selection Welieddīn 1821, whence *Lisān al-qawm* Rāmpūr I, 328,34, (Suppl. II, 906,9).

17. Abu ʿl-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥassān al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī al-Jilyānī, who was born in 531/1136 in Jilyāna, near Guadix and Granada, settled as a pharmacist in Damascus, dying there in 602/1205.

5 In Ahlw. 2478,5 *Uss al-tawḥīd*, which is why it ended up in the wrong category.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. 11, 157, *Fawāt* 11, 16, Hartmann, *Muw.* 20. 1. *Kitāb adab al-sulūk*, a manual on mysticism, composed in 562–80/1167–84, Berl. 3360/1, selections in Gotha 883.—2. *Manādih al-mamādih wa-rawḍat al-ma'āthir wal-mafākhir min (fi) khaṣā'is al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, dedicated to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in verse and rhymed prose, Gotha 2259, ca. 569/1173 = *Manār al-mamādih*, composed in 583/1187 on the occasion of the festivities surrounding the capture of Jerusalem, HKh v1, 12912?—3. *Dīwān al-dībāj*, a collection of poems in the form of trees, intersecting circles, chessboards, pillars etc., in praise of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, when he resided in Jerusalem in 588/1192, Paris 3140, Upps. 142.—4. *Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalim* Br. Mus. 606.

18. Sharaf b. Mu'ayyad b. Abi 'l-Faḥ al-Baghdādī Majd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥanafī, who was the son of a physician who had been sent by the caliph of Baghdad to the Khwārizmshāh.<sup>6</sup> When he started preaching in Khwārizm | he gained the favour of the mother of Sultan Muḥammad. His enemies denigrated him to the sultan, saying that he had married her, so the former had him drowned in 606/1209 (according to others this happened in 616/1219).<sup>7</sup> His wife had him buried Nishapur, from where his relics were transferred to Isfara'īn in 833/1429.

Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 487, Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-j.* 630/19. *Kitāb (Tuḥfat) al-barara fī ajwibat al-masā'il al-'ashara* HKh 11, 224,<sup>2561</sup>,<sup>21</sup>, 364, answers to 10 Sufi questions posed by his student Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Khuwārī, Berl. 3088 (wrongly: composed around 650/1252), AS 1697; chapter 6 preserved in Vienna 1892,<sup>3</sup>.

19. Rukn al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-'Amīdī al-Samarqandī, who died in Bukhārā in 615/1218.

440 | Ibn Khall. 575, Ibn Quṭl. 171. 1. *Ḥawḍ (Mir'āt) al-ḥayāt (ḥayāt al-ma'ānī fī idrāk al-'ālam al-insānī)*, on the microcosm's dependence on the macrocosm and the parallels between the two, an Arabic adaptation of the Indian Amṛtakuṇḍa by Bahučara (?) Brahman Yogi, cf. de Guignes, *Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscr.* xxvi, 791, Gildemeister, *Script. ar. de rebus Ind.* p. 115, W. Pertsch in *Festgruss an Roth* p. 209/12, Paris 773,<sup>2</sup>, NO 2548,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Fun. 151,<sup>10</sup>, revision by Ibn al-'Arabī, see no. 23.—2. *Kitāb al-ṭarīqa al-'Amīdiyya fī 'l-khilāf wal-jadal* Cairo 11v, 79.—3. *Kitāb al-irshād*, a handbook on the art of disputation, Esc. <sup>2</sup>,650,<sup>2</sup>.

6 According to others his *nisba* came from Baghdādān, a village in Kwārizm.

7 Surely not in the Tigris, as stated by Jāmī.



20. Najm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Jamāl Abu 'l-Jannāb Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Kubrā al-Khiwaqī, the founder of the Kubrawiyya order, who died in 618/1221 (see Suppl.).

*Abulghazi Shajara'i Türkī*, ed. Romanzoff, Kazan, 1825, 58,<sup>8</sup> (on his relation with Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad 65,<sup>3</sup> ff. Čingizkhān's sons offer to rescue him from Bukhārā)—1. *Fawātiḥ al-jamāl wa-fawā'iḥ al-jalāl*, a Sufi work, Vienna 1897.—2. *Risālat al-khā'if al-hā'im min lawmat al-lā'im*, on the 10 ways in which one achieves corporeal and spiritual purity so that one may approach God, Berl. 3087, Paris 1343,<sup>2</sup>.—3. *Risāla fi 'l-turuq*, on the ways to God, Berl. 3272/3, under the title *Aqrab al-turuq* Alex Fun. | 193,<sup>9</sup>, Patna II, 447,<sup>2623,3</sup>.—4. *Risāla fi 'ilm al-sulūk*, an explanation of the technical terminology of the Sufis, Berl. 3456, Alex. Fun. 86,<sup>4</sup>, 151,<sup>10</sup> (*fi 'l-ṭarīq ila 'llāh*).—5. A digest of the lives of the Sufis, Br. Mus. 886,<sup>1</sup>.

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20a. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭāhīr al-Firūzābādī (al-Khabarī?), d. 622/1225 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* v, 29, no. 107. 6. *Dalālat al-mustanhij ilā ma'ālim al-ma'ārif wa-risālat al-mustabhij ilā 'awālim al-'awārif* AS 1785, Sarāi 1544 (composed in 590 AH, Ritter).

21. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (Bashīsh) b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Khurma al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī al-Kāmilī, who died in 625/1228 and was buried in the Jabal al-'Alam near Wazzān (see Suppl.).

'Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī fi 'l-adab al-'arabī* I, 83/5. *Fānat al-rāghibīn wal-salām 'alā aḥdā al-mursalīn*, a prayer for the Prophet, Qawala I, 249, as *Risāla fi 'l-ṣalāt 'alā 'l-nabī* Patna II, 443,<sup>2620,3</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Kharrūbī al-Ṭarābulusī, d. 963/1556 (Suppl. II, 701), Berl. 3912, Alex. Fun. 19.—2. *al-Lamaḥāt al-rāfi'āt lil-tadhīsh 'an ma'ānī ṣalāt b. M.* by Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, d. 1162/1749, Berl. 3913.—2a.—12. see Suppl. (4. *al-Nafaḥāt al-qudsiyya* Alex. Faw. 29; 6. *ibid.* 4).

22. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Abū Ḥaḥṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ammūya al-Suhrawardī, who died in Baghdad in 632/1234 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Khall. 468, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 544, H. Ritter, *Isl.* xxiv, 36ff. 1. *Kitāb 'awārif al-ma'ārif*, on mysticism, Berl. 2845/7, Vienna 1896, Paris 1332, 4799, Ind. Off. 625/7 Algiers 909, Garr. 1573, Yeni 716/7, Bursa Orkhan Taş. 35, Ulu Cami 64,<sup>2</sup>,

- Qawala I, 254, Patna I, 137,<sup>1350/3</sup>, printed in the margin of al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā'*, Būlāq 1289, anon. comm. *Dhawārif al-laṭā'if* Patna I, 132,<sup>1307</sup>.—Abstracts by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī, d. 694/1295, Br. Mus. 884,<sup>1</sup>, and by Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī al-Zubaydī, d. 945/1538, Cairo <sup>1</sup>11, 138.—Persian transl. Berl. Pers. 38, 251/2, cf. de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* XII, 322/52, 377ff; Persian comm. Cambr. (Browne) XXVIII.—2. *Kashf al-faḍā'ih al-yūnāniyya wa-rashf al-naṣā'ih al-īmāniyya*, a polemical tract defending Islam against the study of Greek philosophy, dedicated to the caliph | al-Nāṣir, whom he repeatedly cites as an authority on *ḥadīth*, Berl. 2078, Vienna 1667, Gotha 857, Bursa Ulu Cami Taş 95,<sup>1</sup> (a piece from *Sunūḥ al-futūḥ* see no. 37), cf. Hammer, *Wiener Jahrb.* LXXX, Anz. Bl. p. 46, no. 267 (who mistakenly attributes the work to the older Suhrawardī, no. 14), A. v. Kremer, *Ideen* 99; Persian transl. Br. Mus. Pers. II, 853a.—3. *Kitāb* 441 *i'lām al-hudā wa-'aqīdat arbāb al-tuqā*, | composed in Mecca, Berl. 1742, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 554, <sup>2</sup>I, 164, 267, Patna I, 113,<sup>1136</sup>.—4. *Nughbat al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 219, <sup>2</sup>I, 65.—5. *Risāla fī 'l-faqr*, on poverty and abnegation, decrees regarding what the Sufi should beware of, Berl. 3141/2.—6. *Fī ghurar al-khalq wa-istidrājihim*, on misconceptions people have about themselves and their relationship with God, Berl. 3168.—7. Fragment of a treatise on how to become a Sufi, for which guidance by an experienced master over many years is said to be needed, and a polemic against the superficial conception of this relationship by his contemporaries, Berl. 3178.—8. *Kitāb al-raḥīq al-makhtūm li-dhawi 'l-uqūl wal-fuhūm*, on the various states through which the soul must pass in order to achieve a proper understanding of God, Berl. 3302/3.—9. Sufi contemplations of Muḥammad's use of the expression 'moves', Berl. 3304 = *Risālat al-sayr wal-tayr* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 370, Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 65,<sup>5</sup>.—10. *Maqāmāt al-'arifīn*, the stations of the Sufis on their approach to God, Berl. 3305, with the title *al-Bāriqāt al-ilāhiyya* Patna II, 460,<sup>6335</sup>.—11. Answers to 18 Sufi questions by an imām from Khurāsān, Berl. 3476, Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 65,<sup>6</sup>.—12. On *dhikr* as a means to godliness, *ibid.* 3691.—13. *Kitāb al-awrād*, a Persian prayer book, with the commentary *Kanz al-'ibād* by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ghūrī, Ind. Off. 363/4, Patna I, 156,<sup>1487/8</sup>.—14. A treatise on asceticism, *ibid.* 1038,<sup>6</sup>.—15. *Risāla fī i'tiqād al-ḥukamā'* Paris 1247,<sup>3</sup> (by the older al-S.?).—16. *Risāla fī lubs al-khirqā* Pet. AM 147.—17. *Waṣīyya*, to his son 'Imād al-Dīn, warning against the Sufis, Munich 895, fol. 65, Leid. 2161, Br. Mus. 644,<sup>4</sup>, Suppl. 237,<sup>4</sup>, Ind. Off. 1038<sup>xiv</sup>, Esc. 2707,<sup>16</sup>.—18. *Waṣīyya*, to a Sufi, Berl. 3991/2 Patna 444,<sup>2621,2</sup>, with anon. comm. according to HKh I, 482 (cf. VII, 582) by Asad b. Aḥmad al-Burūsawī, Berl. 3993.—19. Two admonitions, *ibid.* 3994.—22.–34. see Suppl. (26. Comm. also Alex. Taş. 16, Qawala I, 229.—24. Read: Jurayrī [Ritter].—31. *Īdālat etc.* Bursa Ulu Cami Taş 65,<sup>4</sup>.—32. *Irshād al-murīdīn wa-injād al-ṭālībīn* also Patna II, 514,<sup>2761</sup>).—35. *Risāla fī 'l-taṣawwuf* Patna I, 244,<sup>2529,3</sup>.—36. *al-Rawḍa*

ibid. | 391,2569,19.—37. *Sunūh al-futūh bi-dhikr al-rūh* (see no. 2) ibid. 417,2586,5.— 571  
 38. *Shams asrār anwār al-ilāhiyya* ibid. 7.—39. *al-Qawl al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-Mahdī al-muntaẓar* ibid. 8.—40. *Nisbat ṣuḥbatihī*, listing his shaykhs, Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 65, 9.

23. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. (al-) 'Arabī al-Ḥātīmī al-Ṭā'ī al-Shaykh al-Akbar was born in Murcia on 17 Ramaḍān 560/28 July 1165, started his studies in 568/1172 in Seville, and continued them in Ceuta. In these locations he learnt *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* according to the Zāhirī school. After a stay in Tunis, he went to the Hijaz in 598/1201, and then, by way of Baghdad and Mosul, to Asia Minor. In the field of mysticism he had already explored the teachings of Ibn Masarra in his homeland; later he surrendered himself completely to the teachings of the Qarmaṭians that had been spread there by Ibn Barraĵān and Ibn al-'Irrīf, leading to victory the pantheistic strand of mysticism that they had started, through his numerous writings. He died in Damascus on 26 Rabī' II 638/16 November 1240.

Maqqarī I, 567/82, *Fawāt* II, 241, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 428, 633f, *al-Durr al-thamīn etc.* (see Suppl.) also Patna II, 411, 2580,5, 539,2903. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris* I, 233/5, Muḥammad Rajab Ḥilmī (supposedly one of his descendants) *al-Burhān al-azhar fī manāqib al-shaykh al-akbar*, C. 1326. Haneberg, *Munich Gel. Anz.* XXXVIII, 361, A. v. Kremer, *Ideen* 102ff., Goldziher, *Zāhir*. 185, | general description 442  
 Ahlw. 2848. A.E. 'Afīfī, *The mystical Philosophy of M. b. al-A.* Cambridge 1939.—Inventory of his writings, by himself, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 378 = 379 and? 45 treatises Nafiz 685. 1. *Ijāza lil-Malik al-Muẓaffar Bahā' al-Dīn Ghāzī al-Malik al-Ādil fī jamī' mā rawā 'an ašyākhīhi wa-mā lahu min nathr wa-naẓm*, issued in Damascus in 632/1234, with the titles of 298 treatises, Berl. 147/8.—2. Didactic letter to his students, ibid. 149.—3. (*Kitāb al-Taḥsīn*, in reality by al-Kāshānī, d. 730/1330?, II, 204, see Suppl. but here I, 527, Berl. 808).—4. *Kitāb al-'aẓama*, commentary on sura 1, Berl. 2911/2, Ind. Off. 693 ii, Ğarullāh 1080, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII 14, 369, abstract Ind. Off. 658.—5. (6.) *Kitāb mishkāt al-anwār fī mā ruwīya 'ani 'llāh subḥānahu min al-akhbār*, 40 = 21 traditions, collected | in Mecca in 599/1202, 572  
 Berl. 1469, Ind. Off. 658,6, Br. Mus. 918,14, Upps. 393,1.—6. (7.) Enlargement of the previous work to 101 traditions, *al-Aḥādīth al-qudsiyya*, Gotha 3,5, 64,2, 564,2, from which were taken *al-Arba'ūna, ṣaḥīfa min al-aḥādīth al-qudsiyya* Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 262 = II, 232,6?—7. (8.) *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ wa-'aḳīdat ahl al-ikhtisāṣ* Berl. 2899, Vienna 1993,24, Paris 1338,2, Gotha 670, Persian ibid. 51.—8. (9.) *Risālat al-'ulūm min 'aḳā'id 'ulamā' al-rusūm*, abstract, Esc. <sup>2</sup>417,4.—9. (10.) *Ṣayḥat al-būm bi-ḥawādīth al-Rūm*, 143 *basīṭ* verses on the Last Judgement, Berl. 2743, Paris 2669,11, see Suppl. 146b.—10. (11.) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya fī ma'rīfat*

*al-asrār al-malakīyya*, begun during his sojourn in Mecca in 598/1201 and completed in Šafar 629/end 1231 (see Suppl.), Berl. 2856/73, Gotha 884 (where other mss are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 231. Qawala I, 255, Patna I, 139<sup>1356/60</sup>.—Commentaries: a. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Kilānī, d. 838/1428 (II, 208), Berl. 2874, Ind. Off. 693 (to chapter 559), Halet 271, Patna II, 409<sup>579,10</sup>.—b. Discussion of the question whether the beginning of the *Futūḥāt* is heretical or not, by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī, d. 1084/1673, *ibid.* 2875.—abstract *Lawāqih al-anwār al-qudsīyya fī bayān qawā‘id al-šūfiyya* by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī, d. 973/1565 (II, 336), Berl. 3046, Leipz. 229, cf. Gotha 885.—11. (12.) *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, the nature and significance of the 27 major prophets, composed in 627/1230 in Damascus after an appearance by the Prophet, Berl. 2876/7, Gotha 888, Vienna 1898, Krafft 494, Paris 1340/1, Ind. Off. 645/6, Bodl. I, 170, Algiers 910/1, Qawala I, 255, Patna I, 139<sup>1305,5</sup> printed with Turkish commentary by ‘Arifallāh, Bülāq 1252, Istanbul 1897.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary *Miftāḥ F. al-ḥ.* Alex. Adab 132<sup>2</sup>.—b. *Fukūk al-F.* by his student al-Qūnawī (no. 32), Berl. 2878/9, Halet 259, Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 382, Patna I, 135<sup>1336</sup>.—bb. ‘Afif al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-Tilimsānī, d. 690/1291 (p. 300), Patna II, 410<sup>2579,22</sup>.—c. Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd al-Janadī, a student of al-Qūnawī (no. 38), Berl. 2880, Halet 261, Nāfiz 238, Yaḥyā 2231.—d. ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Abi ‘l-Faḍā‘il Muḥammad al-Qāshānī, d. 730/1330 (II, 204), composed in 730/1330, Paris 1342, Algiers 912, Nāfiz 539/40, Halet ‘Ilāve 52, NO 2457, Patna I, 126<sup>1338</sup>, lith. C. 1309.—e. *Muṭṭala‘ khuṣūṣ al-kalīm* by Dā‘ūd b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī, d. 751/1350 (II, 213), Berl. 2881/2, or. oct. 3737 (autograph dated 752 AH), Vienna 1899, Pet. 52, Algiers 913, Yeni 714, Cairo <sup>II</sup>, 110, VII, 16/7, Patna I, 136<sup>1339</sup>, II, 514<sup>2764</sup>.—f. Arabic and Persian by ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Hamadhānī, d. 786/1384 (Khwandamīr, *Habīb al-siyar* III, 3, 87), Br. Mus. 890<sup>5</sup>, Suppl. 233, Pers. II, 836b.—g. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī, ca. 820/1417, Halet 257, NO 2456.—h. *Naqd al-nuṣūṣ* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī, d. 898/1492 (II, 207), Berl. 2883, Ind. Off. 647/8, Nāfiz 536, ‘Āšir II, 163, Patna I, 136<sup>1341/2</sup>, II, 489<sup>2630,8</sup>.—i. Bālī Khalīfa al-Šūfiyawī, d. 960/1553, Berl. 2884, in Qawala I, 247 Muṣṭafā b. Sulaymān Bālizāde (II 435).—j. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭamūnī, composed in 1080/1670 in Skutari, Berl. 2885, Vienna 1901.—k. *Jawāhir al-nuṣūṣ* by ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730 (II, 345), Berl. 2886, Vienna 1902, BDMG 22, Garr. 1596, NO 2461/2, Halet 264, Nāfiz 589, Patna I, 131<sup>1297</sup>, print. C. 1304 and others (see Suppl.).—l. On 2 passages by Ibn Kamālpāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Berl. 2887.—m. Anon., Munich 137, Vienna 1900, Ind. Off. 649/52, Pet. 58<sup>2</sup>, Algiers 914.—n.—dd. see Suppl. (p. also Halet 260, NO 2460, Nāfiz 536.—r. Maḥmūd b. Šā‘id b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Najdī al-Khānjī, Sütlüče Mewlewī Tekke 486, Patna I, 136<sup>1337</sup>.—y. [see II, 231] additionally Nāfiz 541, Halet 265, Yaḥyā 2223.—dd. Attributed to Muḥammad Šālīḥ (II, 321) NO 2466).—ee. *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn* by al-Sharīṭ

Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Jilānī al-Ḥakīm, completed in 940/1533, Alex. Taṣ. 31.—ff. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Rumḥ al-Zabīdī, completed in 992/1584, *ibid.* 21.—Abstract by the author, *Naqsh al-fuṣūṣ*, Berl. 2888, Paris 6640, Patna I, 143,<sup>1390</sup>.—Commentaries: a. Jāmī, d. 898/1492, Persian, Berl. 2888 (pers. 232,<sup>1</sup>), Ind. Off. 653/4, Halet 263, NO 2477, print. OB VI, 4929, Arabic completed in 891/1486, Berl. 2889/90.—b. *Anfas al-khawāṣṣ* by Maḥbūb al-Ḥaqq Muḥibballāh Allāhābādī, Patna I, 129,<sup>1284</sup>.—Refutations: a. *Fādīḥat al-mulḥidīn* by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, d. 841/1437 (HKh IV, 345,<sup>8687</sup>), Garr. 1580.—b. *Ni‘mat al-dharī‘a* by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī, d. 956/1540 (II, 432), Fātiḥ 2880, AS 1745/6, ‘Āṣir II, 155, Nailī Mirzāzāde Khalīl 363.—c. *al-Radd wal-tashnī‘* by Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215), Garr. 2005,<sup>8</sup>, against which *Kitāb al-ḥaqq al-mubīn* by Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Naqshbandī, Berl. 2892.—d. al-Qārī’ al-Harawī, d. 1014/1605 (II, 394), Berl. 2893.—12. (13.) *Shajarat al-wujūd wal-baḥr al-mawrūd* Cairo <sup>VII</sup> 529 = *Shajarat al-kawn* *ibid.* 14, print. Būlāq 1292.—13. (14.) *‘Anqā’ muḥrib fī ma‘rifat khatm al-awliyā’ wa-shams al-maḥrib*, on the relationship of man as a microcosm to the macrocosm, as a supplement to no. 17, in rhymed prose, Berl. 2894/7, Vienna 1906, ‘Āṣir I, 483, Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 46, Patna I, 137,<sup>1349</sup>, | extract Paris 1339.—Commentaries: a. Qāsim b. Abi ‘l-Faql al-Sa‘dī al-Jūkhī al-Shāfi‘ī, d. 982/1574, completed in 954/1547, Alex. Taṣ. 51, Cairo <sup>II</sup>, 144, <sup>2I</sup>, 376, under the title *al-Wi‘ā’ al-makhtūm*, under the title *al-Barq al-lāmi’ al-muḥrib* Berl. 2898, or. oct. 4047, ‘Āṣir I, 483, Cairo <sup>2I</sup>, 324, Āṣaf. I, 360,<sup>149</sup>.—b. See Suppl.—c. Anon., Pet. 501, under the title *al-Aghrab min al-ujāb etc.* Alex. Taṣ. 35,<sup>7</sup>.—14. (15.) *Risālat kunhi mā lā budda lil-mustarshid (murīd) ‘anhu*, on what the Sufi must absolutely believe and do, Berl. 2900, Gotha 914,<sup>1</sup>, Ind. Off. 660, Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 16, 374,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Taṣ. 41,<sup>2</sup>, Patna I, 141,<sup>1375</sup>, II, 410,<sup>2579/16</sup>, 412,<sup>2580,11</sup>.—15. (16.) *al-Isrā’ ila ‘l-maqām al-asrā* Berl. 2901/2, Vienna 1908, under the title *al-Asrār wakhtīṣār tartīb al-riḥla min al-‘ālam al-kawnī ila ‘l-mawqif al-a‘lā* Leipz. 231,<sup>1</sup>.—Commentaries: a. On 14. (15.) and 15. (16.) by Ismā‘īl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī, d. 646/1248 (no. 26), Berl. 2903/4.—b. On 15. (16.) alone by Sitt al-‘Ajām bint al-Nafīs of Baghdad,<sup>8</sup> Berl. 2905, Algiers 915.—c. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Munāwī, d. 1022/1613, Ahlw., loc. cit.—16. (17.) *Mashāhid al-asrār al-qudsiyya wa-maṭālī’ al-anwār al-ilāhiyya* (see Suppl.) Gotha 888,<sup>2</sup>, cf. JA 1860, I, 437.—17. (18.) *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī iṣlāḥ al-mamlaka al-insāniyya*, divine guidance for various layers of human society in completion of the profession of unity, Berl. 2906/7, Upps. 393,<sup>5</sup>, Ind. Off. 658,<sup>7</sup>, Br. Mus. Quart. VI, 55, Bodl. II, 252,<sup>1</sup>, Algiers 911, Fātiḥ 2630,<sup>8</sup>, 5376,<sup>14</sup>, Halet

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8 She claims to have been completely uneducated and to have come out of her ignorance in linguistic and other matters requiring an interpreter and to have reached the necessary insight and understanding by illumination in a single night.

ʿIlāwe 3, Alex. Taş. 11, Cairo ʿVII, 13, 16, 32, <sup>2</sup>1, 278, Patna I, 129, <sup>1289</sup>11, 489, <sup>2650,3</sup>—  
 18. (19.) *Mawāqīʿ al-nujūm wa-maṭāliʿ ahillat al-asrār wal-ʿulūm*, composed in  
 595/1199 after he moved from Murcia to Almería, Berl. 2908, Gotha 887, Vienna  
 1907, Paris 1338, <sup>3</sup>, Algiers 911, <sup>2</sup>, Constantine, *JA* 1860, 1, 437, Šehid ʿA. 1277, <sup>2</sup>, 1431,  
 Fātiḥ 2630, <sup>2</sup>, 5376, <sup>2</sup>, Nāfiz 470, Patna II, 488, <sup>2650,1</sup>; a commentary by al-Qāshānī,  
 d. 730/1330 (II, 204), Berl. 2909.—19. (20.) *Maqām al-qurba (wa-fakk al-kurba)*,  
 on the state of mind that is required for closeness to God, Berl. 2910, Br. Mus.  
 886, <sup>19</sup>, Cairo ʿVII, 15, 45, Patna II, 343, <sup>2528,3</sup>—20. (21.) *al-Anwār fi-mā yuṣṭaḥ ʿalā*  
 (yumnah) *ṣāḥib al-khalwa min al-asrār*, written in 606/1209 in Qonya, Berl.  
 2913/4, Leipz. 230, Paris 1337, <sup>3</sup>, 2405, <sup>7</sup>, Br. Mus. 886, <sup>26</sup>, Garr. 1574, <sup>2</sup>. Alex. | Taş. 78,  
 Cairo ʿVII, 16, 38, 47, 230, 383.—21. (22.) *Kitāb al-khalwa*, on solitude, Berl.  
 2916/7, Br. Mus. 886, <sup>25</sup>, Ind. Off. 657, <sup>2</sup>, Alex. Taş. 37, Cairo ʿVII, 15, 383, as *Asrār*  
*al-khalwa* Patna I, 128, <sup>1282</sup>, 408, <sup>2579,1</sup> commentary by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jilī (II,  
 200), see Suppl. also Patna I, 134, <sup>1327</sup>, II, 48, <sup>2650</sup>, 5.—22. (23.) *Inshāʿ al-dawāʿir*  
*al-iḥāṭiyya ʿala ʿl-daqāʿiq ʿalā muḍāḥāt al-insān lil-khālīq wal-khālāʿiq*, on the  
 elevated station of man in Creation and the beginning of times, Berl. 2918/9,  
 Upps. 393, <sup>9</sup>, Ind Off. 658, <sup>3</sup>, Fātiḥ 2630, <sup>7</sup>, Ğārullāh 2061, <sup>2</sup>, ʿUm. 3750.—23. (24.)  
 444 *Kitāb al-ḥaqq*, on God’s true nature, Berl. 2920/2, Br. Mus. 886, <sup>16</sup>, Paris 6640,  
 f. 104v, Cairo ʿVII, 16.—24. (25.) *Uqlat al-mustawfiz*, on creations of the higher  
 and | the lower worlds, spirits, reason, the divine throne, the heavens, earth,  
 and the beginning of mankind, Berl. 2923/4, Br. Mus. 886, <sup>24</sup>, ʿUm. 3780, Fātiḥ  
 2630, <sup>4</sup> 5376, <sup>1</sup>, Alex. Taş. 34, <sup>4</sup>, Fun. 151, <sup>20</sup>, Cairo ʿVII, 15, 380, Patna I, 137, <sup>1348</sup>—  
 25. (26.) *Tuḥfat al-safara ilā ḥaḍrat al-barara*, the developmental stages of the  
 Sufi in gaining a greater understanding of God, Berl. 2925/6, Cairo ʿVII, 374, 384,  
 print. Istanbul 1300, see Asín, *Psicologia* 79, *Islam crist.* 271/99 (according to  
 HKh II, 228, <sup>2592</sup>, <sup>2</sup>1, 367, by Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Biṣṭāmī, but in reality it was  
 by Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Biṣṭāmī, a student of Aṣīl al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh  
 al-Balyānī, Suppl. II, 286, see A.J. Casas y Manrique, *Jāmiʿ al-ḥaqāʿiq bi-tajrīd*  
*al-ʿalāʿiq*, Uppsala 1937, Foreword, see Alex. Fun. 68, <sup>3</sup>, which has Ibn ʿAbd  
 al-Ḥamid, and Tunis, Zayt. III, 164, <sup>1581</sup> which has Ibn Ḥamid).—  
 26. (27.) *al-Ḥujub*, on levels of love for God which, like curtains, hinder admit-  
 tance, Berl. 2927/8, Ind. Off. 693 ii, Alex. Taş. 33, <sup>6</sup>, Cairo ʿVII, 16, 215.—27. (28.)  
*Wasf tajalli ʿl-dhāt* Berl. 2929/30 (not in HKh, probably a forgery).—28. (29.)  
*Ḥilyat al-abdāl wa-mā yazharu fihā min al-maʿārif wal-aḥwāl*, the path to salva-  
 tion, composed as his fifth work at the request of two of his friends during a  
 visit to al-Ṭāʾif on pilgrimage in 599/1202, Berl. 1469 (?), 2931/2, Paris 1338, 6614,  
 f. 114a, Ind. Off. 694, <sup>2</sup>, Upps. 393, <sup>16</sup>, Welīeddīn 1520, Fātiḥ 2630, <sup>7</sup>, 5378, Nāfiz 384,  
 Cairo ʿVII, 16, 47, 57, 371, 374, 556, Patna II, 412, <sup>2559,3</sup>—29. (30.) *Shujūn*  
*al-mashjūn wa-futūn al-maftūn* Berl. 2933.—30. (31.) *al-Shawāhid*, proofs of the

nature of God, reposing in the heart, Berl. 2934, Welieddīn 1832,<sub>2</sub>, Fātiḥ 5376, Es'ad 1323, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 369.—31. (32.) *al-Ittiḥād al-kawnī fī ḥaḍrat | al-ishhād al-'aynī*, on humanity in general, primeval reason, the cause of matter, and the body in general, in rhymed prose mixed with poems, Berl. 2935 (‘Um. 3750 *Ījād al-kawn*).—32. (33.) *Kimīyyā’ al-sa’āda*, on the most excellent properties of the *tawḥīd* formula, Berl. 2936, Paris 1343,<sub>11</sub>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 16, 208.—33. (35.) *al-Ifāda li-man arāda ‘l-istifāda*, on the three basic sciences, one of which treats God exclusive of His relation to the two worlds, another the world as grasped by reason, and the third the world as perceived by the senses, with a statement on the number of sciences into which each of these is divided, Berl. 2937.—34. (36.) *al-Fahwāniyya manzil al-manāzil*, on the stations that man has to pass through in order to gain understanding of God, Berlin 2938.—35. (37.) *al-Muwāzana*, a comparison between the two worlds from the standpoint of the Sufi, Berl. 2939.—36. (38.) *Fī na’t al-arwāḥ*, on how the soul is created by God and through which stations it must pass in order to attain knowledge of Him, Berl. 2940 = (?) *Kitāb fī ‘l-rūḥ* Br. Mus. 886,<sub>14</sub>.—37. (39.) *Tartīb al-sulūk ilā malik al-mulūk* Berl. 2941, Vienna 1910,<sub>5</sub> (?), Ind. Off. 657 (?).—38. (40.) *al-Amr al-muḥkam al-marbūt fī-mā yalzam ahl tariq Allāh min al-shurūt*, on the most essential duties of the Sufi, Berl. 2942 (fragm.), Gotha 914,<sub>3</sub>, Vienna 1909, Upps. 393,<sub>13</sub>, Paris 1337,<sub>14</sub>, 6614,<sub>3</sub>, Garr. 1574.—Commentary by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Daw’anī, d. 1052/1642, Berl. 2942, Patna II, 409,<sub>2579,13</sub>, 412,<sub>2580,12</sub>, Ind. Off. 698,<sub>2</sub>.—39. (41.) *al-‘lām fī-mā buniya ‘alayhi ‘l-Islām* Berl. 2943.—40. (42.) *al-‘lām bi-ishārāt ahl al-ilhām* Berl. 2944, Ind. Off. 695,<sub>1</sub> = *al-Ḥikma al-ilhāmiyya fī ‘l-radd ‘ala ‘l-falsafa* Leid. 1514/5?), Taymūr, Ḥikma 85 (anon.).—41. (43.) *al-Fanā’ fī ‘l-mushāhada*, on knowledge of God’s nature, Berl. 2945, Vienna 1910,<sub>7</sub>, Br. Mus. 886,<sub>17</sub>.—42. (44.) *Marātib ‘ulūm al-wahb*, on the stages of inspiration, Berl. 2946, Br. Mus. 886,<sub>18</sub>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 371, Patna I, 1343,<sub>2528,4</sub>.—43. (45.) *Fī ‘l-azal*, on eternity, Berl. 2947, Ġārullāh 1080,<sub>4</sub>.—44. (46.) *Shaqq al-jayb wa-raf’ ḥijāb al-rayb ‘an | izḥār asrār al-ghayb* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 46.—45. (47.) *Tafsīr āyat al-kursī*, on sura 2, 256, Berl. 2948.—46. (48.) *Ishārāt al-Qur’ān fī ‘ālam al-insān* Berl. 2949.—47. (49.) *Kitāb al-sab’a wa-huwa Kitāb al-sha’n*, on the meaning of the week and its days, Berl. 2950, = Ind. Off. 657,<sub>4</sub>, Ġārullāh 1880,<sub>2</sub>, ‘Um. 3750, from which *Kitāb al-sha’n*, abstract explaining the Qur’anic verse *fī kullī yawmin huwa fī sha’nayn |* (sura 55,<sub>29</sub>), Paris 2502,<sub>3</sub>.—48. (50.) *Tanazzul(āt) al-implāk lil-amlāk fī ḥarakāt al-aflāk*, on divine missions, of humans, station and duties of the emissary, Berl. 2951, Šehīd ‘A, 1155, Alex. Taş 12.—49. (51.) *Tawḥīd al-tawḥīd*, on the fact that truth consists in the recognition of the eternal, and that nearness to God increases with surrendering the heart to God and ignoring the emotions and passions of the soul, wherein is found the way to

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- salvation, Berl. 2952.—50. (52.) *al-Tadqīq fī baʿth al-tahqīq*, guidance towards attainment of God, Berl. 2953.—51. (53.) *al-Qasam al-ilāhī bism al-rabbānī*, several verses in which God swears by Himself, Berl. 2954.—52. (54.) *al-Muḍādda fī ʿilm al-zāhir wal-bāṭin*, on opposites in nature etc., from which God Himself is not free, Berl. 2955.—53. (55.) *al-Ghāyāt fī-mā warada min al-ghayb fī tafsīr baʿd al-āyāt* Berl. 2956.—54. (56.) *Tāj al-rasāʿil wa-minhāj al-wasāʿil*, a letter to a friend in Mecca, Berl. 2957.—55. (57.) *al-Risāla al-mūqīza* Cairo ʿVII, 378.—56. (58.) *al-Durra al-fākhira fī dhikr ma ʿntafaʿat bihim fī ʿl-ākhira wa-risālat ruh al-quḍs*, a letter written in the year 600/1203 from Mecca to a friend in Tunis and in which he tells him about the mood of his soul and his wrestling for relief, Berl. 2958 = *Risālat al-quḍs fī munāṣahat al-naḥs* Bodl. I, 320, Ind. Off. 659,2.—57. (59.) *al-Jalāla*, on the secret meaning and strength of this word, Berl. 2959, Paris 1339,2, 6640, f. 62v, Br. Mus. 886,20, Ğarullāh 1080, Fātiḥ 5378, Cairo ʿVII, 371, 380.—58. (60.) *Jawāb ʿan masʿalat al-sabḥa al-sawdāʿ wa-hiya ʿl-hayūlā*, on matter, Berl. 2960, Cairo ʿVI, 90.—59. (61.) *Risālat al-nashʿatayn*, on the relation and connection between the two creations, i.e. the spiritual and the corporeal, Berl. 2961.—60. (62.) *Maḥāṭib al-ghayb*, on the secrets of God’s nature, Berl. 2962, Br. Mus. 886,22, Patna II, 343,2528, 2.—61. (64.) *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* Cairo ʿVII, 528.—62. (65.) *al-Mudkhal ilā maʿrifat maʿkhadh al-naẓar fī ʿl-asmāʿ wal-kināyāt al-ilāhiyya*, on God’s names in the Qurʿān, as an introduction to his *Kitāb al-maqṣad al-asnā*, Berl. 2963, Br. Mus. 627,18, Ind. Off. 658, Upps. 393,3.—60. (66.) (*al-Quṭb wa*) *al-Nuqabāʿ*, on the spiritual heads of the Sufis, Berl. 2964, Vienna 1910,5 (cf. ZDMG VII, 22), Cairo ʿVII, 16.—64. (67.) *Wasāʿil al-masāʿil*, definitions of Sufi concepts, Berl. 2965 (questions by his student Ibn Sawdakīn, no. 26, different from Vienna 1911,1) Vienna 1910,3, Esc. 2417,5.—65. (68.) (*Tāj*) *al-Tarājim*, | by the same, Berl. 2966, Gotha 888,2, Ind. Off. 657,6, Cairo ʿVII, 369.—66. (69.) *Tarjumān al-alfāz al-Muḥammadiyya* Berl. 2967/9.—67. (70.) *al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Leid. 80 (where other MSS are listed), Cairo ʿVII, 15, ed. G. Flügel together with al-Jurjānī’s *Taʿrīfāt, Definitiones viri meritissimi Sejjid Sherif ʿA. b. M. Dsch.* Leipzig 1845, AS 2048,2, Nafiz 384, 632, ʿUm. 3750, Patna II, 412,2580, 10.—69. (71.) *Sharḥ al-alfāz allatī tadāwalatha ʿl-Ṣūfiyya* Ind. Off. 657,7, different from the anonymous Vat. v. 296,1.—69. (72.) *al-Muqtanaʿ fī idāḥ al-sahl al-mumtanaʿ*, on the secret meanings of letters, Berl. 2969.—70. (73.) *al-Hurūf al-thalātha allatī ʿnʿaṭafat awākhiruhā ʿalā awāʿilihā*, i.e. nūn, wāw, mīm, Berl. 2970.—71. (74.) *al-Alif wa-huwa Kitāb al-aḥadiyya* Berl. 2971, Upps. 393,8, Ind. Off. 658,4, Br. Mus. 836,21, Cairo ʿVII, 45 = Krafft 496 (?).—72. (75.) *al-Bāʿ wa-huwa miftāḥ dār al-ḥaḳīqa* Berl. 2972, Paris 1339,4. |—73. (76.) *Kitāb al-yāʿ wa-huwa Kitāb al-huwa* Berl. 2973, Cairo ʿVII, 384, Ğarullāh 1080,6.—74. (77.) *Miftāḥ*



*al-jafr al-jāmi'*, on the relation between letters and the nature of things, Berl. 4213 = Paris 2669,<sup>14</sup> (?), Br. Mus. Or. 10887 = *al-Jafr al-jāmi'* Alex. Ḥurūf, 9.—75. (78.) *Jafr al-imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* Leipz. 833,<sup>1</sup>—76. (79.) *Asrār al-ḥurūf*, Br. Mus. 754,<sup>4</sup>—77. (80.) *Jafr al-nihāya wa-mubīn khabāyā asrār kunūz al-bidāya wal-ghāya* Algiers 1522.—78. (81.) *Fā'ida*, on magical games with letters, Gotha 1278.—79. (82.) Commentary on a work by him in which he demonstrates that, and why, a student must have a master to guide and instruct him in all stages in order to arrive at a true understanding of God and obedience to His commands and prohibitions, Berl. 2980.—80. (83.) *Mī'at ḥadīth wa-wāḥid Qudsiyya* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 221.—81. (84.) *Nisbat al-khirqā*, on investiture and admission among the Sufis, Berl. 2981/2, Ind. Off. 657,<sup>3</sup>, Bursa Haraccizade Ṭaş. 53,<sup>2</sup>—82. (85.) An account of his admission into the circle of Sufis, first in Mecca in 599/1202, then in Mosul and Seville, Berl. 2984.—83. (86.) *al-Tajalliyāt al-ilāhiyya* Gotha 886, Br. Mus. 886,<sup>27</sup>, Fātiḥ 5378,<sup>6</sup>, Alex. Ṭaş. 10. Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 46, 529, <sup>21</sup>, 275; commentary by Ismā'īl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī, d. 646/1248, Vienna 1911.—84. (87.) *Iẓat al-albāb wa-dhakhīrat al-iktisāb*, an abstract of *Tatimmat al-durra al-yatīma* by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (p. 158), Gotha 3, 16, Paris 1344.—85. (88.) *Inshā' al-jusūm al-insāniyya* Esc. 2530,<sup>3</sup>—86. (89.) *Natījat al-ḥaqq* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 371, 373, 375.—87. (90.) *Uyūn al-masā'il* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 16.—| 88. (91.) *al-Tawqī'āt* ibid.—89. (92.) *Asrār al-wuḍū'* ibid. 358.—90. (93.) *Sirr al-maḥabba* ibid.—91. (94.) *Bulghat al-ghawwās fi 'l-akwān ilā ma'dīn al-ikhilās fi ma'rifat al-insān* Paris 2405,<sup>6</sup>, Esc. 2417,<sup>3</sup>, Welieddīn 1832,<sup>3</sup>—92. (95.) *Qabs al-anwār wa-bahjat al-asrār* Leid. 1220.—93. (96.) *al-Firaq al-sitt al-bāṭila wa-dhikr a'dādiḥā* Ind. Off. 657,<sup>15</sup>—94. (97.) *al-Ajwiba al-lā'iqa 'an al-as'ila al-fā'iqa* Vienna 1910,<sup>6</sup>, Ind. Off. 659.—96. (99.) *al-Ṭarīqa* Krafft 495, *fi 'l-ṭarīq* Alex. Fun. 149, 15. *Shams al-ṭarīqa fi bayān al-shar'ā wal-ḥaqīqa* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 528 (?).—97. (100.) *Mir'āt (ḥayāt) al-ma'āni li-idrāk al-'ālam al-insāni*, a revision of the translation of the *Amṛtakunḍa* by al-Samarqandī (no. 19), which he undertook on the basis of the original text with the help of a yogi, Gotha 1265/6 Leid. 1205, Paris 1699,<sup>3</sup>, Esc. 2707,<sup>2</sup>, Cairo <sup>VI</sup>, 93, Turkish translation *Ḥawḍ al-ḥayāt* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 561, see Pertsch, loc. cit.—98. (101.) *Tawāb qadā' ḥawā'ij al-ikhwān wa-ighāthat al-lahfān* Paris 1699,<sup>14</sup>—98a. see Suppl. with Welieddīn 1820/1.—99. (103.) *al-Imām al-mubīn alladhī lā yadkhaluhu rayb wa-lā takhmīn*, man as a microcosm, Br. Mus. 1371,<sup>1</sup>—100. (104.) *al-Tanazzulāt al-Mawṣiliyya*, original Shaykh Murād 187, Murād Mollā 1236 (read in the presence of the author), Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 380.—101. (105.) *Jadwal 'aẓīm listikhrāj al-fa'l min al-Qūr'ān al-'aẓīm* Cairo VII, 76.—102. (106.) *Isfār fi sifr Nūḥ* Gotha pers. 5, 2.—103. (107.) *Risālat al-'Ibād* ibid. 3.—103a. *Sharḥ Kitāb khal' al-na'layn fi 'l-wuṣūl ilā ḥaḍrat al-jam'ayn* by Abu 'l-Qāsim b. Qaṣī, Vienna 1929,<sup>3</sup>, Fātiḥ 2599,<sup>5</sup>, Nāfiz 503 (attributed to 'Abdī

- Busnawī).—104. (108.) *Risāla fi 'l-Aḥadiyya* Gotha pers. 5, 4, Krafft 496, Alex. Taṣ. 151,17, Patna II, 492,2652, 10.—105. (109.) *Risālat al-anwār* Gotha Pers 5, 5, Paris 2405,7.—106. (110.) Answers to questions by Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, Persian, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 852, f.—107. (111.) *Risāla arsalahā li-aṣḥāb al-Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Mahdawī*, composed in 590/1194 on his return from Tunis, Vienna 1910, 4, Fātiḥ 2031.—108. (112.) *al-Risāla al-Ghawthiyya*, a dialogue between God and the mystic al-Ghawth al-A'zam, Gotha Pers. 5,7, Br. Mus. 754,5, Esc. 2417,2, Alex. Taṣ 34,3 (?), with anon. comm. Ind. Off. 653,2, 655/6.—109. (113.) Letter to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, d. 606/1209 (p. 506), Gotha 914,7, Fātiḥ 5375,7, Alex. Fun. 151,14, Cairo 1VII, 46.—110. (114.) *Risāla fi taṣwīr Ādam 'alā ṣūrat al-kamāl* Cairo 1VII, 279.—111. (115.) Four Sufi *Rasā'il*, ibid.—112. (116.) *Nuskhat al-ḥaqq* Br. Mus. 886,15, Patna II, 343,2528, 5.—113. (117.) *Lughat al-arwāḥ*, | 580 | ibid. 23.—114. (118.) *al-Dawr al-a'lā (wal-durr al-aghlā)*, prayer pericopes, Berl. 2974/5, Pet. 64, Br. Mus. 103, Cairo 1VII, 351, Qawala I, 204, (*al-Durr al-a'lā*); commentary by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tāfilātī, d. 1191/1777, Berl. 2976/7.—115. (119.) *al-Ṣalāt al-Akbariyya*, a prayer, Berl. 3644,2, commentary by Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, d. 1162/1749 (II, 348), ibid. 3, 4.—116. (120.) *Awrād al-ayyām wal-layālī* Br. Mus. 103 = Paris 1199 (?), Cairo 1VII, 45.—117. (121.) *Awrād al-usbū'*, prayers for individual weekdays, in rhymed prose, Berl. 3773/5, Ind. Off. 393, Bodl. I, 120, II, 50,3.—118. (122.) *Ḥizb*, an ejaculatory prayer, Berl. 3687,2.—119. *al-Ṣalāt al-Fayḍiyya* Qawala I, 249.—120. (123.) *Waṣṣiyya* Berl. 3995.—121. (123a.) like the previous one from the year 624/1227, ibid. 3996.—122. (124.) *al-Ḥikam al-ilāhiyya* Alex. Taṣ. 15, 42,2, Fun. 151,4, Cairo 1VII, 379.—123. (125.) *al-Ṣuḥuf al-nāmūsiyya wal-suḥuf al-nāwūsiyya* Cairo 1VII, 104.—124. (126.) *al-Shajara al-Nu'māniyya fi 'l-dawla al-Uthmāniyya*, prophecies, especially concerning the future of Egypt, Alex. Ḥurūf 5.—Commentaries: a. *al-Lum'a al-nūrāniyya fi ḥall mushkilāt al-Sh. al-N.* by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (no. 32), Berl. 4214/5, Garr. 2103,2, Alex. Ḥurūf 8, Cairo 1VII, 552.—b. Ibn Khalīl al-Ṣafadī, d. 764/1363 (II, 11), Paris 2678/80,1, Garr. 2103,3, Alex. Ḥurūf 5, Cairo 1VII, 155.—c. Anon., Berl. 4216/8, Garr. 2103,1.—d.,e. see Suppl. c., d.—f. Anon. *Zuhūr al-bustān* Alex. Ḥurūf 4.—g. *al-Dā'ira al-kubrā* by Muṣṭafā Efendi b. Suhrāb, Alex. Ḥurūf 12.—125. (127.) *Ḥikam*, in rhymed prose in two versions, Berl. 8687.—126. (128.) *Kitāb al-'Abādila*, a compilation of men with the name 'Abdallāh and Sufi statements by them, Berl. 2979, Patna II, 411,2513, 20.—126a. See Suppl. Garr. 942 with a commentary by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Sālimī, see Suppl. II, 1039,19, 1.—127. (129.) *al-Luma' al-ufqiyya*, an anthology of his sayings, Gotha 914,2.—128. (130.) *Muḥādarāt al-abrār wa-musāmarāt al-akhyār* (or *Mus. al-ab. wa-muḥ. al-akh.*) Berl. 8365/8, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1142, Leid. 482/4 (where other MSS are listed), AS 4252, Dāmād Ibr. 959, lith. C. 1282, print.

C. 1305.—129. (131.) *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, a collection of Sufi poems, published for the first time in 598/1201 in Mecca, Gotha 2268, Leid. 698, 'Āšir II, 2821, Patna II, 448,<sup>2624</sup>,<sup>4</sup> then with a commentary by the poet *al-Dhakhā'ir wal-aghlāq* dated 611/1214, and which, according to Bodl. I, 1276, he composed to defend himself against the accusation that he did not act so much from heavenly as from earthly motives, Berl. 7750/1, or. oct. 3930, Gotha 2269 (where other MSS are listed), BDMG 109, 'Um. 5766, Halet 'Ilāwe 132, 138, Halet 686, Bursa, Haraccizade Taş. 53,<sup>1</sup>.—| 130. (132.) *Dīwān* with one poem from the year 630/1232, incomplete Leid. 700 = Bülāq 1271, Cairo <sup>IV</sup>, 234, with the title *al-Dīwān al-akbar*, Bombay n.d.—131. (133.) *Dīwān ishrāq al-bahā' al-amjad 'alā tartīb ḥurūf al-abjad* Berl. 7747.—132. (134.) *Dīwān al-murtajalāt*, improvisations, composed around 599/1203, Berl. 7746.—133. (135.) *Kitāb al-mu'ashsharāt* or *al-Dīwān al-aşghar* Paris 3171,<sup>3</sup>, Br. Mus. 1527,<sup>2</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>417,<sup>1</sup>, Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 384.—134. (136.) A collection of Sufi poems, Br. Mus. 614.—135. (137.) *Tanazzul al-arwāḥ bil-rūḥ* etc. or *Dīwān al-ma'ārif al-ilāhiyya wal-laṭā'if al-rūḥawiyya*, a collection of mystical poems, Paris 2348,<sup>2</sup>.—136. (138.) *al-Qaṣida al-tā'iyya* with an extensive commentary by 'Abdallāh Efendi al-Busnawī, d. 1054/1644, Leid. 701.—137. (139.) *Minḥāj al-'arif wal-muttaqī wa-mi'rāj al-sālik al-murtajī* in 1007 *ṭawīl* verses on attaining God, Berl. 2984/5.—138. (140.) *al-Mu'ashsharāt al-maymūna*, Sufi poems, Berl. 2986.—139. (141.) An alchemical poem, Br. Mus. 601, iv, 1.—140. 'Alawān b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭiyya al-Ḥamawī, d. 936/1530 (II, 333), *Kashf al-kā'ināt fī qawl Muḥyi 'l-Dīn* "kunnā ḥurūfan 'āliyāt," regarding verses by Muḥammad al-Silīnī al-Maghribī, Makram 52.—141. Commentary on 2 verses by al-Dawwānī, d. 908/1502 (II, 217), Berl. 2987.—142. Anon. commentary on 2 other verses, *ibid.* 2988.—143. Commentary on 2 verses by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Khālidi, 1270/1853 (II, 485), Berl. 2989.—144. The same by Muḥammad al-Şūrānī, *ibid.* 2990.—145. Commentary on 2 verses by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730 (II, 345), *ibid.*—146. *Qaṣida fī manāsik al-ḥajj* Algiers 612.—146a. *Manzūmat kashf al-rān*, commentary on a verse therefrom by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghamrī (Suppl. II, 173), Garr. 942.—147. *al-Jamāl wal-jalāl*, perhaps by al-Qūnawī, Berl. 2994/5.—148. *al-'Ujāla fī 'l-tawajjuh al-atamm* *ibid.* 2946.—149. (150.) *al-Jawāb al-mustaqīm*, answers to questions that al-Tirmidhī, d. 320/932 (p. 199), had raised in his *Khatm al-awliyā'*, perhaps by Ibn 'Arabī, Berl. 2998, 'Um. 3750,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Taş. 34,<sup>7</sup>, Patna II, 410,<sup>2579</sup>,<sup>14</sup>.—151.—217. See Suppl. (152. Leipz. 251, mistakenly Suppl. II, 284, Patna II, 343,<sup>2528</sup>,<sup>6</sup>.—156. = 39a. AS 2087,<sup>1</sup>, composed in Qonya in 602/1205.—157. Patna I, 140,<sup>1372</sup>.—189. 'Um. 3750.—194. Nafiz 495, Bursa, Haraccizade 52,<sup>3</sup>.—160. Garr 934.—216. Köpr. II, 163,<sup>1</sup>.—218. *Risāla fī 'l-taşawwuf* Alex. Taş. 17.—219. *al-Zahr al-fā'iḥ fī satr al-'uyūb wal-qabā'iḥ* Alex. Mawā'i'iz 21.—220. *al-Dhakhā'ir*

582 *wal-i'lān* Fez Qar. 1446<sub>1</sub>.—221. *Muzhirāt 'arā'is al-mukhabba'āt bil-lisān al-'arabī*, commentary by al-Jawharī al-Khālīdī, d. 1187/1773 | (II, 331), Garr. 947.—222. *Risāla fī taḥqīq wujūb al-wājib li-dhātihī* ibid. Fun. 149<sub>6</sub>.—223. *Fī sirr al-ḥurūf* ibid. 16.—224. *Naghamāt al-aflāk* or *al-Sirr al-maktūm* Alex. Ḥurūf 19.—225. *Mawlid al-nabī* ibid. Tar. 16, Patna II, 407<sub>2576</sub>, 2.—226. *al-Durar* Alex. Taş. 39.—227. *Risāla fī 'smihī ta'āla 'l-ḥasīb* ibid. 34<sub>5</sub> (?).—228. *Mishkāt al-anwār* Patna I, 61<sub>623</sub> (but see Suppl. I, 751<sub>34c</sub>).—229. *al-Ghinā fī 'l-mushāhadāt* ibid. II, 343<sub>2528</sub>, 1.—230. *Mir'āt al-'arīfīn fī-mā yatamayyaz bayna 'l-'ābidīn* ibid. II, 410<sub>2579</sub>, 16 (= Suppl. 179 ?).—232. *Risāla fī ma'rīfat Allāh ta'ālā* ibid. 427<sub>2600</sub>, 6.—233. *al-Risāla al-barzakhīyya* ibid. 489<sub>2650</sub>, 4.—234. *al-Ifāda fī 'ilm al-riyāda* AS 2160<sub>4</sub> (Ritter).—235. *Tadhkirat al-tawwābīn* (p. 377, xxi, attributed to al-Nawawī) Nāfiz 373.—236. *Risālat al-tawḥīd* Fāṭih 2630<sub>5</sub>.—237. *'Ulūm al-wahb* 'Um. 3750.—238. *al-Mu'awwil 'ala 'l-mu'awwal 'alayhi* 'Um. 3750.—239. *Kawn Allāh sabaq qabla an fataq wa-rataq* Welieddīn 1820, f. 43b/59a (Ritter).—Refutation: *Tanbīh al-ghabī 'alā takfīr b. al-'Arabī* by Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Biqā'ī, d. 885/1480 (II, 142), Leid. 2039, Bodl. I, 158<sub>1</sub>. Against this al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, wrote *Tanzīh al-ghabī fī tanzīh b. al-'Arabī*, Berl. 2850, Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 234, Patna II, 395<sub>2570</sub>, 25, and 'Alī b. Maymūn al-Idrīsī, d. 917/1511 (II, 123), *Kitāb al-radd fī munkiri 'l-shaykh al-akbar*, composed in 909/1503, Berl. 2851; 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya 'Alawān, d. 936/1530 (II, 333), defended this treatise against the accusation of heresy, ibid. 2852, also al-Firūzābādī, d. 817/1415 (II, 183), *Fatwā fī ḥaqq al-shaykh b. 'A. Fāṭih* 5376<sub>3</sub> and Ibrāhīm al-Madanī *al-Radd al-matīn 'an al-shaykh Muḥyi 'l-Dīn*, composed in 1093/1682, Alex. Taş. 42<sub>4</sub> (see Suppl.). Mawlānā Qirimī (between 841/936, 1437/1529), *Nāṣiḥat al-hā'imīn wa-fāḍiḥat al-ḥātimīn*, a defence of Ibn al-'Arabī and Sa'd al-Dīn al-Qūniyawī against Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥajala (d. 776/1374 Suppl. II, 5) and, especially, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 841/1437 Suppl. I, 794), whose work *Fāḍiḥat al-mulḥidīn wa-nāṣiḥat al-muwahḥidīn* (Suppl. I, 794) must have occasioned the choice of our title, MS dates from around 936 AH, Basel M III, 25.

24. His student Ismā'īl al-Tūnisī wrote:

*Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr* Alex. Kīm. 10.

25. His student Abu 'l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm wrote:

A mystical poem, Esc. 2626<sub>13</sub>.

26. Al-Shaykh al-Zāhid Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Sawdakīn | b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nūrī was born in Cairo in 588/1192, was a friend of Ibn ʿArabī, and died in Aleppo in 646/1248. 583

Poems, Gotha 2196,17, cf. 23,17,8.

26a. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Yazdyār Abū Jaʿfar al-Anbārī wrote, before 651/1253:

*Rawḍat al-murīdīn* ḤKh 1111, 511,6686, 21, 932, Berl. Oct. 3542,4, Paris 1369, Köpr. 739 (archetype 651 AH), Sul. 1028, f. 173b/214a, Fātiḥ 2692.

27. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Saʿd al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, the son of the famous Sufi, was born in Malaṭīyya in Ramaḍān 618/October–November 1221 and died in Damascus in 659/1258.

*Dīwān*, for the most part *maqṭūʿāt*, often about pederasty, Garr. 554/5, Auswahl, Berl. 7761 (see Suppl.).

28. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Shahwār al-Rāzī Najm al-Dīn Dāya was a student of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (no. 20) who fled to Asia Minor following the invasion of Khwārizm by Čingiz Khān, where he became friends with the poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. He died in Baghdad in 654/1256.

Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 499. 1. *Mirṣād al-ʿibād min al-mabdaʾ ila ʾl-maʿād*, a Persian introduction to mysticism, written in Qayṣariyya, Bodl. Pers. 1248, Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. no. 17, translated into Arabic by an unknown author and cast into the form of an abstract under the title *Muntakhab al-Mirṣād* Berl. 3006, AS 2065/9; from which selected aphorisms Berl. 8688.—2. *Manārāt al-sāʿirīn ilā ḥaḍrat Allāh wa-maqāmāt al-ṭāʿirīn billāh*, a shorter work on the same subject, written 32 years later, around 650/1252, Berl. 3007/8.—3. *Baḥr al-ḥaqāʾiq wal-maʿānī*, commentary on the *Fātiḥa*, Ind. Off. 68/9 (erroneously: d. 618), Patna 1, 23,208.—4.–9. see Suppl.

| 29. Nūr al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī al-Miʿmārī al-Shadhālī was born in Shādhilla, at the foot of Jabal Zaghwān in Tunisia, and died in 656/1258 (see Suppl.). 449

Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 659, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 298, Maqqarī I, 587. Biographies by: a. his grandson Taqī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Shifā’ al-ghalīl wa-‘āfiyat al-‘alīl fī ajwiba lil-sā’il*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>487,2.—b. Muḥammad b. Abi ‘l-Qāsim b. al-Ṣabbāgh al-Ḥimyarī, *Durrat al-asrār etc.* (see Suppl.), also 584 Garr. 719.—c. Muḥammad | b. Zāfir al-Madanī, *al-Anwār al-qudsiyya etc.* (Suppl. II, 1009).—d. cf. Suppl.—Cf. Haneberg, *ZDMG* VII, 13ff.

1. *al-Muntaqā*, abstract of a Sufi work, Berl. 3089, Vat. v, 573-11.—1a. *al-Muqaddima al-‘izzīyya etc.* See Suppl. Galtier, *Bull. de l’Inst. franç. d’archéologie or.* v, 134ff. defends his authorship of this work.—2. *Kitāb al-ikhwa* Br. Mus. 1436,2.—3. Sermons, *ibid.* 3,4.—4. *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, a prayer that he claims to have received from Muḥammad himself (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa I, 40), Berl. 3868/9, Copenhagen 302, f. 490, Paris 2637,3, Br. Mus. 98,4, 110,3, 120,3, 520,4 Ind. Off. 373,2, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 229, <sup>2</sup>I, 287, Patna II, 444,2620,13.—Commentaries: a. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Zarrūq, d. 899/1493 (II, 253), Br. Mus. 125,1, 126, Alex. Fun. 172,3.—b. ‘Abdallāh b. Murād, ca.1046/1636, Berl. 3870.—c. Muṣṭafā al-‘Adanī, *ibid.* 3872.—d. Anon., *ibid.* 3871,3.—e.—p. see Suppl. (h. with the title *Kawkab al-fajr* Garr. 1946).—6 other commentaries in Ahlw. 3874.—5. *al-Ḥizb al-kabīr* Berl. 3875, Leid. 2191, Br. Mus. 1254, Copenhagen 301, f. 21, cf. *ZDMG* VII, 25.—Commentaries: a. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī, d. 1036/1626, Berl. 3876, Paris 1204,3.—b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Adanī, Berl. 3877.—c. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Bannānī, d. 1163/1750 (Suppl. II, 686), Alex. Faw. 20 (see Suppl.).—d. *al-Faṭḥ al-qadīr bi-sharḥ al-Ḥ. al-k.* by al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Mantāwī al-Madābighī, d. 1170/1757 (II, 328), Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 387 (anon.), Garr. 2058, Alex. Faw. 13.—e.—i. see Suppl.—6. *Ḥizb al-ṭams ‘alā ‘uyūn al-‘adā*, Berl. 3878, Br. Mus. 125, ii, 2.—7. *Ḥizb al-naṣr* Berl. 3879,1, Br. Mus. 125, ii, 3, Qawala I, 229.—8. *Ḥizb al-lutf* Berl. 3879,2, Br. Mus. 136,7.—9. *Ḥizb al-faṭḥ wa-yusammā Ḥizb al-anwār* Br. Mus. 125 ii, 6.—10. *Ṣalāt al-faṭḥ wal-maghrib*, comm., Algiers 824.—11. Several prayers, Berl. 3654, Algiers 827/32.—12. An admonition, Berl. 3997,1.—13. *Du‘ā’* Ind. Off. 4576 (*JRAS* 1939, 307).—14.–28. see Suppl. (26. Garr. 57; ad 27. see II, 215).—29. *al-Risāla al-ḥawḍiyya*, with a commentary by ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī al-Sharīf, Alex. Tawḥīd 28.—30. *al-Tasallī wal-tabaṣṣur ‘alā mā qaḍāhu ‘llāh min aḥkām ahl al-tajabbur wal-takabbur* Alex. Mawā‘iẓ 38,1.—31. *Ḥizb al-ikhfā’* Patna I, 152,1451.—32. *al-Ḥizb al-awwal, al-thānī* *ibid.* II, 376,2561,1,2.

30. (31.) Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Ṣafī (Zayn) al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭṭāf b. ‘Alawān al-Yafrusī, the son of the *Kātib al-inshā’* of the last Ayyūbids of Yemen, was born in ‘Uqāqa, grew up in Dhu ‘l-Jinān, and died in Yafrus in Yemen in 665/1266.

| Biography in al-Khazrajī, ed. M. ‘Asal I, 160/2. 1. *Dīwān* Cairo <sup>2</sup>III 169 = *Kitāb al-futūḥ li-kulli qalb majrūḥ* Gotha 99,<sup>5</sup> a lengthier MS in Kračkovsky’s possession.—2., 3. see Suppl.—4. Poems, letters, etc. Leid. 2248, Vat. v. 1184,<sup>1</sup>.—5. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* Garr. 1897, *al-T. al-a‘zam* Alex. Fawā‘id 15, Patna II, 423,<sup>2593,7</sup> 585

31. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣayyādī al-Rifā‘ī, who died in 670/1271 at the age of 96.

*Al-Ma‘ārif al-Muḥammadiyya fi ‘l-wazā‘if al-Aḥmadiyya* C. 1305, *Fihris* II, 135.

32. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-Qūnawī was educated by Ibn al-‘Arabī in his native town of Qonya when the latter resided there in 607/1210. He died in 672/1263.

Al-Subkī, *Ṭab.* v, 19, Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt* 645, Khwandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* III, 66. M. Amīn Dede *Raghā‘ib al-manāqib*, composed in 1006/1597, Ist. Un. 842. 1. *I‘jāz al-bayān fī kashf ba‘ḍ asrār (fī tafsīr) Umm al-Qur‘ān*, on the *Fātiḥa*, AS 402, 4806,<sup>1</sup>, Rāgīb 79, Yeni 62/3, Köpr. 41 (with *ijāza* 671 A.H.), Alex. Taş. 33,<sup>5</sup>, Cairo I<sup>1</sup>, 125, <sup>2</sup>I, 32, Qawala I, 38, Patna I, 22,<sup>202/3</sup>, glosses by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Anṣārī Patna II, 412,<sup>2581,1</sup>.—2. *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arba‘īniyya* Berl. 1471/5, Leid. 1745, Pet. AM 187,<sup>2</sup>, Garr. 1429.—3. *Ḥaqā‘iq al-asmā’ fī sharḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā* Berl. 2228/32.—4. *al-Risāla al-hādiya*, against misconceptions over the nature of God, the essential properties of things and their origin, contained in Nāsir al-Dīn’s (cf. 16) | answer to his treatise *al-Risāla al-muḥṣiḥa* (no. 10), Berl. 2305.—5. *al-Nuṣūṣ fī taḥqīq al-tawr al-makhṣūṣ* or *al-Nuṣūṣ fī baḥr al-taḥqīq wa-jawāhir al-fuṣūṣ*, on the main tenets of Sufism, Berl. 3015, Leid. 1521/2, Ind. Off. 1032,<sup>2</sup>, Cairo I<sup>VII</sup>, 46, 176, 382.—Commentaries: a. *al-Khuṣūṣ* by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā‘imī, d. 835/1432 (II, 221), completed in 815/1412, Berl. 3016, Patna I, 131,<sup>1305</sup>.—b. Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khūyī, completed in 856/1452, Paris 1386,<sup>3</sup>.—6. *al-Nafaḥāt al-ilāhiyya al-qudsiyya* Berl. 3017, Qawala I, 268, Patna I, 143,<sup>1389</sup>, Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 135.—7. *Marātib al-taqwā* Berl. 3152.—8. *Shu‘ab al-īmān*, on the branches of belief, of inner uplifting and self-ennoblement, Berl. 3211, attributed to him by his student Sa‘īd al-Fargḥānī, d. 699/1299 (HKh IV, 7572, Suppl. I, 463, 812,<sup>49</sup>, b).— | 9. *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*, scientific guidance towards knowledge of the divine essence and its secrets, Berl. 3212/3, Vienna 1914, AS 1655, 2088,<sup>1</sup>, 2090, Bursa, Ulu Cami Taş. 137, Alex. Taş. 46, Cairo I<sup>VII</sup>, 382, 518, <sup>2</sup>I, 361.—Commentary by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Rūmī al-Fanārī, d. 834/1430 (II, 233), Berl. 3214/5, abstract by Abu ‘l-Ṭayyib b. Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, ca. 1020/1611, Berl. 3216, Pers. 586

transl. AS 1657, 2089.—d. *Miftāḥ al-qalb* by Atpāzārī Shaykh ‘Uthmān, autograph from 1097, ‘Āšir I, 511,1.—10. *al-Risāla al-muḥṣiḥa ‘an muntaha ’l-afkār wa-sabab ikhtilāf al-umam*, on knowledge of God and the proofs for His existence, the nature of the human soul, and the possibility of understanding and attaining God, Berl. 3274.—11. *al-Risāla al-murshidiyya fi aḥkām al-ṣifāt al-ilāhiyya*, on the way to reach God, Berl. 3275.—12. *Laṭā’if al-i’lām fi ishārāt ahl al-ilhām*, an explanation of Sufi terminology, Berl. 3457/8.—13. *Nafḥat al-maṣdūr wa-tuḥfat al-shakūr* Leid. 2192.—14. *al-Nafaḥāt (al-raḥmāniyya wa-thamarāt al-tajalliyāt al-ikhtišāsiyya) al-rabbāniyya*, completed by his grandson Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad in 739/1338, Vienna 1913, Paris 1354.—15. *Tabṣirat al-mubtadi’ wa-tadhkirat al-muntahā* AS 2286.—16. Correspondence with al-Ṭūsī, Leid. 1523.—17. *Du‘ā’ al-tawḥīd* Berl. 3654.—18.–28. see Suppl. (18. Garr. 2005,7; 23. under the title *Kashf asrār jawāhir al-aḥkām al-mustakhraja al-mūratha min jawāmi‘ al-kalīm* Qawala I, 144).—29. *Risāla jafriyya* Alex. Ḥurūf 10.—30. *Sharḥ al-arba‘īn* Patna II, 413,2581,3.—31. *Tafsīr al-basmala* ibid. 417,2581,4.—32. *Barzakh al-barāzikh* Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 1319 (Ritter).

33. Abu ’l-Fityān Abu ’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Badawī was born in Fez in 596/1199, made the pilgrimage to Mecca with his father in 603/1206, and settled in 634/1236 in Tanta in Lower Egypt, where he died on 12 Rabī‘ I 675/25 August 1276. His tomb has remained a much-visited shrine to this very day.

Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ*, I, 299. Lane, *Manners and Customs* I, 308. Biography by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, d. 852/1448 (II, 67), Berl. 10101, by Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad around 900/1494, ibid. 10102/3, anon. *Manāqib* Br. Mus. Suppl. 639.—1. *Ḥizb*, a quick prayer, Berl. 3881.—2. *Ṣalawāt*, commentary by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān | b. Muṣṭafā al-‘Aydarūsī, d. 1192/1778 (II, 352), Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 88.—(3. *Bayān aḥkām al-farā’id fi ‘ilm al-mūrāth* Garr. 1871? only Aḥmad al-Badawī).

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34. ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī al-Wā’iz, who died in 678/1279 (?).

1. *Kashf al-asrār ‘an (al)-ḥikam (al-mūda‘a fi) ’l-ṭuyūr wal-azhār*, reflections on animate and inanimate creatures, especially flowers and birds, whose properties demonstrate the wisdom of the Creator, Berl. 8783/4, Gotha 2693/4, | Leid. 427 (where other MSS are listed), in Kračkowsky’s possession, AS 2011,5, 4205, Alex. Adab 114, Mawā’iz 32, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 86, 685, <sup>2</sup>III, 301, Tunis Zayt., Bull. de Corr. Afr. 1884, p. 15, no. 34, Pers. transl. Welīeddin 1630. *Les oiseaux et les fleurs*, ed. Garcin de Tassy, Paris 1821, print. C. 1280 and others (see Suppl.), translated by C.R.R. Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg 1850,

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p. 165/265.<sup>9</sup>—2. *Ḥall al-rumūz wa-kashf mafātīh al-kunūz* Berl. 3010/1, Bodl. II, 80, 321, Esc. <sup>2</sup>530,<sub>2</sub>, 1546, Algiers 939, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 372, no. 40, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 80, 172, VII, 13, 138, 372, AS 1773, Patna I, 131,<sub>1304</sub>.—3. (*al-Qawl al-naḥḥī fi*) *Taḥḥīl Iblīs li-yakshifa lil-nāzīr fihi talbīs Iblīs fa-yumayyiza bayna l-khaṣīṣ wal-naḥḥī*, the devil exposed, based on the example of *Talbīs Iblīs* by Ibn al-Jawzī (p. 504,<sub>38</sub>), against the claim of those who believe that God has no part in the evil of this world but rather allows it to happen on purpose, Berl. 2520/1, Gotha 748 (where other MSS are listed), Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 134,<sub>4</sub>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 76, VII, 286, 687, print. C. 1291 and others (see Suppl.).—4. *al-Futūḥāt al-ghaybiyya fi 'l-asrār al-qalbiyya* Berl. 3012.—5. *al-Rawḍ al-anīq fi 'l-wa'z al-rashīq*, an edifying work, Berl. 8782, Esc. <sup>2</sup>762,<sub>5</sub>.—6. *Kashf al-asrār wa-manāqib al-abrār wa-maḥāsīn al-akhyār*, on the major companions of the Prophet and pious men of exception, Berl. 8785 (fragment).—7. *Fī sharḥ ḥāl al-ṣaḥāba wal-awliyā'*, on the ecstatic states of the companions, and friends of the Prophet, Munich 887, f. 163, Bodl. I, 850, II, 597.—8. Edifying contemplations, Berl. 8786.—9. Two long Sufi poems, Berl. 7766,<sub>3</sub>.—10.—14. see Suppl.—15. *Manāzil* Bursa Ulu Cami Taş. 134,<sub>1</sub>.

| 35. Zakī al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, a student of al-Qūnawī (no. 31). 588

*Al-Risāla al-qudsiyya fi asrār al-nuqla al-khāṣṣiyya*, on the mystical meaning of the dotting of letters, Berl. 3444, AS 4807,<sub>4</sub>.

36. Abū Bakr Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qaṣṭallānī al-Tawzarī al-Shāfi'ī, d. 686/1287 (see Suppl.).

1. *Al-Adwiya al-shāfiyya fi 'l-ad'iya al-kāfiyya*, a prayer manual, Berl. 3518.—2.—6. see Suppl.

37. (38.) Mu'ayyad b. Maḥmūd b. Ṣā'id al-Ṣūfi al-Ḥātīmī al-Janadī, a student of al-Qūnawī, fl. ca. 690/1291.

1. *al-Qaṣīda al-ghaybiyya (al-dāliyya)*, Sufi poem in 142 verses, with many rhetorical fireworks, at the beginning of his commentary on the *Kitāb al-fuṣūṣ* by Ibn al-'Arabī (no. 23, 12b), Berl. 3408, Bank. XIII, 874.—2. *Dīwān* Beirut 1872.—3. *Lāmiyya* ḤKh (Ist.) II, 350, composed in 671, with a Persian commentary by the poet himself AS 4184.

9 *Al-Asad wal-ghawwāṣ* (see Suppl. 'Ashir 1002,<sub>1</sub> 783 AH, Patna I, 204,<sub>1825</sub>), is a mirror for princes in the form of an animal fable and has nothing to do with the *Kashf al-asrār* (Ritter).

38. (39.) ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd al-Dīrīnī al-Damīrī al-Dahrī was born in 612/1215 or 613 in Dīrīn in Egypt, where his birthday is still celebrated every year. He travelled as a wandering dervish, and died in 697/1297.

- 452 | Wüst., *Gesch.* 368. 1. *Ṭahārat al-qalb wal-khuḍū‘ li-‘allām al-ghuyūb*, a discussion of verses from the Qur’ān, edifying anecdotes, counsels, prayers etc., Berl. 8789/90, Gotha 648/9 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 1313, Br. Mus. Suppl. 235, Ind. Off. 1731, Patna 1, 148,<sup>422</sup>.—2. *Qilādat al-durr al-manshūr fī dhikr al-ba‘th wal-nushūr*, poem about the Last Judgement, Berl. 2748/9, Gotha 1514, f. 136b, as an appendix to Ibn al-Wardī’s *Kharīdat al-‘ajā‘ib*, C. 1288, p. 300, S. Freund, *de rebus die resurrectionis eventuris*, Breslau 1853, v, XXXV.—3. 33 *rajaz* verses on the suras of the Qur’ān and the way in which they were revealed, Berl. 466/7.—4. Explanation of the *Fātiḥa*, Berl. 942.—5. *al-Taysīr fī ‘ilm* (‘ulūm) *al-tafsīr*, over 3,200 *rajaz* verses, composed in Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da and Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja of the year 673/May—June 1275, Yeni 39/41, print. C. 1310 (*Fihris* 1, 156, 205).—6. *al-Anwār al-wāḍiḥa fī tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, composed before no. 4, Berl. 3450.—
- 589 | 7. *Arkān al-islām fī ‘l-tawḥīd | wal-aḥkām* Berl. 1792/3.—8. *Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ al-asmā‘ al-ḥusnā* Berl. 2234, Alex. Faw. 28.—9. Two *qaṣīdas* on Sufism, a confession of faith, and the education that is necessary for a Sufi, Berl. 3409.—10. *Irshād al-ḥayārā fī ‘l-radd ‘ala ‘l-Naṣārā* Paris 1457, 3204, Bursa, Ulu Cami Taş. 134.—11. *Fi ‘l-farq bayna ‘l-tā‘ wal-thā‘*, a list of words with a *thā‘*, Berl. 7026.—12. *Fi ‘l-farq bayna ‘l-dāl wal-dhāl*, a list of words with a *dāl*, *ibid.* 2.—13. *Jawāhir al-iqtibās fī ‘ilm al-jinās*, on puns, Berl. 7331/2, Vienna 234.—14. A *qaṣīda* Berl. 7784,<sup>2</sup>.—15. A long *urjūza* on man as a microcosm, *ibid.* 8158,<sup>1</sup>, Munich 819,<sup>3</sup>.—16. *al-Durar al-multaqaṭa fī ‘l-masā‘il al-mukhtalaṭa* Cairo <sup>1111</sup>, 225.—17.–26. see Suppl. (17. Garr. 1575. 20. read: *al-Shajara fī dhikr nasab al-nabī* AS 4348,<sup>1</sup>).—27.—*Muthallathāt lughawiyya* Berl. 7081/2, Garr. 272, Alex. Lughā 25.—28. *Majlis fī ‘stiqbāl shahr Ramaḍān* Alex. Fun. 147,<sup>14</sup>.—29. *al-Wasā‘il al-ilāhiyya wal-rasā‘il al-Muḥammadiyya* AS 4348,<sup>1</sup> (Ritter).

39. (40.) Raslān b. Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ja‘barī al-Dimashqī, who died around 695/1296.

1. *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Sufī, Gotha Pers. 5,<sup>10</sup>, Br. Mus. 884,<sup>3</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. *Fath al-raḥmān* by Zakariyyā‘ al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1526 (II, 99), Berl. 2427/8, Br. Mus. 884,<sup>4</sup>, Suppl. 245, i, Cairo <sup>1711</sup>, 103, 300, 522, <sup>21</sup>, 335.—2. ‘Alī b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Ḥamawī ‘Alawān, d. 936/1530 (II, 333), Berl. 2429/31, Leipz. 874, v.—3. Abū b. Badr al-Dīn al-Ṭayyibī, d. ca. 961/1554, Berl. 2432/3.—4. *Khamrat al-khān*

*etc.* by ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, d. 1143/1730 (II, 345), Berl. 2334, Alex. Fun. 90<sub>14</sub>, 15<sub>1,12</sub>.—5. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Kurdī al-Jīlānī al-Bānī, d. 1148/1735 (II, 345), Leipz. 240.—6. Ibn Ṣadaqa, Br. Mus. 884<sub>3</sub>.—7. Abu ‘l-Wafā’ al-‘Irāqī al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 93.—11. *Risāla fi ‘l-taṣawwuf* Alex. Fun. 150<sub>8</sub>.

40. Ṣadr al-Milla wal-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī al-Muẓaffar b. Muẓaffar al-Baghawī al-Shīrāzī.

*Al-Marmūzāt al-‘ishrūn*, MS dated 714/1314, by the grandson of the author ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd, Alex. Mawā‘iẓ 43.

## Chapter 11. Philosophy and Politics

590 1. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn (Ḥasan) b. ‘Alī b. Sīnā (Avicenna) al-Qānūnī was born  
 453 in Ṣafar 370/August 980 | in Afshana, near Bukhārā, the son of the governor of Ḥarmaythān. | Having studied philosophy under Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Nātīlī and medicine under the Christian physician ‘Īsā b. Yaḥyā, by the age of 17 he gained the favour of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr of Bukhārā after successfully curing him. At the age of 22 he lost his father and an unsteady life of wandering began, taking him first to the Khwārizmshāh ‘Alī b. Manṣūr, and then to Nasā, Abīward, Ṭūs, and Dahistān. In Jurjān he lived for a long time as a teacher, and it was there that he composed his major work on medicine, the Qānūn. By way of Rayy and Qazvin he then arrived in Hamadan, where he became the vizier of the Būyid Shams al-Dawla Abū Ṭāhir, but soon after he had to relinquish his post because the military rejected his authority. When Shams al-Dawla died in 412/1021, his son Tāj al-Dawla accused Ibn Sīnā of high treason and had him transferred to a fortress. However, he succeeded in escaping to Isfahan, to ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār (Dushmanzār) b. Kākūya, who, in 398/1007, had made himself independent from his cousin, the Būyid Majd al-Dawla. It was for him that he wrote the Persian encyclopaedia the *Dānishnāme-yi ‘Alā’*, whose section on mathematics was completed after his death by his student al-Jūzajānī (Br. Mus. Pers. Cat. II, 433). Excessive work and intemperance had exhausted his body so much that after a military campaign against Hamadan in 428/1037 he died after a brief illness. His huge corpus of works encompass, besides philosophy and medicine, the entire body of profane learning of his time, admittedly without any further research by himself, but still in an elegant and easily comprehensible style. It is for this reason that they had a lasting influence on scholarly studies, not only in the Orient, but in Europe as well.

591 | Autobiography, continued by his favorite student al-Jūzajānī, Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 2–9, see *ibid.* 2/20, Ibn Khall. 182, *Khiz.* IV, 466ff., Wüst., *Ärzte* no. 128, Leclerc I, 466, Munk, *Mélanges* 352ff., A. Müller, *Der Islam* II, 67ff. Collected works AS 4829, 4849/53. *Majmū‘ rasā’il al-Shaykh al-ra’īs*, Hyderabad 1354/1935 (*Risāla fī sirr al-qadr*, *Risāla fī ‘l-sā’ada*, *fī dhikr asbāb al-ra’d*, *al-Risāla al-‘arshiyya fī ‘l-tawḥīd*, *Risāla fī ‘l-ḥathth ‘ala ‘l-dhikr*, *Risāla fī ‘l-mūsīqā*).

1. Theology and philosophy. Exposition of his philosophical system, al-Shahrastānī 348/429. F. Mehren, *Les rapports de la philosophie d’Avicenna avec l’Islam*, *Muséon* 1883.—1. *Risāla fī tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) Berl. 972, Patna I, 419, 3590, 2.—2. *Risāla fī tafsīr al-Mu‘awwidhatayn* (p. 113/4) *ibid.* 977, Gotha

543 | (where other MSS are listed).—3. *Tafsīr sūrat al-Falaq* (113) Gotha 754,3, 1158,3, Br. Mus. 978,39, Mosul 75,83, 7, Patna, loc. cit., 3.—4. *Tafsīr sūrat al-Nās* (114) Gotha 543,1, 1158,4, Br. Mus. 978,40, Bodl. Uri 980,5, Patna, loc. cit., 4.—5. *Tafsīr sūrat al-Tawhīd* Br. Mus. 978,38, 41, together with 3., 4., Mashh. I, 31, 104.—6. *Kitāb al-ʿarūs*, on the nature of God as the creator of the universe and finite things, Berl. 2295,16, Br. Mus. 1349,17, Esc. 2703,6.—7. On God's transcendence and man's dependence on Him, in answer to a letter by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Abū Maṣṣūr Zayla, Berl. 2297.—8. *al-Kalima al-ilāhiyya*, on God's nature and properties, Berl. 2298.—9. *Masʿala fi ʿl-wasaʿa*, on the same subject, ibid. 2299.—10. *Fī taṣdīq (ithbāt) al-nubuwwa* Gotha 1158,5, Leid. 1464,7, Br. Mus. 1349,10, *Pet. Bull. de l'Ac.* 1860, 518, n. 40.—11. *al-Risāla al-aḍḥawīyya*, on the Last Judgement, Berl. 2734, Leid. 1465, Br. Mus. 978,4, Cairo 11, 48, Persian transl. Bodl. Pers. 1422v.—12. Explanation of Sufi expressions and terms, Berl. 3454.—13. *Risāla fī (bayān māhiyyat) al-ṣalāt* Berl. 3512, Gotha 1158,7, Leid. 2141, Br. Mus. 978,43, 1349,16, Bodl. I, 980,4, Najaf and Tehran, *Dharīʿa* II, 48, 195, Patna I, 88,898.—14. Answer to a question concerning prayer and visiting tombs, Berl. 3568, Esc. 2703,5.—15. *Risāla fī ziyārat al-qubūr* Berl. 408,3, Taymūr, Ḥikma 102.—16. *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī*, on revelation and gifts of grace, miracles and dreams, witchcraft and talismans, Berl. 4094, Br. Mus. 978,17.—17. *al-Risāla al-nayrūziyya fī ḥurūf al-abjad*, on the letters that stand at the beginning of various suras, dedicated to Emir al-Sayyid Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh on the occasion of the festivities of Nawrūz, | Gotha 1158,6 (where other MSS are listed), Taymūr, Ḥikma 121, Patna II, 456,2631, 5, 8, print. Istanbul 1298.—18. *Kitāb al-shifāʿ*, a. logic, b. physics, c. mathematics and astronomy, d. theology, Berl. 5044, Br. Mus. Suppl. 711, Ind. Off. 475/6, Bodl. II, 435/7, 452, 467/8, 471/3, 475/7, 481/2, 485/7, 483, 490, 495, 893, II, 581ff., Upps. 344, Yeni 770/5, Mosul 189,16, Patna I, 213, 904/6, d. ibid. II, 525,2822. *Fann-i samāʿi ṭabīʿī az Kitāb al-shifāʿ*, transl. by M.ʿA. Furūghī, Tehran 1316/1937.—b. Garr. 861.—d. *Ilāhiyyāt al-Sh.* Patna II, 525,2822, on which a *ḥāshīya* by Mullā Ṣadrā (II, 412), ibid. I, 271,1878/9; *Minhāj al-Sh. fī ʿl-ilāhiyyāt* by Aḥmad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-ʿAlawī, ibid. I, 215,1923.—*Mukhtaṣar Uqlīdis* Fātiḥ 3211, *Kitāb al-arithmāṭiqī* Emir 2850, an independent part of the *Shifāʿ*, Erg. 165/6, cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 150.—Abstract, *Kitāb al-najāt*, Br. Mus. 978,5, 979, Bodl. I, 456,2, Cairo 1VI, 105, Yeni 777, print. Rome 1593, C. 1331, ed. Muḥyi ʿl-Dīn Ṣabīri al-Kurdī, C. 1939.—19. *Risāla ilā ʿUbaydallāh al-Jūzajānī*, a defence against the accusation that in the *Shifāʿ* he went against the teachings of the Qurʾān, Berl. 2072, Br. Mus. 978,2.—20. *Kitāb al-ishārāt wal-tanbihāt*, a handbook on logic, Berl. 5046/7, Leid. 1449/51, *Pet.* 87/8, Esc. 2656/7, Yeni 762, Sarāi A. III, 3248,1 (Ritter, *Isl.* XXIV, 276, n. 1.), Cairo 1VI, 93, Qawala II, 380, Patna I, 209,1858. Pers. transl. of

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*Avicenne et leurs rapports avec celles des Grecs*, Cairo 1938.—Commentaries:  
 a. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, d. 606/1209 (p. 506), Bodl. I, 525, 708, fragm. Gotha

1916, glosses Paris 2936.—b. ‘Alī b. al-Nafīs al-Qarshī, d. 687/1288 (p. 493), on anatomy in Book 1 and 3, Berl. 6272/3, Paris 2939, Bodl. II, 178, Esc. 2828 (*Sharḥ abḥāth al-Q.*), 885/6 (Book VI), Mosul 217,99, Patna I, 249,2120/1.—c. Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, d. 710/1310 (II, 211): aa. On the complete work, Gotha 1917 (fragm.), vol. I, Paris 2940, Bodl. II, 160 Esc. 1291, Patna I, 249,2122/3, 250,2131.—bb. *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa‘diyya*, on the *Kullīyyāt*, dedicated to Sa‘d al-Dīn, vizier of Sultan Khudābende, Ind. Off. 779 (frgm.), Book I, Bodl. II, 177, Nan. 102, Esc. 2864/5.—d. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Āmulī, d. 753/1352, abbreviated from the commentary by al-Shīrāzī, Br. Mus. 1449,2, Suppl. 891, Ind. Off. 780, dam. RAAD XII, 320 (*Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Q.*), Patna I, 249,2124, on which glosses by ‘Alī al-Jilānī, d. 1018/1609, see Suppl., also Patna I, 249,2127/30.—e. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Āqsarā‘ī, ca. 800/1397, Leid. 1322, Bodl. I, 581, 606, 629, 635, Palat. 254, Esc. 1831.—f.—n. see Suppl. (f. Patna 249,2118.—g. ibid. 2125/6.—l. ibid. 250,2139.—m. ibid. 2132).—Abstracts: a. *Ikhtīṣār Kitāb al-q.* from the *Kullīyyāt* or from *al-Fuṣūl al-Īlāqīyya* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī, d. 485/1092, Paris 2917, 5105, Pet. Ros. 167/8, Bank. IV, 42, Āṣaf. II, 928,278, 429, with the title *al-Asbāb wal-‘alāmāt* Beirut 309,1, Alex. Ṭibb 4. *Mu‘ālaḥāt al-Ī.* Rampūr I, 497,232/3.—Commentaries: α Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Nīsābūrī, completed in 683/1284, Gotha 1931, Leipz. 756.—β Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Āmulī, Selīm Āgā 871.—γ Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samnānī, Paris 2907,2.—δ *al-Īmāqī* by Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-‘Atā‘iqī al-Ḥillī, composed in 754/5, al-Khizāna al-Gharawīyya, *Dhar‘a* II, 509,2000.—ε Maḥmūd Tāj al-Rāzī, ca. 730/1330, Berl. 6284.—b. *al-Mūjiz* by ‘Alī b. al-Nafīs al-Qarshī, d. 687/1288, (p. 493), therein the first representation of the pulmonary circulation, see O.S. Haddad, *Münch. Med. Wochenschr.* 1941, 1088, Berl. 6275/6, Gotha 1925/7 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 805, Esc. 2826,2, Garr. 1084/6, Mosul 192,22, 237,178, Alex. Ṭibb 49, Qawala II, 290, Patna I, 250,2172/3, print. Calcutta 1261.—Commentaries: aa. *al-Mughnī* by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī al-Sadīdī, ca. 745/1344 (II, 195), Berl. 6277/8, Gotha 1925/7 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 806, Garr. 1087, Alex. Ṭibb. 46, Patna I, 254,2168, II, 322,2866, print. Calcutta 1832.—bb. Abu ‘l-Mubārak Muḥammad, ca. 925/1519, Berl. 6279.—cc. Nafīs b. ‘Iwaḍ al-Kirmānī, d. 853/1449 (II, 213), completed in 841/1437, Ind. Off. 785, Bodl. II, 686, Esc. 2829, 866, Garr. 1089/90, Mosul 270,24, Patna I, 256,2178/9.—Glosses: α Ḥakīm A‘ājib b. Mu‘ālij Khān Bank. IV, 46/7.—β Ḥakīm Aḥmad Sharīf Khān b. Ḥādhiq al-Mulk Makmal Khān b. al-Wakīl Khān, d. 1231/1799 in Delhi, Bank. IV, 48.—γ see Suppl.—δ Aḥmad al-Adranawī, Paris 2932.—dd. *Ḥall al-mūjiz* by Jamāl (Shams) al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Āqsarā‘ī, d. 779/1378, Bodl. I, 629, Garr. 1088, Esc. 2836, 867,2, Alex. Ṭibb 15.—ff.—oo. see Suppl. (gg. al-Amshāṭī, d. 902/1496, II, 169; oo. also Patna I, 250,2125/6).—c. *al-Qānūnja fī ‘l-ṭibb* by Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Jaghminī, d. 745/1344 (II, 213), Berl. 6293, Gotha 1928/9 (where other

MSS are listed), Esc. <sup>2868</sup>, Alex. Ṭibb 34, Patna I, 251,<sup>2140</sup>.—Commentaries: aa. al-Fāḍil al-Baghdādī, after 710/1310, Berl. 6294.—bb. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, composed in 831/1427, Ind. Off. 1041,<sup>3</sup>.—cc. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb al-Miṣrī, dedicated to Sultan Bāyezīd II (886–918/1481–1512), Gotha 1930.—dd. Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, Leid. 1324. |—ee.—pp. see Suppl. (gg. also Patna I, 250,<sup>2133</sup>).—d. *Mukhtaṣar al-kullīyyāt* by Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Lubūdī, seventh cent. p. 651, Paris 2918 (autograph).—e. Nidā' b. 'Īsā b. al-Ḥājī Nidā' b. 'Imrān, Paris 2933 (autograph dated 990/1582), see Suppl.—f. *al-Maknūn fī tanqīḥ al-Qānūn* by Hibatallāh b. Jumay', d. 594/1198 (p. 489), Bodl. I, 596, Garr. 1092, whence *al-Talwīḥ ilā asrār al-Tanqīḥ* or *Tanqīḥ al-maknūn* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khujandī (II, 213), Paris 2941, Patna I, 252,<sup>2147</sup>.—g.—m. see Suppl.—83. *Risāla fī 'l-hindubā'*, on the use of unwashed chicory, Gotha 1158,<sup>26</sup>, 1930,<sup>5</sup>, *Risāla fī khawāṣṣ al-kūshānī* Mashh. XI, 19,<sup>58</sup> (Krause), | *Hindibā risālesī*, *Buharali b. S. L'article d'Avicenne sur la chicorée par A. Süheyl*, Univers. Istanbul, Tip Tarihi Enstitüsü no. 7, 1937.—84. *Urjūza fī 'l-tashrīḥ*, on anatomy, Gotha 13.—85. *Risāla fī 'l-ṭibb* Leid. 2140.—86. *Fī aḥkām al-adwiya al-qalbīyya*, on diseases of the heart, Berl. 6359, Gotha 1995, Leid. 1330/1, Esc. <sup>2860</sup>,<sup>2</sup>, 875,<sup>3</sup>, Qawala II, 290, MSS in private possession *Dharī'a* I, 403,<sup>2099</sup>, beginning printed in *al-Ṭarfān*, Sidon 1345, Rabī' I, abstract Esc. <sup>2844</sup>/5.—87. Medical *waṣīyya* in *kāmil* verse, Berl. 3974, Esc. <sup>2883</sup>.—88. *Urjūzat tadbīr al-fuḥūl fī 'l-fuṣūl*, 81 or 121 *rajaz* verses on dietetics according to the seasons of the year, Berl. 6395, 6397/9, Vienna 1457, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 525, library of Ni'ma al-Ṭarīḥī, *Dharī'a* I, 495,<sup>2438</sup>.—89. *Urjūza fī 'l-mujarrabāt min al-aḥkām al-nujūmiyya wal-qawānīn al-ṭibbiyya*, tested medicines, composed in 428/1037, Vienna 1457,<sup>2</sup>, Paris 2661,<sup>4</sup>, 2942,<sup>2</sup>, Br. Mus. 893,<sup>5</sup>, Esc. <sup>2863</sup>,<sup>2</sup>.—90. *Risāla fī tadbīr al-musāfirīn* Br. Mus. 1349,<sup>11</sup>.—91. *Risāla fī 'l-bāh* ibid. 13.—92. *Maqādīr al-sharābāt*, on liquid substances in unadulterated form with information on their harmful effects, Berl. 6412.—93. *Risāla fī 'l-ashriba wal-ajwiba* Patna I, 375,<sup>2550</sup>,<sup>21</sup>.—94. *al-Risāla al-mawsūma bil-Fuṣūl* ibid. 22 (= 88?) or Suppl. 959? c. l. AS 4854,<sup>10</sup>, in Erg. 75.—95. Letter of Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr to Ibn Sīnā, Alex. Fun. 126,<sup>11</sup>.—95a.—gg. see Suppl. (a. Patna II, 374,<sup>2559</sup>,<sup>10</sup>, k. ibid. 11).

iv. Poetry.—96. *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya fī 'l-tawḥīd, qaṣīda nūniyya* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 625.—97. *Qaṣīda* on the impending, disastrous events of the year 657/8, Berl. 7609,<sup>1</sup> (falsely attributed?).—98. *Qaṣīda* on change and the perishability of everything material, ibid. 2.—99. Letter of invitation to a friend in rhymed prose, ibid. 8604.—100.–102. see Suppl.

v. Occult sciences. 103. *Khulāṣat al-ta'bīr* Garr. 930.—104.–107. see Suppl.

2. His student Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ma'ṣūmī wrote, around 430/1038:

Demonstration of the four absolute manifestations, Berl. 5058.

3. His student Abu 'l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār b. Marzubān, ca. 430/1038.

1. *Risāla fī marātib al-mawjūdāt* Leid. 1482/3.—2. *Risāla fī mawḍū' al-'ilm al-ma'rūf bi-mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, the object of metaphysics, *ibid.* 1484, no. 1 and 2  
 600 edited by S. Poper, | *B. ben El-M. der persische Aristoteliker aus Avicennas Schule, zwei metaphysische Abbh. von ihm, ar. u. deutsch mit Anm.*, Leipzig 1851.—  
 3. Excerpts from his correspondence with his teacher Ibn Sinā, Leid. 1485, Bodl. I, 456, Ambros. 320a.—4. *al-Taḥṣīlāt*, see Suppl., also Patna I, 209.<sup>1062</sup>

4. His student Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Umar b. Zaylā, who died in 440/1048.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 19. *Al-Kāfi fī 'l-mūsīqī* Br. Mus. Suppl. 823ii, Or. 2361, f. 220/36, see Farmer, *Sources* 42, Rāmpūr I, 417.<sup>57b</sup>

459 | 5. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭabīb al-Baṣrī, who died in 436/1044 in Baghdad.

Ibn Khall. 581. *Sharḥ al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī*, commentary on Aristotle's *περὶ Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως*, Book VIII in the translation of Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn, Leid. 1433.

6. Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir b. Fātik al-Qā'id, an Egyptian emir, wrote, in 445/1053:

(Ibn Abū Uṣ. II, 98/9, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 311, without date of death). *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*, sayings of wise men: 1. Seth, 2. Hermes-Idris-Enoch, 3. Ṣāb, the ancestor of the Ṣābians, 4. Asclepius, 5. Homer, 6. Solon, 7. Zenon, 8. Hippocrates, 9. Pythagoras, 10. Plato, 11. Aristotle, 12. Alexander, 13. Ptolemy, author of the *Almagest*, 14. Luqmān, 15. Mahādar Jīsh, 16. Basilios, 17. Gregorios, 18. Galen, 19. varia, 20. anonyma, Leid. 1487, Lee 40 = *Ādāb al-ḥukamā'* Berl. 7859; cf. Steinschneider, *Centralbl. f. Bibl. Beiheft* v, 289, Meissner, *ZDMG* 49, 583ff. (*Akhbār al-Iskandar*). J. Lippert, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griech.-ar. Übersetzungsliteratur* p. 1ff. (biography of Plato). Spanish transl. *Bocados de oro*, ed. Knust, *Mitteilungen aus dem Eskurial* p. 8off., Latin *Liber philosophorum moralium*, ed. Salvatore de Renzi in *Collectio Salernitana* III, 68/150, cf. J. Gildemeister, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.* XII, 236ff.

7. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Ṭurtūshī al-Fihrī b. Abī Randaqa, d. 520/1126 or 525/1131, see Suppl.

| Ibn Khall. 377, al-Ḍabbī p. 123, no. 295, Maqq. I, 517, Yāqūt, *GW* III, 529, Suyūfī, *Husn al-muḥ.* I, 257, Wüst., *Gesch.* 229. 1. *Sirāj al-mulūk*, a mirror for princes, completed on 14 Rajab 516/19 September 1122 in Fustāṭ and dedicated to the vizier al-Ma'mūn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Umawī b. al-Bāṭa'ihī, Gotha 1878/9 (where other MSS are listed), 'Um. 5105, Br. Mus. Suppl. 742/3, Cairo 1v, 67, <sup>2</sup>1, App. 43, print. Būlāq 1289.—Abstracts by: a. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abdallāh al-Muqrī' al-Lakhmī, de Jong 155.—b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Azharī, twelfth cent., Leid. 469, Persian transl. *Pet. Bull. scient.* III, 63, *Bull. hist. phil.* III, 221, IV, 238, cf. Dozy, *Recherches* 3rd ed. vol. 2, p. 234.—2. *Tahrīm al-istimnā'*, proof that onanism is forbidden, Berl. 4981.—3. Abstract of the Qur'ān commentary of al-Tha'ālibī, d. 427/1036, see p. 350.

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7a. See Suppl. = 594, 1c.

| 8. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ṣā'igh b. Bājja (Avempace) was born in Zaragoza and lived in 512/1118 in Seville and Granada. Later he went to the court of the Almoravid 'Alī b. Yūsuf in Fez, where he was poisoned on the order of the physician Abu 'l-'Alā' b. Zuhr in 533/1138. Besides philosophy, he was also active in the theory and practice of music.

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Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id* 298ff., Ibn Khall. 642, Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 62/4, Maqq. II, 423, S. Munk, *Mélanges* 383ff., Leclerc II, 75, Hartmann, *Muw.* 30, M. Asín Palacios, il filosofo Zaragozano Avempace, *Rev. de Aragon*, 1901, 242 f., Avempace botánico, *al-Andalus* VII (in which a treatise from Berl. 5060, Bodl. I, 499). 1. Collection of 24 smaller tracts on philosophy, medicine, and physics, Berl. 5060, Bodl. I, 499 (on the *Kitāb al-nafs* see Farmer, *Sources*, 44).—2. *Risālat al-widā'*, a farewell letter to Ibn al-Imām, the publisher of his works (Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 62), Asín, La carta de Adiós de Avempace (Berl. 5067, f. 97/204, Bodl. Poc. 206, f. 217/220), *al-Andalus* VIII, 1/87, see Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 206.—3. *Fī tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* ibid. 2, *Die Abh. des a. B. b. as-S. vom Verhalten des Einsiedlers*, K. t. al-m. nach Mose Narb.'s *Auszug hsg. v. D. Herzog*, Berl. 1896, *Beitr. z. Phil. des MA*, Heft I, see E. Rosen, Staatspolitische Gedanken bei I.B., *MWJ* 1937, 168/86.

| 9. Awḥad al-Zamān Hibatallāh 'Alī b. Malkā Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī al-Baladī, d. after 560/1165, see Suppl.

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Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 278/80.—1. *Risāla fī sabab ẓuhūr al-kawākib laylan wa-khafā'ihā nahāran* Berl. 5671.—2. *al-Mu'tabar fī 'l-ḥikma* Hyderabad 1357 (in Berl. 5061 he is mistakenly credited with a work by al-Fārābī, p. 210, 'Uyūn al-masā'il). S. Pines, Études sur Awḥad al-Zamān Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, *REJuviv.* N.S. IV (CLIV), 1938, iff.—3.—5. see Suppl. (3. Hyderabad 1357).—6. *Barsha'thā al-mujarrab*, on an Indian cure, AS 3555, f. 41a/164b (Ritter).

10. Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Barawī, born in 517/1123 in Ṭūs, arrived in Baghdad in 527/1132 and became a teacher at al-Bahā'iyya Madrasa. He died in 567/1172.

Ibn Khall. 564. *Al-Muqtaraḥ fī 'l-muṣṭalaḥ*, on the terminology of dialectic, with a commentary by Taqī al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Abi 'l-'Izz al-Miṣrī, 6th cent., Esc. 2693, Fez, Qar. 1409.

10a. Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Lawkarī was a contemporary of 'Umar al-Khayyām, d. 517/1123 (p. 620), who, like him, was also active as a poet.

*Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma* 120, 204. 1. *Bayān al-ḥaqq wa-ḍamān al-ṣidq*, on natural philosophy in 5 chapters, based on the smaller *Physics* of Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā's commentaries, Paris 5900.

11. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṭufayl al-Qaysī was born in Guadix near Granada. He served the governor of Granada as a secretary and then became the personal physician and vizier of the Almohad Abū Ya'qub Yūsuf. He died at the latter's court in Marrakesh in 581/1185.

Wüst., *Ärzte* 194, *Gesch.* 273, Leclerc II, 113, Munk, *Mélanges* 410ff. *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḡzān*, a philosophical novel which depicts the gradual awakening of the intellect of a child born on a deserted island, Bodl. I, 133,2, Br. Mus. 978,10, under the title *Kitāb asrār al-ḥikma al-mashriqiyya* Esc. 2699,3, print. Būlāq 1299, Landb. Br. 533, 573, Cairo 1v1, 88, Taymūr, *Ḥikma* 19, wrongly attributed to Ibn Sab'īn (p. 611) with the title *Mirqāt al-zulfā wal-mashrab | al-aṣfā*, Taymūr, *Taṣawwuf* 149. *Philosophus autodidactus*, ed. E. Pococke, Oxford 1671, cf. A. Merx, *Eine maliche Kritik der Offenbarung, Protest. Kirchenzeitung* 1885, 667/73, 688/93, 708/14, 730/7, Massignon, *Textes* 125 (on Garcia Gómez, see Suppl., Kračkovsky, *Literis* IV, 1927, 28/33).

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| 12. Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rashīd Mubashshir b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī, d. 583/1187, see Suppl.

ḤKh IV, 396. 1. *al-Risāla al-Amīniyya fi 'l-tanbīh 'ala 'l-sa'āda al-ḥaqīqiyya* Leid. 1495.—2. A manual of arithmetic, Bursa Haraccizade Heyet ve Hikmet 171.—3. Answers to questions, written on 16 Jumādā 11 596, *ibid*.

13. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr (Allāh) b. 'Abdallāh al-Shayzarī wrote for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who died in 589/1193:

1. *al-Nahj al-maslūk fi siyāsat al-mulūk*, a mirror for princes, Munich 611, Leid. 473, Paris 2438, Garr. 781, 2115,<sup>2</sup>, Istanbul H. 4196 (*ZS* III, 253), print. Bülāq 1256, C. 1326, see Babinger, *Gesch.* 329, no. 15.—2. *Nihāyat al-rutba fi ṭalab al-ḥisba*, see Suppl. also Br. Mus. 9221, 9588, Top Kapu 2479, *RSO* IV, 727 (which has al-Ḥarrānī), see Gaudefroy Demombynes, *JA* 230, p. 453.—3.—5. see Suppl. (3. also Alex. Ṭibb 7, 41,<sup>1</sup>).

14. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Hāshimī, d. 590/1194.

1. *al-Fuṣūl*, statements on behaviour, customs, and self-knowledge, collected by his student Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Qaṣṭallānī, d. 636/1238, Berl. 8683, Fātiḥ 5375, 72a/89a, Cairo <sup>2</sup>1, 338.—2. See Suppl.

14a. Al-Khiḍr b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad wrote, for al-Malik al-Mu'izz, i.e. Faṭḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fidā' Ismā'īl, the son of Sayf al-Islām and nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, prince of Yemen (Ibn Khall., *Biogr. Dict.* 1, 656, Abu 'l-Fidā' in *Hist. d. crois.* 1, 83):

*Kitāb al-wazā'if al-ma'rūfa lil-manāqib al-mawṣūfa*, abstract *al-Fāna lil-ḥaqq li-man waliya shay'an min umūr al-khalq* Esc. <sup>2</sup>775.

| 15. Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rushd (Averroes), grandson of the jurisconsult (p. 384), was born in Cordova in 520/1126 and studied law in his hometown. In Marrakesh in 548/1153 he was introduced by Ibn Ṭufayl to the then-crown prince Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who suggested that he write a commentary on the works of Aristotle. In 565/1169 he became *qāḍī* in Seville, and two years after that in Cordova. This is where his main works were written, despite the heavy load of his administrative duties. In 578/1182 Yūsuf appointed him as replacement to an ageing Ibn Ṭufayl as his personal physician in Marrakesh, but soon let him go to become chief *qāḍī* in his home town. Because he could not do without the support of the Spanish *fuqahā'* in his struggle against Alfonso VIII of Castile, Yūsuf's successor Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr was compelled to give in to their complaints about Ibn Rushd's doctrines, and after he had all of his books burned, exiled him to Alyusāna (Lucena) near Cordova.

But after his return to Marrakesh the former reconvened him there, where Ibn Rushd died on 9 Šafar 595/10 December 1198.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 75/8, al-Marrakechi, *Hist. des Almohades*, trad. Fagnan, Leclerc II, 97, Munk, *Mélanges* 418ff., E. Renan, *Averroes et l'Averroïsme*, 2nd ed. Paris 1861. Lasinio, *Studi sopra Averroce, Annuario della società ital. per gli studii or.* I/II, 1872/3. A.F. Mehren, *Études sur la philosophie d'Averroës concernant ses rapports avec celle d'Avicenne et Ghazzālī, Muséon* VII, 613/27, VIII, 1/20, Siebeck, *Zur Psychologie der Scholastik*, 8. Averroes, *Arch. f. Gesch. der Philos.* II, 517/25, G. Gabrieli, *Arch. d. storia delle scienze* V, 1924, 156/62, L. Strauss, *Philosophie und Gesetz*, Berlin 1935, p. 69ff. Goffredo Quadri, *La filosofia degli Arabi nel suo fiore*, II, *Il pensiero filosofico di Averroce*, Florence 1939. List of his works, Esc. <sup>2</sup>884<sub>10</sub>.

1. *Kitāb faṣl al-maqāl fi-mā bayna l-sharī'a wal-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl* Esc. <sup>2</sup>632, Madr. 132 (Gg. 151), see Esc. <sup>2</sup>11, XIX, see M.J. Müller, *Philosophie u. Theologie des Av.*, Munich | 1859, p. 3/21 *aus dem Ar. übers.* Munich 1875, cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers* § 149<sub>1</sub>.—2. Supplement of which Esc. <sup>2</sup>632<sub>2</sub>, ed. Müller, op. cit., p. 120/31. |—3. *Kitāb al-kashf 'an manāḥij al-adilla fi 'aqā'id al-milla wa-ta'rif mā waqa'a fi-hā bi-ḥasb al-ta'wīl min al-shubah al-muzayyifa wal-bida' al-muḍilla*, composed in 575/1179, ed. Müller, op. cit., 27/127, Taymūr, *Ḥikma* 129, cf. Steinschneider § 149<sub>2</sub>.—4. *al-Masā'il*, mostly on logic, Esc. <sup>2</sup>632<sub>4</sub>, Madr. 102<sub>2</sub>, cf. Steinschneider, *al-Fārābī*, 22, 38, 50/1.—5. *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, a refutation of al-Ghazzālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (p. 544), print. C. 1303.—6. *Kullīyyāt*, on therapeutics, composed in 557/1162, Pet. 124, Latin transl. Euting 2217/31, Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 429.—7. His adaptations of Aristotle in a Hebrew translation in Steinschneider § 21ff.—8. *Il commento medio di Averroce alla poetica di Aristotele, pubbl. in Arabico e in Hebr. e recato in ital. da F. Lasinio*, Pisa 1873 (*Annali della Università Toscana* XIV).—9. Averrois paraphrasis in librum poeticae Aristotelis Jacobo Mantino Hispano interprete, ed. F. Heidenhain, *Jahbr. f. class. Phill. Suppl.* XVII, 2, p. 351/82, see F. Gabrieli, *Estetica e poesia araba nell' interpretazione della Poetica Aristotelica presso Avicenna e Averroce*, *RSO* 1930, 305.—10. E. Rosenthal, *Averroes' Middle Cmt. on Aristotle's Analytica Priora et Posteriora*, *Bull. John Rylands Libr. Manchester* XXI (1937) 479/83 (ad Mingana 374).—11. *Mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a min talkhīṣ b. R.*, Taymūr, *Ḥikma* 117<sub>3</sub>, *Tafsīr ma ba'd al-ṭabī'a* ed. M. Bouyges, *Bibl. Ar. Schol.* v, 1, 2, Beirut 1938.—12. Die durch Averroes erhaltenen Fragmente Alexanders zur *Metaphysik* des Aristoteles, unters. u. übers. v. J. Freudenthal, mit Beiträgen zur Erläuterung des arab. Textes von S. Fraenkel, *AbhAWB* a. d. J. 1884, Berlin 1885, I, 1/34.—13. *Drei Abhh. über die Conjunction des separaten Intellekts mit dem*



*Menschen von A. aus dem Arab. übers. v. Samuel b. Tibbōn, hsg. übers. u. erl. v. J. Hercz, Berlin 1869, L. Hannes, Des A. Abh., „Über die Möglichkeit der Conjunction“ oder „Über den materiellen Intellekt“, in hebr. Übers. hsg. u. erl., Halle 1892.—*14. *Talkhīṣ kutub Aristū al-arbaʿa Kitāb al-Māʿqūlāt wa-Kitāb al-Qaḍāyā wa-Kitāb al-Qiyās wa-Kitāb al-Burhān* Cairo <sup>1</sup>v1, 52, 90.—17.—20. cf. Suppl. (18. MS Paris 2458,8 is dated 539, and cannot therefore be by Ibn Rushd, P. Kraus).—21. *al-Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adilla*, Taymūr, Ḥikma 129.—22. A treatise on theriac (Bouyges, Inv. nr. 64), Esc. <sup>2</sup>873,3 884,6.—23. *Talkhīṣ* of 3 treatises by Galen: a) *de dementia*, b) *de | temperamentis*, c) *de facultatibus naturalibus*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>881, 884,2.—24. *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-ḥummayāt*, Galen, *De differentiis febrium*, *ibid.* 884,1.—25. *Kalām fi ʿkhtiṣār al-ʿilal wal-aʿrāḍ li-Jālīnūs de morborum et symptomatum differentiis et causis*, *ibid.* 884,3.—26. *Maqāla fi aṣnāf al-mizāj* *ibid.* 4.—27. *Maqāla fi ḥummayāt al-ʿafan* *ibid.* 5.—28. *Fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa* *ibid.* 7.

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15a. His son Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh (Leclerc II, 109) wrote:

1. Abstracts of Galen's *Methodi medendi* l. XIV and other works.—2. A *maqāla* on the intellect (Bouyges p. 31, n. 54), Esc. <sup>2</sup>884,8,9.

16. Taqī al-Dīn al-Najrānī wrote, between 505/1111 and 675/1276:

*Al-Kāmil fi ʿl-istiṣāʿ fi-mā balaghanā min kalām al-quḍamāʿ*, on the main points of philosophical dogmatics according to the ancients, Leid. 1516.

17. Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī wrote, around 600/1203:

*Taʿlīm al-mutaʿallim li-taʿallum ṭarīq al-ʿilm*, Berl. 111/28 and in almost every library. *Enchiridion studiosii*, ed. H. Relandus, Utrecht 1709. *Enchiridion studiosi*, ed. C. Caspari, Leipzig 1838.—Commentaries: 1. Nawʿī (II, 443,6), Munich 662, f. 33ff., Algiers 887,2, 1384/6.—2. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl, composed in 996/1588, Leipz. 186,3, Krafft 4, Garr. 786, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v11, 175, Qawala I, 241/2, print. Istanbul 1273, 1289, 1306, 1319.—3.–7. see Suppl. (7. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Faqī, according to Qawala I, 244).

| 18. Abu ʿl-Qāsim b. Riḍwān wrote, after 600/1203, during the reign of a Mārinid prince:

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*Al-Shuḥub al-lāmiʿa fi ʿl-siyāsa al-nāfiʿa*, on politics, Leid. 1943, Bodl. I, 296.

19. Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Tumlūs was born in Alcira (or, according to others, in Valencia) and died in 620/1223.

1. Commentary on Aristotle's *ἀναλυτικά πρότερα και ὕστερα* and *περί ἐρμηνείας*, Esc. <sup>2</sup>649<sub>1</sub>.—2. *Quaesitum de mistione propositionis de inesse et necessariae*, Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 44, XXIII.—3., 4. see Suppl.

607 | 20. During the reign of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, d. 622/1225, Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. Shādhān wrote:

*Kitāb adab al-wuzarā'* Leid. 1942.

21. Afḍal al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Nāmwar b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Khūnajī, of Persian stock, was born in 590/1194 and became a *qāḍī* in Cairo in 641, where he died on 5 Ramaḍān 646/23 December 1249.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 120, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 131, 312. 1. *al-Jumal* or *al-Mukhtaṣar*, a handbook of logic, composed in Mecca in 624/1227, Br. Mus. 156 iii, 542, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 84.—Commentaries: 1. Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Naṣrallāh b. Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, d. 697/1297 (the teacher of Abu 'l-Fidā', see his *Ann.* v, 144ff.), Esc. <sup>2</sup>615, 647, Algiers 1387.—2. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Marzūq al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī, d. 770/1368, Algiers 1388.—3. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, ca. 800/1397, Br. Mus. 542<sub>2</sub>.—4. Muḥammad b. Marzūq al-'Ajīsī al-Tilimsānī, d. 842/1438 (Suppl. II, 342), completed in 804/1400 in Tlemcen, Esc. <sup>2</sup>614, 654.—5. Anon., completed in 754/1353, *ibid.* 617.—6. The same, completed in 793/1371, *ibid.* 616.—Versification, *Naẓm al-Jumal* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār (?), *Hesp.* XVIII, 94, 16d, anon. comm. *ibid.* e.—On *al-Mūjaz* differing therefrom, see Suppl.—II. *Kashf al-asrār 'an ghawāmiḍ al-afkār fi 'l-mantiq* Esc. <sup>2</sup>667, Cairo <sup>2</sup>VII, 646.—III, IV. see Suppl.

22. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Sālim Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī al-'Adawī, d. 652/1254, see Suppl.

Wüst., *Gesch.* 337. 1. *al-'Iqd al-farīd lil-Malik al-Sa'īd*, a mirror for princes, Gotha 1882/3, Paris 2440, Br. Mus. 1435, Ind. Off. 661, Bodl. I, 291, II, 576a, Esc. <sup>2</sup>720, AS 4147/8, Garr. 782/3, print. C. 1283, 1306, 1311.—Extracts Bodl. I, 272, maybe Leid. 464 1950, *Jawāhir* by Ṣāliḥ b. al-'Siddīq al-Namāzī (II, 405), Garr. 178 (mistaken). |—2. *Taḥṣīl al-marām fī tafḍīl al-ṣalāt 'ala 'l-maṣām*, a demonstration that prayer

is more praiseworthy than fasting, Berl. 3569.—3. *Nafā'is al-'anāšir li-majālis al-Malik al-Nāšir*, an edifying work, Berl. 8779/90, Br. Mus. 1530.—4. *al-Durr al-munazzam fi 'l-sirr al-a'zam*, a kabbalistic work, Berl. 4142, Gotha 1258<sub>1</sub>, Paris 2663/9, 4606<sub>1</sub>, Bodl. I, 1036, Lee 60, with the title *Miftāḥ al-jafr al-jāmī' wa-miṣbāḥ al-nūr al-lāmī'*, also Patna I, 243<sub>2083</sub>.—explanations of the final part of the 10th *ṭarīq* by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Khallāl | al-Ḥimṣī, Berl. 4219, Gotha 1259, Paris 266, with the title *al-Jawāb*, composed in 662/1264, Gotha 9, 1258<sub>2</sub>, Paris 6598, f. 108v.—7., 8. see Suppl. (7. read: *manāqib āl al-rasūl*).

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23. Athīr al-Dīn Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Abharī, who died in 663/1264, see Suppl.

Barhebraeus, *Hist. Dyn.* 485 (gives 1262 as the year of death).

1. *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*: a. *fi 'l-manṭiq b. fi 'l-ṭabī'iyyāt, c. fi 'l-ilāhiyyāt*, Gotha 1217, Paris 2330<sub>5</sub>, Pet. 230, AM 18, Bodl. I, 455<sub>2</sub>, 516, 981<sub>2</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>631, 636<sub>4</sub>, 704, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 106, Qawala II, 388.—Commentaries: 1. On b. and c., Muḥammad b. Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī, ca. 825/1422, Berl. 5070, Algiers 1390, Garr. 834/5, Patna II, 424<sub>2596</sub>, 1.—2. al-Sharīf al-Ḥusayn al-Shānawī, Berl. 5071.—3. Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī (II, 212), Ind. Off. 493, 584<sub>2</sub>, 592<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 830, Patna I, 212<sub>1897</sub>, on which glosses by Muḥammad Hāshim al-Ḥasanī al-Ṭabīb, Patna II, 526<sub>2825</sub>.—4. Mawlānāzāde Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Harawī, Gotha 1217<sub>2</sub>, Leid. 1517/8, Br. Mus. 1353, Ind. Off. 494/5, Paris 2360/1, Esc. <sup>2</sup>635<sub>1</sub>, Garr. 831/2, Yeni 768, Alex. Fals. 15, Qawala II, 387, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 99, Patna I, 213<sub>1900</sub>, glosses by Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī (II, 212), on the last two parts Garr. 833, other glosses Esc. <sup>2</sup>635<sub>3</sub>, Paris 2362<sub>1</sub>.—(4a. see Suppl. also Makram 44).—5. On b. and c., Mīr Ḥusayn b. Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Maybudī (II, 210), composed in 880/1475, Berl. 5065, Paris 2363, Br. Mus. 1352, *Pet. AM Bull.* x, 77, Kazan 82, 99<sub>5</sub>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>236<sub>1</sub>, Algiers 1389, Ambr. B, 77i, 82 (*RSO* IV, 103), Garr. 829, 2155<sub>1</sub>, Yeni 769, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 98, Patna I, 213<sub>1898/9</sub>, II, 416<sub>2886</sub>, 527<sub>2834</sub> (printed editions see Suppl.).—Glosses: a. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Sammākī al-Astarābādī (II, 414), ca. 1040/1630, Ind. Off. 492, Esc. <sup>2</sup>673, Alex. Fals. 7, Patna I, 210<sub>1873</sub>, II, 526<sub>2829</sub>.—b. Naṣrallāh Muḥammad al-Khalkhālī al-Bukhārī, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 92.—c. Muḥammad Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, d. 971/1569 (II, 120), Berl. 5067/9, Gotha 1218, Paris 2364, Lee 42, Algiers 1389<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 2130/1, Qawala II, 383/4, with superglosses by Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Kaffawī, Qawala II, 382/3 and al-Kalanbawī, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 92, Qawala II, 383.—d.—l. see Suppl. (f. *Ghāyat al-nihāya* by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-'Alamī, ca. 960/1553, Patna I, 210<sub>1875</sub>; l. *ibid.* 211<sub>1876</sub>).—m. Muḥammad Iṣmatallāh, Patna I, 210<sub>1874</sub>.—6. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī Ṣadr al-Dīn, d. 1051/1640 (II, 413), Berl. 5072, Ind. Off. 496,

Stewart 417, Alex. Fals. 15, Patna I, 214,<sup>1911/2</sup>.—Glosses see Suppl. ( $\beta$  Patna I, 210,<sup>1867</sup>,  $\gamma$  *ibid.* | 1868,  $\delta$  *ibid.* 1869,  $\zeta$  *ibid.* 1864/6,  $\vartheta$  *ibid.* 1871/2,  $\iota$  *ibid.* 1870.)—  
609 7. Anon., Berl. 5073/4, Paris 2500,<sup>7</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>634.—16 commentaries and glosses in Ahlw. 5075.

II. *Kitāb al-isāghūjī*, an adaptation of the *ἰσαγωγῆ* of Porphyry, Berl. 5228/9, Gotha 1171/4, Vienna 1524/5, Krafft 391, Leipz. 34,<sup>2</sup>, Hamb. Or. Sem. 105,<sup>1</sup>, Paris 253,<sup>2</sup>, '4,<sup>2</sup>, '6,<sup>2</sup>, 2500,<sup>10</sup>, Br. Mus. 531, 532,<sup>7</sup>, Suppl. 729, *Hesp.* XVIII, 1934, 90,<sup>82</sup>, Alex. Mantīq 23,<sup>2</sup>, Fun. 120,<sup>4</sup>, 129,<sup>5</sup>, 142,<sup>3</sup>, Qawala II, 317/21, Patna II, 528,<sup>2837/8</sup>.—  
Commentaries: 1. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Kātī, d. 760/1359, Berl. 5230/1, Gotha 1171,<sup>3</sup> (where other MSS are listed), Ambr. A 88 (*RSO* III, 591), Garr. 807, 2081,<sup>3</sup>, 2141,<sup>1</sup>, 2152,<sup>1</sup>, 2156,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Mantīq 15, 22/3, 25,<sup>4</sup>, 28,<sup>4</sup>, Fun. 172,<sup>2</sup>, 187,<sup>14</sup>, Qawala II, 360.—Glosses: a. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Barda'ī, d. 927/1521, Berl. 5232, Gotha 1171,<sup>3</sup> (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 808, Alex. Mantīq 7, 29,<sup>2</sup>, Qawala II, 330.—b. Madhkūr b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, Gotha 1076.—c. al-Qarabāghī,  
465 d. 942/1535, Berl. 5233, Garr. 2081,<sup>2</sup>.—d. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Tālijī (Tālishī), | Berl. 5234/5, Munich 671/2, Haupt. 207, Copenhagen 183,<sup>3</sup>, Krafft 398, Paris 1243,<sup>2</sup>, 2356,<sup>1</sup>, Leid. 1520, Pet. 96, Qawala II, 330,<sup>1</sup>, Alex. Mantīq 11, 28,<sup>3</sup>, Garr. 2081,<sup>4</sup>, 2152,<sup>2</sup>.—e. Anon., Berl. 5236, Gotha 1177, Paris 1267,<sup>2</sup>, 2359,<sup>1</sup>, Munich. 669/70, Br. Mus. Suppl. 729,<sup>2</sup>.—f. al-Shirwānī (?), Alex. Mantīq 11.—g.—r. see Suppl. (g. Alex. Mantīq 15, superglosses by Muḥammad b. Ghulām Muḥammad, Patna I, 223,<sup>1956</sup>; p. Alex. Mantīq 11).—s. Yaḥyā al-Ruhawī al-Ḥanafī, Alex. Mantīq 11, Fun. 96,<sup>1</sup>.—2. *al-Fawā'id al-Fanāriyya* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī, d. 834/1431 (II, 233), Berl. 5237/8, Leipz. 887, vii, Gotha 1178 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 809/10, 2130,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Mantīq 18, 24, 28/9, Fun. 177,<sup>2</sup>, Qawala 369/73, Istanbul 1236—Glosses: a. Qul Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khidr, ca. 950/1543, Berl. 5240/1, Esc. <sup>2</sup>633,<sup>2</sup>, Garr. 810/2,<sup>2</sup>, 2156, Alex. Mantīq 11, 24,<sup>2</sup>, 28,<sup>2</sup>, 31, Qawala II, 344/8.—Superglosses:  $\alpha$  Maḥmūd Efendi, eleventh cent., Berl. 5242.— $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  see Suppl. ( $\beta$ . by al-Tirawī, twelfth cent., also Istanbul 1242, 1275, 1307;  $\gamma$  al-Ḥāfiẓ b. 'Alī al-'Imādī, Garr. 2079,<sup>1</sup>, Qawala II, 342).— $\delta$  on the beginning by Maḥmūd Efendi. Amīr Shahri, Qawala II, 349.—b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Pet. 1054.—c. al-Patkarī, *ibid.* 5.—d. Burhān al-Dīn b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamid al-Bulghārī, Br. Mus. Suppl. 723,<sup>3</sup>, Garr. 813, Alex. Mantīq 24,<sup>1</sup>, 31,<sup>2</sup>, Istanbul 1276, Qawala II, 369.—e., f. see Suppl.—g. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh Shawqī, completed in 1193/1779, Qawala II, 338, print. Istanbul 1302.—h. Abū  
610 Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan al-Kanqārī al-Anṣārī al-Uskudārī, | thirteenth cent., Istanbul 1279 (Qaw. II, 348).—i. Muḥammad al-Fawzī al-Yārānkamawī, *Khulāṣat al-mizān*, al-Āsitāna 1288, 1301.—3. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ghazawī al-Bitlisi, composed in 855/1451, Berl. 5244, Paris 1013,<sup>10</sup>.—4. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarbī 'Alam al-Dīn, ca. 915/1509, based on the lectures held in 913/1507 by 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Kilānī in Būlāq, Berl. 5245, Garr. 814/6.—5. *al-Muṭṭala'* by Zakariyyā'

al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Berl. 5246/7, Brill M. 161<sub>6</sub>, Gotha 1179/80 (where other MSS are listed), Hamb. Or. Sem. 105<sub>2</sub>, 119, *Hespéris* XVIII, 92, 11, b, Alex. Mantīq 20<sub>5</sub>, 22<sub>2</sub>, 25<sub>1</sub>, 5, 32<sub>5</sub>, Fun. 87<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 817.—Glosses: a. Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī, composed in 1096/1685, Berl. 5248.—b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kharashī, d. 1100/1688, Berl. 5249, Alex. Mantīq 8.—c. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Miṣrī, ca. 1151/1738, Berl. 5250.—d. Yūsuf b. Sālīm al-Ḥafnāwī, d. 1178/1764 (II, 283), Berl. 5251, Alex. Mantīq 8, print. C. 1283, 1297, 1302, 1305, 1306, 1310.—e. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qalyūbī, d. 1029/1620 (II, 364), Garr. 818.—f. *Kashf al-lithām*, by Muḥammad al-Bahūtī, Alex. Mantīq 19.—g. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ghunaymī al-Anṣārī, d. 1044/1634, Qawala II, 343.—h. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dalājī, Alex. Mantīq 8, 22<sub>1</sub>, Makram 19.—i. ‘Alī b. Khiḍr b. Aḥmad al-‘Umrūsī al-Mālikī, Makram 24.—6. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ramaḍān al-Izmīrī, Algiers 1407<sub>2</sub>.—7. Anon., Munich. 669/70, Esc. 2673<sub>1</sub>, Algiers 1437<sub>2</sub>.—8. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Ṭabarī, ca. 1070/1660, Berl. 5252.—10.—31. see Suppl. (11. *Mughni ‘l-tullāb* by Maḥmūd b. Ḥasan al-Maghniṣī, Garr. 825/6, Qawala II, 376/7.—Glosses: a. *Sayf al-ghallāb* by Muḥammad al-Fawzī b. al-Ḥājj A. al-Yārānkamawī al-Adranawī, Qawala II, 359.—b. ‘Uthmān b. Nu‘mān al-Anjustāwī, ca. 1279/1862, Qawala II, 329.—16. *Durr al-nāji*, Qawala II, 355/7, glosses on the *Dībāja* by Ibrāhīm b. al-Yalwajī, Qawala II, 352/3.—24. ‘Alī b. Zākhir, completed in Suwayr by Yuwāqīm, Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3427).—28. *Tuḥfat al-Rushdī*, additionally Istanbul 1279, (Qawala II, 326).—32. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Ujhūrī, d. 1066/1656 (II, 317), Alex. Mantīq 15.—33. *Dharī‘at al-imtihān* by Aḥmad al-Ṣidqī b. ‘Alī Burūsawī, Istanbul 1300 (Qaw. II. 357).—34. Ismā‘īl b. Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd al-Kalanbawī Shaykhzāde (Suppl. II, 302 n. 1), Qawala II, 360.—35. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥanafī, Istanbul 1310 (Qaw. I, 361).—37. *Mīr isāghūjī* by Muḥammad Faḍl al-Ḥaqq al-Rāmgḥūrī, Indian printing 1309, C. Mu‘ayyad 1321 (mistakenly attributed to al-Jurjānī).—revised edition, augmented with examples by Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Shāfi‘ī al-Biqā‘ī, d. 885/1480 (II, 142), with a commentary by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, d. 892/1486 (II, 142), Algiers | 1307<sub>2</sub>, 1382<sub>1</sub>.—18 commentaries and glosses and 4 versifications are mentioned in Ahlw. 5255.

III–XIII. see Suppl. (III. Paris 2515, v. Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>VII, 647, VI. Heid. TA 385<sub>2</sub>, ZDMG 91, 395).

24. Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ishbīlī b. Sab‘īn b. Dāra was born in Murcia, studied under Ibn al-Mar’a b. Dahhāq of Malaga (see Suppl. I, 776, 61, 1), lived for a time in Bijāya, and founded the mystical-philosophical sect named after him. When he was living in Ceuta he answered, at the behest of the Almohad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid (630–40/1232–42), some philosophical questions that the emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen had asked the men of learning there. Seeking to attain

unification with God, he killed himself by slashing his wrists in Mecca in 669/1270.

*Fawāt* I, 247. L. Massignon, *Eranosjahrb.* 1937, 76. 1. *Budd al-ʿarif wa-ʿaqīdat al-muḥaqqiq al-muqarrab al-kāshif wa-ṭariq al-sālik al-mutabattil al-ʿakīf*, an introduction to metaphysics, Berl. 1774.—2. *al-Maqālīd al-wujūdiyya* Alex. *Ḥikma* 27.—3. *al-Ajwiba ʿani ʿl-asʿila al-Ṣaqaliyya* Bodl. I, 456<sub>5</sub> cf. M. Amari, *JA* s. v, 240ff. A.F. Mehren, *Correspondence du philosophe-soufi I.S.A. avec l'empereur Frédéric de Hohenstaufen*, *ibid.*, 14, 341ff. |—4. *Duʿāʾ ḥarf al-qāf*, prayers whose words start with a *qāf*, Berl. 3654.—5. *Kitāb al-daraj* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 682 = (?) *Risāla fī asrār al-kawākib wal-daraj wal-burūj wa-khawāṣṣihā* Alex. *Ḥurūf* 12<sub>1</sub>.—6., 7. see Suppl.—8. *Adwār al-mansūb*, Taymūr, see Farmer, *Sources* 47.—9. *ʿAwāṣim al-qawāsim*, Taymūr, *Taş.* 318.—10. 20 tracts, mostly without a title, among which are the *Kitāb al-ʿiqd*, *al-Naṣiḥa wa-hiya al-Risāla al-Nūriyya* and others, *ibid.* 149, 321 (Kraus, *Or.* VIII, 286).—The *Kitāb asrār al-ḥikma al-mashriqiyya* of Ibn Ṭufayl (p. 460) is sometimes wrongly attributed to him.

25. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan b. Abī Dharr wrote, following Barhebreus:

*Kitāb al-saʿāda wal-isʿād*, on Greek philosophy, see M. Kurd ʿAlī, *RAAD* IX, 563/73.

612 | 26. Najm al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātībī (Dabīrān), a student of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (p. 508), who died in 675/1276 or in 693/1294.

1. *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya fī ʿl-qawāʿid al-mantiqiyya*, a work on logic, composed at the request of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, d. 683/1284, Berl. 5256/7, Alex. Fun. 142<sub>4</sub>, *Qawala* II, 367/8, ed. A. Sprenger, App. I to *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, Calcutta 1854.—Commentaries: 1. *Taḥrīr al-qawāʿid al-mantiqiyya* or *al-Quṭbī* on Part I, *al-Taṣawwūrāt*, by Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, d. 766/1364 (II, 209), Berl. 5258/9, *Br. Mus. Suppl.* 99, iii, 730, *Garr.* 836/7, 2157<sub>2</sub>, Alex. Fun. 148<sub>2</sub>, *Qawala* II, 365, *Makram* 9, *Patna* I, 227<sub>1997/8</sub>, II, 499<sub>2651,5</sub>, 529<sub>2849</sub>, print. Calcutta 1815, n.p. (Lucknow?) 1263, Istanbul 1264, 1266, 1272, 1279, 1288, 1304, 1319, 1325, C. 1307, 1311 (*Qawala* II, 323/4).—Glosses: a. *al-Kūchak* by al-Sayyid al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413, Berl. 5260/1, *Ind. Off.* 584, *Garr.* 840/3, 2157<sub>1</sub>, Alex. *Mantiq* 29<sub>3</sub>, Fun. 120<sub>1</sub>, *Qawala* II, 335, *Patna* I, 224<sub>1969/72</sub>, print. Calcutta 1261, Lucknow 1883.—Superglosses: α *Qara Dāʿūd al-Qūčawī*, d. 948/1541, Berl. 5262, *Gotha* 1192, *Ind. Off.* 516/7, *Cambr. JRAS* III, 126, *Esc.*

<sup>2</sup>638, Pet. 92, Algiers 1398/9, Alex. Mantīq 10, Qawala II, 343/4, Calcutta 1230.—<sup>β</sup> ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Sālikūtī, d. 1067/1657 (II, 417), Berl. 5264, Ind. Off. 518/9, Qawala II, 334/5, Patna I, 222,<sup>1955</sup>, print. Istanbul 1238, 1259, 1268, 1276, 1288, 1289, 1307, 1309.—<sup>γ</sup> Sultānshāh, composed in 929/1523, Esc. <sup>2</sup>637.—<sup>δ</sup> *Qara Ḥāshīya* by ‘Imād al-Dīn b. Yaḥyā al-Fārisī, d. ca. 900/1494, Ind. Off. 513/5, Esc. <sup>2</sup>630 (?), Garr. 485, Qawala II, 341/2, Patna I, 222,<sup>1904</sup>.—<sup>ε</sup> al-Dawwānī, d. 907/1501 (II, 217), Leid. 1534, Esc. <sup>2</sup>677,<sup>3</sup>, Garr. 846, Rāḡib 1478,<sup>11</sup>, Qawala II, 333, Patna I, 224,<sup>1973</sup>, print. Istanbul 1309.—<sup>ζ</sup> Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī, d. 903/1497, Esc. <sup>2</sup>677,<sup>4</sup>.—<sup>η</sup> Shā‘irzāde (Shā‘iroghlū), Vienna 1537,<sup>11</sup>, Pet. 92,<sup>3</sup>.—<sup>θ</sup> Maḥmūd b. Ni‘matallāh al-Bukhārī (Suppl. II, 587), Br. Mus. Suppl. 731.—<sup>ι</sup> Anon. Munich 192,<sup>2</sup>, Ind. Off. 520,<sup>1</sup>.—<sup>κ</sup> see Suppl. <sup>θ</sup>.—<sup>π</sup>—<sup>ν</sup> see Suppl. (<sup>ν</sup> by ‘Iṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarā‘īnī, Qāwala II, 339, Patna I, 225,<sup>1975</sup>, on the *Qism al-taṣawwurāt*, Istanbul 1307, superglosses by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Kharpūtī Dallālzāde, print. Istanbul 1275, Qaw. II, 332.—<sup>ν</sup> Patna I, 225,<sup>1977,8</sup>).—<sup>ξ</sup> b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ṭursūn al-Andijānī, d. 966/1558(?), Esc. <sup>2</sup>405.—<sup>α</sup> Aḥmad al-Janādī, | ibid. 671.—<sup>δ</sup> Anon., on the Preface, ibid. 673,<sup>2</sup>.—<sup>e</sup>. The same, by Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mollawī, d. 1181/1767, Berl. 5265, Paris 2377,<sup>1</sup>.—<sup>f</sup>. Burhān al-Dīn b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamid, Pet. 90, 106,<sup>9</sup>, Garr. 847.—<sup>g</sup>. On the *Qism al-taṣdīqāt* by Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Riḍawī, completed in 759/1358 in al-Madrasa al-Sultāniyya, print. Istanbul 1309.—<sup>h</sup>.—<sup>m</sup>. see Suppl. (i. by Mīr Zāhid also Patna I, 225,<sup>1976</sup>. Superglosses by Ghulām Yaḥyā b. Najm al-Dīn al-Bihārī, Patna II, 338,<sup>2521,5</sup>, by Ḥaydar b. ‘Alī, ibid. II, 338,<sup>2521,7</sup>, by ‘Azīmallāh b. Kifāyatallāh Gūpamānī Fārūqī, ibid. I, 221,<sup>1945/6</sup>, by Ḥasan b. Qāḍī Ghulām Muṣṭafā al-Laknawī, ibid. 1947, by Turāb ‘Alī b. Shajā‘at ‘Alī al-Laknawī, ibid. 220,<sup>1937</sup>, II, 528,<sup>2339</sup>, by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Sayyid Faṭḥ Muḥammad al-Sandīlī, ibid. I, 222, by ‘Abd al-‘Ālī b. Niẓām al-Dīn Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, ibid. I, 950,<sup>1948/9</sup>, by Zuhūrallāh b. Muḥammad Walī b. Muftī Ghulām Muṣṭafā al-Laknawī, ibid. 1951, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-‘Uthmānī al-Labkanī, ibid. 1952).—<sup>n</sup>. *Taqrīr ‘alā dībājat T. al-q.* by Shukrī b. Ṭāhīr al-Brštawī, Istanbul 1310 (Qawala II, 327).—2. Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 726/1325 (II, 164), Leid. 1530.—3. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, d. 791/1389 (II, 215), Berl. 5266/8, Esc. <sup>2</sup>660, 699,<sup>2</sup>, 670, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 63, Garr. 838, Qawala II, 365, glosses on the Preface by Walī al-Dīn al-Qaramānī (?), Ind. Off. 522, Esc. <sup>2</sup>699, anon. Br. Mus. Suppl. 732,<sup>1</sup>.—4. Ḥusayn b. Mu‘īn al-Dīn al-Maybudī, ca. 890/1485, Berl. 5269, Leid. 1533, Garr. 844, Qawala II, 365.—5. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Busnawī, d. 1045/1635, Algiers 1397.—6. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥaddād al-‘Uthmānī, Br. Mus. 982,<sup>2</sup>.—7. Anon., Berl. 5270, Leid. 1531/2, 1535, Paris 2379/83.—8.—24. see Suppl.—25. Muḥammad Nūrī al-Ṣūfiyawī, completed 17 Ṣafar 1295/21 February 1878, in the margin of the printed edition of Istanbul 1301.—26. Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf al-Fāshilī al-Müstārī,

completed on 17 Jumādā II 1101/29 March 1690, Qawala II, 365.—27. *Mizān al-intizām* by Aḥmad al-Ṣidqī al-Burūsawī, Istanbul 1303, 1327.—19 commentaries and glosses mentioned in Ahlw. 5271.

II. *Kitāb ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, on metaphysics and physics, Berl. 5080, Br. Mus. 428, 1200,<sup>8</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>668,<sup>2</sup>, Un. Eg. 11654, 117, 88, Taymūr, Ḥikma 97, Patna I, 211,<sup>1887</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary (see Suppl.) also Qawala II, 386.—1a. Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, 467 eighth cent., Berl. 5081/2, Pet. 99, Paris 2384/5, Br. Mus. 1351, | Suppl. 726, Ind. Off. 498/500, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 97, Garr. 2065,<sup>2</sup>, 2137, Patna I, 212,<sup>1897</sup>, II, 526,<sup>2829</sup>.—Glosses: a. al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Leid. 1527, Esc. <sup>2</sup>629, 662/3, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 91, print. Calcutta | 1845.—b. Ḥabīballāh Mīrzājān al-Bāghandī al-Muḥaqqiq, 614 d. 994/1586 (II, 414), Landb.-Br. 583, Paris 2385,<sup>2</sup>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 727, Yeni 762, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 92.—c. Mollā Ḥaydar (see Suppl.), Paris 2385,<sup>4</sup>.—d. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Ḥasanī, Ind. Off. 501.—e. Anon., Berl. 5083/6, Paris 2385,<sup>3,5,6</sup>.—f.—o. see Suppl. (o. 4 *Rasāʾil* by Shamsā Gilānī, Patna II, 432/3,<sup>2609</sup>).—p. Mīrzājān, d. 994/1586, Garr. 2065,<sup>1</sup>, 2137,<sup>2</sup>.—2. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Tālīshī, composed in 884/1479, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 97.—3. *Īdāḥ al-maqāṣid min Ḥikmat al-ʿayn al-qawāʾid* by Āyatallāh al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (II, 208,<sup>29</sup>), Ist. Ḥālet, Baghdad al-Maktaba al-Marjāniyya, *Dharīʿa* II, 501, 1961.—4. Anon., *al-Fawāʾid (fi sharḥ Ḥ. al-ʿA. al-qawāʾid)*, Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3809.

III. *ʿAyn al-qawāʾid fi ʿl-mantiq wal-ḥikma* Leid. 1525, Esc. <sup>2</sup>668, Mosul 184,<sup>250</sup>. Self-commentary, *Baḥr al-fawāʾid*, Leid. 1526, Esc. <sup>2</sup>665, *Br. Mus. Quart.* x, 133.

IV. *al-Mufaṣṣal sharḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, see p. 507.

V. *al-Munaṣṣas*, see *ibid.* 24.

VI. *Jāmiʿ al-daqaʾiq fi kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq*, on logic, physics, and metaphysics, Paris 2370, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 647, <sup>2</sup>I, 225.

VII. Correspondence with al-Ṭūsī, d. 672/1273 (p. 508), on the demonstration of the existence of the necessary existent, Br. Mus. 429,<sup>1-3</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>703,<sup>8</sup>.

VIII, IX. see Suppl.

27. Sirāj al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, who died in Qonya in 682/1283.

I. *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār fi ʿl-mantiq*, on logic, Paris 2386/7, 5318, Esc. <sup>2</sup>641, 686, Algiers 1402.—Commentaries: 1. Self-commentary, *Lawāmiʿ al-maṭāliʿ*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 70, on which glosses by al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Qilič ʿA. 653, with superglosses by al-Luṭfi, d. 900/1495, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 92.—2. *Lawāmiʿ al-asrār* by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Taḥṭānī al-Rāzī, d. 766/1364, Berl. 5087/8, Bodl. I, 455, II, 364, Kazan 80, *JAOS* I, p. XXIII, no. XIV, Garr. 848, Alex. Mantīq 23,<sup>2</sup>, Qawala II, 373/5, Patna I, 227,<sup>2002</sup>.—Glosses: a. al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Gotha 1184/5 (where other MSS are listed), *Br. Mus. Suppl.*



733/4, Garr. 849, Alex. Mantīq 8, Qawala II, 338, Patna I, 225,<sup>1980</sup>.—Superglosses: α Dā'ūd al-Shirwānī, ca. 850/1446, Berl. 5090, Esc. <sup>2</sup>643, Alex. Mantīq 23, Qawala II, 350.—β *Tanwīr al-maṭālī' wa-tabṣīr al-muṭālī'* or *al-Ḥāshiya al-jadīda* by al-Dawwānī, d. 908/1502 (II, 217), Berl. 5091, Paris 2398, Esc. <sup>2</sup>687,<sup>7</sup>, Qawala II, 327, Rāğīb 1478,<sup>9</sup>, Patna I, 219,<sup>1933</sup>.—γ 'Alā' al-Dīn | 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, d. 887/1482, Leid. 1542/3.—δ Mīrzājān Ḥabīballāh al-Bāghandī al-Shīrāzī, d. 994/1586, Ind. Off. 529 Qawala II, 352, Patna I, 219,<sup>1934</sup>.—ε Sayyid 'Alī al-'Ajāmī, d. 860/1456, Ind. Off. 528, Esc. <sup>2</sup>683.—ζ η Anon., Ind. Off. 530, Leid. 1540.—θ-ν see Suppl. (θ Garr. 850, κ, ν also Patna I, 220,<sup>935, 946</sup>).—o On the *Baḥth al-fayyād*, from which *Risālat al-fayyād* by Qādīzāde al-Rūmī, d. 815/1412 (II, 212), Qawala II, 343, 358.—π 'Alī al-Astarabādī, Qawala II, 329.—ρ Ḥusayn al-Muḥtasib, ibid. 351.—b. Jalāl al-Dīn Khidr b. 'Alī b. al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥājji Pāshā Āyīnī, d. after 816/1413 (II, 233), Paris 2388, Esc. <sup>2</sup>680, Mashh. II, 18,<sup>20</sup>.—c. Mīrzājān, d. 994/1586, Ind. Off. 531.—3. Ḥusayn al-Ardabīlī al-Abharī, d. 950/1543, Esc. <sup>2</sup>681.—4. Glosses on an unnamed commentary, by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī, d. 903/1497, Esc. <sup>2</sup>684, 687,<sup>1</sup>.—5. Anon., also Teh. II, 116.

II. *al-Taḥsīl min al-maḥṣūl fi 'l-uṣūl* see p. 506.

III. *Laṭā'if al-ḥikma* Mashh. I, 71,<sup>230</sup>.

IV, v. see Suppl.

28. Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, who was born around 606/1209, taught in Baghdad, and died in 687/1288.

Ibn Quṭl. 170. 1. *al-Fuṣūl fi 'ilm al-jadal*, on the art of disputation, a commentary by Nu'mān al-Khwārizmī, Berl. 5167.—2. *al-Muqaddima al-Burhāniyya fi 'l-khilāf* Berl. 5168, Esc. <sup>2</sup>788,<sup>22</sup>, anon. comm. with glosses, Pet. Coll. sc. VI, 234.—3. *Mansha' al-naẓar fi 'ilm al-khilāf* Berl. 5170, anon. comm. Paris 2500,<sup>2,3</sup>.—4. *al-Qawādiḥ al-jadaliyya*, logical discussions, Berl. 5169. |—5. *Daf' al-nuṣūṣ wal-nuqūd* ibid. 5170.—6. *al-Tarājīr* ibid. 5171.—7. *Tā'arudāt* ibid. 5173.—8. *Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* by al-Ghazzālī and al-Rāzī, ibid. 2233.

29. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī, who flourished around the year 690/1291.

1. *Risāla fi ādāb al-baḥth*, on the art of disputation, Berl. 5272/3, Munich 664, 668,<sup>4</sup>, Leipz. 351/3, Landb.-Br. 446, 851, 990, Paris 2350, Bodl. I, 511,<sup>3</sup>, 521, II, 255, Br. Mus. 421,<sup>8</sup>, Ind. Off. 486, Garr. 868, 2118,<sup>2</sup> Alex. Fun. 120,<sup>5</sup>.—Commentaries: 1. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kīlānī, ca. 830/1427, Berl. 5274, Munich. 664,<sup>4</sup>, Alex. Ādāb al-b. 5, print. Tashkent 1894 (*OB VIII*, 5441).—2. *al-Mas'ūdī* by Kamāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī, d. 905/1499, Berl. 5275/6, Gotha 2809/10, Leipz. |403, Munich 664, Paris 1262,<sup>2</sup>, 2351,<sup>2</sup>, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 385,<sup>319</sup>, Alex. Ādāb al-b.

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7,<sub>3</sub>, 8,<sub>3</sub>, 10,<sub>1</sub>, Qawala II, 306/7, Garr. 869, 2118,<sub>3</sub>.—Glosses: a. Mīr Abu 'l-Faḥ Muḥammad b. Amīn Tāj al-Sa'īdī, dedicated to Ulugh Beg, d. 854/1450, Berl. 5277/8, Heid. *ZDMG* 91, 385,<sub>319</sub>, 2, Garr. 870, Patna II, 530,<sub>2852</sub>.—Superglosses: α (also on f.) Luṭfallāh b. Shujā' al-Dīn Kharḍama, Berl. 5281, Gotha 2809,<sub>2</sub>, Munich 664, ii, Garr. 2139,<sub>1</sub>, Qawala II, 296.—β Ramaḍān al-Bihishtī, d. 979/1571, Berl. 5282.—b. Aḥmad Dunqūz Shams al-Dīn al-Rūmī, ca. 870/1465, Berl. 5283, Leipz, 36. Esc. 2678,<sub>5</sub>, Qawala II, 297.—c. Muḥammad b. As'ad al-Dawwānī, d. 907/1501 (II, 217), Munich 664,<sub>3</sub>, Garr. 2139,<sub>2</sub>, Qawala II, 297.—d. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Nakhjuwānī, ca. 950/1543, Berl. 5284.—e. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Janadī, ibid. 5285.—f. *Qara Ḥāshīya* by 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī, ca. 750/1350 (II, 211), Gotha 2809,<sub>2</sub> (where other MSS are listed), Esc. 2678,<sub>1</sub>, Alex. Ādāb al-b. 7,<sub>2</sub>, 8, 9,<sub>2</sub>.—Superglosses, see Suppl. (α also Alex. Ādāb al-b. 6,<sub>1</sub>, Fun. 148,<sub>1</sub>).—g. Anon., Berl. 5286, Ind. Off. 590, Pet. 241.—h. see Suppl.—i. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj Ḥamīd al-Kaffawī, Qawala II, 300.—k. Ḥamīd b. Burhān al-Dīn b. Abī Dharr al-Ghifārī, Qawala II, 296.—3. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Shāshī, ca. 850/1446, Berl. 5287.—4. Ulugh Beg Muḥammad b. Shāh Rukh b. Tīmūr, d. 853/1449 (II, 213), Alex. Ādāb al-b. 9.—5. Ḥusayn b. Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Maybudī, d. ca 890/1485, Garr. 2147,<sub>1</sub>.—6. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā'īnī, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 5288, Leid. 1509, Pet. 101,<sub>2</sub>, Qawala II, 314.—7. Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Rūmī, ca. 900/1494, Berl. 5289, Paris 2351,<sub>1</sub>.—8. *Faṭḥ al-wahhāb* by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, d. 926/1520 (II, 99), Berl. Brill M. 314,<sub>2</sub>, Garr. 871, Alex. Ādāb al-b. 6,<sub>1,81</sub>, Āṣaf. II, 1320,<sub>135</sub>, on which glosses by Aḥmad b. Yūnus al-Khalīfī al-Shāfi'ī, d. 1209/1794, Alex. Ādāb al-b. 3.—9. see Suppl.—10. Anon., Berl. 5290/1, Paris 1262,<sub>2</sub>, 2350,<sub>1</sub>, Algiers 561,<sub>8</sub>, 1468,<sub>7</sub>.—11. Commentaries and glosses in Ahlw. 5292.

II. (*Mizān*) *al-qusṭās*, on logic, with a commentary, Berl. 5166, Alex. Mantīq 16, Patna I, 227,<sub>1999</sub>, 2001.

III. *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs (al-Risāla al-riyāḍiyya)*, a compendium of geometry based on Euclid, Gotha 1496/7, Br. Mus. 388, 1332/3, Fātiḥ 3385,<sub>2</sub>, 5330, Rāgīb 919,<sub>4</sub>, As'ad 3797,<sub>3</sub>, Yeni 1176,<sub>17</sub>, *Hesp.* xviii, 91,<sub>9</sub>.—Commentaries: a. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Rūmī Qāḍizāde, d. 815/1412, Berl. 5943/4, Gotha 1498/9 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 1058/9, Alex. Ḥisāb 30, Fun. 106,<sub>3</sub>, *Hesp.* xviii, 91,<sub>9</sub>, 93,<sub>13a</sub>, cf. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 50, 169. | Glosses see Suppl. (γ also Garr. 1060, Cairo 1v, 195), δ by Muḥammad al-'Aṭṭār (II, 127,<sub>9</sub>), Patna II, 556,<sub>2930</sub>, 2.

IV. *al-Ṣaḥā'if al-ilāhiyya*, dogmatics with the commentary *al-Ma'ārif*, Paris 1247,<sub>2</sub>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 181, Garr. 1485, Alex. Fals. 16 (*al-Ṣaḥā'if fi 'l-kalām*).

V. *ʿAyn al-naẓar fi 'l-mantīq* Br. Mus. Suppl. 1124, v, 1227.

VI. *Bayān madhhab ahl al-sunna* Garr. 1558 = (?) *Risāla fi kalimat al-tawḥīd* Alex. Fun. 88,<sub>3</sub>.

VII. *al-Tadhkira fi 'l-hay'a* Berl. Oct. 3586,<sub>1</sub>.

30. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūrī al-Ishrāqī, who flourished in the 7th century.

Chwolson, *Ssabier* 1, 228, Sachau, *Alberuni, Chron.* Lff. Rieu, *Cat.* 827. 1. *Rawḍat al-afrāḥ wa-nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, a history of the philosophers | from Adam to Galen, Berl. 10056, Leid. 1488, Br. Mus. 601, 688, Lee 40, Ind. Off. 4613 (*JRAS* 1939, 383), Yeni 908, As'ad 3804,5 (dated 665 AH Krause), Beveridge *JRAS* 1900, 550/1, a somewhat different recension Berl. 10055, *Mukhtaṣar* 'Um. 5573 (*ZS* III, 243), Persian transl. by Maqṣūd 'Alī Tabrīzī, started in 1011/1602, Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. 100.—2. *al-Rumūz wal-amthāl al-ilāhūtiyya fi 'l-anwār al-mujarrada al-malakūtiyya* Vat. v. 299, Esc. 2696.—3. *al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya fi 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya*, on logic, ethics, physics, and metaphysics, Berl. 5063, Leid. 1489, Cairo 1v1, 95.

## Chapter 12. Mathematics

1. While he was still an official in his hometown of Basra Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan (Muḥammad) b. al-Ḥasan (al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn) b. al-Haytham al-Baṣrī al-Miṣrī (the Latin Alhazen) had made a name for himself by his knowledge of applied mathematics. Since he had volunteered to regulate the floodings of the Nile the caliph al-Ḥākim brought him to Egypt. Cruising the Nile, he supposedly saw the impossibility of his undertaking when he got to Aswan. In order to escape any arbitrary action on the part of al-Ḥākim, he allegedly feigned madness until the latter's death in 411/1020. He was then given back his confiscated property and, until his death in 430/1038, he lived exclusively through his work as a writer.

- 618 | Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 90/8, Wüst., *Ärzte* 130, Leclerc I, 512/25, Cantor, *Vorl.* 677ff., M. Narducci in *Boncompagnis Boll. di bibl. e di storia delle scienze math. e fis.* IV (Roma 1871) 1/48, 137, A. Mieli, *La Science Arabe* 105/8. 1. *Fi 'l-ashkāl al-hilāliyya* Ind. Off. 734,<sup>12</sup> Pet. Ros. 192,<sup>2</sup>.—2. *Fī misāḥat al-kura* Berl. 2970,<sup>13</sup> Pet. Ros. 192,<sup>4</sup>.—3. *Fī qismat al-miqdārayn al-mukhtalifayn al-madhkūrayn fī 'l-shakl al-awwal min al-maqāla al-'āshira min kitāb Uqlīdis* ibid. 5.—4. *Fī masā'il al-talāqī* ibid. 7.—5. *Fī 'l-mas'ala al-handasiyya* ibid. 8, Bodl. I, 877,<sup>5</sup>, Cairo <sup>lv</sup>, 205, photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 1, 7, 1, 3, transl. C. Schoy, *Isis* VIII, 254/9.—6. *Fī barkār al-dawā'ir al-'izām* Pet. Ros. 192,<sup>11</sup>, Leid. 1064, Ind. Off. 34,<sup>10</sup>.—7. *Fī ḥall shukūk kitāb Uqlīdis fī 'l-uṣūl wa-sharḥ ma'ānihi* Leid. 1129 (fragm.), Alex. Ḥisāb 42, Bursa, Haraccizade, Heyet 20,<sup>2</sup>, different from Algiers 1446,<sup>11</sup>, anon. abstract Berl. 5921.—8. *Sharḥ al-muṣādarāt*, on the introductions to all the treatises by Euclid, Bodl. I, 908, Bursa, Haraccizade, Heyet 20, Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 314,<sup>2</sup>.—9. *Fī tarbī' al-dā'ira*, on the squaring of the circle, Berl., 5941, Patna II, 554,<sup>2928,9</sup>.—10. *Fī qismat al-khaṭṭ alladhi 'sta'mala Arshīmīdis fī 'l-kura wal-uṣṭuwāna* Leid. 1009, Ind. Off. 734,<sup>18</sup>, photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 10, 1, 11 = Algiers 1446,<sup>8</sup> (?), cf. Woepcke, *l'Algèbre d'Omar* 91ff.—11. *Maqāla fī 'l-ma'lūmāt* Paris 2488, M. Sédillot, Notice du traité des connues géométriques de H. al-H. *JA* s. II, v. 14, 435ff.—12. *Qawl fī 'l-makān* Ind. Off. 734,<sup>7</sup>.—13. *Fī shakl B. Mūsā*, on a passage in Mūsā b. Shākir's (p. 241) preface to Apollonius' *Conics*, Br. Mus. 975,<sup>11</sup>, Ind. Off. 734,<sup>8</sup>. |—14. *Fī misāḥat al-mujassam al-mukāfi'* Ind. Off. 734,<sup>11</sup>.—15. *Fī mas'ala 'adadiyya mujassama* ibid. 17, photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 11, 1, 12.—16. *Fī 'stikhrāj mas'ala 'adadiyya* ibid. 20.—17. *Faṣl fī Muqaddimat dil' al-musabba'*, with consideration of Archimedes' *Tasbī' al-dā'ira* (Fih. 266, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 50, 175), ibid. 21 (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 11, 1, 13), Bodl. I, 940,<sup>8</sup> (photograph ibid. VII, 8, 1, 5).—18. *Fī 'stikhrāj a'midat al-jibāl* Leid. 1008, Bodl. I,

877<sub>10</sub>.—19. *Fī ḥall shukūk ḥarakat al-iltifāf* Berl. 2970<sub>11</sub>, Pet. Ros. 192<sub>1</sub>.—20. *Fī ṣūrat al-kusūf* Pet. Ros. 192, Ind. Off. 734<sub>18</sub>, 767<sub>2</sub> Bodl. I, 877<sub>2</sub>.—21. *Fī ḥarakat al-qamar* Pet. Ros. 192<sub>6</sub>, Bodl. I, 877<sub>3</sub>.—22. *Fī 'stikhrāj samt al-qibla* Pet. Ros. 192<sub>9</sub>, Bodl. I, 877<sub>4</sub>, Berl. Oct. 2970<sub>1</sub> (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 35, II, 2, see C. Schoy, *ZDMG* 75, 1921, 242/3).—23. *Fī 'khtilāf manẓar al-qamar* Pet. Ros. 192<sub>10</sub>, Ind. Off. | 734<sub>19</sub> (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 32, II, 27).—24. *Fī aḍwā' al-kawākib*, a demonstration that the stars, with the exception of the moon, have their own light, Berl. 5668, Oct. 2970<sub>16</sub>, Ind. Off. 734<sub>3</sub>, Bodl. I, 877<sub>7</sub>, cf. E. Wiedemann, *Wochensch. f. Astr. Meteor. u. Geogr.* 1890, p. 17.—25. *Maqāla fī 'stikhrāj al-qtub 'alā ghāyat al-taḥqīq* Berl. Oct. 2970<sub>6</sub>, Leid. 1063 (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 34, I, 24), Br. Mus. 404, Bodl. I, 877<sub>6</sub>, transl. by C. Schoy, *Abh. des al-H. über eine Methode, die Polhöhe mit grösster Genauigkeit zu bestimmen*, *De Zee* 1920, 10, p. 586/601.—26. *Jawāb 'an su'āl al-sā'il 'ani 'l-majarra hal hiya fi 'l-hawā' am fi jism al-samā'*, on the Milky Way, Leid. 1065.—27. *Maqāla fī ḍaw' al-qamar* Ind. Off. 734<sub>9</sub> (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 35, ii, 27).—28. *Fī hay'at al-'ālam* Ind. Off. 734<sub>15</sub>, Steinschneider, *Extr. du Bull.* XIV, 1881, p. 721ff. (Rome 1883), App. 1884, *Hebr. Übers.* § 347.—29. *Fī taṣḥīḥ al-a'māl al-nujūmiyya*, Bodl. I, 877<sub>8</sub>.—30. *al-Shukūk 'alā Baṭlūmiyyūs*, *ibid.* 9, Berl. Oct. 3548.—31. *Maqāla fī kayfiyyat al-azlāl*, Berl. 6019.—32. *Maqāla fī 'l-ḍaw'*, Berl. 6018. Ind. Off. 734<sub>4</sub>. *I. al-H. 's Abh. über das Licht, ar. u. deutsch v. J. Baermann*, Halle 1882, cf. *ZDMG* 36, 195ff.—33. *Fī 'l-marāyā 'l-muḥriqa bil-qtū'*, on convex burning mirrors, Berl. Oct. 2970<sub>7</sub>, Leid. 1010, Ind. Off. 734<sub>6</sub>.—34. *Tahrīr al-munāzara*, Paris 2460, a small abstract of the *Kitāb (ikhtilāf) al-Manāzīr*, see Suppl. *Tanqīḥ al-manāzīr* (II, 211), Rāmpūr I, 412<sub>20</sub>, Patna I, 235<sub>2045</sub>, II, 561<sub>2945</sub>. *Opticae thesaurus Alhazeni Arabis libri VII, nunc primum ed. ejusdem liber de crepusculis et nubium ascensionibus, etc. a. Fr. Rösnero*, Basle 1572. Commentary by Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Fārisī, ca. 700/1300, Leid. 1011. Cf. E. Wiedemann, *Ann. f. Physik* N.F. VII (1879), p. 679, XXI (1884), 541/4, Hirschfeld, *Die ar. Lehrbücher der Augenheilk.* III.—25.—50. see Suppl. (37. *Māhiyyat al-ithr alladhī fī wajh al-qamar* Alex. Ḥisāb 42, photograph, *Qu. u. St.* VII, 36, I, 29.—39. Berl. Oct. 2970<sub>17</sub>.—41. *ibid.* 10.—44. *ibid.* 9.—45. *ibid.* 5.—46. *ibid.* 4).—51. *Maqāla fī kayfiyyat al-raṣad* Alex. Ḥisāb 42.—52. *Maqāla fī 'l-tanbīh 'alā mawāḍi' al-ghalaṭ fī kayfiyyat al-raṣad* *ibid.* 61.

2. Abu 'l-Jūd Muḥammad b. al-Layth wrote, around the year 400/1009:

1. Answers to questions by al-Bīrūnī (p. 626), Leid. 1013.—2. The same on a geometrical question by Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin, *ibid.* 1014.—3. On a geometrical problem formulated by | Abū Sa'īd al-Sijazī and solved in part by Abū Sahl

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al-Kūhī (p. 254), *ibid.* 1015.—4. On the properties of rectangular triangles that are not isosceles, *ibid.* 1016.—5. *Risāla ilā Abī Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāsib fī ṭarīqay Abī Sahl al-Qūhī wa-shaykhihi Abī Ḥāmid al-Ṣa‘ānī* (sic) *fī anna ‘l-musabba‘ al-musāwīya al-adlā‘ fī ‘l-dā‘ira* Bodl. 1, 940<sub>8</sub> (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 9, 1, 6).—6. *Kitāb fī ‘amal al-musabba‘ fī ‘l-dā‘ira* Cairo 1<sup>v</sup>, 204 (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 13, 1, 19).—7. *Maqāla*, Drei planimetrische Aufgaben des Mathematikers a. l-J.M. b. al-Lith (sic), übers. v. C. Schoy, *Isis* 1925, 5/8.

3. Iṣḥāq b. Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb al-Ṣardafī al-Yamanī, d. 500/1106.

1. *Mukhtaṣar al-Hindī*, on arithmetic, Berl. 5960/1.—2. *al-Kāfi fī ‘l-farā‘id*, on the division of estates, *ibid.* 4688 (see Suppl.).

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| 4. Together with Abu ‘l-Muzaffar al-Asfizārī and Maymūn b. Najīb al-Wāsiṭī, Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyām (Khayyāmī), who came from Nishapur or its vicinity, was ordered by Malikshāh to work on the reform of the Persian calendar. Called the “Age of Jalāl al-Dīn” (i.e. Malikshāh), it was meant to establish the solar year with accuracy, but apparently never gained any practical significance. However, his theory of cubic equations elevated his algebra to a degree of universal acceptance that did not see its equal before the seventeenth century. In philosophy he was regarded as a follower of Ibn Sīnā. His fame as a poet is based on the Persian quatrains circulating in his name, although it is likely that none are his. He died, in all likelihood, in 526/1132.

Sarton, *Introduction to the Hist. of Science* I, 759/61. Mieli, *La Science Arabe* 113, Cantor, *Vorl.* 666ff., V. Minorski, *EI* III, 1064/8, W.E. Story, *Omar as Mathematician*, Boston 1918. 1. *Maqāla fī ‘l-jabr wal-muqābala* Leid. 1020, Paris 2458<sub>7</sub>, 2461, Ind. Off. 734<sub>10</sub>, Woepcke, *L’Algèbre d’Omar al-Khayyami*, Paris 1851, Ghulām Ḥusayn Muṣāḥib, *Jabr wa-muqābala-i Kh.* Tehran 1317/1938.—2. *Risāla fī sharḥ mā ashkala min muṣādarāt kitāb Uqlīdis* Leid. 967, anon. Paris | 4946<sub>4</sub>.—3. *Fī ‘l-iḥtiyāl li-ma‘rifat miqdāray al-dhahab wal-fiḍḍa fī jism murakkab minhumā* Gotha 1158<sub>11</sub>, see E. Wiedemann, Über Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte, *SBPMS Erlangen xxxviii*, 1906, 170/3.—4.—8. see Suppl. (8 = 4, also in Sayyid S. Nadwī, *Khayyām ōr uske Sawāniḥ wataṣānīf pur naqidana naẓar*, Azamgaḍh 1933, together with *Risālat al-kawn wal-taklīf*, *Risālat al-wujūd* or *al-Awṣāf lil-mawṣūfāt*, *Risāla fī kulliyāt-i wujūd*, Persian and *Mizān al-ḥikam*).

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4a.–h. see Suppl.

4c. Two geometrical problems, Leid. 1006.—4d., with the title *Kitāb al-ḥisāb fi 'l-jabr wal-muqābala*, Garr. 1045.

5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, d. 552/1157.

*Al-Fuṣūl fi 'l-ḥisāb* Yeni 802.

6. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn wrote for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, around the year 580/1184:

*Risāla fi 'l-barkār al-tāmm wa-kayfiyyat al-takhtīt bihi* Leid. 1076, Paris 2468<sub>4</sub>, Algiers 1446<sub>5</sub>, ed. with a French transl. by F. Woepcke, *Not. et Extr.* XXI, 1. P.

7. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāj al-Adrīnī b. al-Yāsaminī, d. 601/1204 (see Suppl.).

'Abdallāh Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī fi 'l-adab al-'arabī* I, 89. 1. *al-Urjūza al-Yāsaminīyya*, 57 verses on algebra, Paris 4151<sub>6</sub>, Algiers 376<sub>8</sub>.—Commentaries: 1. Ibn al-Hā'im, d. 815/1412 (II, 125), Bodl. I, 966<sub>6</sub>, 1238.—2. al-'Irāqī, d. 826/1423, perhaps Berl. 5693/4, cf. '5—3. Ibn al-Jamā'a, Franck 453.—4. Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Māridinī, d. 912/1506 (II, 167), a. *al-Lum'a* Berl. 5966/7, Gotha 1475, Fort William 1203, Garr. 1050, Alex. Ḥisāb 24, Fun. 128<sub>2</sub> (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 5, I, 1), glosses entitled *Farā'id 'awā'id jabriyya* by Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī, d. 1181/1707 (Suppl. II, 423<sub>27a</sub>), Garr. 1052, 2120<sub>2</sub>, Alex. Ḥisāb 23, Makram 17.—b. shorter *al-Tuḥfa*, Berl. 5968, Gotha 1476, on which glosses by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jannābī, Berl. 5969.—5. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Qalaṣādī, d. 891/1486 (II, 266), Ind. Off. 770<sub>2</sub>.—6.—9. see Suppl. (9. also Alex. Ḥisāb 22).—11. see Suppl.—111. *Tanqīḥ al-afkār fi 'l-'ilm bi-rusūm al-ghubār* Alex. Ḥisāb 6.

| 8. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Ḥassān b. 'Iyāḍ b. al-Mīlī wrote, around the year 600/1203:

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*Munqidh al-hālik wa-'umdat al-sālik*, a detailed explanation of arithmetic and geometry based on Euclid, Nichomachus, and al-Karajī (p. 247), Leid. 1028.

8a. Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Malaṭī al-Khāṭirī wrote, before 609/1212:

*Bayān al-ḥikma*, a book of geometry, based on Euclid, Ptolemy, and Archimedes, Garr. 1057.

472 | 9. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī wrote, around the year 606/1209:

1. *al-Jabr wal-muqābala*, with *mu'ādalāt* by an anonymous author, Ind. Off. 767<sub>3</sub>.—2. Answer to a question by Amīr al-Umarā' Shams al-Dīn, Leid. 1027.—3.–5. see Suppl.

9a–e. See Suppl.

9f. Abu 'l-Majd b. 'Aṭīyya b. al-Majd al-Kātib wrote, before 639/1241 (the date of the MS):

On multiplication, division etc., Br. Mus. 426<sub>21</sub> (Suter 498).

10. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ghāzī b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Numayrī al-Ḥanafī Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ṭāhir al-Māridīnī b. Fallūs, who was born in 590/1194 and died around 650/1252.

1. *I'dād al-asrār fī asrār al-a'dād*, arithmetic in the manner of the letter by Nicomachus to Pythagoras, composed during the pilgrimage, Berl. 5970, AS 2761<sub>7</sub>.—2. *Irshād al-ḥussāb fī 'l-maḥtūḥ min 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, composed in Mecca, ibid. 5971.—3. *Niṣāb al-ḥabr fī ḥisāb al-jabr*, on equations, composed in Mecca, ibid. 5972.—4. see Suppl.—5. *al-Tuffāḥa fī 'l-māl al-misāḥa* Rabat 507<sub>23</sub>, print. in *Majmū'a* C. 1310 (Qawala II, 266).

11.–14. See Suppl.

15. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rabī' al-Zarkashī al-Muhandis issued an *ijāza* in 684/1285 for his work:

*Kullīyyāt al-ḥisāb*, MS dated 677, Alex. Ḥisāb 4.



## | Chapter 13. Astronomy

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1. Aṣḡagh b. Muḡammad al-Għarnāṭī b. al-Samḡ was a mathematician, physician, and astronomer in Granada, who died on 18 Rajab 426/30 May 1035.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 391. 1. *Kitāb fi 'l-'amal bil-aṣṡurlāb* Br. Mus. 405,2.—2, 3. see Suppl.—Cf. Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigr. Lit.* p. 74.

2. Abū Naṣr Maṣṡūr b. 'Alī b. 'Irāq, who died before 427/1036 (see Suppl.).

Sachau, *Alberunis Chron.* xxxiii, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 168. 1. *Kitāb fi ṣan'at al-aṣṡurlāb bil-ṡarīq al-ṣinā'ī* Berl. 5797.—2. *Risāla fi ḡall shubha 'araḡat lahu fi 'l-maḡāla al-thāliṡa 'ashara min Kitāb al-uṣṡl*, addressed to al-Bīrūnī, on a dubious passage from the 13th *maḡāla* of Euclid, Berl. 5925, Bank. 2519,14 = Patna II, 332,2519,20, where *thāliṡa*.—3. *Iṣlāḡ kitāb Menelaos fi 'l-kurīyyāt* Leid. 989/90, Bodl. I, 960, Patna II, 332,2519,9, cf. Steinschneider, op. cit., 197.—4. *Istikhrāj bu'd mā bayna 'l-markazayn min al-Mijisī' al-Shāḡī* Ind. Off. 734,2, cf. Ṣūṣī in Steinschneider, op. cit., 207.—5.—7. see Suppl. (5–6 = Patna II, 332,2519,7–21).

3. Abū Iṣḡāq Ibrāḡīm b. Yaḡyā al-Naqqāsh b. al-Zarḡāla al-Qurṡubī, d. 493/1100 (see Suppl.).

Steinschneider, in Boncompagni's *Bull. di bibl. e di storia delle sc. math. e fisiche* XX, 1/36, 575/602, *Archeion*, *Archivo di storia della scienza* XIV, 1932, 392/412, on the name see Renaud, *Hesp.* 1937, 1, n. 6. 1. *Kitāb al-'amal bil-ṣafīḡa al-zījīyya*, written for the prince of Seville al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād, d. 488/1095, Leid. 1070/1, Br. Mus. 426,12, Inst. Reg. Belg. 50 d, cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 369,1, Don Profeit Tibbon, *Tractat de l'Assafea d'Azarquel*, *Bibl. hebr. catalana* IV, Barcelona 1933. | —2. *Risālat b. al-Zarḡāla* Esc. 1957, de Jong III.—3. *al-Qānūn (li-Eumathion?)*, astron. tables, Munich 853.—4. *Kitāb al-tadbīr*, on astrology, Vienna 1421, Br. Mus. 977,18.—5. On the movement of fixed stars (author?), Steinschneider, op. cit., 371,2.—6. see Suppl.

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3a. Abū Naṣr Yaḡyā b. Jarīr al-Takrīṡī, see Suppl.

Graf, *Christl. ar. Lit.* 51/2, *Theol. Quartalschr.* 95, 1913, | 183, Cheikho, *Cat. Beyrouth* 75/6, 267/8 (also on his brother Abū Sa'd al-Faḡl b. Jarīr).

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4. Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Muḥammad al-Kharaqī al-Thābitī, who died in 527/1132 in his birthplace of Kharaq, near Marw.

1. *Muntaha 'l-idrāk fi taqāsīm al-aflāk*, a completion of the astronomy of Ibn al-Haytham (p. 618), Berl. 5669, Paris 2499.—2. *Kitāb al-tabṣira fi 'ilm al-hay'a*, abstract of the previous, Berl. 5670, Gotha 1384 (where other MSS are listed), see Lasinio, *ZDMG* XXVI, 806, ad Med. 293.

4a.–h. See Suppl.

4b. 2 also AS 2602/3.—c. read: Ibn al-Kammād.—e. *Aḥkām al-Dāmaghānī* Garr. 970.

5. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Jaghminī al-Khwārizmī, who died after 618/1221.

*Al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi 'l-hay'a*, *Kompendium der Astronomie*, translation by Rudloff and Hochheim, *ZDMG* 47, 213ff. where the MSS are listed, with Garr. 974, 2104,3, Patna I, 237,2059, cf. Nallino, *ibid.* 48, 120. Commentaries: 1. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Rūmī Qāḍizāde, d. 815/1412 (II, 212), Berl. 5675/6, Dresd. 131, Munich 854, Paris 2503/4, 4386, 6384, Copenhagen 84, Br. Mus. 401/2, 1341, Suppl. 760/1, Ind. Off. 751/3, Bodl. I, 967, 1027, II, 276, 291,4, Leid. 1086/8, Pet. 126,2, Garr. 975/7, 'Āšir Ḥafīd 2031, Alex. Ḥisāb 39/41, Patna I, 237,2056, lith. Persia 1286.—Glosses by: a. Faṣīḥ (al-Dīn) 'Abd al-Karīm al-Nizāmī (ca. 850/1446), Leid. 1089, Qawala II, 270.—b. 'Abd al-'Alī al-Birjandī, ca. 930/1524 (II, 413), Berl. 5677, Br. Mus. Suppl. 762, Ind. Off. 754, Garr. 988/9, Qawala II, 261, Patna I, 236,2046/7.—c. Anon., Berl. 5678.—d.–f. see Suppl.—g. Sinān Pāshā b. Yūsuf b. Khiḍr, d. 891/1486 (Suppl. II, 327), Qawala II, 270.—h. see Suppl. II, 857,5.—2. al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Gotha 1388 (where other MSS are listed), Paris 2505, Garr. 2104,2, Ğarullāh 1496, Alex. Ḥisāb 39, Qawala II, 272.—3. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Nahrīrī (?), Esc. 1952.—4. Persian by Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn, Bodl. I, 73,3.—5. Anon., Cambr. 51/2, Pet. 27, 131.—6.–9. see Suppl.—10. Jalāl al-Dīn al-'Ubaydī, Faiḍ. 1330,2 (copied in 751, during the lifetime of the author).—II. *Risāla fi ḥisāb al-tis'* Garr. 502.—III, IV. | see Suppl.—v. *al-Farā'id*, astronomy, on which an anonymous commentary, Paris 2865,11.

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6. Riḍwān b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khurāsānī wrote, around 600/1203, in Damascus:

*Risāla fī ʿamal al-sāʿāt wastiʿmālihā*, on astronomical clocks, with numerous illustrations, Gotha 1348,<sub>1</sub>.

6a.–c. see Suppl. (b. al-Biṭrawjī, Suyūṭī, *Lubb*, Bitrawshī).

6d. Al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar wrote, before 639/1241 (the date of the MS):

*Al-Mukhtaṣar fī ʿl-qirānāt* Br. Mus. 426,<sub>9</sub>.

7. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar al-Marrākushī, who died around 660/1262.

1. *Jāmiʿ al-mabādī wal-ghāyāt fī ʿilm al-mīqāt*, composed in 627/1230, Leid. 1098/9, Paris 2507/98, cf. *Traité des instruments astronomiques des Arabes par Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī (sic) de Maroc, trad. par J.S. Sédillot et publié par L.A. Sédillot*, Paris 1835, Carra de Vaux, *JA* s. IX, t, 5, p. 464/516. 474

8. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī al-Kawwās Badr al-Dīn, d. 677/1278 (see Suppl.).

1. *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī asrār ʿulūm al-aflāk*, on astrology, Berl. 5888, Garr. 971.—  
2.–6. see Suppl. (3. also Alex. Ḥisāb 61).—7. *Taysīr al-maṭālib fī tasyīr al-kawākib* Alex. Ḥisāb 47.

9. ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar b. Abi ʿl-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Musāfir Taʿāsīf, d. 649/1251 (see Suppl.).

Correspondence with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (p. 508) on Euclid's postulates, Berl. 5942, MSS in Istanbul in Krause, p. 496,<sub>10</sub>.

10. Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Abharī, d. 673/1274.

Suter 153, no. 369. *Lawāmiʿ al-wasāʿil fī maṭāliʿ al-rasāʿil*, on the maintenance of astronomical instruments, Gotha 1414, Esc. 1960 (photograph *Qu. u. St.* VII, 30, I, 17) cf. L.A. Sédillot in *Mém. présentés par divers savants à l'Ac. des Inscr.* s. I, v. 1, p. 219b.

626 | 11. Muḥyi 'l-Milla wal-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shukr al-Maghribī al-Andalusī, who died between 680–90/1281–91 (see Suppl.).

Khwandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* III, 1, 62, Steinschneider, *Bibl. Math.* 1892, 39,<sub>1</sub>. 1. *Kitāb al-mudkhal*, on astrology, Gotha 65,<sub>1</sub>.—2. *Taṣṭīḥ al-aṣṭurlāb* Berl. 5816, Patna I, 234,<sub>2040</sub>.—3. *Arba' maqālāt fi 'l-nujūm*, library of al-Muḥaddith al-'Imād al-Fihriṣī in Mashhad, *Dharī'a* I, 408,<sub>2124</sub>.—4. *Kitāb al-nujūm*, on astrology, Munich 873, Br. Mus. 431,<sub>4</sub>. Ind. Off. 769, 1, Bodl. I, 982 = *Kayfiyyat al-ḥukm 'alā taḥwīl sinī 'l-'ālam* Paris 2593,<sub>11</sub>, different from Paris 2594 (= *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr?* ḤKh V, 560) = (?) *al-Durr al-thamīn fi 'l-ḥukm 'alā taḥwīl al-sinīn* Alex. Ḥurūf 14.—5. *al-Ḥukm 'alā qirānāt al-kawākib fi 'l-burūj al-ithnay 'ashar* Br. Mus. 414,<sub>2</sub>, Ind. Off. 769,<sub>2</sub>.—6. *Risālat al-khiṭā' wal-īghūr*, calendars of the Chinese and the Uyghurs, Bodl. I, 971,<sub>9</sub>.—7. Edition of Euclid, Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 169.—8. *Kitāb al-makhrūṭāt*, edition of the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perga with a brief preface, Br. Mus. 975,<sub>4</sub>, Manch. 358, Patna II, 554,<sub>2928,11</sub>.—9. *al-Shakl al-qatṭā'* Berl. 5957.—10. *Iṣlāḥ kitāb Menelaos fi 'l-ashkāl al-kuriyya*, edition of the *Sphaerica* of Menelaus, Ind. Off. 741, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 197.—11. *Khulāṣat al-Mijistī*, appendix to Ptolemy, Leid. 1101, Steinschneider, op. cit., 207.—12. *Tahdhīb maqālat Theodosios fi 'l-ukar*, edition of the *Sphaerica* of Theodosius, Leid. 985, Paris 2468,<sub>4</sub>, Mashh. XVII, 3, 5, Teh. II, 200,<sub>2</sub>, see Steinschneider, op. cit., 34.—13.–20. see Suppl.—15.–22.

12. Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣūfī al-Maqdisī wrote, around 700/1300:

Astronomical tables, Gotha 1402 (see Suppl.).

475 | 14. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Bāṣ al-Salamī, ca. 693/1294 (see Suppl.).

H.J.P. Renaud, *Les Ibn Bāšo*, *Hespéris* 1937, 1/12.

## Chapter 14. Travelogues and Geographies

1. Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, d. 440/1048, see Suppl.

Taeschner *ZDMG* 77, 31ff. M. Krause, Alb. ein iranischer Forscher im MA, *Islam* xxvi, 1/15. M. Yaḥyā al-Hāshimī, | Naẓariyyat al-iqtisād ‘inda ‘l-B., *RAAD* 627 xv, 456/65. 1. *al-Āthār al-bāqīya* etc. also Patna I, 265,2218.—2. *Ta’riḫ al-Hind*, according to Sachau, *India*, Introd., completed between 30 April and 30 September 1030.—3. *al-Taḥfīm li-awā’il ṣinā’at al-tanjīm*, see *RAAD* v, 247, ed. Jalal Humar, Tehran 1940.—4. *al-Qānūn al-Mas’ūdi*, fragm. Br. Mus. Or. 1997, 9551, | photograph *Qu. u. St.* vii, 35, II, 26, *ibid.* 8230, photograph *ibid.* 58, Berl. 476 616, photograph *ibid.* 57. Part of chapter 14 translated by C. Schoy, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des pers. Astronomen a. R.M. b. A. al-B.*, Hannover 1927, p. 66.—7. *Istikhrāj al-awtār* etc., see Patna II, 336,2519,40.—8. *Fī rashikāt al-Hind*, photograph *Qu. u. St.* vii, 16, I, 25 see K. Käfer, *Der Kettensatz, ein Beitrag zur Gesch. u. Theorie u. Methodik des Kaufmännischen Rechnens, Mitt. d. handelswiss. Sem. Zürich.*—11. *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī ma’rifat al-jawāhir* Esc<sup>2</sup>905, photograph *Qu. u. St.* vii, 69, v, 2/5, fragm. Taymūr, Ṭab. 953, print. Hyderabad 1355; *Die Einleitung zu al-B. ’s Steinbuch mit Erläuterungen übers. v. Taqīaddīn al-Hilālī*, Leipzig 1941 (Sammlg. or. Arb. vii).—12. *Maqāla fī ‘l-nisab* etc., see *al-Mashriq* ix, 1906,19.—13. *Risāla fī taṣṭiḥ al-ṣuwar* etc. photograph *Qu. u. St.* vii, 34, II, 25.—15. *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-taṣḥiḥ masāfāt al-masākin*, see Zeki Velidi Togan, *B’s Picture of the World in Mem. Ant. Soc. of India* 43, p. 56.—19. *Tamhīd al-mustaḡarr* = Patna II, 335,2519,36.—27. *Kitāb al-ṣaydhala, Birunlu Eba Rayhan Kitabussaydele fittibb mukaddimesi türkçeyle çeviren Yalrkaya Şerefeddin* Istanbul 1937 (*Ist. Un. Tib Tar. Enst* ix).—28. *Ifrād al-maqāl fī amr al-zilāl* Patna II, 335,2519,34.—29. *Risāla fī ashkāl al-handasa* *ibid.* 35.

2. Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Bakrī, d. 487/1094, see Suppl.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 52, Leclerc I, 553. 1. *Muḡam ma ’staʿjama, Das geographische Wörterbuch (der bei altar. Dichtern vorkommenden Ortsnamen mit einer Einleitung über die Sitze der ar. Stämme) des. al-B. nach den Hdss. in Leiden, Cambridge, London u. Mailand hsg. v. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen-Paris* 1877.—2. *al-Masālik wal-mamālik*, a comprehensive handbook on geography, Paris 2218 (frgm.), 5905, Algiers 1548, Morocco (V. Minorsky, *BSOS* ix, 149, n. 1), Pet. AM 101. From this *Description de l’Afrique septentrionale par Abou Obaid al-B., texte ar. par le Baron de Slane, Algiers* 1857, 2nd ed. 1910, A. Kunik i, V. | Rosen, 628

*Izvestiya al-B. i drugich avtorov o Rusi i Slavjanach* 1, St. Petersburg 1878, II, 1903. Cf. Quatremère, *Not. et Extr.* XII, 437, Cherbonneau, *JA* s. V, v. 1, p. 437, Defrémery *ibid.* s. IV, v. 13, p. 46off. Anon. abstract from the sixth cent., Krafft 319.—3. *Sharḥ al-amālī lil-qālī* see p. 139.—4. *Sharḥ al-amthāl li-Abī 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām* p. 106.

477 | 3. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Zuhrī, who lived in Granada in 532/1137.

*Kitāb al-jaghrāfiya*, see Suppl., Paris 2220, Tunis, Kairouan, Algiers; from which Description du Sous el aqṣā, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, 192/8; cf. Amari, *Bibl. Ar.-Sic.* 158.

4. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, who was born into an 'Alid family in Ceuta in 493/1099, studied in Cordova and, after lengthy travels, arrived at the court of the Norman king Roger II of Sicily, for whom he wrote his famous geographical work in 548/1154.

'Abdallāh Gannūn, *Nubūgh* 1, 88/9. 1. *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi 'khtirāq al-āfāq* (named succinctly *Kitāb Rujūr*, Ibn Khald., *Prolog.* I, 75<sup>11</sup>, 81<sup>13</sup>) Paris 2221/2, Bodl. I, 884/7, II, 131<sup>3</sup>, 262<sup>4</sup>, Leningrad, Öff. Bibl., Shumen in Bulgaria, *Petermanns Mitt.* 1933, no. 11/2, 304, see Suppl. Th. Nöldeke, *Ein Abschnitt aus dem ar. Geographen Idrisi* (on the Baltic countries), *Verh. d. Gel. Esthn. Ges. zu Dorpat* VII, 3, 1875, E. Saavedra, *La geografia de España del Edrisi*, *Boletín de la sociedad geogr. de Madrid* 1885, vol. 18, p. 225/42, W. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Haemus-Halbinsel*, II. Die Handelswege im 12. Jahrh. nach den Erkundigungen des Arabers Idrisi, *SBWA, phil.-hist. Cl. Bd.* 113 (1887), 285/373. R.A. Brandel, *Om och ur den arabiske geografen Idrisi*, Uppsala 1894 (with the description of Syria and Palestine in Arabic and Swedish). W. Hoenerbach, *Deutschland u. seine Nachbarländer nach der Geographie des Idrīsī*, *Bonner Or. Stud.* XXI, 1938.—Abstract *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi dhikr al-amṣār wal-aqtār wal-buldān wal-juzur wal-madā'in wal-āfāq* Gotha 1524, Paris 2223, Algiers 1550, de Jong 99, Br. Mus. Suppl. 685, Cambr. 1174.—2., 3. see Suppl.

5. Abū Ḥāmid Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm ('Abd al-Raḥmān) b. Sulaymān al-Māzinī al-Qaysī al-Andalusī, d. 565/1169, see Suppl.

629 | Maqq. I, 617, Wüst. in *Lüdde's Zeitschr.* I, 43, Reinaud, *Aboulf.* transl. CXI/II, Mehren, *Ann. f. nord.* Oldk. 1857, 29. 1. *Nukhbat al-adhhān fi 'ajā'ib al-buldān* or *al-Mughrib 'an ba'd 'ajā'ib al-buldān*, | a description of a trip through Spain,

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Africa, Alexandria, Cairo, Ashkelon, Damascus, Ardabil, the Caspian Sea, Darband, and the land of the Khazars, often of fabled content, composed for the vizier Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Hubayra after 516/1122, Gotha 1539 (see Derenbourg, *Rev. Cr.* 1882, I, 210, n. 3), cf. *Bolletino ital. degli stud. or.* NS 315.—2. *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa-nukhbat al-aʿjāb*, composed in 557/1162, Berl. 6038/9, Gotha 1501/2 (where other MSS are listed), Algiers 1549,<sup>1</sup> 1870,<sup>3</sup>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 686, Garr. 766, cf. B. Dorn, *Bull. de l'Ac. de St. Pétersbourg* XVIII, 150, 299, 321 = *Mél. As.* VI, 675, 685, 777, A. v. Kremer, *SBWA* CIX, 209, 137, de Goeje, *Mededeeling betr. den zwaardcultus, Ac. Amsterd.* V, G. Jacob, *Studien in ar. Geographien*, Part III, Berlin 1892.—3. *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* ḤKh IV, 189, Bodl. I, 965, II, 259, see Suppl.—4.—6. see *ibid.*

6. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Mawṣilī wrote, in 592/1196 in Suyūt:

*ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, an account of his travels in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt in 537–85/1142–89, and of the scholars whom he met on the way, Berl. 6131.

6a. Murtaḍā b. ʿAfīf (?) wrote after the traditionist ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Silafī, d. 576/1180 (p. 450), whom he quotes:

L'Égypte de Murtada fils de Gaphiphe etc. see Suppl. II, 1026,<sup>7</sup>, see Galtier, *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. or.* V, 133/4.

7. Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jubayr al-Kinānī, who died in Alexandria in 614/1217 (see Suppl.).

*Riḥlat al-Kinānī* (Leid. 793). *The Travels of Ibn Jubair* ed. by W. Wright, Leiden 1852, 2nd ed. by M.J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. V, Leiden 1907. Extrait d'un voyage en orient de M. b. Djubair, texte ar. accompagné d'une trad. franç. et des notes par M. Amari, *JA* s. IV, vol. 6, p. 507, v. 7, p. 73, 201, cf. M. al-Tantawī, *ibid.* v. 9, p. 351, G. Crolla, *La Sicile au XII<sup>e</sup> s. récit du voyage de I.J. en l'an 581 de l'h. (1187) trad. de l'ar., Muséon* VI, 123/32.

8. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Shaykh al-Harawī, d. 611/1214 (see Suppl.).

| 1. *Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt*, a description of popular shrines in Aleppo, in Syria with its coastal regions and the possessions of the Franks, Palestine, Jerusalem, Egypt, the countries around the Mediterranean, its islands,

Diyarbakr, Iraq, India, Mecca, Medina, Yemen, and Persia, Berl. 6120/3, Cairo 1v, 58, 2v1, 32.—2. *al-Khuṭab al-Harawīyya*, pious aphorisms that he had affixed to all sides and doors of a building erected next to a tomb for pious Sufis which he had built during his lifetime, Berl. 8656.—3. See Suppl. Turkish transl. by Muḥammad ʿĀrif Ḥilmī, made in 1253/1837, Fātiḥ 3469.

9. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Idrīsī Abū Jaʿfar wrote for the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (635–7/1238–40):

479 | *Anwār ʿuluww al-aḥrām fi ʿl-kashf ʿan asrār al-aḥrām*, revised by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, d. 1093/1682 (II, 286), Munich 417, Paris 2274/7. Wyse, *Operations at the Pyramids* II, 344ff., gives an “Extract from Schereef Djemaleddyn Aboo Djafar M. Edrys History of the Pyramids” and considers the date of composition of 623 as mistaken because he confuses this Idrīsī with the famous geographer (no. 4). In the MS in Paris mention is made of a Sultan Abū Bakr Khalīl b. al-Malik al-Afḍal Najm al-Dīn, but since there was never anyone like this, de Slane took the work to be a pseudepigraph, which supposedly only came into being around 1232 AH, the date of the four MSS in Paris; but the MS in Munich dates from 1072/1661. While de Slane assumed that before the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans no sultan had carried the title of *amīr al-muʿminīn*, Casanova JA s. IX, vol. 7, p. 129ff. confirms this title on the basis of an inscription of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.

10. Yāqūt<sup>1</sup> b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rūmī, born the son of Greek parents in Byzantine territory in 574 or 575/1179, was captured as a boy. Being the slave of a merchant from Hama, he received the *nisba* al-Ḥamawī. His master had him educated with care and sent him out on business trips from a young age onward. 631 | When he returned in 590/1194 from his third trip to Kish in the Persian Gulf he had an argument with his owner. After his liberty had been restored to him, he made a living as a copyist and studied among other things under the grammarian al-ʿUkbarī. In 596/1199 he went once more on behalf of his former master to Kish. But when he returned the following year, the latter was no longer alive. He now set up his own business as a bookseller, and in this capacity he travelled to Syria in 607/1210 (*Irshād* VI, 147). The following years he became also productive as a writer. In 610/1213 he left on a trip again, first to Tabriz, then by way of Mosul to Syria and Egypt, where he stayed in 612 (*Irshād* I, 161, 480 | 17). From there he returned, by way of Damascus, to the east. | In Nishapur he

1 This slave name he later changed to the nobler Yaʿqūb, which never caught on.



bought a Turkish slavegirl in 613, but soon had to sell her again because he was short of money. The rich treasures of the libraries of Marw consoled him for this loss; it was there, in 615/1218, that he drew up the plan for his geographical dictionary. After a stay of about two years he continued on to Khwārizm. On the news that the Tatars had conquered Bukhārā and Samarqand, he fled from Balkh to Khurāsān, leaving all his goods behind. By way of Irbil he arrived in Mosul in 617/1220, where he made a living as a copyist. The vizier Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shaybānī al-Qiftī (p. 396), to whom he had poured out his troubles, enabled him to travel to Aleppo in 619/1222, but he soon returned to Mosul where he started working on the draft of his geographical dictionary, which he completed on 20 Šafar 621/13 March 1224. In 624/1227 he travelled once more to Alexandria and, upon his return to Aleppo, he started, on 21 Muḥarram 625/1 January 1228, to prepare the clean copy of his work. In the middle of this task, death overtook him | in a tavern on the outskirts of the city, on 20 Ramaḍān 626/20 August 1229.

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Ibn Khall. 761, Wüst., *ZDMG* 1864, 397ff., *NGGW* 1865, 333ff., *Gesch.* 310, Mehren, *Ann. f. nord. Oldk.* 1857, 38, no. 20. 1. *Muʿjam al-buldān, Jacuts geographisches Wörterbuch, hsg. v. F. Wüstenfeld*, 6 vols., Leipzig 1866/73.<sup>2</sup>—Abstracts: a. *Marāšid al-iṭṭilāʿ ‘alā asmā’ al-amkina wal-biqāʿ*, ed. T.G. Juynboll, Leiden 1850/64, also Patna II, 325,2497, 540,2906, lith. Tehran 1315.—b. See Suppl.—2. *al-Mushtarik waḍʿan wal-mukhtaliḥ ṣaqʿan*, composed in 623/1226, revised edition in 626/1229 with *al-muḥtariq* instead of *al-mukhtaliḥ*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1846.—3. *Muʿjam al-udabāʿ al-musammā bi-Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb* | Köpr. 1103, abstract part 3 Berl. 9852, see Suppl. new impression, vocalised in part, by A. Farīd Rifāʿī in 20 vols., C. 1936/8; on the sources see also Bergsträsser, *ZDMG* 65, 797ff.—4. *al-Muqtaḍab min kitāb Jamharat al-nasab* (by Ibn al-Kalbī, see *ZDMG* 43, 117), Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 156, <sup>2</sup>v, 355.—5.–9. see Suppl.

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11. Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, a physician and natural scientist, d. 629/1231 (see Suppl.).

2 Cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes, extrait du Moʿdjem elbouldan de Jaqout et complété à l'aide de documents arabes et persans pour la plupart inédits*, Paris 1871; F.J. Heer, *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jacuts Geographischem Wörterbuch*, Strasburg 1898; H. Derenbourg, *Les croisades d'après le dict. géogr. de Jaqout in Le vol. du centenaire de l'École des langues or. viv.* p. 71/92.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 201/13 (*Abdollarīphī Bagdadensis vita auct. Ibn abi Oseibia*, ed. Joh. Mousley, Oxford 1808), *Fawāt* II, 7, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥ.* I, 312, Wüst., *Ärzte* 220, *Gesch.* 314, Leclerc II, 182. 1. *Kitāb al-ifāda wal-i'tibār fi 'l-umūr al-mushāhada wal-ḥawādith al-mu'āyana bi-arḍ Miṣr*, *Abdollarīphī Compendium memorabilium gypti*, ed. J. White, Oxford 1788, *praefatus est* H.E.G. Paulus, Tübingen 1789. *A.'s Denkwürdigkeiten Ägyptens*, übers. von S.F.G. Wahl, Halle 1790. *Historiae Aegypti compendium ar. et lat. partim ipse vertit, partim a Brookio versum edendum curavit* J. White, Oxford 1800. *Relation de l'Égypte par A. trad. par* 633 | S. de Sacy, Paris 1810. New impression, C. 1286.—2. *al-Tajrīd min alfāz rasūl Allāh wal-ṣaḥāba wal-tābi'in* Bodl. I, 1149.—3. *Mulakkkhaṣ min kitāb Maqālat al-tāj fi ṣifāt al-nabī* Cairo <sup>VII</sup>, 95.—Inventory of his logical works in Steinschneider, *Alfārābī* 29.—5.—16. see Suppl. (II. also Patna I, 249,<sup>2115</sup>).—17. *Fī 'ilm mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, Taymūr, Ḥikma 116,<sup>2</sup>.—18. *Maqāla fi 'l-ḥawāss wa-maqāla thāniya fi 'l-ḥiss wa-mas'āl ṭabī'iyya* Esc. <sup>2889</sup>,<sup>1</sup>.

12. Zakariyyā<sup>2</sup> b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, a descendant of Anas b. Mālik, was born in Qazvin around 600/1203. For unknown reasons he was forced to leave his hometown, staying in Damascus in 630/1232, where he made the acquaintance of Ibn al-'Arabī (p. 571). Under the last caliph al-Mu'taṣim he was a *qāḍī* in Wāsiṭ and al-Ḥilla, and he died in 682/1283.

S. de Sacy, *Chrest.* <sup>2III</sup>, 443ff., Wüst. *GGA*, 1848, I, 345ff. Reinaud, *Aboulf.* I, CXLIII, Mehren, *Ann. f. nord. Oldk.* 1857, 80, Leclerc II, 135. *Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-āthār al-bilād*, a cosmography (see Suppl., additional MSS Esc. <sup>2899</sup> fragm., Patna II, 324,<sup>2496</sup>, photograph of Munich 464, Paris 2775, *Qu. u. St.* VII, 75, V, 7/8), *Āthār al-bilād*, Bursa Hü. Celebi Heyet 14.—Persian transl. Fātiḥ 4171/3, 4174, supposedly from 659 AH, 4179, Sarāi 2962, 2989. The third edition by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, printed in the margin of Damīrī, C. 1309, lith. Tehran 1310. *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des Z. b. M. b. M. al-K. übers. u. mit Anm. versehen* v. J. Ruska, *Beilage zum Jahresber. der prov. Oberrealschule zu Heidelberg*, Kirchhain N/L, 1896. *Ein ar. Berichterstatte aus d. 10. Jahrh. über Fulda, Schleswig, Soest, Paderborn u. a. Städte des Abendlandes, Artikel aus Q. 's Āthār albilād aus dem Ar. übertr. mit Cmt. u. einer Einl. versehen* v. G. Jacob, 3. verm. u. verb. Aufl., Berlin 1896 (cf. Karabacek, *WZKM* VII, 364ff.)—Abstracts: a. *Talkhīṣ al-āthār wa-'ajā'ib al-malik al-qahhār*, with the addition of longitudes and latitudes, by 'Abd al-Rashīd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bākuwī, ca. 806/1403, Munich 889, f. 211ff. following Paris 2246/7, cf. de Guignes. *Not. et Extr.* II, 386ff., Mehren, *Ann. a. a. O.* 70. Extraits de la géogr. de 'A. al-B. in J.J. Marcel, *Mélanges de litt. or.*, 634 Paris 1800.—b. Anon., Paris 2181/3, 2419,<sup>3</sup> (photograph | Cairo <sup>2v</sup>, 334), Br. Mus. 386. Persian transl. Vienna 1438/9, Leid. 798, Camb. Suppl. 851,<sup>3</sup>, lith. Lucknow 482 1283, Tehran 1264. |—Turkish transl. see Suppl., Çagatai Chanykow 108.

13. Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī (Leid. ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm) b. Shaddād ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Kātib al-Ḥalabī, who died at the age of 74 in the year 684/1285 in Egypt.

*Orient.* II, 274, Wüst., *Gesch.* 362. 1. *al-A'lāq al-ḥaḏīra (khaṭīra) fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wal-Jazīra*, a historical geography of Syria and Mesopotamia, DMG 58, Br. Mus. 282,3, 1323/4, Bodl. Marsh 33 (anon. see Amedroz, *JRAS* 1902, 80), Pet. AM 162, best MS Topkapi Sarai Revan Köşk 1564 (Bursa), cf. *Cent. Amari* II, 152ff., Ledit, *al-Mashriq XXXIII* (1935), 161/223, Cl. Cahen, *La Djezira au milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> s.* d'après ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *REI* I, 109/28.—2. *al-Qur‘a al-Shaddādiyya al-Ḥimyarīyya* or *Tuḥfat al-zaman fī ṭuraf ahl al-Yaman* Patna I, 190,1720.

14. Abū Muḥammad al-‘Abdarī of Valencia started a trip through North Africa in 688/1289.

*Al-Riḥla al-maghribīyya*, a description of African towns and the customs of their inhabitants, with reports on the scholars there, Leid. 801, Paris 2283, Esc. 21738, Tunis, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* 1884, p. 35, no. 140, note on Tripoli Paris 1889,2, see Vincent, *JA* s. IV, vol. 5, p. 405, Dozy, *ibid.*, vol. 3, 394, Cherbonneau. see V, vol. 4, p. 144ff., W. Hoenerbach, *Das Nordafrikanische Itinerar des A. v. J. 688/1289*, *AKM*, XXV (1940), 4.

15. Najm (Jamāl) al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb al-Shaybānī al-Dimashqī b. al-Mujāwir, who died in 690/1291.

*Ta’riḫ al-mustabṣir* (often corrupted to *al-mustanṣir*, see G. Ferrand, *JA*, s. XI, vol. 13 1919, 469ff.), a description of Mecca and Yemen, Br. Mus. 1511 (see Suppl. Paris 6021, contains, however, a work by Ibn Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Mujāwir al-Baghdādī al-Nisābūrī, composed around 626/1229, see M. Jawad, *REI*, 1938, 286).

16. Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Ṭībī wrote in Ḥilla, in 699/1299:

| Account of the trip of Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī to Egypt, Spain, the land of the Berbers, the island of the Rāfiḏites (i.e. Djerba) and to the Green Island in the White Sea, where he was entertained by the Qur‘ān scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-‘Ālim, but which he had to leave after just eight days, Berl. 6132.

## Chapter 15. Medicine

1. Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭayyib al-'Irāqī was the secretary to the Catholicos Elias I, and a doctor and teacher at the 'Aḡudī hospital in Baghdad. He died in 435/1043.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 241, Wüst., *Ärzte* 132, Leclerc I, 486, Cat. Beyrouth 22/3. 1. *al-Nukat wal-thimār al-ṭibbiyya wal-falsafiyya*, abstracts from Hippocrates' *de octimestri partu*; *de plantis secundum Aristotelem* (see Bouyges, *MUSJ* IX, 2, 1924); *de odoribus et variis aromatum generibus*; *de capillis et cavities*; *al-Farq bayna 'l-rūḥ wal-nafs*, *de siti ejusque causis*; *de clysteribus eorumque usu*. *Kalām Jālīnūs fi 'l-ḥaḡn*, on the golden verses of Pythagoras and the commentary by Hierocles, 483 *de urinis*, *de pulsibus* Esc. 2888<sub>1-9</sub>. |—2. *Tafsīr kitāb Jālīnūs li-ḥīlat al-bur'*, a paraphrase of *περὶ μεθόδου θεραπευτικῆς*, Leid. 1298. —3. *Kitāb tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥā'*, a paraphrase of Galen's *ύγιεινών*, ibid. 1299, Paris 2858, Med. 226, 235, 250, 263. —4. *Tafsīr Maqūlāt Aristātālīs* Cairo 1<sup>VI</sup>, 89. —5.–11. see Suppl. (10. Garr. 1096). —12. *Maqāla fi 'l-ḥurūf wa-mā yatarakkab minhā* Esc. 2888<sub>13</sub>. —13. A commentary on the *Tabula Cebetis* in the translation of Ibn Miskawayh (p. 418), ibid. 14. —14. *Thimār Maqālat Aristūtālīs fi tadbīr al-manzil*, apocryphal, perhaps translated by him, ibid. 11. —See G. Graf, *Die christl.-ar. Lit. bis zur fränk. Zeit*, Freiburg, 1905, 55/8.

1a. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Kaḥḥāl, d. after 400/1010 (see Suppl.).

*Tadhkirat al-kaḥḥālīn* also Leningrad, see Kračkovsky, *RAAD* IV, 285, 318, Patna I, 244, 2091.

1b. Abū Bakr Ḥāmid b. Samḥūn worked as a physician in Cordova during the reign of Ḥājib al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002).

636 | Ibn Abī Uṣ., II, 51/2. *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* Br. Mus. Or. 11614, see Fulton, *Br. Mus. Qu.* XI, 81.

2. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib's student Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. 'Abdūn b. Sa'dūn b. Buṭlān was a Christian like him and worked as a physician in Baghdad. In order to get to know his literary opponent Ibn Riḏwān (no. 4), he went to Egypt in 439/1047. Sensing that he was no match for him, he went to Antioch, by way of Constantinople, where he entered a monastery. He died there after 460/1068.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 241, Wüst. 133, Leclerc I, 489. V. Rosen, *Auszüge aus Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī*, 038/52 (on his theology of the Eucharist see G. Graf, *Or. Chr.* II, 13, 1938, 44/70). 1. *Taqwīm<sup>1</sup> al-ṣiḥḥa*, 40 tables of macrobiotics, Munich. 821, Paris 2945, 2947,<sup>3</sup>, Br. Mus. 441, Suppl. 792/3, Bodl. I, 554, II, 180, Naples, Cat. Ital. 237, no. 96, 2. *Tacuini (so) sanitatis*, Strasburg 1531. *Schachtafeln der Gesundheit, übers. durch Mich. Herr*, Strasbourg 1532. On this is based the *Hygiene*, which in Latin translation is attributed to Abulhasen de Bagdad f. Habde, ed. E. Dogne in *Boletin de la R. Ac. de Hist.* 1892, XVI, see Renaud, *La prétendue Hygiène d'Abulcasis et sa véritable origine*, Petrus Nonnus III, Lisbon 1941, fs. 3/4.—2. *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'*, a dialogue between the author and a 70-year old physician in Mayyāfāriqīn on medicine and its disciplines in general, composed in 450/1058 (Uṣ.), Berl. 6282/3, Gotha 1909.—2. *Tadbīr al-amrād al-'ārīḍa 'ala 'l-akthar bil-aghḍhiya al-ma'lūfa wal-adwiya al-mawjūda yantafi'u bihā ruhbān al-adyira wa-man ba'uda min al-madīna* Gotha 1952,<sup>2</sup>, Gött. 98, Paris 2918,<sup>2</sup>.—3. *Risāla fī shirā' al-raqīq wa-taqḥīb al-'abūd*, instructions on how to spot physical defects when buying slaves, Berl. 4979.—5. *al-Maqāla fī anna 'l-farrūj aḥarru min al-farkh*, also with the title *al-Sha'badha al-aqlīyya*, proof that a chicklet is warmer than any other young bird, Bodl. I, 1264,<sup>3</sup>.—6.—8. see Suppl.

3. Abū Sa'īd (Sa'd) 'Ubaydallāh b. Jibrīl b. Bukhtyishū', a member of the famous Christian family of physicians | (Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 125ff.) and a friend of Ibn Buṭlān, lived in Mayyāfāriqīn and died in the fifties of the fifth century. 637

Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 148, Wüst., 35. 1. *Kitāb al-'ishq maraḍan* Leid. 1332.—2. *Kitāb al-khawāṣṣ mujarrab al-manāfi'* Garr. 1065, AS 2943, from which *Manāfi' al-ḥayawān* Paris 2782, Br. Mus. Suppl. 778.—3. *Tadhkirat al-ḥādir wa-zād al-musāfir*, abstract of *al-Rawḍa al-ṭibbiyya*, Paris 3028,<sup>2</sup>, Esc. 2889,<sup>2</sup>.—4. see Suppl.

| 4. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Riḍwān b. 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Miṣrī was born in Giza and studied in Cairo where he had originally made a living as a street astrologer. He amassed great wealth as the personal physician of the caliph al-Ḥākīm, but lost it all because of a wayward adopted child. He died in 460/1068. 484

1 See Thorndike and Sarton, *Isis* x, 489/93.

Fragment of an autobiography, Gotha 2035<sub>10</sub>, Genua, *Bol. ital. degli studii or.* 410, *ZDMG* XXXI, 761 (or an excerpt from Ibn Abī Uṣ. see Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.* § 203), Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 99/105, Wüst, 138, Leclerc I, 525, de Sacy, *Abdallatīf* 103, Steinschneider in Baldi, *Vite di matematici arabi*, Rome 1874, 45/55. G. Gabrieli, *Isis* 1924, 500/6. 1. *Kifāyat al-ṭabīb fī-mā ṣaḥḥa ladayya min al-tajārib*, reviews the various diseases without any introduction and ends with a tract on the pulse and other methods of diagnosis, focussed particularly on urine, Gotha 1952<sub>1</sub>.—2. *Kitāb al-uṣūl fī 'l-ṭibb*, before in Esc. see Morata, *al-Andalus* II, 273, A. Taymūr, *RAAD* III, 361, Hebrew transl. Steinschneider § 471.—3. Answers to various medical questions, Gotha 2015<sub>1</sub>, 2, 9.—4. *Fī-mā yajibu 'ala 'l-ra'īs al-fāḍil min maṣāliḥ badanihi wa-ādāb labībihī wa-qahramānihi* *ibid.* 3.—5. Demonstration of the truth of Galen's statement about milk, *ibid.* 5.—6. That every member is fed by its corresponding humour, *ibid.* 7.—7. On barley, from a medical point of view, *ibid.* 8.—8. On sugar, *ibid.* 11.—9. On the number of fevers, *ibid.* 12.—10. On the periods of fevers, *ibid.* 13.—11. On beverages, *Bodl.* I, 941<sub>8</sub>.—12. Commentary on Galen's *De arte medendi ad Glauconem*, Esc. 2887<sub>3</sub> (fragm.) from which notes by Abū Ja'far b. Ḥasdāy, *ibid.* 803<sub>1</sub>.—13. Commentary on Galen on the three schools of medicine, *ibid.* 852<sub>1</sub> (fragm.).—14. *Sharḥ al-ṣinā'a al-ṣaghīra li-Jālīnūs*, a commentary on Galen's *Ars parva*, *ibid.* 2883, Bursa Haraccizade Tıp 43 (Ritter), Latin *Haly Ebn Rodan* see *Rodoham Aegyptius, Liber Tegni Galeni* etc. Venice 1496; | Hebrew Steinschneider § 471<sub>2</sub>.—15. Commentary on Galen on the elements, *Hebr. ibid.* 3.—16. Commentary on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum Sharḥ maqālat al-arba' fī 'l-qaḍāyā bil-nujūm li-B.*, *Bodl.* I, 992, Esc. 1908, Patna I, 338<sub>2066</sub>, Latin in the Q. Venice 1413, 1484, 1493.—17. Aphorisms, fragm. Esc. 1888<sub>10</sub> now Madrid, Robles DCI.—18. Open letter to the physicians of Egypt on his conflict with Ibn Buṭlān (no. 2), *Leid.* 1334.—19. Small *maqālāt* on logic, Esc. 2649<sub>2</sub>, 1925<sub>1</sub>.—20. *Dalīl mūjaz 'alā ḥadath al-ālam* *Br. Mus.* 426<sub>20</sub>.—21.–27. see *Suppl.* (21. Cairo 1VI, 15).

5. Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣādiq al-Nisābūrī al-Buqrāṭ al-Thānī, a student of Ibn Sīnā, who died after 460/1068.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 32, Wüst., 139. 1. Commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, with special consideration of Galen, *Berl.* 6223, *Leid.* 1294, *Paris* 2838/40, *Bodl.* I, 533, *Cambr.* 91, Esc. 2877, *Algiers* 1743, *Garr.* 1096, *Alex.* Ṭibb 22, augmented by an anonymous author 1744.—2. Commentary on the medical questions of Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq (p. 225), *Leid.* 1303, *Bodl.* I, 608, *Paris* 2861/2, *Palat.* 228, *Garr.* 1097.—3., 4. see *Suppl.*

485 | 6. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Īlāqī, likewise a student of Ibn Sīnā, who died in 536/1141, see *Suppl.*

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 20, Wüst., 137. 1. *Kitāb al-asbāb wal-'alāmāt* Munich 820.—2. *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-ṭibb* see Suppl. I, 825aa.—3., 4. see Suppl.

7. Abu 'l-Muṭarrif 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā b. Wāfid (Abenguefit) al-Lakhmī, born in 389/999, was one of the most important physicians of Spain of his time. He held the office of vizier in Toledo for a time and died sometime after 460/1068.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 49, Wüst., 141, Leclerc I, 545. 1. *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, abstract Gotha 72,5; Latin transl. in Choulant, *Bücherkunde* 370, Hebr. Steinschneider § 475.—2. *al-Tadhkira* in Groningen, see Dozy Suppl. I, p. XXIII.—3. *De balneis sermo* in *De balneis quae exstant apud graecos, latinos et arabes*, Venice 1553 (Mieli, 183,7).—3. *Kitāb al-wisād*, a collection of recipes, Esc. 2833,1 (see Simonet, *Glosario* CXLV).

| 8. Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā b. Jazla, from a Christian background, converted to Islam in 466/1074 and became secretary to the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Baghdad. In his spare time he practised medicine and worked as a doctor, asking no fee. He died in Sha'bān 493/June 1100. 639

Ibn Khall. 783, Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 254, Wüst., 145, Leclerc I, 493. 1. *Taqwīm al-abdān fī tadbīr al-insān* or *Minhāj al-bayān fī taqwīm al-abdān*, disease tables based on the example of stellar tables, Berl. 6415, Paris 2947/52, Upps. 346/7, Br. Mus. Suppl. 792,2, Bodl I, 549, Pet. Ros. 183,1, Med. 214, Garr. 1099, 1100, Cairo 1VI, 10, 36, Patna I, 245,2094, II, 341,2525, 3. *Tacuini aegritudinum Buhahylyha Byngezla auctore*, Strasburg 1582. Persian transl. by Mu'īn b. Maḥmūd al-Mutaṭabbib al-Kirmānī for Meḥmed II, written in 863/1458, AS 3587.—2. *Minhāj al-bayān fī-mā yasta'miluhu al-insān*, an alphabetical register of simple and compound medicines, Berl. 614/5, Munich 823/4, Leid. 1355/7, Paris 2948/52, Br. Mus. 452, Ind. Off. 786, Bodl. I, 541, 545, 556, 576, Copenhagen 112/3, Pet. AM 670, Ros. 182,2, Šehīd A. 2107, Cairo 1VI, 44, Qawala II, 290, Patna I, 259,2197, Mashh. XVI, 36,110/1, anon. comm. Esc. 2875,5.—3. see Suppl.—His lost *Risāla fī 'l-radd 'ala 'l-Naṣārā* in Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apol. Lit.* 57.

8a. Al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Tha'lab b. al-Mubārak al-Ṭabīb composed around 484/1091, for al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Barakāt, the minister of Sayyida Ḥurra who played the leading role in Ṣan'ā' after the death of the Ṣulayḥid al-Mukram Aḥmad (473–84/1080–91):

*Al-Munqidh min al-halaka* etc. (see Suppl. II, 169,1b) Garr. 1098.

9. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'īd b. Hibatallāh b. al-Ḥasan, born in 436/1044, was the personal physician of the caliph al-Muqtadir, and died in 495/1101.

486 Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 254, Wüst., 143, Leclerc I, 492. 1. *al-Mughnī fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ wa-ma'rīfat al-'ilal wal-a'rāḍ* Goth. 1953, Munich 833,<sup>1</sup> Paris 2957/8, | Bodl. I, 599, 611, 11, 181, Br. Mus. Suppl. 794/5, Pet. AM 372, Ros. 172, Garr. 1101, Bursa  
640 Haraccizade Tip 420, Alex. Tibb 46.—2. *Kitāb khalq | al-insān* Bodl. I, 609, de Rossi, *Cod. ar.* 31.—3. *Maqālat al-ḥudūd wal-furūq* Br. Mus. 984,<sup>8</sup> Alex. Fals. 8 (MS from the time of the author).—5., 6. see Suppl.—7. *al-Mujadwal fī 'l-tibb* Mosul 259.—8. *al-Talkhīṣ al-nizāmī* Bursa, Hü. Celebi Tip 20 (Ritter).

10. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir) al-Shajarī wrote, around 500/1106:

(Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 23, Wüst., 146). 1. *Īdāh mahajjat al-'ilāj*, Berl. 6338 (which has al-Sanjārī), Paris 2946, Patna II, 338,<sup>2522</sup>, 1 (*Qarabādhīn al-fattāḥ fī m. al-'i.*), see Suppl.

11. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Khaṭīb al-Nasawī wrote, around 500/1106:

*Al-Tāj fī kayfiyyat al-'ilāj*, in 28 chapters, the third and last of which are in Persian, Paris 2947,<sup>4</sup> cf. Leclerc II, 47.

12. Yūsuf b. Ishāq b. Baklārash al-Isrā'īlī, a Jewish physician, wrote, around 500/1106:

*Kitāb al-musta'inī*, on simple medicines in tabular form, dedicated to the prince of Zaragoza al-Musta'in billāh Aḥmad b. Hūd (478–503/1085–1109), Leid. 1339, Naples, *Cat. It.* 237, no. 96; cf. Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 52.

13. Abu 'l-'Alā' Zuhr b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Zuhr al-Ishbīlī al-Iyādī came from a distinguished family of Spanish scholars and studied in Seville. Through his renown as a physician he rose to the rank of vizier under the Almoravids. He died in Cordova in 525/1131.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 64, Maqq. I, 623, Wüst., 1581. Leclerc II, 83f. 1. *Mujarrabāt al-khawāṣṣ*, tried specifica, Vienna 1460, Bodl. I, 626, Pet. 122, Esc. <sup>2</sup>844,<sup>3</sup>. Abstracts: a. *Fawā'id al-muntakhab* Leid. 1340, Paris 2954,<sup>1</sup>, Esc. <sup>2</sup>844,<sup>3</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 26.—b. *Khawāṣṣ al-ḥayawān*, on the secret powers of animals, Berl. 6166.—



2. *al-Tadhkira*, medical advice to his son (no. 17), Paris 2960,<sup>2</sup> Esc. 2844,<sup>4</sup>.—3.–5. see Suppl.

| 14. Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Andalusī, who was born in 460/1068 in Denia, went to Alexandria in 489/1096 and later to Cairo, where he gained the favour of the vizier Shāhanshāh b. Badr. However, he blew it all through a failed attempt to raise a sunken ship, and was even incarcerated, only being released in 505/1111. He was then received with honours in al-Mahdiyya in Tunisia, and died on 10 Muḥarram 529/30 October 1134. 641

Ibn Abī Uṣ. 11, 52/62, Ibn Khall. 101, Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn al-muḥ.* 1, 311, Maqq. 1, 530/2, Wüst., *Ärzte* 162, *Gesch.* 237, Leclerc 11, 74, Steinschneider in *Virchows Arch.* XCIV, 28/65, Suter, 272. 1. *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, according to the categories of members | that suffer from similar ailments, Bodl. 1, 578,<sup>2</sup>, 11, 587.—2. *Risāla* 487  
*fi 'l-'amal bil-aṣṭurlāb* Berl. 5798, Leid. 1072, Bodl. 1, 967,<sup>10</sup>, Ambr. 179, Palat. 128,<sup>2</sup>, Mosul 259,<sup>1</sup>.—3. 6 astronomical problems, with figures, Esc. 2646,<sup>2</sup>.—4. *Taqwīm al-dhihn*, on logic, Esc. 2646,<sup>1</sup>.—5. A *qaṣīda*, Berl. 7682.—6. On the different meanings of the word *nuqṭa*, Leid. 1024.—7. *al-Risāla al-Miṣriyya* is cited by al-Maqrīzī, *Khūṭaṭ* 1, 15,<sup>29</sup>, 118,<sup>11</sup>.—8., 9. see Suppl.

15. Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Ismā'il b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jurjānī died in 531/1136 or 535.

Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma* 1, 11, Wüst. 165. 1. *al-Tadhkira al-ashrafiyya fi 'l-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya*, translated from the Persian *Mukhtaṣar-i 'Alā'ī* (AS 3730,<sup>1</sup> ?), which was written for 'Alā' al-Dīn Alp Arslān, Paris 2955; abstract *al-Aghrād al-ṭibbiyya wal-mabāḥith al-'Alā'īyya* (= Suppl. 7?) for the vizier of Khwārizmshāh, 'Alā' al-Dīn Tukush Majd al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, Meshhed xvi, 1, 2, al-Kāzimiyya, *Dharī'a* 11, 251,<sup>1009</sup>.—2. *Dhakhūrat Khwārizmshāh*, a handbook of medicine, Arabic according to ḤKh 111, 330,<sup>5794</sup>, 21, 824, Persian in 12 volumes Yeni 915/6, see ḤKh 11, 368,<sup>987</sup>, 21, 130.—3. *Fi 'l-qiyās* Esc. 2612,<sup>9</sup>.—4. *Fi 'l-tahlīl* ibid. 10.—5. *al-Munabbih*, on the vanity of carnal desire and the duty of abstention, Berl. 8748.—6., 7. see Suppl.

16. Abū Naṣr 'Adnān b. Naṣr al-'Aynzarbī | was the personal physician of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Zāfir bi-Amrillāh Ismā'il (r. 544–9/1149–54) in Cairo. He died in 548/1153. 642

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 107, Wüst., 167, Leclerc II, 51, Suter, 288. 1. *al-Kāfi fi 'ilm (ṣinā'at) al-ṭibb* Munich 825, Paris 2956, Br. Mus. 453, Bodl. I, 586, Cairo <sup>2</sup>VI, 28.—2. *Fī-mā yaḥtāj al-ṭabīb min 'ilm al-falak*, on the application of astrology in medicine, Berl. 6247.—3. see Suppl.

17. Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Zuhr (Avenzoar) worked, like his father (no. 13), for the Almoravids. After their downfall he was sent to Marrakesh by the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min, the ruler of Seville, dying in 557/1162.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 66, Wüst., 159, Leclerc II, 86, Mieli 204. 1. *al-Taysīr fi 'l-mudāwāt wal-tadbīr* Paris 2960,<sub>1</sub> Bodl. I, 628, Med. 216, Br. Mus. Or. 9128, Hebr. Steinschneider 477,<sub>1</sub>.—2. *al-Jāmi' fi 'l-ashriba wal-ma'jūnāt*, appendix to 1, Gotha 72, Bodl. I, 628,<sub>2</sub>.—3. *Kitāb al-aghdhīya* Paris 2960,<sub>1</sub>, Landb.-Br. 168 (wrongly attributed to the younger Ibn Zuhr, no. 24), see *Virchows Archiv* 57, 115.—4. *al-Iqtisād fi iṣlāḥ al-anfus wal-aṣād*, dedicated to the Almoravid Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, Paris 2959, Esc. <sup>2</sup>834 = *de regimine sanitatis*, Basle 1618 (?), see Steinschneider § 477,<sub>5</sub>, see H.P.J. Renaud, *Trois études* II, *Hespéris* 1931, 91.—5. see Suppl.

18. Amīn al-Dawla (al-Dīn) Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Hibatallāh b. Ṣā'id b. al-Tilmīdh b. Salāma, the Christian personal physician of the caliph al-Muqtafi, died, at almost 100 years of age, on 28 Rabī' I 560/11 February 1165.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 259, Ibn Khall. 750, biography Gotha 94,<sub>14</sub>, Wüst. 174, Leclerc II, 24. 1. *al-Maqāla al-amīniyya fi 'l-faṣd*, on bloodletting, Br. Mus. 984,<sub>7</sub>, Bodl. I, 632,<sub>4</sub>.—2. *Aqrābādihīn*, antidotarium, | Gotha 1996/7, Br. Mus. Or. 8293 (dated 525 AH), Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 35, abstract by Ṣafī al-Dawla Maḥmūd, Bodl. I, Turc. 49,<sub>2</sub>, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* VIII, 378.—3. *al-Mujarrabāt*, a pharmacological abstract of 2, Gotha 1996,<sub>2</sub>.—4. *Kitāb al-iqnā'* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 5 (where the name is corrupted).—5. *Quwa 'l-adwiya* Br. Mus. Or. 8294.—6. A poem in Carlyle, *Spec. of ar. Poetry*, no. 58.

643 | 19. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī, a Spanish physician, who died in 560/1165.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 52, Wüst., 176, Leclerc II, 79. 1. *al-Jāmi' fi 'l-ṭibb fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, first half Bibl. Osleriana (McGill Un. Canada) Oxford 1929, no. 7508 (Meyerhof in *Mieli* 206), abbreviated from Barhebraeus between 1264/86,

Gotha 1998, ed. Meyerhof and Sobhy, Cairo 1932/40, abstract by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Jumhūrī Bodl. I, 632,<sup>1</sup>, Latin transl. by Magister G. fil. magistri Johannis in Lerida 1258 (Steinschneider, loc. cit.).—2. On fevers and swellings, Bodl. I, 632,<sup>2</sup>.—3. *Fī dafʿ al-maḍārr al-kullīyya lil-abdān al-insāniyya* ibid. 3.

20. Abū Naṣr al-Samawʿal b. Yaḥyā Abu ʿl-Maghribī al-Isrāʿīlī went from the Maghreb to Azerbaijan with his father. On 9 Dhu ʿl-Ḥijja 558/8 November 1163 he converted from Judaism to Islam and settled as a physician in Marāgha. He died in 570/1174 (although, according to others, his death was as late as 576 or even 598).

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 20, Wüst., 180, Leclerc II, 12. 1. *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī muʿāsharat al-aḥbāb*, on coitus, dedicated to the Artuqid Muḥammad b. Qara Arslān of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (r. 570–81/1174–85), Gotha 2045, Berl. 6381, Paris 3054, Esc. 1830, AS 2121.—2. *al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, an arithmetic manual, Berl. 5962.—3. *Fī kashf ʿawār al-munajjimīn wa-ghalaṭihim fī akthar al-aʿmāl wal-aghlāṭ* Leid. 1074, Bodl. I, 964, II, 603.—4. *Iḥḥām al-Yahūd* Teh. I, 184, II, 593, Cairo 1<sup>VI</sup>, 113, cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apol. Lit.* 26, M. Schreiner, *Monatsschr. GWJ*, N.S. VI, 123/33, 170/80, 214/23, 407/18.—5.–10. see Suppl.

21. Abu ʿl-Makārim Hibatallāh b. Jumayʿ al-Isrāʿīlī, who was born in al-Fuṣṭāṭ, was the personal physician of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (567–89/1171–93). He died in 594/1198.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 112, Wüst. 183, Leclerc II, 53. 1. *Kitāb al-irshād li-maṣāliḥ al-anfus wal-ajsād*, a medical compendium dedicated to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Baysānī, the vizier of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which was completed by his son Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl, Berl. 6287, Gotha 1934/6, Paris 2963, 6564, Br. Mus. 1360, Suppl. 797, Bodl. I, 547, 589, 601, 604, Vat. 155, Patna I, 251,<sup>2141</sup>.—2. *al-Maknūn fī tanqīḥ al-Qānūn* see p. 598,<sup>5</sup>.

| 22. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahrām al-Qalānisī wrote, in 590/1194:

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*Aqrābādhīn* Paris 2946,<sup>3</sup>, 669, Br. Mus. Suppl. 796,<sup>1</sup>, Patna I, 260,<sup>2200/1</sup>.

23. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr al-Ishbīlī was born in 507/1113 in Seville, the son of physician no. 17. He followed the Almohad ruler Yaʿqūb b. Yūsuf al-Manṣūr to Marrakesh as his personal physician, where he died in 595/1199.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 67/74, Ibn Khall. 644, Wüst. 160, Hartmann, *Muw.* no. 84. Of his writings, of which his *muwashshaḥāt* was particularly famous, nothing survives; Ahlw. 645<sup>5,8</sup> wrongly attributes his grandfather's *Kitāb mujarrabāt fi 'l-ṭibb* to him.

23a. Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad al-Jazarī al-Anṣārī, a physician in Iraq, fl. twelfth cent.

Treatise on weights and measures in medicine, from his book of recipes, Esc. 2844<sub>2</sub>, Leclerc II, 32.

23b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Isrā'īlī studied Dioscorides in 583/1187 under Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Kattānī al-Ḥarīrī and moved to Damascus in 598/1201.

A collection of his writings is preserved in NO 3589: 1. *Maqāla* 2–4 of his book on the *ustuquṣṣāt*.—2. A defence of this work from attacks.—3. Answer to a question by Ṣadaqa b. Mikhā b. Ṣadaqa al-Sāmīrī al-Isrā'īlī.—4. Another defence of 1.—5. On the difference in climate between Damascus and Cairo.—6. On foodstuffs.—7. Comments by his teacher al-Ḥarīrī (Ritter).

24. Abū 'Imrān Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Maymūn al-Qurtubī, who was born in Cordova in 534/1139, studied Jewish theology as well as medicine and philosophy under Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd. When 'Abd al-Mu'min (524–58/1130–63), the first Almohad, gave the Jews and the Christians of his empire the choice to either embrace Islam or emigrate, he behaved for a while as a Muslim so  
645 as to take his time to put his affairs in order. | He then emigrated to Egypt and founded a Talmudic school in al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Although initially reluctant to practice as a physician he nevertheless gained the confidence to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's family, and served as the personal physician to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son al-Malik al-'Azīz. He died on 19 Rabī' II 601/13 December 1204.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 117, Wüst. 198, Leclerc II, 47, Carmoly, *Médecins juifs*, 49, G. Gabrieli, *Arch. d. storia delle scienze* V, 1924, 12/5. 1. *Maqāla fī tadbīr al-siḥḥa al-Afḍaliyya*, dedicated to al-Malik al-Afḍal of Damascus (Uṣ.) = (?) *al-Waṣāya 'l-nāfi'a 'ala 'l-'umūm wal-khusūṣ lil-aṣiḥḥā' wal-marḍā fī kulli makān wa-kulli zamān* Bodl. I, 555, 608<sub>3</sub>, cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Üb.* 482<sub>7</sub>.—2. *al-Fuṣūl fī 'l-ṭibb*, whose last *maqāla* was added by his nephew Abu 'l-Ma'ānī Yūsuf b.

‘Abdallāh,<sup>2</sup> | who helped him in a number of ways to finish his writings, Gotha 490  
 1937, Leid. 1344, Esc. 2863,<sup>1</sup> 869, Rāmpūr I, 493,<sup>200</sup>, Steinschneider § 481,<sup>4</sup>.—  
 3. *Mukhtaṣarāt* from the writings of Galen, Berl. 6231 (part 5) Esc. 2802,<sup>4</sup>  
 (*Talkhīṣ k. ḥīlat al-bur*).—4. Commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates,  
 Bodl. I, 608, Paris hebr. 1202, Steinschneider § 481,<sup>6</sup>.—5. *Fi ’l-bawāsīr*, on  
 hemorrhoids, Bodl. I, H. 78 (II, 561), A. 608,<sup>2</sup>, Paris hebr. 1202,<sup>4,6</sup>, Steinschn. §  
 481,<sup>1</sup>.—6. *al-Risāla al-fāḍilīyya fi ’ilāj al-sumūm wa-dhikr al-adwiya al-nāfi’a*  
*minhā wa-min al-nuhūsh*, on the poisons of reptiles and their effects, com-  
 posed in 575/1179 for al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (p. 385), Gotha 1986, Paris 2962,<sup>1</sup>, Bodl. I,  
 578,<sup>2</sup>, 608,<sup>5</sup> (*Maq. fi dhikr al-sumūm wa-mudāwāt al-malsū’in wal-masmūmīn*),  
 Hebr. 78,<sup>7</sup>, Med. 253, Esc. 2889,<sup>3</sup>, Steinschn. § 481,<sup>3</sup> = (?) *Maqāla fi daf’ al-sumūm*  
 Mosul 237,<sup>157,10</sup>, *Maq. fi ’l-sumūm wal-taḥarruz min al-adwiya al-qattāla* (Uṣ.).—  
 7. *Maqāla fi bayān al-a’rād*, written for the prince of Raqqa (al-Malik al-Afḍal?),  
 Bodl. I, 608, Hebr. 78, Paris hebr. 1211, Steinschn. § 482, supposedly first written  
 in Hebrew and then translated into Arabic by Sulaymān b. Ḥubaysh al-Maqdisī,  
 Bodl. I, 594, Paris hebr. 411.—8. *Kitāb al-asbāb wal-’alāmāt*, translated from  
 Hebrew by Ibn Ḥubaysh, Bodl. I, 594.—9. *Canones de medicina practica* Esc.  
 2888,<sup>9</sup>, = 10. *Maqāla fi ’l-rabu = Kitāb qawānīn al-juz’ al-’amalī min ṣinā’at al-ṭibb*  
 Madr. 601,<sup>9</sup> (Derenbourg, notes 46), in Hebrew letters, Paris 1211, Steinschn.  
 § 482, *Die | ar. Lit. der Juden*, 215, no. 18.—11. *Risāla fi ’l-jimā’*, on coitus, 646  
 Munich 877, in a shorter version, Granada, del Sacro Monte 112, see Steinschn.  
 § 481,<sup>2</sup>.—12., 13. see Suppl. (13. Garr. 1070). For his theological writings in Arabic  
 see Steinschn., *Ar. Lit. der Juden*, 200ff.

25. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (Abū Muḥammad  
 Aḥmad) al-Ilbīrī wrote, before 612/1215 (the date of the MS in Paris):

*Al-Natā’ij al-’aqlīyya fi ’l-wuṣūl ila ’l-manāhij al-falsafīyya wal-qawānīn al-ṭibbiyya*  
 Paris 2961, Dam. Z. 88,<sup>32,2</sup>, copy Beirut 335.

26. Abu ’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Hubal Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Baghdādī,  
 d. 610/1213, see Suppl.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. I, 304, Wüst. 202, Leclerc II, 141. 1. *al-Mukhtār fi ’l-ṭibb* Leid. 1345,  
 Br. Mus. Suppl. 796,<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1<sup>VI</sup>, 38 Patna I, 254,<sup>2165/6</sup>; whence two sections  
 on the kidneys and gallstones in *Traité sur le calcul*, ed. P. de Koning (p. 270),  
 186/228.—2. *al-Ārā’ wal-mushāwarāt*, on some matters of logic, Paris 2348,<sup>1</sup>.

2 D. Kaufmann, *REJ*, 1883, 152.

27. 'Alī al-Ṭarābulusī wrote, in 616/1219:

*Ornamentum medici, tractatus chymicomedicus* Med. 237.

491 28. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Umar Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, | who died during the capture of Herat by the Mongols in 619/1222.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 31, Wüst. 207, Leclerc II, 127. 1. *al-Asbāb wal-'alāmāt* Berl. 6289/90, Gotha 1954/7 (where other MSS are listed), Esc. 2890, Köpr. 964, Cairo 1VI, 3, Mosul 237,164, Patna I, 248,2111/4.—Commentary by Nafis b. 'Iwaḍ al-Kirmānī, d. 853/1449 (II, 213), completed in 827/1424, Berl. 6291/2, Gotha 1955 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 1103, Madr. Fāḍiliyya, *Dharī'a* II, 12, 36, print. Calcutta 1836.—Glosses: a.–e. see Suppl. (a., b. also Patna I, 246,2097/8).—2. *Ghāyat al-gharaḍ fī mu'ālaḥat al-amrād*, Arabic translation of the Persian *al-Manhaj*, by Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasanī, Berl. 6288.—3. *Uṣūl tarkīb al-adwiya*, on compound medicines, Berl. 6416, Gotha 1999,1, 2030,2, fragm. 2000, Leid. 1352, Cairo 1VI, 33, Madr. Fāḍil Khān in Mashhad, *Dharī'a* II, 179, 658, Patna I, 260,2198, *Mukhtaṣar* Gotha 2086, AS 3555 (f. 36/40).—4. *al-Adwiya al-mufrada* Leid. 1354, Cairo 1VI, 34.—5. *Kitāb al-qarābādhīn 'alā tartīb al-'ilal* Gotha 1999,2, Berl. 6417, Leid. 1353, | Bodl. I, 630,2, AS 3555,3, Patna II, 339,2522, 3.—6. *Aghdhiyat al-marḍā* Gotha 1999,3, Leid. 1350/1, Cairo 1VI, 33, Madr. Fāḍil Khān, *Dharī'a* II, 217,848, under the title *Aṭ'imat al-marḍā* Patna I, 256,2176, 1.—7. *Kitāb al-aghdhiya wal-ashriba wa-mā yattaṣil bi-hā* Gotha 1999,4, Leid. 1349, Mosul 237,175, 2. = *Kitāb al-aghdhiya wal-ashriba lil-aṣiḥḥā'* Cairo 1VI, 4, 34.—8. *Tractatus de medicamentis repertu facilibus*, Bodl. I, 630,3.—9. *Risāla fī mudāwāt waja' al-mafāṣil* Cairo 1VI, 18.—10.–12. see Suppl.—13. *Kitāb fī l-ṭibb* Mosul 33,148 (dated 594 AH).—14. *Maqāla fī kayfiyyat tarkīb ṭabaqāt al-'ayn* ibid. 260,14, 10.

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29. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Alī al-Dimashqī al-Dakhwār was born in 565/1169 and died on 15 Ṣafar 628/24 December 1230 in Damascus, having lost his voice (see Suppl.).

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 239/46, *Fawāt* I, 271, JA s. IX, v. 4, 497. *Sharḥ taqdimat al-ma'rifa (Hippocratis Prognostica)*, collected by his student Badr al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar b. Qāḍī Ba'labakk, Bodl. I, 533,2, II, 191, Alex. Ṭibb 22.

30. Abu 'l-Faḍl Dā'ūd b. Abi 'l-Bayān al-Isrā'īlī, born in 556/1161, was the secretary of Ibn Jumay' (no. 22) and then the personal physician of Sultan al-Malik al-'Ādil and a teacher of medicine at the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo, where Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (p. 397) was one of his students.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 181. 1. *al-Dustūr al-bimāristānī (fi 'l-adwīya al-murakkaba)* Munich 832, Bodl. I, 941,9.—2. *Risālat al-mujarrabāt* Bodl. I, 608,6.

31. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥashshā' wrote, during the reign of the first Ḥafṣid in Tunis, Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā, d. 647/1249:

| *Mufīd al-'ulūm wa-mubīd al-humūm* or *Tafsīr al-alfāz al-tibbiyya wal-lughawiyya al-wāqī'a fi 'l-kitāb al-Manṣūrī* (p. 269) Leid. 1356. 492

32. After a botanical study tour through Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Mālaqī b. al-Bayṭār, who was born in Malaga, became the first botanist in the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil in Damascus. After the latter's death in 635/1237 | he went to Cairo, where he was honorably received by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, but soon returned to Damascus. He died there in Sha'bān 646/November 1248. 648

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 133, *Fawāt* I, 204, Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥ.* I, 313, Wüst. 231, Leclerc II, 225, *JA* 1862, I, 433ff. 1. *al-Mughnī fi 'l-adwīya al-mufrada*, dedicated either to al-Malik al-Ādil or his brother and successor al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, Gotha 21, 49,2, 99,15, Leid. 1356, Paris 2990/1, Br. Mus. Suppl. 798/800, Bodl. I, 588, 624, Med. 224, 244. Abstract Gotha 99,15, 2026,2.—2. *Jāmi' mufradāt al-adwīya wal-aghdhīya* or *al-Jāmi' fi 'l-tibb* Berl. 6418/20, Gotha 2001/2, where other MSS are listed, Esc. 2839, Mosul 58,42, Patna I, 258,2184, 7 print. Bülāq 1291. *Grosse Zusammenstellung über die Kräfte der bekannten einfachen Heil- u. Nahrungsmittel von... Ebn Baithar, übers.* v. J. v. Sontheimer, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1870/2, cf. Dozy, *ZDMG* 23, 183ff. *Traité des simples par I. al-B. trad. par L. Leclerc, Not. et Extr.* 23, 25/6, Paris, 1877/83, E. Sickenberger, *Les plantes égyptiennes d. I. el B., Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt.*, 2 s. no. 10, 2nd part, Cairo 1890.—Abstracts by: a. al-Baghdādī, Berl. 6422.—b. Ibn al-Quṭbī, Bodl. I, 563.—c. Anon., Berl. 6421, Gotha 2003 (perhaps by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Manzūr al-Anṣārī, d. 711/1311, II, 21, ḤKh VI, 34,12623, A. Taymūr, *RAAD* III, 361). Turkish transl. Istanbul Un. T. 1204, made at the order of 'Umar Beg of Āydīn, 741–9/1340–8, Abdūlhak Adnan-Adivar, *Ilim*, Ist. 1943, p. 3.—3. *Mīzān al-tibb* Upps. 351.—4. *Risāla fī tadāwi 'l-sumūm* Qawala II, 288.

33. Abu 'l-Munā (Munayyir)<sup>3</sup> b. Abī Naṣr b. Ḥaffāz al-Kōhēn b. al-'Aṭṭār al-Isrā'īlī al-Hārūnī wrote, in 658/1260 in Cairo:

*Minhāj al-dukkān*, a handbook of pharmacy in 25 chapters, Gotha 2005/7, Munich 833, Leid. 1360, Paris 2695,2, 2993/6, Br. Mus. Suppl. 8 Ol. 2 2/2, Bodl.

3 See Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XXX, 146.

II, 171, Pet. Dorn 232,2, Ros. 182,3 (fragm.), Algiers 1757, Patna I, 260,2203, II, 341,2525, 2, print. Būlāq 1287, C. 1305.—2. See Suppl.

34b. Abū Sa'd b. Abī Surūr al-Sāwī al-Isrā'īlī, see Suppl.

*Al-Lamḥa al-'aḥḍāfiyya fi 'l-tibb* = (?) *al-Lamḥa al-'aḥḍāfiyya fi 'l-asbāb wal-'alāmat* Mosul 193,153, 5 (anon.), commentary by al-'Aynṭābī, see II, 82,22.

649 | 34d. *Jāmi' al-iftirāq* etc. Garr. 1104.

35. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Mājid (ḤKh: Mājid b. al-Muf.) b. al-Bishr al-Isrā'īlī wrote, in 667/1268:

*Urjūza fi 'l-tibb*, under the title *Naq' al-ghalal wa-naf' al-'ilal* Paris 2997 (autograph), '8, Cairo 1v1, 48.

36. Abu 'l-Faraj (b.) Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Masiḥī (Naṣrānī) b. al-Quff Amīn al-Dawla al-Karakī, born in Karak on 13 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 630/22 August 1233, was a student of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (p. 397), practised first in 'Ajlūn, and died in Damascus in 685/1286.

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 273, Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥ.* I, 313, Wüst. 241, Leclerc II, 203. 1. *al-'Umda fi ṣinā'at al-jirāha*, on general surgery, Berl. 6255, Gotha 1990, Br. Mus. 755/7, 1361, Paris 3000, Algiers 1755, Cairo 1v1, 24, Patna I, 257,2181, a fragment Gotha 2029,2.—2. *Jāmi' al-gharaḍ fi ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa wa-daf' al-amrād* Br. Mus. Suppl. 803.—3. *al-Uṣūl fi sharḥ al-fuṣūl*, a commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates (mistakenly attributed to Barhebreus by Wüstenfeld), Gotha 1894/5, Br. Mus. Suppl. 804, Algiers 1745 (vol. 2), Alex. Ṭibb 6.—4. *Risāla fi manāfi' al-a'dā' al-insāniyya wa-mawāḍi'ihā* Cairo 1v11, 257.—5., 6. see Suppl.

37. 'Alā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥazm al-Qurashī b. al-Nafis, d. 687/1288, see Suppl.

Wüst. 244, Leclerc II, 207. 1. *al-Mukhtār min al-aghdhīya*, on nutrition, Berl. 6400.—2. *Mūjiz al-Qānūn* see p. 598.—3. *Tafāsīr al-'ilal wa-asbāb al-amrād* (author?) Munich 830.—4. *Sharḥ Fuṣūl Ibbuqrāt* Berl. 62, 24, Gotha 1897/8, Paris 2843, Bodl. I, 544, Esc. 1799, Patna I, 249,2116/7.—5. *Sharḥ Taqdimat al-ma'rifa li-Ibbuqrāt* Berl. 6224, Gotha 1899, Leid. 1296(?), Bodl. I, 639.—6. *Sharḥ al-Masā'il al-ṭibbiyya li-Ḥunayn* Leid. 1304.—7. Commentary on the anatomy of the *Qānūn* p. 598.—8. *al-Wurayqāt*, on logic, with a



commentary, Bodl. I, 464.—9. *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 257.—10. *al-Risāla al-kāmiliyya fī 'l-sīra al-nabawiyya*, an orthodox counterpiece to Ibn Sīnā's *Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*, in which Fāḍil b. Nāṭiq plays the role of the storyteller, 'Āšir I, 461, Cairo <sup>2</sup>VII, 201.—11.—15. see Suppl.—16. A medical work in four *fanns*, 'Āšir I, 732.

| 38. 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Tarkhān b. al-Suwaydī al-Anṣārī, a physician and philosopher from Damascus, who died in 690/1292. 650

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 266, Wüst. 245, Leclerc II, 199, Meyerhof, *Qu. u. St. z. Gesch. der Med. u. Nat.* IV, 47. 1. *al-Tadhkira al-hādīya (mufrada)*, a text book on medicine, Paris 3001/2, Patna I, 257,<sup>2183</sup>—Abstracts: a. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, d. 973/1565 (II, 335), Gotha 1958/60, 1970,<sup>2</sup>, Upps. 342/3, Alex. Fun. 89,<sup>2</sup>, print. C. 1271, 1310.—b. al-Qawsūnī (?), Gotha 2026.—c. Anon., dated 953/1546, Paris 3003, another Garr. 1120.—2. *al-Bāhir fī 'l-jawāhir (fī khawāṣṣ al-aḥjār min al-yawāqīt wal-jawāhir)* Berl. 6215 (see Ritter, *Ist. Mitt.* III, 8, 8), Bodl. I, 510, II, 883, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 184.—3. *al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt* Paris 3004 (autograph).

38a. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ghadanfar al-Tabrīzī was born around 630/1232 and lived in Qonya, where he supposedly treated Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, dying around 692/1292.

*Risāle-yi Sipehsālār*, Bombay 1319, p. 58, M. Meyerhof, *Qu. u. St.* III, 3 (1932), 12/3. 1. *Ḥāṣil al-maḥṣūl* (Suppl. I, 367,<sup>2b</sup>) AS 35, 55, 149b/156a.—2. Bibliography of Bīrūnī (Suppl. I, 872).—3. *Mukhtaṣar Ṣiḥwān al-ḥikma*.

| 39. The third sultan from the house of the Rasūlids in Yemen, al-Malik al-Ashraf 'Umar b. Yūsuf (r. 694–6/1295–7), also dabbled in medicine, astronomy, and genealogy. 494

1. *al-Mu'tamad fī mufradāt al-ṭibb (al-adwiya al-mufrada)*, in alphabetical order, Berl. 6426, Br. Mus. Suppl. I, 807, Bodl. I, 558 (cf. II, 586), Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 41.<sup>4</sup>—2. *al-Tabṣira fī 'ilm al-nujūm* Bodl. I, 905.—3.—5. see Suppl.

40/1. See Suppl.

4. ḤKh v, 622,<sup>12356</sup>, followed by Ahlw., mentions his father Yūsuf b. 'Umar as the author. Wüst. 246 attributes the work to a student of Maimonides, Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf (Uṣ. II, 213), and has it dedicated to al-Malik al-Ashraf of Syria and Egypt.

42. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa Ya‘qūb al-‘Arabī wrote, together with Sa‘d al-Dīn b. al-Zāhir al-‘Ajamī:

651 | *Qarābādhīn al-khayl*, which the king of Armenia (Cilicia) had brought over from Baghdad and translated into Armenian during the reign of al-Zāhir Baybars 658–76/1260–79. After Maṣūf Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn’s victory over the Rubenid Leo in 1285, the emir Ḥusām al-Dīn reportedly obtained the book as war booty and had it translated back into Arabic, Patna I, 261,2204.

43. Najm al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā’ Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Lubūdī, a Syrian physician of the seventh century.

Leclerc I, 414, II, 160/1. 1. *Taḥqīq al-mabāḥith al-ṭibbiyya fī tadqīq al-masā’il al-khilāfiyya* Esc. 2892.—2. *Mukhtaṣar al-Kullīyyāt* p. 598<sub>d</sub>.

## Chapter 16.

### A *Natural Sciences and Technology*

1a.–c. See Suppl.

1d. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Khāzin Abū Bakr wrote, in 421/1030 in Ghazna:

*Kitāb al-ṭīb* Garr. 2154<sub>1</sub>.

2. Badī' al-Zamān Abū Bakr al-Mu'izz b. Ismā'īl b. al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, see Suppl.

Ad Serāi 3472, see Holter, *Jahrb. des kunsth. Inst. Vienna* N.S. 11, 1937, p. 37.

2a. Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, see Suppl.

See Minorsky, *CR Ac. Inscr.* 1937, 317/24.

2b. In the eleventh or twelfth century an anonymous author wrote in Seville:

*Umdat al-ṭabīb fī ma'rifat al-nabāt li-kulli labīb*, a dictionary of the names of plants, often used by al-Ghāfiqī but unknown to Ibn al-Bayṭār, with its own botanical system of classification, see G. Colin, *Actes du XX<sup>e</sup> Congr. int. des or. Bruxelles* 1938 (1941), p. 323.

3. Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. al-'Awwām wrote, in the first half of the sixth century:

*Kitāb al-filāḥa*, on agriculture, based on Greek sources and personal experience, Leid. 1285, Paris 2804, Br. Mus. 998, Esc. 1901 (see Suppl.). *Libro de agricultura, su autor el doctor excelente a. Z.J. b. M.b. el Awam Sevillanno traducido al castellano y anotado por Don J.A. Banqueri*, | Madrid 1802, 2 vols. 495  
(with Arabic text); cf. C. | Moncada, *Actes du 8e congr. intern. des or. Sect. I*, 652  
p. 217/57, C.E. Dubler, *al-Andalus* VI, 136, 142ff. Shakīb Arslān, *RAAD* XI, 436/40.—Turkish transl. by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. Luṭfallāh, made in 998/1590, autograph Welieddīn 2534, Bursa Asari atika Müzesi E 32 (Ritter).

4. Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī, d. 651/1253.

1. *Azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-ahjār*, composed in 621/4, Berl. Ms. or. oct. 3944/5, Gotha 2210/4, Leid. 1287, 2688, Upps. 339 (copy of a Flor. codex by Celsius dated 1697), Paris 2770,<sup>3</sup> 2773/7, Algiers 1502/3, Br. Mus. 435/6, 999, Suppl. 781, Pet. AM 208, Garr. 1073, MSS in Istanbul in Ritter, *Ist. Mitt.* III, 4, no. 6, photograph of an MS in Cairo in *QSt* VII, 73, v, 6, Alex. Kīm. 3, Patna I, 264,<sup>2212</sup>, Turkish transl. Leipz. 264. Cf. S.F. Ravius, *Specimen arabicum continens descriptionem et excerpta libri A.T. de gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis, quod praeside patre S. Ravius defendet*, Utrecht 1784; Clément Mullet, *JA* 1868, I, 1ff., Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 49, 254ff.—2. *Maṭāli' al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, on minerals, Paris 1176,<sup>16</sup>.—3. *Nuzhat al-albāb fī-mā lā yūjad fī kitāb*, anecdotes and verses on coitus, Berl. 6382, Paris 3055, 5954.—4. *Rujū' al-shaykh ilā šibāh fī 'l-quwwa 'ala 'l-bāh* Gotha 2055, Franck 558, Alex. Ṭibb 41,<sup>3</sup>, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 16, cf. Vollers, *ZDMG* 46, 386, Persian transl. Br. Mus. Pers. II, 471.—5. *Risāla fī-mā yahtāj ilayhi 'l-rijāl wal-nisā' fī 'sti'māl al-bāh mim-mā yaḍurr wa-yanfa'* Cairo <sup>1</sup>VI, 18.—6. See Suppl.

5. Baylaq b. 'Abdallāh al-Qubčāqī wrote, for al-Muẓaffar II of Hama (626–42/1229–44):

*Kanz al-tijār fī ma'rifat al-ahjār*, on the distinguishing marks of gemstones, closely following al-Tifāshī, Paris 2779 (autograph dated 681/1282), see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 49, 256.

6. See Suppl. 904, 9.

*Wuṣlat al-ḥabīb* (sic), Bursa Ḥü. Čelebi Tip 23 (Ritter), Patna I, 259, (where the author is identified as Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Dā'im al-'Uqaylī al-Ḥabīb).

## B Games, Sports, and War

1. a. Read: Lālā Ism. 560, 1. An anonymous chess manual, also Berlin Or. 2890 (dated 591 AH).

653 | 2. Marḍī b. 'Alī b. Marḍī al-Ṭarasūsī wrote, around 570/1174 for Šalāḥ al-Dīn:

*Al-Tabṣira fī 'l-ḥurūb*, on the art of war, Bodl. I, 371.

3. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Yūnīnī, ca. 676/1277 (see Suppl.).

2. *Urjūza*, on archery, also Dam. Z. 86,<sup>22</sup>.

4.–7. See Suppl.

8. Towards the end of the seventh century, Ibn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khālid wrote:

*Khazā'in al-silāh* Qara Muṣṭafā 41 (Ritter).

## C Music

H.G. Farmer, *The Sources of Arabic Music*, Edinburgh 1940.

1. Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Kātib wrote, before 625/1228 (the date of the MS):

*Kamāl ādāb al-ghinā'* Top Kapu 1729, photograph Cairo, *Nashara* 23, Farmer 46.

2. Ṣafī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Mafākhir 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Yūsuf b. Fākhir al-Urmawī al-Baghdādī, d. 693/1294, see Suppl.

Juwaynī, *Ta'ṛ. Jahāngushā* I, LI, Farmer 48. 1. *Kitāb al-adwār wal-īqā'* Berl. 5533 (see Farmer *JRAS* 1926, 94), NO 3653/4, Rāḡib 919,<sup>3</sup> 134b/171a, photograph Cairo Nash. 2, anon. commentary Br. Mus. Or. 2361, 68/123, transl. by d'Erlanger, *La Musique arabe* III, Paris 1938, in Farmer, p. 56, attributed to al-Jurjānī.—2. *al-Risāla al-Sharaḡīyya fi 'l-nisab al-ta'līfīyya* additionally Garr. 2107,<sup>3</sup> (part 2), Cairo, *Nash.* 11.—3., 4. see Suppl.—5. *Dā'irat al-buḥūr wal-awzān* Cairo Nash. 10.—6. *Sharḥ dā'irat al-aṣl al-awwal (al-rāst)* ibid. 17.

3. Muḥammad b. Sālim b. Wāṣil Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, the teacher of Abu 'l-Fidā', fl. around 697/1297.

Abulf., *Ann.* v, 144ff. *Tajrīd al-aghānī min al-mathālith wal-mathānī* Br. Mus. 571, AS 1400, Farmer, p. 49.

## Chapter 17. Occult Sciences

1. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabasī, d. 482/1089.

654 *Kitāb al-shāmil min al-baḥr al-kāmil fi 'l-dawr al-ʿāmil*, | on magic, amulets, and astrology, adapted from *Nuzhat al-āfāqi yawm al-ijtimāʿ wal-talāqī*, a work that he had written for a distinguished patron but which had attracted little interest, for Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Nisābūrī, d. 530/1135, Berl. 5885, Turkish transl. Qilič 'A. 685.

2. Burhān (Shams) al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Arfaʿ ra'sahu al-Anṣārī al-Jayyānī al-Shudhūrī al-Gharnāṭī, who died as a preacher in Fez in 593/1197.

*Fawāt* II, 91, Maqq. II, 410, Cod. Goth. 1289, folios 1r, 60r, where his death is placed in 500/1106, Hartmann, *Muwashshaḥ* 26. 1. *Dīwān shudhūr al-dhahab fī fann al-salāmāt*, alphabetically ordered collection of poems on the philosopher's stone, Gotha 1289/90 (where other MSS are listed), Garr. 931, Alex. Kīm. 7, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 571, Ṭab. 731, Taymūr, Ṭab. 70/1, 110; individual verses of the *qaṣīda* ending in *fāʾ*, Berl. 4180, Gotha 85,<sub>12</sub>.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary *Hall al-mushkilāt al-Shudhūrīyyāt*, in the form of a dialogue with his student Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, Berl. 4181/2, Pet. Ros. 201, Garr. 932.—b. *Ghāyat al-surūr* by 'Alī b. Aydamur al-Jildakī, d. 743/1342 (II, 138), Berl. 4183, Gotha 1291, Leid, 1273, Esc. <sup>2</sup>652, excerpts Br. Mus. 601,<sub>3</sub> 1002,<sub>14</sub>, 19, 1371,<sub>5</sub>.—c. 'Abdallāh al-Umawī, Alex. Kīm. 7.—d. Abū 'Abdallāh al-Sīmāwī, Taymūr, Ṭab. 72.—d. see Suppl.—e. Anon., Br. Mus. 100,<sub>1</sub>.—*Tashmīs al-budūr fī takhmīs al-Shudhūr* by Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Iṣfahānī Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh, composed in 810/1408 in Mashhad 'Alī, BDMG 65.—2. *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī bil-Qurʾān al-rahmānī* Paris 2643.—3. *al-Jihāt fī 'ilm al-tawajjuhāt fī sharḥ qaṣīdat Thābit b. S. Garr. 41*.—4. Alchemy, untitled, Taymūr, Ṭab. 152.

3. Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) al-'Irāqī al-Sīmāwī, fl. sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

655 1. *Kitāb al-muktasab fī zirāʿat al-dhahab* Alex. Kīm. 13, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 390, Ṭab. 435/6, commentary *Nihāyat al-ṭalab* by al-Jildakī, | d. 743/1342, II, 139, Berl. 4184,

1 ḤKh v, 47,<sub>18979</sub>, VI, 304,<sub>13599</sub>, gives no date. According to Nicoll the Mamlūk sultan Jaqmaq, r. 842–57/1438–53, is mentioned in the preface (which is why in Br. Mus. Suppl. 784i the date is fixed around 860); but because al-Jildakī (II, 138), who lived 100 years earlier, had commented one of his works, that can only be an interpolation.

Vienna 1495, Leid. 1272, Bodl. I, 459, 640, Patna II, 326,<sup>2830/2</sup>, abstract Gotha 1289,<sup>4</sup>.—2. *al-Kanz al-afkhar wal-sirr al-a‘zam fī taṣrīf al-ḥajar al-mukarram* Cairo <sup>1v</sup>, 387.—3. *‘Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq wa-īdāḥ al-ṭarā’iq* Gotha 1274, Bodl. I, 1019, II, 378, Br. Mus. 1337,<sup>2</sup>, Suppl. 784, Pet. Ros. 210, photo *QSt.* VII, 120, abstract Gotha 2026,<sup>3</sup>, Garr. 936/7, Cairo Ṭab. 419, 426, Patna I, 242,<sup>2080</sup>.—4. *al-Aqālīm al-sab‘a fī ‘l-‘ilm al-mawsūm bil-ṣun‘a*, an Arabic “Höllenzwang”, Gotha 1261,<sup>1</sup>, Cairo <sup>1v</sup>, 276.—5. *Ṣifāt al-‘amal bil-ramal* Alex. Ḥurūf 6.

3a. Shams al-Dīn Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd al-Khazrajī al-Sabtī, d. 698/1298 (? see Suppl.).

*Sharḥ al-Zā‘iraja al-Sabtīyya*, anon., Alex. Ḥurūf 5.

4. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Dimashqī al-Jawbarī was, in 613/1216, in Ḥarrān, and in 616/1219 in Qonya, and he wrote for the Artuqid ruler al-Malik al-Mawdūd of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (r. 619–29/1222–31):

*Al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār wa-hatk al-astār*, a disclosure of delusions and shams, Berl. 5563, Gotha 1374/6, Dresd. 413, Vienna 1434, Paris 4640, Br. Mus. 1002,<sup>15</sup>, 1373,<sup>11</sup>, Lee 61,<sup>5</sup>, MSS in Istanbul in Rescher, *ZS* III, 247/8, anon. abstracts Berl. 5564/6, cf. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* XIX, 562, *Pol. u. apol. Lit.* 189, de Goeje, *ZDMG* XX, 485 (on which Fleischer, *ibid.* XXI, 274).

5. Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Būnī al-Qurashī, d. 622/1225.

1. *Risāla fī faḍā’il (fawā’id) al-basmala*, on the use of the *basmala* for magical purposes, Berl. 4156, Gotha 55,<sup>3</sup>, Br. Mus. 886,<sup>6</sup>, Garr. 2173,<sup>11</sup>, Patna II, 419,<sup>2589</sup>, 3.—  
2. *Qabs al-iqtidā’ ilā ufq (waqf, falak) al-sa‘āda wa-najm al-ihtidā’ ilā sharaf al-sāda (siyāda)*, on the secret properties of the names of God and the way to use them as talismans, Berl. Ms. or oct. 3928,<sup>2</sup>, Gotha 1256,<sup>2</sup>, Vienna 1499,<sup>2</sup>, Alex. Taṣ. 34,<sup>2</sup>, Ḥurūf 17,<sup>10</sup> (where the author is Sulaymān b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Abbāsī Abu ‘l-Rabī‘).—3. *Shams al-ma‘ārif wa-laṭā’if al-‘awārif*, on occult sciences, especially the names of God and the secrets of letters, Berl. 4125, Gotha 1262 (where other MSS are listed), Br. Mus. Suppl. 824,<sup>iii</sup>, AS 2798/2802, 2804/6, | Alex. Ḥurūf 5, 15, Patna I, 136,<sup>1344</sup>, a small edition lith. Bombay 1267, 1298 a larger one *ibid.* 1296.—4. From the beginning of his Qur’ān commentary Ibn ‘Arrāq, d. 933/1526, incorporated a list of 100 expressions from the Qur’ān, with Sufi explanations, into his own *Jawharat al-ghawwāṣ*, Berl. 427.—5. *‘Ilm al-hudā wa-asrār (qabs) al-ihtidā’ fī sharḥ al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā* (mistakenly attributed in ḤKh, IV, 248,<sup>8287</sup>, to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī

- p. 569), Berl. 2224.—6. *Mawāqif al-ghāyāt fī sulūk (asrār) al-riyādāt*, a description of the three grades of Sufis and the progress needed for each of these, Berl. 2843/4, cf. 3301, abstract Garr. 2023<sub>2</sub>, AS 2160<sub>2</sub>.—7. *al-Lum'a al-nūrāniyya fī kushūfāt (awrād) al-rabbāniyya*, prayers for different hours of the day, Berl. 3798, Ms. or. oct. 3928<sub>4</sub>, Vienna 1494<sub>3</sub>, Paris 1225/6, Bodl. II, 55, AS 2810, Āšir 498 II, 169, Patna I, 157<sub>1491</sub>, II, 518<sub>2781</sub>.—8. *Fī faḍl (khawāṣṣ) āyat al-kursī* p. 2, 256, | as resistance against all kinds of bewitchments, Berl. 3894<sub>2</sub>, Cairo ʿVII, 46.—9. *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt fī asrār al-falak wal-ḥurūf al-ma'nawīyyāt (ʿulwīyyāt)* Berl. 4127.—10. 25 *ṭawīl* verses on the powers of the letters of the great names of God, Berl. 4146.—11. *Khawāṣṣ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* Vienna 1661<sub>9</sub>, Ind. Off. 338.—12. See Suppl.—13. *Asrār al-ḥurūf wal-kalimāt* Vienna 1494<sub>4</sub>.—14. *Sirr al-ḥikam wa-jawāmī' al-kalim*, on Kaballah and divination, Paris 2595<sub>6</sub>.—14a. *al-Durr al-munazzam fī 'l-sirr al-a'zam*, on the secret properties of letters and of the names of God, Paris 2646.—15. *al-Uṣūl wal-ḍawābiṭ*, on occult sciences, Paris 2656, Cairo ʿVII, 570, Alex. Ḥurūf 8, Rabāṭ 468.—16. An edifying work in prose and verse, without title, Br. Mus. Suppl. 230.—17. *Risāla fī taṣrīf khalkhalat al-hawā wa-fatq al-jawā wal-naẓar ila 'l-rūḥāniyya al-ʿulyā* Cairo ʿVII, 682.—18.–33. See Suppl. (23. AS 2160, Veliyeddīn 1821<sub>7</sub>—24. Alex. Taṣ. 34<sub>1</sub>).—34. *Sharḥ taṣarrufāt al-wafq (wa-huwa ism Allāh al-a'zam al-muntakhab min al-āyāt al-qur'āniyya)* Qawala I, 243.—35. *al-Raḥīq al-asnā fī sharḥ asmā' allāh al-ḥusnā* Berl. Ms. or oct. 3928<sub>1</sub> = *al-Mashhad al-asnā fī sharḥ a. Allāh al-ḥ. ḤKh* v, 561 (?).—36. *Lawḥ al-dhahab min kitāb al-ḥurūf* ibid. 3.—37. *Risāla fī 'l-ism al-a'zam* ibid. 4.—38. *Silk al-jawāhir wal-ma'ānī wal-muqtabas min al-sab' al-mathānī* Alex. Mawā'iz 23.—39. *al-Ṣarf fī 'ilm al-ḥarf* AS 2160<sub>3</sub>.
- 657 6. Raḍī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. | Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭā'ūs al-Ṭā'ūsī al-'Alawī al-Fāṭimī, d. 664/1266, see Suppl.
1. *Kitāb al-amān min akḥṭār al-asfār wal-azmān*, a manual for prayers and ceremonies while travelling, cures, etc. Ind. Off. 341, *Br. Mus. Quart.* VI, 55, MSS in Iraq in *Dharī'a* II, 343<sub>1365</sub>.—2. *Muhaj al-da'awāt wa-manhaj al-ghāyāt*, prayers, incantations, amulets, etc. Paris 1173, Patna I, 158<sub>1499</sub>.—3.–17. See Suppl. (6. also Patna II, 348<sub>2533/4</sub>. 7. See *Dharī'a* II, 264<sub>1078</sub>, 9. 9. Ibid. II, 418<sub>1656</sub>).—19. *Asrār al-ṣalāt wa-anwār al-da'awāt* or *Mukhtār al-da'awāt wa-asrār al-ṣalāt*, fragment in a *majmū'a* in the possession of Ḥasan Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kāzimī, *Dharī'a* II, 49<sub>199</sub>.
7. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Suhayl al-Jawzī b. al-Khashshāb, ca. 650/1252.



*Kitāb al-durr al-nazīm fī faḍā'il al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, see Suppl., also Patna 1, 29, 285.

8. Abu 'l-Ṭāhir (Abū Ishāq) Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Ghannām al-Ḥarrānī al-Numayrī al-Ḥanbalī al-Maqdisī, who died in 674/1275 or, according to others, 693/1294.

1. *'Arūs al-bustān fī 'l-nisā' wal-a'ḍā' wal-insān*, a *rajaz* on the interpretation of dreams, Berl. 4263.—2. *Durrat al-aḥlām wa-ghāyat al-marām*, last part *ibid.* 4264.—3. *al-Nāmaj fī ta'bīr al-ru'yā*, Köpr. 1227, Qawala 11, 254, Garr. 935.—4., 5. see Suppl. (4. 1. *al-Mu'lam*).

9. Al-Maqrīzī, who was 70 years old in 687/1288, wrote in Egypt:

*Ḥall al-rumūz wal-ṭilasmāt wal-khabāyā wal-kunūz wal-khafīyyāt* Bodl. 11, 375.

## Chapter 18. Encyclopaedias and Polyhistor

The decline in Arabic literature that followed original works no longer being written led to the appearance of a whole succession of polymaths and polygraphs, who pretended to singlehandedly sum up the totality of knowledge of their time in encyclopaedias or to process it in monographs. Some of these authors | we have already come across, | namely those who excelled to such a degree in a particular area of knowledge that they simply had to be included there. The following contains a listing of scholars who could not lay claim to such inclusion, neither by the quality nor the quantity of their production.

658 499

1. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī wrote, in 551/1156:

*Mufīd al-‘ulūm wa-mubīd al-humūm*, a popular encyclopaedia of religious, moral, political, natural historical, geographical, and historical content, Gotha 173, Paris 2334/7, Br. Mus. Suppl. 712, 3, vol. II, AS 4281, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 701, <sup>2</sup>VI, 212 (in Garr. 181 and Cambr. 1081 wrongly attributed to the Shī‘ī Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī).

2. Abū ‘Āmir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Āmir al-Ṭarasūsī (Ṭarṭūshī) al-Balawī al-Sālimī, who died in Seville in 559/1164.

Dozy, *Notices* 174/6, *Wüst. Gesch.* 253.—1. *Unmūdhaj al-‘ulūm*, on 24 sciences each divided into *muqaddima*, *masā’il*, *jawāb*, *fā’ida*, and *khātima*, Vienna 3, Garr. 1129a.—2. see Suppl.

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khayr b. ‘Umar b. Khalīfa al-Ishbilī was born in Seville in 502/1108 and studied there and in almost all of the larger cities of Spain. He became imam of the great mosque of Cordova at the age of 70, and died there on 4 Rabī‘ I 575/10 August 1179.

Ibn al-Abbār 780, al-Ḍabbī 112. *Fihrist mā rawāhu ‘an shuyūkhīhī min al-dawāwīn al-muṣannafa fī ḍurūb al-‘ilm wa-anwā‘ al-ma‘ārif*, an inventory of more than 1400 book titles from all the sciences, with complete *isnāds*, ed. Fr. Codera et J. Ribera Tarrago, *Bibl. Ar.-Hisp.* IX, X, 1894/5.

4. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Wādī‘āshī al-Barrāq, d. 596/1199.

| Wüst. *Gesch.* 285. *Jāmi' al-funūn wa-qāmi' al-zunūn*, part IX, on astronomy, 659  
Berl. 5672.

| 5. Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī 500  
b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Jawzī<sup>1</sup> hailed from a family that regarded itself as  
being descended from the caliph Abū Bakr. He was born in Baghdad around  
508, or, according to others, in 510/1116 (Ibn al-Athīr XII, 112). He tells us about  
his life in his *Liftat al-kabid fī naṣīḥat al-walad*, which is an admonition to his  
son Abu 'l-Qāsim<sup>2</sup> to devote himself to the sciences, just as he had done (Berl.  
3988, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1432,<sup>5</sup> Fātiḥ 5295,<sup>3</sup> Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 177, ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Faqqī in *Mīn*  
*dafā'in al-kutub*, C. 1349, no. 4). His father had given him a thorough educa-  
tion at great cost and left him two houses upon his death. Of these, he lived  
in one and rented out the other. But he then sold them both in order to invest  
the money thus made in books, as he had done earlier with all his cash. Even  
though he disdained wandering around like the other preachers did to curry  
favour with princes,<sup>3</sup> God's mercy never let him starve.

By the age of seven he started studying *ḥadīth* with the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal;  
in the year 554/1159 he attended the lectures of Ma'mar b. 'Abd al-Waḥīd, which  
took place on hallowed ground in Medina, between the pulpit and the Prophet's 660  
tomb. | Because of his fervour against the falsification of *ḥadīths* he brought  
many a literary feud upon himself.<sup>4</sup> In fact, he did not even spare al-Ghazzālī's  
*Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* his criticism.<sup>5</sup> | He simply represented Ḥanbalī fanaticism 501  
in its most extreme form, something for which he was justly upbraided by Ibn  
al-Athīr.<sup>6</sup> His productivity as a writer was only later surpassed by al-Suyūṭī,

1 According to Ibn Khallikān, it is the *nisba* of al-Jawz, "a well-known port" (= Nahr al-Jawz on the Euphrates, between Aleppo and al-Bīra; Yāqūt, *GW* II, 151, 8?), according to Ḥuff., it is the *nisba* of *al-jawz*, the nut, figuring on the dirhams current in Wāsit.

2 Another son, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffār Yūsuf, born in 580/1184, was *ustāddār* (major-domo) of the caliph al-Musta'ṣim and was killed in 656/1258 at the order of Hülāgū, *JA* s. 9, v. 4. p. 465–6. 125, 482. For his grandson Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī see p. 424.

3 'Imād al-Dīn in Jenisch, ad Mirchond, *Hist. pr. reg. Pers.* 146, claims however that he accompanied Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on his campaigns.

4 see Goldziher, *M. St.* II, 272.

5 Ibid. 154, see above p. 540.

6 Goldziher 186. Until the eleventh cent. AH he remained the archetype of the severe critic of *ḥadīth*, such as opposed to the more casual opinions of someone like Suyūṭī. Cf. the marginal note in MS Wetzst. II, 289, fol. 236 r.

and extended across all fields of learning, with the exception of grammar, dogmatics, and the exact sciences. Even though his writings were mostly compilations, which Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 204 calls untrustworthy, in paraenesis he seems to have struck out on his own.

Ibn al-Jawzī's life was not only dedicated to learning, but also to practical religious virtue. In Mecca and Baghdad especially, he did not preach in the mosque, but rather in conventicles at home or in the street. The Spanish voyager Ibn Jubayr tells us about two sermons that were held in Šafar 581/May 1185 in front of his house near Bāb al-Bašaliyya<sup>7</sup> and on the morning of the eleventh in the court of the caliphal palace behind the Bāb Badr<sup>8</sup> for the caliph and his harem. His reputation as a preacher was so great that, when Sunnīs and Shī'īs were arguing once more over the precedence of Abū Bakr or 'Alī, they called upon him to render a verdict, which he avoided by giving an ambiguous answer. | At the end of his *Kitāb al-quṣṣāš* (*Cat. Lugd.* IV, 318 ff.) and in the work addressed to his son he boasts of the achievements of his preaching: | he supposedly converted more than a 100,000 men to a pious lifestyle and brought 10,000 youngsters to taking the inward turn.<sup>9</sup>

He died in 597/1200.

Ibn Khall. 343, *Huff.* III, 45, no. 2, al-Suyūṭī, *Interpr.* 17, no. 5, al-Kattānī, *Fihris* I, 226/8, anon. *Sīrat b. al-Jawzī*, Garr. 2198, Wüst. *Gesch.* 287. He gives a short inventory of his writings at the end of the *Kitāb al-quṣṣāš*, as well as in the *Liftat al-kabid*; a more detailed one from *al-Muntakhab* is occasionally cited in ḤKh. An inventory, very rich in detail, was added by whoever continued the *Talqīh* under the year of his death, see also the *Mir'āt al-zamān* by his grandson, Br. Mus. Suppl. 722. There remains (collective volume of his writings in Fātiḥ 5295):

I. Linguistics. 1. *Taqwīm al-luġha*, on errors among the 'amma in alphabetical order, Bodl. II, 383,2.<sup>10</sup>—1. a. *Nuzhat al-a'yun wal-nawāzīr fī 'ilm al-wujūh wal-naẓā'ir*, 'Um. 498/9.

II. History: a. World history: 2. *Kitāb al-muntaẓam wa-multaqaṭ al-multazam*, cf. Suppl. (ad Dam. 'Um. 842, see *RADD* XI, 119).—Abstracts: a. the author

7 see G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 290 ff.

8 Ibid. 270, Ibn al-Jubayr, ed. de Goeje, 220 ff.

9 Compare the thousands and tens of thousands of Jews and heretics converted by Rabbūlā, *Ephraemi Syri Rabbulae etc. opera sel.* ed. J.J. Overbeck, Oxford 1865, 193,10.

10 Quoted by al-'Āmilī in Goldziher, *ZDMG* 35, 147, whose doubts concerning Ibn al-Jawzī's authorship are disproven by its being mentioned in the *Talqīh*.

himself, up to the year 569/1173, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 145, <sup>2</sup>v, 337.—b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Muṣannifak, d. 875/1470 (II, 234), Paris 1550, ‘Um. 5139, vol. II, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 160, <sup>2</sup>v, 337.—c. Anon., de Jong 102.—3. *al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī siyāsāt al-mulūk*, HKh III, 337, <sup>2</sup>I, 829 (according to a quotation in *al-Kharīda*), a fragment from which is in Berl. 9437.—Abstracts by: a. Ibn al-Wardī, ca. 850/1446 (II, 131) in the appendix to *Kharīdat al-‘ajā’ib*, see S. Freund, *De rebus die resurrectionis eventuris*, Wrocław 1853, n. 1.—b. A student of Ibn al-Sā‘ī, d. 674/1275 (Suppl. I, 590), Sanbāt al-Irbilī, Beirut 75 (*ZDMG* 43, 313).—c. Anon., Kazan II, 2.—4. *Shudhūr al-‘uqūd fī ta’rīkh al-‘uhūd*, an abstract of 2, Leid. 833 (vol. I only about prophets and angels), de Jong 102.—5. *‘Ajā’ib al-badā’i‘*, historical | anecdotes and stories, part 1, a short chronicle until the year 520/1126, Paris 1567.— 662  
6. *Talqīh fuhūm al-āthār fī mukhtaṣar al-siyar wal-akhbār*, see C. Brockelmann, *Ibn al-Jawzī’s T. nach der Berliner Hds. untersucht*, Breslau 1893, also library of Yāsīn b. Bāsha‘yān al-‘Abbāsī in Basra (Ritter).

| b. Biographies:<sup>11</sup> aa. Collective works. 7. *Ṣafwat (Ṣifat) al-ṣafwa*, an abstract of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā‘* of Abū Nu‘aym, p. 445.—8. *Kitāb fī akhbār al-adhkiyā‘ alladhīna qawiyat fiṭanuhum wa-tanaqqada dhakā‘uhum bi-quwwat jawhariyyat ‘uqūlīhim*, Bodl. I, 370, 385, 395, Köpr. 1198, Cairo <sup>1</sup>IV, 293, <sup>2</sup>III, 296, print. C. 1304, 1306, extract Berl. 8363, Bodl. I, 294.<sup>5</sup>—9. *Kitāb al-ḥamqā wal-mughaffalīn*, a counterpart to the previous one, Paris 3543,<sup>2</sup> 3547, abstract Berl. 8363, possibly also Algiers 1870,<sup>2</sup> (according to Fagnan from the *‘Uyūn al-ḥikāyāt*, HKh. IV, 990?).—10. *al-Quṣṣāṣ wal-mudhakkirīn*, Leid. 2156, used by Goldziher, *M.St.* II.—10a—g. see Suppl.—10. h. *Irshād al-murīdīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*, HKh <sup>1</sup>I, 252, <sup>2</sup>I, 67, Garr. 677.

bb. Biographies of individuals: 11. *Kitāb al-wafā‘ fī faḍā’il al-Muṣṭafā*, Berl. 9573/4, Leid. 865, cf. Brockelmann, *BASS* II, 1/59.—12. *‘Uyūn al-ḥikāyāt fī sīrat sayyid al-bariyyāt*, Leipz. 19.—13. *Mawlid al-nabī*, Berl. 9517/8, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 408; a commentary by Muḥammad ‘Umar al-Nawawī (II, 501), composed in 1294/1877, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 276.—14. *Manāqib ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 159, <sup>2</sup>v, 336, 368, ‘Um. 5299, Ist. ‘Un. A 956, Alex. Ta’r. 133.—15. *Maṭla‘ al-nayyirayn fī sīrat al-‘Umarayn*, Berl. 9763, 9769, Köpr. 1081.—16. *al-Radd ‘ala ‘l-muta‘aṣṣib al-mānī‘ min dhamm Yazīd*, Berl. 9708, Leid. 909,<sup>1</sup>—17. see Suppl.—18. *Manāqib Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>v, 158, <sup>2</sup>v, 336, abstract by Zakī al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Khazrajī, ca. 650/1252 (p. 380), Br. Mus. Suppl. 640.—19. *Faḍā’il Bīshr al-Ḥāfi* (Suppl. I, 35).

11 In the *Muntaẓam* too, as in his other historical works, biographies receive special consideration, which is why he is praised by Sibṭ Abū Shāma, HKh III, 347.<sup>5875</sup>

- III. *Ḥadīth*. 20. *Jāmi' al-masānīd wal-alqāb*, in 5 vols. only, from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, Muslim, and al-Tirmidhī (Goldziher, *MSt.* II, 263). Edited by al-Muḥibb Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī, d. 694/1293 (p. 444), ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 574, <sup>2</sup>I, 573, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 323 (Br. H. <sup>2</sup>776 = Suppl. 27d?).—21. *Sharḥ (kashf) mushkil al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Garr. 1450, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 362, <sup>2</sup>128, Rampūr II, 224, 563, Patna I, 54, <sup>541</sup>.—22. *al-Manṭiq (Nuṭq) al-maḥfūm min ahl al-ṣamt | al-ma'lūm*, traditions on animals and lifeless things that, by a miracle of the Prophet, became endowed with speech, Berl. 8761, Gotha 624/5, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1143, *Bibl. Ital.* XLIX, 21, Pet. Ros. 26, Garr. 2192, Algiers 1688, <sup>2</sup>, As 4333, Faiz. 1280, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 202.—Abstracts: a. Only a little shortened by Aḥmad b. Ṭughrilbek, Gotha 626, print. C. 1281, 1308.—b. Anon., Berl. 8762.—23. *Ikhbār ahl al-rusūkh fi 'l-fiqh wal-taḥdīth bi-miqdār al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh min al-ḥadīth*, Br. Mus. 1594, 4.—24. *Umdat al-dalā'il fi mashḥūr al-masā'il*, ḤKh IV, 267, maybe Gotha 574 which has the clearly not original title *Masā'il bi-ilm al-ḥadīth*.—25. *Kitāb al-du'afā' (wal-matrūkīn)*, Br. Mus. Suppl. 624.—26. *Kitāb al-mawḍū'āt (min al-aḥādīth al-marfū'āt)*, Fātiḥ 1212, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 436, <sup>2</sup>I, 154, a critique of it, entitled *al-Nukat al-badī'āt*, by al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1521, Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 445.—27. On surnames of traditionists, Berl. 1016, 2.—27a.–h. see Suppl.
- 504 | IV. *Fiqh*. 28. *al-Taḥqīq fi aḥādīth al-khilāf*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 247, <sup>2</sup>I, 379, Cairo <sup>1</sup>III, 293, <sup>2</sup>I, 548, under the title *Aḥādīth al-ta'līq* (Talq.), Bodl. II, 40, Landb. Br. 38.—29. *al-Bāzī' al-ashhab al-munqaḍḍ 'alā mukhālifi 'l-madhhab*, a defence of Ḥanbalī doctrine aganst the Mujassimūn, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 5, <sup>1</sup>I, 218, Gotha 716 (lost save for its title), Āṣaf. II, 1294, <sup>225</sup>.—29a.–c. see Suppl. (29a. in Patna I, 82, <sup>832</sup> attributed to Ibn Rajab, d. 795/1393, II, 107).
- v. *Qur'an*. 30. *Kitāb fi 'ajā'ib 'ulūm al-Qur'an*, a general introduction, similar to al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān*, Gotha 544 (fragm.), cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Qorans*, <sup>1</sup>257, n. 1.—31. *Mukhtaṣar funūn al-afnān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'an*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 530, I, 61.—32. *al-Mujtabā fi 'ulūm al-Qur'an*, Cairo <sup>1</sup>VII, 530, <sup>2</sup>V, 325.—33. *Zād al-masīr* (Berl. wrongly *al-musāfirīn*) *fi 'ilm al-tafsīr* in 4 vols., for daily use by preachers, Berl. 805, Gotha 530, Garr. 1273, Esc. <sup>2</sup>1274/5, Rāḡib 194, Ist. Ün. A. 668 (596 AH), Cairo <sup>1</sup>I, 176, <sup>2</sup>I, 53, Zaouiyah d'El Hamel, *Giorn. d. Soc. As. It.* x, 55.—34. *al-Arīb fi tafsīr al-gharīb*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>I, 260, IV, 331, <sup>2</sup>I, 71, with the title *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur'an*, Bodl. I, 62.—34a.– see Suppl.
- VI. Ethics and mysticism. 36. *Minḥāj al-qāṣidīn wa-mufid al-ṣādiqīn*, an abstract of al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā'*, p. 540.
- VII. Homiletics and paraenesis. 36. *Bustān al-wā'iẓīn wa-riyāḍ al-sāmi'īn*, Berl. 8756, Cairo <sup>1</sup>II, 147, <sup>2</sup>I, 272.—37. *Tabṣīrat al-mubtadi'*, Br. Mus. I, 338, Yeni 696, abstract Leid. 2189, Ist. Ün. A. 6243, Patna I, 149, <sup>1428</sup>.—38. (*an-Nāmūs fi*) *Talbīs Iblīs*, ḤKh <sup>1</sup>II, 239, <sup>2</sup>I, 471, see Suppl., | Patna I, 144, <sup>1150</sup>, as *Kashf T.I.* Heid., *ZDMG* 91, 382, as *Kashf nāmūs T.I.* Alex. Mawā'iẓ 32, see W. Braune,
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*Publ. Inst. Un. de Napoli, Annali* 1, 1940, 305/13; imitation of *Taflīs Iblīs* by ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Maḡdisī, d. 678/1279, see p. 587.—39. *al-Thabāt ‘inda l-mamāt*, ḤKh 111, 490, 21, 521, abstract by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ba‘labakkī, ca. 729/1329 (11, 74), Leid. 2158.—40. *al-Ḥadā‘iq*, traditions from Bukhārī and Muslim, as well as edifying stories on Muḥammad, his wives, and companions, Berl. 1303, fragment Cairo 1, 335, which is probably different from *al-Ḥadā‘iq li-ahl al-ḥaqā‘iq*, Bāyezīd 1761, which, according to ḤKh 111, 22, 21, 634, are divided into 100 *majālis*, while the MS Berl. is broken up in *bābs*; cf. also al-Diyārbakrī, *al-Khamīs* 1, 2.—41. *Huṣn al-sulūk ilā mawā‘iẓ al-mulūk*, ḤKh 111, 262, 21, 66, may be the same as the nameless mirror for princes of Gotha 1880, which Pertsch, because it lacks an introduction, takes to be a part of a larger work; but cf. also *Mawā‘iẓ al-mulūk wal-salāṭīn*, Dāmīrī, 1, 68, line 6 from below and Br. Mus. Suppl. 744.—42. *Ṣabā Najd*,<sup>12</sup> with many verses ḤKh 11v, 90, Esc. 2389,1, Bāyezīd 1761.—43. *al-Muntakhab fi l-nuwab*, a collection of Qur’ān verses suitable for reading at the occurrence of a *nawba*, with a list of his works at the end, ḤKh VI, 165, *Br. Mus. Quart.* XIII, 3, 90, Cairo 111, 177.—44. Abstract of *Muntakhab al-muntakhab*, Landb.-Br. 159 or *Nukhbat al-M.*, Berl. 9437, as *Mukhtaṣar al-M.* Ambr. A. 105 xiii (*RSO* III, 905).—45. *al-Rub‘ al-‘āmir*, edifying anecdotes, Br. Mus. 1141,1.—46. *al-Manshūr fi majālis al-ṣudūr*, *ibid.* 1, 338, | possibly cited as *Fi l-nashr*, *al-Ḥalabī, Sīra* 1, 421.—47. *Yāqūtāt al-mawā‘iẓ wal-maw‘iẓa*, ḤKh VI, 508, *Talq.*, Fātiḥ 5295/7 = *al-Yāqūṭiyyāt*, an appendix to ‘Uthmān b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Mukhtaṣar rawnaq al-majālis* (Suppl. 11, 285), C. Maymaniyya 1309.—48. *Salwat al-aḥzān bi-mā ruwiya ‘an dhawi l-‘irfān*, Bodl. 1, 289, Cairo 111, 88 = *Salwat al-ḥazīn*, Berl. 8765?.—49. *Ṣayd al-khāṭir*, Fātiḥ 4004, Cairo 111, 93/4.—50. *al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ wal-anīs al-nāsiḥ*, Cairo 111, 153 probably = *Anīs al-jalīs*, Garr. 1895, also attributed to his grandson, see Suppl. 1, 589,13, 3.—51. *Muntakhab al-zīr ‘an ru’ūs al-qawārīr fi l-mawā‘iẓ wal-tadhkīr*, | Berl. 8767.—52. *al-Mawrid al-‘adhb fi l-mawā‘iẓ wal-khuṭab*, 70 sermons pronounced in the main mosque in Mecca, Br. Mus. 145, Esc. 2717.—53. *al-Muwāfiq lil-murāfiq*, Br. Mus. 744, Or. 9249, Esc. 2389,2.—54. *al-Murtajal*, an improvised manual for beginner preachers in 10 *majālis*, Copenhagen 70,2.—55. *Tanbīh al-nā‘im al-ghumr ‘alā mawāsīm al-‘umr*, printed as no. 6 of *al-Tuḥfa al-baḥiyya*, Constantinople 1302, 55/65.—56. *Luṭf al-mawā‘iẓ*, Alex. Mawā‘iẓ 34, 39,2.—57. *al-Maḡāmāt al-Jawziyya fi l-ma‘āni l-wa‘ṣiyya*, with a lexicon; a commentary, written in 34 days in the Bāb al-Āzaj quarter in Baghdad, Leid. 426, Cambr. 1098, MSS in Istanbul ZS III, 248, Bursa Ulu Cami

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12 The title may allude to the name of his wife, Nasīm al-ṣabā, with whom he had an unhappy marriage, despite his love for her, al-Nawājī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, C. 1299, 321, 12 ff., Cod. Goth. 215, f. 1184 v, al-Juzūlī, *Maṭāli‘ al-budūr*, 1, 53, 7 ff.

Taş. 57.—58. *Risāla fī birr al-wālidayn*, Cairo 1<sup>VII</sup>, 553.—59. *Hādi 'l-nufūs ila 'l-malik al-quddūs*, Berl. 8770, Landb.-Br. 245.—60. *Dhamm al-hawā*, on love, Berl. 8362.—61. *al-Majālis al-Yūsufiyya*, edifying stories about Yūsuf, Br. Mus. 1488,<sub>2</sub>—62. *Widā' shahr Ramaḍān*, Esc. 2<sup>436,2</sup>—63. *Rawḍat al-majālis wa-nuzhat al-musta'nīs*, an entertaining work, Berl. 8361.—64. *Qalā'id al-nuhūr*, pious reflections and admonitions, in verse and prose, ordered alphabetically, Berl. 8757.—65. *Sūq al-'arūs*, sayings by Muḥammad and pious men, anecdotes, edifying verses, etc. in 14 sessions, Berl. 8759.—66. *al-Laṭā'if al-kubrā*, solemn expostulations, Pet. AM 85, Köpr. 717,<sub>2</sub>, Alex. Mawā'iz 34, Cairo, ZDMG XXX, 313, abstract Berl. 8760.—67. *al-Zahr al-fā'iḥ fī-man tanazzaha 'ani 'l-dhunūb wal-qabā'iḥ*, Berl. 8768/9, Paris 1324, 2033, Alex. Mawā'iz 39,<sub>1</sub>, another recension Paris 2034.—68. *Baḥr al-dumū'*, 32 sermons, Paris 1297, Alex. Mawā'iz 7.—69. *al-Majālis fī 'l-wa'z*, Leipz. 166, *Nukat al-majālis fī 'l-wa'z*, ibid. 167.—70. *Inshād al-wā'iz ilā ashraf al-mawā'iz*, Br. Mus. 743.—71. *Dawā dhawi 'l-ghafalāt*, AS 1786.—72. *Kitāb al-ma'shūq*, abstract by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ba'labakkī, Leid. 2157.—73. *Rawḥ al-arwāḥ*, Alex. Mawā'iz 18, print. C. 1309, anon. abstract Alex. Maw. 37,<sub>1</sub>—74. *Narjis al-qulūb wa-dāll al-ḥariq al-maḥbūb*, Berl. 8766, fragm. Leid. 1309.—75. *Tanwīr al-jabaṣ fī faḍl al-sūdān al-Ḥabash*, Gotha 1692, Esc. 2<sup>1835</sup>, Alex. Mawā'iz 35, *Mukhtaṣar Ġarullāh* 2108,<sub>2</sub>, cf. Flügel, ZDMG XVI, 697.—75 a–q. see Suppl. (75c. Bursa Haraccizade Taş. 59), h. an abstract entitled *Tadhkirat al-ayqāz* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Lu'lu'ī al-Shāfi'ī al-Muḥaddith al-Makkī, Fātiḥ 2830 (964AH).—75 r. *Dīwān khuṭab*, Alex. Mawā'iz 37,<sub>3</sub>—75 s. *al-Nūr fī faḍā'il al-yawm wal-shuhūr*, ibid. 49.—| 75 t. *Risāla fī kayd al-shayṭān li-nafsihi qabla kaydihi Ādam ma'a sharḥ al-firaq al-muḍilla*, ibid. Fun. 136,<sub>11</sub>—75 u. *Īqāz al-wasnān*, Fātiḥ 5295,<sub>2</sub>—75 v. *Bustān al-ṣādiqīn*, Köpr. 701,<sub>1</sub>—75 w. *Tuḥfat al-wā'iz wa-nuzhat al-mulāḥiḥ*, Fātiḥ 5295,<sub>10</sub>—75 x. *Jawāhīr al-mawā'iz*, 'Um. 1437.—75 y. *Ājab al-khuṭab*, Fātiḥ 5295,<sub>4</sub>—75 z. *al-La'ālī*, Fātiḥ 5295,<sub>5</sub>—75 aa. *al-Mughliq*, ibid. 9.—75 bb. *al-Manthūr*, ibid. 8.—75 cc. *Mawā'iz al-mulūk*, AS 4825,<sub>1</sub>—75 dd. *Nasīm al-saḥar*, Fātiḥ 5295,<sub>1</sub>—75 ee. *al-Yawāqūt*, Fātiḥ 5295,<sub>6</sub>—75 ff. *Lughat al-jumān*, paraenetical poems, among which is *Kān mā kān*, Fātiḥ 486<sub>1</sub> (Ritter).—75 gg. *Muntahā mushtahā*, revised *Mā' al-hayāt* by al-Qāsim Aḥmad al-Qaffāl, Fātiḥ 2805.

VIII. Medicine. 76. *Luqaṭ al-amān fī 'l-tibb*, a history of medicine, on temperaments, foodstuffs and cures, sleep, waking, coitus, and diseases, Leipz. 766,<sub>1</sub>, Bodl. I, 593 (which is different from ibid. 529, despite the identical title), Garr. 1102, 'Um. 4206, abstract Leid. 1342/3.—77. *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, on dietetics of the soul, Gotha 1238.

506 | IX. Geography. 78. *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs al-musammā bi-Muthīr 'azm al-sākin ilā ashraf al-amākin* (on the title see Bodl. II, 571), Berl. 4042, Bodl. II, 129, Fātiḥ 4470 (*Muthīr al-gharām*), excerpts in Gagnier, *La Vie de Mahomet*, Amsterdam



1732, II, 231, see J. de Somogyi, *JRAS* 1938, 541/6.—79. *Faḍā'il al-Quds*, Garr. 586, used in Berl. 6098.—80. *Tabṣirat al-akhyār fī dhikr Nūl Miṣr wa-akhawāṭihi min al-anhār*, Algiers 1551.

x. Encyclopaedias. 81. *Kitāb al-mudhish* treats, in 15 chapters, the sciences of the Qur'ān, linguistics, *ḥadīth*, and history, as well as of paraenesis, completed on 14 Jumādā II 591/27 May 1195, Bodl. I, 279 (cf. II, 511) II, 48, Copenhagen 60, Cairo 1I, 176, 2VI, 189, library of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in Istanbul (Jenisch, on Mirchond, *Hist. reg. pr. Pers.* 145/6). Abstract Gotha 842, Br. Mus. Suppl. 1247<sup>ii</sup>, Leid. 2155 (probably only chapter 5 with a new *dībāja* and in a new arrangement), 'Um. 5567, Fātiḥ 4081, 4114.

6. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusayn (Ḥasan) b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī, d. 606/1209 (see Suppl.).

Ibn Abī Uṣ. II, 23/30, Ibn al-Qifṭī 190/2, Khwandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* III, 1, 60 ff. Ibn Quṭlūbughā 93, Wüst. *Ärzte* 200, *Gesch.* 249, Leclerc II, 20, G. Gabrieli, *Isis* 1925, 91/3, P. Kraus, Les controverses de F. ar.-R., *Bull. de l'Inst. Ég.* XIX, 1939, 187/214.

1. History. 1. *Manāqib al-imām al-Shāfi'*, Berl. | 10008/9, Paris 3497<sup>2</sup>, Br. Mus. Suppl. 641, Cairo 1V, 158, 2V, 364, Alex. Ta'r. 95.—2. *Qalā'id 'uqūd al-'iqyān fī manāqib Abī Nu'mān*, Āṣaf. II, 1322<sup>65</sup>.

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II. *Fiqh*. 3. *al-Maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Paris 790, Ind. Off. 1445, Cairo 1II, 263, Patna I, 74<sup>755</sup>.—Abbreviations: a. *al-Ḥāsil*, see Suppl.—b. *al-Taḥṣīl* by Sirāj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, d. 682/1283 (p. 614), Gotha 934, Br. Mus. Suppl. 259, Ind. Off. 293, Bodl. I, 267<sup>1</sup>, Landb.-Br. 604, As'ad 3804<sup>1</sup>.—c. *Tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl*, by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfi, d. 684/1285 (p. 481), with comm., Gotha 935.—4. *Mushtamil al-aḥkām*, legal rulings, Upps. 439, Selīm Āgā 398.—5. *al-Ma'ālim fī uṣūl al-dīn (kalām)*, see Suppl., Patna II, 513<sup>2758</sup>.—Commentaries: a.–d. see Suppl. (c. by 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Mīrzā Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Amīr Shujā' al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī al-Iṣfahānī, d. 1064/1654, Teh. Sip. I, 567/9).—e. Mollā Mīrzā Shirwānī Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, d. 1098/1687, Teh. Sip. I, 574/6.—f. Āqā Bihbihānī, d. 1208/1794, *ibid.* 564.—g. *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn* by Muḥammad Taqī b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, d. 1248/1832 (*Rawḍat al-jannāt* I, 131), *ibid.* 570/2.—h. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥasanī, Alex. Uṣūl 8.—i. *Aṣl al-uṣūl* by Rafī' b. Rafī' al-Jilānī, the author of *al-Madārik*, ca. 1233/1818, print. 1268 with *Muqaddima'i Kashf al-madārik* in the margin, *Dharī'a* II, 168<sup>261</sup>.

III. Qur'ān. 6. *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* or *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Paris 613, 6526<sup>i</sup>, Bodl. I, 26, Br. Mus. Suppl. 111, Ind. Off. 65/6, Yeni 64/70, AS 232/41, Rāgib 85/9, Algiers 330, Cairo 1I, 213, Qawala I, 81, Patna I, 33<sup>329/39</sup>, print. Būlāq 1278, 1289, Cairo 1307/9,

Istanbul 1294, 1307; cf. M. Schreiner, *ZDMG* 52, 506ff.—Abstracts: a. *al-Tanwīr fī 'l-tafsīr* by Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Rājī al-Tūnisī, d. 715/1315, completed in 707/1307, Paris 614/9.—b. *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*, by his student al-Niẓām al-A'raj al-Nisābūrī (II, 201), Cairo<sup>1</sup>, 183.—7. *Risālat (al-tanbīh 'alā ba'd) asrār (al-mūda'a fī) ba'd suwar al-Qur'ān*, Berl. 704/5, Gotha 543,2.—8. *Durrat al-tanzīl wa-ghurrat al-ta'wīl*, on the *mushtabih* in the Qur'ān, Cairo<sup>1</sup>, 173, <sup>2</sup>1, 48, *Dībāja* Gotha 2, 48 (see Suppl. I, 491, 16, 2).

507 | IV. Dogmatics. 9. *al-Mabāḥith al-arba'un fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Qawala I, 160, Ind. Off. 404, Bodl. II, 86, Garr. 1486, print. Hyderabad 1353/1934, anon. comm. thereon Esc. <sup>2</sup>676,1, Cairo<sup>1</sup>II, 2, Mashh. I, 21,41.—10. *Asrār al-tanzīl wa-anwār al-ta'wīl*, on the three foundations of religion and | law, Berl. 1739, Rāḡib 20/1, Cairo<sup>1</sup>II, 3, Patna I, 22,197.—11. *al-Maṭālib al-'alīyya*, on demonstrations of God's existence, his nature and workings, the soul, matter, and eternity, Yeni 755, Cairo<sup>1</sup>II, 54, <sup>2</sup>1, 170, anon. abstract Berl. 1740.—12. *al-Lawāmi' al-bayyināt fī sharḥ asmā' allāh al-ḥusnā wal-ṣifāt*, Berl. 2223, Yeni 703/4, Rāḡib 614, Cairo<sup>1</sup>VII, 70.—13. *Risāla fī tafsīr lā ilāha illa 'llāh*, Berl. 2425.—14. *Iṣmat al-anbiyā'*, proof that prophets are blameless and free of sin, Berl. 2528, Alex. Fun. 43, 67,11, print. C. 1355.—15. *Waṣīyya*, Berl. 3989.—16. *Nihāyat al-ūqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*, Yeni 759.—17. *Mukhtār al-Taḥbīr*, a commentary on the 99 names of God, perhaps an abstract of *al-Taḥbīr fī 'ilm al-tadhkīr* by al-Qushayrī (p. 556), Paris 1383.—18. *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt*, theology, Esc. <sup>2</sup>650,4, Landb.-Br. 557, comm. *Ghāyat al-āyāt* by Maḥmūd al-Urmawī, d. 672/1273 (p. 614), Alex. Mantīq 17, anon. comm. Cairo<sup>1</sup>VI, 60.—19. *Asās al-taqdīs*, composed for Sultan Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb (Sayf al-Dīn 596–615/1199–1218), Cairo<sup>1</sup>VII, 199.—20. *al-Mas'āl al-khamsūn fī uṣūl al-kalām*, Paris 1253, Cairo<sup>1</sup>VII, 252.—20a—d. see Suppl. (20b. also Patna II, 431,2607, 5).—20e. *Wird*, Qawala I, 269.—20f. *Aghāz-i anjām*, eschatology in Persian, library of al-Taḡawī in Tehran, *Dharī'a* I, 36,173.

v. Philosophy. 21. *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*, on fundamental notions in physics and metaphysics, Berl. 5064, Leid. 1513, Br. Mus. Or. 9004, Esc. <sup>2</sup>675, 692, Yeni 774, Patna I, 215,1917/8, anon. abstract Alex. Ḥikma 26.—22. *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wal-muta'akhhirīn* or *al-Muḥassal min nihāyat al-ūqūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* (also an abstract of no. 16?), a handbook of metaphysics, Esc. <sup>2</sup>650,5, Cairo<sup>1</sup>VI, 105, Taymūr 'Aq. 268, cf. Schmolders, *Essai sur les écoles phil. chez les Arabes*, p. 140ff., Schreiner, *ZDMG* 52, 505, with comm. *al-Mufaṣṣal* by al-Qazwīnī (p. 612), Leid. 1572, Landb.-Br. 565, Paris 1254 (anon.), Ibr. Pasha 821, Patna I, 126,1262.—Critical revision by al-Ṭūsī (no. 7), composed in 669/1270, entitled *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, Gotha 644, Br. Mus. Suppl. 180, on which selected comments by Ibn Kammūna (Suppl. I, 768), Br. Mus. 429,6.—23. *al-Mantīq al-kabīr* with a commentary, a part of which Berl. 5165.—24. *al-Mulakhkhas*

*fi'l-ḥikma wal-mantiq*, completed in 579/1183, Leid. 1510, Br. Mus. Suppl. 725, Bodl. I, 501.—Commentary *al-Munaṣṣaṣ* by al-Qazwīnī, d. 675/1276, Leid. 1511, Yeni 747, Patna II, 527,<sup>2836</sup>—25. *I'tiqādāt al-muslimīn wal-mushrikīn*, Landb.-Br. 585, Taymūr 'Aq. 178, ed. al-Nashshār, | C. 1938.—26. *Uns al-ḥāḍir wa-zād al-musāfir*, 669 Leipz. 227.—27. *Dhamm ladhdhat al-dunyā*, composed in 604/1207 in Herat and Khwārizm, Berl. 5426.—27a.–k. see Suppl. (27b. *Munāzarat al-'allām F. al-R. fi hijratihī ilā Samarqand thumma jihat al-Hind*, see P. Kraus, *Isl. Culture* XII, 1938, 131/53, Les Controverses de F. al-R. *Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt.* 1939, 187/234).—27l. *Risāla fi 'l-nafs*, Alex. Fun. 155,<sup>15</sup>.

VI. Astrology. 28. On the basic notions of astronomy, Leid 1078.—29. *al-Sirr al-maktūm fi mukhāṭabat al-nujūm*, detailed astrology (according to HKh III, 7155, by 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Ḥirālī, p. 527, but because of a self-quotation in *al-Mulakhkhas*, *bāb* 5, confirmed as a work by al-Rāzī, see M. Sherefeddīn in Ritter, *Isl.* XXIV, 285, n. 2), Berl. 5886, Leid. 1080/1, Paris 2645, Bodl. I, 917, 950, 981, II, 282, 2389, Br. Mus. Or. 9147, Dāmād Ibr. 845, NO 2784, Aleppo Aḥmadiyya 1341, Garr. 933, Patna I, 238,<sup>2062/3</sup>, II, 487,<sup>2648</sup>, 6—Abstract by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī al-Kishnawī (II, 366), composed in 1141/1728 in Medina, Gotha 1267, Cairo <sup>1v</sup>, 337.—30. *al-Ikhtiyārāt al-ilāhiyya fi 'l-ikhtiyārāt al-samāwiyya*, astrology, originally composed in Persian for the Khwārizmshāh 'Alā' al-Dīn, d. 596/1199 (see Suppl.) | and translated into Arabic by an unknown 508 individual, Paris 1360,<sup>2</sup>, 2521,<sup>5</sup> = *al-Aḥkām al-'Alā'iyya fi 'l-aḥkām al-samāwiyya* by the author himself, Berl. Oct. 2488, Paris 2592.—(30b. *Bīst Bāb*, a treatise in Persian on the astrolabe, Br. Mus. Suppl. 155<sup>ii</sup>, Pers. 38).—30c. *Risāla fi nafy al-ḥayyīz wal-jihā*, Mashh. II, 31,<sup>110</sup>—30d. *Risālat dar ḥaqīqat-i marg va aḥvāl-i rūḥ*, *ibid.* II, 31,<sup>109</sup>).

VII. Chirromancy. *Risāla fi ma'rīfat khuṭūṭ al-kaff etc.*, Cairo <sup>1v1</sup>, 32 (see Suppl.).

VIII. Rhetoric. *Nihāyat al-ijāz fi dirāyat al-ijāz*, Alex. Bal. 26, Cairo <sup>1v11</sup>, 198, <sup>211</sup>, 227, Qawala II, 178.

IX. Encyclopaedias. 33. *Jāmi' al-'ulūm*, NO 3760 (see Farmer, *Sources* 45), AS 3832 (33a. a Persian encyclopaedia, Berl. Pers. 92, Bodl. Pers. 1481/2, Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. 142).

x. Medicine. see Suppl.

XI. Physiognomy. 35. *Risāla fi 'ilm al-firāsa*, see Suppl., Br. Mus. Or. 9510, Y. Mourad, *La Physiognomie arabe et le k. al-Firasa de F. ar R.*, Paris 1939.

XII. Alchemy. see Suppl.

XIII. Mineralogy (37. Persian *Tansūqnāma* Br. Mus. Pers. Suppl. 157).

7. His student Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. Sa'āda al-Khuwayyī, who was the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* in Damascus, died at a young age on 7 Sha'bān 637/5 March 1240.

670 | 1. *Yanābīʿ al-ʿulūm* or *Aqālīm al-taʿālīm fi ʿl-funūn al-sabʿa*, composed in 630/1232, on the seven sciences of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *adab*, medicine, geometry, arithmetic, teaches in each of them 7 smart and 7 funny jokes, Vienna 6, Leid. 4, 1939, Paris 2321, abstract Paris 2322,1.—2. see Suppl.

8. Abū Jaʿfar Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī al-Shīrī, who died in 672/1274, see Suppl.

*Fawāt* II, 149, Khwandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* II, 480, III, 1, 54, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Bombay V, 70 (cit. Rieu, *Pers. Cat.* II, 442a), Leclerc II, 137, Cantor, *Vorl.* I, 669, Wurm in *Zachs Monatl. Correspondenz zur Beförderung der Erd-und*  
599 *Himmelskunde*, 1811, XXIII, 64/78, 341/61, | Jourdain, *Magazin enc.* 1809, VI, *Biogr. univ.* XXX, 58, A. v. Braunmühl, *Nassīr Eddīn Ṭūsī und Regiomontan*, Abh. d. K. Leop. Car. Ak. der Nat. 71, no. 2, Halle 1897, Mieli 153. He preferred to revise older works, but has the merit of having been the first to deal with trigonometry as an independent subject.

1. *Fiqh*. 1. *Jawāhir al-farāʾid al-Naṣīriyya*, Berl. 4710, Br. Mus. 881,3. Glosses by al-Jurjānī, d. 816/1413, *ibid.* 4.—Commentaries: a. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Karakī, d. 940/1533 (II, 574 Suppl.), library of Rājā Muḥammad Maḥdī Ṣāḥīb in Fayḍābād, *Dharīʿa* I, 446,2243.—b. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Qāʾinī, written during the reign of Ṭahmāsp (930–84/1524–76), in various libraries in Tehran, *ibid.* I, 439,2214.—c. With a Persian translation by the same, library of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khwānsārī, *ibid.* 2213.

II. Dogmatics. 2. *Tajrīd al-ʿaqāʾid (al-kalām)*,<sup>13</sup> Berl. 1745/7, Leipz. 109,21, Pet. 242, Bodl. I, 129, 172, 520, Esc. 2615, 641,2, 645, 648, 685/7, Bīrjand, *Lughat al-ʿArab* VI, 513, Patna I, 113,1143 (where *Taḥrīr al-k.*).—Commentaries: a. His student Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 726/1326 (II, 164), Ind. Off. 471,14, Patna I, 120,1215/6.—b. *al-Sharḥ al-qadīm* by Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, d. 749/1348 (II, 110), Leid. 2009, Br. Mus. Suppl. 182, Ind. Off. 406, Bīrjand, *Lughat al-ʿArab* VI, 514,5, Patna I, 114,114/6.—Glosses: α al-Jurjānī,  
671 d. 816/1413 (II, 216), Berl. 1748/50, | Leipz. 388, Br. Mus. Suppl. 183, Ind. Off. 407/8, Paris 269, Esc. 2618, 689, 690, Garr. 865/6, 2148,1, Alex. Tawḥīd 10, Patna I, 116,1164, completed by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Khaṭībzāde, d. 901/1495 (II, 229), thereof the *Talkhīṣ* by Ṭāsköprizāde, d. 962/1555 (II, 425), Esc. 2644,1, superglosses on Jurjānī and Khaṭībzāde by Ibn Muʿīd al-Rūmī, Esc. 2644,2, on Jurjānī by Muḥammad al-Amāsī, d. 904/1499, Berl. 1752/3, by Mīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad

13 Which was also famous among the Sunnīs and studied by someone like Ibn Zarrūq al-Burnusī, d. 899/1493, in his youth in Morocco, A. Bābā *Nayl* (in the margin of Ibn Farḥūn), 85,1.

al-Shīrāzī, d. 903/1497 (II, 204), Münch. 656, by Muḥammad al-Khafārī Br. Mus. 170,<sub>3</sub>, anon. Berl. 1755/6, Br. Mus. 170,<sub>1</sub>.—β—δ see Suppl.—c. *al-Sharḥ al-jadīd* by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qūshjī, d. 879/1474 (II, 234), Vienna 1535, Pet. 229, 303, Ros. 195, Ind. Off. 409/16, Bīrjand, *Lughat al-‘Arab* VI, 514,<sub>8</sub>, Patna I, 121,<sub>1211/4</sub>, lith. Persia n.p. 1274, Tabriz 1301.—Glosses: α in three series by al-Dawwānī, d. 907/1501 (II, 217), Berl. 1757/9, Esc. 2661,<sub>2</sub>, 688, Br. Mus. Suppl. 184, Ind. Off. 417/20, *al-qadīma*, Patna I, 118,<sub>1187</sub>, *al-jadīda*, ibid. 1186, II, 511,<sub>2745</sub>; against the first two Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, d. 903/1497 (II, 204), wrote *al-Ḥāshīya al-jadīda al-Ṣadriyya*, Münch. 656, Ind. Off. 424/5, al-Dawwānī answered this in *al-Ḥāshīya al-jadīda* (see Suppl.) under the title *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Jalālīyya*, Qawala II, 368, rebutted by Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, d. 949/1542 (II, 414), in *al-Mawā‘id al-‘urqūbiyya bil-nuqūd al-Ya‘qūbiyya*, Esc. 2651.—Superglosses by Mīrzājān Ḥabīballāh al-Bāghandī, d. 994/1586 (II, 414), Berl. 1761, Br. Mus. 387, 859, Ind. Off. 421/2, thereon again superglosses by Āghā Ḥusayn Khafārī, ibid. 423.—β Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Laḳānī Nāsīr al-Dīn al-Mālīkī, d. 958/1551 (Rieu, *Cat.* 768), Esc. 2661,<sub>1</sub>, 688,<sub>2</sub>.—γ Tāsköprizāde, d. 968/1560(?), Berl. 1760.—δ *Ta‘līqāt* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khiḍrī (Khafārī), written during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl (907–30/1502–24), Berl. 1762, Br. Mus. 170,<sub>3</sub>, Ind. Off. 416,<sub>2</sub>, Esc. 2661,<sub>3</sub>, Alex. Tawḥīd 32. *Superglosses: αα–xx*, see Suppl. (εε Alex. Tawḥīd 33,<sub>3</sub>, ηη ibid. 24, Patna I, 123,<sub>1234</sub>).—θ Mīrzā Fathallāh Shirwānī, Patna I, 118,<sub>1185</sub>.—ζ Nūrallāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Shushtarī (Suppl. II, 607), Ind. Off. 417,<sub>15</sub>.—d. *al-Tajwīd* by Ibn Kamālpāshā, d. 940/1533 (II, 449), Paris 4374,<sub>2</sub>.—e. Anon. Berl. 1763/5, glosses ibid. 1766.—28 commentaries, glosses, and superglosses in Ahlw. 1767.—3. *Qawā‘id al-‘aqā‘id*, on the nature and properties of God, the meaning and the role of prophecy, the imamate, and resurrection, in 5 chapters, Berl. 1768, Ind. Off. 4589,<sub>1</sub> (*JRAS* 1936, 375). Commentary by Maḥmūd b. | ‘Alī al-Ḥimṣī Tāj al-Rāzī, ca. 750/1349, ibid.—3a.—e. see Suppl. (3d. is a work by Shaykh al-Ṭā‘ifa, p. 512).—3f. *‘Aqā‘id mā yajibū ‘l-i‘tiqād bihi* in various copies in Karbala, *Dharī‘a* I, 226,<sub>888</sub>, 274,<sub>1108b</sub>.—3g. *Muqaddima fi ‘l-kalām*, Br. Mus. Or. 1096, 8.

III. Philosophy. 4. *al-Fuṣūl*, translated from the Persian into Arabic by ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī al-Jurjānī, a student of Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥillī al-Gharawī, Br. Mus. Suppl. 185, Pet. 54.—Commentaries: a. *al-Anwār al-Jalālīyya* by al-Miqdād b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn al-Suyūrī al-Ḥillī, d. 826/1432 (II, 199), Pet. 54,<sub>2</sub>, AM Buch. 746, Najaf *Dharī‘a* II, 423, 1670.—b, c. see Suppl.—d. Anonymous, composed on the order of Sultan ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Mūsawī, Berl. 1770.—5. Three questions on metaphysics with their answers, Berl. 1771.—6. Answers to questions raised by al-Qūnawī (p. 585) who had answered them in his *al-Risāla al-muḥṣiḥa*, Berl. 3477, Patna II, 417,<sub>2586</sub>, 2.—7. *Sharḥ al-muḥaqqiq*, notes to a treatise on the absolute existence of God by the

philosopher al-Kātibī, d. 675/1276 (p. 612), Berl. 2307.—8. *Fī darūrat al-mawt*, ibid. 2655.—9. *Awṣāf al-ashrāf fi 'l-sīyar wal-sulūk*, a Persian treatise on Sufism, ḤKh, 1<sup>1</sup>, 494,<sup>1487</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 202 (see Suppl.), Arabic transl. by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jurjānī, ca. 730/1329, Berl. 3014. |—10. *Aqsām al-ḥikma*, a brief overview of the classification of philosophy, Berl. 5076, Rāḡib, *Dharī'a* II, 272,<sup>1098</sup>.—11. Answers to 20 philosophical questions by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, d. 718/1318, ibid. 5077, Rāḡib see *Dharī'a* II, 83,<sup>329</sup>.—12. Various assertions from the works of al-Fārābī that regard the education of the soul as a way to personal happiness and true wisdom, Berl. 5079.—13. A discussion of philosophical dicta on the universal and the particular, compiled by Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, d. 675/1276, ibid. 5078.—14. Answer to al-Kātibī on Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of the influence of heat and cold on the colours of dry and wet bodies, Br. Mus. 980,<sup>17</sup>.—15. Treatise on the nature of the Good and the Bad and their relation to each other, Berl. 5127,<sup>1</sup>.—16. On the inseparability of cause and effect, ibid. 2.—17. *Risāla fī baqā' al-nafs al-insāniyya*, Berl. 5355, Rāḡib 1482, Fātiḥ 5380,<sup>3</sup>, Najaf *Dharī'a* I, 86,<sup>407</sup>, with a commentary by Abū 'Abdallāh al-Zanjānī, print. 1341 (*Jāmi' al-taṣ. al-j.* 909).—18. *Risāla fī ithbāt al-jawhar al-mufāriq (al-'aql al-kullī)*, on reason and its limits, Berl. 5356/7, | Br. Mus. 980,<sup>21</sup>, commentary by al-Dawwānī, d. 907/1501, Berl. 5358/9, Br. Mus. 980,<sup>2</sup>, Ind. Off. 581,<sup>8</sup>, Gotha II, 58,<sup>31</sup>, Garr. 797, by Shams al-Dīn al-Kashshī, Berl. 5360, anon. glosses ibid. 5361, anon. comm. As'ad 3748,<sup>4</sup>.—19. On the philosophical doctrine of emanation, composed in 666/1267 at the request of the chief judge of Herat, Br. Mus. 980,<sup>18</sup>.—20. Answer to Najm al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, d. 679/1280 (p. 514), on the origin of taste Br. Mus. 985,<sup>2</sup>.—21. *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, p. 668.—22. *al-Tajrīd fī 'ilm al-mantiq*, with a commentary by his student al-Ḥasan b. al-Muṭahhar (II, 164), Br. Mus. 980, Patna I, 218,<sup>1932</sup>.—22a. *Risāla fī taḥqīq al-'ilm*, Br. Mus. 980,<sup>16</sup>.—22a.–q. see Suppl. (22e. Fātiḥ 5380, 22m. Mashh. I, 86,<sup>267</sup>).—22r. *al-Risāla al-hādiya*, Patna II, 417,<sup>2586</sup>, 3.—22s. *Ithbāt al-wājib*, abstract in Persian by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Khwānsārī, Istanbul M. Pāshā, *Dharī'a* I, 108,<sup>525</sup>.—22t. *Asās al-iqtibās fi 'l-mantiq*, Persian, Mashh. II, 1, 2, Teh. II, 295, *Dharī'a* II, 5,<sup>9</sup>.—22u. *Risālat naḥs al-amr*, *Dharī'a* II, 83,<sup>329</sup>.—22v. *Risālat al-nuḥūs al-'araḍiyya*, AS 2623,<sup>4</sup>, As'ad 3748,<sup>5</sup>.—22w. *Adab al-muta'allimīn*, Patna II, 349,<sup>2526</sup>, 1.—(22x. Persian *Akhilāq-i Nāsirī*, see Suppl., *Dharī'a* I, 380,<sup>1973</sup>).

IV. Mathematics. 23. *Tahrīr uṣūl al-handasa li-Uqlīdīs*, a short version with additions from the manuscripts of al-Ḥajjāj and Thābit, with various colours and figures as a special feature, completed in 646/1248, Berl. 5918/9, Paris 2465/6, Br. Mus. 1334/5, Garr. 1054, Mashh. XVII, 12,<sup>33/4</sup>, Patna I, 232,<sup>2027/8</sup>. *Euclidis elementa geometricae ex traditione Nasireddini Tusi arab.*, Rome 1594. Abstract Münch. 848, print. Istanbul 1216/1801. Six *maqālāt*, printed for the School Book Society of Calcutta in 1824; cf. H. Suter, *Einiges aus Nassīr ed*

Dīns Euklidausgabe, *Bibl. Math.* N.F. VI, 3/6, *Zeitschr. f. Math.* 1893, lit. hist. Abt. 195, see Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 170. Persian transl. by Khayrallāh Khān b. Luṭfallāh Khān, completed in 1144/1731, Ind. Off. Pers. 2260, Zanjān, *Lughat al-ʿArab* VI, 95. —Commentaries: a. Abū Ishāq, Br. Mus. Suppl. 751.—b. Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim al-ʿAlawī (see Suppl.), Patna I, 232,2032/3.—c. Mawlawī Muḥammad Barakāt (ibid.), ibid. 2031.—23a. *Tahrīr uṣūl al-handasa wal-ḥisāb*, Alex. Ḥisāb 28.—24. *Uṣūl Menelaos fi 'l-ashkāl al-kuriyya* based on Maṣṣūr b. ʿIrāq, d. 430/1038 (p. 623), Berl. 5930/1, Paris 2467,1, Garr. 1055.—25. Edition of Archimedes' *On the Sphere and the Cylinder* following Thābit b. Qurra (p. 241), with the use of the commentary by Eutocius of Ashkelon in the translation of Ishāq b. Ḥunayn, with an appendix on the measurement of the circle (*Tahrīr al-maqālaft | taksīr al-dā'ira li-A. Rāmpūr* I, 411), Berl. 5934, Ind. Off. 743,6, Paris 2467,8, Teh. II, 207,1, Mashh. XVII, 13,35.—26. *Kitāb al-ma'khūdhāt li-Arshūmīdīs* based on Thābit b. Qurra, with a commentary by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī (Suppl. I. 390), Berl. 5936.—27. *al-Risāla al-shāfiya ʿani 'l-shakk fi 'l-khuṭūt al-mutasāwiya*, Berl. 5942.—28. *Tahrīr al-mafrūdāt li-Thābit b. Qurra* (p. 241), Leid. 1029.—29. *Kitāb al-mu'tayāt li-Uqlīdīs*, Ind. Off. 743,1, Mashh. XVII, 11,30.—30. Exposition on Euclid's postulates, Paris 2467,5, in a letter to ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar (see Suppl.), also Mashh. XVII, 27,82.—31. *Kitāb al-mutawassiṭāt*, Bodl. I, 875, 895.—32. *Kitāb al-shakl al-qatṭāʿ*, also Zanjān *Lughat al-ʿArab* VI, 96, *Traité du quadrilatère, texte ar. d'après un ms. tiré de la bibl. de S.A. Edhem Pacha, trad. par. Al. Pacha Caratheodory*, Constantinople 1891; cf. Carra de Vaux, *JA* 1892 II, 176/81, *Bibl. Math.* IX (1892) 94, Suter ibid. N.F. VII (1894) 1/8.—33. *Apollonii Pergaei Conica*, Bodl. I, 943, Ind. Off. 748.—34. *al-Kura al-mutaharrika, περι της κινουμένης σφαίρας* by Autolycus after Thābit b. Qurra, Ind. Off. 744,1, Paris 2467,20, Mashh. XVII, 11,32.—35. *Jāmiʿ al-ḥisāb (bil-takht wal-turāb)*, arithmetic, end with an appendix, Berl. 5973.—36. *Risāla fi annahu lā yumkinu an yajtamīʿa min ʿadadayn murabbaʿayn fardayn ʿadad murabbaʿ*, Paris 2467,1 (anon.), Ind. Off. 1043,4.—36a—g. see Suppl. (d. also Teh. II, 155, 205, 207,2, 208,4, 209,8.—f. = 25 Anh.).—36h. *Risāla fi ʿimāl al-ʿaṣā*, Patna II, 554,2928, 7.

v. Physics. 37. *Kitāb al-manāzīr*, Euclid's *Optics*, Berl. 6016/7, cf. Steinschneider *ZDMG* L, 171.—38. *Risāla fi n'ikās al-shu'āʿāt*, on the refraction of rays, Berl. 1091, library of al-Qāsim al-Khwānsārī al-Mūsawī, *Dhariʿa* II, 399,1601.—(38a. Suppl. = 55c. also Fātilḥ 5380,10, Asʿad 3748,9).

VI. Astronomy. 39. *Tahrīr al-Mijisṭī*, edition of the *Almagest*, Berl. 5685, Paris 2485, Br. Mus. 391, 1338, 1657, Ind. Off. 741, Pet. AM, Dorn, p. 208, Ros. 188, Rāgīb 913/4, Patna I, 234,2036/8.—Commentaries: a. Self-commentary, Yeni 799.—b. Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (?), Berl. 5686.—c. Nizām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī, completed in Shaʿbān 704/March 1305, Br. Mus.

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- 392, Alex. Ḥisāb 37, Qawala II, 269, glosses by Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī (II, 212), Berl. 5657.—d. ‘Abd al-‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Barjandī (II, 413), completed in 921/1515, Ind. Off. 742.—e., f., g. see Suppl.—40. *al-Tadhkira al-Nāṣiriyya*, a précis on astronomy, originally in Persian *R-i Mu‘niyya*, also Mashh. XVII, | 31, 93, Arabic transl. Leipz. 262, Leid. 1092, Bodl. I, 1229, II, 292, Br. Mus. 1339, Paris 2509, Pet. Ros. 187, Rāḡib 919.—Commentaries: a. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥimādī, his contemporary, with glosses by Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd al-Shīrāzī, d. 710/1310, Br. Mus. 397.—b. *Tawdīḥ al-T.* by Nizām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī (II, 211), composed in 711/1311, Berl. Ms. or. fol. 4182,<sup>1</sup>, Paris 2510, Br. Mus. 396, 1342,<sup>3</sup>, Yeni 792, Garr. 2106,<sup>1</sup>, Patna I, 236,<sup>2051</sup>; glosses by Faṣīḥ al-Dīn, Leid. 1097.—c. al-Jurjānī (II, 216), d. 816/1413, Berl. 5681, Leid. 1094/5, Ind. Off. 746, Garr. 978/9, Alex. Ḥisāb 39, Makram 33, Patna I, 236,<sup>2052</sup>, II, 531,<sup>2856</sup>, 561,<sup>2146</sup>.—d. *al-Takmila* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khidrī (II, 204), (Khafarī, ḤKh 111, 269, <sup>2</sup>I, 392) Ind. Off. 747, Bodl. I, 1018, Yeni 791, Patna I, 235,<sup>2044</sup>.—e. Mūsā Qāḍizāde, d. 815/1412, Palat. 313.—f., g. see Suppl.—41. *al-Tashīl fi ‘l-nujūm*, Bodl. I, 901.—42. *Kitāb al-bārī‘ fi ‘ulūm al-taqwīm wa-ḥarakāt al-aflāk wa-aḥkām al-nujūm wa-dalā‘ilihā wakhtilāf al-maṭālī‘ wal-buldān*, Bodl. I, 882.—43. *Sī faṣl*, see Suppl. 47 (Commentaries: b. Anon., also Paris 2512, Bodl. II, 301, Br. Mus. 1889, Patna I, 238,<sup>2065</sup>.—c. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī, Leid. 1176, AS 2664.—d. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī Zanjan, *Lughat al-‘Arab* VI, 95 = (?) *Istikhrāj al-taqwīm*, Ḥamīd, *Dharī‘a* II, 20,<sup>65</sup>.—44. *Zubdat al-idrāk fi hay‘at al-aflāk*, on aspects of astronomy, Paris 2511.—45. *Nihāyat al-idrāk*, based on the *Tadhkira*, Patna I, 2237,<sup>2060</sup>, 9 (MS of Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd al-Shīrāzī).—46. *al-Zīj al-Īlkhānī*, composed in 670/1271 for Hülāgū, Persian, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 454b, Bodl. Pers. 1513, Med. Laur. 269, Arabic *Hall al-zīj* by ‘Alī b. al-Rifā‘ī al-Ḥusaynī, completed in 934/1527, Gotha 1404, Bodl. I, p. 195; augmented version entitled *Tawdīḥ* by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Simnānī, ca. 795/1394, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 455a; commentary by Maḥmūd Shāh Khukjī, whose introduction was edited by | J. Greaves, *Astronomica quaedam ex traditione Shah Cholgi Persae*, London 1652.—47. Mathematico-astronomical treatise on Mercury, Berl. 5680.—48. *Bīst Bāb*, Persian, on the astrolabe, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 453a, Bodl. I, 287, Copenhagen 199, Pet. 128, I, 1308, Persian commentary by ‘Abd al-‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Barjandī, ca. 930/1523, Br. Mus. Pers. II, 433b, Zanjan *Lughat al-‘Arab* VI, 95 (b–e. see Suppl., c. to be deleted; d. Mashh. XVII, 38,<sup>16</sup>).—49. *Taḥrīr Zāhirāt al-falak* (Euclid’s *Phainomena*), Berl. 5645/6, see. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* L, 170.—50. Autolycus’ *Fi ‘l-ṭulū‘ wal-ghurūb*, based on Thābit b. Qurra, Ind. Off. 743/4.—51. *Kitāb al-maṭālī‘*, Hypsicles’ *περι τῆς τῶν ζῳδίων ἀναφορᾶς* based on Qusṭā b. Lūqā and al-Kindī, Ind. Off. 743,<sup>5</sup>.—52. *Taḥrīr Kitāb al-Masākin*, Theodosius’ *περι οὐχόσεων* after Qusṭā b. Lūqā, Berl. 5649/50, Ind. Off. 744,<sup>2</sup>.—53. *Risālat al-ayyām wal-layālī*, Theodosius’



*περὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ νύκτων*, completed in 658/1260, Berl. 5648, Ind. Off. 744<sub>3</sub>.—54. Aristarchus' *Fī jurmay al-naḡyirayn wa-bu'dayhimā*, Berl. 5651, Ind. Off. 744<sub>4</sub>.—54a.–f. see Suppl. (d. Mashh. xvii, 8<sub>23</sub>).

vii. Medicine. 55. *Albāb al-bāhiyya fī 'l-tarākīb al-sultāniyya*, a medical guidebook for the ailing son of the sultan of Kazan, with the last third focussed on coitus and aphrodisiacs, Berl. 6383, Turkish transl. Gotha 124.

viii. Superstition. 56. *Risāla (al-wāfi) fī 'ilm al-raml*, Münch 880.

ix. Mineralogy. 57. *Tansūqnāme'i Īlkhānī*, see Suppl. also Berl. Oct. 3071 (supposedly composed in 995 AH), see *Istanbuler Mitt.* III, 1935, p. 4, no. 7.—58. *Jawāhirnāme*, Berl. Oct. 1384.

x. Music. 59. *Risāla fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī*, on intervals only, Paris 2466, perhaps from an Arabic translation of the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, and not a translation of the Persian *Kanz al-tuḡafas* was conjectured by Sarton, *Introd.* II, ii, 1009; see Farmer, *Sources* 47.