THE INFLUENCE OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ UPON ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE AND PHILOSOPHY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD 1100-1400 A.D.

by

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ABSTRACT

Although much has been written about al-Ghazālī's life, thought, and works, only a few articles have been devoted to his influence upon later scholars, and no entire monograph has been written on this aspect of Ghazālian studies. It is the main purpose of this dissertation to fill this gap by shedding light on al-Ghazālī's influence in general, and in the fields of jurisprudence and philosophy in particular. Because of the breadth of this subject, the scope of this dissertation has been confined to the first three centuries after the death of al-Ghazālī.

This study is divided into three parts. Part One, which contains two chapters, serves as a general introduction to the study, and contains a survey of al-Ghazālī's life and his most important works with special reference to their role in Islamic thought. Part Two, which contains three chapters, traces the influence of al-Ghazālī upon the development of Islamic jurisprudence. This section also includes short biographical sketches of some of al-Ghazālī's students and later scholars who dealt with his works on jurisprudence. Part Three, which contains two chapters, deals with the influence of al-Ghazālī upon the development of Muslim philosophy, first by tracing the different attitudes towards philosophy, and then by giving evidence to show that the philosophy which has dominated Islamic thought is based upon the teaching of al-Ghazālī.

PREFACE

The writer is indebted to the Reverend W. Montgomery Watt, Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, for his guidance in the supervision of this dissertation. Acknowledgment is also due to Dr. M.W. MacDonald for helpful assistance during the progress of the study, and to Alford T. Welch for assistance in improving the writer's English grammar and style.

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION: LIFE AND WORKS

CHAPTER I

AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S LIFE

Abū-Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad known as al-Ghazālī,[1] aṭ-Ṭūsī, "the Proof of Islam," "the Ornament of Religion," "the Guide to the True Faith," came from a family that had close contacts with the intellectual circles of their day.[2]

His Family

His grand-uncle (or perhaps his uncle) Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 453/1043) known as al-kabīr, al-mādī[3] and al-qadīm,[4] was one of the most famous scholars of Ṭūs, a man well known throughout the Islamic world by his students and his books which deal mainly with jurisprudence.[5] Among the students of al-Ghazālī al-kabīr was

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1. See Muslim Intellectual, p. 183, where he concludes, concerning the spelling of the name al-Ghazālī: "while much inevitably remains obscure, there is a preponderance of probability in favour of Ghazālī."
2. Ibid., p. 20; Sharif, 1, p. 582; Smith, p. 10; Macdonald, "The Life of al-Ghazzālī," JAOS, xx, (1899), pp. 74-5.
3. Subk., iii, p. 36.
4. Ibid.
5. Smith, p. 10.

al-Faḍl Ibn-Muḥammad al-Fārmadhī (d. 477/1084).[1]

Al-Ghazālī's father was not highly educated, but he was a man "characterized by the simple piety of the ordinary Muslims of that period, a piety undoubtedly based upon a considerable knowledge of the Qur'ān and Traditions which could be gained by attendance at the lectures given freely in the mosques."[2]

Al-Ghazālī's brother Abū-'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad (d. 520/1126) was a distinguished scholar, mystic and preacher in Baghdad. "His ruling passion was making public exhortations, and for this he neglected the law of which he was a doctor; but he gave lectures on this science in the Niẓāmiyya College, when acting as substitute for his brother Abū-Ḥāmid. The work written by his brother, entitled Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn was abridged by him into one volume with the title of Lubāb al-iḥyā'; he was also author of another treatise, adh-Dhakhīrā fī-'ilm-al-baṣīra."[3]

His Early Education

Al-Ghazālī, together with his brother and several sisters, was left an orphan at an early age. His father died when he and his brother were still young and before his death he committed Muḥammad and Aḥmad to the care of a ṣūfī friend, to whom he stated

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1. Macdonald: "al-Ghazzālī," xx, pp. 74-5; Sīra, p. 44.
2. Muslim Intellectual, p. 20.
3. Wafayāt, i, p. 79, (Arab. i, p. 34); see also Chapter II, F, 1, 2.

that, because he had greatly regretted his own lack of education, such money as he was able to leave them was to be spent entirely on their education.

This Ṣūfī friend undertook the education of the two boys until the small legacy was exhausted. Then, since he was himself a poor man, he advised them to go to a college or madrasa, where, as students, they would have rations assigned to them. And this they did.

While still a boy, al-Ghazālī began his studies with the desire for wealth and reputation, as he himself has acknowledged. Concerning this he wrote: "We sought learning for the sake of something other than God, but He would not allow it to be for anything but Himself."[1]

At Ṭūs al-Ghazālī studied jurisprudence[2] under Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad ar-Radhakānī,[3] and thereafter travelled to Gurjan and studied further under ash-Shaykh Ismā'īl Ibn-Sa'dā al-Ismā'īlī (d. 487/1094).[4] From this teacher he took copious notes, but neglected to memorize what he had written. This was characteristic of him, and the results are evident throughout his work. His quotations are exceedingly careless, and it was one of the great charges brought against him by his assailants that he falsified Traditions; the fact was that he quoted from memory and very freely.

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1. Subk., iv, p. 102.
2. Smith, p. 13; Subk., iv, p. 103.
3. Lub., i, p. 449; Subk., iv, p. 103; Ṣafdī, i, p. 274.
4. Sīra, p. 17.

On al-Ghazālī's way back to Ṭūs from Gurjan he was to get a lesson. He tells the story himself. The party was attacked by highway robbers, who carried off all that the travellers had with them. Al-Ghazālī went after them, though warned by the chief of the brigands that he imperilled his life by so doing. He persisted, however, and begged only for the return of his precious note-books, which could be of no value to them. "What are your note-book?" asked the robber-chief, and al-Ghazālī explained that they contained notes of lectures he had recently heard and represented his knowledge of them. The robber laughed and said: "How can you lay claim to this knowledge when we have taken it from you? Being separated from your knowledge, you remain without it." Then he ordered one of his men to restore the note-books to their owner. Al-Ghazālī felt that the words of the robber were to be taken as Divine guidance to him, and when he had reached Ṭūs, he betook himself to study for three years, during which time he committed to memory all the contents of his note-books, so that if he were robbed again, he could not be deprived of his learning.[1]

His College Life at Nishapur

Al-Ghazālī, attracted by the fame and reputation of the most distinguished theologian of the age, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (419/1028 to 478/1085), left Ṭūs and came with other students to join his classes at the Niẓāmiyya college in Nishapur.

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1. Subk., iv, p. 103.

Al-Ghazālī early gave proof of great ability, by which he became one of al-Juwaynī's favourite pupils. Describing al-Ghazālī with two other pupils of his, al-Juwaynī said: "Al-Ghazālī is a sea to drown in (بحر مغرق), Ilkyā is a raging lion (أسد مخرق) and al-Khawāfī is a burning fire (نار تحرق)."[1] Comparing al-Ghazālī with these two pupils in another way, al-Juwaynī observed: "Al-Khawāfī's strong point is verification (التحقيق للخوافى), al-Ghazālī's is speculation (الحدسيات للغزالى), and Ilkyā's is explanation (البيان للكيا)."[2] In other words, al-Juwaynī's impression of three scholars was that al-Ghazālī was a profound scholar, especially in the subjects which require speculation. Ilkyā, when agitated, could express himself much better. And al-Khawāfī was a bitter critic who could sometimes do harm to his opponent.

Al-Juwaynī allowed full freedom of thought and expression to his pupils; they were encouraged to engage in debates and discussions of all kinds. Al-Ghazālī, in his debates with other students, showed great suppleness of mind and a gift for polemics. Consequently he easily took a commanding place among the other students.

It was during al-Ghazālī's student days at the Niẓāmiyya college of Nishapur that he "read to his fellow-students and taught them."[3] And even at the age of the early twenties he won a reputation for his writings which showed that he had made himself the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 106.
3. Ibid., iv, p. 107.

master of every subject to which he had applied himself. It is related that when al-Ghazālī had written his book al-Mankhūl, he showed it to his master al-Juwaynī who observed: "You have buried me while I am still alive. Why did you not have patience to wait until I was dead? For your book has thrust my writings out of sight."[1]

It was during this period that al-Ghazālī also became impatient with dogmatic teaching and abandoned the policy of dependence upon authority (taqlīd). He rose up to free his mind from that irksome captivity, in order to seek that which aroused the attention of the rational soul of itself, and thereby facilitated for the soul the attainment of its happiness and joy. From his boyhood, al-Ghazālī tells that he had been possessed by the desire to comprehend the real meaning of things for himself and had come to the conclusion that the greatest hindrance in the search for truth was the acceptance of beliefs on the authority of parents and teachers, and a rigid adherence to the heritage of the past.

He remembered the Traditional saying ascribed to the Prophet that every child is born with a naturally religious disposition (ʿalā-al-fiṭra), but then his parents make him into a Jew or a Christian or a Magian. Al-Ghazālī was anxious to know the nature of this innate disposition before it was affected by unreasoned convictions imposed by others. So he set out to secure a knowledge which left no room for doubt and involved no possibility of error or

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1. Ibid.; ʿAynī, p. 666; Ṣafdī, i, p. 274; Siyar, xii, p. 74; Madhhab, p. 56.

conjecture. Finding that none of the knowledge which he had acquired (except that which was based on first-hand experience) satisfied these conditions, he became a seeker after absolute truth and was content with no lower standard. He expressed this in a couplet which became famous:

> Take what you see and let hearsay alone,
> When the sun has arisen, what need have you of Saturn?
> خذ ما تراه ودع شيئا سمعت به × في طالع الشمس ما يغنيك عن زحل[1]

Al-Ghazālī justified his scepticism by saying: "He who does not doubt, does not investigate, and he who does not investigate does not perceive, and he who does not perceive remains in blindness and error."[2] All kinds of knowledge, he felt, should be investigated by the scholar, for all might be a help to him and the true scholar should be hostile to none: "For men are hostile to that of which they are ignorant."[3] He says also that it is the business of the true investigator to embark "on the deep waters of what is obscure (al-ishkāl), from which the common folk should be kept away, just as boys are kept away from the bank of the Tigris, lest they should be drowned. But those who are strong may embark upon such studies just as the skilled swimmer is free to dive into waters."[4]

During his stay at Nishapur, al-Ghazālī is also reported to be a disciple of "several other teachers, mostly obscure, the best

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1. Mīzān, p. 409.
2. Ibid.
3. Cf. Munqidh, p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 27.

known being Abū 'Alī al-Fārmadhī."[1] From al-Fārmādhī al-Ghazālī learned more about the theory and practice of Ṣūfism. He even practised rigorous ascetic and Ṣūfistic exercises under his guidance but not to the desired effect. As he himself narrates, he could not attain to that stage where the mystics begin to receive pure inspiration from above. So he did not feel quite settled down in his mind.

On the one hand, he felt philosophically dissatisfied with the speculative systems of the scholastic theologians and could not accept anything on authority; on the other hand, the Ṣūfistic practices also failed to make any definite impression on him for he had not received any sure results. There is no doubt, however, that the increasing attraction of the Ṣūfistic teaching, with its insistence upon a direct personal experience of God, added to al-Ghazālī's critical dissatisfaction with dogmatic theology.

At the Camp of Niẓām al-Mulk

Al-Fārmadhī died in 477/1084, and al-Juwaynī followed him a year after in 478/1085. Thereafter al-Ghazālī moved into the camp of the vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk (408/1017 to 485/1092) who had attracted many scholars and encouraged them to develop their work, each one in his own field.[2] He also founded a "madrasa in every

1. Watt, "Al-Ghazālī", EI^2, ii, p. 1038; cf. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 75-6, 164.

2. Tawārīkh, i, p. 55.

important city of Iraq and Iran, and he (as-Subkī) specially mentions nine of them: the ones at Baghdad and Nīshāpūr (the two most famous Niẓāmiyyas), and those at Balkh, Herāt, Marv, Āmul in Gurgān, Iṣfahān, Baṣra, and Mosul",[1] so that it was said of him that there was a college founded by him in every city of Iraq and Khurasan.[2]

Al-Ghazālī, whose fame as a scholar had preceded him, was received with much favour by the vizier, who honoured him and made much of him. Niẓām-al-Mulk held frequent assemblies for debate and discussion in jurisprudence and other subjects. And al-Ghazālī soon made his mark at these and was conspicuous for his skill in debate. He assumed the leadership among his fellow-scholars, as he had done in Khurasan among his fellow-students.

His Appointment to the Niẓāmiyya College

"Niẓām-al-Mulk regarded the appointment of suitable scholars to teach at his Niẓāmiyyas as a personal responsibility. . . .in 484/1091, he brought . . . Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī to lecture there when the latter was only thirty-three".[3] The Niẓāmiyya college had been restricted to the Shāfi'ite scholars. And according to Ibn-al-Jawzī, Niẓām-al-Mulk imposed as a condition that the teacher, preacher, librarian, grammarian, and the reciter of the Qur'ān, must all be Shāfi'ite.[4]

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1. Bosworth "The political and Dynastic history of the Iranian world (A.D. 1000-1217)" The Cambridge history of Iran, v, (1968), p. 72.
2. Subk., iii, p. 135; Shadh., iii, pp. 368-9, 375.
3. The Cambridge history of Iran, v, (1968), p. 72.
4. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 65-6.

When al-Ghazālī arrived to take up his appointment as professor for the chair of jurisprudence, the jurists came to him and said " . . . it has been the custom for everyone who teaches in this building to invite the jurists to be present and listen, and we wish you to invite us to your lectures on jurisprudence (*'ilm*) . . . . Al-Ghazālī replied: most willingly, ..."[1] From that time onwards some of the leading servants attended his lectures in the Shāfi'ite jurisprudence,[2] together with three hundred students of his own and one hundred of the sons of the princely families.[3] Al-Ghazālī received a warm welcome in Baghdad. It has been said that all the Baghdadis were astonished by the excellence of al-Ghazālī's lectures, his fluent delivery, the extent of learning, the subtlety of his allusions, and the lucidity of his explanations, and they conceived a great regard for him and treated him as "the apple of their eye."[4] Moreover, he came to be looked upon as the greatest jurist ever to enter Baghdad.[5]

In addition to lecturing, al-Ghazālī was called upon to give legal decisions based on the Canon Law (*fatwā*), as is illustrated in the following:

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1. Subk., iv, p. 113; cf. *Ihyā'*, i, pp. 15, 20-1. The whole story will be cited in Chapter III.
2. *Muntaẓam*, ix, p. 169.
3. *Faith and Practice*, p. 30; Smith, p. 22; cf. the third Chapter of this thesis.
4. Smith, p. 21.
5. Subk., iv, pp. 29; v, pp. 80-83, 159; vi, p. 169; *Husn*, i, p. 177; *Wafayāt*, iii, pp. 466-473, (Arab., ii, p. 133).

(a) Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn, chief of the Almoravides, who had conquered Spain in 481/1088, formed an unfavourable opinion of the independent Muslim chiefs who exercised authority there, and referred the matter to al-Ghazālī, among others, for his opinion. Al-Ghazālī, in consultation with Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭurṭūsī, a well-known authority on law and Tradition addressed letters of advice to Yūsuf, urging him to govern with justice and, at the same time, he sent decisions with regard to those Muslim chieftains, authorizing him to execute upon them the Divine sentence. This Yūsuf did, depriving them of their dignities and replacing them by his own relatives.[1]

(b) When Malik-Shāh died in 485/1092, his wife Turkumān Khātūn al-Jalāliyyā kept his death secret in order to prepare her son Maḥmūd, who was only four years old,[2] to be his successor. To gain the support of the caliph she deceived him by using the signature of Malik-Shāh, as if the latter were still alive, saying that he chose his son Maḥmūd to be Sultan after his death. But despite this the caliph made it clear that unless the adults Anz and Tāj-al-Mulk held the responsibilities for the economy and military service, he would not accept the four year old Maḥmūd as a successor to the boy's father, the former Sultan. Turkumān Khātūn was not pleased by this conditional acceptance by the caliph concerning her son, so the matter was referred to al-Ghazālī and al-Mushaṭṭib Ibn-Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, for their opinions. Al-Ghazālī (in contrast to al-Mushaṭṭib) gave his fatwā stating that Islamic law will never permit

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1. 'Ibar., vi, p. 187.
2. Ibid., iii, pp. 478-9; v, p. 13. In al-Muntaẓam, "He was five years and ten months old" ix, pp. 62-3.

Maḥmūd, being a child, to be Sultan unless an adult man took care of his responsibilities. And this Turkumān obeyed.[1]

His Scepticism

Apparently, al-Ghazālī attained all the glory that a scholar could by way of worldly success. He came to wield influence comparable to that of the highest officials of the state.[2] However, inwardly he began to undergo an intellectual and spiritual crisis.

He doubted the evidence of the senses; he could see plainly that they often deceive. No eye could perceive the movement of a shadow, but still the shadow moves; a gold piece would cover any star, but still the star is a world larger than the earth.

Moreover, he doubted even the primary ideas of the mind. Is ten more than three? Can a thing both be and not be? Perhaps he could not tell. His senses had deceived him, why not his mind? May there not be something behind the mind, transcending it, which would show the falsity of its convictions even as the mind shows the falsity of the information given by the senses? May not the dreams of the Ṣūfis be true, and their revelations in ecstasy be the only real guides? When we awake in death, may it not be into a true but different existence? All this occurred to al-Ghazālī; then he wandered for two months. During this time he was a sceptic in fact though not in theory nor in outward expression.[3]

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1. 'Ibar, iii, pp. 478-9; v, p. 13; Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 62-3.
2. Subk., iv, p. 107.
3. Faith and Practice, pp. 23-5.

At length God cured al-Ghazālī of the malady: "my being was restored to health and an even balance; the necessary truths of the intellect became once more accepted, as I regained confidence in their certain and trustworthy character. This did not come about by systematic demonstration or marshalled argument, but by a light which God most high cast into my breast. That light is the key to the greater part of knowledge. . . . The point of these accounts is that the task is perfectly fulfilled when the quest is prosecuted up to the stage of seeking what is not sought (but stops short of that). For first principles are not sought, since they are present and to hand, and if what is present is sought for it becomes hidden and lost. When, however, a man seeks what is not sought (and that only), he is not accused of falling short in the seeking of what is sought."[1]

Though al-Ghazālī said in his autobiography, al-Munqidh min ad-ḍalāl, that this period of scepticism occurred before he started studying theology, Bāṭinites, philosophy and mysticism,[2] "it seems certain that the fit of scepticism as he describes it must have been preceded by some study of philosophy."[3] Evidence for this "philosophical background is shown by the fact that he links it up with a consideration of the nature of knowledge and certainty. Some of his arguments bear a close resemblance to those used, albeit for another purpose, by Miskawayh (d. 1030). The latter speaks of the judgement of sense by reason, and among the examples he includes

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1. Ibid., pp. 25-6.
2. Ibid., pp. 26-7.
3. Muslim Intellectual, p. 51.

that of the sun, which is known by rational proofs to be a hundred and sixty odd times greater than the earth. It is not necessary to maintain that al-Ghazālī had read this particular passage, though he may well have done so. This passage shows that one of the points made by al-Ghazālī was being discussed by philosophers in the Islamic world shortly before his time."[1]

"Apart from this specific evidence, "the critique of knowledge is an aspect of philosophy. The Platonic tradition, too, which was so strong in the Arabic-writing philosophers, has suggestions of a sphere above reason, or at least above ordinary mundane reason."[2]

Moreover, the very fact that al-Ghazālī "came to regard the various seekers (sc. after truth) as comprising four groups,"[3] indicates that he did some study of these groups previously.

His Seeking after the Truth

Al-Ghazālī, being saved of the two months' crisis, regained the power to reason. Consequently, he began investigating what these four groups had achieved, "commencing with the science of theology and then taking the way of philosophy, the authoritative instruction of the Bāṭiniya, and the way of mysticism, in that order."[4]

In theology al-Ghazālī found no intellectual certainty, for

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 51-2.
3. Faith and Practice, p. 26.
4. Ibid., p. 27.

the theologians depended entirely on the acceptance of their dogmatic assumptions on authority. He denounced their over-emphasis on the doctrinal, for it led to a faulty representation of religion by reducing it to a mere mould of orthodoxy and catechism of dogmas. The disputes of the scholastics among themselves he considered as mere dialectical logomachies which had no real relation with religious life.[1]

Realizing that the remedy for his ailment was not to be found in theology, al-Ghazālī turned to philosophy which he pursued as diligently and as comprehensively as he could. He had seen already that the weakness of the theologians lay in their not having made a sufficient study of primary ideas and the laws of thought.

Three years he gave to this. He was at Baghdad at the time, teaching jurisprudence and writing fatāwā. Two years he gave, without a teacher, to the study of the writings of the different schools of philosophy, and almost another to meditating and working over his results. He felt that he was the first Muslim doctor to do this with the requisite thoroughness.

Al-Ghazālī divides the followers of philosophy in his time into three groups: materialists, naturalists (ṭabī'iyūn) and Theists (ilāhiyūn). Rejecting a creator, the materialists maintain that the world exists from all eternity, that the animal simply comes from the egg and the egg from the animal. The wonder of creation compels the Deists to admit a creator, but the creator is seen as a machine which has a certain balance of temperament in itself which

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1. Ibid., pp. 27-9.

keeps it running; its thought is a part of its nature and ends with death. They thus reject a future life, though admitting God and His attributes.

He deals at much greater length with the teachings of those whom he called Theists. Aristotle, he regards as the final master of the Greek school; their doctrines are best represented for Arabic readers in the books of Ibn-Sīnā and al-Fārābī since the works of their predecessors on this subject are a mass of confusion. Part of these doctrines must be reckoned as unbelief, part as heresy, and part as theologically indifferent.

Al-Ghazālī then divides the philosophical sciences into six: mathematics, logic, physics, metaphysics, political economy, and ethics. He discusses these in detail, showing what must be rejected, what is indifferent, what dangers arise from each to him who studies or to him who rejects without study. Throughout, he is cautious to mark nothing as unbelief that is not really so, to admit always those truths of mathematics, logic, and physics that cannot intellectually be rejected. He only warns against an attitude of intellectualism and a belief that mathematicians, with their acuteness and success in their own field, are to be followed in other fields, or that all subjects are susceptible of the exactness and certainty of syllogism in logic.

The great errors of the Theists are almost entirely in their metaphysical views. Three of their propositions mark them as unbelievers: First, they reject the resurrection of the body and physical punishment hereafter, asserting that the punishments of

the next world will be spiritual only. That there will be spiritual punishments, al-Ghazālī admits, but he holds that there will be physical punishment as well. Second, they hold that God knows universals only, not particulars. Third, they hold that the world exists from all eternity and to all eternity. When they reject the attributes of God and hold that He knows by His essence and not by something added to His essence, they are only heretics and not unbelievers.

In physics al-Ghazālī accepts the constitution of the world as developed and explained by Philosophers; only all is to be regarded as entirely submitted to God, incapable of self-movement, a tool of which the Creator makes use.

Finally, al-Ghazālī considers that the philosopher's system of ethics is derived from the teaching of the Ṣūfīs. At all times there have been such saints, retired from the world -- God has never left Himself without a witness -- and from their ecstacies and revelations knowledge of the human heart, for good and evil, is derived.[1]

Though al-Ghazālī devoted two of his books (Maqāṣid al-falāsifa and Tahāfut al-falāsifa) to summarizing and criticizing the views of the philosophers, he also did almost the same in some of his non-philosophical books such as al-Munqidh min-aḍ-ḍalāl,[2]

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1. Ibid., pp. 29ff.
2. Munqidh, pp. 9, 18-27, 51, 55.

Fayṣal at-tafriqa,[1] al-Iqtiṣād fi-l-i'tiqād[2] and Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn.[3]

In the third and last year spent in reflecting upon philosophy, it seems that al-Ghazālī engaged himself in examining the doctrines of the Ta'līmiyya. In fact, al-Ghazālī placed his study of the Ta'līmiyya after the third year of his staying in Baghdad, but this must not be accepted as an accurate chronological record of events. The reason for this is that al-Ghazālī spent only four years in Baghdad, if three years out of this four were devoted totally for studying and reflecting upon philosophy, and six months out of the last year al-Ghazālī "was continuously tossed about between the attraction of worldly desires and the impulses towards eternal life,"[4] how could he have been able in the remaining time (only six months) to:

a) Write his two famous philosophical books, Maqāṣid al-falāsifa and Tahāfut al-falāsifa.

b) Acquaint himself with the Ṣūfīs' beliefs by reading their books, so that he comprehended their fundamental teachings on the intellectual side, and progressed as far as is possible by study and oral instruction.[5]

c) Continue his daily functions such as teaching to the three hundred

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1. Tafriqa, pp. 21-2.
2. Iqtiṣād, pp. 2, 3, 14-15, 96, 111-12.
3. Iḥyā', i, p. 20.
4. Faith and Practice, p. 57.
5. Ibid., p. 54.

of the most distinguished students of the time, and one hundred of the sons of the princely families.[1]

d) "Search for their (i.e. Ta'līmites) books and collect their doctrines."[2] He made a collection of their utterances, arranged them in logical order and formulated them correctly. He went as far as "doing their work for them."[3]

e) Write al-Mustaẓhirī in refuting the Ta'līmites' doctrine.

So, it seems certain that the date of the study of the Ta'līmite's doctrines must have been started early in 487/1094. However the date might be "it is enough to say that al-Ghazālī found the Ta'līmites and their teachings eminently unsatisfactory; they had a lesson which they went over parrot-fashion, but beyond it they were in dense ignorance."[4]

When al-Ghazālī completed his study of the Ta'līmites, he turned to the books of the Ṣūfīs. If one followed strictly al-Ghazālī's autobiography he will find no suggestion that he had a previous acquaintance with them and their practices. But probably this means nothing more than it does when he speaks in a similar way of studying theology and philosophy, namely, that he now took up the study of mysticism in earnest and with a new and definite purpose. His native country was steeped in ṣūfism. His old teacher, al-Juwaynī, had been a devout Ṣūfī. According to the tradition,

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1. Smith, p. 22.
2. Faith and Practice, p. 44.
3. Ibid.
4. Macdonald, "al-Ghazālī", JAOS, xx (1899), p. 87.

the friend to whom his father had entrusted his brother and himself had been a Ṣūfī.

However, al-Ghazālī recognized that the mystic way includes both intellectual belief and practical activity. Since the intellectual belief was easier for him than the practical activity, he began to acquaint himself with their beliefs by reading books such as Qūt-al-qulūb by Abū-Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), the works of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), the various anecdotes about al-Junayd (d. 298/910), ash-Shiblī (d. 334/946), and Abū-Yazīd al-Bīsṭāmī (d. 261/875), and other discourses of their leading men.

After finishing all the fundamental teachings of the mystic way on the intellectual side by the way of study and oral instruction, it became plain to al-Ghazālī "that what is most distinctive of mysticism is something which cannot be apprehended by study, but only by immediate experience (dhawq literally, tasting), by ecstasy and by a moral change."[1]

And since the attainment of the immediate experience was the only problem facing al-Ghazālī in his task of reaching the truth, he found himself "continuously tossed about between the attractions of worldly desires and the impulses towards eternal life."[2] Al-Ghazālī felt that at last God had made it easy for him to abandon position and wealth and family ties and friends in order to fulfil his purpose of apprehending the truth. This came through a complete

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1. Faith and Practice, pp. 54-5.
2. Ibid., p. 57.

nervous breakdown, by which he collapsed physically and mentally and lost his power of speech.[1]

His Life as a Ṣūfī after his Resignation

In Dhū-'l-Qa'da 488/November 1095, al-Ghazālī left Baghdad under the pretext of making a pilgrimage to Mecca but in fact intending to abandon his career as a professor in order to secure certainty for his mind and peace for his soul. He gave away all his fortune except some trust funds to maintain his family, and proceeded to Syria.

There has been speculation, from that time until the present day, as to the motives which induced al-Ghazālī to abandon his professorship. Al-Ghazālī himself gave as his reason his realization that his appointment as a professor was not conducive to the spiritual life, that he found himself working not solely in the service of God but also for his own worldly ambitions for wealth and fame, and that consequently he feared his spiritual downfall and damnation.[2]

But some recent scholars have attributed his decision to leave his post in Baghdad to much more mundane considerations. Macdonald suggests that certain trends in the political events at the time might have contributed to his decision. He says that in 1092 the vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk was assassinated and shortly afterwards,

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1. Ibid.
2. Miftāḥ, ii, p. 197.

in the same year as Malik-Shāh was murdered, a civil war broke out between different factions of the ruling family of the Seljūqs. In 1095, Barkiyāruq executed his uncle Tutush, who had been supported by the caliph and hence presumably by al-Ghazālī, and it was not long before Barkiyāruq's own death in 1105 that al-Ghazālī returned to teach in Nishapur.[1]

Professor Watt, however, doubts that these considerations played a large part in al-Ghazālī's decision and writes: "Macdonald's suggestion about the difficulties with Barkiyāruq was probably not intended to do more than call attention to a secondary factor, since he accepted al-Ghazālī's conversion to the mystic life as genuine. The chief arguments were the coincidence of dates and al-Ghazālī's implication in the recognition by the caliph of Barkiyāruq's rival Tutush for a time in 1094. It was in February 1095 that it became clear, with the death of Tutush, that Barkiyāruq was victor in the struggle with him (which had lasted since the death of Malik-Shāh in November 1092). Al-Ghazālī's illness began in July 1095, and he left Baghdad in November. Again, Barkiyāruq's death was in late December 1104, and it was some eighteen months later that al-Ghazālī returned to teaching at Nishapur. Because of this correspondence of dates, some causal connection cannot be ruled out. On the whole, however, it seems unlikely. In the tangled politics of the time, men frequently appeared to change sides. Barkiyāruq was generally on good terms with Fakhr al-Mulk, a son

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1. Macdonald, "al-Ghazali", EI[1], ii, p. 146.

of Niẓām-al-Mulk who had inherited something of his talents and his policies and who was later responsible for al-Ghazālī's return to teaching at Nishapur. With this powerful support it is credible that al-Ghazālī's trifling fault would have necessitated his departure from his post at Baghdad and he himself asserts that he was courted by the rulers. There may be a grain of truth in the suggestion, however, in so far as the vicissitudes of the years after 1092 and the need for maintaining a delicate balance on the political tight-rope may have helped to convince al-Ghazālī that nothing of what he was interested in could be achieved through politics and his semi-political position in Baghdad."[1]

Another scholar, Jabre, suggests that al-Ghazālī was mainly afraid of the Bāṭinites who had murdered Niẓām-al-Mulk in 1092 and whom he had attacked in his writings. This suggestion is also doubted by Professor Watt who thinks that al-Ghazālī was not in very great danger from the Bāṭinites since assassination was not adopted by them as a regular activity until after 1095 and in any case the obvious candidate for assassination would have been the caliph and not a distinguished scholar.[2]

Professor Watt relies, in the main, upon the reason given by al-Ghazālī himself to explain his sudden departure from Baghdad, his dissatisfaction with the condition in which he had to work and with the quality of the life that was possible for the leading professor in Baghdad. Professor Watt finds circumstantial evidence

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1. Muslim Intellectual, pp. 140-1.
2. Ibid., p. 141.

to support his view in suggesting that this dissatisfaction is the key to understanding of al-Ghazālī's life and points to its predominance in the Iḥyā' 'ūlūm ad-dīn.[1]

Whatever the motive might be, al-Ghazālī left Baghdad and went to Damascus. It is related that "one day when al-Ghazālī was sitting in the Court of the Umayyad mosque, where a number of muftīs were sitting talking together, a villager came to them, seeking a legal decision (fatwā), but they gave him no reply. Al-Ghazālī, engaged in meditation, saw that no one gave the man an answer and that he was troubled thereby, so he called the rustic to him and gave him a reply. The villager, however, scoffed at him saying that the muftīs gave me no decision and how can this ignorant faqīr tell me what I want to know. The muftīs meanwhile, were observing them and when al-Ghazālī had finished speaking, they called the villager and asked him what that common fellow had said to him. When the peasant explained the matter, they came to al-Ghazālī and, recognizing him, surrounded him, requesting that he establish a discussion circle for them. He held out the hope of meeting them the next day, but instead he left the city that night."[2]

While al-Ghazālī was at Damascus, he used to go up into the minaret of the mosque, shut the door upon himself, and there pass his days. From Damascus he went to the Holy-House (Jerusalem) and shut himself up similarly in the Dome of the Rock. Following that he made his way to Hebron to visit the grave of Abraham, al-

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1. Ibid., pp. 142-3.
2. Subk., iv, pp. 104-5; Smith, p. 26.

Khalīl, and thence to Medina and Mecca to take part in the Pilgrimage of 489/November-December 1096.[1]

During this period of travel and particularly in Jumada II 490/May-June 1097, al-Ghazālī was reported to have been seen in Baghdad, but, according to Professor Watt, " . . . this can only have been a brief stay in the course of his journey to his home, Ṭūs."[2] "It is sometimes said that al-Ghazālī visited Alexandria, but scholars are now inclined to reject this report; if he did go to Egypt it can only have been for a short time."[3]

There have been widely divergent views about the details of al-Ghazālī's travels. "Some of the early biographical notices say that he spent ten years in Syria, having returned there after his pilgrimage to Mecca. Now it seems probable that he returned to Damascus, and that he regards his pilgrimage and his visit to Jerusalem as belonging to his Damascus period. This is in accordance with his account, provided that we take his phrase about his journey to the Ḥijāz to mean a journey to Mecca and back to Damascus."[4]

"It is practically certain, however, that he did not spend ten years at Damascus. His own words did not necessitate it; indeed, they suggest that he returned to his 'home-land' not long

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 59.
2. EI^2, ii, p. 1039.
3. Ibid.
4. Muslim Intellectual, p. 145.

after his pilgrimage; the word thumma, 'then', seems to indicate an interval but not an unduly long one. He is reported to have made the pilgrimage in 489/November-December 1096, and also to have been encountered in Baghdad about June 1097."[1]

"The chief remaining difficulty is that al-Ghazālī himself speaks of being 'nearly two years' at Damascus, while, if we accept this second date, he cannot have been there more than eighteen months - from November 1095 to June 1097 - even if the time spent on the pilgrimage is counted in; it seems best, however, to accept the date and to assume that al-Ghazālī used the phrase 'nearly two years' somewhat loosely. His reference to 'ten years' will then indicate the whole time from his departure from Baghdad to his making arrangements for a return to teaching at Nishapur (which actually took place in July 1106)."[2]

In this period of retirement at Damascus and Ṭūs, al-Ghazālī lived as a poor ṣūfī, often in meditation and other spiritual exercises. It was at this period that he learned with much certainty that it is the mystics above all others who walk on the road of God: " . . . their life is the best life, their method the soundest method, their character the purest character; indeed, were the intellect of the intellectuals and the learning of the learned and the scholarship of the scholars, who are versed in the profundities of revealed truth, brought together in the attempt to

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 145-6.

improve the life and character of the mystics, they would find no way of doing so; for to the mystics all movement and all rest, whether external or internal, brings illumination from the light of the lamp of prophetic revelation; and behind the light of prophetic revelation there is no other light on the face of the earth from which illumination may be received."[1]

His Appointment to the Niẓāmiyya College at Nishapur

In the course of the year 499/1105 Fakhr-al-Mulk 'Alī (son of Niẓām-al-Mulk Jamāl-ash-Shuhadā') who had previously been vizier to Barkiyāruq, became vizier to Sanjar, the son of Malik-Shāh at Nishapur, and pressed al-Ghazālī to return to academic work. Al-Ghazālī "yielded to the pressure, partly moved by the belief that he was destined to be the reviver of religion at the beginning of the new century, in accordance with a well-known Tradition."[2]

In Dhū-'l-Qa'da 499/July-August 1106 he began to lecture at the Niẓāmiyya in Nishapur. "There is not much more of the story to tell. Al-Ghazālī continued teaching at Nishapur for at least three years. A book on legal theory, commonly known as the Mustaṣfā and apparently containing his lectures at Nishapur, was completed in August 1109."[3]

Comparing this period of teaching with the previous one al-Ghazālī says: "In myself I know that, even if I went back to the

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 60.
2. EI^2, ii, p. 1039.
3. Muslim Intellectual, p. 147.

work of disseminating knowledge, yet I did not go back. To go back is to return to the previous state of things. Previously, however, I had been disseminating the knowledge by which worldly success is attained; by word and deed I had called men to it; and that had been my aim and intention. But now I am calling men to the knowledge whereby worldly success is given up and its low position in the scale of real worth is recognized. This is now my intention, my aim, my desire; God knows that this is so."[1]

His Life after his Final Retirement

Al-Ghazālī retired once more to his house in Ṭūs and established a college for students of jurisprudence, close by (Madrasa li-l-fuqahā' مدرسة للفقهاء),[2] and also a convent (khānqāh خانقاه) for training "young disciples in the theory and practice of the ṣūfī life."[3]

During al-Ghazālī's time in Ṭūs, he divided up his time in the way best fitted to serve the needs of those around him. He devoted himself to reading the Qur'ān, to studying the Traditions afresh, to carrying out God's will, to teaching, and to prayer, so that he should not waste a single moment of his own time or that of those with him.[4] He died on Monday, the 14th of Jumada II 505/December 18th 1111 at the age of fifty-three.[5] His body was

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 76.
2. Subk., iv, pp. 105, 109.
3. Ibid.; EI^2, ii, p. 1039.
4. Subk., iv, p. 109.
5. Ibid., p. 105.

buried outside Ṭabarān in a grave near to that of the Persian poet, Firdawsī.[1]

Though it is well known that only daughters survived al-Ghazālī,[2] Muḥyi-ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. 830/1426) alleged that he was progeny of Muḥammad, son of al-Ghazālī. Ibn-al-'Imād cited Muḥyi-ad-Dīn's family tree thus: "Muḥyi-ad-Dīn Abū-Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Imām Abū-Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Ghazālī."[3]

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1. Ibid.; Wafayāt, i, p. 587.
2. Subk., p. 110.
3. Shadh., vii, p. 196.

CHAPTER II

THE MOST FAMOUS WORKS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ

Al-Ghazālī's thinking and beliefs are preserved in the vast number of works which he wrote on various aspects of Islamic studies in both the Arabic and Persian languages. It was claimed that he composed over 500 works and that the director of the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad, Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) had in his private library 400 of these works.[1] Some went as far as saying that if one divided his works by the number of years al-Ghazālī lived one would come to the conclusion that al-Ghazālī used to write four notebooks in every day of his life -- that is, that he wrote over 76,320 works (53 x 12 x 30 x 4).[2]

Recent scholars have, however, cast doubt upon the authenticity of some of the works which are ascribed to al-Ghazālī.[3] Professor Watt suggested that: "Of each work as a whole we must ask: Are we certain that this is a genuine work of al-Ghazālī?"[4] And he himself came to the conclusion: "The number of books or sections of

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1. Miftāḥ, ii, pp. 202-3.
2. Itḥāf, i, p. 27.
3. Badawī, pp. 9-19.
4. Watt, "Works Attributed to al-Ghazālī," JRAS (1952), p. 25.

books to be rejected as spurious, or at least as of very doubtful authenticity is surprisingly large."[1]

Following is a list of some of his important writings which have influenced Islamic writers. They are listed according to the subject or topic with which they mainly deal.

A - Personal

Al-Munqidh min aḍ-ḍalāl wal-muwaṣṣil ilā-dhī-l-'izzā-wal-jalāl was written in Ṭūs, perhaps three years before al-Ghazālī's death. It is not precisely an autobiography, nor "an accurate chronological record of events."[2] It is arranged schematically according to the development of his religious opinions. The title of al-Munqidh, or "Deliverance from Error", "has presumably a social as well as an individual reference, and carried the implication that the community has somehow gone astray."[3]

Al-Ghazālī's aim in this book is to show the reader the utmost degrees and inmost nature of the Islamic sciences and the perplexing depths of the religious systems. Likewise the difficulties he encountered in his attempt to extricate the truth from the confusion of contending sects and to distinguish the different ways and methods. He also intended to show the venture he made in climbing from the plain of naive and second-hand belief (taqlīd) to the peak of direct vision.

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1. Ibid., p. 30.
2. Muslim Intellectual, p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 56.

To make clear his aim for the reader he described: firstly, what profit he derived from the science of theology (kalām); secondly, what he disapproved of in the methods of the party of ta'līm (authoritative instruction) who restrict the apprehension of truth to the blind following (taqlīd) of the Imām; thirdly, what he rejected of the methods of philosophy; and lastly, what he approved in the Ṣūfī way of life.

Moreover, he told the reader about the essential truths which became clear to him in his manifold investigations into the doctrines held by men, and why he gave up teaching in Baghdad although he had many students, and why he returned to it at Nishapur after a long interval.[1]

The importance of this book is that it is unique in the whole of Arabic literature for the keenness and the fullness of its self-revelation.[2] Also it is the most important source regarding the authenticity of al-Ghazālī's works, for he most often refers in this book to his other works.[3]

B. Jurisprudence and "Its Source"

i. Al-Basīṭ fi-l-furū'[4] a work of his earlier life, consisting of a summary of Imām al-Ḥaramayn's Nihāyat-al-maṭlab. It

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 19.
2. Sharif, 1, p. 587.
3. Badawī, p. 202.
4. Or, Al-Wasīṭ fī-l-madhhab; cf. Wafayāt, i, p. 587; Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 74; Badawī, p. 22.

was written in six volumes.[1] The importance of this work is that al-Ghazālī used its materials in al-Wasīṭ and al-Basīṭ which played a very large role in Islamic jurisprudence.

ii. Al-Wasīṭ, see Chapter V, Section A.

iii. Al-Wajīz, see Chapter V, Section B.

iv. Ghāyat al-ghawr fī-masā'il ad-dawr, was written in 484/1091. This book deals with a certain problem in divorce raised by al-Qāḍī Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-'Umar Ibn-Surayj (d. 306/918). The problem is this: suppose a man said to his wife: "The first time I say to you, you are divorced, consider that you have already been divorced by me three times" (so that you are irrevocably divorced). Later, this man said to his wife: "You are divorced." Now, what is the legal standing of this divorce (i.e. is it considered to be a first or a final divorce)?

Al-Ghazālī faced this problem in his first year at the Niẓāmiyya college. A great number of people asked al-Ghazālī to give his fatwā concerning this problem. In response to their request he composed this book in which he holds an opinion different from that given by Ibn-Surayj. Al-Ghazālī says clearly that the wife of that man is irrevocably divorced.

The importance of this book is that this fatwā influenced many people and became widely known in many cities even during al-Ghazālī's lifetime. This fact is stated by al-Ghazālī himself in his book Ghawr-ad-dawr.[2]

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1. Ibid., p. 22.
2. Gawr-ad-dawr (manuscript), British Museum, ORI. 3102. fol. 1.

v. Ghawr-ad-dawr fi-l-mas'alā as-Surayjiyya was written presumably during his later period of teaching at Ṭūs. It deals with the same problem as the previous book but this time al-Ghazālī changed his individual judgement (ijtihād) and said the opposite. This of course placed him in line with Ibn-Surayj. Since al-Ghazālī's previous fatwā became widely known among Arabic-speaking Muslims, he intended that this later one would reach every city where the previous one was known, and consequently cancel its effect.[1]

vi. Al-Mankhūl fī-uṣūl-al-fiqh is a concise work on the sources of law written when the author was a pupil under Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī in Nishapur. It is related that when al-Ghazālī had written this book, he showed it to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, who observed: "You have buried me while I am still alive. Why did you not have patience to wait until I was dead? For your book has thrust my writing out of sight."[2]

While al-Mankhūl received a warm welcome from the Shāfi'ite scholars such as Ibn-al-Jāmā ad-Dimyāṭī (613/1216 to 705/1305) who committed it to his memory,[3] and Abū-'l-Makārim as-Sa'dī (563/1168 to 646/1247) and his brother al-Ḥusayn, who used to teach it to their students,[4] the Ḥanafites opposed it, particularly its last

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1. Ibid.
2. Smith, p. 16.
3. Salāmī, pp. 120 ff.; Durar, ii, p. 417.
4. Salāmī, p. 67.

chapter in which al-Ghazālī said something against Abū-Ḥanīfā (80/699 to 150/767).[1] Shams-al-'Aimmā al-Kurdarī (559/1163 to 642/1244) composed his book ar-Rad 'ala-l-mankhūl mainly to reject what al-Ghazālī said in that chapter.[2] However, other Ḥanafites say: since al-Ghazālī praised Abū-Ḥanīfā in his book al-Iḥyā', this means he changed his mind about him.[3] Ibn-Ḥajar al-Haythamī (d. 973/1565) in his book al-Khayrāt al-ḥisān fī-manāqib-an-Nu'mān says that this book was falsely attributed to al-Ghazālī while the author is actually Maḥmūd al-Ghazālī al-Mu'tazilī.[4]

vii. Al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl "was written during his period of teaching at Nīshapur, in 503/1109."[5] "It deals with the sources of law (uṣūl-al-fiqh) in a manner which shows the influence of his earlier philosophical studies but is entirely within the juristic tradition."[6] Since al-Mustaṣfā is the fourth important book in the whole history of Uṣūl-al-fiqh,[7] it is reported:

1) As-Sadīd as-Salamāsī (d. 574/1178) was influenced by al-Ghazālī's

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1. Badawī, p. 14.
2. Ibid., pp. 13-6.
3. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.
6. Ibid.
7. Ar-risāla of ash-Shāfi'ī is the first, al-Mu'tamad of Abu-'l-Ḥusayn (d. 413/1039) is the second and al-Burhān of Imām al-Ḥaramayn is the third; see Zehra, p. 531.

Mustaṣfā, to the extent that he could repeat its contents from memory, and also he knew equally well al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[1] (see Chapter V, Section A).

2) Shihāb-ad-Dīn as-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) composed a commentary on al-Mustaṣfa and named it Ta'līqāt 'alā al-mustaṣfā.[2]

3) Abū-'l-Walīd Muḥammad Ibn-Rushd (d. 595/1198) summarized al-Mustaṣfā in his book Mukhtaṣar-al-mustaṣfa fi-l-uṣūl.[3]

4) Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (606/1209) committed to memory al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī and, according to Ḥājjī Khalīfā, he was very much influenced by it in his book al-Maḥṣūl.[4]

5) Abū-Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn-Aḥmad (d. 626/1228) wrote a commentary on al-Mustaṣfā.[5]

6) Sayf-ad-Dīn al-'Āmidī (550/1155 to 631/1233) committed al-Mustaṣfā and al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī to memory.[6]

7) Sulaymān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 639/1241) wrote a commentary on al-Ghazālī's Mustaṣfā.[7]

8) Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Ishbīlī (d. 651/1253) composed an abridgement for al-Ghazālī's Mustaṣfā.[8]

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 643, (Arabic, i, p. 596).
2. Kashf, ii, p. 1673.
3. Ar-Rushdiyya, p. 88.
4. Kashf, ii, pp. 1878-9.
5. Takmila, ii, pp. 193-4.
6. Subk., v, pp. 129-130.
7. Badawī, p. 193; Kashf, ii, p. 1673; Sīra, p. 193.
8. Kashf, ii, p. 1673; Badawī, p. 217.

9) An-Nasafī (d. 688/1289) wrote a commentary on al-Mustaṣfá.[1]

10) 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm Ibn-'Abd-Allah, well known by the name Ibn-ash-Shaykh (d. 666/1267) used to teach al-Mustaṣfá to his students and according to Ibn-al-Abbār Ibn-ash-Shaykh was very much interested in this book.[2]

11) Qāḍī-al-Quḍā Ibn-Razīn (603/1206 to 680/1281) committed to memory both al-Mustaṣfá and al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[3]

12) Abū-'Alī-Ḥusayn Ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Balansī (d. 679/1280) composed a commentary on al-Ghazālī's Mustaṣfá.[4]

13) Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Fihrī (d. 776/1374) wrote a commentary on al-Mustaṣfá of al-Ghazālī.[5]

14) An unknown author wrote a supplement for al-Mustaṣfá, and named it Tatmīm al-Mustaṣfá.[6]

C. Philosophy and Logic.

i. Maqāṣid al-falāsifa, was written probably in the first half of the year 488/1095[7] as a background to Tahāfut al-falāsifa. Surprizingly one notices that though this book was appreciated among non-Muslims in Spain and the rest of Europe in the twelfth

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1. Ibid., p. 218.
2. Takmila, ii, pp. 35-6.
3. Shadh., v, pp. 368-9.
4. Kashf, ii, p. 1673; Sīra, p. 193.
5. Ibid., p. 193; Badawī, p. 217.
6. Kashf, i, p. 344.
7. GAL, i, p. 544.

and thirteenth centuries,[1] no Muslim at all wrote any book in favour of al-Maqāsid or against it. But as a whole no one could deny that this book had its influence among Muslims. At least this book together with certain philosophical books of al-Ghazālī "led to the incorporation of certain aspects of philosophy, notably logic, into Islamic theology. In course of time theologians came to devote much more time and space to the philosophical preliminaries than to the theology proper."[2]

ii. Tahāfut al-falāsifa was written probably in the first six months of the year 488/1095. The aim of al-Ghazālī in this book is to: "refute the ancient philosophers. It will expose the incoherence of their beliefs and the inconsistency of their metaphysical theories. It will bring to light the flimsiest and the obscurest elements of their thought which will provide some amusement for, and serve as a warning to, the intelligent men. (I mean those things which contributed to beliefs and opinions, and by virtue of which they thought they could be distinguished from the common men.)"[3]

"Moreover, this book will set forth the doctrines of the ancient philosophers as those doctrines really were. This will serve the purpose of making it clear to the hide-bound atheists of our day that every piece of knowledge, whether ancient or modern,

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1. EI[2], ii, p. 1040.
2. Ibid., p. 1041.
3. Tahāfut, p. 3.

is really a corroboration of the faith in God and in Last Day. This conflict between faith and knowledge is related only to the details superadded to those two fundamental principles, the two recurring themes in the teachings of the prophets -- i.e., divinely ordained persons the truth of whose mission is evident from the miracles they performed. It was only a few persons having irresponsible views and perverted minds who denied these principles. But in serious discussions no importance can be attached to such persons; and no notice ought to be taken of them. And they must be branded with diabolical perversity and stupid contumacy, so that their example may be a deterrent to people who tend to think that a vainglorious conversion to unoriginal heresy would be an indication of intelligence and good sense. This book is going to demonstrate that the ancient philosophers, whose followers the atheists in our day claim to be, were really untained with what is imputed to them. They never denied the validity of the religious laws. On the contrary, they did believe in God, and did have faith in His Messengers; although in regard to the minor details, they sometimes faltered and went astray, and caused others to go astray, from the even path. We propose to show how they slipped into error and falsehood. But our examination will not obscure their solid achievements which lie beneath the repulsive façade of their thought."[1]

In this book al-Ghazālī "noted twenty points on which

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1. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

philosophers' views were objectionable to Sunnis or inconsistent with their own claim; in respect of three of these they were to be adjudged unbelievers."[1] As for the rest of the twenty, they were to be called heretics. "In the Tahāfut, al-Ghazālī concentrates on demonstrating the inconsistencies of the philosophers and does not argue for any positive views of his own."[2]

The most important philosophical work which dealt with Tahāfut al-falāsifa is Tahāfut at-tahāfut by Ibn-Rushd (d. 595/1198), written about 1095. In this book Ibn-Rushd examines the Tahāfut of al-Ghazālī "paragraph by paragraph, refuted in detail its structures on the philosophers, and incidentally expounded his own belief in the ability of reason to comprehend the ultimate secrets of the universe."[3]

Almost three centuries after Ibn-Rushd, Khawāja Zāda (d. 893/1458) wrote his book Tahāfut al-falāsifa, in which he stated his views, as an arbitrator, in respect of the two previous works.[4] However, apart from the Tahāfut al-falāsifa of Khawāja Zāda, and Tahāfut at-tahāfut of Ibn-Rushd, no other books written specifically about al-Ghazālī's Tahāfut have been found.

iii. Mi'yār al-'ilm fī-fan-al-mantiq was written as a book on Aristotelian logic. Hourani, in his article "The chronology of Ghazālī's writings," considers that the Mi'yār has a close

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1. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.
2. Ibid.
3. A History of Islamic Spain, p. 141.
4. Zāda, pp. 2-3.

connection with the Tahāfut and it was probably written as an appendix to it since it explains the technical terms in Tahāfut.[1]

There is evidence that this book was in circulation in Spain. Ibn-Ṭumlūs (d. 620/1223) said in his book al-Madkhal li-ṣanā'at-al-manṭiq, that he read al-Mi'yār and made use of it. He also said that he made use of al-Ghazālī's other works, such as: Miḥakk-an-naẓar, al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm the introduction of al-Mustaṣfā, and al-Maqāṣid.[2] As for the East, Ibn-Taymiyya (d. 728/1327) said clearly that the first one who introduced logic to jurisprudence and its sources (uṣūl al-fiqh) was Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and he added that those who followed al-Ghazālī were very much influenced by Mi'yār al-'ilm, as well as Miḥakk-an-naẓar and the introduction of al-Mustaṣfā.[3]

iv. Miḥakk-an-naẓar, was written during the "Dhawq period."[4] The importance of this work was mentioned in the previous paragraph.

D. Dogmatic theology

i. Al-Iqtiṣād fi-l-i'tiqād was written chiefly as a constructive work on dogma.[5] The date of finishing this work

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1. Hourani, "The chronology of Ghazālī's writings," JAOS, LXXIX (1959), p. 228.
2. Madkhal, pp. 12-3.
3. Taymiyya, pp. 14-5.
4. Watt, "Works attributed to al-Ghazālī," p. 44.
5. EI^2, ii, p. 1040; Hourani, p. 228.

"cannot be earlier than 487/1094."[1] "This book deals with roughly the same topics as the Irshād of al-Djuwaynī, but it makes full use of Aristotelian logic, including the syllogism. In this respect Ibn-Khaldūn is correct in making al-Ghazālī the founder of a new tendency in theology, although there is no striking novelty in his dogmatic views. In Kitāb al-arba'īn, written after the Iḥyā', al-Ghazālī says that the Iḳtiṣād is more likely to prepare for the gnosis (ma'rifa) of the Ṣūfī than the usual works of dogmatics."[2]

ii. Ar-Risāla al-qudsiyya is an epistle written to the people of Jerusalem, as a third chapter for the second part of the Iḥyā'.[3] The first Chapter ('Aqīdat Ahl as-Sunna fī-Kalimatay ash-Shahāda, عقيدة أهل السنة فى كلمتى الشهادة), deals with the Sunnite faith concerning the two parts of formula: "There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the messenger of God."[4] The second chapter deals with "the stage of right guidance" as well as "the stage of faith."[5]

By content and method of treatment the Risāla bears the marks of being a complete composition on its own. It begins with the basmala, and the discussion is prefaced with a lengthy form of prayer usually reserved for beginning independent compositions, books or tracts. Furthermore, the Risāla is elsewhere in the Iḥyā'

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1. Ibid.
2. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.
3. Iḥyā', i, p. 93.
4. Ibid., pp. 79-83.
5. Ibid., pp. 83-93.

mentioned by al-Ghazālī as Kitāb-ar-Risāla-al-qudsiyya.[1]

So, from the time of al-Ghazālī down to our own time, the Risāla has been considered either as a separate composition or as an integral part of the first quarter of the Ihyā'.[2] Among those who treated ar-Risāla as a separate composition are:

1) Aṣ-Ṣadr ash-Shu'aybī (677/1278 to 705/1305) in his book Sharḥ qawā'id al-'aqā'id.[3]

2) Rukn-ad-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn-Muḥammad al-Istirābādhī (d. 717/1317) in his commentary for Qawā'id al-'aqā'id.[4]

3) Burhān-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad an-Nasafī (d. 688/1289) in his commentary to Qawā'id al-'aqā'id.[5]

4) Ibn-al-Humām al-Ḥanafī (d. 861/1456) in his abridgement of Qawā'id al-'aqā'id, as well as his other abridgements of the same work in his book al-Musāyara.[6]

5) Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 896/1490) in his commentary on Qawā'id al-'aqā'id.[7]

6) Ṣadr-ad-Dīn ash-Sharwānī (d. 1036/1626) in his commentary on Qawā'id al-'aqā'id.[8]

iii. 'Aqīdat-ahl-as-Sunna fī-kalimatay-ash-shahāda was a work

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1. Ibid., p. 93.
2. IQ, viii (1965), p. 76.
3. Salāmī, pp. 204-5.
4. Kashf, ii, p. 1358; GAL, i, p. 305; Badawī, p. 19.
5. Kashf, II, p. 881-2.
6. Ibid., pp. 1666-7.
7. Itḥāf, i, p. 33.
8. Kashf, ii, p. 1358.

written as a first chapter for the second part of the Iḥyā'. It was sometimes called 'Aqīdat-al-Ghazālī[1] or al-Miṣbāḥ.[2] Al-Ghazālī treated this work in the same way he treated the previous one, that is, he regarded it as a complete composition of its own.[3] This is also cited as an independent work by:

1) Abū-'l-Fatḥ 'Āmir aṣ-Ṣāwī (d. after 545/1150) whose "Dream" was quoted by Ibn-'Asākir (d. 571/1175)[4] and as-Subkī (d. 771/1369).[5]

2) Abū-'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī al-Qurashī (d. 598/1201), together with his brother used to encourage the youth to write 'Aqīdat-al-Ghazālī which is known by its laqab al-Miṣbāḥ, and commit its contents to memory.[6]

iv. Iljām al-'awām 'an 'ilm al-kalām was written in "the first days of Jumāda II, 505."[7] that is a few days before al-Ghazālī's death in 14th of Jumada, 505. In this book al-Ghazālī "warns of the dangers in the study of kalām for those with little education."[8] He went as far as saying that it is much better for the laymen to involve themselves in plays and amusements, rather than kalām.[9]

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1. Kifāya, p. 2; Tarājim, pp. 31-2.
2. Ibid.
3. Iḥyā', i, p. 79.
4. Tabyīn, p. 297.
5. Subk., iv, p. 121.
6. Tarājim, pp. 31-2.
7. Hourani, p. 233.
8. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.
9. Iljām, p. 25.

v. Faysal at-tafriqa bayn al-Islam waz-zandaqa was written during the "Dhawq period."[1] This work "is partly directly against the Bāṭiniyya, but is mainly a defence of his own views on the extent to which ta'wīl is justified, and on the relative places of tawātur and idjmā' as sources of religious knowledge."[2]

E. Polemics

i. Faḍā'ḥ-al-Bāṭiniyyā wa-faḍā'il-al-mustaẓhiriyyā was written before his departure from Baghdad in 1095.[3] In this book al-Ghazālī stated the doctrines of the Bāṭinites and gave a complete answer to them.[4] How influential this work was (as well as his other works which touched the same subject) is difficult to say, "but they doubtless contributed to the defeat of Ismā'ilism."[5] Likewise they probably influenced Jalāl-ad-dīn Ḥasan the governor of the fortress of Alamūt in southern Persia, to change his mind completely about the Bāṭinite doctrine, by admitting that the Bāṭinite's were wrong. It is reported that "in 608/1211, Jalāl-ad-dīn sent one of his followers to an-Nāṣir the Caliph (regnabat, 575/1179 to 622/1225) asking him to accept the Bāṭinite's conversion to the Islam. He also pleaded with

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1. Watt, "Works Attributed to al-Ghazālī," p. 44.
2. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.
3. Islamic Philosophy and Theology, p. 119.
4. Faith and Practice, p. 44.
5. Islamic Philosophy and Theology, p. 119.

him to send jurists and judges to govern and teach his people the Islamic law. And in the same year, they started to fast Ramaḍān and worship God."[1]

ii. Al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm, was written "for some comparatively simple-minded believers who were attracted by Bāṭinī (Isma'īlī) doctrines."[2] Much of this work "consists in somewhat forced interpretation of Qur'anic passages to find a justification for the various types of syllogism."[3]

F. Ṣūfī Theory and Practice

i. Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn was al-Ghazālī's greatest work in size, importance of its contents, and influence. This work is in four volumes. It is "divided into four quarters, dealing with 'ibādāt (cult practices), 'ādāt (social customs), muhlikāt (vices, or faults of character leading to perdition), and munjiyāt (virtues, or qualities leading to salvation). Each quarter has ten books. The Iḥyā' is thus a complete guide for the devout Muslim to every aspect of religious life worship and devotional practices, conduct in daily life, the purification of heart, and advance along the mystic way. The first two books deal with the necessary minimum of intellectual knowledge.[4]

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1. Tarājim, p. 81; Shadh., v, p. 32; For a similar example which happened in Egypt during the life-time of al-Afḍal Amīr al-Juyūsh (d. 515/1121) see Shadh., iv, p. 47.
2. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.
3. Muslim Intellectual, p. 69.
4. EI^2, ii, p. 1040.

According to al-Ghazālī, two things had induced him to divide this work into four parts: "The first and original motive is that such an arrangement in research and exposition is imperative because the science by which we approach the hereafter is divided into the science of revelation and the science of practical religion . . . the science of practical religion is divided into outward science, by which is meant that of the functions of the senses, and inward science, by which is meant that of the functions of the heart. The bodily organs perform either acts of worship or usages of life, while the heart, because it is removed from the senses and belong to the world of dominion, is subject to either praiseworthy or blameworthy influences. Inevitably, therefore, this science divides itself into two parts -- outward and inward. The outward, which pertains to the Senses, is subdivided into acts of worship and usages of life; the inward, which relates to the conditions of the heart and the qualities of the soul, is subdivided into things which are praiseworthy and things which are objectionable. Together these constitute the four parts of the science of practical religion, a classification objected to by none."[1]

"My second motive for adopting this division is that I have notices that the interests of students in jurisprudence . . . is genuine. It is also divided into quarters. And since he who dresses as the beloved will also be beloved, I am not far wrong in deeming that the modelling of this book after books of jurisprudence will prove to be a clever move in creating interest in it."[2]

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1. Fāris, pp. 6-7.
2. Ibid., p. 7.

"This whole stupendous undertaking arises from al-Ghazālī's feeling that in the hands of the 'Ulamā' of his day religious knowledge had become a means of worldly advancement, whereas it was his deep conviction that it was essentially for the attainment of salvation in the world to come. He therefore, while describing the prescriptions of the Sharī'ā in some detail, tries to show how they contribute to man's final salvation."[1]

However, the influence of this work was great even during the life-time of the author, and the widespread appreciation of the Iḥyā' made his teaching famous among all Arabic-speaking Muslims, in the West as well as in the East. It is due perhaps to the Iḥyā' that al-Ghazālī has been called "the proof of Islam,"[2] "the regenerator of religion,"[3] "the guide to the true faith,"[4] "the ornament of religion,"[5] "the master of the authors,"[6]. "If there were ever a prophet after Muḥammad, it would be al-Ghazālī."[7]

Likewise al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' has been acclaimed as: "The most valuable and comprehensive work."[8] "The Iḥyā' is almost the Qur'ān."[9]

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1. EI², ii, pp. 1040-1.
2. Subk., iv, p. 101.
3. Nawāb, p. 12.
4. Smith, p. 9.
5. Wafayāt, ii, p. 621.
6. Ta'rīf, p. 9.
7. Ithāf (Sīrā, p. 156.)
8. Wafayāt, ii, p. 622.
9. Ta'rīf, p. 15.

It is due to al-Ghazālī's position in Islam and to the widespread appreciation of his teachings, which were disseminated chiefly by his students that the Iḥyā' was commented upon, summarized, criticized, studied, translated, read and memorized by so many scholars, both in the East and in Spain. Among them were the following:

1. The Iḥyā' became so popular during al-Ghazālī's lifetime that he was forced to defend it against its opponents in al-Imlā' 'an mushkil-al-Iḥyā'.[1] This book is also known as al-Ajwibā al-muskitā 'an-al-as'ilā al-mibhitā.[2]

2. Abū-'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, brother of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, who composed the first summary for his brother's Iḥyā' in a book which he named Lubāb al-iḥyā'.[3]

3. 'Abd-al-Karīm Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Abū-Ṭālib ar-Rāzī (d. 522/1128). He was one of al-Ghazālī's students (see Chapter IV, No. 6), and it is reported that he committed Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn to memory.[4]

4. Abū-'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī al-Māzarī (d. 536/1141) who composed a study of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā', and named it al-Kashf wa-l-inbā' 'an al-mutarjam bi-l-iḥyā'.[5]

5. Muḥyi-ad-Dīn Abū-Zakariyyā Yūsuf Ibn-Muḥammad al-Yamānī (d. 558/1162) who composed an abridgement of the Iḥyā'.[6]

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1. Published in the margin of al-Iḥyā'.
2. Kashf, i, p. 24; Badawī, p. 487; Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 72.
3. Subk., iv, p. 54; Badawī, p. 114; Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 35; Kashf, i, p. 24.
4. Subk., iv, p. 259.
5. Badawī, p. 114; Ḥusnī, pp. 64-5; Siyar (Sīra, p. 72).
6. Badawī, p. 115.

6. Yaḥyā Ibn-Abū-'l-Khayr al-Yamānī (489/1095 to 558/1162) who composed Mukhtaṣar al-iḥyā' in which he summarized the Iḥyā'.[1] He also wrote a study of al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ and named it Gharā'ib al-wasīṭ.[2]

7. Muḥammad Ibn-Sa'īd al-Yamānī (d. 595/1198) who composed an abridgement of Iḥyā' 'ulūm-ad-dīn and named it Mukhtaṣar al-iḥyā'.[3]

8. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) who composed Minhāj al-qāṣidīn in which he added some parts to al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' and omitted others.[4] Al-Minhāj also was known as I'lām al-aḥyā' bi-aghlāṭ al-iḥyā'.[5]

9. Sharaf-ad-Dīn Ibn-Man'ā al-Irbīlī (575/1179 to 622/1225) composed two abridgements of the Iḥyā', one of them concise, the other more detailed. In the course of his lectures he explained portions of the Iḥyā', which he cited from memory.[6]

10. An unknown author who died in 637/1239 translated the Iḥyā' from Arabic to Persian.[7]

11. Al-Ḥasan Ibn-'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Qinā'i (578/1182 to 655/1160) copied the Iḥyā' and studied it under 'Īsā Ibn-Ibrāhīm an-Naḥwī.[8]

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1. Subk., iv, p. 324; Shadh., iv, p. 186; Kashf, i, p. 24, 173; Sīra, p. 188.
2. Subk., iv, p. 325.
3. Kashf, i, p. 24; Sīra, p. 188.
4. Badawī, p.114; Muntaẓam, ix, p. 170.
5. Badawī, p. 113; Kashf, i, p. 24.
6. Wafayāt, i, p. 90 (Arab., i, p. 39); Badawī, p. 115; Subk., v, p.17
7. Badawī, p. 119.
8. Adfawī, p. 233.

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12. Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd Allah al-Khuwarazmī (d. 679/1280) composed an abridgement of the Iḥyā'.[1]

13. Jamāl-ad-Dīn Ibn-Muḥammad al-Khuwārazmī composed an abridgement of al-Iḥyā' and named it Dhakhīrat al-muntahā fī-'ilm al-ghayb wal-Khafā'.[2]

14. Farīd-ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khuwārazmī translated Iḥyā''ulūm ad-dīn into Persian more than one time.[3]

15. Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Munīr (d. 683/1284) criticized the Iḥyā' of al-Ghazālī in his book aḍ-Ḍiyā' al-mutala'li'-fī-ta'aqqub-al-iḥyā'.[4]

16. Tāj-ad-Dīn Ibn-as-Sabbāk (660/1261) studied the Iḥyā' under Jamal-ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mukharramī.[5]

17. Quṭb-ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (634/1236 to 710/1311) admired al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'.[6]

18. Ibn-Taymiyyā (d. 728/1327) criticized the Iḥyā' in his book Qā'idā fi-r-Radd 'ala-al-Ghazālī fi-t-tawakkul.[7]

19. Aḥmad Ibn-Qudāmā al-Maqdisī (d. 742/1341) composed al-Mulakhkhaṣ in which he summarized Minhāj-al-qāṣidīn of Ibn-al-Jawzī. The latter book was an abridgement of the Iḥyā'.[8]

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1. Badawī, p. 115.
2. Ibid., p. 116.
3. Ibid., p. 119.
4. Ibid., p. 113.
5. Salāmī, p. 142.
6. Ibid., p. 244.
7. Badawī, p. 114.
8. Ibid., pp. 114-5.

20. Tāj-ad-Dīn Ibn-Quṭb ad-Dīn Ibn-as-Sammāk al-Ḥanafī (661/1262 to 750/1349) studied the Iḥyā' under Muḥammad Ibn-al-Mubārak al-Makhzūmī.[1]

21. Tāj-ad-Dīn Ibn-Taqiyy-ad-Dīn as-Subkī (d. 771/1369) made a collection of all the Traditions which are quoted by al-Ghazālī in the Iḥyā'.[2]

22. Muḥammad Ibn-'Umar Ibn-'Uthmān al-Balkhī (d. 800/1397) composed an abridgement of the Iḥyā' and named it 'Ayn al-'ilm wa-zayn al-ḥilm fi-t-tawḥīd wa-l-'ādāb ad-dīniyyā.[3]

23. Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Iraqī (725/1324 to 806/1403) composed three abridgements of the Iḥyā'. The first and detailed one, Ikbār-al-aḥyā' bi akbār-al-iḥyā', in four volumes, was finished in 751/1350. The second and concise one, al-kashf al-mubīn 'an-takhrīj-iḥyā' 'ulūm-ad-Dīn, was finished in 760/1358. The title of the third and most famous one is al-Mughnī 'an ḥaml al-asfār fi-l-asfār fī-takhrīj mā fi-l-iḥyā' min-al-akhbār.[4]

24. Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Ja'far al-'Ajlūnī, well known as al-Bilālī (d. 820/1417), composed an abridgement of the Iḥyā'. Ḥajjī Khalīfā says that al-Bilālī's abridgement is the best ever

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1. Durar, iii, p. 118.
2. Badawī, p. 487.
3. Kashf, i, p. 24; Sīra, p. 188; Badawī, p. 116.
4. Kashf, i, p. 24; Sīra, p. 188; Badawī, p. 486; Abū-Ḥāmid p. 34; Ḥusn., i, p. 204; Fahd., pp. 229-30.

composed for al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'.[1]

25. Ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1448) wrote a supplement for al-Irāqī's concise abridgement of the Iḥyā', and named it Takhrīj-aḥādīth al-iḥyā'.[2]

26. Zayn-ad-Dīn as-Sudanī, well known as Qāsim al-Ḥanafī (802/1399 to 879/1474), composed a supplement for al-'Asqalānī's supplement and named it Itḥāf al-aḥyā' bi-mā-fāt min-takhrīj-aḥādīth al-iḥyā'. Qāsim al-Ḥanafī also composed Takhrīj-aḥādīth minhāj al-'abidīn, al-Arba'īn fī-uṣūl ad-Dīn, Jawāhir al-Qur'ān, and Bidāyat-al-hidāyā.[3]

27. Burhān-ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Umar al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480) criticized the Iḥyā' of al-Ghazālī in his book Tahdīm al-arkān min-laysa-fi-l-imkān-abda'-mimmā-kān.[4]

28. Jalāl-ad-dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) wrote his book Tashyīd-al-arkān fī-laysa-fi-l-imkān abda' mimmā-kān, in which he gave answers for the criticism raised against al-Ghazālī by Burhān-ad-Dīn al-Biqā'ī in his book Tahdīm al-arkān.[5] Another book written for a similar purpose by the same author was Daraj-al-ma'ālī fī-nuṣrat-al-Ghazālī 'an-al-munkir al-muta'ālī.[6]

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1. Kashf., i, p. 24; Badawī, p. 116; Sīra, p. 188; Abu-Ḥamid, p. 34.
2. Badawī, p. 117; Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 34; Kashf, i, p. 24.
3. Badr., ii, p. 45; Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 34; Kashf., i, p. 24.
4. Kashf., i, p. 513.
5. Badawī, p. 113; Kashf, i, p. 24.
6. Ibid., ii, p. 745.

29. Muḥammad Ibn-Murtaḍā Muḥsin al-Kāshī (d. 1106/1694) summarized the Iḥyā' in his book al-Maḥajjā al-bayḍā' fī-iḥyā' al-aḥyā'.[1]

30. 'Alī al-Qārī' (d. 1014/1605) composed Fahm-al-'ulūm, in which he commented on al-Balkhī's abridgement of al-Iḥyā', that is 'Ayn-al-'ilm wa-zayn al-ḥilm fi-t-tawḥīd wal-'ādāb-ad-dīniyya.[2]

31. Shaykh Ibn-'Abd-Allah, admired the Iḥyā' and devoted his life to studying it. It is reported that he taught this book to his brother twenty-five times. Also, he collected seven copies of the Iḥyā'.[3]

32. 'Alī Ibn-'Abd-Allah taught the Iḥyā', twenty-five times to his son 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān.[4]

33. Abū-Bakr made it compulsory for himself to read some part of al-Iḥyā' daily. It is reported that he collected ten copies of the Iḥyā'.[5]

34. Ba'lawī (d. 1038/1628) composed Ta'rīf al-aḥyā' bi-faḍā'il al-iḥyā', in which he pointed out how important the Iḥyā' is.[6]

35. Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) composed Itḥāf-as-sāda al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ asrār iḥyā'-ulūm ad-dīn. This book was published in Cairo in ten volumes and in Fez in

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1. Badawī, p. 116.
2. Ibid., p. 117; Kashf, 1, p. 24.
3. Ta'rīf, p. 21.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 36; Badawī, p. 112.

thirteen volumes.[1]

36. "In Andalūsiā, the Qāḍī of Cordova, Abū-'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn-Ḥamdīn, condemned al-Ghazālī's works, and the rest of the Spanish Qāḍīs accepted the condemnation, with the result that al-Ghazālī's books were burnt wherever found throughout Andalūsiā, and possession of them was forbidden on pain of scourging or death. These books included the Iḥyā', but it is noted by one writer that when it was later brought back to Spain, its return was received with satisfaction and approbation, and he added that one admirer even copied it out in letters of gold."[2]

37. A Spanish scholar who admired the Iḥyā' divided it into thirty parts and began to read it during the thirty days of Ramadān in the place of the Qur'ān.[3]

38. The Iḥyā' was translated into the Turkish language by an anonymous scholar.[4]

39. Maḥmūd 'Alī Qurā'ā composed Ṣafwat-al-iḥyā', in which he summarized al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'. This book was published in Egypt in 1935.[5]

40. Ākhand Ibn-Mūsā al-Kashmīrī summarized some parts of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' in his book al-'ilm wa-l-'amal.[6]

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1. Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 35; Badawī, p. 114.
2. Smith, p. 198; Mu'jib., pp. 172-3.
3. Nubūgh, 1, p. 70.
4. Badawī, p. 121.
5. Ibid., p. 116.
6. Ibid.

41. Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-Bakr ar-Rāzī summarized al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' in his book Talkhīṣ al-iḥyā'.[1]

42. Abū-'l-Qāsim Ibn-Yūnus al-Ḥasanī wrote an abridgement of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā', and titled it Talkhīṣ al-iḥyā'.[2]

43. 'Alī Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-ar-Rāzī composed an abridgement of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'.[3]

44. Abū-'l-Faḍl an-Naḥwī criticized al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' in his book Fuqahā'-Tilimsān.[4]

45. Abū-'l-Ḥasan Ibn-Sukkar criticized al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' in his book Iḥyā'-mayyit al-aḥyā' fi-r-radd 'alā-kitāb al-iḥyā'.[5]

46. Muḥammad Ibn-al-Walīd aṭ-Ṭurṭūshī says that he does not know any book in the whole world which contains as many false Traditions as al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'.[6]

47. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn-al-Khaṭīb al-Maraghī wrote an abridgement of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' and named it Lubāb-al-iḥyā'.[7]

48. Jamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Sa'īd al-Qāsimī ad-Dimashqī wrote a summary of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' in his book al-Murshid al-amīn ilā maw'iẓat al-mu'minīn min iḥyā'-'ulūm ad-dīn.[8]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 115.
4. Ibid., p. 113.
5. Ibid., pp. 113, 542.
6. Siyar, (Badawī, p. 535).
7. Sīra, p. 188; Badawī, p. 487.
8. Ibid., p. 115.

11. Bidāyat al-hidāya was composed after the Iḥyā' as a brief statement of a rule of daily life for the devout Muslim, together with counsel on the avoidance of sins. It consists of three sections, but it is believed that the closing section, entitled "The Discourse on the Rules for Companionship and Association with the Creator . . . and with Creatures . . . ", is spurious in the sense that it was not part of the original work although it contains some Ghazālian material. The rest of the book is considered to be genuine.[1]

There are six commentaries on Bidāyat-al-hidāya, but all of them were written almost five centuries after al-Ghazālī. Two of these commentaries were composed by 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn-Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 982/1534): (1) Nafaḥāt al-'ināya bi-sharḥ bidāyat-al-hidāya (which is al-Fākihī's first and largest commentary), and (2) al-Kifāya fī-sharḥ-bidāyat al-hidāya, his concise commentary. Al-Fākihī also composed al-Manhaj-al-'Alī ilā tarjamat al-Ghazālī in which he gave a biography of al-Ghazālī.[2]

The third commentary on Bidāyat-al-hidāya was Sharḥ-marāqī al-'ubūdiyya by Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, completed in 1289/1872.[3] The fourth one is Talkhīṣ li-bidāyat al-hidāya by Muḥammad Nawaī al-Baghāwī.[4] The authors of the last two commentaries are unknown.[5]

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1. Watt, "Works Attributed to Al-Ghazālī," p. 40.
2. Kifāya, pp. 3-4.
3. Marāqī, p. 131.
4. Badawī, p. 140.
5. Ibid.

iii. Al-Arba'īn fī-uṣūl-ad-dīn "is a short summary of the Ihyā', though its forty sections do not altogether correspond to the forty books."[1] This book has some influence upon the Muslim scholars, specially during the ninth century. Among those who dealt with this book was Qāsim Ibn-Quṭlūbgh as-Sudanī (802/1399 to 879/1474) in his book Takhrīj-aḥādīth al-arba'īn fī-uṣūl ad-dīn.[2]

iv. Al-Maqṣad al-asmā sharḥ asmā' Allah al-ḥusnā, is dealing with the names or attributes of God, in which al-Ghazālī discussed in what sense men may imitate the names or attributes of God.[3] There is an abridgement of this book written by Ibn-'Arabī, not yet published.[4]

v. Mishkāt al-anwār is genuine, except possibly the last section in which al-Ghazālī discussed the Veils. However, though the rest of this work is of the highest importance, but "the apparently insoluble problems set by the Veils-section . . . scared away students of al-Ghazālī from making full use of it."[5]

vi. Ar-Risāla al-ladunniyya "deals with the nature of knowledge of divine things, and its authenticity has been doubted because of its closeness to a work of Ibn-al-'Arabī and because of its Neoplatonism."[6]

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1. EI², ii, p. 1040.
2. Badr, ii, p. 46.
3. EI², ii, p. 1040.
4. Badawī, p. 136.
5. JRAS (1949), pp. 5ff.
6. Ibid.; (1952), pp. 24 ff; JAOS, xx (1899), pp. 71ff.

There are numerous other works attributed to al-Ghazālī in the field of mysticism as well as other fields, but since their authenticity has been questioned[1] and their influence was very little, they were not listed here. However, it will be seen from this survey that there was great influence of al-Ghazālī's works in general and the Iḥyā' ʿUlūm ad-dīn in particular. And for this latter book belongs the belief that "If all the books of Islam were destroyed it would be but slight loss if only the Iḥyā' of al-Ghazālī were preserved."[2]

1. Ta'rīf, p. 15 (margin of al-Iḥyā').
2. Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 27.

PART TWO

INFLUENCE UPON JURISPRUDENCE

CHAPTER III

AL-GHAZĀLĪ THE JURIST

Al-Ghazālī started his teaching when he was a student under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085) in Nishapur where he read to his fellow-students and taught them.[1] Perhaps for this reason as well as other investigation Imām-al-Ḥaramayn said in comparing between him and two others: "Al-Ghazālī is a sea to drown in, and Ilkyā (d. 1116) is a tearing lion, and al-Khawāfī (d. 1161) is a burning fire."[2] Another saying of his concerning the same three scholars was: "Whenever they contend together, the proof belongs to al-Khawāfī, the intuition to al-Ghazālī, and clearness to Ilkyā".[3]

The death of his master the Imām seems to have set al-Ghazālī free; However, he was under hard test before the scholars to see whether Imām-al-Ḥaramayn was right in saying that he was a "plenteous ocean to be drowned in." But instead of remaining in Nishapur, where he might have received the chair of his teacher,[4] al-Ghazālī preferred to seek a more useful service and wider

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1. Subk., iv, p. 107; JAOS, xx, p. 77; Sharif, i, p. 583.
2. Subk., iv, p. 103; JAOS, xx, p. 77; Sharif, i, p. 583; for the explanation see Chapter I.
3. Ithāf, see Sīra, 157; Subk, iv, p. 106; JAOS, xx, pp. 77-8; Sharif, i, p. 538; for the explanation see Chapter I. p.6.
4. Muslim Intellectual, p. 23.

appreciation for his abilities. This of course led him right away to the camp of Niẓām-al-Mulk where he was received by the vizier with honour and respect, although he was only twenty seven years old.[1]

Niẓām-al-Mulk held frequent assemblies for debate and discussion and al-Ghazālī soon made his mark at these and was conspicuous for his skill in debate. By his success in this hard test he assumed the leadership among his fellow-scholars as he had done in Khurasan, and his fame became widespread. Travellers came from afar to hear him and, as a biographer says: "he was one of those whom men pointed out."[2]

During that time scholars preferred to devote much attention to "theology, philosophy, mysticism, Bātiniya,"[3] but above all jurisprudence.[4] "And since he who dresses as the beloved will also be beloved,"[5] and the beloved of the scholar and their "interest is genuine in jurisprudence"[6] al-Ghazālī was forced to show his skill in this particular subject in order not to lose his position and so he did.

In July 1091, Niẓām-al-Mulk sent al-Ghazālī to Niẓāmiyya College at Baghdad[7] "when he was only thirty-three."[8] He was the

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1. Ibid.
2. Smith, p. 19.
3. Faith and Practice, p. 26.
4. Iḥyā', i, pp. 4, 37-8; Ḥusn, ii, p. 184.
5. Iḥyā', i, p. 4.
6. Ibid.
7. Muslim Intellectual, p. 23.
8. Smith, p. 18; Kathīr, See Badawī, p. 516; Sharīf, i, p. 584; The Cambridge history of Iran, v, p. 72.

youngest teacher ever appointed to this culmination of religious career.[1] The youngest teacher to be appointed before him to this particular position was Abū-Sa'd al-Mutawallī, appointed at the age of fifty.[2] Some others were appointed at the age of fifty-nine.[3]

Al-Ghazālī, whose fame as a scholar had preceded him, received a warm welcome in Baghdad,[4] not only from the students but also from the jurists of whom it was said that they "despise strangers and show scorn and disdain to their inferiors, while the stories and news of other men they belittle. Each conceives, in belief and thought, that the whole world is but trivial in comparison with his land, and over the face of the world they find no noble place of living save their own. It is as if they are persuaded that God has no lands or people save theirs."[5]

The first meeting between al-Ghazālī and these jurists took place as soon as al-Ghazālī arrived to take up his appointment at the Niẓāmiyya. Perhaps they wanted to know him first hand in order to evaluate his qualifications for such a high position. In any case the biographers of al-Ghazālī state that the jurists came

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 58; Sharif, i, p. 584.
2. Muntaẓam, ix, p. 18; 'Ibar, v, p. 13.
3. Ibid., v, p. 13; vi, p. 469; Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 12-3, 18; Shadh., iii, pp. 307, 408; Husn, ii, pp. 104-6; Subk., iii, pp. 88, 152; Tabyīn, pp. 276-8, 287-8; Lub., i, p. 410.
4. 'Aynī, see Sīra, p. 145; Yāf'ī, see Sīra, 84; Wafayāt, ii, p. 622; Smith, p. 21.
5. Jubayr, pp. 226-7 (Arab., pp. 218-19).

to him and said: "We have been told that it has been the custom for everyone who teaches in this building to invite the jurists to be present and listen, and we wish you to invite us to your lectures in jurisprudence (*'ilm*)." Al-Ghazālī replied: "Most willingly, but on one of two conditions, either you shall provide refreshments for the day, and I shall fix the date, or the other way round." They said: "No, you shall provide refreshments, and we wish to be invited for to-day." He rejoined: "The food provided must be what I can manage, and it will be bread and vinegar and herbs." Then they exclaimed: "No, by God, but you shall fix the day, and we will supply provisions, we intend to have a supply of chicken and of sweetmeats." Then al-Ghazālī said, "Very well then, the day shall be two years hence." So they admitted that they were baffled and left it all to him."[1]

In the Niẓāmiyya college, al-Ghazālī astonished the Baghdadis by the excellence of his lectures, his fluent delivery, the extent of his learning the subtlety of his allusions, and the lucidity of his explanations. They developed a great regard for him and treated him as a great scholar. Not only that, but the Baghdadis regarded him as an ideal teacher, this is why they kept saying "no one like Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī ever before or after entered Baghdad."[2] Moreover they acclaimed his eloquence, erudition, and dialectical skill and for many scholars, he came to

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1. Subk., iv, p. 113.
2. Subk., vi, p. 169; *Ḥusn*, i, p. 177; *Wafayāt*, iii, p. 469, (Eng.) & ii, p. 133.

be looked upon as the greatest jurist in the Shafi'ite school.[1] This of course does not affect his position as a philosopher, theologian, and mystic.[2]

Al-Ghazālī's wealth and position among Baghdadis became such that his household and the number of his followers were said to exceed those of the great nobles and emirs and even the court of the caliph himself.[3] This might be an exaggeration, but nevertheless it indicates the breadth of his support.

The lectures of al-Ghazālī attracted large classes including the chief savants of the time, as well as three hundred of the most distinguished students, and one hundred of the sons of the princely families.[4]

During his teaching period in Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad, it seems that he taught only jurisprudence; or at least concentrated upon this one subject during his first three years. This conclusion is supported by the following:

1. Before al-Ghazālī took up his appointment at the Niẓāmiyya, he had not studied philosophy thoroughly because, according to al-Ghazālī's own words: "So far as I could see none of the doctors of Islam had devoted thought and attention to philosophy. In their

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1. Subk., iv, pp. 107, 123; Ithāf; see Sīra, p. 153; ʿAynī, see, Sīra, p. 145; Siyar, see Sīra, pp. 72, 76; Wafayāt, ii, p. 132. (Arab.); Badawī, 540, 518; Mirʾāt, see Badawī, p. 514; Dimashq, see Badawī, p. 504.
2. Cf. Fasl, pp. 27-8; Siyar, see Sīra, p. 70.
3. Subk., iv, p. 107; Smith, p. 21.
4. Smith, p. 22; cf. Munqidh, p. 18.

writings none of the theologians engaged in polemic against the philosophers, apart from obscure and scattered utterances so plainly erroneous and inconsistent that no person of ordinary intelligence would be likely to be deceived, far less one versed in the sciences. I realized that to refute a system before understanding it and becoming acquainted with its depths is to act blindly. I therefore set out in all earnestness to acquire a knowledge of philosophy from books, by private study without the help of an instructor. I made progress towards this aim during my hours of free time after teaching in the religious sciences and writing, for at this period I was burdened with the teaching and instruction of three hundred students in Baghdad."[1]

2. His study of philosophy lasted for almost three of the four years which he spent in Niẓāmiyya college. By his solitary reading during the snatched hours "God brought me in less than two years to a complete understanding of the sciences of the philosophers. Thereafter I continued to reflect assiduously for nearly a year on what I had assimilated going over it in my mind again and again and probing its tangled depths, until I comprehended surely and certainly how far it was deceitful and confusing and how far true and a representation of reality."[2]

3. His fourth and last year in Niẓāmiyya al-Ghazālī spent studying and writing about the Bāṭiniya and mysticism, as well as

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1. Faith and Practice, pp.29-30.
2. Ibid., p. 30.

composing his first books concerning philosophy: Maqāṣid-al-falāsifa and Tahāfut-al-falāsifa. This means that he was too busy to teach philosophy; and, even if for the sake of argument, one should accept that he did, his teaching would have been so limited.

4. Until the beginning of al-Ghazālī's fourth year in Niẓāmiyya he still had not studied mysticism thoroughly but, according to his own words, he turned with set purpose to this subject only after he had finished his studies of philosophy and the Bāṭiniyya. Concerning this he wrote: "When I had finished with these sciences, I next turned with set purpose to the method of mysticism. I knew that the complete mystic way includes both intellectual belief and practical activity; the latter consists in getting rid of the obstacles in the self and in stripping off its base characteristics and vicious morals, so that the heart may attain to freedom from what is not God and to constant recollection of Him."[1]

"The intellectual belief was easier to me than the practical activity. I began to acquaint myself with their belief by reading their books, such as The Food of the Hearts (Qūt-al-qulūb) by Abū-Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), the works of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), the various anecdotes about al-Junayd (d. 298/910), ash-Shiblī (d. 334/945), and Abū-Yazīd-al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875), and other discourses of their leading men. I thus comprehended their

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1. Ibid., p. 54.

fundamental teachings on the intellectual side, and progressed, as far as is possible by study and oral instruction, in knowledge of mysticism. It became clear to me, however, that what is most distinctive of mysticism is something which cannot be apprehended by study, but only by immediate experience (dhawq), by ecstasy and by a moral change."[1]

Reaching this conclusion, that is the dhawq is the most distinctive part in mysticism, al-Ghazālī began to reflect on it continuously for a time, while the choice still remained open to him. "One day I would form the resolution to quit Baghdad and get rid of these adverse circumstances; the next day I would abandon my resolution. I put one foot forward and drew the other back. If in the morning I had a genuine longing to seek eternal life [through the practical mystic method], by the evening the attack of a whole host of desires had reduced it to impotence."[2]

For nearly six months beginning with Rajab 488 A.H./July 1095 A.D. he was continuously tossed about between the attraction of worldly desires and the impulses towards the important task of completing his mystic studies; at last the matter ceased to be one of choice and became one of compulsion. God caused his tongue to dry up so that he was prevented from lecturing not only in mysticism (which he was still studying in respect of its practical part), but also in jurisprudence which he had taught up to this time.[3]

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1. Ibid., pp. 54-5.
2. Ibid., p. 56.
3. Ibid., p. 57.

All this is evidence to show that he concentrated on teaching jurisprudence and not other subjects. Perhaps he mentioned philosophy, discourses of the Bāṭiniya, and the method of mysticism, during his lectures or preaching (if he ever was a preacher[1]), but to mention something is different from teaching it. It is difficult to accept the theory that al-Ghazālī taught these other subjects since he criticized theologians in these words: "I was convinced that a man cannot grasp what is defective in any of the sciences unless he has so complete a grasp of the science in question that he equals its most learned exponents in the appreciation of its fundamental principles, and even goes beyond and surpasses them, probing into some of the tangles and profundities which the very professions of the sciences have neglected. Then and only then is it possible that what he has to assert about its defects is true."[2] For one who made such a statement finds difficulty in doing what he has criticized others for doing, or, in other words, he cannot teach philosophy and mysticism before he goes beyond and surpasses its most learned exponents in the appreciation of their fundamental principles.

Moreover al-Ghazālī was appointed as a teacher by Niẓām-al-Mulk, the great Seljūq vizier (in power from 1063 to 1092), and this very vizier was so fond of jurisprudence and mysticism[3] that

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1. Ithāf, see Sīra, pp. 154, 160.
2. Faith and Practice, p. 29.
3. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 67-8; Shadh., iii, p. 375.

when he built the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad (established 458-60/1065-67),[1] he made a condition that no one should have an office in it unless he is Shāfi'ī, no matter if he was a jurist, preacher, librarian, Muqri', grammarian, theologian, or anyone else; all of them had to be Shāfi'ites before they hold any office in that college.[2] It happened that some who wished to be appointed in that college changed to the Shāfi'ite School,[3] or at least showed their readiness to change. An example for the later was Ibn-al-Jawzī himself, who had been a bigoted Ḥanbalite.[4] This evidence by itself is not sufficient to support our claim here; but, if one looks at it in the light of the above evidence, he might come to the conclusion that Niẓām-al-Mulk most likely appointed al-Ghazālī as a jurist and not as a philosopher or mystic.

Again following this chapter are biographical sketches of thirty-four scholars who studied under al-Ghazālī; none of these studied any subject under him except jurisprudence. It could of course have happened by accident, but that is unlikely.

In Dhū-'l-Qa'da, 488,/November, 1095, al-Ghazālī left the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad after he failed to gratify the hearts of his followers by giving them even one single lecture. From that time onwards he consecrated himself to the practical aspect of

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1. Sharif, i, p. 584; Tawārīkh, i, p. 33.
2. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 65-6; cf. Ibid., x, pp. 219-220, 226; Shadh., iv, p. 163; v, pp. 70, 96; Subk., iv, pp. 29, 210; Fawāt, ii, pp. 473-4; Nujūm, v, p. 217.
3. Shadh., iv, p. 348.
4. Mira'āt, see, Muntaẓam (margin, x, ix, p. 169).

mysticism so that he could comprehend what is the most distinctive aspects of mysticism, after his thorough study of their fundamental teachings on the intellectual side. He devoted eleven years to this part of study[1] in order to make it part of his own personal experience.[2] It is worth mentioning here that al-Ghazālī, even during this time, dealt with jurisprudence, if not as a teacher as it has been stated,[3] certainly as a mufti.

A piece of evidence for the latter was given by as-Subkī who said: "One day, when al-Ghazālī was sitting in the court of the Umayyad mosque where a number of muftis were sitting talking together, a villager came to them, seeking a legal decision (fatwā), but they gave him no reply. Al-Ghazālī, engaged in meditation, saw that no one gave the man any answer and that he was troubled thereby, so he called the rustic to him and gave him a reply. The villager, however, scoffed at him, saying: 'the muftis gave me no decision and how can this ignorant faqīr tell me what I want to know.' The muftis, meanwhile, were observing them and when al-Ghazālī had finished speaking, they called the villager and asked him what that common fellow had said to him. When the peasant explained the matter, they came to al-Ghazālī and, recognising him, surrounded him, requesting him to establish a discussion circle for them. He held out the hope of meeting them

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1. Munqidh, p. 49; Faith and Practice, p. 76.
2. Smith, p. 25.
3. Yāfi'ī, see, Sīra, pp. 84, 86; Subk, iv, p. 104; 'Aynī, see Sīra, p. 146; Ṣafdī, i, p. 274.

the next day, but instead he left the city that night."[1]

The state of things continued until Fakhr-al-Mulk Jamāl-ash-Shuhadā' became vizier and established his court and retinue in Khurasan; he heard of al-Ghazālī's high reputation and great learning and the spiritual state to which he attained, in the purity of his faith, and his manner of life. So Fakhr-al-Mulk sought a blessing from him and visited him and listened to his teaching, and then besought him not to let his rare qualities and gifts remain fruitless, without profit to others, giving no light from their radiance. The vizier used every importunity and pressed al-Ghazālī "with strict orders to hasten to Nishapur to tackle the problem of this lukewarmness in religious matters. So strict was the injunction that, had I persisted in disobeying it, I should at length have been cut off."[2] At last al-Ghazālī obeyed.

In Dhū-'l-Qa'da, 499/July, 1106 A.D. he went to Nishapur, and took up his appointment at the Maymūna Niẓāmiyya college where he started a new life of teaching, new method, intention, aim and desire. His words concerning this are: "In myself I know that, even if I went back to the work of disseminating knowledge, yet I did not go back. To go back is to return to the previous state of things. Previously, however, I had been disseminating the knowledge by which worldly success is attained by word and deed I had

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1. Subk, iv, pp. 104-5; Smith, p. 26.
2. Faith and Practice, p. 74.

called men to it; and that had been my aim and intention. But now I am calling men to the knowledge whereby worldly success is given up and its low position in the scale of real worth is recognized. This is now my intention, my aim, my desire; God knows that this is so. It is my earnest longing that I may make myself and others better."[1]

Al-Ghazālī spent three years at least in his new appointment which is presumably the chief professorship.[2] During this period he gave lectures in jurisprudence and its foundation.[3]

In 503/1109 al-Ghazālī retired once more to his home in Ṭūs and established a college for students of jurisprudence,[4] and also a convent for Ṣūfis.[5] Smith added that: "It must have been during this period that once again he was summoned by the Grand Vizier as-Sa'īd to take up teaching again in the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad, but al-Ghazālī wrote him a decisive letter of refusal, reminding him that he had given up that same work, in order to betake himself to a life of devotion, for the sake of God and in accordance with His purpose.

"He writes: Know that men are divided into three groups, in turning towards what is their Qibla.

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1. Ibid., p. 76.
2. Muslim Intellectual, 147.
3. Mustaṣfā, i, p. 4.
4. Subk., iv, p. 105.
5. Ibid.

a) The people at large, who limit their consideration to this transient world and of these the Prophet expressed his disapproval when he said: 'No wolves attacking the sheepfold are more destructive to the faith of Muslim than the love of wealth and honour'.

b) The second are the elect, who give their chief attention to the next world knowing that it is more excellent and more enduring than this, and they do good works for its sake, but the prophet showed how they are in error, when he said: 'This world is forbidden to those who belong to the next and the next is forbidden to those who belong to this, and both are forbidden to those who belong to God Most High'.

c) The third are the elect of the elect, and they are, those who know that beyond everything is something else which belongs to those that set, and the wise man does not love that which sets (i.e., is but transient). These are convinced that this world and the world to come are but the creation of God and the most important things in them are eating and pro-creation, which are shared with the brutes and the reptiles and neither of the two represents a high rank. Therefore they have turned away from both and turned towards their Creator, Who is the Author of their being and their King. To them has been revealed the meaning of God is more exalted and abides and none who turns aside to what is other than Him is free from secret polytheism. For them all existent things are divided into two, God and what is other than God. They have considered this under the similitude of the two

scales of a balance, and their heart is the tongue of that balance. Whenever they see their heart inclining towards what is noble and honourable, they judge that the scale is weighted down by good works, and when they see their hearts inclining towards what is base, they judge that the scale is weighted down by evil deeds.

"As the first class are common in comparison with the second, so also the second class are common in comparison with the third, and the three classes can be reduced to two. Therefore I say that the Chief has summoned me to descend from the higher rank to that which is lower and I, for my part, summon him to ascend from the lower to the higher, which is the highest of the high. The road which leads to God Most High, from Baghdad and from Ṭūs and from every other place, is one, no one of them is nearer than any other. Therefore I ask God to arouse him from the sleep of heedlessness, so that he may consider the morrow while it is still to-day, before the matter is taken out of his hands. So farewell."[1]

Bouyges in his Essai de Chronologie des oeuvres de Al-Ghazzālī opposed the ideas that al-Ghazālī send this letter to the Grand vizier as-Sa'īd during this period of his life, and from the proofs he gave, it seems that he was right in opposing it.[2] Professor Watt suggested that the request was almost certainly before July 1106. Anyway, whether al-Ghazālī sent this letter or not certainly he abandoned any official post and divided thereafter

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1. Smith, pp. 33-5; Badawī, pp. 127-9.
2. Ibid., p. 123.

his time in the way best fitted to serve the needs of those around him.

Yet, it is peculiar to notice that, though al-Ghazālī was a jurist, he criticized bitterly the scholar-jurists to the extent that he once refused to account himself among them.[1] He did that in his earlier life as well as his latter life.[2] "The critique of the scholar-jurist is by no means a novel or original feature in the thought of al-Ghazālī."[3] "No one can read through, or even rapidly peruse, the opening book of al-Ghazālī's Revival of Religious Sciences without being struck by the bitterness of his criticism."[4]

Throughout the book of knowledge, which is the first of the forty books of his lengthy work, i.e. Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn, "Al-Ghazālī never allows the readers to forget his critical attitude towards the scholar-jurists of the day. The following are the chief points made by al-Ghazālī in respect of his criticism of the jurists.

(1) Most of the religious knowledge of the day, as studied by the scholar-jurist, is purely this-worldly and deals only with such matters as the ordering of the life of society. From what al-Ghazālī says, it appears that they were in the habit of

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1. Subk., iii, p. 259.
2. Ibid.
3. Muslim Intellectual, 109.
4. Ibid., pp. 108-9.

spending much time and energy in the discussion of legal points which had little practical application; for example, details for formulate of divorce which were perhaps rarely used, or questions concerning fine points of difference between the recognized legal rites. While those who claim to be religious scholars thus exercise themselves in academic trifles, they neglect the real business of religion, the preparation of man for the life of the world-to-come. Those who are so learned about rare forms of divorce can tell you nothing about the simpler things of spiritual life, such as the meaning of sincerity towards God or trust in him (ikhlāṣ, tawakkul).

(2) The attempt of such men to justify their conduct on religious grounds is unsatisfactory. They say that this is a communal obligation (farḍ kifāya), that is, something which ought to be done by some unspecified members of the community for the sake of the whole, but which is not incumbent on every one as is an individual obligation (farḍ 'ayn). But al-Ghazālī points out that it is not for a Muslim to undertake a communal obligation until he has performed all his individual obligations, and that too many persons performed this communal obligation while certain other communal obligations, such as being a doctor in a small town, are neglected - there are many towns where the only doctors are Jews and Christians, persons not qualified to give evidence in a Muslim law-court. So al-Ghazālī concludes that it is not zeal for the performance of communal obligations that leads so many to become scholar-jurists.

(3) The corollary of this is that in fact the majority of the religious scholars of the day are chiefly concerned with their professional qualifications as a means of gaining wealth, power and positions as a means of heart of his critique. The intellectuals of the age have become infected by the worldliness of the rulers. This is a worse fault, however, in those who claim to be religious scholars, for it means that they are hypocritical and do not practise what they preach.

(4) Al-Ghazālī further holds that the true scholar will have nothing to do with rulers and will not accept offices from them. The true scholar will even avoid having to give a formal legal-opinion when he is asked to do so - presumably because this was part of the official legal procedure and indeed of the business of government. He even held that the religious scholar should teach freely without any remuneration.

(5) While al-Ghazālī has this generally critical attitude, he does not entirely condemn the study of the various branches of religious knowledge. They have their uses, even if these are restricted to the ordering of the society in this world. What is important is not to forget that man's true destiny is in the world-to-come, and, in the light of this, to allow the usefulness of each branch of religious knowledge to determine the extent to which it is studied."[1]

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1. Ibid., pp. 112-4.

A further criticism of the jurist is implicit in Faysal at-tafriqa bayn-al-Islam waz-zandaqa,[1] and Bidāyat al-hidāya;[2] but all his criticism in those books was made after al-Ghazālī was converted to the mystic way of life. This seems suitable and proper for his new life and attitudes.

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1. Ibid., p. 114.
2. Bidāyat, p. 44; (This page is not translated to English by Professor Watt, for according to his view, "it is probably not authentic", see Faith and Practice, p. 152).

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDENTS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ

However bitter al-Ghazālī's attack was upon the jurists, his influence upon them was deep. It was even deeper than his influence upon theologians, mystics, and philosophers.[1] Following this brief introduction there are biographical sketches for thirty-four of al-Ghazālī's students, and all of these studied jurisprudence under him. More evidence for his influence in jurisprudence will be given in Chapter V which deals with al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ and Wajīz and those who were influenced by these two works.

(1)

Khalaf Ibn-Aḥmad an-Nishapurī

(d. before 505/1111)

Khalaf Ibn-Aḥmad an-Nishapurī was one of al-Ghazālī's students who studied jurisprudence under him in Nishapur and later became known as an outstanding scholar. His fatāwā were mentioned by others such as Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ. He died before al-Ghazālī did.[2]

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1. Cf. Zahra, p. 585.
2. Subk., iv, p. 218; Sīra, p. 199.

(2)

Abū-'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥanbalī

(432/1040 to 510/1116)

Maḥfūẓ Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-al-Ḥasan, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Khaṭṭāb, the nisba of al-Kalwadhānī,[1] and he was sometimes called al-Baghdādī. He was nearly twenty years older than al-Ghazālī.

He studied the Tradition under al-Jawharī, al-'Ushārī, Abū-'Alī al-Jāzirī[2] (374-452/984-1060), al-Mubārakī,[3] Abū-'l-Faḍl Ibn-al-Kūfī, Abū-Ya'la, Abu-Ja'far Ibn-al-Maslama, Abū-'l-Ḥusayn Ibn-al-Muhtadī and others. He studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ya'la, and according to Ibn-al-Jawzī, he attended al-Ghazālī's classes during the period when the latter first held his chair in Baghad Abū-'l-Khaṭṭāb made notes of al-Ghazālī's lectures and made use of them in his own works.[4]

After completing his studies he became a famous Imām in the Ḥanbalite school and his reputation attracted many students. Among those who attended his classes were: Abū-an-Ni'am al-Anṣārī, Abū-Ṭālib Ibn-Khuḍayr,[5] 'Abd-al-Wahhāb Ibn-Ḥamza, Abū-Bakr ad-Daynawarī,[6] and ash-Shaykh 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlī.[7]

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1. Lub., iii, p. 49.
2. Ibid., i, p. 204.
3. Ibid., iii, pp. 93-4.
4. Muntaẓam, ix, p. 169.
5. Lub., i, p. 411.
6. Ibid., i, p. 440.
7. Ibid., i, p. 264

He composed a number of books, some of which were:

(a) Al-Hidāya fi-l-furū', commented on by Wajīh-ad-Dīn As'ad Ibn-al-Manja (d. 606/1209) in ten volumes.[1]

(b) Al-Intiṣār fi-l-masāʾil al-Kibār, dealing with the differences between the schools of jurisprudence.

(c) Ruʾūs-al-masāʾil, dealing with the same subjects as the previous one.

(d) At-Tahdhīb fi-l-farāʾiḍ, criticized by Ibn-Yūnus in his book Awhām Abū-'l-Khaṭṭab fi-l-farāʾiḍ.

(e) At-Tamhīd fī-uṣūl al-fiqh.

(f) Al-'Ibādāt al-Khams.

(g) Manāsik al-ḥajj.

He also wrote some poems, his most famous one being ad-Dāliyya (القصيدة الدالية) in which he dealt with special subjects in theology.[2]

(3)

Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Gurganī

(d. 513/1119)

As-Subkī wrote the following biographical note: "Ibrāhīm Ibn-al-Muṭahhar Abū-Ṭāhir ash-Shibāk al-Gurganī. He attended

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 2031.
2. Hanābila, i, pp. 116-127; Smith, p. 65; Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 168-170.

the lectures of Imām al-Ḥaramayn in Nishapur, then he accompanied al-Ghazālī (صحب الغزالی) and went with him to Iraq, Ḥijāz, and Syria. Later he returned to his home in Gurgan where he settled and held a course of instruction as well as religious exhortation (wa'ẓ). His fellow-citizens gave him a very warm welcome, to the extent that they built a special school for him. He was killed suddenly in 513/1119 giving his life as a martyr."[1]

Murtaḍa az-zabīdī, who wrote his book Itḥāf as-sāda al-muttaqīn in 1193/1779 (410 years after as-Subkī's death), copied exactly what the latter said, but he included him in the section: "Al-Ghazālī's students."[2]

The phrase in as-Subkī's biographical note which led Murtaḍa to conclude that Ibn-al-Muṭahhar was one of al-Ghazālī's students, is ṣaḥiba al-Ghazālī, which does not necessarily indicate that he attended al-Ghazālī's lectures. The phrase may simply mean that Ibn-al-Muṭahhar was a friend and travelling companion to al-Ghazālī. Since Murtaḍa cites no other source besides as-Subkī, and since as-Subkī does not state explicitly what Murtaḍa asserts, then it is difficult either to accept as a historical fact or to refute Murtaḍa's assertion that Ibn-al-Muṭahhar was one of al-Ghazālī's students, and the question must remain uncertain.[3]

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1. Subk., iv, p. 200.
2. Sīra, pp. 197-9.
3. Subk., iv, pp. 104-5; Itḥāf see Sīra, p. 199.

ʿAlī Ibn-ʿAqīl al-Ḥanbalī
(431/1039 to 513/1119)

Among a few Ḥanbalites who attended al-Ghazālī's lectures was ʿAlī Ibn-ʿAqīl Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-ʿAqīl Ibn-Aḥmad. His kunya was Abū-'l-Wafāʾ, his nickname was Shaykh-al-Islam, and his nisba was aẓ-Ẓafarī.[1]

"This precocious young man had broad interests ranging from Kur'ān and traditions, grammar and belles-letter, asceticism and Sufism, prosody and the art of letter-writing-... subject in which he particularly excelled - the art of the sermon, dogmatic theology, dialectics and legal studies."[2]

Of twenty-three teachers Ibn-ʿAqīl himself names as those under whom he studied, "only two belonged to the Ḥanbalī School Abū-Yaʿlā and Abū-Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 488/1095). The others were Shāfiʿī ... Ḥanafī ... as well as Muʿtazilī.[3] The most eminent Shāfiʿite teacher of Ibn-ʿAqīl was Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. According to Ibn-al-Jawzī, Ibn-ʿAqīl attended al-Ghazālī's classes during the period when the latter first held his chair in Baghdad, he added that Ibn-ʿAqīl admired al-Ghazālī's lectures to the extent that he quoted them out in all his books.[4]

Having finished his studies and built his own character and personality he was appointed "to a chair in the Cathedral Mosque of al-Manṣūr after his teacher Abū-Yaʿlā died in 458."[5] This appointment "made possible by his parton Abū-Manṣūr, earned him the hostility

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1. Lub., ii, pp. 100-1.
2. Makdisi G. "Ibn-ʿAqīl", EI², iii, pp. 699-700.
3. Ibid.
4. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 168-9.
5. EI², p. 699.

of a group of Ḥanbalis led by the Sharīf Abū-Dja'far (d. 470)."[1] "The pressure on him was such that eventually in 1072 he made a retraction which satisfied the Sharīf Abū-Ja'far. There has recently been discovered and published the autograph diary of one of the lesser Ḥanbalites with numerous entries covering about a year from 1068 to 1069; and this suggests that the Ḥanbalites were not so solidly against Ibn-'Aqīl as had previously been thought, and that the pressure on him was not due to an official decision of the whole Ḥanbalite body but was mainly from the Sharīf Abū-Ja'far and his friends among the Ḥanbalites."[2]

"The works of Ibn-'Aḳīl have not been critically edited and published and therefore his thought cannot as yet be properly studied."[3] However Ibn-'Aqīl composed books on many different subjects, some of which were: (1) Kitāb al-Funūn, "This is the most important work of Ibn-'Aḳīl. Historians are not in agreement as to the extent of this work, the figures given ranging from two hundred to as many as eight hundred volumes; only one volume is known to be extant. It is a journal of

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1. Ibid., pp. 699-700.
2. Muslim Intellectual, p. 107. cf. G. Makdisi, "Autograph diary of an eleventh-century historian of Baghdad", BSOAS, xviii, (1956), pp. 9-31, 239-260; xix, (1957), pp. 13-48, 281-303, 426-443.
3. EI^2, iii, p. 700.

encyclopaedic range, covering all sorts of subjects and attesting its author's wide range of interests."[1] (2) Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh. "A work on the methodology of law in three volumes; all extant."[2] (3) A series of brief treatises on the nature of the Ḳur'ān, written in refutation of Ash'arī doctrines in one volume.[3] (4) Kitāb al-Jadal "A work on dialectics in one volume".[4] This book was edited and published by G. Makdisi, in 1967.

(5)

Ibn-Barhān

(479/1086 to 518/1124)

Abū-'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Muḥammad al-Wakīl, generally

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. for more details see, Goldziher, "Zur Geschichte der hanbalitische Bewegungen's" in ZDMG, XII, (1908), pp. 20-1; L. Massignon, "La passion d' al-Hallaj", Paris, 1914-22, 366-7, Recueil de textes inedits, 91-2, 'Etudes sur les isnads' in Melanges Grat, i, p. 391; G. Makdisi, "Nouveaux details sur l'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqīl". Mel. L. Massignon, iii, (1957), pp. 91-126; Shadh., iv, pp. 35-9; Rajab, i, 17 ff; GAL, i, 398; GALS, i, 687; G. Makdisi, "Ibn 'Aqīl et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI^{e} siecle" PIFD, 1963.

known by the name Ibn-Barhān, was a doctor of the Ḥanbalites, but later changed to Shafiites. He was profoundly learned in the dogmas of faith and the minor principles of doctrine, as also in those points wherein the four orthodox schools agree or differ.

He studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī and Abū-'l-Ḥasan Ilkyā al-Harrāsī. He studied the Tradition under Abū-'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn al-Baṭr, Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥusain Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥa, and Abū-Ṭālib az-Zaynabī, as well as others.

After becoming master in jurisprudence and other subjects he taught twice in the Niẓāmiyya college at Baghdad; his first position lasted for less than a month, and his second lasted only for one day. No reason was given for giving up his position but apart from this he was very popular as a scholar, he did not stop teaching either before or after his release. He kept himself busy with his students during the day as well as during some hours at night. As-Subkī stated that some students begged Ibn Barhān to teach them al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn. He told them that he had no time whatsoever, but they kept insisting referring to such and such an hour. At last they succeeded in finding that their teacher was not busy at midnight, so they studied Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn at that time.

This very fact indicates two things: first, it illustrates the influence of al-Ghazālī (otherwise they would not have to study his book during midnight), secondly, it illustrates the popularity

of Ibn-Barhān (otherwise they could study this book under anyone else).

Ibn-Barhān was very much influenced by his teacher, al-Ghazālī. He adopted al-Ghazālī's ideas about the naive, by saying that there is no compulsion whatsoever for anyone to follow a certain school.[1] Moreover he composed three books in jurisprudence and, instead of choosing his own titles for them, he preferred al-Basīṭ, al-Wasīṭ, and al-Wajīz, the titles of al-Ghazālī's three most famous books in jurisprudence, or in other words some of the most famous books he ever wrote. (See Chapter V).

Someone might dispute this by saying that neither to Ibn-Barhān nor to al-Ghazālī belong these names, it belongs originally to Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075).[2] In fact al-Wāḥidī wrote books by these names but his books dealt with commentary of the Qur'ān while the books of both other writers dealt with jurisprudence. This is why one compares Ibn-Barhān's books with al-Ghazālī's and not with al-Wāḥidī's. Moreover when someone compares something with another, he does that sometimes in the light of certain circumstances, and here one of those circumstances is that Ibn-Barhān was one of al-Ghazālī's students who was very influenced by him.

The date of his death is uncertain. Ibn-Khallikān states that Ibn-Barhān died in 520/1126 but others like as-Subkī and Ibn-

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1. Shadh., iv, p. 62; cf. Tafriqa, p. 5; Iqtiṣād, p. 2.
2. Shadh., iii, p. 330; Subk, iii, pp. 289-290; Miftāḥ, i, pp. 402-3; Nujūm, ii, p. 261; Khazrajī, i, pp. 129, 432.

al-'Imād say it is well known that 518/1124 was the year of his death. This date also is supported by Murtaḍa-az-Zabīdī (b. 1145/1732) in his book Itḥāf as-sāda al-muttaqīn bi-sharḥ asrār iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn.[1]

(6)

Abū-Ṭālib ar-Rāzī

(d. 522/1030)

'Abd-al-Karīm Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Abū-Ṭālib, had the kunya of Abū Ṭālib, and the nisba of ar-Rāzī. He studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī, Ilkyā al-Harāsī Muḥammad Ibn-Thābit al-Khujandī,[2] and al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Mas'ūd al-Farrā'. He studied the Tradition under Abū-Bakr Ibn-al-Khaḍiba and others. But the most influential teacher he ever had was al-Ghazālī. Not only did he memorize the Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn, but he practised its contents in the way of his behaviour and manner; that is to say, on one hand he preferred to join with and make close contact with mystics instead of doing the same with jurists (he settled with mystics in Herat). On the other hand he strongly opposed the blind following (taqlīd) in respect of jurisprudence, but at the same time be accepted it if it was for mysticism.

According to Abū-Ṭālib the basic condition for being a student of mysticism is to accept whatever one's teacher says regardless of

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1. Wafayāt, i, pp. 80-1; Subk., iv, p. 42; Shadh., iv, pp. 61-2; Itḥaf, (see Sīra, pp. 197-8).

2. Lub., i, p. 348.

whether one agrees with him or not. But as for jurisprudence, the basic condition is to be ready to oppose and refute the teachings of your teacher if it does not satisfy you. This and that condition was the subject of his argument with al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Mas'ūd al-Farrā' who was angry when his student Abū-Nu'aym 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Umar Ibn-al-Aṣfar opposed his teachings concerning jurisprudence, but when Abū-Ṭālib ar-Rāzī explained to him such differences between the two conditions he was pleased with his student and became reconciled to him.

No definite date is given for his death, but as-Subkī says that he most likely died in 522/1030, but possibly he died a year before or after this date.[1]

(7)

Al-Mahdī Ibn-Tūmart

(485/1092 to 524/1129)

Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Tūmart had the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allah, nisba of al-Harghī, but he was well known as al-Mahdī. He was the chief of the call made in Maghrib in favour of 'Abd-al-Mu'min Ibn-'Alī (d. 558/1162). It was stated by some biographers that Ibn-Tūmart was a descendant of al-Ḥasan Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Abū-Ṭālib.[2] Ibn-Ṭūmart passed his early years in the Jabal as-Sūs in the

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1. Subk., iv, pp. 258-9.

2. One of those who opposed this was Ibn-al-'Imād, see, Shadh., iv, p. 70. According to him Ibn-Tūmart was not a descendant of al-Ḥasan.

farthest part of Maghrib.

When a youth, he travelled to the East for the purpose of acquiring learning, and on his arrival to Iraq he met Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Ilkyā al-Harrāsī, at-Ṭurṭūshī (1059-1126), and other masters. Having made the pilgrimage, he remained for a time at Mecca and acquired a very fair knowledge of the law, the Traditions, and the fundamental principles of jurisprudence.

The sources for his life are copious and intolerably contradictory. Concerning his contact with al-Ghazālī:

(i) 'Abd-al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī says that Ibn-Tūmart travelled in the East in pursuit of knowledge in 501/1107, and that he met al-Ghazālī in Syria in the latter's ascetic days; careful study, however, shows that al-Ghazālī's wandering life ceased in 499/1105.

(ii) Further, it is said that al-Ghazālī was told in Ibn-Tūmart's presence about the burning of the former books, and thereupon cursed 'Alī and prayed that his kingdom might pass away and his children be slain, and "I do not think that he who is entrusted with that is any but one present in our assembly," al-Ghazālī added.

Concerning the burning of al-Ghazālī's books, some points may be raised:

1) The assumption which shows that al-Ghazālī saw in Ibn-Tūmart a regenerator of religion in the West may be regarded as unlikely, simply because al-Ghazālī was in favour of the justice which was practised there. According to some sources, al-Ghazālī

intended to sail to Maghrib, in hopes of having an interview with Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn (d. 500/1106), who is the father of 'Alī (d. 537/1142) and the sovereign of Morocco.[1]

2) He gave a fatwā in support of Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn, the father,[2] and the corruption of manners and hostility to the study of theology could not, before Ibn-Tāshfīn's death, have gone so far that al-Ghazālī would turn against 'Alī the son.[3]

3) It is improbable that the Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn was burned during the lifetime of its author;[4] If so it should have been mentioned among the less important events mentioned in al-Ghazālī's al-Imlā' 'an-ishkālāt-al-iḥyā',[5] al-Munqidh min aḍ-ḍalāl,[6] and Faysal at-tafriqa bayn al-Islam wa-z-zandaqa.[7]

4) Al-Ghazālī is remembered among the theologians of Islam in that he, over his formal signature, forbade to curse any Muslim, even Yazīd, the slayer of al-Ḥusayn the well-beloved. His words concerning this matter run thus: "It is forbidden to curse a Muslim; Yazīd was a Muslim. It is not certain that he slew al-Ḥusayn, and it is forbidden to think ill of a Muslim. We cannot be certain that he ordered his death; really we cannot be certain of the cause

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 622; 'Aynī, see Sīra, p. 146; Siyar, see Sīra, p. 75.
2. JAOS, xx, p. 112.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Imlā', see Iḥyā', i, pp. 49-53.
6. Munqidh, p. 26.
7. Tafriqa, pp. 1-3.

of the death of any great man, specially at such a distance of time. We have also to remember the party spirit and false statements in this particular case. Again, if Yazīd did slay al-Ḥusayn he was not an unbeliever simply because of that; he was only disobedient to God. Again, Yazīd may have repented before he died. Further, to abstain from cursing is no crime. No one will be asked if he ever cursed Satan; if he has cursed him he may be asked, Why? The only accursed ones of whom we know are those who die infidels."[1]

5) The above statement is based upon a false assumption, namely that al-Ghazālī held a course of instruction in Syria, and since it is well known that al-Ghazālī "remained for nearly two years with no other occupation than the cultivation of retirement and solitude"[2] then the quotation above referring to "our assembly" has been invented.

(iii) Ibn-Khallikān's biography of Ibn-Tūmart shows that the latter met al-Ghazālī in Iraq and not in Syria;[3] Other historians add that he spent three years with al-Ghazālī, who paid great attention to him.[4]

(iv) Ibn-al-Athīr also gives a life of Ibn-Tūmart in which he accepts that ~~al-Ghazālī~~ Ibn-Tūmart as a youth did travel to Iraq where he

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1. Wafayāt, ii, pp. 230-232; Badawī, pp. 47-8; Damīrī, p. 246; JAOS, xx, pp. 71-72 (notes); Shadh., iv, p. 9.
2. Faith and Practice, p. 59.
3. Wafayāt, iii, p.206.
4. JAOS, xx, p. 112.

studied under several theologians; but he rejects the idea that al-Ghazālī was one of Ibn-Tūmart's teachers. Concerning Ibn-Tūmart, Ibn-al-Athīr states: "The story of his meeting al-Ghazālī is an invention of the Maghribī historians."[1]

That is what has been said in respect of Ibn-Tūmart's contact with al-Ghazālī, but neither the place nor the time of his alleged study under al-Ghazālī has been confirmed. The only fact which seems to be certain is that Ibn-Tūmart travelled and studied in the East during the latter part of al-Ghazālī's life; but whether or not he met al-Ghazālī will remain uncertain.

In fact there is more evidence to support those who stand against the idea that Ibn-Tūmart studied under al-Ghazālī. The story of his meeting al-Ghazālī is not the only invention of Maghribī historians. In addition to this they invented such stories as the following:

1) Ibn-Tūmart, being a descendant of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abū-Ṭālib.[2]

2) Ibn-Tūmart's study of Kitāb-al-jafr which is claimed to be a work containing one of those sciences with which the People of the House (ahl-al-bayt) alone are acquainted. And that he found therein the description of a man descended from the Messenger who was to appear in a country of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā called as-Sūs. And invite the people to the service of God. That person was to

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1. Ibid., pp. 111-2.
2. Wafayāt, iii, p. 208; Mu'jib, p. 178.

dwell and be buried at a place the name of which was spelled with the letters, T,I,N,M,L. His authority was to be supported and established by one of his disciples, the letters of whose name were A,B,D,M,U,M,N. And that this was to happen subsequently to the fifth century of the Hijra. God then, as they said, put into his head that he was the person destined for this undertaking. And that the time of its accomplishment was at hand. Therefore, wherever he passed, he made inquiries concerning the person who was to support his cause. Asking the name of every individual whom he saw and examining his appearance. For he had with him 'Abd-al-Mu'min's description. Journeying on his way, he passed by a grown-up boy answering the description and said: "God is great! thou art the person whom I seek!"[1] He then examined his features, and, finding them to correspond with the description he had with him.[2]

3) Ibn-Tūmart used to go to jail and set free without permission anyone of his followers, and the jailor instead of stopping him from doing so, used to ask for his blessing; al-Murrākushī added that Ibn-Tūmart could get whatever he wanted and no one would stand against his wishes.[3]

4) Ibn-Tūmart attacked Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn before him to the extent that the latter being deeply affected, he shed tears and hung down his head with shame. The persons present perceived from the drift of Ibn-Tūmart's discourse that the speaker aspired

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1. Wafayāt, iii, p. 208.
2. Ibid.
3. Mu'jib, pp. 183-4.

to the possession of the kingdom. At length Mālik Ibn-Wuhayb, addressed Ibn-Tāshfīn in these terms: "O king! I have some advice to give, which if you accept it, will have the most satisfactory results, while its rejection will expose you to great danger."[1] "Let me hear it,"[2] said Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn the king. "I am afraid,"[3] said Ibn-Wuhayb, "that this man will do you harm, and my advice is to kill him or at least imprison him and his companions and assign to them for their support the daily sum of one dinar. This will secure you from his evil intentions and, if you refuse to do so, he will cost you all the money in your treasury, and your indulgence will have profitted you nothing."[4] The king approved the counsel, but his minister said: "It would be shameful for you, after having wept at the exhortations of this man, to treat him ill in the same sitting, and disgraceful for you who possess so great a kingdom to show your fear of a man who does not possess wherewithal to appease his hunger."[5] The king, whose pride was excited by these words, declared Ibn-Tūmart's proceedings unworthy of attention, and dismissed him after asking his blessing.[6]

5) Ibn-Tūmart communicated to 'Abd-Allah al-Wansharīsī about his project and confided to him his secret in respect of

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1, Wafayāt, iii, p. 210.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

overthrowing 'Alī Ibn-Tāshfīn from his kingdom, the former obtained his full consent to the undertaking. Al-Wansharīsī had studied jurisprudence and learned the substance of various works; he spoke with eloquence the language of the Arabs and that of the natives of Maghrib. As he and Ibn-Tūmart were one day conversing on the means by which their project might be accomplished, the latter said to him: "My opinion is that you conceal from the people your learning and eloquence, and that you manifest such incapacity, such incorrectness of language, such mean abilities, and such a want of talent as may render you notorious; we shall then represent as a miracle, when we require one, the suddenness with which you quit your assumed character and become possessed of learning and eloquence; then every word you say will be believed."[1] Al-Wansharīsī acted accordingly.

Later when they faced a problem, Ibn-Tūmart called al-Wansharīsī and said to him: "Now is the time to display your talents all at once; that will serve us as a miraculous sign whereby we shall gain the hearts of those who have not acknowledged our authority."[2] After confering together, it was agreed that al-Wansharīsī should say the morning prayer, and that, after having so long stammered out his ideas in a language full of barbarisms he should say, in clear and intelligible voice: "I dreamt yesterday

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1. Ibid., p. 208.
2. Ibid., p. 212.

that two angels came down from heaven and split open my heart and washed it, and filled it with science and wisdom and the Qur'ān."[1] The next morning he did so and even the most stubborn yielded and all were struck with amazement at his learning by heart the Qur'ān in a dream.

Ibn-Tūmart then said to al-Wansherīsī; "Tell us quickly the heavenly news; are we destined to eternal happiness or everlasting misery?"[2] Al-Wansharīsī replied: "As for thee, thou are the Mahdī, the maintainer of the cause of God; whosoever followeth thee shall be saved, and whosoever resisteth thee shall perish."[3] He then said: "Present thy followers unto me, in order that I may separate those who are destined for paradise from those whose doom is hell."[4] He thus executed a stratagem by means of which all those who resisted Ibn-Tūmart were to be put to death. His object was, not to leave in the mountain a single adversary to Ibn-Tūmart.[5]

It seems that all the above statements were fabricated in favour of Ibn-Tūmart to serve these purposes:

1) By claiming that he descended from al-Ḥasan, they wanted to build his personality as an honourable man, who was related to the messenger and ʿAlī Ibn-Abū-Ṭālib, both of whom are respected

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 213.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

by both Sunnites and Shī'ites.

2) By claiming that he studied al-Jafr or as-Sir-al-maknūn,[1] they wanted to assure that he is one of the few men who have comprehensive knowledge of every detail in this world and the world to come.[2]

3) By claiming that he found in al-Jafr the description of 'Abd-al-Mu'min, Ibn-Tūmart wanted 'Abd al-Mu'min to obey his order thoroughly, not only before they overthrew the kingdom but also after.

4) By claiming that he could set free from jails any prisoner, and he could do whatever he wanted no matter how impossible it was for anyone else, they wanted his followers to obey his orders blindly without thinking of the risk which might follow.

5) By claiming that Ibn-Tūmart attacked 'Alī Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn so that 'Alī shed tears and hung down his head with shame, they meant that Ibn-Tūmart achieved supremacy over Mālik Ibn-Wuhayb for his skill in debate.[3]

6) By claiming that the minister of the king encouraged the latter not to show his fear of such a man; all this it seems to have been invented to show Ibn-Tūmart's ability and skill even

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1. Sirr-al-'āmilīn wa-kashf mā-fi-d-dārayn; see Tā'rīkh, p. 225.
2. Ibid., p. 225.
3. Abū-'Abd-Allah Mālik Ibn-Wuhayb, was a native of Spain and one of the viziers in the service of 'Alī. He is the author of a work entitled Qulādat adh-dhahab fī-dhikr Ii'ām al-'arab. No date has been given for his death; see Wafayāt, ii, p. 265.

during the very beginning of his career.

7) By claiming that al-Wansharīsī succeeded in concealing his knowledge from the people, their purpose was to show how able Ibn-Tūmart was in respect of his dealing with his enemies. The story of al-Wansharīsī needs wide discussion, but since the resolution of this problem is not essential to the present study, the following questions will simply be raised:-

(a) Since al-Wanasharīsī was a native of Maghrīb and the people knew him before Ibn-Tūmart arrived there, how could he conceal his knowledge and his ability from his own people who already knew him.

(b) Suppose, for the sake of argument, that they knew nothing about him. Is it not difficult for such a man to conceal his knowledge and particularly his eloquence in speaking the language of the Arabs, for this long period?

(c) Ibn-Tūmart promised 'Abd-al-Mu'min to be a king and told the people of the mountain that the kingdom of the sovereign of Morocco would pass into their hands and that the wealth of the enemy would become their prey.[1] But it is peculiar that Ibn-Tūmart never promised al-Wansharīsī anything; if this is so why did al-Wansharīsī continue to support Ibn-Tūmart though the former knew thoroughly that the latter was an ordinary person with no ability to perform miracles?

These statements of the Maghrīb historians were invented to serve a political purpose, so that if it is illogical to accept such

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1. Wafayāt, iii, p. 213.

invention it would also be illogical as well to accept the story of Ibn-Tūmart's study under al-Ghazālī.

Apart from the discussion above, the influence of al-Ghazālī is clearly seen in Ibn-Tūmart's book A'azza mā-yuṭlab.[1] Huwaydī illustrates this dependence by giving some quotations from the books of these two writers.[2]

But it may be worth noticing that: "Though Ibn-Tūmart professed to be the Mahdī and a descendant of 'Alī-Ibn-Abū-Ṭālib, he was an orthodox Ash'arite in all but two points: he held the impeccability of the Imām, and inclined to Mu'tazilite views as to the Qualities (ṣifāt) of God, running perilously near, if not entirely into pantheism. Otherwise he laboured, though in a very different way, to bring about in the West the same revival of faith and religious life to which al-Ghazālī gave himself in the East. That is the evident historical and theological fact; and, on the side of legend, only in this way can we explain the persistence of the tradition among Almohads that their Mahdī had been a favourite pupil of al-Ghazālī's, marked out by him for great things. How far this went with them is evident from the story of the death of Ibn-Tūmart. It has been said that at his death, he commits to his brethren the book of al al-Jafr which had journeyed to him from the presence of the Imām Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. All

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1. This book was published by I. Goldziher in Algeria in 1903.
2. Tā'rīkh, pp. 230-274.

this is evidently pure legend, and legend, too, constructed by someone who had no intimate acquaintance with al-Ghazālī's views."[1]

Ibn-Tūmart was killed by political opponents in 524/1129, but his teaching was disseminated in North Africa and Spain by his successors.[2]

(8)

Abū-Muḥammad al-Anṣārī

(450/1058 to 531/1136)

Da'ash Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Da'ash, had the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad, and nisba of al-Anṣārī. He was originally from Syria.

He proceeded to Baghdad where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, as well as the Tradition under Ṭirād and others.

Having finished his studies he became well known as a Traditionist, one of his students in this subject being al-Ḥāfiẓ.[3]

(9)

Abū-'l-Ḥasan ad-Dimashqī

(d. 533/1138)

'Alī Ibn-al-Muslim Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan, and a nickname of Jamāl-al-Islam. He was originally

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1. JAOS, xx, pp. 112-4.
2. Smith, p. 64; cf. Qirṭās, pp. 107, 110; Sīra, p. 198; for more details, see G. Vajda, "Une synthese peu connue de la revelation et de la philosophie: Le Kanz al-'ulūm de Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn-Tūmart al-Andalusī." Mel.L. Massignon, iii, (1957), pp. 359-374; d'Alverny, M.T., and G. Vajda, "Marc de Tolede, traducteur d' Ibn-Tūmart". And. 16 (1951), pp. 99-140, 259-307; 17 (1952), pp. 1-56; R. Le Tourneau, "Al-Ghazālī et Ibn-Toumert se sont-ils recontres?" BEA 7 (1947), pp. 147-148; H. Laoust, "Une fetwa d'Ibn Taimiya sur Ibn Tumart". BIFAO, 59 (1960), pp. 157-184.
3. Subk., iv, p. 233.

from Damascus.

He studied the Tradition under Abū-Naṣr Ibn-Ṭilāb, 'Abd-'l-'Azīz al-Kattānī and others. He studied jurisprudence under Ibn-'Abd-aj-Jabbār al-Marūzī, Naṣr al-Maqdisī (d. 490/1097), and, according to Ibn-al-'Imād and Murtaḍa, under al-Ghazālī as well. Both Ibn-al-'Imād and Murtaḍa added that ad-Dimashqī stayed with al-Ghazālī during the latter's stay in Syria. Later al-Ghazālī said: "I left behind me a man in Syria who if he lives will be a great scholar." Both writers went on to say that what al-Ghazālī expected had become a fact.

It is sometimes said in early Muslim biographical notices that al-Ghazālī spent ten years in Syria,[1] teaching Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn[2] or others books,[3] in a corner of the Great Mosque situated on the west bank of the Tigris,[4] named Zāwiyat-al-Maqdisī (as it used to be),[5] or Zāwiyat-al-Ghazālī,[6] or al-Madrasa al-Ghazāliyyā,[7] (as it is now known). "But careful reading of al-Ghazālī's own words in the Munqidh and attention to numerous small details in other sources, makes it certain that he was only about two years in

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1. Yāfi'ī, see Sīra, p. 85; Subk., iv, p. 104; Mulaqqin, see Sīra, p. 143; Siyar., see Sīra, p. 75.
2. Yāfi'ī, see Sīra, p. 84.
3. Wafayāt, ii, p. 622.
4. Ibid.
5. Subk., iv, p. 104.
6. Ibid., pp. 104, 86-7, 218; and iv, p. 72; Shadh., iv, pp. 379-380; Durar, i, p. 50; Fawāt, i, p. 38.
7. Durar, i, p. 50; Subk., iv, pp.86-7, 218; v, p. 72; vi, p. 82; Fawāt, i, p. 38; Shadh., v, p. 379.

Syria,"[1] "with no other occupation than the cultivation of retirement and solitude, together with religious and ascetic exercises. In addition to that he used to ascend the minaret of the Mosque for the whole day and shut himself in so as to be alone."[2] This is how al-Ghazālī spent his time in Syria, which means that he had no time to teach ad-Dimashqī who is claimed to be his greatest student there in Syria.

Those who were in favour of regarding ad-Dimashqī as one of al-Ghazālī's students said that when ad-Dimashqī finished his study he taught in the same school and to the same students who used to study under his master al-Ghazālī. Likewise, ad-Dimashqī taught in al-Amīniyya school being the first one to teach there. His teaching took place in 514/1120.[3]

Ad-Dimashqī composed many books in jurisprudence and commentary on the Qur'ān one of which, Aḥkām-al-khunthā,[4] was mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfa.

The reputation of ad-Dimashqī as a teacher and as mufti attracted some people to come to study or listen to him. Among these was Abū-'l-Qāsim Ibn-'Asākir the author of Tabyīn-Kadhib-al-muftarī (d. 571/1175) who said that al-Ghazālī praised ad-Dimashqī as a scholar and appointed him to take over after the death of Naṣr

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1. EI^2, ii, p. 1039.
2. Faith and Practice, 59.
3. Shadh., iv, p. 102.
4. Kashf, i, p. 18.

al-Maqdisī.[1] But what Ibn-'Asākir says here is rejected indirectly by others who state that al-Ghazālī reached Damascus on the day of the al-Maqdisī's death.[2] Other students of his were al-Ḥāfiẓ as-Salafī, Barakāt al-Khashū'ī, and 'Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad al-Harastānī.[3]

Ad-Dimashqī died suddenly while he was performing his worship.[4]

(10)

Abū-'l-Ḥasan ad-Dīnawarī

(d. 533/1138)

'Alī Ibn-al-Muṭahhar Ibn-Makkī Ibn-Miqlās had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan and the nisba of ad-Dīnawarī. He studied the Tradition under Ibn-al-Baṭr, and jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī being one of the most famous students of the latter.

One of those who attended his lectures was Ibn-'Asākir.[5]

(11)

Abū-Manṣūr ar-Razzāz

(462/1069 to 539/1144)

Sa'īd Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Manṣūr had the kunya of Abū-Manṣūr,

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1. Tabyīn, p. 326.
2. Subk., iv, p. 104; Smith, p. 27.
3. Itḥāf, see Sīra, p. 201.
4. Tabyīn, p. 327; Subk., vi, p. 283.
5. Itḥāf, see Sīra, p. 201; Subk., iv, p. 284.

and was well known as Ibn-ar-Razzāz. He studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī, Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī (1037-1114), Ilkyā al-Harrāsī, As'ad al-Mihanī, and the author of at-Tatimmā. He studied the Tradition under Rizq-Allah at-Tamīmī, Naṣr Ibn-al-Baṭr, and others.

Having finished his studies he was appointed Professor at the Niẓamiyya in Baghdad, and became a chief of Shāfi'ite school. His reputation as a teacher and Traditionist attracted many students, some of whom were Abū-Sa'd Ibn-as-Sam'ānī, Abd-al-Khāliq Ibn-Asad. Later ar-Razzāz was released from his office but no reasom is given for his release. In 539/1144 he died and was buried near the grave of ash-Shaykh Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 1083).

Murtaḍā-az-Zabīdī mentioned that some of his descendants, such as his son, his grandson, and his great grandson, all of whom were called Sa'īd, were also Traditionists.[1]

(12)

Marwān Ibn-'Alī at-Tanzī

(d. after 540/1145)

Marwān Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Salāmā Ibn-Marwān Ibn-'Abd-Allah was originally from Tanz, which is a small town near by the Jazīrā. He went to Baghdad where he studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī and ash-Shāshī, perhaps in the Niẓamiyya college.[2]

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1. Ibid.,pp. 221-3; Sīra, p. 200; Shadh., iv, p. 122; Lub., iii, p. 203.
2. Sīra, p. 201; Lub., ii, p. 90.

(13)

Abū-Sa'īd al-Jāwānī

(b. 468/1075)

Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Ḥamdān, had the kunya of Abū-Sa'īd, or Abū-'Abd-Allah. His nisbas were al-Jāwānī (one of al-Akrad's tribes), al-Ḥallāwī, (al-Ḥilla is a town near Baghdad) and al-Irāqī.

Al-Jāwānī studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī, Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī, Ilkyā al-Harrāsī. He studied the Tradition under Abū-'Abd-Allah al-Ḥāmidī, Abū-Sa'īd 'Abd-al-Wāḥid Ibn-Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and the judge Abū-Bakr ash-Shāmī. He also studied al-Maqāmāt under its writer al-Ḥarīrī.

After finishing his studies al-Jāwānī became a well-known scholar, and he held a course of instruction paying much attention to al-Ghazālī's Iljām-al-'awām. Al-Jāwānī composed a number of books some of which were:-

a. Sharḥ-al-maqāmāt.

b. 'Uyūn-ash-shi'r.

c. Al-Farq bayn-ar-rā' wa-l-'ayn.

No date is given for his death.[1]

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1. Subk., iv, p. 88.

(14)

Abū-'Abd-Allah al-'Iraqī

(d. after 540/1145)

There are many similarities between this scholar and the previous one, not only in his name, but also in their teachers, their town, and their age. To demonstrate this here is his biography.

Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-'Abd-Allah had the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allah and nisba of al-Iraqī, and sometimes al-Baghdadī. No date was given for his birth.

He studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī, Abū-Bakr-Ash-Shāshī, and Ilkyā al-Harrāsī.

The Traditionist Abū-'l-Fawāris al-Ḥasan Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Shāfi' ad-Dimashqī, related that he met al-Iraqī in Irbil, where he attended his lectures concerning the Traditions.[1]

Although the above biography is reported by both as-Subkī and Murtaḍa az-Zabīdī, it seems that this scholar and the previous one are the same person. In fact as-Subkī himself was in doubt about the latter, saying "I do not know for certain whether this scholar was the previous one or not." So unless more proof is found it will be difficult to accept this scholar as an additional student for al-Ghazālī, or in other words, to hold the opinion of al-Murtaḍa, who seems certain that this scholar was not the previous one.

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1. Sīra, p. 198.

(15)

Abū-'Abd-Allah al-Jīlī

(d. 541/1146)

Shāfi' Ibn-'Abd-ar-Rashīd Ibn-al-Qāsim, had the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allah, and nisba of al-Jīlī. As-Sam'ānī relates that when he asked al-Jīlī about the date of his birth, al-Jīlī replied that when he entered Baghdad in 490/1096 he was over twenty years old.

Al-Jīlī studied jurisprudence under Ilkyā al-Harrāsī in Nishapur, then under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in Baghdad. After that he went to al-Baṣra where he studied the Tradition under Abū-'Umar an-Nahāwandī, and to Ṭabas where he studied the Tradition as well, under Faḍl-Allah Ibn-Abū-'l-Faḍl.

Having finished his studies al-Jīlī taught in Baghdad, one of his students was Ibn-al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), who said "I attended his lectures when I was a youth, and I found them very good."[1] Another student was Ibn-as-Sam'ānī, who wrote some Tradition from him. Al-Jīlī also held a course of debate every Friday at al-Manṣūr's mosque. The jurists used to attend this debate, where they discussed different subjects, perhaps publicly.[2]

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1. Muntaẓam, x, pp. 121-2.
2. Ibid.; Sīra, p. 200; Subk., iv, p. 225.

(16)

Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Andalusī aṣ-Ṣīnī

(d. 541/1146)

Sa'ad-al-Khayr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Sahl Ibn-Sa'd, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan. He was originally from the Andalus, but he travelled earlier to the East, where he visited many countries with the purpose of trade and learning. Among the places he visited were Iṣfahān, where he got married and had his first daughter (Fāṭima), also be visited China, and Baghdad, where he settled for the rest of his life. He used to write his nisba as follows: al-Anṣārī, al-Maghribī, al-Bilinci al-Andalusī, aṣ-Ṣīnī, in order to show how far he had travelled.

In Baghdad he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and the Tradition under Abū-'Abd-Allah an-Ni'ālī,[1] Ibn-al-Baṭar, and Ṭirād Ibn-Muḥammad. In Iṣfahān he continued his studies of the Tradition under Abū-Sa'd al-Muṭarriz. He studied literature under Abū-Zakariyya at-Tibrīzī.

Having finished his studies he became well known as a Traditionist, his reputation attracted many students, including Ibn-'Asākir (571/1175), Ibn-al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), Ibn-as-Sam'ānī, Abū-Mūsā al-Madīnī, Abū-'l-Yaman al-Kindī, the father of al-Imām ar-Rāfi'ī, and his daughter Fāṭima.[2]

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1. Lub., iii, pp. 230-1; Shadh., iv, p. 128; Subk., wrote it as this, an-Niqālī, iv, p. 220.

2. Ibid., pp. 220-1; Shadh., iv, p. 128; Sīra, pp. 199-200; Muntaẓam, x, p. 121.

(17)

Abū-'Āmir al-Muwaffaqī

(d. 542/1147)

Dughush Ibn 'Alī Ibn-Abū-'l-'Abbās, had the kunya of Abū-'Āmir, and nisba of an-Ni'amī,[1] al-Muwaffaqī,[2]. No date of birth or even birth-place is recorded for him, but it is recorded that he went to Ṭūs, where he studied under al-Ghazālī. Murtaḍa az-Zabīdī added that he remained with al-Ghazālī for a long time. He did not say which subject he studied under him, but most likely he studied jurisprudence.[3]

(18)

Abū-Isḥāq aṣ-Ṣūfī

(459/1066 to 543/1148)

Ibrāhim Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Nabhān Ibn-Muḥriz, had the kunya of Abū-Isḥāq, and the nisba of al-Ghanawī,[4] or as he sometimes called ar-Riqqī and because he was so pious or adhered to criticism he was also called aṣ-Ṣūfī.

Abū Isḥāq studied jurisprudence under Fakhr-al-Islam ash-Shāshī (1037/1114) and Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and was so impressed by the latter that he wrote out his own manuscripts of many of

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1. In Lub., iii, pp. 231-2 it is an-Nu'aymī or an-Na'īmī.
2. Ibid., p. 190.
3. Sīra, p. 200.
4. Lub., ii, p. 181.

al-Ghazālī's books. Ibn-al-Jawzī added that aṣ-Ṣūfī's studying under al-Ghazālī lasted for a long period. He attended the Tradition lectures of Rizq-Allah at-Tamīmī as well as others.

Having finished his studies he taught the Tradition to many students including Ibn-as-Sam'ānī, Abū-'l-Yaman Zayd Ibn-Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Kindī, 'Umar Ibn-Ṭabrazad.[1]

(19)

Abū-Bakr Ibn-al-'Arabī

(468/1076 to 543/1148)

Abū-Bakr Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Aḥmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn-al-'Arabī, was a celebrated ḥāfiẓ, a member of the tribe of Ma'āfir and a native of Seville in Spain. He was born in 468/1076 but some dated his birth in the year 469/1076-7.

Ibn-Bashkuwāl speaks of him in the following terms in his Ṣila: "That ḥāfiẓ filled with learning to overflowing; the last of the erudite, the last Imām and the last ḥāfiẓ of Spain. I met him in the city of Seville on Monday morning, the second of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 516 [August, A.D. 1122]. He informed me that it was on Sunday, the first of the first Rabī', A.H. 485 [April, A.D. 1092], that he set out with his father on their journey to the East and that he went to Syria, where he met Abū-Bakr Muḥammad Ibn-al-Walīd aṭ-Ṭurṭūshī (1059-1126), who was one of al-Ghazālī's

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1. Subk., iv, p. 200; Muntaẓam, x, p. 134; Shadh., iv, p. 135.

opponents, Naṣr Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-Naṣr al-Maqdisī (d. 1096), and Abū-'l-Faḍl Ibn-al-Furāt,"[1] under whom he studied jurisprudence.

Having gone to Baghdād he studied the Traditions under some of the most eminent masters and then proceeded to the Ḥijāz. He performed the pilgrimage in the year 489/1095 and on his return to Baghdād he became the pupil of Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī, Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and other doctors and philologers. He then left Baghdād.

In Cairo and Alexandria he met a great number of Traditionists and wrote down Traditions under their dictation, communicating to them the fruits of his own researches as he received theirs.

In the year 493/1099 Ibn-al-'Arabī returned to Spain and entered Seville with a greater stock of information than any other person who had travelled to the East ever brought back before. Ibn-al-'Arabī was well-versed in a variety of sciences and had attained a high proficiency in many subjects on which he discoursed with great ability, and being enabled by his penetrating genius to comprehend them all, he displayed the utmost ardour in diffusing information, as he employed the acuteness of his mind in distinguishing what was exact therein from what was not.[2]

In Seville Ibn-al-'Arabī held the office of Chief Qāḍī. On his removal from office, he turned his mind to the task of diffusing learning. He was afterwards forced to migrate to Fez where he continued his studies until his death. He is said to have composed over forty different works, one of them being:

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1. Ibid., p. 141.
2. Wafayāt, iii, pp. 12-13 (Eng.); and i, p. 619 (Arab.).

'Arīḍat-al-aḥwadhī fī-sharḥ-at-Tirmidhī.[1]

(20)

Abū-Naṣr al-Khamarqī

(466/1073 to 544/1149)

Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān had the kunya of Abū-Naṣr, and the nisba of al-Khamarqī. He proceeded from Syria to Ṭūs where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and the Tradition under others.[2]

(21)

Abū-'l-Fatḥ ad-Duwīnī

(d. 546/1151)

Naṣr-Allah Ibn-Manṣūr Ibn-Sahl, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Fatḥ, and a laqab of al-Kamāl. He was a native of Duwīn, a small town in Adharbayjān. He came to Baghdad where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī before moving to Nishapur where he learned the Traditions from Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Madīnī, Abū-Bakr Aḥmad as-Sarrāj (1017/1097), 'Abd-'l-Wāḥid al-Qushayrī (1027/1100), and others.

Having finished his study he taught the Tradition in Balkh where Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī (1109/1166) wrote down two volumes of Traditional information from him. He gained a wide reputation as

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1. EI^2, ii, p. 362.
2. Itḥāf, see Sīra, p. 197.

a jurist of the Shāfi'ite school. He died in Balkh.[1]

(22)

Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā, the Student of al-Ghazālī

(476/1083 to 548/1153)

Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā Ibn-Manṣūr,[2] had the kunya of Abū-Sa'd,[3] and a laqab of Muḥyi-ad-Dīn, but was generally known as "Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā the Student of al-Ghazālī (محمد بن يحيى تلميذ الغزالى)."[4] He was born in Ṭuraythīth. He studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī (d. 1106), who had both been pupils of al-Juwaynī (1028-1085). He studied the Tradition under Ibn-'Abdūs, Naṣr-Allah as well as others.

After finishing his studies he became so renowned as a Shāfi'ite jurist that he was appointed chief of the jurists of Nishapur. Ibn-Yaḥyā gave lectures on jurisprudence in the Niẓāmiyya college of both Herat and Nishapur, but it was at the latter college that his reputation as a teacher was spread. Students came from most of the Islamic countries to study under him in Nishapur and most of the important scholars in Nishapur during the first half of the twelfth century are known to have attended his lectures. Among those who attended his lectures were Ibn-Faḍlān (1121-1198), Abū-'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabarī (1121-1198),

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1. Lub., i, pp. 432-3; Subk., iv, pp. 319-20.
2. In Wafayāt, "Ibn-Abū-Manṣūr," see ii, p. 628; i, p. 589 (Arab.).
3. In Subk., "Abū-Sa'īd"; see iv, p. 197.
4. See all the sources mentioned here.

Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭalaqānī (1118-1193), Abū-'Alī al-Wāsiṭī (1133-1209), Quṭb ad-Dīn an-Nishapurī (1112-1183), and al-Khubūshānī (1116-1191).[1]

Ibn-Yaḥyā was very much influenced by al-Ghazālī's words and attitude, to the extent that he said "Al-Ghazālī's knowledge could be known only by one who had himself reached, or almost reached, intellectual perfection."[2] More often than not his fatāwā were identical to al-Ghazālī's.[3]

Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā wrote a number of books -- some on uṣūl-al-fiqh and others in defence of his school. His four most famous works are:

(a) Al-Muḥīṭ fī-sharḥ-al-wasīṭ, in 16 volumes. Concerning this book Ibn-Khallikān says: "Al-Khabūshānī (1116-1191) so well knew by heart that author's commentary on the Wasīṭ, entitled the Muḥīṭ, that it is said that he once repeated it from memory to his pupils since he happened not to have a copy of it at hand. We have a large work of his called the Taḥqīq-al-muḥīt (proofs of the doctrines contained in the Muḥīṭ), and I have seen a copy of it in sixteen volumes."[4] Since al-Muḥīṭ was a commentary on al-Ghazālī's al-Wasīṭ[5] anyone who knew by heart the commentary knew the original work as well. This is itself evidence of al-Ghazālī's influence.

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1. Nouri, ii, p. 528; Subk., iv, pp. 229, 182.
2. Ibid., p. 106; Smith, p. 65.
3. Subk., iv, pp. 198, 224.
4. Wafayāt, ii, p. 645; i, p. 597 (Arab.); see the margin, note n.l.
5. See Chapter V, Section A.

(b) Al-Intiṣār[1] fī masā'il al-khilāf, a treatise on some of the controversial aspects of the Shāfi'ite doctrines.

(c) Kitāb al-arba'īn. There is evidence that this book was brought to Baghdad and taught there by Fakhr-ad-Dīn an-Nawqānī (516/1122 to 592/1195), who was one of Ibn-Yaḥyā's students.[2]

(d) Ta'līqa fī-'l-khilāfiyyāt[3]

When al-Ghuzz invaded Nishapur in 548/1153, Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā was massacred along with countless other inhabitants of the city.[4]

(23)

Abū-'l-Fatḥ al-Mārishkī

(d. 549/1154)

Muḥammad Ibn-al-Faḍl Ibn-'Alī; had the kunya of Abū-'l-Fatḥ, and a laqab of al-Fakhr. He was a native of Mārishk, a village near Ṭūs.

He was one of the most eminent students al-Ghazālī ever had; also he studied under Abū-'l-Fityān ar-Rawāsī, Naṣr-Allah Ibn-Aḥmad al-Ḥusāmī, Abū-'Umar 'Uthmān Ibn-Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭarāzī,[5] Shihāb-

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1. Subk., recorded as "Al-Inṣāf", see, iv, p. 197.
2. Ibid., iv, p. 198.
3. Ibid., p. 197.
4. Ibid., pp. 197-8; Wafayāt, ii, pp. 628-9; i, pp. 589-590 (Arab.); Muntaẓam, x, p. 161; Shadh., iv, pp. 151, 288; Ḥusn, i, p. 229; Smith, pp. 64-5; Nouri, ii, pp. 527-8.
5. Subk., iv, p. 95.

ad-Dīn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭūsī and others.

After finishing his studies he opened a public course of instruction which attracted many students including Ibn-as-Sam'ānī and his son 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm. As-Subkī added that "he was well-known for his correct fatāwā, as well as his wide knowledge of the Uṣūl."[1] The word Uṣūl here could be uṣūl-al-fiqh or uṣūl-ad-dīn; as-Subkī does not say what he means by it, but it appears most likely that he is referring to uṣūl-al-fiqh. Support for this is found in Ibn-al-Athīr's al-Lubāb fī-tahdhīb-al-ansāb; although Ibn-al-Athīr here does not say so specifically, this is clearly implied in what he says.

When the troops of al-Ghuzz invaded Nishapur they killed many people and shocked others; one of those who were affected psychologically was Abū-'l-Fatḥ. The biographers reported that he died from shock of the invasion.[2]

(24)

Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Iqlīshī

(d. 550/1155)

Aḥmad Ibn-Ma'add Ibn-'Īsā; had the kunya of Abū-'l-'Abbās, and the nisba of at-Tujībī, which is derived from a tribe or a place.[3] He is also known by the names al-Andalusī, ad-Dānī, and al-Iqlīshī.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.; Lub., iii, pp.79-80, 83-4.
3. Ibid., i, p. 169.

He attended the lectures of Abū-'l-Walīd Ibn-ad-Dabbāgh and others including Abū-'l-Fatḥ 'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Karkhī (462/1068 to 548/1153) of Mecca. Al-'Aydarūs added that al-Iqlīshī was one of al-Ghazālī's students, and quotes a praise poem written by him addressed to his master al-Ghazālī concerning his attitude and his book Iḥyā' ulūm ad-dīn.[1]

But as-Subkī who died 267 years before al-'Aydarūs attributed the same poem as coming from one other than al-Iqlīshī.[2] If this is so, either al-Iqlīshī should not be considered among al-Ghazālī's students, or he is not the author of this poem. At any rate whether al-Iqlīshī's studied under al-Ghazālī or not will remain uncertain.

After al-Iqlīshī completed his studies he became known as an ascetic, as well as a scholar. He composed an-Naim min-kalām-Sayyid al-'arab wal-'ajam which later was welcomed by Abū-Sa'īd Muḥammad Ibn-Mas'ūd al-Kazarūnī[3] (d. 758/1356) who made a commentary upon it.[4]

(25)

Ibn-Khamīs al-Juhanī

(d. 552/1157)

Al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Naṣr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-al-Qāsim

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1. Ta'rīf, see Iḥyā', i, p. 36-7.
2. Subk., iv, p. 129.
3. Lub., iii, pp. 20-21.
4. Kashf., ii, p. 1930; Shadh., iv, pp. 154-5.

Ibn-Khamīs Ibn-'Āmir had the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allah, and laqabs of Tāj-al-Islam, Majd-ad-Dīn, but he was generally known as Ibn-Khamīs al-Juhanī.

He was born in al-Mosul and as a youth he went to Baghdad where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, as well as other masters. After finishing his studies he was appointed Qāḍī of Raḥbat Mālik, which is a town situated between ar-Raqqa and 'Ānā. Later Ibn-Khamīs returned to al-Mosul where he settled.

Ibn-Khamīs composed many works such as:

(a) Manāqib al-abrār, wa-maḥāsin-al-akhyār which he wrote under the guidance of the following books: aṭ-Ṭabaqāt by Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī (325/936 to 412/1021), Ḥilyat-al-awliyā' of Abū-Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), Bahjat-al-asrār, of Abū-'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Ḥamawayh (d. 384/993) and ar-Risāla al-qushayriyya of 'Abd-al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (376/986 to 465/1072).

That he was most influenced by the latter is seen in the fact that he wrote his book in the same style as ar-Risāla al-qushayriyya. The only difference between his book and those mentioned above is that Ibn-Khamīs cites the "pious stories Akhbār as-ṣāliḥīn", without mentioning the chain of authorities on which these stories were based.

(b) Manāsik-al-ḥāj.

(c) Akhbār-al-manāmāt.[1]

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 422, i, p. 183, (Arab.); Shadh., iv, p. 162; Kashf., ii, p. 1835.

(26)

Abū-'l-Fatḥ al-Bāqarḥī

(d. 553/1158)

'Abd-al-Wāḥid Ibn-'l-Ḥasan Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Isḥāq Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-Makhlad had the kunya of Abū-'l-Fatḥ. He was a native of Baghdad and received the nisba of al-Bāqarḥī from his paternal grandfather who had been a famous scholar of the village of Bāqarḥ in Baghdad. He died in Ghazna.[1]

In Baghdad al-Bāqarḥī studied jurisprudence under Ilkyā al-Harrāsī who was a very close friend to al-Ghazālī, likewise he studied the Tradition under Abū-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Ṭalḥā and Abū-'l-Ḥusayn Ibn-aṭ-Ṭuyūrī. Later when he went to Nishapur he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (d. 1120); also he studied the Tradition under 'Abd-al-Ghaffār ash-Shīruyī and others.[2]

After finishing his studies al-Bāqarḥī became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and a man of letters. Through the favour of the Seljūq sultan Sanjar-Ibn-Malik-shāh he was appointed a principal of the Niẓāmiyya college of Baghdad in 1123, but later he was dismissed by the same sultan. Moufid Nouri in his thesis The Scholars of Nishapur, suggests that the reason for his dismissal was an academic one: "It appears that he was not a good lecturer."[3] There is no evidence to support this view, however, and it seems rather

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1. Lub., i, p. 90.
2. Ibid., ii, p. 41.
3. Nouri, ii, p. 532.

that the reason was a personal one to please the jurists (who opposed his appointment) or a political one, but not an academic one.

Additional evidence against the presumptious conclusion of Nouri is found in the following examples which illustrate policies of appointment and dismissal at Niẓāmiyya college:

1. Abū-Naṣr Ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbāgh (400/1009 to 477/1084) was replaced by Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) after the former taught at Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad for twenty days; and then was appointed again after the latter's death.[1]

2. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Ma'mūn al-Mutawallī (b. 426/1034) was appointed as a lecturer, and then replaced by Ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, simply because Niẓām al-Mulk the great Seljūq vizir (in power from 1063 to 1092) did not want him to be a lecturer.[2]

3. Abū-'Abd-Allah aṭ-Ṭabarī (418/1027 to 498/1104) was appointed a lecturer in Niẓāmiyya college, and then 'Abd-al-Wahhāb ash-Shīrāzī was appointed into the same post to take over without a formal dismissal of the former. To solve this problem the two teachers reached an agreement not to discuss their appointments with Niẓām-al-Mulk; instead each taught every other day. But later both of them were dismissed and replaced by al-Ghazālī in 484/1091.

4. Ibn-Barhān (479/1086 to 518/1124), who taught twice in the Niẓāmiyya college first, for less than a month, and later for

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1. 'Ibar, v, p. 13; and vi, p. 469; Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 12-3; Shadh., iii, p. 307; Ḥusn, ii, pp. 184-6; Subk., iii, p. 88.
2. Muntaẓam, ix, p. 18; 'Ibar, v, p. 13.

only one day. Also no reason is given for his dismissal although it is said that he was a very good scholar.

As-Subkī stated that al-Bāqarḥī became very sad and worried about his dark future immediately after his dismissal, but later regained confidence, as is seen in this poem:

I swore by the Ka'aba
and all those who circumambulate it,
as well as by the Qur'ān,
that life does not mean wealth,
but sufficiency and health.[1]

(27)

Abū-Sa'īd Muḥammad an-Nawqānī

(d. 556/1160)

Muḥammad Ibn-As'ad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Khalīl had the kunya of Abū-Sa'īd, a laqab of as-Sadīd, and a nisba of an-Nawqānī.[2]

He studied the Iḥyā'-ʿulūm-ad-dīn under its author about whom he related: "I attended al-Ghazālī's lectures on the Iḥyā'-ulūm-ad-dīn at Baghdad and once when he was teaching us he began to quote:

He has made beloved the homes of men,
as abodes of desire
which the heart has decreed;
Whenever they remember their homes
These remind them
of the pledges of youth made there,
and they long thither.

Then al-Ghazālī wept and those present wept with him."[3]

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1. Subk., iv, p. 268.
2. Lub., iii, p. 244; JAOS, xx, p. 102; In Subk, (al-Bawqānī) iv, p. 66.
3. Ibid., iv, p. 112.

No further information is given concerning an-Nawqānī, except that he was killed by al-Ghuzz.[1]

(28)

Ibn-al-Bazrī

(471/1078 to 560/1164)

'Umar Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-'Ikrimā; had the kunya of Abū-'l-Qāsim and laqabs of Zayn-ad-dīn, Jamāl-al-Islam, but he was generally known as Ibn-al-Bazrī.

Ibn-al-Bazrī's first studies in the law were made in Jazīrat-Ibn-'Umar under ash-Shaykh Abū-'l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad Ibn-al-Faraj Ibn-Manṣūr al-Fāriqī (d. 483/1090) who had settled in that town. He then proceeded to Baghdad and continued his studies under Ilkyā al-Harrāsī, and Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. Ibn-al-Bazrī also attended the lectures of the latter and of his brother Abū-'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126), and became the pupil of Abū-Bakr Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad ash-Shāshī (429/1037 to 507/1113), the author of Kitāb al-Mustaẓhirī. He also acquired much information in the company of other learned men.

After finishing his studies he returned to Hazīra where he was known as jurist of the Shāfi'ite school, and the most eminent doctor and mufti of that town. Ibn-Khallikān added: "In learning and piety he held a high rank." Ibn-Khallikān went as far as to say that Ibn-al-Bazrī "had been better acquainted with the Traditions than any other ḥāfiẓ of the Shafi'ite school." Obviously this

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1. Ibid., iv, p. 66; Itḥāf, see Sīra, p. 198.

statement is an exaggeration; it has been said concerning other scholars who were his contemporaries such as his teachers. Ibn-al-Bazrī may have been unique in the Jazīra, but not in all the rest of the Islamic countries.

Ibn-al-Bazrī composed a commentary on Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī's Muhadhdhab, in which Ibn-al-Bazrī explained the obscurities and the uncommon words occurring in this Treatise, and also indicated the correct pronunciation of the proper names which are mentioned in it. To this work, which is simply a compendium, Ibn-al-Bazrī gave the title: al-'Asāmī wa-l-'ilal min-kitāb-al-muhadhdhab.[1]

(29)

Abū-Manṣūr Ḥafada

(486/1093 to 573/1177)

Muḥammad Ibn As'ad Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-al-Qāsim had the kunya of Abū-Manṣūr, and a laqab of Ḥafada. He was born in Nishapur, but grew up in Ṭūs, and received the nisba aṭ-Ṭūsī.

In Nishapur Ḥafada studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, in Marv under Abū-Bakr Muḥammad as-Sam'ānī and in Merv-ar-Rudh under al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī. It is also said that Ḥafada heard the Tradition from Abū-'l-Fityān 'Umar ad-Dihsiyānī, Nāṣir Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad, 'Abd-al-Ghaffār Ibn-Muḥammad ash-Shīrūyī and others.

After completing his studies Ḥafada became renowned as master

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1. Wafayāt, ii, pp. 380-1; Shadh., iv, p. 189; Subk., iv, pp. 288-90.

of mysticism, jurisprudence and khilāf. As-Subkī stated that he himself read some of Ḥafada's fatāwā concerning jurisprudence and mysticism. Ḥafada taught for a while in Merv; then he came to Nishapur and when the Ghuzz invaded Nishapur in 548/1153 Ḥafada left it and went for a long journey visiting Iraq, Adharbayjān and al-Jazīra. In all these places Ḥafada preached and taught the Traditions to many people.

Lastly he went to Khurasan and settled in Merv where he died.[1]

(30)

Sa'd Ibn-Fāris al-Lubān

Sa'd Ibn-Fāris, who was well-known as al-Lubān, was one of al-Ghazālī's faithful recorders. He heard al-Ghazālī's sermons after the latter's return to Baghdad, when the people thronged his assemblies to hear him preach. The shaykh made records of the sessions and found that they amounted to one hundred and eighty-three. The shaykh read his notes of these addresses to al-Ghazālī who corrected them and gave the shaykh permission to use them, and the shaykh copied them out into two large volumes.[2]

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1. Ibid., pp. 65-6; Nouri, 11, p. 535; Sīra, p. 198.
2. Smith, pp. 65-6; JAOS, xx, p. 1899.

(31)

Abū-Muḥammad Ibn-Ḥurāzim

Ṣāliḥ Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Ḥurāzim had the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad. Not much information is given concerning his career or his studies except that he was one of al-Ghazālī's students and that he used to call al-Ghazālī al-Ghawth (الغوث). This gives the impression that Ibn-Ḥurāzim considered al-Ghazālī to be a great Ṣūfī, even one of the leaders of the Ṣūfīs.[1]

(32)

Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Juwaynī

'Alī Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ḥamawayh had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan, and the laqab of al-Juwaynī. Also he was sometimes called aṣ-Ṣūfī, indicating his relationship to mysticism.

Abū-al-Ḥasan studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in Ṭūs, and the Tradition under 'Abd-al-Ghaffār ash-Shīrawī.

No date is given for his birth or his death.[2]

(33)

Abū-Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyīnī

Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-Muḥammad had the kunya of Abū-Ḥāmid, and nisba of al-Isfarāyīnī, which refers to a small town near Nishapur about half way to Gurgan.[3] He is sometimes

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1. Sīra, p. 200.
2. Ibid.
3. Lub., i, p. 43.

called al-Jurqanī,[1] which refers either to a small town near Hamadhān, or to one of the tribes of al-Akrad who settled near Ḫulawān.[2]

Al-Isfarāyīnī studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī in Baghdad, and the Tradition under Abū-'Abd-Allah al-Ḥāmidī.

After finishing his studies he became well known as an outstanding scholar. Also he was known as a pious, isolated man, as well as one of the few men who enjoyed a good reputation and welcome from his community. It seems, however, that he was welcomed not because he was a scholar but because he was a mystic. Evidence for this is given by Ibn-as-Sam'ānī who states clearly that he visited him only for his blessing and good wish or in other words not for his knowledge.[3]

(34)

Abū-'l-Fatah Naṣr al-Adharbayjānī

Naṣr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm had the kunya of Abū-'l-Fatah, and nisba of al-Adharbayjānī, sometimes al-Marāghī, or aṣ-Ṣūfī.

Murtaḍa az-Zabīdī includes al-Adharbayjānī among al-Ghazālī's students, but does not give sufficient evidence for including him. The only reason he gives could be applied to anyone who met the famous teacher, regardless of whether or not he studied under him.

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1. It is written here according to Lub., i, pp. 249-250 but in Subk., (Jusqānī) iv, p. 86; in Itḥāf, (Juzqānī), see Sīra, p. 198.
2. Lub., i, pp. 249-250.
3. Subk., iv, 86; Itḥāf, see Sīra, p. 198.

This point is demonstrated in the following biographical notice as it is written in Murtaḍa's Itḥāf as-sāda al-muttaqīn: "Among them, [i.e. al-Ghazālī's sutdents] was Abū-'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Adharbayjānī al-Marāghī aṣ-Ṣūfī."[1] Murtaḍa reported some facts on the authority of al-Ghazālī and others.

Ibn-as-Sam'ānī relates that he heard Abū-'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Marāghī dictating at Āmūl in Ṭabaristān as follows: "There came together the Imāms Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, Ismā'īl al-Ḥākimī, and Ibrāhīm ash-Shibākī (d. 513/1119), and Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and a large number of foreign elders, in the Cradle of 'Īsā (upon him be peace) in Jerusalem, and he [al-Ghazālī, apparently] recited these two bayts:

May I be thy ransom! were it not for love thou wouldst have ransomed me,
but by the magic of two eye-pupils thou hast taken me captive.
I came to thee when my breast was straitened through love, and if thou hadst
known how was my longing, thou wouldst have come to me.

Then Abū-al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī constrained himself into an ecstasy which affected those who were present, and eyes wept and garments were rent, and Muḥammad al-Kazarūnī died in the midst of the assembly in ecstasy. I myself was present and saw it."[2]

It is clear from the above statements that there is not sufficient proof to assure that al-Adharbayjānī studied under al-

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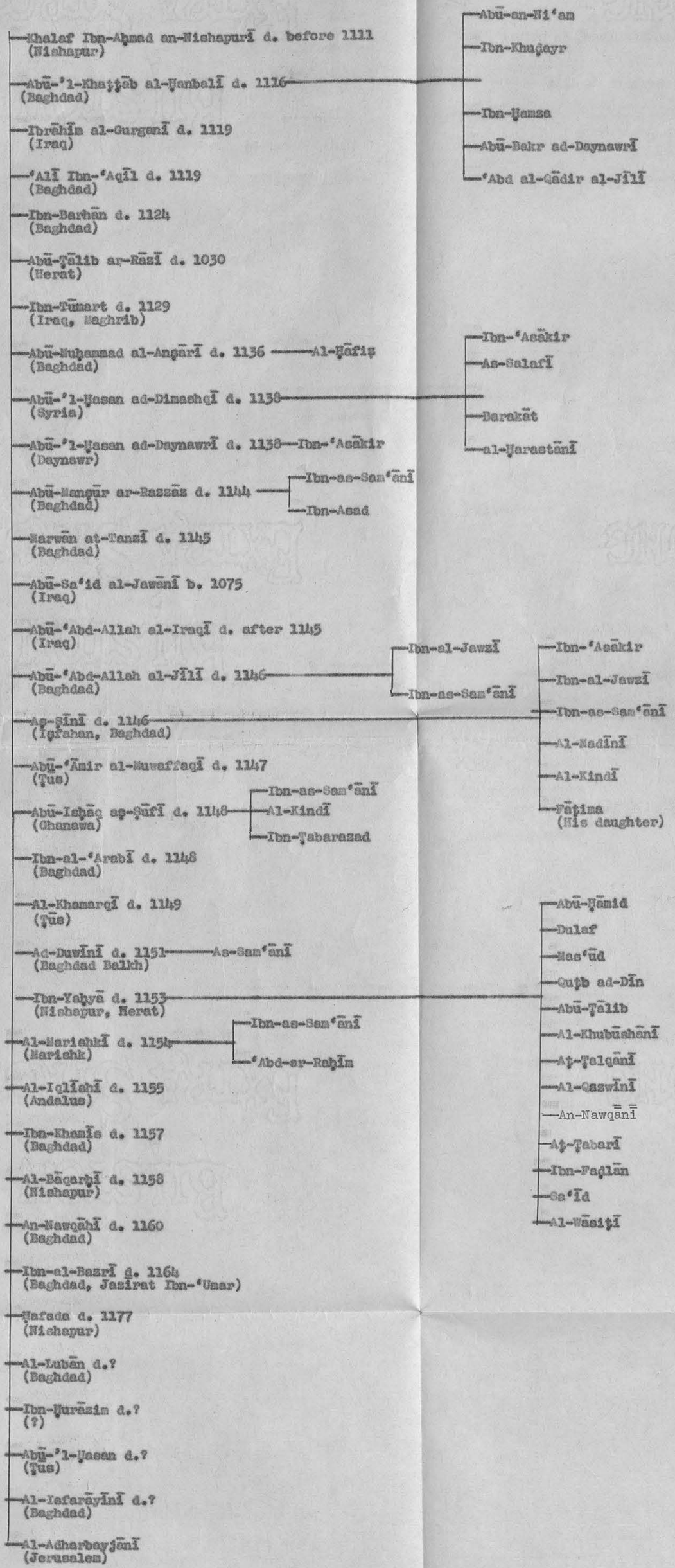
1. Itḥāf, see Sīra, p. 199; JAOS, xx (1899), pp. 100-1; Lub., iii, p. 20.
2. Ibid.

Ghazālī. The only phrase which might be taken as evidence is Ḥakā 'an al-Ghazālī wa-Ghayrih (حكى عن الغزالى وغيره), but the word Ḥakā (حكى), although sometimes meaning "to study", has the original meaning of "to tell, relate, report, give an account, speak, talk, copy, recite, rehearse, quote, transmit, transcribed". In its context the term ḥakā seems to have its original meaning: that is, Ibn-as-Sam'ānī simply relates this as an example of al-Adharbayjānī's reports. If this is the only report al-Adharbayjānī had, or if any other reports which might be found yield no further information, then the question of al-Adharbayjānī's study under al-Ghazālī will remain uncertain.

THE STUDENTS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ AND THEIR STUDENTS



CHAPTER V

SCHOLARS INFLUENCED BY AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S WASĪṬ AND WAJĪZ.

There is unanimous agreement among Muslim scholars that al-Ghazālī was a great jurist.[1] It is said that "If al-Ghazālī had not been known as a philosopher he would certainly be known as a jurist."[2] In fact, his influence in jurisprudence was greater than his influence in any other field including mysticism or philosophy. This is shown by the number of the scholars who attended al-Ghazālī's lectures of jurisprudence as is stated in the previous chapter, and also those who dealt with al-Wasīṭ and al-Wajīz.

A. Al-Wasīṭ fi-'l-Mudhhab

Al-Wasīṭ is a work on Islamic law, written before al-Ghazālī's departure from Baghdad. It consists of four volumes which are still unpublished.[3] That this work was originally written as an abridgement of al-Basīṭ is stated by al-Ghazālī himself in his

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1. Subk., iv, p. 107; Tabyīn, p. 292; Wafayāt, ii, p. 621. Siyar see Sīra, pp. 69-79.
2. Zahra, (see Mahrajān, p. 527).
3. Badawī, p. 21.

introduction to al-Wasiṭ, in which he says: "Though my previous book al-Basīṭ was sufficient in this field of jurisprudence, since few scholars are patient enough to go through its details, I found no way other than to summarize its contents in this work which I named al-Wasīṭ fi-'l-madhhab."[1]

Comparing al-Wasīṭ with other books on jurisprudence, there is no doubt that al-Wasīṭ was of the greatest importance. Many scholars make use of it. Some of them committed it to memory,[2] others went as far as writing it or studying it over forty times.[3]

What follows are biographical sketches of some scholars who dealt with al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ. Also included are special references to some of these scholars' teachers and students who also may have either taught or studied al-Wasīṭ. In order to see the relationship of these scholars and their students, see the "tree" at the end of Section A. This "tree" also indicates the centers in which al-Wasīṭ was studied.

The following survey indicates that more scholars used al-Wasīṭ during the second and third centuries after al-Ghazālī than at any other time. Also one notices that some of those scholars studied more than one of al-Ghazālī's books. For example it has been said that as-Sadīd as-Salmāsī could repeat the contents of al-Wasīṭ and al-Mustaṣfā from memory.[4] And Ibn-Man'a wrote books on both al-Wasīṭ and al-Wajīz.[5]

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1. Ibid., p. 22.
2. See Chapter V, Section A, Nos. 3, 9.
3. Ibid.; Nos. 10, 15.
4. Ibid., No. 3.
5. Ibid., No. 8.

(1)

Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā

(476/1083 to 548/1153)

Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā, well known as "The pupil of al-Ghazālī" (تلميذ الغزالي), composed al-Muḥīṭ fī-sharḥ-al-wasīṭ[1] in sixteen volumes.[2] For his biography see Chapter IV, No. 22.

(2)

Yaḥyā Ibn-Abū-'l-Khayr al-Yamānī

(489/1095 to 558/1162)

Yaḥyā Ibn-Abū-'l-Khayr Ibn-Sālim Ibn-Sa'īd Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Mūsā Ibn-'Imrān, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥusayn and a nisba of al-'Imrānī or as he was mostly called al-Yamānī. He was born in the Yemen.

Al-Yamānī studied jurisprudence under many scholars including his uncle al-Imām Abū-'l-Futūḥ Ibn-'Uthmān al-'Imrānī, and al-Imām Zayd Ibn-'Abd-Allah al-Yāfi'ī. He also studied the Tradition under some Yamānī scholars, indluding Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-Ḥimyar al-Yamānī. Ibn-al-'Imād reported that under the latter al-Yamānī studied al-Bukhārī, and Sunan-Abū-Dāwūd Ibn al-'Imād went on saying that al-Yamānī praised his master of Tradition to the extent that he said: "I never saw one like him in his wide knowledge."[3]

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1. Wafayāt, ii, pp. 628, 2008; Akhlāq, p. 349; Abū-Ḥāmid, pp. 97-8.
2. Ibid., p. 98.
3. Shadh., iv, pp. 180-1.

Having finished his studies al-Yamānī became well known by his wide knowledge of theology, jurisprudence, usūl, and grammar. He also was one of the best Shāfi'ites who knew every single detail in ash-Shīrāzī's works (d. 476/1083). But the most favourable book for al-Yamānī was al-Muhadhdhab by ash-Shīrāzī. It is reported that he learned by heart this book and he used to read it every day for himself as well as teach its contents to his students. Also he used to compare this book with others in respect of the subjects which differ from those of Mālikites and Ḥanafites works.

In 517/1123 al-Yamānī went to Dhū-Ashraq where he settled and got married. During his stay there he started writing his first book, az-Zawā'id fī-frū' ash-shāfi'iyya, which took him nearly four years to finish (from 517/1123 to 520/1126).[1] In this book he dealt only with the subjects missed by al-Muhadhdhab. The subject of this book was suggested to him by his master Zayd al-Yāfi'ī.

Some of the rest of his books were:

i) Al-Bayān, fi-'l-frū', which he started writing in 517/1123 and finished in 528/1134.[2]

ii) Al-Intiṣār fi-r-rad 'alā-al-qadariyyā al-ashrār[3]

iii) As-Su'āl 'an ma-fi-l-muhadhdhab min al-ishkāl, in which he dealt with the problems raised against ash-Shīrāzī's book, al-Muhadhdhab.

iv) Al-Ḥdāthāt.

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 956.
2. Subk., iv, 324.
3. Kashf, i, p. 173.

v) Mukhtaṣar-al-Iḥyā', in which he summarized al-Ghazālī's major work.

vi) Ghrā'ib al-wasīṭ, in which he dealt with the matters which sounded unfamiliar to the scholars.

During al-Yamānī's stay in Dhū-Ashraq, he made the pilgrimage where he met Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad al-'Uthmānī, whose lectures he seems to have attended. Al-Yamānī quoted some extracts from him which were unfamiliar to as-Subkī,[1] and perhaps to others as well.

Having finished his pilgrimage he returned to Dhū-Ashraq where he held a course for instruction in jurisprudence and perhaps in theology as well. After the year 549/1154, al-Yamānī suffered unsettlement partly because of the riots and partly for what was happening between the jurists who were too light-hearted in calling each other unbelievers. This happened especially between the jurists of Dhū-Ashraq and those of Zabīd. During his unsettlement he changed his residence from Dhū-Ashraq to Ta'sīn, Dayr-as-Saffāk, and then back to Dhū-Ashraq where he died.[2]

(3)

as-Sadīd as-Salamāsī

(d. 574/1178)

Muḥammad Ibn-Hibat-Allah Ibn-'Abd Allah had the surname of as-Sadīd but he was well known by his laqab as-Salamāsī. He was

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1. Subk., iv, p. 324.
2. Shadh., iv, pp. 185-6, 168, 181; Kashf, i, pp. 264, 175; and ii, 956, 2009; Subk., iv, pp. 324-5.

a doctor of the Shāfi'ite school and was its chief in that age. Having exercised the functions of under-tutor (mu'īd) in the Niẓāmiyya college, he mastered various branches of science, and was the first who made known in Iraq the Sharīf's ṭarīqa (d. 543/1148), or in other words, the systematic defence of the Shāfi'ite doctrines. It is even said that he could repeat the contents of that work without referring to the book, and that he knew equally well al-Wasīṭ and al-Mustaṣfá of al-Ghazālī.

Ibn-Khallikān said that pupils came from all countries to study under as-Sadīd as-Salamāsī, and by his excellent mode of teaching, they all became learned jurists, professors, and authors. Among these were: 'Imād ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Yūnus (d. 608/1211), the author of al-Muḥīṭ fi-l-jam' bayn-al-muhadhdhab wal-wasīṭ and Sharḥ al-wajīz (see Section A. No. 8); Kamāl ad-Dīn Mūsā Ibn-Man'a (d. 639/1242); and Abū-'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Ibn-'Awan Ibn-Muhājir.[1]

(4)

Najm-ad-Dīn al-Khubūshānī

(510/1116 to 587/1191)

Muḥammad Ibn-al-Muwaffaq Ibn-Sa'īd Ibn-'Alī Ibn-al-Ḥasan Ibn-'Abd-Allah, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Barakāt, and the nisba of al-Khubūshānī. He was born in Ustuwā, a canton in the district of Nishapur.

He studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā (Chapter IV, No. 22) and he knew by heart al-Muḥīṭ, which was his master's

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 643.

commentary on the Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī. During al-Khubūshānī's discipleship under his master he wrote a huge commentary on his master's book al-Muḥīṭ, entitled Taḥqīq-al-muḥīṭ fī-sharḥ-al-wasīṭ. Ibn-Khallikān states that he himself had seen a copy of Khubūshānī's work in sixteen volumes.[1]

In 1169 al-Khubūshānī went to Egypt. When the sultan Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn became the sovereign of Egypt he took al-Khubūshānī into his favour and treated him with honour. It is related that it was on his advice that the sultan built the madrasa which was situated near the tomb of Imām ash-Shāfi'i and, in 1176-7 al-Khubūshānī was appointed to it as a professor.

When Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn had firmly established his authority in Egypt, and met no longer with any chiefs inclined to disobey him, al-'Āḍid's influence was greatly diminished and not a man remained of all the Egyptian army. Nūr-ad-Dīn then wrote to Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn ordering him to suppress the khuṭbā made for al-'Āḍid and replace it by the khuṭbā of the 'Abbāsids. Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn hesitated to comply and excused his conduct by stating his fears lest this should excite a revolt among the people of Egypt who, being favourably inclined towards their old dynasty, would not send back such positive orders that Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn had no means of avoiding the task. Knowing that al-'Āḍid was unwell, he consulted the emirs on the propriety of introducing the 'Abbāsid khuṭbā. Some of them approved and engaged to support him, others declared it dangerous, but the order of Nūr-ad-Dīn was not to be disobeyed.

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1. Ibid., iv, p. 497.

Al-Khubūshānī, who was known as a great opponent of the Bāṭinites, perhaps by the influence of al-Ghazālī's works, declared that he himself would be the first to say the 'Abbāsid khuṭbā and, on the first Friday of the month of Muḥarram, he got into the pulpit before the preacher, and offered up a prayer for al-Mustaḍī' bi-amr-Allah.

As no disapprobation was shown, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn gave orders that, on the Friday following, the preachers attached to the mosques of Old and New Cairo should replace the khuṭbā for al-'Āḍid by a khuṭbā for al-Mustaḍī'. This was done without provoking even the slightest opposition. He then sent to all the provinces of Egypt written orders to the same effect.

Al-Khubūshānī was a Shāfi'ite jurist as well as mystic. Nothing is known about his mystic life but it seems that as-Subkī and Ibn-Khallikān regarded his success in introducing the khuṭbā for the Abbāsid Caliph as a miracle.[1]

Al-Khabūshānī died in Cairo and was buried at the foot of the tomb of ash-Shāfi'i.[2]

(5)

Ash-Shams-ad-Dunbulī

(d. 598/1201)

Aḥmad Ibn-Naṣr Ibn-al-Ḥusayn, had the kunya of Abū-'l-'Abbās, but he was well known by the name ash-Shams ad-Dunbulī al-Anbārī.

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1. Subk., iv, pp. 190-1; Wafayāt, i, p. 339 (Arab.).
2. Shadh., iv, p. 288; Ḥusn, i, p. 229; Miftāḥ, ii, p. 210; Jubair, p. 48.

He studied jurisprudence under many scholars and, although none of his teachers is mentioned by name, it seems that Abū-'l-Muẓaffar Ibn-al-Muhājir was one of them.

Ad-Dunbulī, having completed his studies, taught at the Niẓāmiyya college in al-Mosul, as well as at the Kamāliyyā school. It seems, however, that his teaching took place during the latter part of his life since he spent his early life as an acting judge in Baghdad.

Ad-Dunbulī devoted his attention to al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ, and it is believed that most of his teaching and fatāwā were based upon al-Ghazālī's book. Perhaps his judgements were based also upon al-Ghazālī's teachings. Ad-Dunbulī died in al-Mosul.[1]

(6)

Abū-'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī

(515/1121 to 600/1203)

Abū-'l-Futūḥ As'ad Ibn Abū-'l-Faḍā'il Muḥammad Ibn-Khalaf Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-'Ijlī surnamed Muntakhab ad-Dīn, was a native of Isfahan and a follower of the school of ash-Shāfi'ī.

Al-'Ijlī learned the Traditions in his native city from Umm-Ibrāhīm Fāṭimā al-Juzdāniyyā, daughter of 'Abd-Allah, the Ḥāfiẓ Abū-'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Faḍl (457/1065 to 535/1141), Abū-'l-Muṭahhar al-Qāsim Ibn-al-Faḍl Ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid aṣ-Ṣaydalānī, Abū-'l-Wafā' Ghānim Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Julūdī, Abū-'l-Faḍl 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Baghdadī,

1. Subk., iv, p. 57.

and others. He then went to Baghdad in the year 557/1162 and learned Traditions also from Abū-'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd al-Bāqī, surnamed Ibn-al-Baṭṭī, and others. He also received certificates from Ẓāhir Ibn-Ṭāhir ash-Shahāmī (446/1054 to 533/1138) Abū-'l-Fatḥ Ismā'īl Ibn-al-Faḍl al-Ikhshīdī, Abū-'l-Mubārak 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn-Muḥammad al-Azdī, and others, authorizing him to teach in their name the Traditions which he had learned from them.

Having finished his studies, he taught many students, including: Abū-Turāb Rabī'a al-Yamānī, Ibn-Khalīl, and aḍ-Ḍiyā' Muḥammad. Though he devoted much time to his class, he never took his teaching as a profession, but supported himself by copying and selling books. He was a sort of pious person who would eat nothing except what he had earned by the labour of his hands.

Al-'Ijlī composed a number of books including an explanation of the obscurities met with in the Wasīṭ and Wajīz of al-Ghazālī, which he entitled Sharḥ-mushkilāt al-wasīṭ wa-l-wajīz li-l-Ghazālī. Al-'Ijlī supported his arguments concerning al-Wasīṭ and al-Wajīz by giving extracts from books in which the doctrines stated in these two works are more fully stated.

He wrote also a "supplement to the supplement" entitled simply Tatimmat-at-tatimmā. The first Tatimmā was composed by Abū-Sa'd al-Mutawallī (426/1034 to 478/1085) as a completion for al-Ibāna fī fiqh ash-Shāfi'ī of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Muḥammad al-Fawrānī (d. 461/1068). Al-'Ijlī's legal decisions as a mufti,

and his book Tatimmat-at-tatimmā as a source for fatāwā were considered of the first authority at Isfahan.[1]

Al-'Ijlī, besides being a copy writer, book-seller, and teacher, was a preacher as well. Later, however, he gave up his preaching and composed a book in which he explained the risk of being a wā'iẓ. The name of this book is 'Āfāt-al-Wu''āẓ. Al-'Ijlī died in Isfahan.[2]

(7)

Abū-Aḥmad al-Amīn Ibn-Sakīnā

(519/1125 to 607/1210)

'Abd-al-Wahhāb Ibn-'Alī Ibn-'Ubayd-Allah[3] was known as Ibn-Sakīnā.[4] His nickname was Ḍiyā'-ad-Dīn, his kunya was Abū-Aḥmad, and his nisba was aṣ-Ṣūfī, and he was sometimes called al-Baghdadī and ash-Shāfi'ī.[5]

Ibn-Sakīnā studied the Qur'ān, Traditions, literature, jurisprudence, and some of the other subjects. Concerning jurisprudence, it is reported that he devoted much of his time to three books: al-Wasīṭ al-muḥīṭ bi-āthār al-basīṭ of al-Ghazālī, at-Tanbīh fī-frū' ash-Shāfi'iyya and al-Muhadhdhab of Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (476/1083).[6]

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1. Kashf, i, p. 1; Wafayāt, i, p. 191; Shadh., iv, p. 344.
2. Subk., iv, p. 50; Wafayāt, i, pp. 84, 191, 401, 581, 586 (Arab); & i, p. 191 (Eng.); Kashf, i, p. 1; & ii, p. 2008.
3. Subk., v, p. 136; in Shadh., ('Abd-al-Wahhāb Ibn-al-Amīn)(v, p. 25).
4. Sakīnā was his grandmother; see Subk., v, p. 136; Shadh., v, p. 25.
5. Subk., v, p. 136.
6. Ibid., v, p. 136.

Among others who taught Ibn-Sakīnā were: Abū-Muḥammad al-Muqri' (d. 628/1230),[1] Abū-'l-Qāsim Ibn-al-Ḥusayn, Abū-Ghālib Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī, Zāhir Ibn-Ṭāhir ash-Shiḥāmī, Abū-Bakr al-Anṣārī, Abū-Manṣūr Ibn-Zurayq, al-Qazzāz Abū-'l-Qāsim Ibn-as-Samarqandī, Ibn-'Asākir, Ibn-as-Sam'ānī, Abū-Manṣūr Ibn-ar-Razzāz (462/1069 to 539/1140) who studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī himself (Chapter IV, No. 11), Abū-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Khashshāb, Ibn-Nāṣir, Abū-'l-Barakāt Ismā'īl Ibn-As'ad, and his own father.[2]

Having finished his studies Ibn-Sakīnā held his own course of instruction, in which he taught his students different subjects. It is believed that most of his students, if not all, studied al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[3] Among others of his students were: Abū-Isḥāq as-Sanhūrī (d. after 609/1261),[4] Zayn-ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī,[5] Majd-ad-Dīn Ibn-Baldajī (599/1203 to 683/1284),[6] Ibn-Wurayḍā al-Ḥanbalī (599/1201 to 697/1298),[7] Ibn-al-Jalīlī (599/1203 to 680/1281),[8] Ibn-aṣ-Ṣayqal (594/1198 to 686/1287),[9] Ibn-ar-Raffā', (b. 586/1190),[10] Najm ad-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī (587/1191 to 672/1273),[11]

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1. Tarājim, pp. 70, 160.
2. Subk., v, p. 136; Shadh., v, p. 25.
3. Cf. Subk., v, p. 136.
4. Salāmī, p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 29.
6. Ibid., p. 76.
7. Ibid., p. 83.
8. Ibid., p. 102.
9. Ibid., p. 109.
10. Ibid., p. 112.
11. Ibid., p. 118.

Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (577/1162 to 643/1245),[1] ʿAbd-Allah as-Salāmī,[2] Ibn-az-Zajjāj,[3] Ibn-Abū-ad-Daynā (589/1194 to 680/1281),[4] al-Muwaffaq Ibn-Qadāmā, Abū-Mūsā al-Ḥāfiẓ, Ibn-Khalīl, Ibn-ad-Daythānī, and an-Najīb ʿAbd-al-Laṭīf Ibn-ʿAbd-ad-Dāʾim.[5]

Ibn-Sakīnā made the pilgrimage several times, and whenever he went he stayed for a long time and also taught while in Mecca and Medina. Besides his courses in the two holy cities and in Damascus and Baghdad, he also taught in Egypt. Little information is available concerning his teaching in Egypt; probably he taught the Tradition and jurisprudence.[6]

Ibn-Sakīnā was a Ṣūfī, and it seems that he was among the few Ṣūfīs who were admired by Ibn-al-Jawzī. Abū-Shāmā al-Maqdisī, d. 665/1266, who stated that Ibn-Sakīnā was a close friend to Ibn-al-Jawzī, added one day when Ibn-al-Jawzī came back from Wāsiṭ, he begged his friend to initiate his son Yūsuf by giving him the khirqā, or in other words the sign of acceptance in the Ṣūfī circle. Abū-Shāmā added that Ibn-Sakīnā agreed and the gown (khirqā) he gave him was made by his hand cut, that is to say, Abū-Shāmā was the tailor of that khirqā. Yaḥyā Ibn-al-Qāsim (d. 616/1219)

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1. Ibid., p. 130.
2. Ibid., p. 184.
3. Ibid., p. 186.
4. Ibid., p. 208.
5. Subk., v, p. 136.
6. Tarājim, p. 70.

one of the teachers in the Niẓāmiyya college said that Ibn-Sakīnā, involved himself in the Ṣūfī way and in reading books, begging all his visitors not to waste his time by driving him away from his studies. They had to say as-salām 'alaykum, and then keep silent. Ibn-Sakīnā carried on the rest of his life in the same manner mentioned till he died.[1]

(8)

'Imād-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Man'ā

(535/1140 to 608/1211)

Muḥammad Ibn-Yūnus Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Man'ā Ibn-Mālik Ibn-Muḥammad, had the kunya of Abū-Ḥāmid, the laqab of 'Imād ad-Dīn and the nisba of al-Arbelī. He came of a family which produced many men of talent such as his brother Kamāl-ad-Dīn (d. 1242), his grandson Tāj-ad-Dīn Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān, the son of Raḍiyy-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Imām-ad-Dīn Abū-Ḥāmid.[2]

Ibn-Man'ā commenced his studies, at Mosul, under his father (508/1114 to 576/1180) who studied under one of al-Ghazālī's students, Abū-Manṣūr ar-Razzāz (462/1069 to 539/1144).[3] He then proceeded to Baghdad and studied jurisprudence in the Niẓāmiyya college under as-Salmāsī (d. 574/1178).[4] He acted also as under-tutor (mu'īd) in the establishment when Sharaf-ad-Dīn Yūnus Ibn-

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1. Ibid., p. 70; Subk., v, p. 137; Ibid., p. 137; Shadh., v, pp. 25-6.
2. Wafayāt, i, pp. 602-3; and ii, p. 420 (Arab.); ii, pp. 656-7 (Eng.).
3. Ibid., ii, p. 419 (Arab.).
4. Ibid., p. 643 (Eng.).

andar ad-Dimashqī (490/1096 to 563/1168) was a professor there.[1] He learned Traditions at Baghdad from Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Kushmihīnī, at the time of that doctor's visit, and he received other Traditions from Abū-Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-ar-Rabī' al-Ghurnāṭī.[2]

After finishing his studies Ibn-Man'ā became one of the most able masters of that age in Shāfi'ite doctrines, dogmatic theology, and polemics. His reputation was immense, and jurists came from the remotest regions to study under him. Numerous pupils finished their education under him and became themselves able and distinguished professors. At Mosul he filled the functions of preacher in the Mujāhidi's mosque, and those of professor in the Nūriyyā, 'Izzīyyā, az-Zaynabiyyā, an-Nafīsiyyā, al-'Alā'iyyā colleges.[3]

Ibn-Man'ā composed some works on the doctrines of his school, including:

i) al-Muḥīṭ fī-'l-Jam' bayn-al-muhadhdhab wal-wasīṭ, a comprehensive work, being the combination of what is contained in the Muhadhdhab of Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī, and the Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[4]

ii) Sharḥ-al-wajīz, an explanation of al-Ghazālī's Wajīz.[5]

iii) a treatise on dialectics, entitled at-Tahṣīl.[6]

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1. Ibid., pp. 657, 659 (Marg.).
2. Subk., v, p. 45; Shadh., v, p. 34; Wafayāt, ii, p. 657.
3. Shadh., v, p. 34; Subk., v, p. 45; Ibid., ii, p. 657.
4. Wafayāt, ii, p. 657; Shadh., v, p. 34; Subk., v, p. 45.
5. Wafayāt, ii, p. 657.
6. Subk., v, p. 45.

iv) an exposition of the Muslim faith[1] which dedicated mainly to Nūr-ad-Dīn.[2]

v) a Ta'līqā, or collection of notes on controversial points of doctrine.[3]

In 592/1195, Ibn-Man'ā was appointed Qāḍī at Mosul, but in 593/1196 he was replaced by Abū-'l-Faḍā'il Yaḥyā ash-Shahruzūrī. Nūr-ad-Dīn, the sovereign of Mosul was very much influenced by Ibn-Man'ā. He admitted him into the closest intimacy, and had always recourse to his opinion as a jurist, and his counsel as a statesman. Ibn-Man'ā was occasionally employed by Nūr-ad-Dīn as envoy to the court of Baghdad and to that of al-Malik al-'Ādil. On the death of Nūr-ad-Dīn, in the year 607/1210 Ibn-Man'ā proceeded to Baghdad on a mission, the object of which was to obtain the confirmation of al-Malik al-Qāhir Mas'ūd. Having succeeded in his mission, he returned with the pelisse of investiture and the diploma, and from that time, he continued to be treated by al-Qāhir with even greater favour than the prince's father had ever shown him. It is worthwhile mentioning here, that Ibn-Man'ā never relaxed his efforts until he induced Nūr-ad-Dīn to pass from the Ḥanbalite school to that of ash-Shāfi'i; and in all the Atābek family, numerous as it was this prince was the only one who professed the Shāfi'ite doctrines.[4]

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 657.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 657-8.

Ibn-Man'ā was noted for his profound piety and extreme self-mortification, but according to Abū-Shāmā al-Maqdisī, he gave up his ascetic practices during his later years. Ibn-Man'ā died in Mosul.[1]

(9)

Ibn-al-Ḥarastānī

(520/1126 to 614/1217)

'Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-'l-Faḍl, had the laqab of Jamāl-ad-Dīn, a nisba of al-Anṣārī but he was well known as Ibn-al-Ḥarastānī. He was born in a suburb of Damascus, a village called Ḥarastā. He studied under many scholars including: Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-al-Muslim, 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn-Ḥamzā Ibn-al-Khiḍir, Ibn-Qu'ays, Ibn-Sulaymān al-Murādī, al-Ḥaddād al-Farāwī, Ibn-Sahal, ash-Shiḥāmī, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Fārisī, 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī, Qāḍī-al-Māristān, Ibn-as-Samarqandī and al-Anmāṭī.

Having finished his studies Ibn-al-Ḥarastānī was appointed as a Qāḍī for Damascus as well as a lecturer for al-Majāhidiyyā and later for al-'Azīziyyā school. Many students attended his lectures, including al-'Izz Ibn-'Abd-as-Salām (d. 660/1261). Al-'Izz who also studied under Ibn-al-Ḥarastānī and Ibn-'Asākir (d. 620/1223) in reply to a question raised by Abū-Shāmā (d. 665/1266. Chapter V, Section A, No. 18) concerning the comparison

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1. Tarājim, p. 80.

between his two teachers, said that he believed that Ibn-al-Ḫarastānī was far better than Ibn-'Asākir because Ibn-al-Ḫarastānī had committed to memory al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ and the other teacher had not.[1]

(10)

Shihāb-ad-Dīn Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār

(533/1138 to 618/1221)

Al-Qāsim Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Umar Ibn-Aḥmad, had the laqab of Shihāb-ad-Dīn, and a kunya of Abū-Bakr. Aṣ-Ṣaffār learned Traditions in Nishapur from his gradnfather Abū-Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār (1084-1158), his father's uncle, Wajīh ash-Shaḥḥāmī (1063-1146), 'Abd-Allah al-Farurāwī (1049-1136), Ḥibar-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-al-Qushayrī (1067-1153), and others.

After finishing his studies aṣ-Ṣaffār gained a wide reputation as a jurist, Traditionist, mufti, and noble man. He taught the public and students from notable families. Among those who studied under aṣ-Ṣaffār were: Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 1245), az-Zākī al-Barzālī, Abū-Isḥāq aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī, aḍ-Ḍiyā'al-Maqdisī, aṣ-Ṣadr al-Bakrī, 'Umar al-Karmānī, Abū-'l-Faḍl Ibn-'Asākīr and at-Tāj Ibn-'Aṣrūn.

The standard text for aṣ-Ṣaffār's lectures was al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī and he is believed to have taught it over forty times, not counting his lectures for the notable families.

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1. Ibid., p. 106; Subk., v, pp. 74-5.

Aṣ-Ṣaffār was killed by the Mongols when they invaded the city of Nishapur.[1]

(11)

'Imād ad-Dīn Ibn-as-Sikrī

(553/1158 to 624/1226)

'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Abd-al-'Alī, had the laqab of 'Imād-ad-Dīn, a nisba of al-Miṣrī, and he was well known by his kunya Ibn-as-Sikrī.

He studied Tradition under Ibrāhīm Ibn-Samāqā, Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-Khalaf al-Kūfī and others, and jurisprudence under ash-Shaykh Shihāb-ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, and Ẓāfir Ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He also studied a lot from ash-Shaykh al-Qurashī in respect of the Ṣūfī way of life and practice.

After finishing his studies Ibn-as-Sikrī became well known as a jurist, even holding the office of Qāḍī-al-Quḍāh. He composed two books in jurisprudence, both dealing in some way with al-Ghazālī's works al-Wasīṭ and Ghāyat-al-ghawr fī-dirāyat ad-dawr[2] or Ghawr-ad-dawr fi-l-mas'alā as-Surayjiyya.[3] No specific name was given for Ibn-as-Sikrī's works, but they were known as super-commentaries on al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ, and a book concerning Mas'alat-ad-dawr.

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1. Shadh., v, pp. 81-2; Subk., v, p. 198.
2. Badawī, p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 207. The subject of such problem was suggested firstly by Ibn-Surayj (d. 306/918), many scholars tried to solve this problem, among them was al-Ghazālī who composed two books in this problem.

From the quotations given by as-Subkī concerning some problems which were discussed by Ibn-as-Sikrī, it seems that he did not follow blindly what al-Ghazālī said in his book al-Wasīṭ. On the contrary, he opposed some of al-Ghazālī's views. For instance, al-Ghazālī believed that if one man forced another to climb a tree which caused some trouble for his leg, the one who forced the other had to be responsible for the result caused by his order. According to Ibn-as-Sikrī's view, the one who forced the other, though responsible for the result of his order if the possibility of danger was there, should not be responsible for any injury caused by his order,[1] if there was no possibility of danger at the time the order was given.

(12)

Sayf-ad-Dīn al-'Āmidī

(550/1155 to 631/1233)

Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-Abū-'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn-Sālim at-Taghlibī, well known by his surname Sayf-ad-Dīn al-'Āmidī, was a dogmatic theologian. On commencing his studies he went down to Baghdad and as he belonged to the school of Aḥmad Ibn-Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), he put himself under the instruction of the Ḥanbalite doctor Ibn-al-Munā Abū-'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Ibn-Fityān; but, after some time he passed over to the Shāfi'ites and attended the lectures of the shaykh Abū-'l-Qāsim Ibn-Faḍlān (d. 595/1199) who

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1. Subk., v, p. 63; Shadh., v, p. 114; Ḥusn., i, p. 231-2.

was one of the students of Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā, a pupil of al-Ghazālī (see Chapter IV, No. 22). Under the direction of Ibn-Faḍlān, al-'Āmidī studied controversy (_'Ilm al-khilāf_) and rose to distinction by his acquirements in that science. Having committed to memory the _ṭarīqa_ or system of controversy, composed by the Sharīf and _Zawā'id_ or appendix to the controversial treatise of As'ad al-Mihanī, he went to Syria and studied philosophy with such success that he was - as Ibn-Khallikān put it - "pronounced to be the most learned person of the age in this branch of knowledge."[1]

According to al-Qifṭī his teachers of philosophy were a group of Christians and Jews. Al-Qifṭī added that al-'Āmidī left Syria or Iraq for Egypt in 592/1195 because some jurists, who formed a party against him, accused him of heterodoxy and then they abandoned him.[2] Ibn-Khallikān and as-Suyūṭī stated the same fact but said that the place was Egypt and not Syria. In Egypt they said he occupied the post of under-tutor in the college situated in the lesser _Qarāfa_ cemetery, near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī. He then became professor in the mosque at Cario, called al-Jāmi' aẓ-Ẓāfirī, and his increased reputation attracted numerous pupils. The successful results of his tuition excited at length the jealousy of some native jurists, who formed a party against him, and accused him of heterodoxy, laxity of moral principles, atheism, and attachment to the doctrines of the ancient Greek philosophers

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1. _Wafayāt_, ii, p. 235.
2. _Ḥusn_, i, p. 312; Qifṭī, ii, p. 174.

and sages. They then drew up a complaint in which they denounced him as being guilty of these crimes, and affixed to it their signatures with the declaration that he deserved the punishment of death.[1]

Al-'Āmidī discovered that his enemies had complained against him and when he discovered their projects he withdrew secretly from the country and went to Syria. He then settled in the city of Ḥamāt and composed a number of instructive works on dogmatic theology, fundamentals of jurisprudence, logic, philosophy, and controversy.

The number of his books amounted to about twenty some of which were:

i - Al-Bāhir fī 'ilm-al-awā'il, five huge volumes.

ii - Al-Ḥaqā'iq fī-'ulūm al-awā'il, three volumes.

iii - Al-Ma'ākhidh 'alā Fakhr-ad-Dīn-Ibn-Khaṭīb-ar-Rey fī-Sharḥ-al-ishārāt, one volume, or Kashf-at-tamwīhāt fī-sharḥ at-tanbīhāt.

iv - Abkār al-afkār fī uṣūl-ad-dīn, four volumes.

v - Manā'ih-al-qarā'ih wa-rumūz al-kunūz, an abridgement of the Abkār.

vi - Al-Mubīn fī-ma'ānī al-fāẓ al-ḥukamā' wa-l-mutakallimīn.

vii - Daqā'iq-al-ḥaqā'iq.

viii - Muntahā as-sālik fī-rutab-al-masālik

ix - Lubāb al-albāb

x - At-ta'līqā al-kabīra.

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 235 (Arab, i, pp. 415-16); Ḥusn, i, p. 312.

xi - At-ta'līqā aṣ-Ṣaghīrā.

xii - Muntahā as-su'l fī-'l-uṣūl.

xiii - Khulāṣat-al-ibrīz.

xiv - Tadhkirat-al-malik.

xv - He composed also a system of controversy, an abridgement of the same, and a commentary on the Sharīf's Jidāl or treatise on dialectics.

Sayf-ad-Dīn al-'Āmidī was very interested in al-Ghazālī's works especially those which dealt with jurisprudence and its foundation. It is reported that al-'Āmidī committed to memory two of the famous works of al-Ghazālī, al-Wasīṭ and al-Mustaṣfā min 'Ilm al-Uṣūl.[1]

Having removed to Damascus, he obtained the professorship in the Azīzīyyā college, but after some time he was deprived of his place on account of some political suspicions which had been cast upon him by the supporters of the king al-Kāmil. From that time until his death, he remained unoccupied and confined himself to his house.[2]

(13)

Shihāb ad-Dīn Ibn-Abū-d-Dam

(583/1187 to 642/1244)

Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Abd al-Mun'im Ibn-'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn-Fātik Ibn-Zayd Ibn-Abū-d-Dam, had the kunya of Abū-

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1. Shadh., v, pp. 144-5; Subk., v, pp. 121-30; Miftāḥ, ii, p. 51.
2. Qifṭi., pp. 240-1; Wafayāt, ii, pp. 253-7 (Arab.; i, pp. 415-16); Aṭibbā', ii, pp. 174-5; Ḥusn, i, p. 312; Taymiyya (Margin p. 140).

Isḥāq but he was well known as Ibn-Abū-d-Dam. He studied Tradition under Ibn-Sakīna (519/1125 to 607/1210) in Baghdad, and perhaps under others in Baghdad or elsewhere.

After finishing his studies Ibn-Abū-d-Dam taught in Alleppo and Cairo, teaching mostly Tradition and jurisprudence. He also composed books on different subjects, including:

a) Sharḥ-mushkil-al-wasīṭ, (which was twice as large as al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī) in this work Ibn-Abū-d-Dam dealt with some problems concerning al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ.[1]

b) Adab-al-Qāḍī' 'alā madhhab-ash-Shāfi'ī.[2]

c) Kitāb fi-t-tā'rīkh.[3]

d) Kitāb fi-'l-firaq-al-Islāmiyya.[4]

e) At-Tā'rīkh al-Muẓaffarī in six volumes.[5]

(14)

Taqiyy-ad-Dīn Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ

(577/1181 to 643/1245)

Abū-'Amr Uthmān Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Uthmān Ibn-Mūsā Ibn-Abū-an-Naṣr al-Kurdī ash-Shahruzūrī, surnamed Taqiyy-ad-Dīn was generally known by the name of Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ.

He studied under many scholars including Abū-Ja'far 'Ubayd-

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 2008; In Badawī, p. 20 and GALS, i, p. 753; Īḍaḥ-al-aghalīṭ al-mawjūda fi-l-wasīṭ.
2. Kashf, i, p. 47; Shadh., v, p. 213.
3. Ibid., Kashf., i, p. 276.
4. Shadh., v, p. 213; Kashf, ii, p. 1255.
5. Shadh., v, p. 213; Kashf, i, p. 305.

Allah Ibn-Aḥmad al-Baghdadī, well known as Ibn-as-Samīn, who was the first teacher for Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ. Others were Ibn-Sakīna (d. 607/1210), Ibn-Ṭabarzad, Manṣūr al-Farāwī, al-Mu'ayyad aṭ-Ṭūsī, Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī Muḥammad Ibn-'Umar al-Mas'ūdī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad Ibn-al-Ḥarastānī, al-Muwaffaq Ibn-Qudāma, Abū-Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār (533/1138 to 618/1221). It is reported that aṣ-Ṣaffār used to hold a special course of instruction in al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ. He taught this book forty times for his ordinary students; as for the favourable ones, no account of number was given, so it might be less or more, anyway Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ was among those who attended his special course of al-Wasīṭ.

Besides the above teachers Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ also studied for some time under Kamāl-ad-Dīn Ibn-Man'a (551/1156 to 639/1242). Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ spoke in the highest terms of Kamāl-ad-Dīn's extra-ordinary merit and declared him to be without a rival in scientific knowledge. It is believed that the subject of his study under this master was the Organum of Aristotle. Ibn-Khallikān stated: "When I was in Mosul, a certain jurist related to me that Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ obtained permission from Kamāl-ad-Dīn to read secretly under his direction a part of the logic or Organum of Aristotle. He went to him regularly for some time but was unable to understand anything of it; so at length Kamāl-ad-Dīn said to him: 'My opinion is, doctor! that you had better renounce the study of this science.' The other asked him for what reason, and received this answer: 'The public look upon you as a good and pious man, and consider those who apply to this branch of knowledge as holding

pernicious opinions on religious matters; you risk therefore, losing the esteem, without even acquiring any knowledge of the science.' The jurist took his advice and gave up the study."[1]

Having finished his studies in Mosul, Khurasan, Syria, Merv, Nishapur and Baghdad, Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ became one of the most eminent men of his time by his deep acquaintance with the sciences of Qur'ānic interpretation, Traditions, jurisprudence, names of men or biography of Traditionists, and every branch of knowledge connected with Traditions and with the oral transmission of philological learning. He possessed also a considerable degree of information in many other departments of science. His fatāwā, or legal opinions, were considered of great validity, and he was one of the masters from whose teaching many students derived great profit. Among those were: Ibn-Khallikān (d. 681/1282);[2] Abū-Shāmā ad-Dimashqī (d. 665/1266), the author of Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn as-sādis was-sābi'; Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-Shāma;[3] al-Fakhr 'Umar Ibn-Yaḥyā al-Karkhī; Tāj ad-dīn-al-Furkāḥ; and Aḥmad Ibn-Hibat-Allah Ibn-'Asākir.[4]

He was first employed at Mosul as an under-tutor by Imām-ad-Dīn Abū-Ḥāmid Ibn-Yūnus, but then was appointed professor in the Naṣiriyyā college at Jerusalem, founded by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn. Afterwards he moved to Damascus, where he obtained

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1. Wafayāt, iii, p. 470; Subk., iv, p. 160.
2. Wafayāt, ii, p. 18.
3. Tarājim, p. 176.
4. Subk., vi, p. 137.

the professorship in the college called the Rawāḥiyya, after its founder az-Zākī Abū-'l-Qāsim Hibat-Allah Ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid Ibn-Rawāḥā al-Ḥamawī (the same person who founded the Rawāḥiyya college at Aleppo). When the Dār-al-Ḥadīth, or the school for teaching the Traditions, was erected at Damascus by al-Malik-al-Ashraf (the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn-Ayyūb), Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ was nominated to that professorship and taught the Tradition to many pupils. He subsequently became professor in the madrasat-sitt-ash-Shām a college within the city walls, founded by Sitt-as-Shām-Zammān Khātūn, (d. 616/1220) the daughter of Ayyūb and the uterine sister of Shams-ad-Dawlā Tūrān Shāh. It lies to the south of the hospital founded by Nūr-ad-Dīn and named after him al-Bimāristān an-Nūrī. Sitt-ash-Shām erected also the college outside Damascus which contains her tomb, the tomb of her brother, and that of her husband Nāṣir-ad-Dīn, the son of Asad-ad-Dīn Shīrkūh, and sovereign of Emessa. Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ held posts simultaneously in those three places and filled his duties with strict punctuality in each, never interrupting the regular course of his lectures unless forced to do so by unavoidable circumstances.

Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ composed an instructive work on the different fields, including:

a) Mushkil-al-wasīṭ,[1] in a huge volume.[2]

b) Adab-al-muftī wal-mustaftī.[3]

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1. Shadh., v. p. 222; in Subk., iv, p. 218; and GALS, i, p. 752, Sharḥ-mushkil-al-wasīṭ, & in Wafayāt, ii, p. 189, Ishkalāt 'alā kitāb al-wasīṭ.
2. Shadh., v, p. 222; in Kashf, it is two volumes (ii, p. 2008-9).
3. Shadh., v, p. 222.

c) Manāsik al-ḥajj.[1]

d) Mukat-'alā al-muhadhdhab.[2]

e) Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyā, in which he attempted to give a biographical sketch for every single scholar in the Shafi'ite school, but he died before he finished his book. Later Abū-Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn-Sharaf an Nawawī took over this biographical work, but he also died (676/1277) before he brought this work to its final stage. In fact he added only a few names to what Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ had done before him. The one who completed this work was Abū-'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf Ibn-az-Zākī 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341). Ḥājjī Khalīfā said that these three writers, though attempting to cover all Shāfi'ite scholars, omitted biographical sketches for some famous scholars including: al-Muzanī, Ibn-Surayj, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Imām-al-Ḥaramayn, and Ibn-as-Sabbāgh.[3]

f) Fatāwā Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, collected by one of his pupils and formed into a volume.[4]

g) Fawā'id-ar-riḥla, in which he dealt with different subjects of sciences. He composed this work during his journey to Khurasān.[5]

h) 'Ulūm-al-Ḥadīth, one of the most famous books written on this

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Kashf, ii, p. 1101; Shadh., v, p. 222.
4. Wafayāt, ii, p. 190.
5. Kashf, ii, p. 1297; Shadh., v, p. 222.

subject. It deals with the biographies of Traditionists and it is believed by some scholars to be the first comprehensive book ever written on 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth.[1] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, in his book Kashf-az-Ẓunūn, gives the names of eleven commentators of 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth, together with the names of their works.[2]

As-Subkī and others mention some of Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ's fatāwā which stand against al-Ghazālī's views in respect of logic and jurisprudence, e.g. Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ held the opinion that it is unlawful to study or teach both logic and philosophy. On the other hand he tried to differentiate between two expressions concerning witnesses in jurisprudence, that is ishhad (إشهد) and ushhiduk (أشهدك).[3] But neither in his ideas towards philosophy, nor in his fatāwā concerning witnesses was he successful, because he was criticized on the basis of what al-Ghazālī had said in al-Wasīṭ, al-Munqidh and Tahāfut.[4]

Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ died at Damascus and he was interred in the cemetery of the ṣūfīs, outside the gate of Naṣr.[5]

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 1163.
2. Ibid., ii, pp. 1161-3.
3. Subk., v, pp. 140-1; Fatāwā, pp. 34-7.
4. Subk., v, pp. 140-2; Dīn., p. 225; Munqidh, p. 2.
5. Wafayāt, ii, pp. 189-90; Tarājim, p. 176.

(15)

Az-Zuhrī

(d. 643/1245)

Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Jamā'a Ibn-'Asākir Ibn-Ibrāhīm, had the kunya of Abū-Bakr and a nisba of al-Qūṣī or az-Zuhrī. He commenced his studies under Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Ḥamādānī in Qūṣ, but, having some trouble with his brother Manṣūr (d. 604/1207), he proceeded to Cairo, where he resumed his studies under 'Imād-ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-as-Sikrī (d. 624/1226), the author of the supercommentaries of al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ (see Chapter V, Section A, No. 11).

Az-Zuhrī, being a student of 'Imād-ad-Dīn Ibn-as-Sikrī, became very interested in al-Ghazālī's works, accepting the task of writing al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī for forty-eight times.[1]

(16)

Qāḍī-al-'Askar

(d. 650/1252)

Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Muḥammad had the nisba of al-Amawī or al-Miṣrī, but he was well known as Qāḍī al-'Askar. He was a Shāfi'ite scholar and used to teach in ash-Sharīfiyyā school in Egypt. Qāḍī-al-'Askar composed two books, one of which was Sharḥ frā'iḍ-al-wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[2]

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1. Adfawī, i, p. 358.
2. Ḥusn, i, p. 233.

(17)

Ibn-al-Ustādh

(611/1214 to 662/1263)

Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Uthmān Ibn-Rāfi', had the laqab of Kamāl-ad-Dīn, but he was known by Ibn-al-Ustādh.[1] He studied under his grandfather and under Thābit Ibn-Musharraf, Ibn-Ruznā, al-Iftikhār al-Hāshimī as well as others.

After finishing his studies Ibn-al-Ustādh was appointed as a Qāḍī for Aleppo to replace his uncle. Later he went to Egypt and taught there in different schools, such as al-Kahāriyya, Manāzil-al-Ghazz. Again he returned to Aleppo where he resumed his office as a Qāḍī. He was known there also as a mufti, and a teacher of Tradition and jurisprudence.

Ibn-al-Ustādh composed a number of books including:

a) Sharḥ-al-wasīṭ, in ten volumes.[2] According to Adh-Dhahabī, this book no longer exists.[3]

b) Ḥawāshī-'alā-fatāwī-Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ.[4]

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1. Ḥusn, i, p. 234.
2. In Kashf, it is four volumes; see ii, p. 2008; cf. Ḥusn, i, p. 233; Shadh., v, p. 308.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

(18)

Abū-Shāmā al-Maqdisī ad-Dimashqī

(599/1202 to 665/1266)

'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Ismā'īl Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Uthmān, had the laqab of Shihāb-ad-Dīn and was known by his kunya Abū-Shāmā, and sometimes by both his kunya and nisbas, that is to say Abū-Shāmā al-Maqdisī ad-Dimashqī. He was born in Damascus, where he also was brought up.

In his early life he committed to memory the Qur'ān and then started to study al-Qirā'āt-as-Sab', jurisprudence, Tradition, Arabic, history and other subjects. Some of his teachers were: al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū-Ṭāhir as-Salafī, Abū-'l-Faraj ath-Thaqafī, Abū-Ṭāhir Barakāt Ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Khushū'ī, 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ibn-'Abd-as-Salām, as-Salafī and al-Muwaffaq.

Abū-Shāmā composed many books concerning different subjects; some of those books are: Sharḥ-aḥādīth-al-wasīṭ, Sharḥ-al-qaṣā'id an-nabawiyya, Tarājim-rijāl al-qarnayn as-sādis-was-sābi', al-Murshid-al-wajīz, al-Ḥadīth al-muqtafā, al-Bā'ith 'alā-inkār al-bida', al-Basmala, Sharḥ-ahs-shaṭibiyya, Mufradāt al-qurrā', Nūr-al-masrā, Kashf-ḥāl-Bnū-'Ubayd, Ar-Rawḍatayn fī-akhbār ad-Dawlatayn, Naẓm-al-mufaṣṣal, Muqaddima fi-n-naḥw, Urjūzā-fi-l-'arūḍ al-Wāḍiḥ al-Jalī, Al-alfāẓ al-mu'raba, al-Qaṣīda ad-dāmighā, Qaṣīdatān fī manāzil-ṭariq al-hajj, Naẓm shay' min-mutashābih al-Qur'ān, Jami' akhbār makka wal-Madīna, Mukhtaṣar tā'rīkh Baghdad, Taqyīd-al-asmā', Lubāb-at-tahdhīb, Mushkilāt al-'āyāt, Mushkilāt al-akhbār, al-qiyāma, Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh Dimashq al-kabīr in fifteen

volumes, and Mukhtaṣar tā'rīkh-tā'rīkh-Dimashq aṣ-Ṣaghīr in five volumes.

Abū-Shāma was one of the few scholars who wrote their own biographies and stated clearly their education, fields of study and their books.[1]

(19)

Ibn-Sa'īd al-Ḥamawī

(d. 670/1271)

Ḥamzā Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-Sa'īd had the kunya of Abū-'l-'Alā', the laqab of Muwaffaq-ad-Dīn, the nisba of al-Ḥamawī, and was sometimes also called at-Tanūkhī. Ibn-Sa'īd composed a book entitled Muntaqā-al-ghāyāt fī-mushkilāt al-wasīṭ in which he dealt with the problems of al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ.[2]

(20)

Yaḥyā Ibn-Sharaf an-Nawawī

(631/1233 to 676/1277)

Yaḥyā Ibn-Sharaf Ibn-Murrī Ibn-Ḥasan Ibn-Ḥusayn Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Jum'ā Ibn-Ḥizām, had the kunya of Abū-Zakariyyā, the laqab of Shaykh-al-Islam and the nisba of an-Nawawī. He was a Shāfi'ite scholar and was born in Nawa. He started his education by

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1. Tarājim, pp. 37-45; Kathīr, xiii, p. 250; Shadh., v, p. 318; Nujūm, vii, pp. 274, 40; Subk., v, p. 61; Fawāt, i, p. 527.
2. Badawī, p. 20; GALS, i, p. 753.

committing to memory the Qur'ān. When he was nineteen years old he went to Damascus where he studied al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī, as well as other books such as: al-Muhadhdhab of ash-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083);[1] al-Jam' bayn aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn;[2] al-Luma' of Ibn-Jinnī (d. 392/1001);[3] Islāḥ-al-manṭiq of Ibn-as-Sikkīt (d. 244/858).[4] al-Luma' of Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī;[5] al-Muntakhab of Fakhr ad-Dīn.[6]

After finishing his studies An-Nawawī was appointed as a Traditionist in Dar-al-Ḥadīth, or the school of the Tradition. An-Nawawī composed a number of books including: ar-Rawḍā, al-minhāj, Sharḥ-al-muhadhdhab of Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shirāzī, Kitāb al-adhkār, Riyāḍ aṣ-ṣāliḥīn, al-Īḍāḥ fi-l-manāsik, al-Ījāz fi-l-manāsik, al-Khulāṣā fi-l-ḥadīth, al-Irshād fī-'Ilm al-ḥadīth, at-Taqrīb wat-taysīr fī-mukhtaṣar al-irshād, at-Tabyīn fī-adab ḥamalat-al-Qur'ān, Sharḥ-al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī,[7] and Tahdhīb al-asmā'-wal-lughāt.[8] In this latter book an-Nawāwī dealt with purely linguistic matters, collecting his materials from six books, two of which were by al-Ghazālī. The six sources were: Mukhtaṣar-al-muzanī of Ibn-Yaḥyā

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 514.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 1562.
4. Ibid., p. 514.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

al-Muzanī (d. 264/877);[1] al-Muhadhdhab and at-Tanbīh of ash-Shirāzī;[2] ar-Rawḍa of an-Nawawī, in which he summarized ar-Rāfi'ī's commentary on al-Ghazālī's Wajīz[3] (Chapter V, Section B, No. 7) and al-Wasīṭ and al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī. The following are some pages where an-Nawawī mentioned the last two books: Vol. i, pp. 8, 14, 20, 24, 25, 28, 33,34, 36, 48, 49, 50, 52, 57, 64, 65, 71, 74, 88, 89, 94, 98, 116, 120, 132, 133, 135, 140, 149, 157, 161, 163, 166, 169, 179, 180, 184, 187, 188, 191, 192, 196. & Vol. ii, pp. 7, 10, 11, 12, 17, 22, 26, 36, 37, 54, 57, 61, 62, 65, 67, 71, 72, 77, 90, 97, 103, 112, 116, 127, 128, 129, 138, 143, 167, 168, 169, 181, 185, 189, 193, 199.[4]

(21)

At-Tazamuntī

(d. 682/1283)

Ja'far Ibn-Yaḥyā had the laqab of Ẓahīr-ad-Dīn and he was well known by his nisba at-Tazamuntī. He studied under Ibn-al-Jumayzī, Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥubāb and others. Having finished his studies he taught in Egypt where Ibn-ar-Rif'a, Yaḥyā Ibn-Yaḥyā Ibn-'Alī as-Subkī and others learned from him. At-Tazamuntī composed a book and named it Sharḥ-mushkil-al-wasīṭ, in which he dealt with the problems implied in al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ.[5]

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1. Ibid., pp. 1635-6. It has been said that al-Ghazālī summarized Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī in a book named Unqūd al-mukhtaṣar wa-nāqawat al-mu'taṣar (Ibid., p. 163; Badawī, p. 30).
2. Kashf, i, p. 514.
3. Ibid., p. 929.
4. For his biography see Subk., v, pp. 165-6; Shadh., v, pp. 354-6.
5. Subk., v, p. 54; Ḥusn, i, p. 236.

(22)

Al-Bayḍāwī

(d. 685/1286)

'Abd-Allāh Ibn-'Umar Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Khayr, the laqab of Nāṣir-ad-Dīn and the nisba of al-Bayḍāwī. He was a Shafi'ite scholar. He composed many books, including Minhāj-al-wuṣūl 'ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl, in which he was influenced by al-Mustaṣfá min 'ilm al-uṣūl of al-Ghazālī. Al-Minhāj, though only twenty pages long, has much influence among the scholars. Many books were written about it, including: as-Sirāj al-wahhāj of Abū-'l-Makārim Aḥmad Ibn-Ḥasan at-Tibrīzī (d. 746/1345); Nihāyat as-su'l fī-sharḥ minhāj al-uṣūl of Jamāl-ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Rḥīm al-Isnawī (d. 772/1370); Sharḥ aḥādīth minjāj al-wuṣūl of Sirāj ad-Dīn 'Umar Ibn-al-Mulaqqin (Chapter V, Section A, No. 35); at-Taḥrīr li-mā-fī-minhāj al-uṣūl of Abū-Zar'ā Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥīm al-'Iraqī (d. 826/1422); Mi'rāj al-wuṣūl fī-Sharḥ minhāj al-uṣūl of Majd-ad-Dīn al-Aykī; and Sirāj al-'Uqūl 'ilā-minhāj al-uṣūl of Muḥammad Ibn-Ṭāhir al-Qazwīnī.

Other works by al-Bayḍāwī are:

1) Mukhtaṣar-al-kashshāf.

2) Anwār-at-tanzīl wa-asrār at-ta'wīl.

3) Al-Ghāya al-quṣwā fī-riwāyat al-fatwā which is an abridgement of al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī. This book of al-Bayḍāwī had much influence among the scholars. Some of those who wrote commentaries on it were: 'Abd-Allah al-Farghānī al-'Ābidī, Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad al-wāsiṭī (d. 718/1318), Badr-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-

As'ad at-Tasatturī (d. about 735/1334), Jamāl-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Aqsarā'ī (d. 771/1369), Burhān-ad-Dīn 'Abd-Allah al-'Ibrī, Taqiyy-ad-Dīn al-Ḥisnī, and Abū-'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn-az-Zāhirī.

4) Ṭawāli'-al-anwār, which was praised by as-Subkī, and whose importance is indicated by the number of commentaries written about it. Hājji Khalīfā, for example, mentioned the names of twenty-four persons who wrote books explaining aṭ-Ṭawāli'.[1]

(23)

Abū-Bakr al-Junayd

(d. 688/1289)

Abū-Bakr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Faqīh Aḥmad al-Junayd studied jurisprudence under his uncle 'Ubayd Ibn-Aḥmad, as well as Mas'ūd, 'Umar Ibn-Sa'īd al-'Uqaybī, and 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Abīnī. Under this latter teacher al-Junayd studied al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī. After finishing his studies he was appointed as a Qāḍī for Jibilla, and later as Qāḍī for Aden. It seems that al-Junayd held office as a Qāḍī until he died.[2]

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1. Shadh., v, pp. 392-3; Subk., v, p. 59; Badawī, p. 21; Kashf., i, pp. 186-194; ii, pp. 1192-3; GALS, i, p. 753.
2. Khazrajī, i, p. 252 (Arab.)

(24)

Ibn-ar-Rif'ā al-Faqīh

(645/1247 to 710/1310)

Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Murtafa' Ibn-Ḥāzim Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-al-'Abbās had the laqab of Najm-ad-Dīn, and he was well known as Ibn-ar-Rif'ā or al-Faqīh. He studied under Abū-'l-Muḥāsin Ibn-aṣ-Ṣawwāf, 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm Ibn-ad-Damīrī, as-Sadīd, aẓ-Ẓahīr at-Tazamuntī (d. 582/1283), ash-Sharīf al-'Abbāsī, Ibn-Bint al-A'zāz, Ibn-Razīn, Ja'far Ibn-ash-Shaykh 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Qinna'ī, Ibn-Daqīq al-'Īd (d. 702/1302).

Ibn-ar-Rif'ā was appointed as a teacher in al-Mu'izziyyā, and later as a Qāḍī for al-Wāḥāt. He composed a number of books, his most famous one being al-Maṭlab fī-Sharḥ al-Wasīṭ. This was one of the few huge commentaries written on al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ. According to Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn, and Muḥammad Riḍā it was sixty volumes;[1] but Ibn-al-'Imād said it was forty volumes.[2] Whether it was forty volumes or sixty, no doubt it was a huge work. In fact Ibn-ar-Rif'ā died before he finished this work, and it is believed that he appealed to Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī (d. 724/1323) to finish the book.[3]

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1. Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 98; Kashf, ii, p. 200.
2. Shadh., vi, p. 22.
3. Durar, i, pp. 284-7.

(25)

Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Mudlijī

(d. 710/1310)

'Umar Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Mahdī had the kunya of Abū-Ḥafṣ, the laqab of 'Izz-ad-Dīn and the nisba of an-Mudlijī, or as he sometimes called an-Nisā'ī. He studied under a number of scholars, including Sharaf-ad-Dīn ad-Dimyāṭī. After finishing his studies he taught in al-Fāḍiliyyā and al-Kahāriyyā schools. Two of those who attended his lessons were Majd-ad-Dīn az-Zamalkānī and Kamāl ad-Dīn Ibn-'Umar.

Among the subjects al-Mudlijī taught were jurisprudence, grammar, and arithmetic. Al-Mudlijī composed a book in jurisprudence and named it Ishkālāt 'Alā-al-wasīṭ, in which he criticized some points raised by al-Ghazālī in his al-Wasīṭ. But according to as-Subkī and Shadharāt-adh-dhahab, al-Mudlijī died before he finished this book.[1]

(26)

Nūr-ad-Dīn al-Asnā'ī al-Iṣfahānī

(d. 721/1321)

Ibrāhīm Ibn-Hibat Allah Ibn-'Alī had the laqab of Nūr-ad-Dīn and the nisba of al-Asnā'ī al-Iṣfahānī. He studied jurisprudence under Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 678/1279). Al-Asnā'ī said that he once asked this latter teacher to teach him philosophy but al-Iṣfahānī replied, "not

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1. Subk., vi, p. 242; Shadh., vi, p. 44; Kashf, ii, p. 2008.

before you finish and know thoroughly the basic things in Islamic studies [1] أردت أن أقرا على الشيخ شمس الدين الأصفهانى فلسفة فقال حتى تمتزج بالشرعيات امتزاجا جيدا Al-Asnā'ī studied grammar under Bahā'-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī Ibn-an-Naḥḥās, medicine under Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Maghribī (the philosopher) and algebra under Najm-ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Yūsuf al-Aṣfawī.

After finishing his studies Al-Asnā'ī was appointed as a Qāḍī for different cities including: Zifti, Minyat-Ibn-al-Khaṣīb, Isyūṭ, Ikhmīm and Qūṣ. Al-Asnā'ī wrote some books including: Mukhtaṣar-al-wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī, Mukhtaṣar-al-wajīz of al-Ghazālī, Sharḥ-al-muntakhab fī-uṣūl-al-fiqh and Sharḥ al-fiyyat Ibn-Mālik (d. 672/1273).[2] Al-Asnā'ī died in Cairo.[3]

(27)

Al-'Āmirī al-Mudarris

(640/1242 to 721/1321)

Aḥmad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-'Abd-Allah had the kunya of Abū-'l-'Abbās and the laqab of Jamāl-ad-Dīn, but he was well known by his nisba al-'Āmirī and his profession of al-Mudarris. The reason for this last one is that he spent about fifty years teaching jurisprudence in al-Mahjam, which is the longest period ever practised by jurist during that time.

Al-Mudarris studied jurisprudence under his uncle Ismā'īl Ibn-Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, Aḥmad Ibn-Mūsā Ibn-'Ujayl, and others.

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1. Adfawī, p. 32.
2. Kashf, i, p.151.
3. Ḥusn, i, pp. 239; Subk., vi, p. 83; Adfawī, pp. 32-3.

Then al-Mudarris was appointed as a Qāḍī for al-Mahjam, but later he resigned and devoted himself to teaching and writing. Among his books are: Sharḥ at-tanbīh, and Sharḥ al-wasīṭ (of al-Ghazālī), in eight volumes. Al-Mudarris died in al-Mahjam.[1]

(28)

Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī

(673/1274 to 724/1323)

'Alī Ibn-Ya'qūb Ibn-Jibrīl Ibn-'Abd al-Muḥsin, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan, the laqab of Nūr-ad-Dīn and a nisba of al-Bakrī or as he was sometimes called al-Miṣrī. Al-Bakrī was an eminent scholar in the Shāfi'ite school and it was reported that when Ibn-ar-Rif'ā (Chapter V, Section A, No. 24) was dying and had to chose the one who was most familiar with al-Ghazālī's works, he chose al-Bakrī and begged him to finish his huge book al-Maṭlab fī-sharḥ al-wasīṭ. Ibn-al-'Imād said that al-Bakrī failed to finish Ibn-ar-Rif'ā's work because he was too busy in the cultivation of retirement and solitude. Al-Bakrī died in Cairo.[2]

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1. Shadh., vi, p. 67; Khazrajī, i, pp. 439-40.
2. Shadh., vi, p. 64; Subk., vi, p. 242.

(29)

Najm-ad-Dīn al-Qamūlī

(d. 727/1326)

Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-'l-Ḥazm Makkī Ibn-Yāsīn had the kunya of Abū-'l-'Abbās, the laqab of Najm-ad-Dīn and the nisba of al-Qamūlī. He studied different subjects such as: Tradition, jurisprudence, the foundation of jurisprudence and grammar. Some of al-Qamūlī's teachers were: Badr-ad-Dīn Ibn-Jamā'a (d. 767/1365), the author of Talkīṣ aḥādīth ash-Sharḥ al-kabīr.

After finishing his studies Al-Qamūlī was appointed as a Qāḍī for several cities including: Qamūlā, al-Wajh al-Qiblī, Ikhmīm, Isyūṭ, al-Minyā, ash-Sharqiyyā, al-Gharbiyyā, and Cairo. Al-Qamūlī spent forty years in his office as a Qāḍī and it has been said that he never did any mistake during all the time he held the office. Al-Qamūlī also taught in al-Fakhriyyā school in Cairo and composed a number of books including: Sharḥ muqaddimat Ibn-al-Ḥājib, in two volumes; Sharḥ asmā' Allah al-ḥusnā, in one volume; Takmilat-mafātīḥ-al-Ghayb of Ibn-al-Khaṭīb ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209, see Chapter VII, Section A, No. 4).

Moreover al-Qamūlī wrote a huge commentary for al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ in a work of forty volumes[1] entitled al-Baḥr-al-muḥīṭ fī-sharḥ-al-wasīṭ. Later he summarized this huge work in some few volumes entitled Jawāhir-al-baḥr. Al-Qamūlī died in Egypt.[2]

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1. Durar, i, p. 304.
2. Ḥusn, i, pp. 239-40; Shadh., vi, pp. 75-6; Subk., v, p. 179; Kashf, ii, p. 2008; Adfawī, pp. 63-4; Subk., vi, pp. 142-3; GALS, i, p. 753.

(30)

Tāj-ad-Dīn at-Tibrīzī

(677/1278 to 746/1345)

'Alī Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Abū-'l-Ḥasan Ibn-Abū-Bakr had the laqab of Tāj-ad-Dīn and a nisba of at-Tibrīzī. He was born in Ardabīl and was brought up in Tibrīz. He studied some of al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ under Shams-ad-Dīn 'Ubayd who was well known as Ibn-al-Mu'adhdhin, Jāmi' al-uṣūl[1] under Quṭb-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ash-Shīrāzī, jurisprudence, grammar under Rukn-ad-Dīn al-Ḥadīthī, logic, philosophy under Burhān-ad-Dīn ash-Sharīf 'Ubayd-Allah, Sharḥ al-ḥājibiyyā under as-Sayyid Rukn-ad-Dīn, at-Tabṣira and at-Talkhīṣ of Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn-Yūsuf al-Mosulī (d. 680/1281)[2] under both Shams-ad-Dīn al-'Ābidī and Amīn-ad-Dīn al-Ḥāmī, Sharḥ al-fuṣūl as-Saniyyā fī-'ilm-al-khilāf under its author 'Alā'-ad-Dīn Nu'mān al-Khuwārizmī.

Moreover, at-Tibrīzī studied al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī under Tāj-ad-Dīn Ḥamza al-Ardabīlī, arithmetic, algebra, surveying, law of descent and distribution ('Ilm al-farā'iḍ) under Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn Mūsā and Maṣābīḥ al-Baghawī. He also studied Sharḥ as-Sunna under Fakhr-ad-Dīn Jār-Allah al-Handarānī, and mysticism under both Tāj ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm who was well known as ash-Shaykh az-Zāhid and Kamāl-ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn-'Arabshāh al-Awḥadī.

At-Tirīzī, having finished his studies at the age of thirty was appointed as a lecturer in different schools. In the year

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1. Kashf, i, p. 535.
2. Ibid., p. 457; cf. Salāmī, p. 147.

721/1321 (when he was forty-four years old) he went for a tour where he visited Baghdad, al-Ḥillā, al-Kūfā, al-Mashhad, Mecca, Medina, and then to Cairo where he settled. In Cairo at-Tibrīzī resumed his activity studying Tradition under Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-'Umar al-Wanī, Abū-'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn-'Umar al-Khātnī, Abū-n-Nūn Yūnus Ibn-Ibrāhīm ad-Dabbās, Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Jamā'ā (d. 767/1365), Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-Ismā'īl Ibn-Quraysh al-Makhzūmī, and others. At-Tibrīzī also held a course of instruction in Cairo which attracted many students including: Burhān ad-Dīn ar-Rashīdī, Nāẓir-aj-Jaysh, Ibn-an-Naqīb, and Muḥammad Ibn-Rāfi' as-Salāmī (704/1304 to 774/1372) who is the author of Ta'rīkh 'ulāmā' Baghdad.

Besides being a teacher at-Tibrīzī was also a writer. The subjects for both his writing and teaching were: jurisprudence, the foundation of jurisprudence, grammar, tafsīr, logic, law of descent and distribution, arithmetic, algebra, surveying, geometry and philosophy.[1]

(31)

Ar-Rīhī

(d. 748/1347)

Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Umar Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-Ismā'īl had the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allah and he was well known by his nisba ar-Rīhī. No date is given for ar-Rīhī's birth but it

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1. Ibid., pp. 146-9; Shadh., vi, pp. 148-9; Subk., vi, p. 146.

is known that when he grew up he studied al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī under Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn-Aḥmad al-Aṣbaḥī (d. 700/1300) as well as Mu'īn ahl-at-taqwā 'alā at-tadrīs wal-fatwā which is written by al-Aṣbaḥī himself and deals with al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ After finishing his studies under al-Aṣbaḥī and others ar-Rīhī taught in al-Mu'ayyidiyyā school as well as the school which was built by Khādim-ad-Dār an-Najmī in the year 628/1230.[1]

(32)

Zayn-ad-Dīn al-Balqiyā'ī

(681/1283 to 749/1348)

'Umar Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam Ibn-'Abd-ar-Rāziq Ibn-Ja'far, had the kunya of Abū-Ḥafṣ, the laqab of Zayn-ad-Dīn and he was well-known by his nisba al-Balqiyā'ī. He studied under many scholars, including: al-Abraqūhī, ad-Dimyāṭī, Ibn-al-Qayyim, al-'Alam al-'Iraqī, al-Bājji and Ibn-Hārūn.

Zayn-ad-Dīn al-Blaqiyā'ī was appointed as a Qāḍī for different cities including: al-Bahansa, Aleppo, al-Manūfiyyā, Bab-al-Futūḥ and Ṣafad. He also taught in an-Nūriyyā school in Emessa and wrote a book, Sharḥ mukhtaṣar az-Zabīdī. As-Subkī said that by reading Sharḥ mukhtaṣar az-Zabīdī he noticed that Zayn-ad-Dīn al-Balqiyā'ī supported some of his argument by quoting some proofs from the commentary of his father on al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ.[2]

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1. Khazrajī, ii, pp. 81-2.
2. Husn., i, p. 241; Durar, iii, p. 164; Subk., vi, p. 243; cf. Ibid., v, pp. 236-7.

(33)

Taqiyy-ad-Dīn as-Subkī

(683/1284 to 756/1355)

'Alī Ibn-'Abd-al-Kāfī Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Tammām Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-Mūsā Ibn-Tammām had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan, the laqab of Taqiyy ad-Dīn and he was well known by his nisba as-Subkī. He studied under a number of scholars including: at-Taqī Ibn-aṣ-Ṣā'igh, al-'Alam al-'Iraqī, Ibn-ar-Rif'ā, al-'Alā' al-Bajjī, Abū-Ḥayyān, ash-Sharaf ad-Dimyāṭī, Ibn-aṣ-Ṣawwāf, al-Mawāzinī, ar-Rashīd Ibn-Abū-'l-Qāsim, and Ismā'īl Ibn-aṭ-Ṭabbāl. Under these teachers Taqiyy-ad-Dīn studied several subjects including: the Qur'ān, Tradition, tafsīr, grammar, the foundation of jurisprudence, and jurisprudence. In this last subject Taqiyy-ad-Dīn was interested specifically in al-Muhadhdhab of Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) and al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī. As-Subkī, the son of Taqiyy-ad-Dīn, reported that his father committed to memory these two books so that he could perform the difficult task of reciting them verbatim.

Taqiyy-ad-Dīn was appointed as a Qāḍī for Damascus and also as a teacher for Dār-al-Ḥadīth, ash-Shāmiyyā al-Barrāniyyā, al-Masrūriyyā, and others. He composed several books including: Shifā' as-siqām fī-ziyārat-khayr al-anām, Al-I'tibār fī-baqā' al-Jannā wan-nār, ad-Durr-an-nazīm fī-tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm, Takmilat al-Majmū' fī-sharḥ al-muhadhdhab, and at-Tabbīr al-madhhab in which Taqiyy-ad-Dīn tried to make a commentary for al-minhāj of an-Nawawī (d. 676/1277). As-Subkī said that his father

Taqiyy-ad-Dīn did not finish this latter book because his teacher 'Alā'-ad-Dīn al-Bājjī criticized him for writing a commentary on al-Minhāj of an-Nawawī instead of al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[1]

(34)

Sharaf-ad-Dīn

(d. 757/1356)

Ibrāhīm Ibn-Bahā'-ad-Dīn Isḥāq had the kunya of Sharaf-ad Dīn. He studied under his uncle Ḍiyā'-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Mīnāwī (655/1257 to 746/1345) as well as others. Having finished his studies he was appointed as a teacher as well as a mufti. He composed a commentary on Frā'iḍ al-wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[2]

(35)

Ibn-al-Mulaqqin

(723/1323 to 804/1401)

'Umar Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-Allah had the kunya of Abū-Ḥafṣ, the laqab of Sirāj-ad-Dīn, and the nisba of al-Miṣrī. His father was originally from Spain but he went to Egypt and died there. When 'Alī the father of 'Umar was dying, he begged Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Īsā al-Mulaqqin, who used to teach the Qur'ān

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1. Ibid., vi, p. 213.
2. Ḥusn, i, p. 241; Kashf, ii, p. 2009.

there in Egypt to teach the Qur'ān to his son and look after him. In the year 803/1400 'Alī died leaving his son, who was one year old, under the protection of his friend.

Al-Mulaqqin married 'Alī's wife and took care of 'Umar. 'Umar, being under the charge of al-Mulaqqin, he became known as Ibn-al-Mulaqqin though he was not. It has been said that 'Umar never called himself Ibn-al-Mulaqqin and that he preferred to be called Ibn-an-Nahwī, but no one paid any attention to 'Umar's preference throughout his own country (although some few people in the Yemen did).

Ibn-al-Mulaqqin took his first lessons in the Qur'ān under his patron. Then he studied Tradition under Ibn-'Abd-ad-Dā'im, al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Muzzī, Ibn-Rajab, Mighlaṭāy. Ibn-al-Mulaqqin also studied jurisprudence under Taqiyy-ad-Dīn as-Subkī (d. 756/1355), perhaps in al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī, for Taqiyy-ad-Dīn was interested in this book.

After finishing his studies under the above teachers as well as others Ibn-al-Mulaqqin was appointed as a Qāḍī. Later he gave up his office and devoted himself to teaching and writing. Among his books are: Mukhtaṣar al-khulāṣā, in one volume; Mukhtaṣar al-muntaqā in one volume; Sharḥ al-'umdā, in three volumes; Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'-ash-Shāfi'iyya; Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn; Sharḥ al-minhāj, in six volumes; Sharḥ al-Bukhārī, in twenty volumes; and Tadhkirat al-akhyār-bi-mā-fi-l-wasīṭ min al akhbār, in which he spoke about the authenticity of every Tradition quoted by al-Ghazālī in his book al-Wasīṭ.[1]

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1. Shadh., vii, pp. 44-5; Badr, i, pp. 508-11; Kashf, ii, p. 2009; Suyūṭi, p. 369; Madhhab, see Badawī, p. 549.

(36)

Ibn-al-Bahā' al-Baghdadī

(822/1419 to 900/1494)

'Alī Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Bahā', who had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan, the laqab of 'alā' ad-Dīn, and the nisba of al-Baghdadī, was a Ḥanbalite scholar, born in Iraq. In the year 837/1433 he went from Baghdad to Damascus where he joined the school of Shaykh-al-Islam Abū-'Umar. Among his teachers were: al-Amīn al-Kirkī, ash-Shams Ibn-aṭ-Ṭaḥḥān, Ibn-Nāẓir-aṣ-Ṣāḥibā, Taqiyy-ad-Dīn Ibn-Qundūs, an-Naẓẓām, Ibn-Muflih and al-Burhān.

After finishing his studies Ibn-al-Bahā' was appointed as a Qāḍī for Damascus. He also taught a number of students and wrote some books, including: Fatḥ al-malik al-'azīz bi-sharḥ al-wajīz of al-Ghazālī, in five volumes; and ar-Rad-'alā-al-wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[1]

(37)

Burhān ad-Dīn

Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān had the nisba of al-'Āmirī. He composed an abridgement for al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[2] No more information is given for him, and even the dates of his birth and death are unknown.

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1. Shadh., vii, p. 365.
2. Ibid., p. 21.

(38)

Al-Qazawī

Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad, who had the kunya of Abū-'l-Faḍl, and the nisba of al-Qazawī, was a Ḥanbalite scholar, who wrote a commentary for al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ.[1] No more information about him is available.

(39)

Badr-ad-Dīn

Muḥammad, his laqab was Badr-ad-Dīn and his nisba was al-Yamānī. He composed an abridgement for al-Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī.[2] No more information about him is available.

1. Kashf, ii, p. 2009.
2. Badawī, p. 21.

SCHOLARS INFLUENCED BY AL-WASĀṬ:

- Ibn-Yaḥyā d. 1153 (Nīshapūr, Herat)
- Al-Yanānī d. 1162 (Dhu-Ashraq)
- As-Salamasī d. 1178 (Baghdad)
  - ʿImād ad-Dīn Ibn-Yūnus
  - Ibn-Manʿā
  - Ibn-Muhājir
- Al-Khubūshānī d. 1191 (Cairo)
- Ad-Dunbulī d. 1201 (Baghdad, Mosul)
- Al-ʿIjlī d. 1203 (Iṣfahān)
  - Abū-Turāb
  - Ibn-Khalīl
  - Aḍ-Ḍiyāʾ
- Ibn-Sakīnā d. 1210 (Baghdad, Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Cairo)
  - As-Sanhūrī
  - Al-Maqdisī
  - Ibn-Baldajī
  - Ibn-Muraydā
  - Ibn-al-Jalīlī
  - Ibn-aṣ-Ṣayqal
  - Ibn-ar-Raffāʾ
  - Najm-ad-Dīn
  - Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ
  - As-Salāmī
  - Ibn-az-Zajjāj
  - Ibn-Abū-ad-Daynā
  - Ibn-Qudāma
  - Abu-Mūsā
  - Ibn-Khalīl
  - Ibn-ad-Daythanī
  - An-Najīb
- ʿImād ad-Dīn Ibn-Manʿā d. 1211 (Baghdad)
- Ibn-al-Ḥarastānī d. 1217 (Ḥarasta, Syria)
  - Al-ʿIzz
- Aṣ-Ṣaffār d. 1221 (Nīshapūr)
  - Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ
- Ibn-as-Sikrī d. 1226 (Cairo)
  - Az-Zuhrī
    - Al-Barzālī
    - Aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī
    - Aḍ-Ḍiyāʾ
    - Al-Bakrī
    - Al-Karmānī
    - Ibn-ʿAsākir
    - Ibn-ʿAqrūn
- Sayf ad-Dīn al-ʿĀmidī d. 1233 (Cairo)
- Ibn-Abū-ad-Dam d.1244 (Aleppo, Cairo)
- Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ d. 1245 (Mosul, Jerusalem, Damascus)
- Az-Zuhrī d. 1245 (Cairo)
- Qāḍī-al-ʿAskar d. 1252 (Cairo)
- Ibn-al-Ustādh d. 1263 (Aleppo, Egypt)
- Abū-Shāmā d. 1266 (Damascus)
- Ibn-Saʿīd d. 1271 (Ḥamah)
- An-Nawawī d. 1277 (Damascus)
- At-Tazamuntī d. 1283 (Egypt)
  - Ibn-ar-Rifʿā
- Al-Baydāwī d. 1286 (Bayḍāʾ)
- Al-Junayd d. 1289 (Jibilla, Aden)
- Ibn-ar-Rifʿā d. 1310 (Al-Wahāt)
  - Ibn-ʿUmar
- Al-Mudlijī d. 1310 (Egypt)
  - Az-Zamalkānī
- Al-Isnāʾī d. 1321 (Isyūṭ Ikhmīm, Qūṣ) Zift, Minyat-al-Khaṣīb)
- Al-Mudarris d. 1321 (Al-Mahjam)
- Al-Bakrī d. 1323 (Cairo)
- Al-Qamūlī d. 1326 (Qamūla, Al-Wajh al-Qiblī, Ikhmīm, Isyūṭ, al-Minya, Ash-Sharqiyya, al-Gharbiyya, Cairo)
  - As-Salāmī
  - Ibn-an-Najīb
- At-Tibrīzī d. 1345 (Cairo)
  - Nāṣir-al-Jaysh
  - Ar-Rashīdī
- Ar-Rīhī d. 1347 (Al-Jund and its suburbs)
- Al-Balqiyāʾī d. 1348 (Al-Bahansa, Aleppo, Manūfiyyā, Bāb-al-Futūḥ, Ṣafad)
- As-Subkī d. 1355 (Damascus)
- Sharaf ad-Dīn d. 1401 (Egypt)
- Ibn-al-Mulaqqin d. 1401 (Egypt)
- Ibn-al-Bahāʾ d. 1494 (Damascus)
- Burhān ad-Dīn d.? (Cairo, Damascus)
- Al-Qazawī d.? (?)
- Badr-ad-Dīn d.? (Yemen)

- Abū-Ḥanīd
- Dulaf
- Masʿūd
- Quṭb ad-Dīn
- Abū-Ṭālib
- Al-Khubūshānī
- Aṭ-Ṭalqānī
- Al-Qazwīnī
- An-Nawqānī
- Aṭ-Ṭabarī
- Ibn-Faḍlān
- Saʿīd
- Al-Wāsiṭī

B. Al-Wajīz

Al-Ghazālī's second important book in jurisprudence was al-Wajīz. Originally this book was an abridgement of al-Wasīṭ,[1] which is itself an abridgement of al-Basīṭ.[2] Al-Wajīz was composed in 495/1101,[3] and published in 1317/1899 in two volumes. It has been said that "Had al-Ghazālī been a prophet he could have claimed this work as his miracle."[4]

Al-Wajīz was commented on,[5] criticized,[6] summarized,[7] memorized,[8] set to poetry,[9] and studied[10] extensively by scholars, especially in the second century after al-Ghazālī's death.

What follows are biographical sketches of some of those scholars who dealt with al-Ghazālī's Wajīz. Also included are references to some of the scholars' teachers and students who may have taught or studied al-Wajīz.

In order to see the relationship of these scholars and their students see the "tree" at the end of Section B. This "tree" also indicates the centres in which al-Wajīz was studied.

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1. Badawī, p. 22.
2. Ibid.
3. EI², ii, p. 1040.
4. Abū-Ḥāmid, p. 99.
5. See Chapter V, Section B, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 25, 27.
6. Ibid., No. 2, 30.
7. Ibid., Nos. 9, 18, 26, 28, 29.
8. Ibid., Nos. 19, 21, 22.
9. Ibid., Nos. 16, 23.
10. Ibid., Nos. 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 24.

Although al-Wasīṭ was more important in the field of jurisprudence (because it covered almost ninety per cent of al-Basīṭ), still al-Wajīz influenced more scholars and was more deeply appreciated because it was such a popular hand-book in the field.[1] Some scholars even went so far as to name themselves after it.[2]

(1)

'Imād-ad-Dīn Ibn-al-Wazzān

(d. 598/1201)

Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm, had the laqab of 'Imād-ad-Dīn and he was well-known as Ibn-Wazzān. He studied jurisprudence under his father, and under 'Alī Ibn-Abū-Bakr al-Khujundī. Also he attended the lectures of Abū-Iṣḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083). After finishing his studies he became one of the most eminent scholars in ar-Rey especially among the Shāfi'ites. He composed a commentary for al-Ghazālī's Wajīz.[3]

(2)

Abū-'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī

(515/1121 to 600/1203)

Al-'Ijlī composed a book entitled Sharḥ-mushkilāt-al-wasīṭ wa-l-Wajīz li-l-Ghazālī. For his biography see Chapter V, Section A, No. 6.

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1. Cf. Chapter V, sections A and B.
2. Ibid., B.
3. Shadh., iv, p. 337.

(3)

Fakh-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī

(543/1148 to 606/1209)

Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī composed a number of books including Sharḥ-wajīz al-Ghazālī-fi-l-fiqh. For his biography see Chapter VII, Section A, No. 4.

(4)

'Imād-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Man'ā

(535/1140 to 608/1211)

Ibn-Man'ā composed a number of books including Sharḥ-al-wajīz. For his biography see Chapter V, Section A, No. 8.

(5)

Al-Jājarmī

(d. 610/1213)

Abū-Ḥāmid Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Abū-'l-Faḍl as-Sahlī al-Jājarmī, surnamed Mu'īn-ad-Dīn was an eminent doctor of the Shāfi'ite school, and displayed the highest abilities in various branches of science. He lived in Nishapur and taught in that city. His treatise on jurisprudence, entitled al-Kifāya, includes, notwithstanding its extreme conciseness, most of those questions which muftis are generally called on to resolve, and forms one volume. His 'Īḍāḥ al-wajīz, or elucidation of al-Ghazālī's Wajīz, in two

volumes,[1] described by Ibn-Khallikān as "a very good work."[2]

Al-Jājarmī is also the author of a well-known system of controversy and of the celebrated Qawā'id, or fundamental principles of Shāfi'it jurisprudence, which bear his name. Numerous pupils acquired much information under his tuition, and, after his death, many derived profit from the study of his works, especially the Qawā'id, which became a standard class-book. This doctor died at Nishapur.

(6)

Ibn-Shās al-Khallāl

(d. 616/1219)

Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Najm Ibn-Shās Ibn-Nizār Ibn-'Ashā'ir Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Shās al-Judhamī as-Sa'dī, surnamed al-Khallāl,[3] was an able jurist of the Mālikite school in the principles of which he was profoundly versed. Ibn-Khallikān says that he met a great number of his former pupils at Cairo, and they all spoke of his merit in the highest terms.

Ibn-Shās, though not a Shāfi'ī, was very much influenced by al-Ghazālī, so that he drew up his book al-Jawāhir ath-thamīnā fī mudhhab 'ālim al-Medīnā on the plan of Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's Wajīz. The Mālikites of Cairo studied Ibn-Shās' book with great

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 659; Shadh., v, p. 56; in Kashf, "it is one volume" see, ii, p. 2003.
2. Wafayāt, ii, p. 659; Ibid., pp. 659-60; Shadh., v, p. 56.
3. Wafayāt, i, p. 323 (Arab.); in the English translation it is al-Jalāl, ii, p. 40.

assiduity on account of its excellence and the rich store of information which they find in it. Ibn-Shās was a professor in the college near the Great Mosque of Cairo, but when the fortress of Dimyāṭ was taken by the crusaders he went there to fight where he died.[1]

(7)

Ar-Rāfi'ī

(d. 623/1226)

'Abd-al-Karīm Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm Ibn-al-Faḍl Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-al-Ḥasan, had the kunya of Abū-'l-Qāsim, the laqab of ar-Rāfi'ī and the nisba of al-Qazwīnī. He studied under his father, and under others such as Abū-Ḥāmid 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Abū-'l-Futūḥ Ibn-'Umar al-'Umrānī, al-Khaṭīb Abū-Naṣr Ḥāmid Ibn-Maḥmud al-Māwarā' an-Nahrī, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ḥasan Ibn-Aḥmad-al-'Aṭṭār al-Hamadhānī, Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd al-Bāqī, Ibn-al-Baṭṭī, al-Imām Abū-Sulaymān Aḥmad Ibn-Ḥasanawayh, and Abū-Zar'a al-Maqdisī.

Ar-Rāfi'ī, having finished his studies, taught Tradition tafsīr, jurisprudence, at Qazwīn. Also he composed number of books including:

a) Al-Fatḥ al-'azīz fī-sharḥ al-wajīz,[2] in twelve volumes. It has been said that al-Wajīz never had a commentary much better than ar-Rāfi'ī's.[3] But whether this is true or not ar-Rāfi'ī's commentary

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1. Ibid., i, p. 323 (Arab.); & ii, p. 40; Shadh., v, p. 69.
2. GALS, i, p. 753. Sometimes called al-'Azīz fī-sharḥ al-wajīz, (see Subk., v, p. 119) or Fatḥ al-'Azīz 'alā kitāb al-wajīz, (see Kashf, ii, p. 2003).
3. Fawāt, ii, p. 7.

on al-Ghazālī's Wajīz had great influence among the Shāfi'ites, or in other words ar-Rāfi'ī's work gave al-Ghazālī a very strong base to influence the scholars. A number of books were written to criticize al-Ghazālī's Wajīz through its commentary, that is al-'Azīz.

Among those who paid much attention to al-'Azīz were: Muḥyi-ad-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn-Sharaf an-Nawawī (d. 677/1278), in his book ar-Rawḍā;[1] Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb az-Zinjānī (d. 655/1257), in his book Naqāwat-fatḥ al-'Azīz;[2] Ibn-'Aqīl 'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī (d. 769/1367);[3] Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-ar-Rabwā, in his book ad-Dur-an-naẓīm-al-munīr fī-sharḥ ishkāl al-Kabīr;[4] Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), in his book Nashr-al'abīr fī-takhrīj aḥādīth ash-sharḥ al-kabīr;[5] Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Asdī al-Qudsī (d. 808/1405), in his two books aẓ-Ẓahīr 'alā-fiqh-ash-sharḥ al-kabīr in four volumes;[6] and Ḍaw' al-miṣbāḥ al-munīr li-gharā'ib ash-sharḥ al-kabīr;[7] 'Umar Ibn-'Alī Ibn-al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401), in his three books al-Badr al-munīr (in seven volumes);[8] al-Khulāṣa,[9] and al-Muntaqā (in one volume);[10]

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1. Or Rawḍat-aṭ-ṭālibīn, see Kashf, ii, p. 2003; Badawī, p. 27; GALS, 1, p. 753.
2. Kashf, ii, p. 2003; in Subk., az-Zinjānī died in 625/1227 (see v, p. 47).
3. Kashf, ii, p. 2003.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., pp. 1710, 2003.
8. Ibid., p. 2003; Badawī, p. 26; Ithāf; see Sīra, p. 195; GALS, 1, p. 753.
9. Badawī, p. 26; Sīra, p. 195.
10. Badawī, p. 195; Kashf, ii, p. 2003; Sīra, p. 195.

Badr ad-Dīn Ibn-Jamā'a (d. 767/1365);[1] Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad-az-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391);[2] Shihāb-ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn-Ismā'īl (d. 815/1412),[3] all together in their books Takhrīj-aḥādīth ash-sharḥ al-kabīr;[4] Ismā'īl Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-al-Muqrī al-Yamānī (d. 837/1433), in his book Mukhtaṣar-ar-rawḍa;[5] Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī al-Fayyūmī (770/1368) in his book, al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr fī-gharīb ash-sharḥ al-kabīr;[6] Zakariyya al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1519) in his book Sharḥ mukhtaṣar-ar-rawḍa;[7] 'Alī Ibh-Faḍl-Allah Ibn-Muḥammad al-Mar'ashī (d. 1134/1721), in his book Mawāhib al-'azīz;[8] Shihāb ad-Dīn 'Alī Ibn-Ḥamdān al-Adhra'ī (d. 873/1381), in his book at-tawassuṭ wa-l-fatḥ bayn-ar-rawḍā wash-sharḥ;[9] Najm-ad-Dīn 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Yūsuf al-Iṣfahānī (d. 751/1350), in his book Mukhtaṣar-ar-rawḍa.[10]

b) Mukhtaṣar-fatḥ al-'azīz,[11] or ash-sharḥ aṣ-ṣaghīr.[12]

c) Ziyādāt wa-ikmālāt 'alā-kitāb al-wajīz or at-Tadhnīb fi-l-furū'.[13]

d) Sharḥ musnad-ash-shāfi'ī.[14]

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1. Kashf, ii. p. 2003; Sīra, p. 195.
2. Kashf, ii, p. 2003; Badawī, p. 2. GALS, i, p. 753.
3. Kashf, ii, p. 2003; GALS, i, p. 753.
4. Kashf, ii, p. 2003.
5. Badawī, p. 28.
6. Kashf, ii, p. 1710; GALS, i, p. 753.
7. Badawī, p. 29.
8. Ibid.; GALS, i, p. 753.
9. Badawī, p. 29; Kashf, ii, p. 2003; GALS, i, p. 753.
10. Badawī, p. 29; GALS, i, p. 753.
11. Badawī, p. 27.
12. Subk., v, p. 119.
13. Badawī, p. 29; GALS, i, p. 753.
14. Subk., v, p. 119.

e) At-Tartīb wa-l-amālī ash-shāriḥā 'alā mufradāt al-fātiḥā.[1]

f) Al-Ījāz fī-khaṭrāt al-ḥijāz.[2]

g) Al-Maḥmūd fi-l-fiqh in eight volumes.[3]

(8)

Al-Jīlī

(d. 629/1231)

'Abd-al-'Azīz Ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm Ibn-'Abd-al-Kāfī had the laqab of Ṣā'in-ad-Dīn and a nisba of al-Humāmī al-Jīlī. He composed a commentary on al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī, and he stated that his commentary was written in the light of a number of books including: al-Basīṭ-fi-l-frū' of al-Ghazālī; al-Wasīṭ al-muḥīt bi-'āthār al-Basīṭ, of al-Ghazālī; ash-Shāmil of Ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1084);[4] at-Tahdhīb,[5] at-Tajrīd of Abū-'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Muḥāmilī (d. 425/1033);[6] al-Khulāṣa of Ṭāhir Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-ar-Rashīd (d. 542/1147);[7] Ḥilyat al-'ulamā' fī-madhāhib al-fuqahā' of Ibn-al-Qaffāl ash-Shāshī (d. 507/1113);[8] al-Ḥāwī aṣ-ṣaghīr fi-l-frū', of Najm-ad-Dīn 'Abd-al-Ghaffār Ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī (d. 665/1266)[9] ash-Shāfī perhaps by Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 107; Kashf, ii, p. 1025.
5. Subk., v, p. 107.
6. Ibid.; Kashf, i, p. 351.
7. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, i, p. 718.
8. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, i, p. 690.
9. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, i, p. 625.

Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 482/1089);[1] al-Kāfī fī-furū' ash-Shāfi'iyya perhaps by Abū-'Abd Allah Aḥmad Ibn-Sulayman aẓ-Zubayrī (d. 317/929);[2] at-Tatimmā by Abū-Sa'd al-Mutawallī (d. 478/1085);[3] an-Nihāya[4] and al-Madhhab fī-dhikr Shuyūkh-al-madhhab by Abū-aṭ-Ṭayyib Sahl-aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī (d. 404/1013);[5] al-Ifṣāḥ by Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn-Qāsim aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 350/961);[6] al-Ibānā by Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Fawrānī al-Marwazī (d. 461/1068); Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī,[7] al-Mustaẓhirī,[8] al-Muḥīt fi-l-Jam' bayn al-muhadhdhab of ash-Shīrāzī, wa-l-wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī,[9] at-Talkīṣ by Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Qāṣ aṭ-Ṭabarī (335/946);[10] al-Bayān perhaps by Abū-'l-Khayr Yaḥyā Ibn-Sālim al-Yamānī (d. 558/1162) the author of Ghārā'ib al-Wasīṭ[11] (Chapter V, Section A, No. 2); Sharḥ al-Baydāwī,[12] Tabṣira? fi-l-waswasa by al-Juwaynī (d. 438/1046);[13] at-Taḥrīr by Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 482/1089);[14] al-Muḥarrar by Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Abd-al-Karīm ar-

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1. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, ii, p. 1378.
2. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, ii, p. 1378.
3. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, i, p. 1.
4. Subk., v, p. 107.
5. Ibid.; Kashf, ii, p. 1645.
6. Subk., v, p. 107; Kashf, ii, p. 1635.
7. Subk., v, p. 108.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.; Kashf, ii, p. 1620.
10. Subk., v, p. 108; Kashf, i, p. 479.
11. Subk., v, p. 108; Kashf, i, p. 264.
12. Subk., v, p. 108.
13. Ibid.; Kashf, i, p. 358.
14. Subk., v, p. 108; Kashf, i, p. 358.

Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1226); the author of al-Fatḥ al-'azīz fī-sharḥ al-wajīz[1] (Chapter V, Section A, No. 7) Muhadhdhab Abū-'l-Fayyāḍ al-Baṣrī.[2]

(9)

Tāj-ad-Dīn Abū-'l-Qāsim Ibn-Man'ā

(598/1201 to 671/1272)

'Abd-ar-Raḥīm Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Yūnus Ibn-Rabī'ā, had the laqab of Tāj-ad-Dīn, and the kunya of Abū-'l-Qāsim. He was the grandson of 'Imād-ad-Dīn (Chapter V, Section B, No. 4), and was well known as the rest of his family by their surname Ibn-Man'ā.

Tāj-ad-Dīn composed an abridgement of al-Ghazālī's Wajīz, entitled at-Ta'jīz fi-ikh-tiṣār al-wajīz, "the inimitable, being an abridgement of the Wajīz." He composed also an abridgement of Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī's treatise on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, entitled al-Maḥṣūl, and another on Rukn-ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭāwūsī's system of controversial doctrines.

Tāj-ad-Dīn spent most of his life at Mosul, but when the Tartars took it in 600/1261, he moved to Baghdad, where he died.[3]

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1. Subk., v, pp. 108, 119; Kashf, ii, p. 1613.
2. Subk., v, p. 108.
3. Ibid., pp. 72-3; Badawī, p. 29; Kashf, i, p. 603.

(10)

Ibn-Khallikān

(608/1211 to 681/1282)

Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-Khallikān surnamed Shams-ad-Dīn was descended from a family of Balkh. This very eminent scholar and follower of as-Shāfi'i's doctrines was born at Arbela, but resided and died at Damascus, where he had held the position of chief Qāḍī. By his talents and his writings he merited the honourable title of the most learned man and the ablest historian of that city.

Ibn-Khallikān passed the first years of his life at Arbela and then moved to Mosul, and was still in the prime of youth when he went to Damascus and Aleppo. The date of his arrival at Aleppo was 626/1229. The words of Ibn-Khallikān concerning his study at Aleppo run thus: "At this time, there were but few colleges in Aleppo and learned men were very rare. Abū-'l-Maḥāsin (d. 632/1234) was therefore induced to reorganise these institutions and provide them with teachers, learn in the law."[1]

"During the lifetime of Abū-'l-Maḥāsin, a great number of colleges were thus established ... When Aleppo was brought into this prosperous state, legists arrived there from all quarters, studies became active and the number of persons who came to the city was very great. A close intimacy, a sincere and friendly attachment subsisted between my deceased father and the Qāḍī Abū-'l-Maḥāsin, from the time in which they were fellow-students at Mosul. When I went to study under this Qāḍī, a very short time

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1. Wafayāt, iv, p. 422.

after my brother had gone to him, a letter of recommendation, drawn up in the strongest terms, was sent to him by the sovereign of our city Arbela. ... In this letter he said you know what is necessary to be done with these boys, they are the sons of one who was for me as a brother and who was also a brother for you. To this I need not add any stronger recommendation. The writer continued in this style to some length. The Qāḍī Abū-'l-Maḥāsin, being very obliging, received us most honourably and treated us as well as he possibly could and in a manner worthy of himself. He lodged us in his college, inscribed us on the list of those who received commons and placed us in the class of the elder boys, though we were still very young and merely beginning to study ... I and my brother remained with Abū-'l-Maḥāsin till the day of his death 632/1234."[1]

"During all that time there was not a general course of lectures in the college, because the professor, Abū-'l-Maḥāsin himself, was much advanced in years and so very weak that he could hardly move, much less commit his lecturers to memory and deliver them. He therefore confided to four legists of merit the duty of doing over the lecturers with the students, and it was under the tuition of these doctors that all the school pursued their studies. I and my brother read our lectures under the Shaykh Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū-Bakr-al-Māhānī, because he was our townsman and had been a fellow-student of my father's under the Shaykh 'Imād-ad-Dīn Abū-Ḥāmid Ibn-Yūnus. ...Al-Māhānī died on the 3rd of Shawwāl, 627 (15 August, A.D. 1230), aged upwards of eighty years. I then attended

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1. Ibid. (Arab. ii, p. 356).

the lectures of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Abū-'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-'Alī generally known by the appellation of Ibn-al-Khabbāz (d. 631/1234), who was a native of Mosul. This jurist and Imām was then professor in the Sāyfiyyā college. I read under his direction al-Ghazālī's Wajīz from the beginning of the work to the chapter on affirmation (al-Iqrār)".[1]

After he had studied that part of al-Ghazālī's Wajīz, together with other works, Ibn-Khallikān travelled to Egypt, where he resumed his studies and acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences, while he attained a great pre-eminence as a jurist, a theologian, and a grammarian. In the country he acted in the capacities of a mufti and a public teacher, but without neglecting to cultivate his talent as a prose-writer and a poet.

In the year 659/1260 Ibn-Khallikān was appointed Qāḍī of Damascus. During a period of ten years he fulfilled in person the duties of his office, at first exercising his authority without a colleague. He then received information that a decree had been issued by order of the noble prince al-Malik aẓ-Ẓahir declaring that there should be four Qāḍīs at Damascus.

Ibn-Khallikān was afterwards removed from the qāḍīship of Damascus, and proceeded to Cairo, where he was nominated deputy to the chief Qāḍī Badr-ad-Dīn as-Sinjārī. During his residence there he pursued his literary labours, and discharged the duties of a professor and mufti until his reappointment to the place of Qāḍī at Damascus, as successor to 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ibn-aṣ-Ṣa'igh. In

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1. Ibid., iv, pp. 422-4; (Arab. ii, p. 356).

the year 680/1281 Ibn-Khallikān was dismissed, and from that period until the day of his death, he never went out of doors. He died in 681/1282, nine years after he finished his great work Wafayāt-al-a'yān.[1]

(11)

Al-'Imād al-Mosulī

(621/1224 to 682/1283)

'Alī Ibn-Ya'qūb Ibn-Abū-Zahrān had the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan and the nisba of al-Mosulī. He studied under many scholars including Ibn-Wāthiq. Having finished his studies he devoted himself to al-Ghazālī's Wajīz.[2]

(12)

Abū-ath-Thanā' al-Armawī

(594/1197 to 682/1283)

Sirāj-ad-Dīn Abū-ath-Thanā' Maḥmud Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-Aḥmad was well known as al-Armawī. He studied under Kamāl ad-Dīn Ibn-Yūnus, as well as others. Having finished his studies he composed a number of books including: at-Taḥṣīl mukhtaṣar-al-maḥṣūl, in which he summarized al-Maḥṣūl fī-uṣūl-al-fiqh of Fakhr-ad-Dīn-

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1. Fawāt, ii, pp. 100-8; Shadh., v, pp. 371-3; Wafayāt (introduction); i, pp. vi-xii; (Eng.) & vol. ii, pp. 421-4.
2. Shadh., v, p. 379.

ar-Rāzī[1] (d. 606/1209); al-Lubāb mukhtaṣar-al-arba'īn fī-uṣūl-ad-Dīn, in which he summarized ar-Rāzī's Arba'īn;[2] Bayān al-ḥaqq fi-l-manṭiq wal-ḥikma;[3] Maṭālī' al-anwār fi-l-manṭiq;[4] and a commentary on al-Ghazālī's Wajīz.[5] Al-Armawī died in the city of Qūniyyā.[6]

(13)

Abū-Muḥammad Ibn-Zakariyyā

(619/1222 to 688/1289)

'Abd-Allah Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-'Abd-Allah Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Zakariyyā had the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad. He studied under Muḥammad Ibn-'Umar Ibn-Yaḥyā, Ṣāliḥ Ibn-'Alī Ibn-al-Ḥaḍramī and others. After finishing his studies he devoted much of his time to al-Ghazālī's Wajīz. Al-Khazrajī stated that Abū-Bakr Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Umar was among those who studied al-Wajīz under Ibn-Zakariyyā.[7]

(14)

'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Sa'd

(636/1238 to 690/1291)

'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Sa'd Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-As'ad Ibn Aḥmad studied under his uncle 'Umar Ibn-Sa'īd (d. 690/1291).

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 1615.
2. Ibid., i, p. 61.
3. Ibid., p. 261.
4. Ibid., ii, p. 1715.
5. Subk., v, p. 155.
6. Ibid.
7. Khazrajī, i, p. 250.

After finishing his studies he taught jurisprudence to many students. And it is believed that the text for his teaching was al-'Azīz sharḥ-al-wajīz of ar-Rāfi'ī (d.623/1226), for Ibn-Sa'd was the first one who introduced that book to al-Khayāl in the Yemen.[1]

(15)

Tāj-ad-Dīn al-Fazārī Ibn-al-Furkāḥ

(624/1226 to 690/1291)

'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn-Ḍiyā' Ibn-Sibā', had the laqab of Tāj-ad-Dīn and a nisba of al-Fazārī. He was well-known by Ibn al-Furkāḥ. He studied under many scholars including; Ibn-az-Zabīdī, Ibn-an-Najjār, Ibn-al-Latī, Mukram Ibn-Abū-aṣ-Ṣaqr, Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (see Chapter V, Section A, No. 14), as-Sakhāwī, Tāj-ad-Dīn Ibn-Ḥamawayḥ, 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ibn-'Abd-as-Salām (d. 660/1261).

After finishing his studies Ibn-al-Furkāḥ taught many students including: his son Burhān-ad-Dīn, Ibn-Taymiyya (d. 728/1327), al-Muzzī, Ibn-Ṣaṣrā, Kamāl-ad-Dīn Ibn-az-Zinlikānī, Ibn-al-'Aṭṭār, Kamāl-ad-Dīn Ibn-Qāḍī Shuhbā, 'Alā'-ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī, Zakiyy-ad-Dīn and others who became muftis, teachers, and Qāḍīs.

Ibn-al-Furkāḥ composed a number of books including: al-Iqlīd, sharḥ-at-tanbīh,[2] Kashf-al-qinā' fī-ḥill-as-samā', Sharḥ-

1. Ibid., p. 262.
2. According to Subk., al-Iqlīd and Sharḥ-at-tanbīh are two different works, but in Fawāt al-wafayāt, they are one book. (see Subk., v, p. 60; and Fawāt, i, p. 523).

waraqāt-Imām-al-Ḥaramyan fī-uṣūl-al-fiqh,[1] and Sharḥ al-wajīz of al-Ghazālī, in many volumes.[2]

(16)

Abū-Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī

(d. 697/1297)

'Abd-al-'Azīz Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Sa'īd ad-Damīrī whose kunya was Abū-Muḥammad, was well known by his nisba al-Qazwīnī. He set to poetry a number of books among them were at-Tanbīh of Abū-Isḥāq ash-Shirāzī, and al-Wajīz of Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī.[3]

(17)

Al-Khiyārī al-Hamdānī

(d. 714/1314)

Mufaḍḍal Ibn-Abū-Bakr Ibn-Yaḥyā, had the nisba of al-Khiyārī or as he sometimes called al-Hamdānī. He studied in Ta'iz under Muḥammad Ibn-'Abbās ash-Sha'bī and others. Having finished his studies he taught in al-Manṣūriyyā school in al-Jund. The texts for his teaching were: al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī, as well as al-Musta'dhab and al-Mansak. In addition to being a teacher he was also Qāḍī and he continued to practice both of his posts until he died in al-Jund.[4]

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 2006.
2. Subk., v, p. 60.
3. Salāmī, pp. 100-1; Kashf, ii, p. 2004.
4. Khazrajī, i, p. 411.

(18)

Nūr-ad-Dīn al-Īsnā'ī al-Iṣfahānī

(d. 721/1321)

Ibrāhīm Ibn-Hibat-Allah Ibn-'Alī was a Shāfi'ite jurist who composed a number of books including summarizations of al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ and Wajīz. For his biography see Chapter V, Section A, No. 26.

(19)

Ibn-Ḥusayn

(d. 721/1321)

Muḥammad Ibn-Ḥusayn, whose kunya was Abū-'Abd-Allah, was a Shāfi'ite jurist. Al-Khazrajī reported that Ibn-Ḥusayn committed to memory al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī. And it seems from the tone of al-Khazrajī's statement that Ibn-Ḥusayn did not care for any other book except al-Wajīz.[1]

(20)

Nūr-ad-Dīn-al-Yamānī

(d. 725/1324)

'Alī Ibn-Jābir had the laqab of Nūr-ad-Dīn, and nisbas of al-Yamānī, ash-Shāfi'ī and al-Hāshimī. He was known as a Traditionist and he studied al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī under Zakī-al-Baylaqānī.[2]

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1. Ibid., p. 440.
2. Shadh., vi, p. 68.

(21)

Al-Wajīzī

(d. 727/1326)

Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Sulaymān, who had the nisba of al-Wajīzī, is reported to have committed to memory al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī, thus receiving his nisba al-Wajīzī from this book. Al-Wajīzī died in 727/1326[1] after he served as a Qāḍī for some time in Cairo where he also studied jurisprudence. After finishing his study he taught al-Wajīz to a number of students including al-Asnawī,[2] and 'Imād-ad-Dīn Ibn-al-Balbīsī.[3]

(22)

Al-Iskandarānī

(638/1240 to 728/1327)

Ibrāhīm Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-al-Muḥsin Ibn-Aḥmad had the kunya of Abū-Isḥāq, and nisbas of al-'Alawī, al-Ḥusaynī, al-Gharāfī and al-Iskandarānī. He was born ten years after his brother Tāj-ad-Dīn. He studied under al-'Azīz Khālid an-Nābulsī, al-Muwaffaq Ibn-Ya'īsh, Ibn-Khalīl, Ibn-al-Jumayzī, Ibn-Rawāj, and two ladies, Ḥalīmā and Karīmā.

Al-Iskandarānī committed to memory al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī, and al-Īḍāḥ of Abū-'Alī. Al-Iskandarānī taught in Dār-al-Ḥadīth an-Nābīhiyyā. Among those who studied under him perhaps al-Ghazālī's Wajīz was Al-Wajīh as-Sabtī.[4]

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1. Ḥusn, i, p. 240; in Durar, he died in 729/1328 (see i, p. 243)
2. Ḥusn, i, p. 240.
3. Subk., v, pp. 227-8.
4. Durar, i, p. 10.

(23)

Al-Quṭbī az-Zarzārī

(658/1259 to 730/1329)

Mūsā Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Mūsā Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-Muḥammad who had the laqab of Ḍiyā'-ad-Dīn and the nisbas of az-Zarzārī and al-Quṭbī studied in Baghdad and Cairo. Among his teachers were: Ibn-al-Fuwayrā, an-Najīb, Ibn-'Azūn, al-Kawāshī, al-Qimnī and an-Nūr al-Qiftī. It is reported that az-Zarzārī set al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī to poetry.[1]

(24)

Tāj-ad-Dīn at-Tibrīzī

(d. 746/1345)

His name was Tāj-ad-Dīn, he had the nisba of at-Tibrīzī. He studied al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī under Tāj-ad-Dīn Ḥamzā al-Ardubīlī. For the rest of his biography see Chapter V, Section A, No. 30.

(25)

Jamāl-ad-Dīn al-Isnawī

(704/1304 to 772/1370)

'Abd-ar-Raḥīm Ibn-al-Ḥasan Ibn-'Alī Ibn-'Umar Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Ibrāhīm had the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad, the laqab of Jamāl-ad-Dīn, and the nisba of al-Isnawī. He was born in Isna. In 721/1321 he went to Cairo where he studied jurisprudence under al-

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1. Ibid., iv, pp. 378-9; Kashf, ii, p. 2004.

Wajīzī (d. 727/1326, Chapter V, Section B, No. 21), as-Sinbāṭī, as-Subkī (d. 771/1369), al-Qazwīnī, and others. Also he studied grammar from Abū-Ḥayyān, and philosophy from al-Qunāwī, at-Tasaturī and others.

In the year 727/1326 al-Isnawī was appointed as a lecturer and later as a finance manager (or minister of financial affairs, wakīl-bayt-al-māl), but for some reason or other he left this office. Being free al-Isnawī started to compose his most famous books, Kāfī-al-muḥtāj fī-sharḥ al-minhāj (which, though incomplete is praised by Ibn-al-'Imād who said that al-Minhāj never had a commentary as good as this.)[1] and al-Muhimmāt, which is a commentary for al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī.[2] Al-Muhimmāt was praised by many scholars and a number of books were written to summarize, criticize, oppose, or explain it. Among these scholars were: 'Umar Ibn-Raslān al-Balqīnī (d. 805/1402), in his book al-Mulimmāt 'alā-al-muhimmāt;[3] Zayn-ad-Dīn al-'Iraqī (d. 806/1403), in his book al-Muhimmāt-'alā al-Muhimmāt;[4] Aḥmad Ibn-al-'Imād Yūnus al-Aqfahsī (d. 808/1405), in his book at-Ta'aqqubāt;[5] 'Umar Ibn-Muḥammad al-Yamānī (d. 827/1423) in his book Mukhtaṣar-muhimmāt-al-muhimmāt;[6] Abū-Yazīd ad-Dawwānī in his book Talkhīṣ-li-l-muhimmāt 'alā al-muhimmāt;[7] and Zawā'id 'alā-al-muhimmāt by an unknown author.[8] Al-Isnawī died in Egypt.[9]

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1. Shadh., vi, p. 224.
2. Badawī, p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Shadh., vi, pp. 223-4.

(26)

Badr-ad-Dīn az-Zarkashī

(745/1344 to 794/1391)

Badr-ad-Dīn Abū-'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn-Bahādir Ibn-'Abd-Allah al-Miṣrī az-Zarkashī studied in Egypt under Jamāl-ad-Dīn al-Isnawī (Chapter V, Section B, No. 25), Sirāj-ad-Dīn al-Balqīnī, and in Aleppo under Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Adhru'ī. In Damascus he studied Tradition.

After finishing his studies az-Zarkashī returned to Egypt where he taught, gave legal opinions, and composed a number of books including: Takmilat-sharḥ al-minhāj of al-Isnawī; Khādim-ash-sharḥ wa-r-rawḍa, which is a huge book; an-Nukat 'alā-al-Bukhārī, al-Baḥar fi-l-uṣūl, in three volumes; Sharḥ-Jam' al-jawāmi', of as-Subkī, in two volumes; Laqṭat al-'ajlān, wa-ballat az-ẓam'ān,[1] Takhrīj aḥādīth-ash-sharḥ al-kabīr that is Fatḥ-al-'azīz-sharḥ-al-wajīz; and Talkhīṣ-al-wajīz of al-Ghazālī.[2] Az-Zarkashī died in Egypt.[3]

(27)

Al-Janna

(727/1326 to 797/1394)

Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Qādir Ibn-Muḥyi-ad-Dīn 'Uthmān Ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Abd-al-Mun'im Ibn-Ni'mā Ibn-Sulṭān, whose

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1. Shadh., p. 335.
2. Itḥāf, p. 195.
3. Shadh., vi, p. 335.

kunya was Abū-'Abd-Allah, and whose nisba was aj-Ja'farī an-Nābulsī, was well known as al-Janna because in al-Janna (heaven) one finds whatever he wants, and likewise, he finds the same with this scholar in respect with his field of Islamic knowledge.

Al-Janna studied under many scholars including: Shams-ad-Dīn Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Yūsuf, Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn al-'Ala'ī and Ibrāhīm az-Zaytāwī. Al-Janna taught many students but then gave up his teaching after being shocked by the death of his son Sharaf-ad-Dīn 'Abd-al-Qādir (d. 793/1390) who had been the chief of the judges in Damascus. It is reported that when al-Janna learned that his son has been poisoned he became mad and did not recover from his madness before he died.[1]

Al-Janna composed some books including: Mukhtaṣar-ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilā, Tashīḥ al-khilāf, Mukhtaṣar-kitāb al-'uzlā of Abū-Sulaymān al-Khaṭābī, and a commentary on al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī.[2]

(28)

Ibn-Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī

(773/1271 to 852/1448)

Aḥmad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Maḥmūd Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-al-'Asqalānī was well known by the name of Ibn-Ḥajar which is, in fact, a nick-name for one of his grandfathers. When Ibn-Ḥajar was five years old he started to learn the Qur'ān, and later he attended many courses held by:

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1. Ibid., pp. 328-9, 349.
2. Ibid., p. 349.

al-'Afīf an-Nishapurī, (d. 790/1388), 'Abd-al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, Ibn-Ẓahīrā, Ibn-Razīn, Ibn-Abū-'l-Majd, al-Burhān ash-Shāmī, Ibn-ash-Shaykhā, al-Ḫalāwī, as-Suwaydāwī, Maryam Ibnat-al-Adhru'ī, al-'Iraqī, Ibn-al-Mulaqqin, and others.

After finishing his studies Ibn-Ḥajar was appointed as a lecturer for different schools in Egypt and also as a Qāḍī. For some reason, however, he was released from his office many times. Among those who attended Ibn-Ḥajar's lectures were: as-Sakhāwī, al-Burhān, al-Biqā'ī, Ibn-Fahad, and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī.

Ibn-Ḥajar composed a number of books including: Fatḥ-al-bārī' fī-sharḥ al-Bukhārī, Hādy-as-sārī li-muqaddimāt-fatḥ-al-bārī', Ta'līq at-ta'līq, Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb, al-Iṣābā fī-tamyīz aṣ-ṣaḥāba, Itḥāf al-mahara bi-akhbār-al-'ashara, Ta'rīkh Ibn-Ḥajar, Lisān al-mīzān, Tabṣīr-al-muntabih bi-taḥrīr-al-mushtabih, Nukhbat al-fikr fī-muṣṭalaḥ ahl-al-athar, Nuzhat al-albāb fi-l-alqāb, Amālī Ibn-Ḥajar, ad-Durar al-kāmina fī-a'yān al-mi'a ath-thāmina, Talkhīṣ al-khabīr fī-takhrīj-aḥādīth ar-Rāfi'ī al-kabīr, al-Istidrāk 'alā-takhrīj aḥādīth al-iḥyā' of al-Ghazālī, Takhrīj-aḥādīth al-hidāya, and at-talkhīṣ al-kabīr li-l-wajīz. Ibn-Ḥajar died in Egypt.[1]

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1. Durar, iv, pp. 492-503; Badr, i, pp. 87-92.

(29)

Abū-Bakr Ibn-Bahrām

(d. ca. 870/1485)

Abū-Bakr Ibn-Bahrām, whose nisba was al-Anṣārī, composed a book entitled Mukhtaṣar al-wajīz in which he summarized al-Wajīz of al-Ghazālī. The exact year of his death is not given but it is believed that he died about 870/1485.[1]

(30)

Al-Fatā az-Zubaydī

(801/1398 to 887/1482)

'Umar Ibn-Majd as-Sarrāj, whose kunya was Abū-Ḥafṣ, and whose nisbas were al-Yamānī and az-Zubaydī, is well known as al-Fatā. He was born in Zubayd. He studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad Ibn-Ṣāliḥ, ash-Sharaf Ibn-al-Muqri'. After completing his studies he became a teacher and wrote many books including: Muhimmāt-al-muhimmāt, in which he summarized al-Muhimmāt of al-Isnawī (d. 730/1329, Chapter V, Section B, No. 25); Al-Ilhām li-mā-fī-r-rawḍā min-al-awhām; Anwār al-anwār; and al-Ibrīz fī-taṣḥīḥ al-wajīz of al-Ghazālī.[2]

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1. Badawī, p. 26.
2. Badr., i, p. 513; Kashf., ii, p. 2004.

SCHOLARS INFLUENCED BY AL-WAJĪZ

- Ibn-al-Wazzān d. 1201 (Ar-Rey)
- Al-'Iǰlī d. 1203 (Iṣfahan)
- Ar-Rāzī d. 1209 (Khuwarizm, Ghazna, Herat)
- 'Imād-ad-Dīn d. 1211 (Baghdad)
- Al-Jājarmī d. 1213 (Nishapur)
- Al-Khallāl d. 1219 (Cairo)
- Ar-Rāfi'ī d. 1226 (Qazwīn)
- Al-Jīlī d. 1231 (?)
- Tāj-ad-Dīn d. 1272 (Mosul)
- Ibn-Khallikān d. 1282 (Damascus, Cairo)
- Al-'Imād d. 1283 (Mosul)
- Abū-ath-Thanā' d. 1283 (Qūniyya)
- Ibn-Zakariyyā d. 1289 (Yemen) — Ibn-'Umar
- Ibn-Sa'd d. 1291 (Al-Khyāl)
- Ibn-al-Furkāḥ d. 1291 (Egypt, Damascus) — Ibn-Taymiyya — Al-Muzzī
- Abū-Muḥammad d. 1297 (Qazwīn)
- Al-Khiwāqī d. 1324 (Al-Jund)
- Al-Igmā'ī d. 1321 (Isyuṭ, Ikhmīm, Qūṣ Zift, ninyat-al-Khaṭīb)
- Ibn-Ḥusayn d. 1321 (Yemen)
- Nūr-ad-Dīn d. 1324 (Yemen)
- Al-Wajīzī d. 1326 (Cairo) — Al-Balbīsī — Al-Isnawī — As-Sābtī
- Al-Iskandarānī d. 1327 (Alexandria)
- Az-Zarzārī d. 1329 (Baghdad, Cairo)
- At-Tibrīzī d. 1345 (Cairo)
- Al-Isnawī d. 1370 (Isna, Cairo) — Az-Zarkashī
- Az-Zarkashī d. 1391 (Egypt)
- Al-Jarmn d. 1394 (Nābulus)
- Ibn-Ḥajar d. 1448 (Egypt) — Al-Burhān — al-Biqā'ī — Ibn-Fahad — Al-Anṣārī — Zakī-ad-Dīn — Burhān-ad-Dīn (His son) — 'Alā'-ad-Dīn — Ibn-Qāḍī-Shuhba
- Ibn-Bahrām d. 1485 (Isna)
- Al-Fatā d. 1482 (Zubayd — As-Sakhāwī

PART THREE

INFLUENCE UPON PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

The Qur'ān is a book essentially religious, not philosophical, but it deals with all those problems which religion and philosophy have in common. Both have something to say about problems related to the significance of such expressions as God, the world, the individual soul, and the inter-relations of these; good and evil, free-will, and life after death. While dealing with these problems it also throws light on such conceptions as appearance and reality, existence and attributes, human origin and destiny, truth and error, space and time, permanence and change, eternity and immortality. The Qur'ān claims to give an exposition of universal truths with regard to these problems.

According to ash-Shahrastānī (479/1086 to 548/1153) the discussion concerning such problems started as early as the life-time of Muḥammad, the Messenger (d. 11/632).[1] Whether this is

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1. Milal, i, pp. 21-7.

true or not, certainly great development in such discussion did not take place until some years later when the Muslim armies gained control of vast areas both east and west of the Islamic centre. It was during this period that Greek philosophy made its great impact upon Islam, particularly during the 'Abbāsid caliphate.

"The decisive step was taken by caliph al-Manṣūr (regnabat 754/775), . . . when in 764 he summoned to his court a doctor from Gunde-Shapur, George of the Persian-Nestorian family of Bokhtishu'; . . . . From 765 onwards interest in all the aspects of Greek learning grew in the court circle, encouraged by such men as the Barmakid family of viziers. Noted patrons and amateurs of Greek learning were Hārūn ar-Rashīd (regnabat 786-809) and his son al-Ma'mūn (813-833). Under the three calipsh mentioned and their immediate successors a beginning was made with the work of translating Greek books into Arabic . . . and a few bold spirits would attempt to combine Greek and Islamic ideas."[1]

These new ideas created a strong challenge to the Muslim fundamentalists (Traditionists)[2] or as ash-Shahrastānī called them, the Ṣifātiyyā.[3] This was particularly true as those who attempted to combine Greek and Islamic ideas wrestled with questions such as: 1) How did the world come forth from God or, is the world eternal? 2) Does God Most High know the universal and particular causes,

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1. Muslim Intellectual, pp. 25-6.
2. Islamic Philosophy and Theology, p. 47; Qutayba, p. 9.
3. Milal, i, pp. 15, 92-3.

or is He aware of only the first one?

3) Does God have attributes distinct from His essence and how does one deal with the Qur'ān if the answer is negative?

4) Is there a resurrection of souls and not of bodies, or is there a resurrection of both?

Aspects of this challenge to the fundamentalists are discussed by Ibn-Khaldūn when he says that they: " . . . most often deduced the existence and attributes of the Creator from the existing things and their conditions. As a rule, this was their line of argument. The physical bodies form part of the existing things, and they are the subject of the philosophical study of physics. However, the philosophical study of them differs from the theological. The philosophers study bodies in so far as they move or are stationary. The theologians, on the other hand, study them in so far as they serve as an argument for the Maker. In the same way, the philosophical study of metaphysics studies existence as such and what it requires for its essence. The theological study of metaphysics, on the other hand, is concerned with the existentia, in so far as they serve as argument for Him who causes existence."[1]

Generally speaking, these are the matters which created the barrier between the philosophers and the fundamentalists. But the latter, instead of taking the time and making the effort necessary to understand the former, vigorously opposed the various philosophical propositions. They also took the extreme step of denouncing

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1. IKh., iii, pp. 52-3 (Arab., p. 369).

and rejecting everything coming from the philosophers including mathematics.[1] This negative response to the philosophical approach to things spiritual expressed itself by the development of the following groups.

(A)

Fundamentalists[2]

The first was of the opinion that the philosophical sciences were altogether different from the beliefs of the religious law. Therefore these sciences were avoided. Both scholastic theology and philosophy were considered destructive of the true faith.[3] The following are illustrations of the influence of the fundamentalists.

In the East

1. They confined Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-'l-Walīd (d. 478/1085) to his house for fifty years in order to stop him from teaching philosophy and logic.[4]

2. They encouraged their followers in the year 478/1085 to burn the house of one of the philosophers.[5]

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 34.
2. This term is used to refer to men who accept the use of reason in theology, but oppose philosophy.
3. Smith, pp. 198-9; Ḥaḍārā, ii, p. 43.
4. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 20-22.
5. Ibid., pp. 15-6.

3. They punished publicly one of the astrologers. This event took place in the year 483/1090.[1]

4. They terrified the philosophers to the extent that one of the philosophers advised his student who wished to read a part of the logic secretly under his direction, to renounce the study of this subject. The philosopher said to his student: "The public look upon you as a good and pious man, and consider those who apply to this branch of knowledge as holding pernicious views on religious matters; you risk, therefore, losing their esteem. The student took the philosopher's advice and gave up the study of philosophy."[2]

5. They issued a fatwā in which they declared that as-Suhrawardī "who was the first man of his time in the philosophical sciences,"[3] "might be slain with impunity; so pernicious did his opinions appear to them."[4] As-Suhrawardī "was suspected of holding heretical opinions, of disbelieving in God and of following the system professed by the philosophers of ancient times."[5] "This occurred in the reign of the sultan al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir, son of the sultan Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn and sovereign of Aleppo. It was in the castle of Aleppo, on the 5th of Rajab, 587 (29th July, A.D. 1191) that the execution took place. As-Suhrawardī was then thirty-eight years old."[6]

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1. Ibid., pp. 53, 58.
2. Wafayāt, iii, p. 470 (Arab. i, p. 306); Aṭibbā', i, p. 306; Subk., v, p. 160.
3. Wafayāt, iv, p. 154.
4. Ibid., p. 156.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 157.

6. They accused al-Ghazālī of being an unbeliever. Az-Zākī al-Maghribī (d. 510/1116), for example, used to call al-Ghazālī a Magian, and he used to repeat this accusation whenever the latter's name was mentioned.[1]

7. They caused a riot against Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) the philosopher (see Chapter VII, Section A, No. 4). This happened in the year 595/1198 when ar-Rāzī entered Harat and was received with a warm welcome by the state. It is reported that after a dispute between ar-Rāzī and Ibn-al-Qudwā, the cousin of the latter preached to the people and encouraged them to support Ibn-al-Qudwā against the philosopher. Among the words he said was this "(Lord, we believe in that Thou has sent down, and we follow the Messenger. Inscribe us therefore with those who bear witness.)[2] ربنا آمنا بما أنزلت واتبعنا الرسول فاكتبنا مع الشاهدين O people, we do not teach save what the Messenger taught. As for the teaching of Aristotle, the infidelities of Ibn-Sīnā, and the philosophy of al-Fārābī, we never know anything about it. However, we could not understand how ar-Rāzī dared to insult Ibn-al-Qudwā, though the latter devoted himself to defend religion against the attackers."[3] The cousin of Ibn-al-Qudwā wept when he finished his speech and so also did the audience. A riot soon broke out with the result that ar-Rāzī was expelled from Herat.[4]

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1. Muntaẓam, ix, p. 190.
2. Sūra, iii, p. 53.
3. Shadh., iv, pp. 318-9.
4. Ibid.

8. In the year 603/1206 the fundamentalists took by surprise ar-Rukn 'Abd-as-Salām (548/1153 to 611/1214). In his house they found some philosophical books such as ash-Shifā' and an-Najā of Ibn-Sīnā and Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'. Ibn-al-Jawzī, who was appointed later as one of the judges for the case of ar-Rukn's book gave his fatwā in which he said that all these philosophical books should be burned. The rest of the judges accepted the fatwā of Ibn-al-Jawzī and soon after they burned all the philosophical books. In addition to that the judges cursed those who wrote these philosophical books and those who believed in them.[1]

9. Ibn-Jubayr (d. 614/1217) expressed his annoyance that philosophy was dominating Islamic thought. In his book Riḥlat Ibn-Jubayr, he described philosophy with such words as "evil omen, foolishness, misguidance and abominable deeds." Lines which he composed concerning philosophy run thus:

قد ظهرت فى عصرنا فرقة × ظهورها شؤم على العصر
لا تقتدى فى الدين إلا بما × سن ابن سينا وأبو نصر

يا وحشة الأسلام من فرقة × شاغلة أنفسها بالسفه
قد نبذت دين الهدى خلفها × وادعت الحكمة والفلسفه

ضلت بأفعالها الشنيعه × طائفة عن هدى الشريعه
ليست ترى فاعلا حكيما × يفعل شيئا سوى الطبيعه [2]

10. Sayf ad-Dīn al-'Āmidī (551/1156 to 631/1233) being the most learned person of the age in philosophy,[3] was accused of heterodoxy,

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1. Tarājim, pp. 55-7; Shadh., v, p. 45; Ḥanābila, p. 2; Rajab, i, pp. 425-6.
2. Jubayr, pp. 14-15.
3. Wafayāt, ii, p. 235.

laxity of moral principle, and atheism. The fundamentalists then "drew up a complaint in which they denounced him guilty of these crimes, and affixed to it their signatures with the declaration that he deserved the punishment of death."[1]

11. Ibn-Yūnus (d. 639/1241), being a philosopher was accused of heterodoxy.[2]

12. For some reason or other 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ibn-'Abd-as-Salām (d. 660/1261 was discharged from his office as the chief of the Egyptian Qāḍīs, and was replaced by Afḍal-ad-Dīn al-Khūnjī, the philosopher (590/1193 to 642/1244). As-Suyuṭī, (d. 911/1505) in reporting this matter, said that it was unfortunate that 'Izz-ad-Dīn was replaced by a philosopher.[3]

13. Ibn-aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) states in his deliverances of formal legal opinions (fatwā), that it is unlawful to study or teach either logic or philosophy.[4]

14. Abū-Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn-Sharaf (631/1233 to 676/1277) was influenced so deeply by the fundamentalists that he gave up the study of medicine[5] when he realized that he was psychologically unable to follow this line. Ibn-Sharaf's words concerning this matter ran thus: "I once had an idea that I must study medicine, soon after I purchased al-Qānūn (of Ibn-Sīnā, d. 428/1036). By

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1. Ibid., p. 236 (Arab. i, p. 415).
2. Shadh., v, pp. 206-7.
3. Husn, i, pp. 312-13.
4. Fatāwā, pp. 34-5.
5. Medicine was associated with philosophy during that period.

the time I was ready to start my study, I felt as if my heart grew dark and for some time I was unable to study anything. I, then, began to think deeply to see what was wrong with me. Later God informed me that my failure was caused by the fact that I was about to start my study in medicine. Immediately after realizing the cause of my failure I sold al-Qānūn; soon afterwards everything was alright."[1]

15. Abū-Sa'īd Abū-'l-Khayr wrote lines in which he said that he abandoned those who involved themselves in the ash-Shifā' of Ibn-Sīnā. He added that the admirers of ash-Shifā' will die unbelievers, while he and those who are against philosophy will die Muslims.[2]

قطعنا الأخوة من معشر × بهم مرض من كتاب الشفا
وكم قلت ياقوم أنتم علي × شفا جرف من كتاب الشفا
فلما استهانوا بتنبيهنا × رجعنا إلى الله حتى كفى
فماتوا على دين رسطاليس × وعشنا على سنة المصطفى

16. Ibn-Taymiyya (d. 728/1327) who wrote a volume ar-Radd 'ala-al-Manṭiqiyyīn, in which he refuted Aristotle's system of Logic, expressed many times his ideas towards philosophy. Among other things he said: "The philosophers are not Muslims."[3]

17. Adh-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347) stated that what philosophers say is totally contradicted by the Sharī'a.[4]

18. As-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) composed a book entitled al-Mushriq

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1. Shadh., v, pp. 354-5.
2. Kashf, ii, p. 1055 (note);
3. Taymiyya, p. 199.
4. Ḥaḍāra, ii, p. 43; Dīn, p. 225.

fī-taḥrīm al-manṭiq, in which he went as far as to say that it is unlawful to study logic.[1]

In Spain

The influence of the fundamentalists in Spain was the same as in the East. There is ample evidence for that, among which are:

1. According to al-Maqqarī, in Andalusia all people were encouraged to study all the subjects except philosophy and astrology. Thus it was dangerous for anyone to study those sciences publicly. If one wished to study philosophy or astrology he had to do that secretly; otherwise he would be known as an unbeliever and would be threatened with confiscation of property and even with death.[2]

2. Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn-Abū-'Āmir, being legal guardian for Hishām al-Mu'ayyad the caliph (regnabat 366/976 to 404/1013), issued an order that all the philosophical works except those on medicine and arithmetic must be burned, and to gain further support from the fundamentalists: "He himself copied out the Qur'ān with his own hand, and had many heretical works removed from the library of al-Ḥakam II and burned."[3]

3. "In Andalusia, the Qāḍī of Cordova, Abū-'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn Ḥāmdīn, condemned al-Ghazālī's works, and the rest of the Spanish Qāḍīs accepted the condemnation, with the result that al-Ghazālī's books were burnt wherever found throughout Andalusia, and possession

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1. Kifāya, p. 150.
2. Nafḥ, i, p. 136.
3. Islamic Philosophy and Theology, p. 82.

of them was forbidden on pain of scourging or death. These books included the Ihyā', . . . The Sultan of Marakash, 'Ali Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn Tāshfīn (477/1084 to 537/1142), whose empire included not only North Africa, but the whole of Spain and Balearic isles, was a bigoted fanatic in religious matters, accepting the authority of the orthodox religious leaders of his time . . . he regarded both philosophy and scholastic theology as destructive to the true faith and al-Ghazālī's books naturally came under this ban. Orders were issued that they were to be burnt and anyone found in possession of any part of them was threatened with confiscation of property and even with death."[1]

4. The philosopher Ibn-Bājja (d. 533/1138) confessed that his short life was not a happy one and "he had often longed for death as a final refuge . . . . His extant writings abundantly evince that he was unable to feel at home in that day and that environment."[2]

5. Al-Mansūr Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb (regnabat 580/1184), issued an order that all the philosophical and logical books should be burned and anyone found in possession of any part of them would be in great danger.[3]

6. Ibn-Rushd (d. 595/1198), "a fanatical admirer of the Aristotelian Logic",[4] was banished by Abū-Yūsuf to Elisana. Moreover all philosophers "are pronounced accursed, and their writings are committed to the flames."[5]

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1. Smith, pp. 198-9, based upon mu'jib, pp. 172-3.
2. De Boer, pp. 176-7.
3. Dīn, pp. 22, 38.
4. De Boer, p. 189.
5. Dīn, p. 34.

7. In his commentary al-Baḥr al-muḥīt, Abū-Ḥayyān Muḥammad Ibn-Yūsuf (d. 745/1344), wrote that philosophers "were created in this Islamic community and should be called imbeciles and nescients instead of wise men: because they are the enemies of the prophets and distorters of Sharī'a. Moreover, they are more harm to Muslims than Jews and Christians. If 'Umar forbade the reading of the Torah, in spite of the fact that it is a revealed book, then it is all the more understandable that the reading of philosophical materials should be forbidden."[1]

"During this period and that immediately preceeding it most people were busily reading the nonsensical writings of the philosophers which they called wisdom. They studied philosophy diligently believing that philosophers were great beings and those who had no philosophical inclinations were ignorant; consequently it was difficult to find one who had memorized any part of the Qur'ān or the Traditions of the Prophet (may God bless him)."[2]

"Once I criticized Ibn-Sīnā and considered him ignorant. Some of the admirers of philosophy who were astonished with my relegating Ibn-Sīnā to the class of ignorant men asked me, how could I classify him as such though he knows God better than others?"[3]

"When Ibn-Rushd showed his acceptance of the writing of the nescients (philosophers) whom he respected highly, Manṣūr Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (d. 595/1198) king of the Maghrib and

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 1289.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Andalusia incited the theologians against him; they went as far as to strike him and curse him and his followers publicly. Referring to such cases, one opponent of philosophy said poetically:

> Islam has been made strange by those
> who involve themselves with philosophy;
> Being abandoned by those who raise
> the banner of philosophy and wisdom.[1]

"I was very surprised to find in Egypt people busying themselves openly with the nescience of philosophy without any opposition. I was surprised because, being an Andalusian, I was diametrically opposed to philosophy."[2]

"In Andalusia books on logic cannot be sold in the open market and no one dares to utter the word mantiq; instead they say maf'il."[3] "Moreover, my friend the king's vizier, known as Ibn-al-Ḥakīm, wrote a letter from Andalusia asking me to buy or copy a book written by one of our teachers of logic, but he did not dare write the word mantiq; though he was a vizier, instead he wrote maf'il."[4]

However, in spite of such opposition none of the fundamentalists devoted thought and attention to philosophy. In their writing none of them engaged in polemic against the philosophers, apart from obscure and scattered utterances so plainly erroneous and inconsistent that no person of ordinary intelligence would be likely to be deceived, far less one versed in the sciences.[5]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. In Arabic etymology, mantiq and maf'il are of the same form.
4. Kashf, ii, p. 1289.
5. Faith and Practice, p. 29.

(B)

Rationalists and their Followers[1]

The adherents of the second group admired the precision of the philosophers,[2] particularly in respect of mathematics and the clarity of its demonstrations.[3] This led one to believe in the philosophers and think that all their sciences resembled mathematics in its clarity and demonstrative cogency. Furthermore, since he had already heard the common accounts of the philosophers' unbelief, their denial of God's attributes, and their contempt for revealed truth, he himself became an unbeliever by accepting the philosophers as authorities and saying to himself: "If religion were true, it would not have escaped the notice of these men since they were so precise in this science." Thus by becoming acquainted through hear-say with their unbelief and denial of religion, he drew the conclusion that the truth is the denial of religion.[4]

There is ample evidence for this, such as the following examples:

1. The admirers of philosophy acclaimed that al-Kindī (d. 252/866) thoroughly knew the invisible or things of God. They said that al-Kindī told the people that Abū-Tammān (d. 231/845) would die

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1. This group includes those philosophers who place reason above religion (The Qur'ān ethics, etc.) judging religion by reason, and also their followers who blindly accepted their teachings.
2. Badr., ii, p. 180; Durar., iii, pp. 254-5; iv, pp. 181-4; Subk., iv, p. 102.
3. Kashf, ii, p. 1289.
4. Faith and Practice, p. 33.

forty days after composing al-Qaṣīdā as-sīniyyā "and such was the fact, for Abū-Tammām died forty days after."[1]

Their words concerning this run thus:

"The number of anecdotes related of Abū-Tammām is very great, and I find this one generally accredited: He was reciting to the caliph a qaṣīdā composed in his praise and rhyming in s س (القصيدة السينية) when he came to these words:

(in you I see) the prowess of 'Amr, the liberality of Ḥātim, and the prudence of Aḥnaf, joined with the keenness of Iyās.

أقدام عمرو فى سماحة حاتم × فى حلم أحنف فى ذكاء أياس

. . . the philosopher Abū-Yūsuf Yaʿqūb Ibn-aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī, who happened to be present, observed that the emir was much above the persons to whom the poet compared him. And Abū-Tammām, after a short silence, added . . .

Take not offence at my comparing him with inferior persons whose names have gone abroad and are proverbial for liberality and bravery; for God has compared his light to a mean object, and candle in a niche.

لا تنكروا ضربى له من دونه × مثلا شرودا فى الندى والباس
فالله قد ضرب الأقل لنوره × مثلا من المشكاة والنبراس

. . . when he gave (to the prince) the copy of the Qaṣīdā it was discovered that these lines were not in it, and the audience were in admiration at the promptitude of his genius and his presence of mind. When he withdrew, al-Kindī, who was the philosopher of the Arabs, said: This youth will soon die. . . . he foresaw that the poet could not live more than forty days; . . . And such was

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1. Wafayāt, i, pp. 350-1 (Arab., i, p. 152).

the fact, for Abū-Tammām died forty days after."[1]

Furthermore, it is related by aṣ-Ṣūlī that Abū-Tammām recited to the vizier Ibn-az-Zayyāt a poem which he had composed in his honour, and containing these verses:

> "(His generosity is) a constant rain, rushing with slackened bridle, and of which the succour is implored by the afflicted earth. Could a tract of country proceed towards another to pay it honour, earth barren spot had gone towards the (land which he inhabits.)[2]

ديمة سمحة القياد سكوب × مستغيث بها الثرى المكروب

لو سعت بقعة لأعظم أخرى × لسعى نحوها المكان الجديب

(When) Ibn-az-Zayyāt (heard these verses, he) said: O Abū-Tammām! your poetry is adorned with the jewels of your words and the originality of your ideas; beauty, moreover, which surpasses the splendour of jewels on the necks of handsome females. The most abundant remuneration which could be treasured up for you is unequal to the merit of your poetry. A philosopher who was present then observed that the poet would die young, . . . And such was the fact, for he died at somewhat more than thirty years of age."[3]

2. 'Abd-al-Bāqī Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Nāqyā (d. 410/1019) used to dispute with some Qur'ānic verses, e.g., "This is the similitude of Paradise which the godfearing have been promised wherein are rivers of water unstalling, rivers of milk unchanging in flavour, and rivers of wine -- a delight to the drinkers, rivers,

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p. 352 (Arab., i, p. 152).
3. Sūra, xlvii, 15.

too, of honey purified."[1] مثل الجنة التي وعد المتقون فيها أنهار من ماء غير آسن وأنهار من لبن لم يتغير طعمه وأنهار من خمر لذة للشاربين وأنهار من عسل مصفى His dispute was: how could these rivers run there, and nothing drop at all? Verses like this make one an unbeliever.[2]

3. Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (363/973 to 449/1053), "during forty-five years he abstained from flesh through a religious motive, as he followed the opinion of those ancient philosophers who refused to eat flesh, so as to avoid causing the death of any animal, for in killing it, pain is inflicted. They held it as a positive principle that no harm should be done to any living creature."[3] In his will, Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī ordered the following verse to be written on his tomb:

I owe this to the fault of my father; none
owe the like to mine.

هذا جناه أبي عليّ × وما جنيت على أحد [4]

Ibn-Khallikān added: "This is also in accordance with the belief of those ancient philosophers who taught that the engendering of a child and the bringing of it into the world is wrong done to it, for it is then exposed to accidents and injuries."[5]

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1. Muntaẓam, ix, pp. 68-9.
2. Ibid.
3. Wafayāt, i, p. 96 (Arab., i, 41); Baghdad, iv, pp. 240-1.
4. Wafayāt, i, p. 42.
5. Ibid.

Abū-'l-'Alā', a philosopher poet, put more of his ideas in the following poems:

a) Fate is blind; and Time spares neither the king who partakes of the joys of life, nor the devout man who spends his nights in watching and prayer. Nor does irrational belief solve for us the enigma of existence. Whatever is behind those moving heavens remains hidden from us forever. Religions, which open up a prospect there have been fabricated from motives of self-interest. Sects and factions of all kinds are utilized by the powerful to make their dominion secure, though the truth about these matters can only be whispered. The wisest thing then is to keep aloof from the world, and to do good disinterestedly, and because it is virtuous and noble to do so, without any outlook for reward.[1]

b) أتى عيسى فأبطل شرع موسى × وجاء محمد بصلاة خمس
وقالوا لا نبى بعد هذا × فضلّ القوم بين غد وأمس
ومهما عشت فى دنياك هذى × فما يغنيك من قمر وشمس
إذا قلت المحال رفعت صوتى × وأن قلت الصحيح أطلت همسى[2]

c) تاه النصارى والحنيفة ما اهتدت × ويهود بطرى والمجوس مضلة
قسم الورى قسمين هذا عاقل × لا دين فيه ودينّ لاعقل له[3]

Furthermore, "it is stated that Abū-'l-'Alā' composed Qur'ān which, as he imagined, was to surpass Muḥammad's in influence as it did in style."[4]

4. Ṣadaqa Ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-al-Ḥaddād (479/1086 to 573/1177) was extremely in admiration of the philosophical sciences, in general and ash-Shifā' of Ibn-Sīnā in particular. It is reported that Ibn-al-Ḥaddād went as far as denying the resurrection of bodies,

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1. De Boer, p. 67.
2. Shadh., iii, p. 280.
3. Ibid., p. 282.
4. Wafayāt, i, p. 98 (notes); Baghdad, iv, pp. 240-1.

criticizing fate and divine decree. He also showed his support and sympathy with Ibn-ar-Rāwandī, though the latter was jailed for his heterodox opinions. Ibn-al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), having paid a visit to Ibn-al-Ḥaddād, heard him saying that his only bitter enemy was God.[1]

5. Kāmil Ibn-al-Fatḥ Ibn-Thābit al-Bārizī (d. 596/1199) persuaded an-Nāṣir the caliph (regnabat 575/1176 to 622/1225) to despise the Sharī'a and consider it of little value and worthless in comparison with philosophy.[2]

6. Fakhr-ad-Dīn Ismā'īl Ibn-'Alī Ibn-ar-Rafā (549/1154 to 610/1213) dared to compose a book in which he stated that the prophets are philosophers like Aristotle and others. Also he chose a challenging title for his book: "the Sly of the Prophets" (Nawāmīs-al-anbiyā').[3]

7. The philosopher ar-Rafī' al-Jīlī (d. 642/1244) used to perform the Friday worship while he was drunk. Ibn-al-'Imād said that ar-Rafī' al-Jīlī was heterodox.[4]

8. The philosopher al-Fakhr Ibn-al-Badī' al-Bandahī (d. 657/1258) persuaded a number of youths to be unbelievers. He also belittled the role of the prophets and disparaged them.[5]

9. 'Izz-ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Naja aḍ-Ḍarīr (586/1190 to 660/1261) was a great philosopher who used to accept Ibn-Sīnā's

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1. Muntaẓam, x, pp. 276-9; Tarājim, p. 12; Shadh., iv, p. 245; Talbīs, p. 49.
2. Fawāt, ii, p. 282; Yaqūt, xvii, 19; Bughyat, p. 382.
3. Shadh., v, pp. 40-1.
4. Ibid., pp. 214-15.
5. Tarājim, p. 202.

teaching no matter how far it differed from the Qur'ānic teachings. But when aḍ-Ḍarīr was dying he returned to the principles of Islam by believing that God speaks the truth and Ibn-Sīnā spoke lies.[1]

10. The philosopher Aḥmad Ibn-Muḥammad al-Baqaqī al-Miṣrī (660/1261 to 701/1301) was heterodox. He used to disparage the religious teachings.[2]

11. At-Tilimsānī said to his student al-Marāghī (643/1245 to 729/1328): "If you wish to understand philosophy thoroughly, you have to throw away the Qur'ān and the Sunna."[3]

12. These examples are from the East. One of a similar nature from Spain is Lisān-ad-Dīn Ibn-al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374). Not only did he belittle the role and importance of Muḥammad, the prophet, but, if one can trust the text, he also spoke against the Sharī'a in his book entitled al-Maḥabbā.[4]

(C)

The Moderate Group

The third group was more moderate in nature and tone. In this group the philosophical sciences were divided into two categories, those which are correct and those which are incorrect. They accepted the former and argued about the latter. In this group, others were directed to follow the practice of seeking the

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1. Fawāt, i, p. 263; Bughyat, p. 266; Shadh., v, p. 301.
2. Durar, i, p. 308.
3. Ibid., iii, p. 138.
4. Shadh., vi, pp. 244-7.

truth regardless of the source in which it is found. They stated that: " . . . though the philosophers persuaded others to accept their teachings by putting before them mathematics, maxims of the prophets and utterances of the mystics, they must not be avoided altogether since their teaching includes some truth as it does falsehood."[1]

Al-Ghazālī, the great leader of this group, stated its principles thus:

"It is customary with weaker intellects to take men as the criterion of truth and not truth as the criterion of men. The intelligent man follows 'Alī (may God be pleased with him) when he said, Do not know the truth by the men, but know the truth, and then you will know who are truthful. The intelligent man knows the truth; then he examines the particular assertion. If it is true, he accepts it, whether the speaker is truthful person or not. Indeed he is often anxious to separate out the truth from the discourses of those who are in error, for he knows that gold is found mixed in gravel with dross. The money-changer suffers no harm if he puts his hand into the counterfeiter's purse; relying on his skill he picks the true gold, from among the spurious and counterfeit coins. It is only the simple villager, not the experienced money-changer, who is made to abstain from dealings with the counterfeiter. It is not the strong swimmer who is kept back from the shore, but the clumsy tiro; not the accomplished snake-charmer

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1. Cf. Tahāfut, pp. 76-7, 84-5 (Arab.)

who is barred from touching the snake, but the ignorant boy."[1]

These moderate ideas and scientific principles as stated by al-Ghazālī dominated the Muslim world. A number of scholars followed al-Ghazālī in his moderate approach towards the truth, among them were: Quṭb-ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (634/1236 to 710/1310)[2] and Shams-ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahanī (d. 678/1279).[3]

It is true, of course, that the other two groups mentioned above also were sources of some influence as discussed above; but in the final analysis they were of little importance in comparison with al-Ghazālī's contribution.

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1. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
2. Badr, ii, pp. 299-300.
3. Adfawī, p. 32; Kashf, ii, p. 1615.

CHAPTER VII

SCHOLARS INFLUENCED BY AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S APPROACH TO PHILOSOPHY

Al-Ghazālī's influence within Islam was profound even during his life-time. The widespread appreciation of both his lectures and his writing made his moderate attitude famous among all Arabic-speaking peoples in the West as well as in the East. After al-Ghazālī's death his influence became even more widespread.

In order to demonstrate clearly the influence al-Ghazālī had upon both Eastern and Spanish philosophers, quotations from several authors will be cited.

A. In the East

(1)

Al-Iṣfahānī
(d.502/1108)

Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-al-Mufaḍḍal, well known as ar-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, was a theological writer. No

details are known concerning his life. According to some biographers, he was a Mu'tazilite,[1] but Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī in his Asās at-taqdīs established his orthodoxy.[2]

Al-Iṣfahānī's works were concerned with Qur'ānic exegesis and edifying literature. His studies on the Qur'ān from which al-Bayḍāwī (Chapter V, Section A, No. 22) is said to have taken much of his material were opened with a ar-Risālā al-munabbiha 'alā fawā'id al-Qur'ān. He next compiled an excellent dictionary of the Qur'ān arranged alphabetically according to the initial letters entitled Mufradāt al-fāẓ al-Qur'ān.[3] He also composed Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā' wa-muḥāwarāt ash-shu'arā wal-bulaghā'.[4] This book is divided into 25 ḥudūd, which are again divided into fuṣūl and abwāb, which deal with the usual adab themes beginning with intelligence and stupidity and ending with angels, jinn and animals in quotations in prose and verse.

Al-Iṣfahānī also composed a book entitled Tafṣīl an-nash'atayn wa-taḥṣīl as-sa'ādatayn.[5] In this book al-Iṣfahānī repeated the things al-Ghazālī had said about the harmony of religion and reason,[6] the resurrection,[7] faith and practice.[8] Also he used the same

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1. EI[1], iii, p. 1097.
2. Asās, p. 5.
3. Kashf, ii, p. 1773.
4. Ibid., p. 1609.
5. Ibid., i, p. 462.
6. Tafṣīl, pp. 41-3; cf. Tahāfut, pp. 80-1; Mīzān, p. 267; Qisṭās, p. 80; Munqidh, p. 22.
7. Tahāfut, pp. 282ff; cf. Tafṣīl, pp. 56ff.
8. Ibid., pp. 48ff.

evidences used by al-Ghazālī,[1] and sometimes in al-Ghazālī's own words.[2]

In order to indicate how al-Iṣfahānī was influenced by al-Ghazālī, the following paragraphs concerning the philosophers are given from the two writers.

In al-Munqidh al-Ghazālī wrote: "Every student of mathematics admires its precision and the clarity of its demonstrations. This leads him to believe in the philosophers and to think that all their sciences resemble this one in clarity and demonstrative cogency. Further, he has already heard the accounts on everyone's lips of their unbelief, their denial of God's attributes, and their contempt for revealed truth; he becomes an unbeliever merely by accepting them as authorities (bi'l-taqlīd al-mahḍ), and says to himself, if religion were true, it would not have escaped the notice of these men since they are so precise in this science. Thus, after becoming acquainted by hearsay with their unbelief and denial of religion, he draws the conclusion that the truth is the denial and rejection of religion. How many have I seen who err from the truth because of this high opinion of the philosophers and without any other basis!

"Against them one may argue: the man who excels in one art does not necessarily excel in every art. It is not necessary that the man who excels in law and theology should excel in medicine, nor that the man who is ignorant of intellectual speculations should

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1. Ibid., p. 57; cf. Munqidh, p. 21; Mīzān, p. 331.
2. Tafṣīl, p. 57; cf. Munqidh, p. 21.

be ignorant of grammar. Rather, every art has people who have obtained excellence and pre-eminence in it, even though stupidity and ignorance may characterize them in other arts. The arguments in elementary matters of mathematics are demonstrative whereas those in theology (or metaphysics) are based on conjecture. This point is familiar only to those who have studied the matter deeply for themselves."[1]

In Tafṣīl an-Nash'atayn al-Iṣfahānī wrote: "Many unlearned people were deceived by the philosophers who were well-known for their deep intelligence. Those unlearned people denied the resurrection. They said: If resurrection is true, it would not be denied by the philosophers, bearing in our mind that the philosophers were so intelligent and so intellectual.

"Against them one may argue that those unlearned people did not know that reason can be directed to any topic. Thus, if the mind were directed to concentrate upon the problems of this world or the hereafter it could help. On the other hand, once senses are concentrated upon a certain problem, they automatically will fail to meet other problems."[2]

(2)

Ash-Shahrastānī

(478/1086 to 548/1153)

Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm, known as ash-Shahrastānī, was

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1. Faith and Practice, pp. 33-4.
2. Tafṣīl, p. 57.

the principal historian of religions in the oriental middle ages. He studied jurisprudence and theology at Gurganiyya and Nishapur. His teacher in scholastic theology was Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī.

As-Sam'ānī wrote that ash-Shahrastānī belonged to the Bāṭinite school, and in his conversation and discussions he only spoke of the philosophers and took no interest in religious law.[1] This accusation was opposed by as-Subkī who said that ash-Shahrastānī was not a Bāṭinite.[2] However, as far as al-Milal wa-n-niḥal and Nihāyat al-iqdām were concerned, it seems that as-Sam'ānī has no evidence for such an accusation.

Ash-Shaharastānī wrote several books, the most famous being:

1. The treatise on religions and sects: al-Milal wa-n-niḥal. This remarkable document of the philosophical literature of the Arabs was written in 521/1127. The author passes in review all the philosophical and religious systems that he was able to study and classes them according to their degree of remoteness from the Ṣifātiyya (fundamentalists).

2. Nihāyat al-iqdām fī-'ilm al-kalām. This book was clearly designed by ash-Shahratānī as a complementary sequel to his Milal which he frequently cites. His object is to indicate the farthest point reached by the philosophical thinkers of his day and to show how far their tenets are reasonable and reconcilable with the fundamentalists, and in what respects they are wrong or defective.

3. Muṣāra'at al-falāsifa.[3] Concerning this book, Ibn-Qayyim

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1. EI[1], iv, p. 263.
2. Subk., iv, pp. 78-9; Nihāyat (introduction, p. xi); EI[1], iv, p. 263.
3. In EI[1], it is Muṣāna'at al-falāsifa or the duel of the philosophers. See iv, p. 264; cf., Nihāyat, p. xii.

al-Jawziyya said that ash-Shahrastānī struggled with Ibn-Sīnā in a book entitled al-Muṣāra'a, in which ash-Shahrastānī opposed what Ibn-Sīnā said about the eternity of the world, the resurrection, knowledge and might of God, etc.[1]

4. Shubuhāt Aristotle wa-Ibn-Sīnā wa-maqduhā.[2]
5. Al-Juz' al-ladhī lā-yatajjazza'.[3]
6. Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'.[4]
7. Talkhīṣ al-aqsām li-madhāhib al-anām.[5]

On the basis of what ash-Shahrastānī wrote in the above works, it is safe to say that ash-Shahrastānī was influenced by al-Ghazālī's writings. This is especially true of ash-Shahrastānī's Nihayat al-iqdām.

(3)

Ibn-al-Jawzī

(510/1116 to 597/1200)

'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ibn-'Alī Ibn-Muḥammad Abū-'l-Faraj Jamāl-ad-Dīn, well known as Ibn-al-Jawzī, was a Ḥanbalite jurist (faqīh), preacher, and historian. His ardent devotion to his madhhab led to the strictest criticism of the Traditions. He even prepared an edition of al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' purified of all weak Traditions. His literary activity covered all the knowledge of his time

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1. Ighātha, ii, p. 263.
2. Milal, i, p. 8 (introduction).
3. Ibid.
4. Nihāyat (introduction, p. xii).
5. Ibid.

including philosophy.[1]

Although he is known as one of the most ardent attackers of al-Ghazālī, Ibn-al-Jawzī was in fact one of the writers most influenced by al-Ghazālī in philosophy. He is an example of those who were accustomed to living and depending upon the efforts of others. In fact, he took al-Ghazālī's thoughts and related them as his own, at times even using his precise words and expressions.

Since he was one of the most learned writers of his time,[2] he put forth a great effort to show his fellow-citizens in Baghdad that he was not less than al-Ghazālī, whom they regarded as the standard for judging all who followed him, especially in Baghdad.[3] However, it seems that the Baghdadians never regarded Ibn-al-Jawzī as equal to al-Ghazālī, and they did not listen to his words with such admiration as they did to al-Ghazālī's teachings.

Thus, Ibn-al-Jawzī became angry with his fellow-citizens in Baghdad and addressed to them these lines: "There are people in Iraq for whom I feel no friendship, but my excuse is this: their hearts are formed of churlishness. They listen with admiration to the words of a stranger, but those of their own townsmen attract no attention. If a neighbour profited by the water which flowed from the roofs of their houses, they would turn the spout in another direction. And when reproached, their excuse is that the voice of the songstress has no charms for their tribe to which she belongs."[4]

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1. EI², ii, p. 372; Wafayāt, i, p. 352 (Arab.); Ḥanābila, i, p. 399.
2. Ibid.; Wafayāt, i, p. 351 (Arab.).
3. Subk., iv, p. 29; v, pp. 80-3; Ḥusn, i, p. 177.
4. Wafayāt, ii, p. 97.

عذيري من فتية بالعراق × قلوبهم بالجفا قلب
يرون العجيب كلام الغريب × وقول القريب فلا يعجب
ميا زيبهم ان تندت بخير × الى غير جيرانهم تقلب
وعذرهم عند توبيخهم × مغنية الحي لا تطرب[1]

As a result of Ibn-al-Jawzī's jealousy of al-Ghazālī's widespread reputation, he quoted al-Ghazālī's exact words, and instead of correctly ascribing them to him, he actually cited another person as the author. In the light of this jealousy, one understands clearly why Ibn-al-Jawzī collected what he considered to be the errors of the Iḥyā' in a book which he called I'lām-al-aḥyā' bi-aghlāṭ al-iḥyā'.

Words which Ibn-al-Jawzī used to introduce his book I'lām to the reader bear first-hand witness to Ibn-al-Jawzī's jealousy, and also witness to al-Ghazālī's influence. Here are the words: "Some people were extremely fond of al-Iḥyā' so I told them about its errors, later I wrote it to them, I went as far as to quash what I believe should be quashed, and added what I believe should be added."[2]

In order to demonstrate the influence of al-Ghazālī upon Ibn-al-Jawzī, several quotations will be cited from Talbīs-Iblīs which is one of the most famous books Ibn-al-Jawzī ever wrote.

"An-Nuhāwandī related that Aristotle and those who followed him denied the Creator. Most of them asserted that there was no

1. Ibid., i, p. 351.
2. Muntaẓam, ix, p. 169.

eternal cause for the world. As a corollary to this, they said that the world is eternal, holding that it always co-existed with God -- exalted be He -- as His effect which was concurrent with Him in time, concurrent as an effect is with cause, e.g., light with the sun, prior in essence and rank though not in time."[1]

"One may ask philosophers: Why did you deny that the world came into being because of the eternal will which demanded its existence at the time at which it actually came into existence? If they answered our question by accepting it, then it would mean that there is a time between the existence of the creator and the existence of the world, then our reply would be: Time did have a beginning, and it was created. And before time there was no time."[2]

"Moreover, one will ask them: Did God have the power to create the highest sphere larger or smaller by a cubit than the size He has actually created it? If they say, No! that would indicate God's inability, and[3] if the world could not have been smaller or larger than it is then its present size should be called necessary, rather than possible. And a possibility needs no cause."[4]

"When facing this problem philosophers shift their opinion and say: God is the maker of the world. In reality this is a metaphysical answer, for the real action depends on will. But in

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1. Talbīs, p. 45.
2. Ibid.; cf. Tahāfut, p. 36 (Eng.).
3. Talbīs, p. 46.
4. Ibid.

their view the world is not the action of God; rather it follows from Him by way of necessary causation."[1]

These paragraphs, written by Ibn-al-Jawzī in his book Talbīs-Iblīs, give evidence of his dishonesty in quoting from al-Ghazālī while claiming the thoughts to be his own. His unethical procedures are also apparent in his accrediting various statements to an-Nuhāwandī rather than to their real author, al-Ghazālī.

In order to prove the aforementioned point by the way of comparison, some quotations would be cited from al-Ghazālī's Tahāfut.

"The philosophers disagree among themselves as to the eternity of the world. But the majority of the philosophers, ancient as well as modern, agree upon its eternity, holding that it always existed with God -- exalted be He -- concurrent as an effect is with the cause, for example, light with the sun, and that God's priority to the world is the priority of the cause to the effect, that is to say, priority in essence and rank, not in time."[2]

"It may be said: How will you disprove one who says that the world came into being because of the eternal will which demanded its existence at the time at which it actually came into existence?"[3]

Al-Ghazālī related that philosophers assert: ". . .but, if God's priority means that He is prior to the world and time, in

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1. Ibid.
2. Tahāfut, p. 13.
3. Ibid., p. 16.

time, not in essence, then it follows that, before the existence of the world and time, there was a time when the world did not exist."[1]

Al-Ghazālī's objection to the foregoing was: "Time did have a beginning; and it was created. And before time there was no time whatsoever. After this objection the philosophers shift their opinion and say, there is no doubt that, from your point of view, God had the power to create the world a year, or a hundred years, or a thousand years before He did. Now, these hypothetical measures differ in quantity. Therefore, it is necessary for you to affirm something -- before the existence of the world -- which had a quantitative or measurable nature, and some parts of which would be greater in quantity or size than others."[2]

Objecting to this, al-Ghazālī said: "All this is the work of the imagination. The most apt way of counteracting it is to compare time and space. So, we will say: Did God have the power to create the highest sphere as larger by a cubit than the size He has actually created? If they say No! that will show God's inability. But if they say Yes, then two cubits will be equally admissible, then three, and an infinite regress will follow. . . . Accordingly, there must be quantity beyond the world. . . . Similarly, did God have the power to create the round body of the world as smaller by a cubit, or two, than the size He has created?"[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 36.
2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 44.

The philosophers said: "We do not believe that anyone has the power to do that which is impossible. The world's being smaller or larger than it is, is impossible. Therefore, it is beyond anyone's power."[1]

Objecting to this al-Ghazālī said, "This plea will be invalid for three reasons; firstly, . . . the assertion of the impossibility of a larger or smaller size is an arbitrary, unconvincing and false assertion. Secondly, if the world could not have been smaller or larger than it is, then its present size should be called a necessary, rather than possible thing. And a possible thing needs no cause. Thirdly, this false assertion cannot even prevent your opponents from confronting it with something similar to it."[2]

Concerning the problem of the dishonesty of the philosophers in their stating that God is the agent and the maker of the world which is His action or product, and the explanation of the fact that these words have only a metaphorical, not real, significance to them, al-Ghazālī said: "An agent is he from whom an action proceeds because of the will for action by way of free choice, and alongside of the knowledge of what is willed. But in your view the world bears the same relation to God as an effect to its cause. So it follows from Him by way of necessary causation. And therefore, it is not conceivable that God should have been able to avoid His action, even as the shadow is unavoidable to the person, or light to the sun. Now, this has nothing to do with an action."[3]

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., pp. 44-5.
3. Ibid., pp. 63-4.

From the various statements and quotations listed above, it should be obvious that Ibn-al-Jawzī, generally speaking, did nothing more than accept and copy what al-Ghazālī said. In fact, it might even be said that all he did was to summarize the contents of al-Ghazālī's writing. But even here he was not accurate, since he sometimes confused his master's arguments, thereby making his statements illogical.

(4)

Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī

(543/1149 to 606/1209)

Abū-'Abd-Allah[1] Muḥammad Ibn-'Umar Ibn-al-Ḥusayn, known as Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, and also as the "Imām of the doubters" (Imam al-Mushakkikīn) and Ibn-Khaṭīb-ar-Rey, was born in Rey in northern Persia in a family of scholars who came originally from Ṭabaristān. His father was a well-known scholar and preacher (khaṭīb) in Rey.[2]

Ar-Rāzī's first teacher was his father Ḍiyā'-ad-Dīn 'Umar.[3] Later, ar-Rāzī studied philosophy with Muḥammad al-Baghawī and Majd-ad-Dīn al-Jīlī, a disciple of Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā (d. 548/1153) who himself was a disciple of al-Ghazālī (Chapter IV, No. 22). When Majd-ad-Dīn al-Jīlī was called to Maragha, in order to give lessons in that city, ar-Rāzī accompanied him, and continued, for a long period, to study scholastic theology under his tuition.[4]

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1. Or Abū-'l-Faḍl; see Qifṭī, p. 291.
2. Subk, iv, pp. 285-6; SEI, p. 470.
3. Wafayāt, ii, p. 655 (Arab. i, p. 602); Shadh., v, p. 21.
4. Wafayāt, ii, p. 653 (Arab. i, p. 600); SEI, p. 470; Sharif, i, p. 643.

Among others who taught ar-Rāzī theology was Kamāl-ad-Dīn as-Sam'ānī. Under as-Sam'ānī's teaching, ar-Rāzī remained as a pupil for some time.[1]

After studying in his native town and in Maragha under excellent teachers, ar-Rāzī became a Shafi'ite and Ash'arite scholar.[2] Having then proceeded to Khwarizm, he displayed the highest abilities in all the branches of science,[3] including even the mathematical, medical and natural sciences.[4] After becoming involved in a controversy with the people of Khwarizm concerning questions connected with the doctrines of his madhhab and with the principles of faith, he was expelled from Jurjaniya, the capital of Khwarizm.[5] He went to Transoxiana, where he was warmly accepted at the courts of the Ghur rulers, Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn and his brother Shihāb-ad-Dīn. But this stay terminated soon because of the opposition and jealousy of certain scholars and courtiers.[6]

Consequently, ar-Rāzī left the Ghur court for Ghaznah, where he taught for a while, and finally settled in Herat where, under the patronage of Khwarizm Shāh 'Alā'-ad-Dīn, a special school was built for him. There he spent the rest of his life as a teacher and preacher in comfort and honour among a large number of disciples and students who came from all over the Muslim world to study under him.[7] Bahā'-ad-Dīn Ibn-Yūsuf was among ar-Rāzī's students; and

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1. Wafayāt, ii, p. 653 (Arab, i, p. 600).
2. SEI, p. 470.
3. Wafayāt, ii, p. 653 (Arab, i, p. 600).
4. Sharif, i, p. 643.
5. Wafayāt, ii, p. 653.
6. Sharif, i, p. 643.
7. Ibid., p. 643.

it is reported that Bahā'-ad-Dīn was advised by his teacher to compose a book in religious exhortation by collecting its materials from al-Ghazālī's books as well as the books of the others.[1]

The career of ar-Rāzī is in many ways a repetition of that of al-Ghazālī's. Ar-Rāzī, like his great predecessor, was of the Shāfi'i school, well versed in all the sciences and philosophy and yet opposed to many aspects of the Greek heritage, a critic of the Muslim philosophers, and drawn towards Ṣūfism.

In theology, in which he followed the Ash'arite school, he was influenced by al-Ghazālī. Like him he integrated theology with other sciences. Concerning one of the interior forms of dhikr he writes: "The third kind of dhikr is that man should contemplate the creatures of God until each particle of the essence of creation becomes a polished mirror before the unmanifested world so that when he looks into this mirror with the eye of wisdom the ray of the eye of his soul will fall upon the world of Majesty. This is a station without end and a sea without limit."[2] In this way ar-Rāzī raises theology to a height approached only by al-Ghazālī.

Ar-Rāzī's Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-muta'khkhirīn was composed along the same lines as al-Ghazālī's works following his principles. That is to say, ar-Rāzī, after examining the various subjects of the philosophers, accepted those that he considered to be true, whether the speaker was a truthful person

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1. Kashf, ii, p. 1056.
2. Sharif, i, p. 646.

or not, and followed the same principle in respect of those he considered to be wrong.

Furthermore, ar-Rāzī used logic to a great advantage as he scrutinized the expressions and technical terms of the philosophers and then went on to show the degree of truth or falsehood they contained. With the same principle he approached the writings of al-Ghazālī, whom he considered to be one of the greatest of Sunnites. At the same time, however, there were occasions when he felt that al-Ghazālī was closer to the Mu'tazilite position than that of the Sunnites.

Ar-Rāzī accords a definite value to the rational faculty. His aim in theology is in fact a Ghazālian one; that is, to create a science which combined and harmonizes reason and revelation, 'aql and naql. In his Qur'ānic commentary Mafātīḥ-al-Ghayb he calls those who have succeeded in integrating these two elements the Muslim sages (al-Ḥukamā' al-Islāmiyyūn), and praises them greatly. His importance in Muslim theology lies in his success in establishing the school of philosophical kalām, already begun by al-Ghazālī, in which both intellectual and revelational evidence played important roles.

Ibn-Khaldūn in his Muqaddima, confirmed what has been said here by saying: "After that, the science of logic spread in Islam. People studied it. They made a distinction between it and the philosophical sciences, in that they stated that logic was merely a norm and yardstick for arguments and served to probe the arguments of the philosophical sciences as well as those of other disciplines.

"Scholars then studied the basic premise the earliest theologians had established, they refuted most of them with the help of arguments leading them to a different opinion. Many of these arguments were derived from philosophical discussions of physics and metaphysics. When they probed them with the yardstick of logic, it showed that they were applicable only to those other disciplines, and not to theology, but they did not believe that if the arguments were wrong, the thing proved by the arguments was also wrong, as had been the opinion of the judge al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013).

"This approach differed in its technical terminology from the older ones. It was called the school of recent scholars. Their approach often included refutation of philosophers where the opinion of the latter differed from the articles of faith. They considered the philosophers enemies of the articles of faith, because, in most respects, there is a relationship between the opinions of the innovators and the opinions of the philosophers.

"The first scholar to write in accordance with the new theological approach was al-Ghazālī. He was followed by the Imām Ibn-al-Khaṭīb. A large number of scholars followed in their steps and adhered to their tradition."[1]

The importance of ar-Rāzī in philosophy lies more in his criticism of the philosophers than in the establishment of a new school. As evidence for this, ar-Rāzī wrote concerning his

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1. IKh. iii, pp. 51-2 (Eng.)

examination all the contemporary theories of time, in his book al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyyā: "I have not been able to discover anything really true with regard to the nature of time; and the main purpose of my book is to explain what can possibly be said for or against each theory without any spirit of partisanship, which I generally avoid, especially in connexion with the problem of time."[1]

Ar-Rāzī, influenced by the writings of al-Ghazālī, studied philosophy to such an extent that he became a profound master of the subject. Unlike the theologians who rejected Greek philosophy totally or the Peripatetics who followed it strictly, ar-Rāzī criticized many points of Greek philosophy while accepting others.

In Ar-Rāzī's introduction to his book al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyyā (the most important of his philosophical works) he writes: "Our associates belong to two groups: one consisting of those who imitate the Greek philosophers, permit no one to discuss their thought, and take pride in being able to understand their teaching, and the other comprising those who reject all of their ideas without exception. Both of these groups are wrong. We have delved deep into the writing of the previous philosophers and have affirmed the true and rejected the false."[2]

In his commentary upon Ibn-Sīnā's Sharḥ al-ishārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt (which after the Mabāḥith is his most important work in Muslim philosophy) ar-Rāzī criticizes Ibn-Sīnā in strong words.

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1. Mashriqiyyā, i, p. 647.
2. Ibid., p. 4.

Because of this it is said that "Some witty men called this book 'Injury of Ibn-Sīnā's Indication' Jarḥ-al-ishārāt."[1] Regardless of how fair or unfair these men were in referring to ar-Rāzī's book in this manner, their doing so does give evidence of ar-Rāzī's attitude towards the philosophers and Ibn-Sīnā in particular.

In addition to the works named above, ar-Rāzī wrote:

1) Ta'jīz al-falāsifa.[2] Referring to this book Carra de vaux said: "This book reminds one of al-Ghazālī's Tahāfut al-falāsifa."[3]

2) Asās-at-taqdīs. Though mainly dealing with theology, this book indicates that ar-Rāzī followed al-Ghazālī in his approach concerning the harmony of religion and philosophy.[4]

3) Sharḥ 'uyūn al-ḥikma, a commentary on Ibn-Sīnā's 'Uyūn al-ḥikma. In this book ar-Rāzī deals with logic, physics, and rational theology (ilāhiyyāt).[5]

4) Al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi-'l-ḥikmā wa-l-manṭiq.[6]

5) Ibṭāl-al-qiyās.[7]

Ar-Rāzī's other non-philosophical works (such as his commentary upon al-Ghazālī's Wajīz,[8] are also significant showing the influence al-Ghazālī had upon ar-Rāzī even in non-philosophical works.

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1. Kashf, i, p. 94.
2. Vaux, p. 112.
3. Ibid.
4. Asās, pp. 172-3; cf. IKh, iii, p. 52; Tahāfut, pp. 80-1; Qisṭās, p. 80.
5. Wafayāt, ii, p. 652; Kashf, ii, p. 1186; Qifṭī, p. 292.
6. Ibid., p. 293; Aṭibbā', ii, p. 29.
7. Qifṭī, p. 293.
8. Qifṭī, p. 293; Wafayāt, ii, p. 652 (Arab, i, p. 600); Aṭibbā', ii, p. 29.

Generally speaking ar-Rāzī's greatest philosophical importance lies in the criticisms and doubts cast upon the principles of Peripatetic philosophy,[1] which in many ways are a repetition of al-Ghazālī's.[2]

Ar-Rāzī's fearless devotion to the truth and his consistent support of al-Ghazālī's ideas brought down upon his head the criticism and hostility of the majority of the most conservative Sunnites as well as the philosophers. Some of the former accused him of heterodoxy going so far as to falsely attribute to him the book As-Sirr al-maktūm fī-mukhāṭabat ash-shams wa-l-qamar wa-n-nujūm.[3] In this book they said, ar-Rāzī addressed the sun, moon, and stars as if they were God. It should be noted that this book was also falsely attributed to al-Ghazālī.[4]

(5)

Ibn-Taymiyya

(661/1262 to 728/1327)

Taqiyy-ad-Dīn Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥalīm Ibn-'Abd-as-Salām Ibn-Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī was born at Ḥarrān near Damascus. Fleeing from the exactions of the Mongols, his father had taken refuge at Damascus with all his family, in the middle of the year 667/1268.

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1. Sharif, i, p. 649.
2. Cf. Tahāfut and al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya.
3. Aṭibbā', ii, p. 30; Wafayāt, ii, p. 652 (Arab, i, p. 600); cf. Kashf, ii, pp. 989-990; Subk., v, pp. 35-6.
4. Ithāf, i, p. 43.

In the capital of Syria, the young Aḥmad devoted himself to the study of Muslim sciences and followed his fathers lectures and those of Zayn-ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn-'Abd-ad-Dā'im, Ibn-Abū-'l-Yusr, al-Majd Ibn-'Asākir, Yaḥyā Ibn-aṣ-Ṣayrafī, al-Qasam al-Arbelī, Shams ad-Dīn Ibn-Abū-'Umar, etc.

He was not yet twenty when he completed his studies, and at the death of his father in 681/1282, he succeeded him as professor of Ḥanbali law. Each Friday he expounded the Qur'ān, being well versed in the Qur'ānic sciences, Tradition, law, theology, philosophy, and other subjects.

The freedom of Ibn-Taymiyya polemics, and sometimes his fanaticism against Ash'arites made him many enemies among the scholars, as well as non-scholars. In 699/1299 at Cairo, in response to a question sent from Ḥama concerning the attributes of God, he gave a reply which displeased the Shafi'ite doctors, aroused public opinion against him, and cost him his post of professor. In 705/1306 he was accused of "anthropomorphism" and condemned to be interned with his two brothers in the dungeon (jupp), where he remained for a year and a half. Because of Ibn-Taymiyya's fatwā concerning the visitation of the tombs of saints and prophets, which he had issued in 710/1326, he was interned in the citadel of Damascus. He was allotted a room in which he was attended by his brother for two years commencing with 726/1326 and finishing with his death in 728/1328.[1]

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1. EI^2, ii, pp. 421-3; Durar, i, pp. 144-160; Shadh., vi, pp. 80-6; Ḥanābila, ii, pp. 387-408.

Although some of the works of Ibn-Taymiyya are full of bitter condemnation of philosophy, as well as violent attacks upon al-Ghazālī, he was a great philosopher himself[1] and a follower of al-Ghazālī, or at least was very much influenced by him.

A piece of evidence for that is this: Ibn-Taymiyya wrote a special book on Prophecy (Kitāb an-Nubuwwāt), in which he said: "The goal of human life is neither the philosophic contemplation of God nor the mystic type of love of Him -- for each of these leads to the doctrine of the Unity of Being, of the identity of the world and God and so to the absolute inanity both of God and man -- but the active concept of 'ibāda, a knowledge of God's will and its fearless implementation in life. God is not something to be merely perceived, or admired and cherished but must be recognized as the One to whom alone our allegiance is due. This recognition alone is describable as tawhīd and it alone can inspire the attitude of 'ibāda.

"According to the so-called philosophers there are three kinds of happiness, sensual, imaginative and intellectual which is knowledge . . . . Thus they came to regard knowledge itself as the goal of human life . . . . and hold that the happiness of the soul consists in the knowledge of eternal things because it acquires eternity itself thanks to the eternity of the object of knowledge. Then they imagine that the heavens, their souls and the intelligences are indestructible and that the soul acquires happiness through knowing them.

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1. Sulaimān Nadavi, "Muslim and Greek schools of philosophy" IC, 1927.

"Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, in his works like the Mi'rāj-as-sālikīn[1] also suggests this. His statements are a bridge between the Muslims and the philosophers. . . . This is why in his works like the Ihyā' he teaches that the goal of all action is only knowledge, which is also the essence of the philosophers' teaching. He magnifies the renunciation of the world which was his greater preoccupation than tawḥīd which is the 'ibāda of God alone. Tawḥīd alone comprises also the true love of God.

"These so-called philosophers magnify the separation of the soul from the material body, which means renunciation of the physical desires and of the world. But this only leads to a vacuity of the soul which vacuity is then dressed up by the devil in the garb of intuitive experience of which the end is absolute and abstract being (i.e. unity of all being) which has no existence in the real world.

"In pursuance of this al-Ghazālī has divided the mystic path into three stages . . . . His statements of this kind are frequent and they terrify one who does not understand his real purpose, since their author knows full well and intimately what he is talking about and does not speak on the blind-following of another authority alone. The question, however, is whether what he says is right . . . . What he has made the goal of human life, viz. the knowledge of God, His attributes, His actions, and of angels in his al-Maḍnūn[2] -- which is pure philosophy -- is worse than the beliefs

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1. According to Prof. Watt "this work is spurious", "Works Attributed to al-Ghazālī," pp. 37-8.

2. Prof. Watt says: "I consider this spurious", "Works attributed to al-Ghazālī," p. 36.

of the idolatrous Arabs, let alone of Jews and Christians."[1]

Ibn-Taymiyya then goes on to affirm that the purpose of man is not mere knowledge of God but his 'ibāda, i.e. to recognize that allegiance is due only to God and actively to implement it in life, to reject all other authority, natural or supernatural, as pure sham.

After that Ibn-Taymiyya accused al-Ghazālī of oscillation between philosophy and Islam by saying that "whereas al-Ghazālī in his Tahāfut, accuses the philosophers of infidelity, he follows them completely elsewhere in his discussions of prophecy".[2]

Among Ibn-Taymiyya's other books is ar-Radd 'alā-'l-manṭiqiyyīn which is devoted to the refutation of Aristotle's system of logic, as it was expounded in the works of al-Ghazālī and others.

In the afore-mentioned book, Ibn-Taymiyya gives some quotations from al-Ghazālī's books such as Mi'yār al-'ilm, Miḥakk an-nazar, al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm, al-Mustaṣfā, Maqāṣid al-falāsifa, and Tahāfut al-falāsifā.[3] Also, he sometimes adopts certain ideas of al-Ghazālī, such as accusing the philosophers of being blind followers of Aristotle.[4] Like al-Ghazālī he accepts the philosophers teachings in mathematics and natural science.[5] Concerning metaphysics, he repeats al-Ghazālī's idea that the philosophers were

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1. Nubuwwāt, pp. 77-82.
2. Ibid., p. 169.
3. Taymiyya, pp. 14-15, 19, 21, 40-1, 194-5, 335-6.
4. Ibid., p. 3.
5. Ibid., pp. 105, 111, 143, 255, 311.

unable to satisfy the conditions of proof they laid down in logic; consequently, in metaphysics occur most of their errors.[1]

B. In Spain

(1)

Ibn-Bājja

(d. 533/1138)

Abū-Bakr Muḥammad Ibn-Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣā'igh, known as Ibn-Bājja or Avempace,[2] was from the family at-Tujīb and is therefore, also known as at-Tujībī. Ibn-Bājja was born at Saragossa towards the end of the fifth/eleventh century, and prospered there. No knowledge of his early life or his teachers is available. However, it is clear that he finished his academic career at Saragossa, for when he travelled from there to Granada he was already an accomplished scholar of Arabic language and literature, and claimed to be well versed in twelve sciences.

Ibn-Bājja has been regarded as a man of vast knowledge and eminence in various sciences. Al-Fatḥ Ibn-Khāqān, who charged Ibn-Bājja of heresy and bitterly criticized his character in his Qalā'id al-'iqyān, also admits his vast knowledge and finds no fault with his intellectual excellence. On account of his wealth of information in literature, grammar, and ancient philosophy, he

1. Ibid., pp.114, 311, 321, for more details see, Sharif, ii, pp.796-819; IC, i, p. 87; Zahra; Ibn-Taymiyya. Cairo, n.d. Ibn-Kathir: Al-Bidaya wa-n-nihaya, 13, p.302; Musa, Ibn-Taymiyya, Al-Qahira, 1962. H. Laoust, Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya, Cairo, 1939. H. Laoust, "La biographie d'Ibn Taimia d'apres Ibn Katīr." BEO 9 (1942), pp. 115-162. H. Laoust, Le Traite de droit public d'Ibn Taimiya, Beyrouth, 1948. H. Laoust, "Une risala d'Ibn Taimiya sur le serment de repudiation". BEO 7-8 (1937-38), pp. 215-236. M. Laoust. "Le reformisme d'Ibn Taymiya". Islamic Studies I iii (1962), pp. 27-47. H. Laoust. "Une fetwa d'Ibn Taimiya sur Ibn Tumart". BIFAO 59, (1960),pp.157-184.

2. GALS, i, p. 830.

was compared by his contemporaries with Ibn-Sīnā.

When Saragossa fell into the hands of Alphonso I, king of Aragon, in 512/1118, Ibn-Bājja had already left the city and reached Seville (via Valencia) where he settled and adopted the profession of a medical practitioner. Later on, he left for Granada, and then he journeyed to north-west Africa.

On his arrival at Shaṭiba, Ibn-Bājja was imprisoned by emir Abū-Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn-Tāshfīn - most likely on the charge of heresy, as al-Fatḥ Ibn-Khāqān relates. Later, when Ibn-Bājja was set free, his enemies tried several times to kill him but all their efforts failed. It has been said that Ibn-Zuhr, the famous physician of that time, succeeded in killing him by poison during the year 533/1138.[1]

Ibn-Bājja was skilled in the theory and practice of the mathematical sciences (particularly astronomy and music), adept in medicine, and devoted to speculative studies like logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics.

Ibn-Bājja has relied in philosophy and logic on the works of al-Fārābī (d. 950), but in al-Ma'sumi's opinion, it is obvious that Ibn-Bājja has made considerable additions to them.[2]

Ibn-Bājja's original treatises are but few in number; and they consist chiefly of brief expositions of Aristotelian and other philosophical works. His observations are of a desultory character - he makes a beginning on one place, then he starts afresh in another. In continually renewed approaches he endeavours to get nearer Greek

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1. Farrūkh, pp. 17-21; Nafḥ, iv, p. 618; Wafayāt, ii, p. 11; Sharif, i, pp. 506-7; Aṭibbā', ii, p. 62; EI, ii, p. 366.
2. Sharif, i, p. 511.

thought, and to penetrate from every possible side to ancient science. He does not discard philosophy, but he does not deal conclusively with it. On a first glance, that produces a puzzling impression; but, in the sombre impulse which is upon him, the philosopher has become aware of the path he is pursuing. In searching for truth and righteousness, he is coming upon another thing -- unity and joy in his own life.

In Ibn-Bājja's opinion, al-Ghazālī took the matter much too easily when he thought he could be happy only in the full possession of the truth comprehended by means of divine illumination. In his love for truth, which is concealed rather than revealed by the sensuous images of religious mysticism, the philosopher must be strong enough to renounce that happiness. Only pure thinking, undisturbed by any sensuous desires, is privileged to behold the supreme God.[1]

(2)

Ibn-Ṭufayl

(500/1106 to 581/1185)

Abū-Bakr Muḥammad Ibn-'Abd-al-Malik Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Ṭufayl[2] was an outstanding philosopher in the Islamic West. He started his career as a practising physician in Granada and through his fame in the profession became secretary to the governor of the province. Later, in 549/1154, he became private

1. De Boer, p. 177.
2. GALS, i, pp. 831-2.

secretary to the governor of Ceuta and Tangier, a son of 'Abd-al-Mu'min, the first Muwaḥḥid ruler of Spain who captured Morocco in 542/1147. Finally, he rose to the eminent position of the physician and Qāḍī of the court and vizier to the Muwaḥḥid caliph Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf (regnabat 558/1163 to 580/1184), whose personal interest in philosophy and liberal patronage turned his court into a galaxy of leaders of philosophical thought and scientific method and made Spain the cradle of the rebirth of Europe.[1]

Ibn-Ṭufayl enjoyed enormous influence with caliph Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf, and it was he who introduced Ibn-Rushd to him.[2] On the express desire of the caliph, he advised Ibn-Rushd to annotate the works of Aristotle,[3] a task that was taken up zealously by Ibn-Rushd but remained unfinished at the time of his death.

Ibn-Ṭufayl resigned his position as court physician in 578/1182 because of old age, and recommended Ibn-Rushd to his patron as his successor. He, however, continued to retain Abū-Ya'qūb's esteem and after his death in 580/1184 gained the favour of his son Abū-Yūsuf al-Manṣūr (regnabat 580/1184 to 595/1199).[4]

Ibn-Ṭufayl was an illustrious physician, philosopher mathematician, and poet of Muwaḥḥid Spain, but very little is known about his works.[5] He is the author of the celebrated philosophical novel Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqẓān, one of the most remarkable

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1. Sharif, i, p. 526.
2. Mu'jib, p. 242.
3. Ibid.
4. Rushdiyya, p. 455; Dīn, p. 33.
5. EI[1], ii, p. 424.

books of the middle ages. In this novel Ibn-Ṭufayl was very much influenced by al-Ghazālī. He stated, as had al-Ghazālī before him, that knowledge is divided into two categories, namely: 1) intuitive knowledge, which is based upon insight and revelation; and 2) theoretical knowledge, which depends primarily upon the senses.

In order to put his ideas into practice, Ibn-Ṭufayl permitted the hero of his tale to master both types. First of all, his hero Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqẓān, examines all objects of sense, such as a gazelle, food, dwelling-places, clothes, the sounds of animals, death, the stomach, weapons, and others. From this point he went on to examine the intellectual world. Following this Ibn-Ṭufayl permitted Ḥayy to remove all these objects from his sight, since they were inconsistent with the state which he was now seeking. At this stage Ibn-Ṭufayl allowed Ḥayy to confine himself to absolute rest in a particular cave. With bowed head and closed eyes he attempted to turn himself away from all objects of the senses. He directed all his thoughts and meditations to the necessarily self-existent Being, barring all else from his heart and mind. If during this period any other object presented itself to his imagination, he thrust it away with all the strength at his disposal. In such exercises he persisted to such a degree that at times he neither ate nor stirred for a period of days. While under the impact of such all-consuming contemplation, no other being except God's own essence demanded his attention.

However, to his sorrow he discovered that even when most

deeply immersed in the contemplation of the true, necessarily self-existent Being, his own essence continued to demand his attention. This concerned him very much, for he knew that even this was a mixture in the pure vision and an admission of an extraneous object in his contemplation. Subsequently he endeavoured to disappear from himself and be wholly taken up in the vision of that true Being. Finally he attained it, and then both "the heavens and the earth and whatsoever is between them" including all spiritual forms and corporeal faculties which are separate from matter (namely, the essences which know the necessarily self-existent Being) disappeared and vanished like scattered dust. Among these his own essence disappeared, too, and there remained nothing but this one, true, perpetually self-existent Being.

After Ibn-Ṭuyfayl led Ḥayy to this stage and returned him to beholding other things, Ḥayy began to think that his own essence did not differ from the essence of the true Being, but that they were both one and the same, and that the thing which he had taken before his own essence, distinct from the essence of the true one, was in reality nothing at all and that nothing existed but the essence of this true one. Also, he thought that this was like the light of the sun, which, when it falls upon solid bodies, shines there; and though it be attributed, or may seem to belong to that body upon which it appears, yet it is nothing else in reality but the light of the sun. Furthermore if that body disappears, its light also disappears but the light of the sun remains in its integrity and is neither diminished by the

presence of that body, nor increased by its absence. Now when there happens to be a body which is fitted for such a reception of light, it receives it. If such a body is absent, then there is no such reception, and it signifies nothing at all.

He was the more confirmed in this opinion because it had appeared to him before that the essence of this true, powerful and glorious Being was not by any means capable of multiplicity and that his knowledge of his essence was his very essence. From this point he argued thus; He who has knowledge of this essence has the essence itself. But I have knowledge of this essence. Ergo, I have the essence itself.

Now this essence can be present nowhere but with itself and its very presence is the essence; therefore he concluded that he was the very essence. Thus all other essences which were separate from matter, which had knowledge of that true Essence, by this way of thinking appeared to him to be only one thing, though before he had looked upon them as many. This conceit of his would not likely have been firmly rooted in his mind unless God had pursued him with his mercy and directed him by his gracious guidance. Then he perceived that it had arisen from the relics of that obscurity which is natural to the body and the dregs of sensible objects. This is true since much and little, unity and multiplicity, collection and separation are all attributes of the body. But we cannot say these separate essences which know the essence of this true One that they are many or one, because they are immaterial. Multiplicity exists because of the separation of

one essence from another, and there can be no unity but by conjunction. However, none of these can be understood without the compound notion of multiplicity whereas in reality they are far from being many; and if one speaks in terms of separation, or of individual beings, this would imply a notion of unity whereas in reality they are far from being one.[1]

It must be noted at this point that the thoughts expressed by Ibn-Ṭufayl in the above paragraphs were originally stated by al-Ghazālī. In order to compare the ideas of these two authors and to show how deeply the former drew upon the thoughts of the latter, a few quotations from al-Ghazālī will be cited:

In the Iḥyā' al-Ghazālī wrote: "The heart has two doors. One leads to the outside, that is to say, the sense, and the other leads to the kingdom of the sight, that is, the door of revelation."[2] To this al-Ghazālī added: "If one understands this, he can never restrict knowledge to traditional education and its means. Contemplation could lead to the same result."[3]

In order to make this matter very clear al-Ghazālī went on to say: "Let us imagine that we have a basin or a hole dug in the ground ready for water. One has two means by which to fill it with water -- either to pour water into it, or to dig the hole deep enough so that water will gush out.[4] . . . . Both ways are acceptable as a source of water, in reality the second is much

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1. Ṭufayl, pp. 113ff, (Arab, pp. 72ff).
2. Iḥyā', iii, p. 22.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

better than the first.[1] . . . Man could, by himself, be capable of such a thing had not rust and rot resulting from the filth this world accumulated over the surface of the mirror of the heart. The mirror is cleansed and purified by desisting from lust and emulating the prophets in all their states. Thus to whatever extent the heart is cleaned and made to face the truth, to that same extent will it reflect His reality. But there is no way to this except through discipline, learning, and instruction; which are not recorded in books and are not discussed by him whom God has blessed with any of them except among his own circle of intimates."[2]

"Applying this analogy to education it is correct to say that one can become learned by following the traditional paths of education, or alternately one can totally ignore the works of human writers and go directly to the powers of sight and revelation by putting aside all concerns family, wealth, and knowledge and giving oneself to solitude and meditation upon God. By the latter path one can achieve better results in respect of his education."[3]

Al-Ghazālī added in the fourth volume of the Iḥyā': "Reflection is the beginning of -- and the key to -- all good . . . it is the search for the gnosis which is desired . . . as the stone strikes upon the iron and brings forth from it fire, whereby the

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1. Ibid., p. 17.
2. Ibid., i, pp. 18-19 (Eng. pp. 48-9).
3. Ibid., iii, p. 16.

place is illuminated and the eye is able to see after it was unseeing, and the limbs are stirred to activity, so also the flint-stone of the light of gnosis is Reflection . . . and the heart is changed because of this light . . . so the fruit of reflection is knowledge and mystic states."[1]

In his ar-Risālā al-ladunniyya[2] al-Ghazālī wrote: "Setting forth the methods of studying knowledge; know that human knowledge is acquired by two means: 1) by submission to human teaching, and 2) by submission to divine teaching.

"As regards the first means, it is a familiar method and a path which is easily perceived -- all intelligent men acknowledge it. But submission to divine teaching has two aspects: one from without, acquired by the acceptance of instruction; and the other from within, acquired through reflection.

"Now this inner reflection takes the place of study in the outer sphere. For learning is what one person gains from an individual and the power of reflection is what the soul gains from the Universal Soul, which is stronger in influence and greater in power of teaching than all learned men. Now knowledge is implanted in the souls at their beginning (i.e. when first created), with potentiality, like the seed in the earth and the gem in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the mine. And study is the search to bring forth that thing from potentiality to actuality. For the

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1. Ibid., iv, p. 364.
2. According to Prof. Watt: " . . . it is difficult to see how anyone can mention its authenticity," "Works Attributed to al-Ghazālī," p. 34.

soul of him who is taught grows to resemble the soul of the teacher; and the learned man is like the sower, and the learner, in deriving profit, is like the earth; and knowledge, with its potentiality, is like the seed, and that which is actuality is like the plant.

"Then, when the soul of the learner is perfected, it will be like the tree which bears fruit, or the pearl brought forth from the depths of the sea. Now when bodily powers prevail over the soul the learner has need of more study, and must spend more time on it, and he must endure trouble and much weariness in the search for profit. But when the light of reason prevails over the sensible qualities, the seeker, with but little reflection, can dispense with much study, for the receptive soul, through a single hour's reflection, gains what the unreceptive soul does not gain by a whole year's study. So some men acquire knowledge by study and some by reflection."[1]

In Mīzān-al-'amal,[2] al-Ghazālī said that " . . . there are two ways by which one may be educated. The way that is chosen will depend upon the one who makes the choice. If one is very old, al-Ghazālī advises that he go directly to the way of contemplation. If one is young, he may pursue the traditional way first and then turn to contemplation[3]. . . . By way of comparison, it must be

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1. JRAS (1938), pp. 360-2.
2. According to Prof. Watt: "The Mīzān as it stands at present cannot have received its form from al-Ghazālī himself, and it contains much material that cannot be his." --"Works Attributed to al-Ghazālī," p. 40; cf. Badawī, p. 79.
3. Mīzān, pp. 226-8.

remembered that the former is relatively insignificant."[1]

If one compares what has been quoted here from al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā', Risālā and Mīzān with what was quoted above from Ibn-Ṭufayl's Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqẓān, he will realize that Ibn-Ṭufayl adopted al-Ghazālī's view concerning methods of attaining knowledge. Ibn-Ṭufayl believed, as had al-Ghazālī, that human knowledge is acquired either by human teaching, or by submission to divine teaching. To both scholars both means lead to the same result, or as Ibn-Ṭufayl put it, Ḥayy's meditation (seeking divine knowledge) led him to the same result as human teaching.[2] Thus, the above quotations clearly indicate that at the time when Ibn-Ṭufayl wrote his book Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqẓān, he was influenced by al-Ghazālī's teachings.

Furthermore, Ibn-Ṭufayl admits in his book Ḥayy that al-Ghazālī, when addressing himself to the public "bound in one place and loosed in another and denied certain things and then declared them to be true."[3] "There are many contradictions in his books, Ibn-Ṭufayl points out, and he quotes al-Ghazālī's own justification for such inconsistency, given in the Mīzām al-'amal, where he says that opinions are of three kinds: (1) that which is shared with the vulgar and is in accordance with their view; (2) the opinion which a man keeps to himself, disclosing it to no one; (3) the opinion given to anyone who comes asking for guidance."[4]

"Ibn-Ṭufayl defends al-Ghazālī against the attacks of critics

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1. Ibid., p. 230.
2. Ḥayy, p. 105 (Arab. p. 97).
3. Ṭufayl, p. 63; Smith, p. 202.
4. Ibid.; cf. Mīzān, pp. 405-9.

such as Ibn-Rushd, saying: Some later writers have read a grave significance into the words that occur at the end of the Mishkāt al-anwār,[1] to the effect that those who attained to union are convinced that the Existent One can be described by attributes inconsistent with pure Unity, inferring from this that al-Ghazālī asserted that the First Being, The Reality, Who Alone is worthy to be glorified, admitted of multiplicity in His Essence, which God forbid."[2]

Al-Ghazālī's teaching, in Ibn-Ṭufayl's view, consisted chiefly of symbolic utterances and allusions which were of value only to those who examined them through insight and used insight to interpret them, or those who were especially fitted to understand them, being possessed of transcendental wisdom, and for whom a slight allusion was sufficient. Ibn-Ṭufayl notes that al-Ghazālī himself stated that he composed books of esoteric doctrine and had set down therein the truth undefiled, but these books Ibn-Ṭufayl observes, had not reached Andalusia. Books reputed to contain such doctrines were the K. al-ma'ārif al-'aqliyya[3] and the

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1. Regarding Mishkāt Prof. Watt says: "The recognition that the Veils-section is spurious -- if my arguments are accepted -- should embolden scholars to make more of the rest of the Mishkāt in their study of the theology and metaphysics of al-Ghazāli. The work is of the highest importance, but the apparently insoluble problems set by the Veils-section have hitherto, it would seem, scared away students of al-Ghazālī from making full use of it," "A Forgery in Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt?" JRAS (1949), p.22.
2. Ṭufayl, pp. 64-5; Smith, pp. 202-3.
3. According to Badawī this work is authentically ascribed to al-Ghazālī, See, pp. 93-7.

K. an-nafḥ wa-t-taswiya,[1] but though these books contain symbolic expressions, Ibn-Ṭufayl does not think there is much revealed in them beyond what is set forth in those of al-Ghazālī's books intended for the masses.[2]

In conclusion, note the following quotations from Ibn-Ṭufayl's Ḥayy which show to what extent he admired al-Ghazālī's methods, teachings and personality.

(1) "You asked me, Dear Friend, (God preserve you for ever, and make you Partaker of everlasting Happiness) to communicate to you what I knew concerning the Mysteries of the Eastern philosophy, mention'd by the learned Avicenna: Now you must understand, that whoever designs to attain to a clear and distinct Knowledge, must be diligent in the search of it."[3]

"Indeed your request gave me a noble turn of thought, and brought me to the understanding of what I never knew before; nay, it advanc'd me to such an elevation, as no Tongue, how eloquent soever, is able to express; and the reason is, because 'tis of a quite different nature and kind from the Things of this World; only this there is in it, that whoever has attained to any degree of it, is so mightily affected with joy Pleasure, and Exultation, that 'tis impossible for him to conceal his sense of it, but he is forc'd to utter some general Expressions, since he cannot be particular. Now if a man, who has not been polish'd by good

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1. Badawī accounted this book among al-Ghazālī's unauthentic ones. See p. 318.
2. Ḥayy, p. 64.
3. Hai, p. 2., translated by Simon Ockley in 1708.

Education, happens to attain to that state, he runs out into strange Expressions, and speaks he knows not what; so that one of this sort of Men, when in that state, cry'd out, Praise be to me! How wonderful am I! Another said, I am Truth! Another, That he was God. Abū Hamed Algazali, when he had attain'd to it, expres'd himself thus,

'Twas what it was, 'tis not to be express'd:
Enquire no further, but conceive the best."[1]

(ii) "Now I make no question but the worthy Doctor Algazali was one of those which attain'd to the utmost degree of Happiness, and those hights which are proper to those who enjoy the UNION; but as for this secret or incommunicable Books, which contain the manner of Revelation, they never came to my hands: and that the pitch of knowledge which I have attain'd to, is owing to his other works and to Avicenna, which I read and compar'd with the Opinions of the present Philosophers, till at length I came to the knowledge of the Truth."[2]

(3)

Ibn-Rushd

(520/1126 to 595/1198)

Abū-'l-Walīd Muḥammad Ibn-Muḥammad Ibn-Rushd (Averroes) was born in Cordova. His family was renowned for its deep knowledge in jurisprudence, and his father and grandfather held the office

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1. Ibid., pp. 2-5.
2. Ibid., pp. 21-2.

of the Chief Justice of Andalus. This religious descent gave Ibn-Rushd the opportunity to reach a high standard in Islamic studies. The Qur'ān and its exegesis, the Tradition of the Messenger, the science of fiqh, Arabic language and literature were all learned by him by oral transmission from authoritative professors. He revised the Mālikite book al-Muwaṭṭa' which he had studied with his father Abū-'l-Qāsim, and learned it by heart. He also pursued such scientific studies as mathematics, physics, astronomy, logic, philosophy, and medicine.

Ibn-Rushd's teachers in the above sciences were not renowned, but on the whole Cordova was famous for being a centre of philosophical studies, while Seville was renowned for its artistic activities. In a dialogue between Ibn-Rushd and Ibn-Zuhr, the physician, while in the court of al-Manṣūr, the former, proud of the scientific atmosphere in his native city, said that when a learned man died in Seville his books were sent to Cordova to be sold there; and when a singer died in Cordova his musical instruments were sent to Seville.[1] In fact, Cordova at that time rivalled Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo and other great cities in Eastern Islam.

"Ibn-Rushd was a friend of Ibn-Ṭufayl, whom for a short time (about 1183), he followed as physician at the Almoḥad court. He had originally been introduced by Ibn-Ṭufayl, probably about 1153, to the Almoḥad prince and future ruler Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf. Though the young Averroes was already well-versed in the Greek sciences,

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1. Nafḥ, ii, p. 11; GALS, i, p. 833.

he was afraid and denied his knowledge of such matters when the prince asked him whether the philosophers thought the heavens eternal or created. It was only when the prince turned to Ibn-Ṭufayl and spoke freely of Plato, Aristotle and others, that he ventured to join in the conversation."[1]

It was Ibn-Ṭufayl who advised Ibn-Rushd to comment on Aristotle and told him that the commander of the faithful often lamented the obscure language of the Greek philosophers or rather of the available translations and that Ibn-Rushd ought to undertake to explain them.

In the year 565/1169 Ibn-Rushd became Qāḍī of Seville and two years later Qāḍī of Cordova. In spite of the burden of work of his office he composed his most important works in this period. In 578/1182, Ibn-Yūsuf summoned him to Morocca as his physician to replace the aged Ibn-Ṭufayl, but soon afterwards sent him back to Cordova with the rank of chief Qāḍī.

At the beginning of the reign of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, Yūsuf's successor, Ibn-Rushd was still in favour with the caliph, but he feel into disgrace as the result of the opposition of the theologians to his writings and after being accused of various heresies, he was tried and then banished to Lucena near Cordova. At the same time, the caliph ordered the books of the philosophers to be burned except those of medicine, arithmetic and elementary astronomy. When the caliph returned to Morocco he restored the banished and

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1. A History of Islamic Spain, pp. 139-40.

recalled Ibn-Rushd to his court. But Ibn-Rushd did not long enjoy the restoration of his fortunes for he dies soon after his return to Morocco.[1]

"The most important philosophical work of Averroes is contained in the commentaries he wrote on many of the writings of Aristotle. He had penetrated deeply into the thought of Aristotle, and for this reason was able to interpret his writings in genuinely Aristotelian fashion."[2]

Ibn-Rushd, being a fanatical admirer of the Aristotelian thought, employed the words "wicked" and "ignorant" in reference to al-Ghazālī, concerning whom, he wrote: "That al-Ghazālī should touch on such questions in this way is not worthy of such a man but there are only these alternatives: either he knew these matters in their true nature, and sets them out here wrongly, which is wicked; or he did not understand their real nature and touched on problems he had not grasped, which is the act of an ignoramus. However, he stands too high in our eyes for either of these qualifications. But even the best horse will stumble and it was a stumble of al-Ghazālī's that he brought out this book (Tahāfut-al-falāsifā)."[3]

Ibn-Rushd composed his famous book Tahāfut at-tahāfut in an attempt to prove that the greater part of al-Ghazālī's book Tahāfut al-falāsifā had not reached the degree of evidence necessary

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1. EI[1], ii, p. 410.
2. A History of Islamic Spain, p. 140.
3. At-Tahāfut, i, p. 63 (Arab. i, pp. 195-6).

for determining truth,[1] a fact which in itself indicates the latter's influence upon the former. There is also a considerable amount of positive evidence of this influence throughout his book Tahāfut at-tahāfut, as is seen in the following examples.

Regarding the third reason given by the philosophers for the impossibility that the world came into existence by an act of God, Ibn-Rushd said: "When the philosophers of our religion, like al-Fārābī and Ibn-Sīnā, had once conceded to their opponents that the agent in the divine world is like the agent in the empirical, and that from the one agent there can arise but one object and according to all the First was an absolutely simple unity, it became difficult for them to explain how plurality could arise from it.

"This difficulty compelled them finally to regard the First as different from the mover of the daily circular movement; they declared that from the First who is a simple existent, the mover of the highest sphere proceeds, and from this mover, since he is of a composite nature, as he is both conscious of himself and conscious of the First, a duality, the highest sphere, and the mover of the second sphere, the sphere under the highest can arise. This however, is a mistake, according to philosophical teaching, for thinker and thought are one identical thing in human intellect and this is still more true in the case of the abstract intellects.

"This does not affect Aristotle's theory, who connects sensible existence with the intelligible, saying that the world is

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1. Ibid., p. 1.

one and proceeds from one. This Monad is partly the cause of unity, partly the cause of plurality. . . . This is the sense of Aristotle's theory, a sense very different from that in which those thinkers believe who affirm that from the one only one can proceed. See, therefore, how serious this error proved among the philosophers! You should therefore, see for yourself in the books of ancients whether these philosophical theories are proved, not in the works of Ibn-Sīnā and others who changed the philosophical doctrine in its treatment of metaphysics so much that it became mere guessing."[1]

In order to compare the above statements, particularly the last lines, with what al-Ghazālī wrote in some of his books, two quotations will be cited:

In al-Munqidh al-Ghazālī wrote: "Here occur most of the errors of the philosophers. They are unable to satisfy the conditions of proof they lay down in logic and consequently differ much from one another here. The views of Aristotle, as expounded by al-Fārābī and Ibn-Sīnā, are close to those of the Islamic writers."[2]

In Tahāfut al-falāsifā al-Ghazālī said, "In their own view there is nothing fixed and constant in the philosophers' position. They base their judgments on conjecture and speculation, unaided by positive inquiry and unconfirmed by faith. They try to infer the truth of their metaphysical theories from the clarity of the arithmetical and logical sciences, and this method sometimes

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1. Ibid., pp. 107-9 (Arab. i, pp. 288, 297-8, 300-1).
2. Faith and Practice, p. 37.

carries conviction with the weak-minded people. But if their metaphysical theories had been as cogent and definite as their arithmetical knowledge is, they would not have differed among themselves on metaphysical questions as they do not differ on the arithmetical."[1]

Clearly Ibn-Rushd said what was said already by al-Ghazālī in the above statement: The only new material Ibn-Rushd added at this point was that al-Fārābī's and Ibn-Sīnā's statements about metaphysics do not get the idea of Aristotle. But whether or not this is true, it does not affect what al-Ghazālī said. Never did he reject the statements of Aristotle but only those of al-Fārābī and Ibn-Sīnā, or in other words, he rejected what Aristotle said as interpreted in the writings of al-Fārābī and Ibn-Sīnā.

Concerning this al-Ghazālī wrote: "As far as the translations of Aristotle's works into Arabic are concerned, our problem is even difficult. For the translations themselves have been subjected to interpolation and change, which have necessitated further commentaries and interpretation. As a result the translations are as much in dispute among the philosophers as are the original works. However, the most faithful -- as Aristotle's translators and most original -- as his commentators -- among the Muslim philosophers are al-Farābī Abū-Naṣr and Ibn-Sīnā. Therefore, we will confine our attention to what these two have taken to be the authentic expression of the views of their mis-leaders.

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1. Tahāfut, i, p. 4.

For what they discarded and refused to follow must undoubtedly have been utterly useless and should not call for an elaborate refutation.

"Therefore, let it be known that we propose to concentrate on the refutation of philosophical thought as it emerges from the writing of these two persons. For, otherwise, the scattered character of the philosophical theories should have to be reflected in a proportionately loose arrangement of our subject matter."[1]

Similarly al-Ghazālī wrote in al-Munqidh: "In transmitting the philosophy of Aristotle, however, none of the Islamic philosophers has accomplished anything comparable to the achievements of the two men named. The translations of others are marked by disorder and confusion, which so perplex the understanding of the student that he fails to comprehend; and if a thing is not comprehended how can it be either refuted or accepted? All that, in our view, genuinely is part of the philosophy of Aristotle, as these men have transmitted it, falls under three heads: (1) what must be counted as unbelief; (2) what must be counted as heresy; (3) what is not to be denied at all."[2]

Concerning this matter, one might go further and say that perhaps Ibn-Rushd was influenced by al-Ghazālī even in his disagreement with al-Fārābī and Ibn-Sīnā, as well as his defence of Aristotle's theories. Evidence of this is that Ibn-Rushd knew nothing about the Greek language;[3] this is the case also for al-

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1. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
2. Faith and Practice, p. 32.
3. Bīṣār, p. 44; Russell, p. 418.

Ghazālī, but the point to be made here is that, the only way in which Ibn-Rushd could have acquainted himself with Aristotle's thought was through translation; and in one sense al-Ghazālī had a part in this work, at least to the extent that he related what the translators said. Moreover, though al-Ghazālī praised both al-Fārābī and Ibn-Sīnā as translators, he also stated that the translations themselves had been subjected to interpolation and change which necessitated additional commentaries and explanation.[1] Applying this, it is likely that Ibn-Rushd was influenced by al-Ghazālī's writing when the former wrote his book Tahāfut at-tahāfut.

Additional evidence of al-Ghazālī's influence upon the ideas of Ibn-Rushd is found in the latter's books such as:

(i) Faṣl al-maqāl wa-taqrīr mā-bayn ash-sharī'ā wa-l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl.

(ii) Al-Kashf 'an-manāhij al-adilla fī-'aqā'id al-millā.

As for the former Ibn-Rushd mentioned al-Ghazālī's name eight times,[2] Iḥyā' ulūm ad-dīn once,[3] Tahāfut al-falāsifā once,[4] Fayṣal-at-tafirqā bayn al-Islam wa-z-zandaqa three times,[5] "some of his books" once,[6] and "his books" once.[7] Not only that but

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 32.
2. Faṣl, pp. 15-6, 18, 24, 26 (twice), 27, 30.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. Ibid., pp. 15, 17, 24.
6. Ibid., p. 36.
7. Ibid., p. 27.

he adopted al-Ghazālī's ideas concerning: (1) ijmā', (2) happiness, (3) allegorical interpretation, (4) methods of summons to God, and (5) the relationship of empirical knowledge to the scriptures.

1) Concerning unanimous agreement, ijmā', he said as al-Ghazālī had in at-Tafriqa that "unanimity on theoretical matters is never determined with certainty, as it can be on practical matters, may be shown to you by the fact that it is not possible for the unanimity to be determined on any question at any period unless that period is strictly limited by us, and all the scholars existing in that period are known to us (i.e. known as individuals and in their total number), and the doctrine of each of them on the question has been handed down to us on unassailable authority, and, in addition to all this, unless we are sure that the scholars existing at the time were in agreement that there is not both an apparent and an inner meaning in Scripture, that knowledge of any question ought not to be kept secret from anyone, and that there is only one way for people to understand Scripture."[1]

2) Concerning happiness, Ibn-Rushd accepted al-Ghazālī's idea that fear of God (taqwā) is the cause of happiness. Ibn-Rushd wrote: "You ought to know that the purpose of Scripture is simply to teach true science and right practice. True science is knowledge of God, Blessed and Exalted, and the other beings as they really are, and specially of noble beings, and knowledge of happiness and misery in the next life. Right practice consists in performing the acts

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1. Harmony, p. 52; cf. Tafriqa, pp. 26-7.

which bring happiness and avoiding the acts which bring misery; and it is knowledge of these acts that is called practical science. They fall into two divisions: outward bodily acts; the science of these is called jurisprudence; and (2) acts of the soul such as gratitude, patience and other moral attitudes which the Law enjoins or forbids; the science of these is called asceticism or the sciences of the future life. To these Abū-Ḥāmid turned his attention in his book: as people had given up this sort [of act] and become immersed in the other sort, and as this [latter] sort involves the greater fear of God, which is the cause of happiness, he called his book The revival of the sciences of religion."[1]

3) Concerning allegorical interpretation, Ibn-Rushd dedicated a very large part of his book Faṣl to prove, like al-Ghazālī, that there are apparent texts of Scripture which cannot be interpreted allegorically, and apparent texts which have to be interpreted allegorically by men of demonstrative class.[2]

4) Concerning methods of summons to God, Ibn-Rushd confirmed al-Ghazālī's view by saying that "the natures of men are on different levels with respect to [their paths to] assent. One of them comes to assent through demonstration; another comes to assent through dialectical arguments, just as firmly as the demonstrative man through demonstration; since his nature does not contain any greater capacity; while another comes to assent through rhetorical

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1. Harmony, p. 63; cf. Mīzān, pp. 1ff; Ihyā', i, p. 19.
2. Harmony, p. 59; cf. Iljām, pp. 1, 5, 15; Iqtiṣād, p. 26.

arguments, again just as firmly as the demonstrative man through demonstrative arguments.

"Thus since this divine religion of ours has summoned people by these three methods, assent to it has extended to everyone, except him who stubbornly denies it with his tongue or him for whom no method of summons to God the Exalted has been appointed in religion owing to his own neglect of such matters. It was for this purpose that the prophet, peace on him, was sent with a special mission to the white man and the black man alike; I mean because of his religion embraces all the methods of summons to God the Exalted. This is clearly expressed in saying of God the Exalted, Summon to the way of your Lord by wisdom and by good preaching, and debate with them in the most effective manner."[1]

5) Demonstrative study does not lead to conclusions which conflict with what Scripture has given to Muslims. In this Ibn-Rushd repeated what al-Ghazālī has already said, but his point here was a little different from al-Ghazālī's. Ibn-Rushd, being "a fanatical admirer of Aristotelian philosophy,"[2] accepted his master's teachings claiming that Aristotle's teachings are true and since truth does not oppose truth, Aristotalian thought does not oppose Islam. This point of course is not exactly like al-Ghazālī's who held the opinion that: "The intelligent man knows the truth; then he will know who are truthful";[3] he accepts what he thinks is right and opposes what he thinks is wrong.[4]

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1. Harmony, p. 49; cf. Qistās, pp. 10-11, 62-8.
2. De Boer, p. 189.
3. Faith and Practice, pp. 39-40.
4. Cf. Harmony, pp. 7, 9-12; Faith and Practice, pp. 37-8.

In a few words, the whole book of Faṣl al-maqāl is plain evidence that the author was deeply influenced by al-Ghazālī. In fact all the evidence produced in this book by Ibn-Rushd was already used by al-Ghazālī and mostly in the same manner.[1]

It is also obvious that Ibn-Rushd composed al-Kashf 'an manāhij al-adillah under the influence of al-Ghazālī. Evidence for this was given by Ibn-Rushd himself when he mentioned the name of al-Ghazālī and copied out some quotations from al-Ghazālī's book, al-Tafriqa. An example of such quotations will be cited.

"It now remains for us out of our programme only to study what portions of Scripture it is permissible and what it is not permissible to interpret allegorically, and, when it is permissible, to whom the permission is given. With this topic we shall conclude the argument of this book.

"We say that the ideas found in Scripture fall into five classes: i.e. they are divided into two primary classes, and the second of the two is divisible into four sub-classes. . . . The rule in this regard is that which was followed by Abū-Ḥāmid in the book of distinction; that this class of persons should learn that one and the same thing has five modes of existence, which are called by Abū-Ḥāmid essential, sensible, imaginary, intellectual and metaphorical."[2]

Moreover, in al-Kashf, Ibn-Rushd accused al-Ghazālī of inconsistency in advocating the doctrine of emanation in the Mishkāt-

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1. Faṣl, p. 25; cf. Iljām, pp. 1, 5, 15; Iqtiṣād, p. 26.
2. Manāhij, pp. 24-5; (Eng. pp. 79-80).

al-anwār,[1] While he expressly denies it elsewhere. Ibn-Rushd quotes al-Ghazālī's Maqāṣid and his Tahāfut al-falāsifā, the Jawāhir al-Qur'ān, the Munqidh min aḍ-ḍalāl, the Kimyā' as-sa'āda,[2] and the Tafriqā bayn al-Islam wa-z-zandaqa. Al-Ghazālī's teachings, he considers, are sometimes detrimental to philosophy and sometimes to both, but may equally be considered favourable to both.[3]

(4)

Ibn-Ṭumlūs

(d. 620/1223)

Very little information has been preserved concerning the life of Ibn-Ṭumlūs. Only two authors, Ibn-al-Abbār and Ibn-Abū-Uṣaybi'a, devote a few lines to him in their biographical works. His full name is Yūsuf Ibn-Aḥmad Ibn-Ṭumlūs. As to his kunya, the two biographers are at variance. The former calls him Abū-'l-Ḥajjāj; the latter, Abū-Isḥāq. In spite of these discrepancies, the identity of the person in question is clear, from the coherence of other data. His birthplace was Algeria. There he received his literary and religious education under the guidance of the famous preacher al-Ḥāj Abū-'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn-

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1. According to Prof. Watt: "The veils-section of Mishkāt-al-anwār is a forgery," "A Forgery in Al-Ghazālī's Mishkat?" p. 21.
2. Prof. Watt says: "I have no doubt that the original of the Urdu is genuine and the existing Arabic spurious," "Works Attributed to al-Ghazālī," p. 36.
3. Manāhij, pp. 182-4.

Ibrāhīm (d. 587/1191) who settled in Algeria on returning from the East, and devoted himself for forty years to the teaching of readings from the Qur'ān which he had learned in Mecca, from the lips of the famous African master to whose classes flocked many scholars from Andalusia, and others.

Ibn-Ṭumlūs also studied these same subjects, as well as grammar and literature, from 'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn-Ja'far (d. 586/1190). The fruit of this grammatical and literary education was the aptitude which he later showed (according to Ibn-al-Abbār) for all linguistic studies included under the common name of al-'Adab (الادب).

Ibn-Ṭumlūs's initiation in logic seems to be due not to any one master. In fact, he assures that none of the masters of his time, with whom he had dealings and whose classes he frequented, knew even a word of this subject, and that the poor opinion which they all had of logic was inspired by none other than vulgar motives of authority, without their ever having bothered to compare them with real thing, by examining personally any book of logic.

The reasons which Ibn-Ṭumlūs gives for such irrational conduct among the masters of his time are none other than the fanaticism rife among the Spanish scholars (cf. Chapter VI, Section A). Because of this, Ibn-Ṭumlūs, wishing to react against the hostile atmosphere around him, decided to initiate himself in the study of logic. And in order to forestall any accusations of impiety because of this decision, he was wise enough and skilful enough to conceal himself behind the writings of al-Ghazālī since

in his own time these had been pronounced free from fault.

Ibn-Ṭumlūs declared that, in order to begin his study of logic, he used Mi'yār al-'ilm, Miḥakk-an-naẓar, and al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm. Later having realized that the said opuscules neither exhausted all the possible philosophical materials, nor treated it with the terminology and technical approach of the philosophers, both of which al-Ghazālī purposely avoided in order to make his study more accessible to ordinary people. Ibn-Ṭumlūs sought out special peripatetic books to fill this void and resorted to those of al-Ghazālī, truly classical in nature, and enddd by going through the works of Aristotle himself.

Ibn-Ṭumlūs never admitted to having studied logic under the guidance of Ibn-Rushd or even of having read his books. Nonetheless Ibn-al-Abbār, his biographer, says: "He was a disciple of Abū-'l-Walīd Ibn-Rushd from whom he learned his science."[1] It is true that it is possible to infer that this teaching was limited exclusively to medicine, in which both Ibn-Rushd and Ibn-Ṭumlūs shared exceptional abilities. But this hypothesis is impossible if account is taken of the intimate relationship which, in the Middle Ages, was held to exist among all branches of Aristotelian learning.

The initial conclusion, therefore, is that Ibn-Ṭumlūs disregarded his master whose accursed memory was still too recent for him to venture to recommend his books on philosophy in the Court of the Almohads, while Ibn-Rushd and the caliph al-Manṣūr

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1. Abbār, ii, p. 738.

were still alive. Add to this the fact that Ibn-Ṭumlūs came to substitute Ibn-Rushd in the post of Court physician during the reign of an-Nāṣir son of al-Manṣūr and it will be understood with what prudence he would have to conduct himself so as to avoid arousing among the fundamentalists (Chapter VI, Section A) the suspicion and jealousy which were the downfall of his master. For this reason when he says in the introduction to his logic that he needed to have recourse to a master in order to penetrate fully the sense of the books of al-Fārābī and Aristotle, he limits himself to using such vague phrases as the following: "I sought the help of another in order to understand al-Fārābī's book,[1] and "I sought in order to read it [Aristotle's book] someone to elucidate the passages about which I was in doubt." The two best-known works of Ibn-Ṭumlūs are his book on logic, al-Madkhal, and his book on medicine, Sharḥ urjūzat Ibn-Sīnā fī-ṭ-ṭibb.[2] His other writings are less well known.

Ibn-al-Abbār assures that he wrote a book on one of the branches of literature, but the text is so vague that one cannot ascertain to what subject he is referring. Perhaps it was a poetical work since in the same place it is said that "he had a happy gift for poetry.[3] Furthermore, Ibn-al-Abbār himself cites him in another work "History of the noteworthy poets of Spain" as a worthy poet.

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1. Madkhal, p. 14.
2. GALS, i, pp. 823, 837-8.
3. Abbār, ii, p. 739.

Ibn-al-Abbār and Ibn-Abū-Uṣaybi'a agree in considering Ibn-Ṭumlūs to be a highly skilled physician, the most famous of his time in Eastern Spain.[1]

Ibn-Ṭumlūs died in Algeria, the city of his birth. It is difficult to determine the date of his birth, especially in the face of the silence of his biographers. One can only assume that he would be at least ten years old when he undertook his initial studies with Abū-'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm and 'Abd-Allah Muḥammad Ibn-Ja'far who died in 587/1191 and 586/1190 respectively, from which the year 577/1181 or 576/1180 would emerge as a possible date of his birth. However, by this reckoning he would have lived for only 43 or 44 years, which, in fact, would not have been long enough to explain his fame as a skilled scholar -- a fame which took him to the Palace of the Almoḥadan caliphs after an-Nāṣir ascended the throne in 595/1198, a date on which Ibn-Ṭumlūs would not have been more than 19 or 20 years old, according to these calculations. This is the age at which it is normally possible to begin a fruitful study of philosophy, medicine being considered a branch of physics, and thus to be studied after logic. For this reason Ibn-Ṭumlūs would have to be considered to be 35 years of age, at least in order to begin to serve in the Palace thus giving the year 560/1164 as his date of birth, and his life span as being 60 years.

As the caliph an-Nāṣir died in 610/1213 and Ibn-Ṭumlūs survived him by ten years it is to be inferred that at that date

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1. Ibid.; Aṭibbā', ii, p. 81.

he would already have abandoned his position at Court in order to retire to his native city where he died.[1]

In the introduction to his book al-Madkhal li-ṣanā'at al-mantiq Ibn-Ṭumlūs said: "When al-Ghazālī's books reached Andalusia, the Andalusians found themselves with materials with which they were not familiar and they began to hear about subjects which they were not accustomed to, such as mysticism and others; so they opposed everything written by al-Ghazālī, even going so far as to say, 'If there are any infidelity or irreligiousness in this world, it is in al-Ghazālī's works.' Moreover they encouraged the emir to take immediate action against al-Ghazālī by burning all his works, and forbidding the citizens to possess any of them, and so the emir did.

"Later al-Mahdī came and encouraged the citizens to read al-Ghazālī's works; when they did so, they admired it very much to the extent that the teaching of al-Ghazālī came to be accepted as religion, whereas previously it was considered as irreligious. No one could be found in Andalusia who was not under the admiration of al-Ghazālī's works, except those who were extremely naive."[2]

After stating the changes of the Andalusian's opinions, Ibn-Ṭumlūs said: "I concentrated upon al-Ghazālī's books which deal with logic, by doing so I realized two things:
(i) firstly, I found nothing against religion in his works.
(ii) secondly, what I found in al-Ghazālī's works, though

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1. Madkhal, (introduction, pp. xii-xx); Abbār, ii, pp. 738-9; Aṭibbā', ii, p. 81.
2. Madkhal, p. 12.

sufficient, did not cover all aspects of logic.

"This very fact led me to al-Fārābī's book al-Mukhtaṣar al-kabīr, but I realized too that, though it covers more subjects than al-Ghazālī's books, this book did not cover all of the subjects of logic. The only one who covered all the subjects was Aristotle, whose book I studied later with the assistance of somebody."[1]

Ibn-Ṭumlūs later reached the conclusion that there is no difference whatsoever between Aristotle and al-Ghazālī, nor between the latter and al-Fārābī. He also added that there is nothing at all in philosophy which might be regarded as irreligious. It was those who were ignorant who damaged al-Fārābī's reputation whereas al-Ghazālī's (whose opinion was identical to the former) was not damaged.

According to the opinion of Ibn-Ṭumlūs, the only difference between the two writers is that the former used to express his ideas in the logicians' technical language, while the latter employed the theologians' technical language. This explains why al-Fārābī was accused of unbelief and heresy whereas al-Ghazālī was not.[2]

Perhaps Ibn-Ṭumlūs failed to distinguish between logic and philosophy, and it is for three particular points in the latter that the majority accused al-Fārābī of unbelief and heresy. There is nothing in logic which is relevant to religion by way of denial

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1. Ibid., pp. 14-5.
2. Ibid., pp. 11-5.

or affirmation. Logic, as al-Ghazālī put it, "is the study of the methods of demonstration and of forming syllogisms, of the conditions for the premisses of proofs, or the manner of combining the premisses, of the conditions for sound definition and the manner of ordering it. Knowledge comprises (a) the concept (taṣawwur), which is apprehended by definition, and (b) the assertion or judgement (taṣdīq), which apprehended by proof. There is nothing here which requires to be denied."[1] Accordingly the majority could not accuse al-Fārābī with such an accusation as is mentioned above.

Evidence presented above leads to the conclusion that there were some who opposed logic and accused al-Fārābī of unbelief. In fact this is true, but since they were few it is not acceptable that the majority were in favour of such opposition and accusations.

Another point stated by Ibn-Ṭumlūs is that the only difference between al-Fārābī and al-Ghazālī is the use of technical terms by the former. This is not acceptable either, for al-Ghazālī; though drawing his examples sometimes from theology and jurisprudence, he avoided the phraseology used by the theologians and jurists, and adopted in all his philosophical books the terms used by the logicians, adopting the methods of the logicians in the minutest detail. If this is what al-Ghazālī did in his philosophical books, then there is no ground for Ibn-Ṭumlūs to say that the only difference between al-Fārābī and al-Ghazālī is the use of technical terms by the former.

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1. Faith and Practice, p. 35.

The only philosophical book which is not written in a full technical exposition of Aristotelian logic is al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm, but even this book cannot be taken as evidence for Ibn-Ṭumlūs to support his claim. Al-Ghazālī, being the author of Tahāfut al-falāsifa, Maqāṣid al-falāsifa, mi'yār al-'ilm, the introduction of al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl, was also capable of writing al-Qisṭās in the same terminology. Al-Ghazālī avoided the technical exposition of Aristotelian logic in this particular book, simply "because some people who could not understand the technicalities needed to be assured that logic was based on the Qur'ān. There were many people of this kind until long after al-Ghazālī."[1]

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1. Muslim Intellectual, p. 70.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented in the foregoing chapters makes it clear that, although he studied many subjects, al-Ghazālī devoted most of his time, both as a student and a teacher, to jurisprudence. His influence upon his own and succeeding generations was greater in this field than in any other. One of his books in the field of jurisprudence, al-Wajīz, was so highly regarded that it was once said that had al-Ghazālī been a prophet he could have claimed this book as his miracle. Al-Ghazālī's al-Wajīz was summarized, memorized, criticized, commented upon, supplemented, and set to poetry by over seventy scholars, thirty of whom are listed in the fifth chapter of this thesis. Also al-Ghazālī had over three hundred students, thirty-four of whom are listed in the fourth chapter, and there is no evidence that any of them studied any subject under him other than jurisprudence.

Al-Ghazālī's two famous books in the field of philosophy are Maqāṣid al-falāsifa and Tahāfut al-falāsifa, and although there were only two books written entirely about the latter (one by Ibn-Rushd, Tahāfut at-tahāfut, and the other by Khawaja Zada, Tahāfut al-falāsifa), the material of al-Ghazālī's Tahāfut was quoted by most Muslim scholars who wrote about philosophy. Some of them were influenced by al-Ghazālī's ideas only; others went as far as using al-Ghazālī's own expressions. Evidence for this has been given in the seventh chapter, which illustrates that al-Ghazālī's influence upon these scholars was profound.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(TITLE AND AUTHORS)

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. WORKS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ.

Imlā', = Al-Ghazālī, Al-Imlā' an ishkālāt al-iḥyā'.

Ladun., = Al-Ghazālī, Ar-Risāla al-ladunniyya.

Tahāfut, = Al-Ghazālī, Tahāfut al-falāsifa.

B. OTHER WORKS.

Abbār, = Ibn-al-Abbār, At-Takmila li-kitāb aṣ-ṣila.

Adfawī, = Al-Adfawī, At-Tala' as-sa'īd.

Asās, = Ar-Rāzī, Asās at-taqdīs.

Aṭibbā', = Ibn-Abū-Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī-ṭabaqāt a-'aṭibbā'.

At-Tahāfut, = Ibn-Rushd, Tahāfut at-tahāfut.

'Aynī, = Al-'Aynī, 'Iqd al-jumān.

Badr, = Ash-Shawkānī, Al-Badr aṭ-ṭāli'.

Baghdad, = Al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdad.

Bughyat, = As-Suyūṭī, Bughyat al-wu'ā.

Damīrī, = Ad-Damīrī, Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān.

Dimashq, = Ibn-'Asākir, Ta'rīkh Dimashq.

Durar, = Ibn-Ḥajar, Ad-Durar al-kāmina.

Fahd, = Ibn-Fahd, Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ.

Faṣl, = Ibn-Rushd, Faṣl al-maqāl.

Fawāt, = Ibn-Shākir, Fawāt al-wafayāt.

Ḥusn, = As-Suyūṭī, Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira.

Ighātha, = Ibn-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ighāthat al-lahfān.

Ikh., = Ibn-Khaldūn, Al-Muqaddima.

Itḥāf, = Murtaḍā, Itḥāf as-sāda al-Muttaqīn

Jubayr, = Ibn-Jubayr, Riḥlat Ibn-Jubayr.

Kashf, = Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Kashf aẓ-ẓunūn an 'asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn.

Kathīr, = Ibn-Kathīr, Al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya.

Khazrajī, = Al-Khazrajī, Al-'Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyya.

Kifāya, = Al-Fākihī, Al-Kifāya fī-sharḥ bidāyat al-hidāya.

Lub., = Ibn-al-Athīr, Al-Lubāb fī-tahdhīb al-'ansāb

Madkhal, = Ibn-Ṭumlūs, Al-Madkhal li-ṣanā'at al-manṭiq.

Manāhij, = Ibn-Rushd, Manāhij al-adilla.

Marāqī, = Al-Jāwi, Sharḥ marāqī al-'ubūdiyya.

Mashriqiyya, = Ar-Rāzī, Al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya.

Miftāḥ, = Tashköprüzade, Miftāḥ as-sa'āda.

Milal, = Ash-Shahrastānī, Al-Milal wa-n-niḥal.

Mir'āt, = Sibṭ-Ibn-al-Jawzī, Mir'āt al-Janān.

Mu'jib, = Al-Marrākushī, Al-Mu'jib fī-talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib.

Mulaqqin, = Ibn-al-Mulaqqin, Al-'Iqd al-mudhahhab.

Nafḥ, = Al-Maqqarī, Nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb.

Nihāyat, = Ash-Shahrastānī, Nihāyat al-'iqdām.

Nubuwwāt, = Ibn-Taymiyya, Kitāb an-nubuwwāt.

Nujūm, = Ibn-Taghrī, An-Nujūm az-zāhira fī-mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira.

Qiftī, = Al-Qiftī, Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'.

Qirṭās, = Ibn-Abū-Zar'a, Al-'Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās.

Qutayba, = Ibn-Qutayba, Al-Ikhtilāf fi-l-lafẓ.

Rajab, = Ibn-Rajab, Adh-Dhayl 'alā ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābila.

Ṣafdī, = Safdī, Al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt.

Salāmī, = As-Salāmī, Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' Baghdad.

Shadh., = Ibn-al-'Imād, Shadharāt adh-dhahab fī-akhbār man-dhahab.

Siyar, = Adh-Dhahabī, Siyar a'lām an-nubalā'.

Subk., = As-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā.

Suyūṭī, = As-Suyūṭī, Dhayl ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ.

Tabyīn, = Ibn-'Asākir, Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī.

Tafṣīl, = Al-Iṣfahānī, Tafṣīl an-nash'atayn.

Tarājim, = Abū-Shāma, Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn.

Ta'rīf, = Al-Aydarūs, Ta'rīf al-aḥyā' bi-faḍa'il al-iḥyā'.

Ta'rīkh, = Az-Zarkashī, Ta'rīkh ad-dawlatayn.

Tawārīkh, = Al-Bandārī, Tawārīkh 'āl-Saljūq.

Taymiyya, = Ibn-Taymiyya, Ar-Radd 'alā al-manṭiqiyyīn.

Ṭufayl, = Ibn-Ṭufayl, Ḥayy Ibn-yaqẓān.

Yāfi'ī, = Al-Yāfi'ī, Mir'āt al-Janān.

Yāqūt, = Yāqūt, Irshād al-'arīb.

Zāda, = Zāda, Tahāfut al-falsāsifa.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

Abū-Ḥāmid, = Muḥammad Riḍa, Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī.

Akhlāq, = Zakī, Al-Akhlāq 'ind al-Ghazālī.

And = Al-Andalus.

Badawī, = Mu'allafāt al-Ghazālī.

BEA, = Bulletin des etudes arabes.

BEO, = Bulletin d'etudes orientales.

BIFAO, = Bulletin de l'Institut francais d'archeologie orientale.

Bīṣār, = Bīṣār, Fī-Falsafat Ibn-Rushd.

BSOAS, = Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African Studies.

Dīn, = Mūsā, Bayn ad-dīn wa-l-falsafa.

EI[1], = Encyclopaedia of Islam. First edition.

EI[2], = Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second edition.

Faris, = Faris, The book of knowledge, see al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'.

Farrūkh, = Ibn-Bājja wa-l-falsafa al-Maghribiyya.

GAL, = Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen literatur. Second edition.

GALS, = Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen literatur. Supplementbande.

Ḥaḍāra, = Muḥammad, Kurd 'Alī. Al-Islam wa-l-ḥaḍāra al-'arabiyya.

Hai, = Ockley, The improvement of human reason (exhibited in the life of Hai).

Ḥanābila, = as-Suyūṭī, Tarājim al-Ḥanābila.

Harmony, = Hourani, Averroes on the harmony of religion and philosophy.

Hourani, = Hourani, "The Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings," JAOS.

Ḥusnī, = Ḥusnī, Al-Imām al-Māzarī.

IC, = Islamic culture.

IQ, = Islamic Quarterly.

Islamic Studies, = Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research

JAOS, = Journal of American Oriental Society.

JRAS, = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Madhhab, = Qāsim, Madhhab al-Ghazālī fi-l-'aql wa-tawlīd.

Mél. L. Massignon, = Melanges Louis Massignon.

Nawāb, = Nawāb, Some moral and religious teachings of al-Ghazālī.

Nouri, = Nouri, The Scholars of Nishapur.

Nubūgh, = Kanūn, An-Nubūgh al-Maghribī fi-l-'adab al-'arabī.

Oriens, = Journal of the internal society for oriental research.

PIFD, = Publications de l'Institut Francais de Damas.

Ar-Rushdiyya, = Zu'aytir, Ibn-Rushd wa-r-Rushdiyya.

Russell, = Russell, History of western philosophy

SEI, = Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Sharif, = Sharif, A History of Muslim philosophy

Sīra, = Al-'Uthmān, Sīrat al-Ghazālī.

Vaux, = De Vaux, "Ibn-Rushd". EI[1].

Zahiriten, = Goldziher, Die Zahiriten.

Zahra, = Abū-Zahra, "Al-Ghazālī al-faqīh" in Mahrajān al-Ghazālī.

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