

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF 'ABD AL-LAṬĪF AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

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Introduction

The scholar of the medieval Islamic world is variously characterised but perhaps his most distinctive feature was the eclectic and dichotomous nature of his education.¹ Not only was he instructed in the Islamic sciences, those of a religious nature and provided for by the *waqf*, but also in the foreign or ancient sciences, which were excluded from the *waqf* deed.² This exclusion, however, did not prevent diligent and inquisitive scholars from seeking the knowledge of foreign sciences from the numerous libraries (sometimes overseas or at great distance),³ from masters "in the privacy of their homes, or in the *waqf* institutions, outside of the regular curriculum."⁴

The prominent Muslim physician, grammarian, lexicographer, juriconsult, sometime alchemist, and philosopher 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (557-629 AH/1162-1231 CE) was such a scholar. His *sira* (biography), which formed part of a larger work entitled *Ta'rikh* (History), was written for his son Sharaf al-din Yusuf.⁵ Extracts survive in the notice devoted to him by Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah (d. 668/1270) in his biographical dictionary of physicians, the '*Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*' (Sources of information on the classes of physicians).⁶ In these fragments, 'Abd al-Latif speaks of his *samā'*'s (auditions), his resolve to master *ḥibb* (medicine) and *kāmiyā'* (alchemy), his diligence in learning the various *qirā'āt* (variant Qur'anic recitations), and his devotion to the works of Ibn Sīnā (b. 370/980). What is remarkable is that his education encompasses a vast span of knowledge, tremendous motivation and memorisation. 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi is not an isolated example of this sort of education, not a unique product of his age.

At a time when much attention is being focused on the Islamisation of knowledge, it seems appropriate, maybe even necessary, to discuss examples of the educational and professional training of illustrious Muslim scholars and educators. Looking at the curriculum followed by 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi we may not only get "some insight into one of the best products of the Muslim educational system,"⁷ according to George Makdisi, but we may be in a better position to discuss the nature and role of Islamic education. Specifically, we may address the following questions: What are the priorities of education? Under which kinds of teachers should one study? To what extent can we

question the authority of the teacher? What place do we give to non-religious education?⁸ What roles do private patronage and state sponsorship play? This article outlines the education of a medieval scholar as a means of enlightening the modern educators.

Early Life 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġhdādī

Name. His name was Abu Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sa'd al-Baġhdādī, known as Ibn al-Labbād, Muwaffaq al-dīn.⁹ According to chroniclers, he was known as 'Abd al-Laṭīf and Ibn Labbād.

Dates of birth and death. All the chroniclers place his birth in 557/1162-3; Ibn Khallikān specifies Rabi' I.¹⁰ He died on 12 Muḥarram 629/9 November 1231.

Early Life. 'Abd al-Laṭīf was raised in the company of eminent scholars. His father, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, probably the Shaykh Abū 'Azz al-Mawṣilī obtained certificates of audition (*ijāzāt*) from senior scholars (*shuyūkh*) of Baġhdād, Khurasan, Syria and Egypt.¹¹ His uncle whom he referred to as Sulaymān was most likely Abū al-Faḍl Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mawṣilī al-Ṣūfī recorded in the *Shadharāt*; he died in Rabi' I, 612/June 1215. He was born in 528/1133 and studied *ḥadīth* under Ismā'il b. al-Samarqandī and Yahyā b. al-Tarāh.

At an early age 'Abd al-Laṭīf was also put under the care of:

a. Abū al-Najīb, probably Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umawiyya.¹² He was a Shāfi'i imām, knowledgeable in sufism (*ṭayawwuf*), exegesis (*tafsīr*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*). He was born in Ṣafar 490/January 1097 and died at the time of 'Aṣr on Friday 7 Jumādā II, 563/19 March 1168. 'Abd al-Laṭīf mentions that under Abū al-Najīb's guidance he had little time for pleasure and leisure (*la'b wa lahw*), his time being spent in the learning of *ḥadīth*.

Among friends of 'Abd al-Laṭīf's family was Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. The latter wanted to meet 'Abd al-Laṭīf but never got the chance; in the notice he devoted to 'Abd al-Laṭīf, he included a letter he wrote to him.¹³ 'Abd al-Laṭīf was apparently close to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's father, al-Qāsim, to his grandfather, Yūnus, and to an uncle of his whom he mentions as the man who introduced him to Aristotle. Wüstenfeld identifies this unnamed uncle as Rashīd al-dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Khalifa and indicates that he was the head of a hospital.¹⁴

His Early Education

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a recorded that 'Abd al-Laṭīf's studied *ḥadīth* with the following:

b. Abū al-Faḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī [b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Baġhdādī], Ibn al-Baṭīf. He was born in 477/1084 and died on Thursday, 17 Jumādā I, 564/16 February 1169 at the age of eighty-seven.¹⁵ He is identified by the biographers as one of the chief traditionalists of Iraq (*musnid al-irāq*). He heard *ḥadīth* from Malik b. 'Alī al-Bāniyāsī, Ḥamd b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād, Ibn al-Nazar, al-Tamīmī and others.¹⁶ His *sana'* is reported to have been sound (*ṣahīh*), according to Ibn al-Imād, the author of the *Shadharāt*.

c. Abū Zar'a Ṭāhir b. [al-Ḥāfiḥ] Muḥammad [b. Ṭāhir] al-Maḥdīsī [al-Ḥamdānī]. He was born in 481/1088 in Ra'y and died in Ḥamdān in Rabi' II, 566/12 December 1170.¹⁷ He is cited as one of the teachers of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥayy b. al-Rabī' (so too is Ibn Baṭīf). His own teachers included al-Maḥdīsī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad al-Dawnī, 'Abdūs, al-Satarmakī and al-Kamīkhī.¹⁸

d. Abū al-Qāsim Yahyā b. Thābit al-Wakīl identified by Subkī as Ibn Bundar in the entry devoted to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Basla, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī.¹⁹ He heard *ḥadīth* from Tarad and al-Ni'ālī.²⁰ He died in Rabi' I, 566/November 1170 in his eighties, placing his birth around 480/1087.²¹

To these must be added another from whom he studied in the *Dār al-dhahab*, a second-story *madrasa* (*madrasa mu'allaqa*) founded by Fakhr al-dawla b. al-Muṭallib,²² namely:

e. Ibn Faḍlān i.e. Jamāl al-dīn Abū al-Qāsim Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Hibat Allāh al-'Allāma al-Baġhdādī,²³ born in 513/1121 and died in *Sha'ban*, 595/1199.²⁴ He studied *fiqh* from Abū Manṣūr b. al-Razzāz in Baġhdād and from Muḥammad b. Yahyā, a disciple of al-Ghazzālī in Nishapur. He studied *ḥadīth* under Ismā'il b. Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Samarqandī and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and Abū al-Karam Ibn al-Suhrawardī.²⁵ Ibn Faḍlān is particularly known for his expertise in disputation and dialectic.

He also studied grammar with:

f. Ibn al-Khashshāb i.e. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Baġhdādī (492/1098-9 Friday 3 Ramaḍān 567/May 1172), died when 'Abd al-Laṭīf was ten. Many of 'Abd al-Laṭīf's teachers also studied with him (e.g. al-Wajīh, al-Qazwīnī, al-Kindī). The work 'Abd al-Laṭīf mentions is:

1. The *Ma'ānī* of al-Zajjāj. This is the *Kitāb fi ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Sarī' al-Zajjāj.²⁶ 'Abd al-Laṭīf studied this work according to the rescension/reading (*qirā'at*) of Ibn al-Khashshāb (see above) who had studied it from Shuhda bint Aḥmad b. al-Faraj b. 'Amr al-Ibarī.²⁷

Besides *ḥadīth*, 'Abd al-Laṭīf was occupied with the study of *khaṭf* (calligraphy), the memorisation of the Qur'ān, and the memorisation of other key texts, among them:

2. The *Faṣīḥ*. This is Tha'ālibī's (815-904) *Faṣīḥ al-Lughah*, described in the *Wafayāt* as small in size but great in benefit (*ṣaḡīr al-ḥujam kabīr al-fā'idah*).²⁸
3. The *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (446-516/1054-1122), a belles-lettres written in rhymed prose narratives.²⁹
4. The *dirwān* of al-Mutanabbī (born in 303/915 and died in Ramaḍān 354/August 955).³⁰
- g. Al-Anbārī. When he was an adolescent, al-Baghdādī's father took him to Kamāl al-dīn al-Anbārī, a schoolmate of his from his Niẓāmiyyah days. Kamāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh Abū al-Barakāt al-Anbārī al-Naḥwī was born in 513/1119 and died on 9 Sha'bān 577/18 December 1181.³¹ He came to Baghdad where he studied in his youth jurisprudence (*fiqh*) with Sa'īd b. al-Razzāz and became accomplished in *khilāf*, the divergences of the law (in one's own *madhhab* and in the other *madhāhib*). He then became a tutor (*mu'id*) in the Niẓāmiyyah as it was customary for the master-jurisconsult to have one in a college of law. He studied literature (*adab*) with Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jawālīqī and Ibn al-Shajārī. He studied *ḥadīth* with his father whilst in Anbār and with 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anmāfī in Baghdad. Al-Anbārī was incredibly prolific. His works include *al-Inṣāf fi masā'il al-khulāf bayna al-basriyin wa al-kāfiyin* (The Just Treatment of Grammatical Differences between the Basrī and Kūfī Schools) and commentaries (*sharḥs*) on the *dirwān* of al-Mutanabbī, on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and on the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Qutayba. He is most famous for the *Nuḥbat al-ḥubbā fi ṭabaqat al-udabā'*.
- 'Abd al-Lāfiḥ read the introduction to the *Faṣīḥ* with al-Anbārī but because he was still young, al-Anbārī referred him to his disciple, al-Wajīḥ al-Wāsiṭī who held his *ḥalqa* in the Zafariyyah Mosque (on him see below). 'Abd al-Lāfiḥ writes that he later mastered al-Anbārī's one hundred and thirty works on *naḥw*, *fiqh*, *uṣūlayn* (*uṣūl al-fiqh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*), *taṣawwuf* and *zuhd* (asceticism).³² He also memorised with him.
5. The *Kitāb* of Sibawayh (d. between 177/793 and 180/796-7), a grammatical work of approximately one thousand leaves and is the largest work of its kind. It contains numerous examples from the Qur'ān and over a thousand verses from pre-Islamic poetry. Ibn Khallikān says that it is an unmatched work.³³
6. Al-Sirāfī's commentary on the *Kitāb* of Sibawayh by Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan (al-Ḥasan) b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Marzūbān, born 290/903 and died on Monday 2 Rajab 368/3 February 979.³⁴ He was very famous even during his own lifetime and Abū 'Alī al-Fārīsī (see earlier) was envious of him. In 368/979, the latter bought a copy of the *sharḥ*³⁵ for two thousand dirhams in order to find fault with it and found none.³⁶

Other commentators of the *Kitāb* include: al-Mubarrad (d. 315/927), Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928), al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), al-Ma'arrī (d. 449/1057), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143), and Ibn al-Hājib (d. 646/1248).

7. *Al-Muqtaḍab* by al-Mubarrad, author of *al-Kāmil*, the great scholar of philology (born in Basra in 211/826 and died in Baghdad in 258/898).

h. Al-Wajīḥ. Al-Wajīḥ's full name is Abū Bakr al-Mubārak b. Abī Tālib al-Mubārak b. Abī al-Azhar Sa'īd al-Wajīḥ, Ibn al-Dahhān, al-Darīr; his biography appears in Ibn Khallikān.³⁷ He had in his youth memorised the Qur'ān and all its variant readings on the authority of Abū Sa'īd Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Adīb and Abū al-Faraj al-'Alā' b. 'Alī, the poet known as al-Sawādī. He then moved to Baghdad from Wāsiṭ, settled, and resided in the Zafariyyah Mosque. He attended the *majlis* of Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Naḥwī and served as a student (*ṣāhib*) of al-Anbārī. He studied *ḥadīth* with Abū Zar'a (see above), and Ḥanafī *fiqh* though he had started out Ḥanbalī.³⁸ He became a professor of law at the Niẓāmiyyah but because of the *waqf* restrictions permitting only the tenure of a Shafi'i professor, he changed to this *madhhab* (according to Ibn Khallikān, he was reproached by some for his apparently indiscriminate inter-school movement). He was born in 532/1137 in Wāsiṭ and died on Saturday night, 26 Sha'bān 612/20 December 1215.³⁹

'Abd al-Lāfiḥ's diligence is evidenced by his method of learning. He says that he would memorise and repeat his lessons even on his way home or to the mosque (*ḥifẓ 'alā al-tariq*).⁴⁰ Not only would al-Wajīḥ teach 'Abd al-Lāfiḥ grammatical commentaries, but he would take him along when he went to al-Anbārī for recitation and consultation. 'Abd al-Lāfiḥ would then return home and re-read the lesson till he had it completely memorised, often spending most of the night doing so.⁴¹ This he did for a long time at the hands of his teacher and his teacher's teacher (*al-shaykh wa shaykh al-shaykh*),⁴² i.e. al-Wajīḥ and al-Anbārī. He became so accomplished that he had his own students and himself gave commentaries, on the grammar of Ibn al-Jinnī for instance.⁴³

In this fashion, 'Abd al-Lāfiḥ studied, learned and memorised very many books. He mentions specifically the following:

8. The *Luma'*. In all probability, that of Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān, Ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī, memorised by 'Abd al-Lāfiḥ in eight months. Ibn Jinnī was the son of a Byzantine (Rūmī) slave of Sulaymān b. Faḥd al-Azādī al-Mawṣilī. He was prolific: among his works are a treatise entitled *Sirr al-ṣinā'at* (The Secret of Composition) on grammar and a commentary on the *dirwān* of al-Mutanabbī. Al-Mutanabbī said of Ibn Jinnī that he was more knowledgeable than him in his poetry (*Ibn Jinnī a 'raf bi shi'ri minni*).⁴⁴ Ibn Jinnī's principal teacher was Abū 'Alī al-Fārīsī. Ibn Jinnī was born before 330/941 and died on Friday, 27 Ṣafar 392/15 January 1002.

The three commentaries of *al-Lum'a* mentioned by 'Abd al-Latif are those of:

9. Al-Thamānīnī (Abū al-'Umar b. Thābit)

10. Al-Sharīf 'Umar b. Ḥanẓa and

11. Ibn Barḥān (d. 456/1064).

He also says that he read every commentary he could lay his hands on (*wa kullu mā aḥḍu*).⁴⁵

12. *Adab al-kātib*,⁴⁶ a manual of philology by Ibn Qutayba (213-276/828-889),⁴⁷ particularly remembered for its famous introduction "which may be regarded as a politico-cultural profession of faith."⁴⁸ 'Abd al-Latif learned it by heart in less than six months.

13. *Taqwīm al-lisān* by Ibn Qutayba; 'Abd al-Latif learned it by heart in fourteen days, a fascicle a day.

14. *Mushkil al-Qur'ān*, probably the *Kitāb ta'wīl mushkil al-Qur'ān* by Ibn Qutayba,⁴⁹ a treatise on variant readings of the Qur'ān (*qirā'āt*), eloquence (*balāgha*) and the inimitability of the Qur'ān (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*).

15. *Gharīb al-Qur'ān* by Ibn Qutayba, its full title being *Kitāb tafṣīr gharīb al-Qur'ān*.⁵⁰ It is a philological commentary on the difficult passages in the Qur'ān.

16a. *Al-Idāh*, a grammatical work by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Ābān (287-377/900-987),⁵¹ divided into 196 chapters of which 1-166 are on *naḥw* and 167-196 on *taṣrif*. 'Abd al-Latif read many commentaries on it too.

16b. *Al-Takmila* by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan. Though some biographers list *al-Takmila* and *al-Idāh* as separate works, al-Qifī suggests that *al-Takmila* (as the name suggests) was a completion of *al-Idāh*.⁵²

[On the *Muqtaḍab*, see (7) above.]

17. The *Kitāb* of Ibn Durustawayh ('Abd Allāh; 258/871-346/956-7). The mention simply of *al-Kitāb* suggests the *Kitāb al-kuttāb* (but a case might be made for the *Kitāb al-Hadāyā* because of its similarity to works by al-Fārisī and Ibn Jinnī⁵³). Ibn Durustawayh was a student of Tha'lab, Ibn Qutayba and al-Mubarrad.⁵⁴

'Abd al-Latif also read numerous *kutub al-mabsūṭāt*, non-complex books, generally grammars, and *mukhtaṣarāt* (abridgements).

i. 'Ibn 'Ubayda al-Karkhī (d. 605/1208) whose full name was Abū 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad.⁵⁵ 'Abd al-Latif studied several works under the guidance of this scholar. These included: the *Kitāb al-uṣūl* by Ibn al-Sarrāj and *al-'Arūḍ* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī.

18. *Kitāb al-uṣūl*. 'Abd al-Latif read a copy of it that was in the *waḡf* of Ibn Khaṣhshāb (d.567/1172) in the Ribāt al-Ma'mūniyyah. This is the *Kitāb al-uṣūl al-kabīr* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Sarī, Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/929). He was the youngest pupil of al-Mubarrad and thus received his special attention. He taught Abū al-Qāsim al-Zajjāj, al-Rummānī, Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrafī and al-Fārisī. He was an ardent fan of Sibawayh's as his own *Kitāb* reveals.

19. *Al-'Arūḍ*. This is *al-Kāfi fī al-'arūḍ wa al-qawāfi* by Abū Zakariyā Yahyā b. 'Alī al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī (421-502/1030-1108).⁵⁶ He was a student of al-Ma'arri and studied *ḥadīth* under Abū Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, al-Tadnūkhī and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī among others. His other works include a commentary on the *Lum'a* (on which see above) and commentaries on the poetry of al-Mutanabbī, of Abū Tammām, of the *Ḥamāsāt*, and of al-Ma'arri's *Saḡī al-zand*.⁵⁷

'Abd al-Latif's formal education ends here.

Later Education

Baghdad

At some point after the death of al-Anbārī in 577/1181, 'Abd al-Latif's education was primarily, though not exclusively, concerned with the foreign sciences.

j. The son of Amīn al-dawla Ibn Tilmīdh. 'Abd al-Latif says he learned a great deal from him.⁵⁸ Ibn Khallikān also highlights this teacher-student relationship.⁵⁹ This education was very likely medical.

k. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Nā'ili. 'Abd al-Latif praises highly this Almoravid⁶⁰ who left the Maghrib upon the accession of 'Abd al-Mu'min in 524/1130. He is not mentioned in the biographical works.⁶¹ He did, we are told, receive Ḥadrat al-Raḍī al-Qazwīnī⁶² and Ibn Sakīna.⁶³ 'Abd al-Latif found Ibn Nā'ili's teaching style strange (*ajīb*)⁶⁴ but credits him with excellence in the fields of *al-kīmīyā* (alchemy) and *al-tilismāt* (onomatopoeia and numerology) and related fields. He was in possession of the works of two authors in particular: Jābir b. Ḥayyān and Ibn Waṣṣiyyah. By frequent mention of these, Ibn Nā'ili inspired 'Abd al-Latif a love for all knowledge (*shawqan li-'ulūm kullihā*).⁶⁵ With Ibn Nā'ili, 'Abd al-Latif read:

20. The *Muqaddima* of Ibn Bāb Shādh. This is Abū al-Ḥasan Tāhir b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī, a jeweller by trade.⁶⁶ Besides the *Muqaddima*, which is a grammatical work, he is credited with a commentary on the *Jumal* of al-Zajjāj and one on the *Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrāj.

21. The *Muqaddima* of Ḥassāb (Ḥussāb?). I have been unable to identify this. When Ibn Nā'ili left to join Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (Caliph: 575/1180-622/1223), 'Abd al-Latif who would meet Ibn Nā'ili again in Damascus (see below) pursued his studies without respite ("putting my shoulder to the wheel, setting myself to the task with utmost seriousness and earnestness").⁶⁷ He read four works of al-Ghazzālī (450-505/1058-1111), the great scholar and Niẓāmiyya professor of law remembered especially for his putative reconciliation of *shari'a* and *taṣawwuf* and for his magisterial *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*;

22. *Al-Maqāṣid*. This is the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* (Tendencies of the Philosophers).

23. *Al-Mi'yar* i.e. *Mi'yar al-'ilm* (Weighing-scale of Science—on logic)

24. *Al-Mizān* or *Mizān al-'amal* (The Measure of Deeds).

25. *Milhakk al-naẓar* (The Whetstone of Perfection).

He also read all the books of Ibn Sinā (370-418/980-1027),⁶⁸ big and small volumes. He also got hold of a copy of:

26. The *Kitāb al-tahṣīl* of Bahmanyār. Abū al-Ḥasan Bahmanyār b. al-Marzubān (d.456/1067) was a disciple of Ibn Sinā. The *Kitāb al-tahṣīl* is a comprehensive interpretation of Ibn Sinā's philosophy, including treatments of logic, metaphysics, physics and cosmology. He is also known for his *Kitāb fi marātib al-wujūd*. Ibn Sinā's *Kitāb al-mubāhātha* is reported to be answers to queries raised by Bahmanyār.

'Abd al-Latif then studied books by Jābir b. Ḥayyān and Ibn Wahshiyah on alchemical transformation and experimentation. Abū Mūsā Jābir b. Ḥayyān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī (d. ca. 200/810) was a great philosopher, alchemist and chemist.⁶⁹ He is reported to have been the first man to suggest the transformation of lead and base metals into gold and to have written upto 500 works. These include *Asrār al-kīmiyā'* [The Secrets of Alchemy], *Uṣūl al-kīmiyā'* [The Sources of Alchemy] which had many translations from Latin.⁷⁰ He is credited also with several discoveries including *aqua regia*, sulphuric acid, nitric acid and nitrates of silver. Abū Bakr Aḥmad [or Muḥammad] b. 'Alī al-Nabaṭī Ibn Wahshiyah was an alchemist and astronomer who died ca. 190/800.⁷¹ His works include: *K. al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyah* (On Nabataean Agriculture), *K. al-shawq al-mustaham fi ma'rifat rumaz al-aklām* (A unique collection of 93 cryptic alphabets), *K. tankalāshā* (On Teucros), *K. al-sumtām*

(On Toxicology), *K. uṣūl al-kabir* (On Alchemy). 'Abd al-Latif devoted much time and effort, under the influence of Ibn Sinā, to the study of alchemy which he was later to reject: "The most forcible of those who misled me was Ibn Sinā through his book on this Craft with which he (supposedly) 'perfects' his philosophy."⁷²

Mosul

In 585/1189, 'Abd al-Latif, aged twenty-eight, left Baghdad because none of the intellectuals there were of any interest to him and went to Mosul where he was to be disappointed by the paucity of scholars. Fortunately for him, he came across such scholars as:

1. al-Kamāl b. Yūnus. This is Abū al-Faṭḥ Kamāl al-dīn Mūsā b. Yūnus al-Mawsilī (551-639/1156-1242), who studied under his father in the *madrasa* of Amir Zayn al-dīn in Mosul, under al-Sādis al-Silmāsi at the Niẓāmiyyah in 571/1175, and who taught at the Kamāliyyah, which was named after him.⁷³ He studied grammar under Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qurṭubī and Kamāl al-dīn al-Anbārī.⁷⁴ In the person of al-Kamāl, 'Abd al-Latif did find an able mathematician and *faqīh* who was also interested in alchemy.

After a year of vigorous independent study supported by a teaching position at the *madrasa* of Ibn Muhājir 'Abd al-Latif heard about Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, whom people praised very highly, particularly with respect to ancient sciences. He, therefore, obtained some of his works from al-Kamāl who was himself quite taken with al-Suhrawardī's writings.⁷⁵ His books studied by 'Abd al-Latif are:

27. *Al-Tawhīdāt* [Commentaries]

28. *Al-Lamīha* [The Glimmer] and

29. *Al-Ma'arīj*.⁷⁶

Al-Suhrawardī was executed by Ṣalāh al-dīn in 587/1191.

Damascus

'Abd al-Latif left for Damascus in 586/1190. There he found a number of scholars gathered through the generous patronage of Ṣalāh al-dīn; he named Jamāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Latif, the son of Abū al-Najīb; the Secretary, Ibn Talhah; members of the house of Ibn Juhayr; Ibn al-Aṭfār, the wazīr who was later executed; and the wazīr Ibn Hubayrah.⁷⁷ 'Abd al-Latif spoke also of meetings:

m. Al-Kindī al-Baghādāī al-Nahwī. This is Tāj al-dīn Abū al-Yaman Zayd b. al-Ḥasan (520-613/1126-1217). He studied under Ibn al-Khashshāb, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jawālīqī and Abū al-Sa'āda al-Shajarī. He first lived in Aleppo where he traded in old clothes; he befriended the Amīr 'Izz al-dīn Yūsuf b. Ayūb (nephew to Ṣalāh al-dīn) and accompanied him to Egypt where he used great libraries. He studied the *Kāmil*, *Kitāb al-manhaj* and works by Abū 'Alī al-Fārīsī under the guidance of Ibn Maṣṣūr as well as the *Kitāb* of Sibawayh, the *Muqtaḍab*, the *Iqlāh* and the *Takmila*. 'Abd al-Latīf found him and his methods strange and thus left him. During this time, 'Abd al-Latīf worked on several of his own books (see below).

While in Damascus, 'Abd al-Latīf came across 'Abd Allāh Ibn Nā'īlī, presumably the same man he had met in Baghdad, who was living in the *Ma'dhana al-Gharbiyyah*. He was the subject of some controversy and had two factions around him, one for him and one against him; the former included al-Khaṭīb al-Dawla'ī.⁷⁸ 'Abd al-Latīf says that he (himself) spoke to Ibn Nā'īlī and reproached him for delving into alchemy and philosophy whereas he could have been without equal in his day in both the Islamic (*al-'ulūm al-shar'īyyah*) and intellectual (*'aqliyyah*) sciences.⁷⁹ Because of this misdirected calling, he was slandered by many.⁸⁰ Apparently Ibn Nā'īlī set out for Acre in order to complain to Ṣalāh al-dīn about al-Dawla'ī; he returned ill, was hospitalised and died there. Al-Mu'tamid, the governor of Damascus, who was a keen alchemist, took possession of all of Ibn Nā'īlī's books.

Jerusalem

'Abd al-Latīf next set out for Jerusalem and Acre in order to join up with Ṣalāh al-dīn's camp and meet him, probably some time before the surrender of Acre to the armies of Richard I and Philip II, on 17 Jumādā I 587/June 12, 1191. He first met Bahā' al-dīn Ibn Shaddād who had heard of 'Abd al-Latīf's fame in Mosul. Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Rafī' al-Asadī al-Mawṣilī Bahā' al-dīn Ibn Shaddād (539/1145-632/1234) was born in Mosul, studied there and then went to Baghdad where he subsequently became an assistant teacher at the Nizāmiyyah. He then travelled to Aleppo and Damascus and joined Ṣalāh al-dīn for whom he became a military judge (*qaḍī al-'askarī*) from 584/1188 until 589/1193.⁸¹ The fame of Ibn Shaddād was considerable and he was visited by the likes of Ibn Khallikān, Abū Shāma and Ibn Wāsil.⁸² Ibn Shaddād is the author of the *Kitāb Sirat Ṣalāh al-dīn* known also as *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyyah wa al-maḥāsīn al-yūsufiyyah*.⁸³ It was on Ibn Shaddād's suggestion that 'Abd al-Latīf went to visit 'Imād al-dīn al-Kātib whose tent was adjacent to Ibn Shaddād's.

'Imād al-dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (519-597/1125-1201),⁸⁴ son of another famous *kātib*, was born in Kashān where he spent his early youth. In Baghdad he was appointed *kātib* to Nūr al-dīn and *mudarris* in a *madrasa* built in his honour.

diplomatic missions. In 569/1173, on Nūr al-dīn's death, he abandoned office and went to Mosul where he became ill. When he recovered he went to Syria and Hims, in 575/1175, joined Ṣalāh al-dīn, from whom he gained favour and with whom he was to have great influence.⁸⁵ He is the author of the celebrated *Kharīdat al-qasr wa jarīdat ahl al-'qasr*.

'Abd al-Latīf found al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī busily writing in the decorative *thuluth* script without so much as a rough draft and was questioned by him on matters of *kalām*.⁸⁶ 'Imād al-dīn suggested a visit to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

This is Muḥyī al-dīn Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-'Asqalānī al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (527-596/1135-1200)⁸⁷ was born in 'Asqalān. He was trained at *al-Diwān al-ḥishā'* in Cairo where he served as *kātib* to many Cairene *wazīr* families. Taking over from Ibn Khallāl as *kātib* in 563/1169, he became *kātib* to Ṣalāh al-dīn on the latter's accession to the throne in 564/1171. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil questioned 'Abd al-Latīf on a Qur'anic verse without interrupting the flow of his work. 'Abd al-Latīf handled himself well and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil told him to go to Damascus, for which he would receive remuneration. 'Abd al-Latīf requested to be sent to Cairo, insisted (*fa qultu uridu miṣr fa-qāla... fa-qultu lā budda li min miṣr*⁸⁸), and finally obtained permission to do so and got a letter of introduction. This is testimony not only to al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's influence but also to 'Abd al-Latīf's reputation.

Cairo

When he first arrived in Cairo he was met by the *wakīl* (legal agent), Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk.⁸⁹ Ibn Sanā' gave 'Abd al-Latīf money and provisions and introduced him to the various *arbab* of the region from whom he received gifts and blessings.⁹⁰ His residence was the *Masjid al-Ḥajīb Lu'lu'*.⁹¹

'Abd al-Latīf informs us that his intention of going to Cairo was to seek three men, Yāsīn al-Simiyā'ī, al-Ra'īs Mūsā b. Maymūn and Abū al-Qāsim al-Sharī'ī but we do know that he received instructions from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil every ten days or so; the exact nature of this *waṣīyyah* eludes us.⁹²

n. Yāsīn al-Simiyā'ī is possibly Abū al-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Yāsīn al-Sā'ī of the *Shadhārāt*.⁹³ But as 'Abd al-Latīf mentions him in relation to alchemy, which he taught al-Shaqanī and in which he apparently surpassed Mūsā b. 'Umrān (perhaps he is Abū al-Qasim Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-'Iraḡī al-Simāwī) to whom is attributed a book concerning the so-called cultivation of gold. 'Abd al-Latīf did not like him, calling him a con artist (*mush'abidh*), a liar (*kadhhab*) and a sweet-talker (*muhāḍir*).⁹⁴

o. Mūsā b. Maymūn was of course the famous Jewish theologian, philosopher and physician Abū 'Imrān Ibn Maymūn b. 'Ubayd Allāh (Maymūn) al-Qurtūbī, born in Cordoba in 527/1135 and died in Fusiāt in 606/1208.⁹⁵ He and his family were forced to flee Spain in 533/1149 because of persecution and stayed

was a jeweler and then a physician, first as a protégé of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍī, then of al-Malik al-Afḍal. He wrote twelve medical works in addition to brief monographs on such things as asthma, haemorrhoids and instructions on hygiene, sexual intercourse, pharmacology and the like. He wrote in both Arabic and Hebrew. 'Abd al-Lāfi informs us that one of his medical works was based on the sixteen books of Galen. This is probably the *K. al-Nabd al-kabīr*, in sixteen parts and four volumes. Mūsā also wrote *Ṣinā'at al-manāḥiq* (On logic) when he was sixteen, which draws heavily from Ibn Sīnā, al-Farābī and al-Ghazzālī. In 587/1190 he wrote *Dalālat al-hā'irūn* (Guide of the Perplexed for fellow Jews; Hebrew: *More Nevochim*) which 'Abd al-Lāfi read. His verdict is harsh: "I looked through it and found it an evil book that corrupted the articles of Law and Faith with elements he thought would reform them."⁹⁶

p. Abū al-Qasim al-Sharī'i is Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī al-Buṣayrī (506-598/1112-1201).⁹⁷ He studied *ḥadīth* under Abū Ṣādiq al-Madīnī and Muḥammad b. Barakat al-Sa'īdī. He is the author of a work entitled *Mukhtaṣar fi 'ilmay al-nāsikh wa al-mansūkh* [Abridged work on the sciences of the abrogating and the abrogated].⁹⁸ 'Abd al-Lāfi was very impressed with this man whom he was apparently seeking in Cairo (*yyāka aḥūb*). From al-Sharī'i, whom he met in a large gathering in a mosque, he learned of the works of the classical masters, in particular those of al-Farābī⁹⁹ and al-Iskandar Thāmistyūs. 'Abd al-Lāfi explains that he had thought that Ibn Sīnā was in possession of all wisdom (*kuntu aẓunnu anna al-ḥikma kullahā hazāhā Ibn Sīnā*), but that al-Sharī'i soon won him over.¹⁰⁰ Al-Farābī (250-339/874-951) was such a famed commentator on Aristotle that he earned the title al-Mu'allim al-thānī (the Second Master) Aristotle being the first.¹⁰¹ Though 'Abd al-Lāfi does not specify the works, he almost certainly read:

30. *Kitāb al-jam' bayna ra'yay al-ḥakīmayn Aflātūn al-ilāhī wa Aristūṭālīs*.

Al-Iskandar Thāmistyūs (al-Afrūdisi) is Alexander Aphrodisaeus Themistius, regarded in medieval Europe and in the Islamic world as the most authoritative medieval commentators on Aristotle of his age (ca. 420 BH/200 CE). There is speculation that Alexander met Galen ca. 401 BH/180 CE and was subsequently appointed teacher of peripatetic philosophy in Athens.¹⁰² His works were translated by Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 260/873), Ishaq b. Hunayn (d. 289/910-11), and Abū Bīshr Mattā (d. 328/940). His commentaries on Aristotle are only available in fragments or quoted in other works, most extensively in Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198). Thirty-five small treatises are available in Arabic manuscripts, fifteen deriving from the *quotations* of the Greek text, three from *De anima libri mantissa*. 'Abd al-Lāfi very likely read two medical tracts attributed him:

31. *Fī al-mālanḫalyā* [On melancholia] and

pylorus].

Jerusalem

Upon Ṣalāḥ al-dīn's arrangement of a truce with the Franks (Sha'bān 588/September 1192), 'Abd al-Lāfi returned to Jerusalem and took the opportunity to visit him. He took with him as many of the books of the ancients as he could manage and sought out the ruler. He found him generous and perspicacious and remained in his company for a time. Indeed, his praise of Ṣalāḥ al-dīn is without reservation. Ṣalāḥ al-dīn provided 'Abd al-Lāfi with a stipend of 30 dīnārs a month, this was supplemented by his sons to make a total of 100 dīnārs. As Makdisi points out, "This amount, at the time, was ten times the normal monthly stipend of a college professor of law... Ten dīnārs is half the amount paid to a physician of the fourth/tenth century."¹⁰³

Damascus

'Abd al-Lāfi then returned to Damascus where he took up studies and teaching in the Umayyad Mosque. He devoted himself to the study of the ancients and his desire to learn them increased as he read more. His affection for Ibn Sīnā seriously declined and he soon realised the fallacy of alchemy (*buḥlān al-kīmīyā*).¹⁰⁴ He goes on to say that he was saved from two great and ruinous errors: "My thanks to God were thus redoubled, for most intellectuals have followed the road to perdition simply through alchemy and the books of Ibn Sīnā."¹⁰⁵

At Ṣalāḥ al-dīn's death, which 'Abd al-Lāfi blamed on the incompetent blood-letting by his physician, Damascus soon came under the rule of al-Malik al-Afḍal, Ṣalāḥ al-dīn's oldest son.

Cairo

'Abd al-Lāfi remained with him until al-Malik al-'Aziz went to Cairo to oppose his brother al-Afḍal. 'Abd al-Lāfi joined him; he was paid from the treasury.¹⁰⁶ In Cairo, he spent time again with Abū al-Qāsim al-Sharī'i. During this time 'Abd al-Lāfi was teaching at the Azhar Mosque and he describes his daily routine. From dawn till four o'clock he taught the Islamic sciences. Mid-day, students who wished to study medicine and other subjects, by which he probably meant the foreign sciences, came to his house. He would return to the Mosque at the end of the day to teach other students. At night he would do his own studying.¹⁰⁷ He followed this pattern till al-Malik al-'Aziz's death in 595/1198. He then took up residence in town, supported by stipends from Ṣalāḥ al-dīn's remaining sons. It was at this time that Egypt suffered a plague. 'Abd al-Lāfi wrote about this plague and the inflation that followed it in his *K. al-Fadāḥ*, which survives (see I. Hameiri, *Outcast Lebanon*).

Al-Malik al-'Adil Sayf al-din (Latin: Saphadin) Abū Bakr b. Ayūb (540-615/1145-1218) then took over the sultanate (596/1199-1200) and dispersed Ṣalāh al-dīn's sons (i.e. his nephews).¹⁰⁸ He was recognised by the Caliph in 604/1207.

Jerusalem

'Abd al-Latif went to Jerusalem again, where he stayed a while teaching a variety of subjects (*kathir min al-'ulūm*) in the Aqṣā Mosque, and he wrote a lot there.¹⁰⁹

Damascus

In 604/1207 he left for Damascus. He stayed in the 'Azīziyyah Mosque, where he taught law and studied independently. Many students came to him, not only to study grammar, in which he had previously distinguished himself, but also to study medicine, for which he was then renowned.

Aleppo and Erzinjān

'Abd al-Latif next went to Halab (Aleppo) and Turkey where he stayed many years in the service of al-Malik 'Alā' al-dīn Dā'ūd b. Bahrām (Bahrām Shāh, also Fakhr al-dīn, 555-624/1160-1225), the governor of Erzinjān, to whom he dedicated a number of works. Bahrām Shāh was his patron until his defeat at the hands of Kay-Qubād ('Alā' al-dīn Kay-Qubād, regn. 616/1219-634/1237) in 625/1228.¹¹⁰ 'Abd al-Latif travelled widely between 17 Dhū al-Qa'da 625/18 October 1228 and 9 Shawwāl 626/31 August 1229.¹¹¹

Aleppo was under the governorship of Shihāb al-dīn Atābekī when he arrived there and was treated very well by him. He wrote many works there, taught many students medicine and the ancient sciences; he also taught *ḥadīth* and Arabic at the Jāmi' Mosque. He was, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a assures us, always studying, writing and composing. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a had hoped to meet 'Abd al-Latif but the meeting never took place though correspondence continued.¹¹² 'Abd al-Latif speaks of coming to Damascus (where Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a and his family were resident) but first wanted to present the Caliph al-Mustaṣfir some of his works.

Baghdad

He died immediately after he arrived in Baghdad, Sunday 12 Muḥarram 629/9 November 1231, and was buried next to his father in the Wardiyyah cemetery.

Literary Output

Only five of 'Abd al-Latif's works are mentioned by him in his autograph notes as preserved in the notice devoted to him in the *Uyūn*. These are:

- (1) *K. rubba* (On the Particle "rubba")
- (2) *K. al-alif wa al-lām* (On the Article "al")
- (3) *K. al-wāḍiḥa fi i'rāb al-Fāṭiḥa* (The Lucid Treatise on the Grammar of the Opening Chapter of the Qur'ān [in 20 chapters])
- (4) *Gharīb al-ḥadīth al-kabīr* (Compendium of Obscure Terms Used in the Traditions)
- (5) *K. al-Ifāda wa al-i'tibār fi al-'umūr al-mushāhada wa al-ḥawādith al-mu'ayana bi-ard Miṣr* (Book of Utility and Reflection with reference to the Observed Conditions and the Prescribed Events in Egypt).

This work, which survives,¹¹³ is divided as follows:

Book I

1. General Observations about Egypt
2. The Flora of Egypt
3. The Fauna Peculiar to Egypt¹¹⁴
4. Description of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt Seen by the Author
5. Noteworthy Peculiarities Concerning the Buildings and the Boats Observed in Egypt by the Author of this Work
6. Foods Peculiar to Egypt

Book II

1. On the Nile: the Manner in which the Flooding of the River Takes Place and the Normalcy of this Phenomenon
2. Events of 597
3. Events of 598

A complete listing of 'Abd al-Latif's works appears at the end of the Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a notice. A transcription of that listing is beyond the scope of this article.

Conclusion

The education of a polymath of the Islamic world in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries was a three-fold process. Besides the usual training in the Islamic sciences received at the hands of teachers qualified or certified (through *ijāza*) to do so, the seeker of knowledge had to devote much time to independent study and had to seek masters outside the institutions for training in the foreign sciences. 'Abd al-Latif is an example of this. He is the product of a system of education unparalleled in his day.

1. Makdisi (1981: 77). Learning and the transmission of learning were dominated by men but there are notable exceptions; on Shahīda bint al-ʿIbārī, for instance, see below.
2. Makdisi (1981: 84) has identified the Islamic sciences as follows: *ʿilm al-tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis), *ʿilm al-qirāʾāt* (the science of variant readings of the Qur'ān), *ʿilm (ʿulūm) al-Ḥadīth* (the science[s] of Tradition), *ʿilm usul al-fiqh* (the science of legal theory and methodology), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *uṣūl al-dīn* (the principles and sources of religion). Also forming part of the curriculum were the ancillary sciences. Al-Anbārī (1962: 55) names the traditional eight: *nahw* (grammar), *taʿrīf* (morphology), *luḡah* (lexicology), *ʿarūd* (metrics), *qawāfī* (rhyme), *ṣināʿat al-shiʿr* (prosody), *akḥbār al-ʿarab* (Arab tribal history), *ansāb* (Arab tribal genealogy), *ʿilm al-jadal fi al-nahw* (the science of dialectic for grammar), and adds two of his own *ʿilm uṣūl al-nahw* (the science of grammatical theory and methodology). On the divisions of knowledge in general, see Makdisi (1981: 75-80) and Makdisi (1990: 54-59).
3. There is a growing literature on travel in search of knowledge (*al-riḥla fi talab al-ʿilm*); see especially Lenker (1982) and Netton (1993); I have touched briefly on the modern implications of this in Toorawa (1995). On libraries, see the bibliography listed in Heffening and Pearson (1987: 199-200); to that add Sibai (1987) and Makdisi (1990: 54-60).
4. Makdisi (1981: 77).
5. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 694).
6. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 683-96). Earlier editions include 'Abd al-Latif 1808, and Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿah 1882-84. For an extensive paraphrase of the notice in English, see Makdisi (1981: 84-88); see also Stern 1962, which includes a short résumé. For an abridged translation into French, see Leclerc (1876: II, 182-87). For a translation of the autobiographical parts, see Toorawa (forthcoming a). For fragments of his autograph notes from works other than Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿah's *Uyūn*, see Cahen (1970).
7. Makdisi (1981: 84). For 'Abd al-Latif's advice to students, see Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 691-2), translated in Makdisi (1981: 88-91).
8. Following al-ʿAṭas (1978), I eschew here the adjective secular.
9. Al-Kuṭubī (1973: 385). In addition to Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 683-96), the main sources for information on 'Abd al-Latif are: al-Kuṭubī (1973: 9-11); al-Qifṭī (1950-55: II, 193); Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: V, 132); al-Subḥī (1905-06: V, 132); al-Isnāwī (1980: I, 273); al-Suyūṭī (1965: 311); Ibn Khallikān (1972: VI, 76-77); Brockelmann (1943-49: I, 632; 1937-42: I, 880). Note: *Rabīʿ al-awwal* and *Rabīʿ al-thānī* are designated Rabīʿ I and II respectively; *Jumādā al-ʾūlā* and *Jumādā al-ākḥira* are designated Jumādā I and II respectively.
10. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 683-84).
11. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: IV, 218).
12. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: IV, 218).
13. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 690).
14. Wüstenfeld (1840: 132).
15. Ibn Taghribirdī (1933: V, 382). All ages are in the lunar calendar.
16. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: IV, 213).
17. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: IV, 217).
18. *Ibid.*
19. Al-Subḥī (1905-06: VIII, 169).
20. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: V, 218).
21. *Ibid.*
22. Al-Nuʿaymī (1948-51: I, 277, 123, 125).
23. Silvestre de Sacy (1810) mistakenly identifies him as Ahmad b. Faḍlān b. ʿAbbās b. al-Raṣhid b. Hammād.
24. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: IV, 321).
25. Al-Subḥī (1905-06: VII, 322).
26. Al-Zajjājī, a disciple of al-Mubarrad, died in 310/922; Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: IV, 220).
27. Al-Suyūṭī (1965: 311) Shahda (480-574/1087-1178) had *ṣamāʾ*s from her own father Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, from al-Naʿālī, a certain Thābit b. Bundar who seems to be the father of the Abū al-Qasim of item d, and others.
28. Ibn Khallikān (1972: I, 102).
29. For an excellent analysis of these, see Kilito (1983).
30. For a recent and perceptive analysis of his art, see Hamori (1992).
31. Al-Suyūṭī (1965: #1507); all the biographical information that follows derives from this entry.
32. Ibn Khallikān (1972: III, 463, #504).
33. Ibn Khallikān (1972: III, 463, #504).
34. See Ibn Khallikān (1972: IV, 199, #584).
35. Published in Cairo 1317/1900.

36. Ibn Khallikān (1972: III, 463).
37. Ibn Khallikān (1972: IV, 152-53, #555).
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 684).
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. Ibn Khallikān (1972: I, 313, #423).
45. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 684).
46. Ed. Grunot (Leiden, 1900).
47. On him, see the excellent article in *The Cambridge History of EI*, III, 844 (art. Ibn Kutayba).
48. *EI*, III, 844.
49. Ed. Ahmad Saqr (Cairo, 1373/1954).
50. Ed. Ahmad Saqr (Cairo, 1378/1958).
51. Al-Qifṭī (1950-55: I, 274).
52. *Ibid.*
53. *New EI*: III, 758 (art. Ibn Durustawayh).
54. al-Suyūṭī (1965: 279).
55. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: V, 14). (Note: Silvestre de Sacy's identification of this teacher is mistaken.)
56. Al-Suyūṭī (1965: 338, #2129).
57. Ibn Khallikān (1972: VI, 192, #800).
58. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 685). Amin al-dawla Ibn Tilmādh is Abū al-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh b. Sa'd Hibat Allāh (d. 560/1165).
59. Ibn Khallikān (1972: VI, 77, #304). Ibn Khallikān studied under 'Abd al-Latif and was between 19 and 20 years old when the latter died.
60. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 685); *min awlād al-nuṭalathima*.
61. Makdisi (1981: 86) does not identify him in his 'Curriculum Vitae of 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdādī' and Silvestre de Sacy (1810) opts for alternate readings: al-Bābīlī or al-Taṭāī.
62. Al-Qazwīnī is probably Raḍī al-dīn Abū al-Khayr Ahmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Falqāmī (512-590/1118-1194) who taught in the Niẓāmiyyah and excelled in dialectic, disputation, *uṣūl*, exegesis and sermon (Ibn al-ʿImād [1931: IV, 300-01]).
63. Ibn Sakīnat is Diyāʾ al-dīn, Abū Ahmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Amin al-Baghdādī (517-607/1123-1210) who studied 'arabiyyah under Ibn Khushshāb and disputation and dialectic under Abū Mansūr al-Razzāz (Ibn al-ʿImād [1931: V, 25]).
64. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 685).
65. *Ibid.*
66. Ibn Taghribirdī (1933ff: V, 105); Ibn Khallikān (1972: II, 515).
67. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 685).
68. Ibn Khallikān (1972: IV, 216-19). On Abū 'Alī al-Husayn b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), see *New EI*: III, 941, and Brockelmann (1943-49: I, 452-8; 1937-42: I, 812-29).
69. *New EI*: II, 357-59 (art. Djaḥīr b. Ḥayyān).
70. Of Jābir's 22 Arabic treatises, 5 are published: *K. al-mulk* (On Kingdom), *K. al-mawāzin al-ṣāghir* (Little Book of Balances), *K. al-raḥmat* (On Mercy), *K. al-tajmī* (On Concentration), *Zibāq al-Sharḡī* (Eastern Morning).
71. *New EI*: III, 963 (Ibn Waḥshīyyah) questions his existence but this is not a widely held view.
72. Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 606).
73. Brockelmann (1937-42: I, 859).
74. Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: V, 206).
75. *Ibid.* Ibn al-ʿImād (1931: V, 153); Ibn Khallikān (1972: III, 446). This is not Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Subrawardī (539-632/1145-1234).
76. Al-Isnāwī (1980: II, 63, #651).
77. Jamāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Latif is identified by Nizar Riḍā (Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿah 1965: 686, note 3) as Ibn Labāḍ (coincidentally, the sobriquet of our 'Abd al-Latif), an expert in speculative theology, philosophy, medicine, and astrology. The identity of Ibn al-'Aḥḍar is unclear. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Thābit Ibn Talḥa al-Kātib al-Baghdādī (d. 599/1202-3) was educated in Nishapur but settled in Damascus where he was a kاتب to the *Hajib* of the Bāb al-Tawbī' (Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 687, note 4)). The illustrious Ibn Juhayr family produced four 'Abbāsīd wazīrs (Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (1965: 687, note 5)). 'Izz ad-dīn Ibn Hubayrah briefly occupied the post vacated by his more famous father, 'Awn ad-dīn Ibn Hubayrah (d. 560/1165); see *New EI*: III, 802-03 and *Ibn Khallikān* (1972: IV, 114-28) and Ibn Khallikān (1972: VI, 230-44).
78. Diyāʾ al-dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Zayd al-Dawla'i (507-598/1113-1202) studied *fiqh* under al-Kārkhi and taught in the Ghazālīyyah (Ibn al-ʿImād [1931: IV, 336]).

79. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 687).
80. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 686).
81. Ibn al-'Imad (1931: VI, 158).
82. *Ibid.*
83. First published by A. Schultens in 1732-55; French tr. and ed. De Slane (Paris, 1884) and reprinted in Cairo, 1317/1900; English transl. C. R. Conder (London, 1897); new edition, ed. J. al-Shayyā (Cairo, 1383/1964).
84. *New Et.*: III, 157; Ibn Khalikān (1972: VII: 84-100, #842).
85. Ibn Khalikān (1972: V, 147-53, #705).
86. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 687).
87. *New Et.*: III, 863 (art. al-Kadh al-Faḍl); Ibn Khalikān (1972: III, 158, #374).
88. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 687).
89. Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Abi al-Faḍl Is'far (550-608/1155-1211) is known primarily for his *Dār al-ḥiṣr*; cf. *ʿamal al-muwawṣiṣhiyyah* (Ibn al-'Imad [1931: V, 35]).
90. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 687).
91. Al-Ḥājjib Lu'lu' is Amin Marr Riḍwān al-Saljuqi al-'Adili (d.598/1202) (Ibn al-'Imad [1931: IV, 336]).
92. *Ibid.*
93. Ibn al-'Imad (1931: IV, 323).
94. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 687).
95. *New Et.*: III, 900ff.
96. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 687). *The Guide of the Perplexed* is translated by S. Pines (Chicago, 1963).
97. Ibn al-'Imad (1931: IV, 338).
98. Ibn Khalikān (1972: VI, 68-69).
99. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Tarkhān al-Farābi studied in Baghdad under the physicians Yuhanna b. Haylān, a Christian and Abū Bisr Malāḥ, a Nestorian. He was attached to the court of Sayf al-dawla where he lived as a ṣūfi until his death in Damascus while accompanying his patron on a campaign. On him, see Brockelmann (1943-49: I, 210-13) and *New Et.*: II, 778 and the references cited there.
100. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 688).
101. He wrote commentaries on the *Categories*, *Hermeneutics*, the First and Second books of *Analytics*, *Sophistics*, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. He also wrote on *Nichomachean Ethics*, *Metereology*, *Heavens* and *Universe* and on Alexander Themistius' *On the Soul*. His original works are numberless and include works on Intelligence, Time, Substance, Unity, Empty Space and so on.
102. *New Et.*: IV, 129-30 (art. al-Iskandar al-Afrūdisi).
103. Makdīsi (1981: 87).
104. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 688).
105. Makdīsi (1981: 87); see Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 688).
106. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 689).
107. *Ibid.*
108. *New Et.*: I, 197 (see also Abū Shāma's *K. al-Rawḍatayn*).
109. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 689).
110. *New Et.*: II, 711b (art. Erzindjān).
111. See Toorawa (forthcoming b).
112. Although Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (1965: 683) writes that they did not meet, early in the notice, he does write "I saw him when he was living in Damascus the last time he was there: a thin, elderly man, of medium height, sweet-voiced and expressive."
113. See Videan (1964) and Silvestre de Sacy (1810).
114. For an example of the interest that his keenly observed remarks continue to generate, see for instance Provençal (1995).

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