An Evaluation of the Textual Edition of
KITA<b AL-MAWT WA KITA<b AL-QUBU<r1
Sunarwoto*

Abstraction. This article deals with the textual edition of the Kitab al-Mawt wa Kitab al-Qubur by Ibn Abi al-Dunya, one of the great Arab writers of the third century of Hijra. It is not easy to deal with this work, since it is written not on the basis of its manuscript copies which are not available. It is Leah Kinberg of University of Hayfa, Jerusalem, who has made such a great attempt at reconstructing the Kitab. Given the absence of original manuscript copies, it would be questionable whether the result is reliable. The term “reconstruction” itself is open to a lot of questions. The number of material covered is a case in point. Kinberg’s laborious endeavour to present this edition should be appreciated, since she offers not only a made-product but also an interesting process through which the edition comes to being as it is.

This article seeks to appreciate and evaluate to what extent Kinberg’s edition offers important principles in reconstructing and editing scattered source material. The author concludes that the absence of manuscript copies has made Kinberg difficult to reach an original version, or to build even a stemma. Any doubt and suspicion are justifiable and understandable. However, by exploring the “secondary” manuscripts, she has succeeded in building her own method, regardless of its inadequacy, and her endeavour has met a scholarly standard. This is not an “ideal text” edition as the Anglo-American school has put it, but, unfortunately, it meets German school’s orientation in the sense that this edition does not pretend to be original.

Introduction

This article is devoted to the evaluation of the textual edition of the Kitab al-Mawt wa Kitab al-Qubur of Ibn Abi al-Dunya, one of the great Arab writers of

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1 Originally, this paper was written to fulfill one of the requirements of the course on the Text and Transmission under the Instruction of Dr. Anne H. van Oostrum at Faculty of Arts, Universiteit Leiden, The Netherlands, May 2007. The author would like to express his gratitude to her for having contributed to the completion of this paper.

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the third century of Hijra. It is not easy to deal with this work, since it is written not on the basis of its manuscript copies which are not available. It is Leah Kinberg of University of Hayfa, Jerusalem, who has made such a great attempt at reconstructing the Kita>b.

Given the absence of original manuscript copies, it would be questionable whether or not the result is reliable. The term “reconstruction” itself is open to a lot of questions. The number of material covered is a case in point. Reviewing the edition, Reinhard Weipert questions to what extent the original size and its arrangement could be determined. This also holds true for the case of variant readings. Weipert casts doubt on this by saying, “… Kinberg was ill-advised to call her product construction.” Even so, Kinberg’s laborious endeavour to present this edition should be appreciated. More than that, as will be seen below, she offers not only a made-product but also an interesting process through which the edition comes to being as it is.

This article is an attempt to appreciate and evaluate to what extent Kinberg’s edition offers important principles in reconstructing and editing scattered source material. It will try to answer two leading questions as follows: (i) to what extend Kinberg has applied, and stuck to, her principal method; and (ii) does the edition fulfil a scholarly standard?

This article will comprise three parts. Part one deals with the short biography and works of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>. Part two will discuss on source material on which Leah Kinberg bases her edition, and collation and editorial methods. The last part is a conclusion.

1. Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>: Man and His Works

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3 This very short biography is based on several references of which are: Carl Brockleman, “Ibn Abi ‘l-Dunya>,” in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1nd ed., vol. iii (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1913-1936), p. 355; idem., Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur, supplementband 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill,1937), pp. 247-
Little has been known about our author. Abu Bakr ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd b. Sufyan al-Qurashi, well-known as Ibn Abi al-Dunya, was born in 208/823, in Baghda and died there in 14th Jumada II, 281/21st August 894. Ibn Abi Dunya was tutor of several ‘Abbasid princes, especially Caliphs al-Mu’tadidi (892-902) and al-Muqtadi (1136-1160). He was a well-known muhaddith (transmitter of the Prophet tradition) and mu’addib (man of literature). He nevertheless was not as famous as, for instance, al-Jahiz, Ibn Qutayba, and al-Mubarrad, or the great collectors of hadith of his time. According to James A. Bellamy, this is due to the fact that Ibn Abi al-Dunya was not a philologist or a kặtib, and he was not so influenced by this class of writer. As a muhaddith, he was also not of those whose writings could be used by the fuqaha.

As a consequence, he was, and is, relatively neglected by modern scholars. It was Alfred Weiner who had greatly contributed for the first time to our knowledge of Ibn ‘Abi al-Dunya by illustrating his place in the development of the prose genre known as faraj ba’d al-shidda (deliverance after great trouble).

Ibn Abi Dunya was highly respected for his exemplary life, and led a pious and ascetic life (zuhd). This is strikingly reflected in the various themes of his writings in which he discussed ethical values, such as patience (sabr), humility (tawdü’), penitence (tawba), and so forth. He was one of the most prolific authors of the 3rd/8th century. Even though many titles of Ibn Abi Dunya’s works appeared in indexes, various books, and even modern catalogues, it is difficult to determine the exact number of his works. He is said to have written over 100 works, some 20 of which have survived.
knew more than 130 of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>’s works. Alfred Weiner enumerated 102 titles. According to Bellamy, most of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>’s works are made up of traditions of the Prophet, pre-Muhammad occasional stories (isra>'iliyya>t) and h>adi>th al-qudsi>, anecdotes, and poetry.

As reflected in a number of his works, Ibn Abi> Dunya> paid great attention to the themes of death (mawt) and hereafter life. Fifteen of his works were devoted to the phases of life that a human being would pass through, from his birth till his hereafter life. Kita>b al-Mawt wa Kita>b al-Qubu>r reflects these particular themes.

2. The Text Edition of Kita>b al-Mawt wa Kita>b al-Qubu>r

The book we are discussing comprises two separated works, which are: Kita>b al-Mawt and Kita>b al-Qubu>r. The present edition is result of Leah Kinberg’s arduous effort to collect, organise, edit, and present scattered source materials of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>. Kinberg gives two versions of her introduction, in English “Preface” and Arabic “Muqaddima”, the latter is more comprehensive than the former. It is in this latter introduction that the method she used in this particular book is explained extensively. Regrettably, Kinberg does not mention the biography of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya> so that we could not get the sufficient portrait of the author.

It is interesting to note that the edition is not based on any manuscript copies. Conversely, it is a reconstruction of one hundred and forty three anecdotes of Kita>b

_Fadha>r 'il 'Ashr Dhi 'l-Hijja; Kita>b al-'Aql wa Fadjlih; Kisa>r al-'Amal; Kitab al-Yaqi>n; Kita>b al-Shukr; Kita>b Qira 'l-Dayf; Dhamm al-Dunya>; Dhamm al-Mala>hi; Kita>b al-Ju'; Dhamm al-Mushkhr; Kita>b al-Rigqa>r wa 'l-Buka'; Kita>b al-Sjamt; Qada’ al-Hjawa>r 'ij; and Kita>b al-Hawa>tjif._

9 See Leah’s “Preface” in Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>, Kita>b al-Mawt wa Kita>b al-Qubu>r, reconstructed with an introduction by Leah Kinberg (Israel: SRUGY, 1983), pp.i-v, while on his “Muqaddima,” see pp. 7-2.
al-Mawt and one hundred and twenty one anecdotes of Kita>b al-Qubu>r. According to Kinberg, manuscript copies of it are not extant.\(^\text{10}\) This is, of course, problematic, given that the task of a philologist is, as Jan Just Witkam said, to reconstruct the original wording and to approach the author’s copy. The absence of original manuscript copies makes it difficult, if not impossible, to establish a stemma by which the philologist tries to find his author or the archetype, or an “ideal text” as the Anglo American school of textual criticism has put it.\(^\text{11}\) In addition to this, criteria by which a philologist conducts his should be laid down in order to reach originality. Reinhard Weipert\(^\text{12}\) of the University of Munich, German, has remind us that there are “no criteria to determine the original size of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>’s works and the arrangement of their contents.”\(^\text{13}\) Weipert adds that “it is difficult to determine the exact wording of the original text because of the many variant readings in the sources.”\(^\text{14}\) In a nutshell, the appearance of this Kita>b al-Mawt wa Kita>b al-Qubu>r as it is now is widely open to debate and refutation.

As its title suggests, Kita>b al-Mawt wa Kita>b al-Qubu>r points to two phases in a one theme: one is about death, the other about grave (or—to put it exactly—hereafter life). Leah Kinberg divided each part of the books into four major themes.\(^\text{15}\)

Kita>b al-Mawt focuses chiefly on: the subject of death and a human being’s view of it; relationship between human action in the present world and disdain of death that follows it; interaction between the living and the death; and the role of the Angel of the death. Various modes of dying are described. There are two salient

\(^{10}\) “Preface,” p. i.
\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 180.
\(^{14}\) Ibid.
\(^{15}\) “Muqaddima,” pp. 10-11.
aspects of the death: death as a chastising process that should be feared, and death as an agent of deliverance from this world that is to be gladly anticipated. The interaction between the dead (al-mayyit) and the living (al-hayy) is described in anecdotes, stating that the dead are fully aware of the deeds performed on them by the living, are conscious of their actions and can actually keep not of them. Kinberg concludes that the purpose of these anecdotes is to emphasize that death does not constitute a final conclusion of life, the dead maintaining their sense and not losing their contacts with the living.16

Kita>b al-Qubur covers four major themes as follows: interaction between the living and the dead, relation between human deeds and his/her state in the grave, voices coming out of the grave, and verses inscribed in the grave. The interaction between the dead and the living is expressed in anecdotes. The dead possess knowledge, but lack the ability to perform good deeds, whereas the living have. The interaction between the dead and the living has mutual benefit: the living can relieve the agonies endured by the dead through continuous concern for them, prayers for them and frequent visits to their graves.17

3. Exploring Manuscripts, Building a Method

Source material

As mentioned above, the edition in question has no any manuscript copies. Kinberg said that until now the Kita>b al-Mawt an Kita>b al-Qubur have not been traced, and were probably lost. This edition is based on oft-quoted sources available.18 In reconstructing the text, Leach Kinberg made use of al-Ghazali’s Ihya’ ‘Ulu>m al-Di>n (The Revival of the Religious Sciences) as one of the most important sources. This is due to the fact that most riwa>yat (narrations) within the Ihya’ are similar to those in the Kita>b al-Mawt wa al-Kita>b al-Qubur,

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16 “Preface,” p. ii; and also “Muqaddima,” pp. 11-16.
17 “Preface,” ibid. iii.
especially those concerning relevant themes of the death and grave.\textsuperscript{19} Unfortunately, even al-Ghazali did not mention either Ibn Abi\textgreater al-Dunya\textgreater ’s name or sources he had referred to. Consequently, the reconstruction needs many more references than the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’ only. As far as the related themes are concerned, Kinberg seems to use the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’ as a primer or basic text. However, she does not use it directly, since it has no direct reference for Ibn Abi\textgreater al-Dunya\textgreater.

In terms of the basic text material, Kinberg has laid heavily on Abu\textgreater al-Fad\textsuperscript{l} ‘Abd al-Rah\textgreater i\textgreater m b. al-H\textgreater usayn al-'Iraqi (d.806/1404)’s \textit{Al-Mughni\textsuperscript{an H\textsuperscript{aml al-Asfa\textsuperscript{r fi Takhr\textsuperscript{j M\textsuperscript{a\textsuperscript{i al-Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’ min al-Akhba\textsuperscript{r} and Muh\textgreater ammad b. Muh\textgreater ammad al-H\textgreater usayni> Murtad\textgreater a al-Zabi\textgreater di > (d.1205/1791)’s \textit{Ith\textsuperscript{a\textsuperscript{f al-Sa\textsuperscript{dah al-Muttaqi\textgreater n bi Sharh\textsuperscript{i Asra\textsuperscript{r Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’ ‘Ula\textsuperscript{m al-Di\textgreater n}.\textsuperscript{20} It is on these two books that Kinberg reconstructs the \textit{Kita\textgreater b al-Mawt wa Kita\textgreater b al-Qubu\textgreater r} by referring its central themes to the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’.

Al-'Iraqi’s text helps to trace old sources of \textit{riwa\textsuperscript{ya\textsuperscript{t}} that are related in the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’. In addition, al-'Iraqi gives us a lot of biographical information of the \textit{ruwwa} (transmitters). Meanwhile, the latter is useful for developing the themes of the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’, since Murtad\textgreater a not only mentions al-Ghaza\textgreater li’\textgreater s references but provides us with the almost unknown titles of books and their authors. Murtad\textgreater a’s materials help to refine incomplete manuscripts available to us. It also enables us to make accurate reading of manuscripts which are difficult to read. Basing his text on the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}}’, Murtad\textgreater a quotes all \textit{riwa\textsuperscript{ya\textsuperscript{t}} one by one, and puts on them annotations related to difficult words or names of person. In the end of almost every \textit{riwa\textsuperscript{ya}}, Murtad\textgreater a cites al-'Iraqi’s versions in order to make comparison between them. Wide spectrum of Murtad\textgreater a’s method covers not only \textit{riwa\textsuperscript{ya\textsuperscript{t}} in the \textit{Ih\textsuperscript{ya}} but also those of the same themes in other books. All in all, Kinberg said that al-'Iraqi’s and Murtad\textgreater a’s annotations are enough to answer questions surrounding the process of editing manuscripts: old sources containing

\textsuperscript{19} “Muqaddima,” pp. 17-18; and also “Preface,” pp. i-ii.
\textsuperscript{20} “Muqaddima,” ibid.
riwa>ya>t in question, type of isna>d (transmission), and resembling riwa>ya>t and their particular differences.21

Other important references Kinberg applied are: those of Jalal al-Din al-Rahman al-Suyu>t;i> (d.911/1505), Sharh\ al-S\udu>r bi Sharh\ H\a>l al- Mawta>r wa al-Qubu>r; Bushra> al-Ka\b bi Liqa\‘ al-H\abi>b; Al-Durr al-Manthu>r fi> al-Tafsi>r bi al-Ma\‘thu>r; Al-H\aba>\‘ik fi> Akhba>r al-Mala>‘ik; and Al-Ja\mi\‘ al-Saghi>r min H\adi>th al-Bashi>r al-Nadhî>r. In most part of these works, al-Suyu>t;i> mentions names of authors to their books he refers, and puts forth many of resembling riwa>ya>t by opening them with the formula “akhraja” (it comes from …). Al-Suyu>t;i> has devoted most of his works to covering the themes of death (al-mawt) and hereafter world (‘a>lam a>khar). Mainly in Sharh\ al-S\udu>r, al-Suyu>t;i> gives a significant portion of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya> in which his name appears more than three hundred times. Being in touch with textual matters, al-Suyu>t;i>’s method differs from that of Murtad\a>. He did not make comparison of all resembling riwa>ya>t, only pointing out their sources. In most cases, al-Suyu>t;i> only mentioned Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>’s name without pointing his related book, whereas Murtad\a> did so. All inadequacy of al-Suyu>t;i>’s method, Kinberg said, can be covered with the help of Murtad\a>’s method.22

The manuscript of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd al-Salam ‘Izz al-Di>n (d. 660/1262), Al-Mukhta>r min H\awa>mishi al-Shaykh ‘Izz al-Di>n (Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Ms. 21535b) is also another important source of Kinberg’s reconstruction. It contains fifteen riwa>ya>t of the Kita>b al-Mawt and six riwa>ya>t of the Kitab al-Qubu>r. Kinberg said that although the number of material is of course not so significant, they become invaluable since ‘Izz al-Di>n extracted them directly from Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>’s books. It is because of the direct sources that manuscript of ‘Izz al-Di>n provides us with certainty of text materials.23

21 Ibid., p. 18.
22 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
23 Ibid., p. 20.
Muhammad b. Abi Bakr, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya’s *Al-Ru>h} fi> al-Kala>m bi al-Dala>’il min al-Kita>b wa al-Sunnah wa al-A>tha>r wa Aqwa>l al-‘Ulama>’ is the last source Kinberg has used. This *Kita>b contains riwa>ya>t which all stem from Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>. Al-Jawziyya dedicated its Chapter One to “al-Mas’ala al-U<la> wa hiya Hal Ta’rif al-Amwa>t Ziya>rat al-Ah}ya’a, wa Sala>hum am La>?” (The First Question is Whether or Not the Dead Know the Visit of the Living?). Meanwhile, Chapter Two of the book is devoted to “Qa>la Abu> Bakr ‘Abd Alla>h b. Muh}ammad b. ‘Ubayd Alla>h b. Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>fî Kita>b al-Qubu>r r Ba>b Ma’rif a al-Mawta> bi Ziya>rat al-Ah}ya’y” (Ibn Abi> al-Dunya> said in the Kita>b al-Qubu>r, Chapter on the Dead’s Knowledge of the Living’s Visit). Subtleness in presenting texts and completeness of *isna>d (chain of transmission) are characteristics of this al-Jawziyya’s work. In reconstructing the text, Kinberg said, al-Jawziyya’s *Kita>b is the only textual source from which she extracts complete *isna>d of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>.

**Collation and Editorial Principles**

The above discussion shows that Kinberg has reconstructed her text on the basis of al-Ghazali’s *Ih}ya’ > with the help of other sources. It can be summed up that each of all the above sources of manuscripts Kinberg used has its own portion but interrelated. By using al-‘Iraqi’s and al-Murtadh}a’a’s manuscripts, she also digs up the method these two offer. She then makes a comparison between the manuscripts above. When she encounters differences in formulation within the manuscripts, she makes a rank of priorities as follows:

1. Texts of riwa>ya>t within the collection of ‘Izz al-Di>n.
2. Texts of riwa>ya>t within the Kita>b *Al-Ru>h} of al-Jawziyya under the Chapter “Qa>la Abu> Bakr ‘Abd Alla>h b. Muh}ammad b. ‘Ubayd Alla>h b.

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24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., p. 23.
26 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
Ibn Abi> al-Dunya> fi> Kita>b al-Qubu>r Ba>b Ma’rifat al-Mawta> bi Ziya>rat al-Ah}ya>”.

3. Texts of riwa>ya>t within Ith}a>f al-Sa>da of Murtad}a> by mentioning the name of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya> and that of the related book.

4. Texts of riwa>ya>t within the above-mentioned books of al-Suyu>t}i> by mentioning the name of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya> and that of the related book.

5. Texts of riwa>ya>t within Ith}a>f al-Sa>da of Murtad}a> by mentioning the name of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>, but without determining the exact book she refers to.

6. Texts of riwa>ya>t within al-Suyu>t}i>’s works by mentioning the name of Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>, but without determining the exact book she refers to.

7. Texts of riwa>ya>t within Kita>b al-Ru>h} and those riwa>ya>t which do not meet the six criteria above.

As mentioned above, this edition is a combination of two separated works, Kita>b al-Mawt and Kita>b al-Qubu>r. In naming this edition, Kinberg makes a selection of different versions. The title “Kita>b al-Mawt” appears several times in Weiner’s article and Murtad}a>s Ith}a>f al-Sa>da. However, Murtad}a> often names it the Kita>b Dhikr al-Mawt (Book on the Remembrance of Death) as well. This latter version also appears in ‘Izz al-Di>n’s and al-Suyu>t}i>s works. Weiner mentions Kita>b Dhikr al-Mawt wa al-Qubu>r (Book on Remembrance or Recollection of Death and Grave). According to Kinberg, this slight difference between Kita>b al-Mawt and Kita>b Dhikr al-Mawt does not indicate two different books but one and the same. Meanwhile, the title “Kita>b al-Qubu>r” is the only one which appears in all source material Kinberg has used to reconstruct this edition. In this regard, Weiner enlists two versions: Akhba>r al-Qubu>r (Stories of the Grave) and Kita>b al-Qubu>r. Coping with such a slightly different version, Kinberg has
chosen the combination of “Kita>b al-Mawt” and “Kita>b al-Qubu>r” which, according to her, more often appear in her sources.27

Regarding the arrangement of riwa>ya>t, Kinberg points out that she does not pretend to arrange them as they were originally. This is, of course, because of the impossibility to do so without any extant manuscript copies. Instead, she sometimes tries to arrange them according to their content, to similar themes, or to similar texts.

In every riwa>ya, Kinberg makes commentary notes and divides them into al-kha>shiyya al-’ulya> (primary commentary note) and kha>shiyya al-dunya> (secondary commentary note). These are in the form of footnotes. The primary one comprises names of the sources, isna>d, or textual problems. Within this primary note, she uses the term “unzhur”, meaning “do see”, to show other similar texts she has cited, and the term “fi>”, meaning “within”, to indicate other available primary sources, and the term “qa>rin”, meaning “do compare”, to make a comparison. In the secondary notes, she explains variant readings and any related confusions caused by them. In this case, she gives a certain priority for a certain text over others. She also points out the number of certain Qur’anic verses appearing in the texts in question.

Kinberg provides this edition with other additional sources as she puts in bibliography. In addition, there is a complete index of names of persons and places arranged alphabetically. She also provides a special index of a>ya>t (Qur’anic verses) appearing in riwa>ya>t. All this makes us easy to use Kinberg’s edition and this edition becomes updated and academically accepted.

4. Conclusion

It can be seen from the above discussion that Kinberg’s task to construct Ibn Abi> al-Dunya>’s Kita>b al-Mawt wa Kita>b al-Qubu>r as it is available to us now is not easy. Of course, the absence of manuscript copies has made her difficult to

27 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
reach an original version, or to build even a stemma. In this particular respect, any doubt and suspicion are justifiable and understandable.

However, by exploring, let me say, the “secondary” manuscripts, she has succeeded in building her own method, regardless of its inadequacy. The appearance of the edition as it is now is the proof of a systematic work of a philologist. By applying tangible editing rules and principles as I have explained above, Kinberg’s endeavour meets a scholarly standard. Indexes and bibliography Kinberg has put in the end part of the book prove that this is definitely an academic work. Of course, this is not an “ideal text” edition as the Anglo-American school has put it, but it is the maximum a reconstructing endeavour can achieve. In a limited degree, it meets German school’s orientation in the sense that this edition does not pretend to be original.

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