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# THE MAGHRIB IN THE MASHRIQ

KNOWLEDGE, TRAVEL AND IDENTITY

*Edited by Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas*

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND  
CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

## **The Maghrib in the Mashriq**

# **Studies in the History and Culture of the Middle East**



Edited by  
Stefan Heidemann, Gottfried Hagen,  
Andreas Kaplony, Rudi Matthee,  
and Kristina L. Richardson

## **Volume 40**

# The Maghrib in the Mashriq



Knowledge, Travel and Identity

Edited by  
Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas

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Maribel Fierro/Mayte Penelas

# The Maghrib in the Mashriq. Knowledge, Travel and Identity. Introduction

I am the sun shining in the sky of knowledge  
But my fault is to have risen in the West.  
Had I risen in the East,  
Great would be the plunder of my lost renown.  
— Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE)<sup>1</sup>

Are you not unjust in judging us, oh, people of the East? ...  
Why do they not admire what is good and stop despising what is of value? ...  
We recite what one of our poets said:  
“Your merits make us rejoice,  
Why do you refuse to accept ours?  
Do not envy us if some stars  
Shine in our firmament;  
And, if you have more outstanding feats to be proud of,  
Do not treat with injustice the few we have”.  
— Ibn Dihya (d. 633 H/1235 CE)<sup>2</sup>

Ha, thou hast had thy day,  
Proud jewel of Cathay!  
My ruby I acclaim,  
My Andalusian flame.  
— Ibn Ḥazm<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira* (1978–81), 1/1: 173–174; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 2: 81. English translation by Camilla Adang.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Dihya, *al-Muṭrib* (1429/2008), 128. Our English translation is based on the Spanish translation by Gazi 1953, 180–181, <http://institutoegipcio.es/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Vol.-I-Re- vista-del-Instituto-Egipcio-de-Estudios-Isl%C3%A1micos-1952-1.pdf>. We thank Teresa Garulo for her help.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (1978), 182; English translation by Arberry, <http://www.muslim-philosophy.com/hazm/dove/chp19.html> (accessed Jan. 21, 2020).

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**Note:** This contribution has been written within the project *Local contexts and global dynamics: al-Andalus and the Maghreb in the Islamic East* (FFI2016-78878-R AEI/FEDER, UE), co-directed by Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas with funding from the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. English revision by Nicholas Callaway.



In his 1970 book *The History of the Maghrib*, Moroccan historian Abdallah Laroui pointed to the need “to trace the genesis of the concept of the Maghrib and to discover how it took on an objective definition”.<sup>4</sup> The Maghrib – the ‘West’ in Arabic – inevitably refers to its pair, the Mashriq – the ‘East’ – and is often used in a binary spatial opposition assumed to convey an inherent meaning on its own. However, this meaning must nevertheless be contextualized in time, while recognizing that each element, East and West, likewise involves internal boundaries and other possible oppositions. For example, does al-Maghrib include al-Andalus? Can it include Egypt? When do Arabic sources use the term al-Maghrib to refer to the lands that today correspond to parts of Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, and why? Moreover, binary oppositions always run the risk of distorting the realities on the ground, which inevitably involve shifting boundaries, cross-currents and interactions.<sup>5</sup> If space and time are basic elements to be discussed when using the terms Maghrib and Mashriq, the latter also convey certain hierarchical assumptions about a cultural, intellectual and religious centre and a periphery, as reflected in the poems quoted above.<sup>6</sup> These assumptions, again, need to be fleshed out in all their details and temporal variations, and should be opened up to discussion and rethinking. The study of knowledge exchange and scholarly mobility across regions in the same cultural and/or religious domain often reveals that binary oppositions between innovative centres and imitative peripheries obscure flows of exchange that go both ways, not just from the centres to the peripheries, but also in reverse, and at times using channels that directly connect periphery to periphery, bypassing the centre altogether.<sup>7</sup> One example among many is the one that follows below.

The Kufan traditionist Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Shayba (159–235 H/775–849 CE) compiled many traditions, Prophetic and otherwise, in his *Muṣannaf*.<sup>8</sup> The Cordoban Baqī b. Makhlad (201–276 H/817–889 CE) studied this work with its author during his stay in the East on his journey in search of knowledge, at a time when *ḥadīth* and its science (*‘ilm al-ḥadīth*) were reluctantly being introduced in al-Andalus. There is a record of the transmission in al-Andalus of Baqī b. Makhlad’s

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4 Laroui 1977, 8. For the context in which he wrote see Jebari 2015, [https://www.academia.edu/30848750/The\\_production\\_of\\_critical\\_thought\\_in\\_the\\_Maghrib\\_Abdallah\\_Laroui\\_and\\_Hichem\\_Dja%C3%Aft\\_1965-1978](https://www.academia.edu/30848750/The_production_of_critical_thought_in_the_Maghrib_Abdallah_Laroui_and_Hichem_Dja%C3%Aft_1965-1978) (accessed Jan. 9, 2020).

5 See for example the introduction in Hamdani 2014.

6 For an illuminating case of the enduring conception of the Maghrib as an intellectual periphery in the Islamic world see Saleh 2011. Cf. for the case of al-Andalus in a European context, Curta 2011.

7 Melchert 2012.

8 Pellat, “Ibn Abī Shayba”, *EF*.

recension (*riwāya*) of Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* over almost three centuries. Indeed, the text seems to have been central in the training of scholars who were interested in the study of *ḥadīth* and were critical of traditional Mālikism.<sup>9</sup> Why Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* disappeared starting in the mid-6th/12th century from the lists of works transmitted, as reflected in the Andalusī *fahāris* genre, remains a topic for future research,<sup>10</sup> but it can most probably be interpreted as a reaction against the Almohad policies that aimed at substituting Mālikism with a return to the original sources of Revelation. Baqī b. Makhlad's recension of the *Muṣannaf* is of great interest for the study of the local transmission and production of *ḥadīth*-related knowledge, but it also transcends the local context. As such, it has been described as an "Andalusian<sup>11</sup> book that records a Kufan perspective".<sup>12</sup> Two manuscripts of the work are preserved in Turkish libraries (Süleymaniye and Topkapı), another indication of the strong presence that knowledge produced in the Western regions of the Islamic world enjoyed in Ottoman centres of learning.<sup>13</sup> Another manuscript is located still further East, in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and it was precisely in India that Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf* was first printed, by 'Abd al-Khāliq Khān al-Afghānī. While the figure of the Iraqi Ibn Abī Shayba is of interest for the many scholars of different academic and national backgrounds whose research deals with early Islamic

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**9** It was mostly transmitted via a Sevillian family, the Banū al-Bājī al-Lakhmī. The last member recorded as a transmitter is Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Malik ... b. Sharī'a (d. 532 H/1138 CE). Famous Andalusī traditionists such as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE), Abū 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463 H/1071 CE) and Abū Muḥammad Ibn 'Attāb (d. 520 H/1126 CE) also transmitted Ibn Abī Shayba's work. The *riwāya* by al-Wakī'ī (3rd/9th century), another of Ibn Abī Shayba's students, also circulated in al-Andalus. This information has been taken from the *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores de al-Andalus (HATA)*, directed by Maribel Fierro, available online at <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/>.

**10** At around the same time (first half of the 6th/12th century), another early work, a compilation of legal questions by the Cordoban al-'Utbi (d. 255 H/869 CE), also seems to have stopped being transmitted. In this case, the fact that Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (d. 520 H/1126 CE) had incorporated its text into his commentary, which explained and updated the contents of al-'Utbi's work, made its independent transmission redundant. See Fernández Félix 2003.

**11** Since the term "Andalusian" also refers to modern Andalucía, it can lead to confusion when used in reference to the Arab past. For this reason, throughout this collective volume we have used the term "Andalusī" in reference to al-Andalus, except in quotations from other authors.

**12** Lucas 2008, 287.

**13** While imperial dynamics were clearly at work in this process, this Andalusī presence is a topic that deserves to be studied in its specifics. The presence of mystical works such as those by Ibn Barrajan can be linked to the impact of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī. See Küçük 2013a; Küçük 2013b. For other fields see for example İhsanoğlu 2015; El-Rouayheb 2015; Vázquez Hernández 2018; Riedel (in press).

matters in the central lands of Islam, the figure of the Andalusī Baqī b. Makhḷad has mainly elicited the interest of Spanish and Moroccan scholars.<sup>14</sup> While this is perhaps to be expected, the interest expressed by Pakistani and Indonesian scholars is less self-evident.<sup>15</sup>

Are scholars from regions considered peripheral from an Arab point of view bound to find interest today in what happened in other regions that in the past were also regarded as peripheral? Does the Andalusī/Maghribī<sup>16</sup> scholar Baqī b. Makhḷad's decisive role in the preservation of a seminal early Mashriqī *ḥadīth* work make him, too, a central figure? How does one establish when (and if) peripheries and peripheral figures cease to be considered as such? How are we to categorize scholars whose travels and engagement in knowledge networks saw them overcome barriers of space and time? Can we isolate the study of figures of the past from their representation in the present?<sup>17</sup> These and other questions are addressed in this collective volume that aims to explore how travel, knowledge and identity intersected in the circulation and impact of Andalusī/Maghribī scholars and their works in the Mashriq.

In December 2016, the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities granted funding for a research project under our direction entitled *Local contexts and global dynamics: al-Andalus and the Maghreb in the Islamic East*, to be carried out over four years.<sup>18</sup> Drawing inspiration from Richard W. Bulliet's call to

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<sup>14</sup> Marín 1980; Ávila 1985; Mu'ammār 1988; Mu'ammār 1996.

<sup>15</sup> Raisuddin 1988; Raisuddin 1993. Muhammad Akmaluddin wrote his MA Thesis on *Silsilah Riwayāh al-Aḥādīth fī al-Andalus: Dirāsah Jīniyālūjiyyah li Taṭawwūr Riwayāh al-Aḥādīth fī al-Qarn al-Thānī wa al-Thālīth al-Hijrī*, at the Tafsir and Hadith Department, Faculty of Theology and Humanities, State Islamic University (UIN) Walisongo, Semarang Central Java, 2015. See also Akmaluddin 2017.

<sup>16</sup> As explained by Luis Molina in “The Integration of al-Andalus in Islamic Historiography. The View from the Maghrib and the Mashriq” (Molina 2020), and by Giovanna Calasso in the paper here included, while a difference is made between al-Andalus and the Maghrib by some authors and in certain periods, al-Andalus was also at times considered to be part of the Maghrib. We use Andalusī/Maghribī to reflect this convergence when appropriate: Baqī b. Makhḷad was an Andalusī scholar, but for Moroccans today – who consider themselves the inheritors of the legacy of al-Andalus – he is a Maghribī scholar. For a general background of the subject see Calderwood 2018.

<sup>17</sup> See respectively for the last two questions al-Musawī 2015 and El Shamsy 2020.

<sup>18</sup> *Contextos locales y dinámicas globales: al-Andalus y el Magreb en el Oriente islámico* (AMOI), FFI2016-78878-R AEI/FEDER, UE. The other members of the project are: Camilla Adang (Professor of Islamic Studies at Tel Aviv University), José Bellver (post-doctoral researcher at the Université Catholique de Louvain), Víctor de Castro (post-doctoral researcher at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science), Teresa Garulo (Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Complutense University), Aurora González Artigao (pre-doctoral researcher at the Institute of

look at the Islamic world from the edge,<sup>19</sup> as directors of the project our main interest in this first stage has been threefold: to map what has been written on the topic in general with the aim of producing an annotated bibliography available online; to concentrate on the study of the impact that knowledge produced in al-Andalus/the Maghrib had in the fields of historiography, law and the religious sciences, poetry and literature, and mysticism; and to explore the possibilities that the digital humanities have to offer for our study. What we are presenting here is the result of the first international conference we convened, held on 20–21 December 2018 at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid.<sup>20</sup> Not all the papers presented there have been included,<sup>21</sup> and we have also added some new papers that were not presented at the original conference. In this process our collaboration with our colleagues in Japan has proven especially fruitful; we are particularly thankful to Professor Kentaro Sato, who organized a panel at the Sixth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies (Waseda University, Tokyo, 15–17 June 2019) on *Intellectual activities across the regions in the Mamluk period: Views from al-Andalus and Khurasan*, which included Maribel Fierro's contribution to this volume. We are also very grateful to Professor Giovanna Calasso for contributing to the volume with her study on how the Maghrib was represented in medieval Arabic sources, an important step forward along the path indicated by Abdallah Laroui.

In what follows, we will trace, through the different contributions included in this volume, the main threads that guided us during the conference in Madrid. Parts I and II examine how knowledge produced about the Maghrib was integrated in the Mashriq, starting with the emergence and construction of the concept 'Maghrib'. Parts III and IV discuss how travel not only enabled knowledge produced in the Mashriq to be received in the Maghrib, but also allowed locally produced knowledge to be transmitted outside the confines of the Maghrib, in addition to the different ways in which this transmission took place. In Part V, we will see how the Maghribis who stayed or settled in the Mashriq manifested their

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Languages and Cultures of the Mediterranean, CSIC), Abdenour Padillo (pre-doctoral researcher at the School of Arabic Studies, CSIC, and the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Mediterranean, CSIC), Maxim Romanov (Universitätsassistent für Digital Humanities, University of Vienna), and Iria Santás (lecturer at the Universidad Eclesiástica San Dámaso).

<sup>19</sup> Bulliet 1994. Cf. Fierro 2018.

<sup>20</sup> <http://cchs.csic.es/en/event/conference-maghrib-mashriq>.

<sup>21</sup> Javier Albarrán's paper, "From the Islamic West to Cairo: Malikism, Ibn Tūmart, al-Ghazālī and al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's death", will appear in María Marcos Coboleda, ed., *Artistic and Cultural Dialogues in the Late Medieval Mediterranean*.

identity. Lastly, we will offer our thoughts on future avenues of research that still lie ahead.

## Part I: Establishing Boundaries between the Maghrib and the Mashriq

In his autobiography, the emir of Granada ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn – a member of the Berber Zirid family – recounts the moment when the Almoravid emir, the Ṣanhāja Berber Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, had to decide what policy to pursue regarding the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus).<sup>22</sup> In this account, when asked about his intentions, Ibn Tāshufīn prefaced his answer by proudly stating, “I am a Maghribī”.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the Maghrib and related terms acquired special saliency and became a token of pride following the establishment of the Berber empires, first with the Almoravids and especially under the Almohads (5th–7th/11th–13th centuries).<sup>24</sup> However, this had not always been the case, as Giovanna Calasso demonstrates in the study that opens this collective volume.

Calasso provides us with a historical overview of the conceptualization of the terms *maghrib* and *mashriq* from early times up until the 7th/13th century, especially in geographical writings and travelogues, and paying attention to the semantic web formed by other terms through which Muslims made sense of the world they inhabited, both in its own right and in relation to other human groups. The expressions *dār al-islām* (abode of Islam) and *dār al-ḥarb* (abode of war)<sup>25</sup> that made their first appearance in legal treatises were rarely used by Eastern geographers active between the 3rd/9th century and the 4th/10th century, who favoured expressions such as *bilād al-rūm* (the lands of the Byzantines/Romans/Christians) and *bilād/mamlakat al-islām* (the lands/kingdom of Islam). They inserted in their works well-documented descriptions of the Western regions of the *bilād al-islām*, most especially Ifrīqiya (Tunisia), which paid allegiance to the ‘Abbāsids. Al-Ya‘qūbī (late 3rd/9th century) devoted limited space to the Maghrib, conceived as the westernmost part of the Islamic lands’

<sup>22</sup> On the equivalence of the term “al-Andalus” with the Iberian Peninsula see García Sanjuán 2003.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn al-Zirī, *al-Tibyān* (1995), 167; ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn al-Zirī, *al-Tibyān* (1986), 163.

<sup>24</sup> Mehdi Ghouirgate has paid special attention to this issue in, for example, “*Al-Lisān al-ḡarbi* : la langue des Almohades” (in press).

<sup>25</sup> Calasso/Lancioni 2017.

“western *rub*”, to which Syria and Egypt also belonged, and he did not include any comparison with the East. There is no indication of a frontier in his work either, nor of a hierarchy. By contrast, Ibn al-Faqīh (3rd/9th century) did include a hierarchical view, according to which the Maghrib corresponded to the “worst part” of the world – perhaps a reflection of the negative view left by the Berber rebellions that had caused much trouble to the Umayyads, and by the Andalusī bid for autonomy from the ‘Abbāsids. Starting in the 2nd/8th century, political independence under the Cordoban Umayyads in fact gave al-Andalus an identity of its own that was constructed against the Mashriq,<sup>26</sup> but only up to a point. It could not have been otherwise: after all, the Umayyads came from the Mashriq, where their ancestors had been caliphs, and their hatred of the ‘Abbāsids did not stop them from imitating and emulating them. The East – especially Iraq – was much valued for its cultural achievements, so much so that the poet Ibn Shuhayd (382–426 H/992–1035 CE), at the time of the collapse of the Cordoban Umayyad caliphate, criticized the inhabitants of Córdoba for “Berberizing, Westernizing, and Egyptianizing” (*tabarbarū wa-taḡhararū wa-tamaṣṣarū*).<sup>27</sup> For some Andalusis, it was in fact the ‘other shore’ of the Strait of Gibraltar (*al-‘udwa*), the land of the ‘Berbers’, that functioned as the main focus of alterity.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the poet-king of Seville al-Mu‘tamid (d. 488 H/1095 CE), jailed at Aghmāt near Marrakesh by the Almoravid emir, referred to himself as a “stranger in the land of the ‘Westerners’” (*gharīb bi-arḍ al-maḡhribiyyīn*).<sup>29</sup>

The distinction/opposition between Mashriq and Maghrib – the latter understood as Northern Africa west of Egypt – emerged in the works of the 4th/10th-century geographers Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasi. Behind it was the boundary between the Sunnī ‘Abbāsīd caliphate and the Ismā‘īlī Fāṭimid caliphate, first established in Ifrīqiya. This separation would again resurface in the 6th/12th century with the establishment in North Africa and al-Andalus of the Almohad caliphate, built against the Almoravids, who had paid allegiance to the ‘Abbāsids.<sup>30</sup> By the 5th/11th century, the Andalusī al-Bakrī (d. 487 H/1094 CE) held that al-Andalus, as a frontier of the *mamlakat al-islām* with the Christian world, was an

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**26** Criticisms of the Mashriq can be documented since early times. See Fierro 2019. See also al-Munajjid 1963; El Erian El Bassal 2013.

**27** Ibn Shuhayd, *Dīwān* (1969), 110. The term *taḡharar* has its counterpart in the *tasharruq* used to define the Ismā‘īlīs/Fāṭimids in North Africa, a derogatory term through which they were dismissed as foreigners. See Ibn al-Haytham, *al-Munāẓarāt* (2000), 22–23.

**28** Rouighi 2010; Rouighi 2019.

**29** *Apud* Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (1978–81), 3: 75; López Lázaro 2013, 273.

**30** On how this period was viewed in the East see Ben El Hajj Soulamī 2014.

extension of the Maghrib. Once al-Andalus was incorporated into the Berber empires of the Almoravids and the Almohads, it became, in fact, an integral part of the Maghrib. Between the end of the 6th/12th century and the 7th/13th century, authors of travelogues and geographers from the Maghrib such as Ibn Jubayr (d. 614 H/1217 CE), al-ʿAbdarī (fl. ca. 688 H/1289 CE) and Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685 H/1286-7 CE) compared the East and the West of the Islamic world, emphasizing differences and offering criticism of the Mashriq, admired for its knowledge, but blamed for its deficiencies in the sphere of religion. This represents the emergence of a new reverse hierarchy, which had its precedents among the North African Ibādīs, who had been pioneers in praising the merits of the Berbers and consequently of the land they inhabited.<sup>31</sup>

In 6th/12th–7th/13th-century geographical works and travelogues, Egypt is usually represented as the gateway to the East. Ibn Saʿīd (d. 685 H/1286-7 CE), usually known in Eastern sources as Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, left al-Andalus in 636 H/1238-9 CE and lived the rest of his life abroad, mostly in Egypt. His scholarly interests included poetry, belles-lettres (*adab*), history and geography. As shown by Víctor de Castro's contribution, Ibn Saʿīd's *Kitāb Baṣṭ al-arḍ fī al-ṭūl wal-arḍ*, also known as *Kitāb Juḡhrāfiyā*, became a source for a number of Eastern authors such as Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732 H/1331 CE), Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), al-Qalqashandī (d. 821 H/1418 CE), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H/1442 CE). In it, Egypt appears sometimes as part of the West, sometimes as part of the East. The variations in Ibn Saʿīd's conceptualization of Egypt do not end here: in his compilation of poetry entitled *al-Muḡhrib fī ḥulā al-Maḡhrib*, the Maghrib is taken to encompass not only Ifrīqiya, the rest of the Maghrib, and al-Andalus, but also Egypt. While we find that in general the limits of the Maghrib may vary from one author to another, this is the only instance where they are taken to include Egypt. Ibn Saʿīd's unusual choice in the *Muḡhrib*, moreover, was not followed by other members of his family: for his uncle ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿīd (d. 616 H/1220 CE), Ifrīqiya represented the door to the East. As one might expect, Ibn Saʿīd's 'Maghribization' of Egypt led to controversy, especially among Mamlūk authors in Egypt, with Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī being the most forceful in his disagreement. He replied to Ibn Saʿīd by dedicating volume five of his *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amṣār* to this issue. In it, al-ʿUmarī accuses Ibn Saʿīd of partiality and favouritism towards the Maghribis. As for scholar Abū al-Fidā', his criticism was based mainly on issues related to latitudes and longitudes. The fact that for Easterners the West was often perceived as inferior

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<sup>31</sup> Felipe 2018; Aillet (forthcoming; we thank the author for allowing us to quote his unpublished article).

meant that Ibn Sa‘īd’s attempt at integrating Egypt into the Maghrib was doomed to be rejected by the Egyptians. The reasons that moved him to include Egypt are still unclear. The Maghrib and Egypt had been politically united under the Fāṭimids; was Ibn Sa‘īd proposing a similar union under the rule of the Ḥafṣids, who touted themselves as the rightful heirs to the Almohad caliphate?<sup>32</sup>

## Part II: Integrating the Maghrib into Universal Islamic History

Luis Molina has studied how Eastern Muslim historians, after the period of the Islamic expansion, almost completely ignored the events taking place in the regions west of Egypt.<sup>33</sup> Later Eastern interest in the Maghrib, especially evident in Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 H/1233 CE), chronologically coincides with the rise of the Almohad caliphate, and was highly dependent on historical sources written in al-Andalus and the Maghrib that circulated in the East in close connection with the travels and emigration of Andalusi and Maghribi scholars.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, some historical works were written in the East by Maghribi authors who had settled there,<sup>35</sup> with the patronage of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb (d. 589 H/1193 CE) – better known as Saladin – being hugely influential.<sup>36</sup>

In Abū al-Fidā’s *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, a work that spans from the creation of the world up to the year 729 H/1329 CE, al-Andalus appears as an unstable region on the periphery of the Islamic world. Abdenour Padillo-Saoud analyses how the Syrian historian approaches al-Andalus in a work in which he summarizes the information found in his sources on the political events that took place in a given year. His main sources for al-Andalus were, unsurprisingly, Ibn

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32 On the political dynamics between Ḥafṣid Ifrīqiya and Egypt see Chapoutot-Remadi 1979.

33 Molina 2020.

34 The literature on this topic is abundant, a representative handful of references being: Pouzet 1975; Marín 1995; Baadj 2019.

35 As in the case of al-Yasa‘ b. Ḥazm (d. 575 H/1179 CE), author of the *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī akhbār maḥāsīn ahl al-Maghrib*, which he wrote for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushi (d. after 621 H/1224 CE), author of *Kitāb al-Mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, which he wrote for a vizier of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (d. 622 H/1225 CE). See respectively Fierro 1995 and Benhima 2009.

36 Not only in the field of history but also in others such as poetry. See Bray 2019a and Bray 2019b.



al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-tārikh*<sup>37</sup> and Ibn Sa'īd's *Mughrib*. Abū al-Fidā' includes records of around one hundred historical events that took place in al-Andalus, interspersed with other information whose only common trait is having occurred in the same year. Abū al-Fidā''s account begins with the arrival of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (d. 172 H/788 CE), whereas his main source, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārikh*, offers an extensive account of the conquest of al-Andalus and its aftermath. Abū al-Fidā' largely skims over the Umayyad period, perhaps because he himself was a prince of the Ayyūbid dynasty whose founder, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, had recognized the pre-eminence of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Abū al-Fidā' seems more interested in al-Manṣūr b. Abī 'Āmir, or Almanzor (d. 392 H/1002 CE), the *de facto* ruler of al-Andalus towards the end of the Umayyad caliphate, whose military campaigns against the Christians gained him fame and with whom Abū al-Fidā' – who took part in multiple campaigns against the Crusaders – may have felt affinity. After dealing with the period of the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate (*fitna*) and the subsequent *taifa* kingdoms, when it comes time to cover the Almoravids and Almohads Abū al-Fidā' only focuses on events in North Africa and, likewise, shows no interest in the Naṣrīd Kingdom of Granada.<sup>38</sup>

Both Ibn al-Athīr and Abū al-Fidā' lived in Syria, a region where the memory of the Umayyad past was likely to arouse interest in al-Andalus,<sup>39</sup> as was indeed the case later on when the Maghribī al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1632 CE) was asked by a Syrian patron to write about the memory of a land that had by then been irremediably lost to the Christians.<sup>40</sup> Such an interest is not to be expected in regions further east, but, as explained by Philip Bockholt in his contribution, even if they had wanted to, historians in 10th/16th-century Iran would have been hard-pressed to find knowledge on far-off regions of the Islamic world like al-Andalus and the Maghrib. While works like the *Tārikhnāma* written by Bal'amī under the Sāmānīds in the 4th/10th century devote only a few lines to the history of the Islamic West, chronicles composed in Īlkhānīd-Mongol times (*ca.* 655–755 H/1257–1355 CE) contain more information, even including accounts of Christian Iberia. Nevertheless, Khvāndamīr (d. 942 H/1535-6 CE) did not have any information on hand about events taking place in the western parts of Islam from the 7th/13th century onwards, even though he belonged to a family of historians and had access to the libraries of Herat, at that time one of the main cultural centres in the eastern lands of Islam. However, Khvāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār*

37 Al-Darwish 2015.

38 On this topic see Maḥmūd al-Baṭūsh 2016.

39 Borrut/Cobb 2010.

40 Elger 2002; Moral 2014; Adil 2019.

*afrād al-bashar* does include materials about the early times of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, and also covers the history of the Berber Muslim dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohads (ca. 455–668 H/1063–1269 CE) at length. Among the Almohad rulers, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb (d. 595 H/1199 CE) is given special attention. Khvāndamīr first presents his life, before going on to provide an account of the 591 H/1195 CE battle of Alarcos, in which the Almohad caliph defeated the Christians. However, Khvāndamīr mistakenly refers to it as the “the battle of al-Zal-lāqa”, another victorious Muslim campaign against the Christians that had taken place in the year 479 H/1086 CE under the rule of the Almoravid emir Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (d. 500 H/1106 CE). Khvāndamīr’s only source for the chapters dealing with the Almohad dynasty, and hence for the battle of Alarcos, was *Mir’āt al-janān* by the Yemenite scholar al-Yāfi‘ī (d. 768 H/1367 CE). The latter mainly copied the information given in Abū Shāma’s (d. 665 H/1267 CE) *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn* and in Ibn Khallikān’s (d. 681 H/1282 CE) *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*. Among the sources for Ibn Khallikān’s account were members of the Maghribi community in Damascus, including the famous mystic Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, who died in Damascus in 638 H/1240 CE. Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil* contains a similar, though not identical, strand of Arabic historiography about the battle of Alarcos. Later authors based their narratives on *al-Kāmil*, as well as on Abū Shāma and Ibn Khallikān. It was via their books that authors in Iran had access to knowledge about events in the West.

If the political history of the Maghrib was of interest to historians writing especially for a readership at the ruler’s court, the lives of scholars and men of letters from the western regions of Islam were more likely to prove relevant for other scholars and men of letters living elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> This was bound to happen when Andalusī and Maghribi scholars settled in the East and became part of the local intellectual and religious landscape.<sup>42</sup> But what about those who never left their homeland, or returned to it after having travelled to the East? Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (476–

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<sup>41</sup> Both types of information were combined by al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) in his massive work *Tārīkh al-Islām*. Maxim Romanov has used the *ṭabaqāt* included in this work to study, among other topics, the interregional connections between Iberia and the Levant from 1100 to 1600, using digital humanities tools. See Romanov 2017, esp. 241–243, figures 10–13. The *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus* series, published by the CSIC in Madrid and Granada (with 18 volumes to date, since 1988), includes a number of studies on biographies of Andalusis found in Eastern biographical dictionaries, information that may now be studied from a digital humanities approach.

<sup>42</sup> A case in point is that of the Jewish man of letters Yehūda al-Harīzī, who left the Iberian Peninsula and settled in Ayyūbid Aleppo, where he lived until his death, and whose biography was recorded in Eastern Arabic sources. See Sadan 2002.

544 H/1083–1149 CE), a scholar from Ceuta whose travels for study never took him outside the region, is among the Maghribi scholars who have elicited the most sustained attention across the Islamic world through the centuries.<sup>43</sup> This mostly has to do with the huge success of his *al-Shifāʾ bi-taʾrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* – a work on the prerogatives and merits of the Prophet Muḥammad – among Muslims both past and present.<sup>44</sup> Even during his own lifetime, entries on Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ’s life and intellectual production were already included in a number of biographical dictionaries not only in the Maghrib, but also in the Mashriq. In her contribution, Maiko Noguchi carries out a detailed comparison of the descriptions of Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ in these biographies. Through her analysis, she reveals how certain elements are given more or less emphasis, and how the differences in the resulting portrayals are related to the biographers’ various contexts. Her study contributes to our understanding of how intellectual networks are created that transcend direct physical connections. If students of Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, and students of his students, were decisive in making him and his work known outside the Maghrib, the inclusion of entries on Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ in Eastern biographical dictionaries gave him – in connection with the circulation of his work – a ‘life of his own’.

### Part III: Maghribi Success in the East

Having risen to power in the far-western and central Maghrib toward the end of Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ’s life, the Almohads sought to re-centre the Islamic world around the figure of their Mahdī, the Berber Ibn Tūmart (d. 524 H/1130 CE). Characterizing him as an impeccable *imām* and inheritor of the station of prophecy (*wārith maqām al-nubuwwa*),<sup>45</sup> his successor ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 558 H/1163 CE) promoted the view that the centre of Islam had shifted from the Mashriq to the Maghrib, touted as the new Hejaz, with a sanctuary in Tinmal in the Atlas mountains where the Mahdī and his successors, the Muʾminid caliphs, were buried. This shift inevitably bolstered Maghribi identity and pride, and lent new significance to an oft-

<sup>43</sup> There is a famous saying that states: “If it were not for Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, the Maghrib would not have been known”. See, e.g., al-Ifrānī 2000, 33; Ibn Tāwīt 1402/1982, 59.

<sup>44</sup> Dagmar Riedel studied the spread of this work as a Marie-Curie fellow at the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Mediterranean, CSIC (2017–2019), with a project entitled *Making Books Talk: The Material Evidence of Manuscripts of the Kitāb al-Shifāʾ by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 1149) for the Reception of an Andalusian Biography of the Prophet between 1100 and 1900*.

<sup>45</sup> Fierro 2016, 83.

cited Prophetic tradition whereby Muḥammad predicted a special role for the Maghrib.<sup>46</sup> Ibn Jubayr's (d. 614 H/1217 CE) *Rihla* reflects this new attitude of confidence and pride, and finds confirmation in the fact that, in a variety of ways, the Ayyūbids showed an inclination to Maghribi emigrant scholars and favoured them.<sup>47</sup>

Before Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's time, it was by no means guaranteed that Andalusī and Maghribī scholars – no matter how relevant their contribution to Islamic learning and culture – would make their way into general *ṭabaqāt* and *tarājīm* works, nor that their accomplishments would be celebrated or recorded. For example, Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. 380 H/990 CE) *Fihrist*, a bio-bibliographical repertoire documenting authors and works known to him in Baghdad, includes only one author from Ifrīqiya.<sup>48</sup> We have seen how the 3rd/9th-century geographer Ibn al-Faqīh described the Maghrib as the worst part of the world, and, to be sure, it seems that in the Baghdadi cultural sphere there was a prevailing notion that the West had little to offer,<sup>49</sup> an idea that still resonated in Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808 H/1406 CE) time.<sup>50</sup> Andalusī and Maghribī often complained about this state of affairs, putting down in writing their conviction that in the East – and especially in Baghdad – their contributions were purposely ignored or dismissed.<sup>51</sup> This conviction led some of them to record their achievements in the religious and intellectual domains, as in the case of Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 456 H/1064 CE) *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, which lists authors and titles intended to demonstrate that Andalusī were equal

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46 “The inhabitants of the West (*ahl al-gharb*) will always be on the side of truth until the Hour comes”. See, for example, *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (1983), 15 (Sp. trans. 22). In Almohad times it acquired special saliency. See Buresi 2020.

47 Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla* (1907), 278, 285; Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla* (1952), 289, 298. See also Cahen 1973.

48 Maribel Fierro, “The Maghreb and al-Andalus in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*”, paper presented at the 29th Conference of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Münster University, 10–14 September 2018; see also Fierro 2018, 357, n. 2. One of the first biographical dictionaries to include Andalusī scholars was that of Ibn Mākūlā (d. 430 H/1038 CE); see Marín 1985. Before him, the Egyptian historian Ibn Yūnus (d. 347 H/958 CE) had written on the foreigners who travelled to Egypt, including Maghribī and Andalusī, but his work is lost (although there has been a recent attempt at reconstructing it on the basis of quotations by later authors). See Fierro 1987.

49 This is illustrated by a famous anecdote about the vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād (d. 385 H/995 CE), whereby when an *adab* work by the Cordoban Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhī (d. 328 H/940 CE), *al-'Iqd al-farīd* (*The Unique Necklace*), fell into his hands, he exclaimed: “This is our merchandise brought back to us! I thought it would contain notices on their country (al-Andalus) but it merely contains notices about our own country. We do not need it!” See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1414/1993), 1: 464; trans. by Toral-Niehoff 2015, 64.

50 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (2006–2007), 2: 180; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1967), 2: 431.

51 As shown in the poems quoted at the beginning of this contribution. See also Fierro 2009; al-'Āmirī 2015.

and sometimes even superior to their Eastern counterparts.<sup>52</sup> For all his pride in a (possibly made-up) Iranian background, Ibn Ḥazm was in fact not much interested in what the East had to offer – for example, in the field of theology, he was an acerbic critic of Ash‘arī doctrines;<sup>53</sup> he never performed the *riḥla* and in his quotations of Prophetic traditions in his work *al-Muḥallā*, he made a point of quoting local *riwāyāt*. The idea that former cultural centres could decline and new ones arise seems to have been very much present in 5th/11th-century al-Andalus, perhaps in connection with the collapse of the Cordoban Umayyad caliphate, and the myriad of new courts that arose in the newly formed *taifa* kingdoms. The decline of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate also contributed to this appraisal, even under the Almoravids, who paid allegiance to them. Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521 H/1127 CE), who wrote a commentary on Ibn Qutayba’s (d. 276 H/889 CE) *Adab al-kātib*, put it succinctly: *li-kull dahr dawla wa-rijāl* (‘each period has its dynasty and its men’).<sup>54</sup>

One of Ibn Ḥazm’s students, al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488 H/1095 CE), left al-Andalus never to return and, having settled in Baghdad, became one of the mediators who helped integrate Andalusi and Maghribi scholarship into the worldview of Islam. He accomplished this in different ways, for example through his biographical dictionary of scholars, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus wa-asmā’ ruwāt al-ḥadīth wa-ahl al-fiqh wa-l-adab wa-dhawī al-nubāha wa-l-shi‘r*, which he wrote in Baghdad, having to rely heavily on his memory for lack of relevant sources in the local libraries. It was later used by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 H/1229 CE), al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H/1505 CE).<sup>55</sup> There is, however, little hard evidence that al-Ḥumaydī was instrumental in spreading Ibn Ḥazm’s works in the East.<sup>56</sup> This is one Camilla Adang’s conclusions in her contribution to this volume. In it she concentrates on al-Ḥumaydī’s *al-Jam‘ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, in which the author rearranged the traditions found in the *ḥadīth* collections (*Ṣaḥīḥ*) of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The book, although not the first in this genre, was much praised. As shown by Adang, from the 5th/11th century to the 9th/15th century it was constantly being copied, studied, taught, excerpted and commented upon by members of all four Sunnī schools of law, and to a lesser extent

52 Pellat 1954.

53 Schmidtke 2012.

54 Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī, *al-Iqtidāb* (1996), 1: 138; see also Soravia 2019.

55 Al-Najmī 2015.

56 In addition to the influence of Ibn Ḥazm’s student Shurayḥ (d. 539 H/1144 CE) indicated by Adang in her contribution to this volume, Chodkiewicz 1991 has highlighted Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī’s influential role in making the work and doctrines of the Andalusi Ṣaḥīrī school known in the East.

also by Twelver Shī'ī scholars, who used al-Ḥumaydī's work mainly for apologetical or polemical purposes, as a source for traditions about 'Alī and his family. Among the Sunnīs, Mālikīs were the ones who showed the least interest in al-Ḥumaydī's work, due on the one hand to the fact that the *Jam'* was mainly transmitted in the Mashriq, where the Mālikīs were a minority, and on the other hand, because in the predominantly Mālikī West one could find several works from the same genre by local scholars. The fact that al-Ḥumaydī was associated with Ibn Ḥazm and Zāhirism may have been an additional reason for Mālikīs' reluctance to study and transmit the work.

It took some time for the science of Prophetic tradition and the Prophetic tradition itself to circulate in earnest in the West. There were exceptions, such as Abū 'Ubayd's (d. 224 H/838 CE) *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, which enjoyed great popularity in the Maghrib since very early times.<sup>57</sup> By the 4th/10th century, however, the transmission and study of *ḥadīth* flourished, and soon this important branch of religious knowledge saw a great deal of local output. Khaoula Trad traces in her contribution both the history of the *ḥadīth*-commentary tradition in the Maghrib and the impact that some of these *ḥadīth* commentaries had on the rest of the Islamic world, focusing in particular on Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and on Abū al-'Abbās al-Qurṭubī's (d. 656 H/1258 CE) *al-Mufḥīm li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ kitāb Muslim*. These works reflect the fact that *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* seems to have been preferred over *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the western Islamic lands, one of many features that differentiated the Maghrib from the other regions.<sup>58</sup> While Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ's *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim* was read and used by the famed Syrian author al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE) in his *Minḥāj al-ṭālibīn*, Abū al-'Abbās al-Qurṭubī's works on both Muslim and al-Bukhārī (namely, *Ikhtīṣār Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*) were used by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 H/1449 CE).

Importantly, Abū al-'Abbās al-Qurṭubī settled in Egypt, where he taught and died. Having students in the East was a determining factor in establishing his fame and reputation, as was also the case with al-Ḥumaydī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī and Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī.<sup>59</sup>

Together with Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (d. 590 H/1194 CE) is one of the most successful Andalusī/Maghribī authors of all times.<sup>60</sup> Zohra Azgal highlights in her paper the profound impact that the field of Qur'ānic readings,

57 Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (2019).

58 As already noted by Goldziher 1967–71, 2: 234.

59 As already pointed by Takeshi Yukawa, who highlighted the importance of differentiating between two types of scholars: transit and settler. See Yukawa 1979.

60 Fierro (in press).

as developed in al-Andalus, had on the Islamic East, a process that can be traced back to scholars such as Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī (d. 437 H/1045 CE) and Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī (d. 444 H/1053 CE),<sup>61</sup> and one that culminated with Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī’s versification of al-Dānī’s *al-Taysir fī al-qirā’āt al-sab’*. Known as *al-Shāṭibiyya*, this didactic poem became “the teaching handbook’s bestseller for Qur’ānic readings” as Azgal describes it. The spectacular development of the *qirā’āt* genre in al-Andalus deserves further study in order to explain why it happened when it happened: mostly in the 5th/11th century, reaching its peak in al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century.<sup>62</sup> Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī left al-Andalus in 572 H/1176 CE. Having settled first in Alexandria before moving on to Cairo, he devoted himself to teaching and transmitting Qur’ānic readings. In the *ṭabaqāt* books, Azgal has identified thirty-one of al-Shāṭibī’s students from different regions of the Islamic world, many of whom attained important positions that helped them spread their teacher’s work on a large scale. The success of his work and the centrality it acquired in the pedagogical process across space and time explains the fact that in al-Qaṣṭallānī’s (d. 923 H/1517 CE) book on al-Shāṭibī, the latter is presented as a *walī*, a saint who never sinned and was endowed with many divine gifts. Azgal has also identified a large number of copies of *al-Shāṭibiyya* and in her PhD dissertation will focus on studying the production of manuscripts of his work in order to clarify its uses and functions, as well as the process through which the Andalusī *qirā’āt* school eventually prevailed in the Muslim world.

We have seen above that Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī left al-Andalus in 572 H/1176 CE, supposedly under the pretence of performing the *ḥajj*. In fact, it was not uncommon for scholars who found themselves in trouble with the authorities to use the pilgrimage as an excuse to leave the country, with the hope of returning once the political situation had settled down. In the meantime they also accumulated useful cultural capital, as the example of the reputed scholar Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 543 H/1148 CE) has shown.<sup>63</sup> A century later, problems with the new Naṣrid ruler made Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī and his father decide to leave al-Andalus in 636 H/1238-9 CE for the East, as explained by Iria Santás de Arcos in her contribution. She focuses on the continuous writing and rewriting of Ibn Sa‘īd’s most famous book, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, in terms of its sources, its authorship by different members of the same family, its structure and methodology, and its

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<sup>61</sup> Nasser 2013.

<sup>62</sup> This has been shown by Zanón 1997, 556.

<sup>63</sup> Garden 2015.

impact on the East.<sup>64</sup> While in Egypt, the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (d. 647 H/1249 CE) gave Ibn Saʿīd access to the royal libraries and in 640 H/1243 CE he was able to complete a first version that was very well received in Cairo. An important moment in Ibn Saʿīd's life that contributed to the dissemination of his work was the year 644 H/1246 CE, when he met the scholar Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660 H/1262 CE) and left Cairo to accompany him to Aleppo. From there he went on to Damascus, Homs, Mosul, Baghdad, Basra, Armenia, Mecca and Iran. In 675 H/1276 CE he finally returned to Tunis, where he stayed until his death in 685 H/1286-7 CE. Besides Ibn Saʿīd himself, three other scholars played a prominent role in the spread of the *Mughrib*: Muḥammad b. Hamūshk al-Tinmalī, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm. For Mamlūk authors the *Mughrib* constituted a valuable source, especially the part covering al-Andalus and North Africa. However, not many copies appear to have existed; today there is only one extant manuscript, preserved at Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya in Cairo, which seems to have been produced by the author himself. Later, this copy reached al-Ṣafadī's (d. 764 H/1363 CE) hands and those of other scholars, including Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809 H/1407 CE). The notes they left in the copy confirm that at the end of the 8th/14th century the manuscript was already in Cairo. Of fundamental importance in this process was the presence of a copy (perhaps the one preserved today) in the 9th/15th century in the library of the Muʿayyadiyya, which granted many scholars access to it, thus rendering the production of new copies less necessary. A number of other copies are known to have existed, in particular those made by Ibn Hamūshk and perhaps by al-Tifāshī, but no Maghribi manuscript has been preserved.

Verses included in Ibn Saʿīd's *Mughrib* were transmitted orally, having been committed to memory. The ways in which poetry spreads are not always easy to trace, just as it is not always apparent why specific poems or verses struck a chord with audiences of the past. An Andalusī invention in strophic poetry, the *muwashshaḥa*, is a case in point. Brought by Andalusī/Maghribi travellers to Egypt, Syria, Iraq and beyond, the *muwashshaḥāt* were embraced outside their place of origin in the second half of the 5th/11th century and especially during the 6th/12th century.<sup>65</sup> Ibn Khaldūn wrote how much the Easterners liked these poetic compositions,<sup>66</sup> but gave no explanation as to why. Ibn Zāfir al-Ḥaddād (d. ca.

<sup>64</sup> On the impact of Andalusī works on the literary field under the Mamlūks see Sālim al-Nawāfa'a 2008.

<sup>65</sup> Afandī 1999. As for the related form of the *zajal*, see Özkan 2018.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (2006–2007), 2: 566–602; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1967), 3: 440–480.



525 H/1131 CE), an Egyptian Fāṭimid poet from Alexandria, composed at least two *muwashshaḥāt* that seem to be the earliest examples from the East. Teresa Garulo's contribution concentrates on a specific *muwashshaḥa* by 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā' (d. 421 H/1030 CE). His *muwashshaḥāt* were a novelty within the new genre, as he was the first poet to insert internal rhymes in the parts of the poem called the *aghṣān*; so successfully, in fact, that the previous rhyme schemes seem to have been forgotten. In Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, Cordoban poet 'Ubāda b. Mā' al-Samā's *muwashshaḥa* beginning with the words "*Man walī*" became hugely popular, and yet there is no trace of it in Andalusī or Maghribī sources. Perhaps al-Ḥumaydī, whose teacher Ibn Ḥazm praised 'Ubāda's book on the poets of al-Andalus in his *Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*, was instrumental in transmitting it eastward. Ten emulations (*mu'āraḍāt*) of *Man walī* were produced in Syria and Egypt, in addition to one by a Yemeni poet, from the 6th/12th century all the way to the 20th century. Nobody found it necessary to explain why this poem attracted such attention. It probably had a musical accompaniment: *Kallilī*, the *mu'āraḍa* by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608 H/1211 CE) – or Muḥaffar al-'Aylānī (d. 623 H/1226 CE) – was sung from the beginning, and continues to be sung even today. As an Andalusī song, *Kallilī*'s prelude and first strophe appear in *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik*, the compilation of the texts of songs deriving from Andalusī music still sung during the lifetime of its author, Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Tiṭwānī (12th/18th century). Perhaps the music itself was the greatest attraction of the *muwashshaḥāt*.

## Part IV: Pathways of Reception from the Maghrib to the Mashriq

Ibn Khaldūn pointed to the linguistic barriers to Easterners' appreciation of the *zajals* written by Andalusīs because they were written in Andalusī colloquial Arabic. Likewise, among the texts that travelled with the scholars from al-Andalus and the Maghrib, those dealing with pharmacology involved foreign medical terms that required identification and clarification. Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva concentrates in his paper on the Andalusī Romance terms found in the book by the physician 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Tarkhān al-Suwaydī (or Ibn al-Suwaydī) (d. 690 H/1291 CE), *Kitāb al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt*, a repertory of names of simple medicines that is known for its linguistic richness. Arabic and its numerous dialectal variants is the language best represented in it, together with other languages from the Middle East (Nabataean, Coptic) and other geographical regions (Nubia, Armenia, the land of the Turks, Greek...), as well as

Berber. Al-Suwaydī's references to al-Andalus exceed by far his references to any of the other regions, including the author's native Syria. These are references to different plants or medicinal substances found in the Iberian Peninsula and to these substances' Andalusī names and synonyms. The information provided reflects an Arabic/Romance duality in al-Andalus that, however, does not necessarily reflect a persistent bilingualism in al-Suwaydī's times. In fact, together with the Arabic terms used specifically by Andalusī botanists, some of which belong to the Andalusī dialect, there are also references to their synonyms in Romance, generally referred to as *laṭīniyya* ('Latin'), but also as '*ajamiyyat al-Andalus*. Al-Suwaydī's source is the famed Andalusī botanist Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646 H/1248 CE), and his book is another piece of evidence to add to our knowledge of the extraordinary textual dissemination of Ibn al-Bayṭār's pharmacological work. There are many copies of his *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī al-adwiya al-mufrada* and even more of his *Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-aghdhīya*.<sup>67</sup> These books must have already become widely distributed during their author's lifetime, especially in Damascus where Ibn al-Bayṭār settled and died, and where al-Suwaydī may have studied with him.

The 7th/13th-century catalogue of the Ashrafiyya Library in Damascus has revealed that books from the western Islamic world were abundant in the original collection, either brought to Damascus by Maghribī travellers, or transcribed in Syria by Maghribī migrants.<sup>68</sup> We have also seen how the first non-Andalusī *muwashshahāt* were written in Alexandria, a Mediterranean commercial entrepôt where many Muslims, Christians and Jews from inside and outside *dār al-islām* arrived both by land and by sea.<sup>69</sup> Like other port cities, Alexandria was trans-regional, trans-religious and trans-cultural, a trading zone in which knowledge flowed in all directions. How did the transmission of knowledge interplay with long-distance trade routes, different forms of economic exchange and flows of merchants, pilgrims and travellers in general?<sup>70</sup>

Some of these travellers were mystics from the Maghrib and al-Andalus, from such towering figures as Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638 H/1240 CE) down to minor saints.<sup>71</sup> José Bellver studies in his paper a specific case of the vast influence that Andalusī and Maghribī Ṣūfism had outside the Iberian Peninsula, an

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<sup>67</sup> Fierro (in press).

<sup>68</sup> Hirschler 2016, 38 (the works of Ibn al-Bayṭār and of Ibn Sab'in's son, studied by Bellver, are not listed).

<sup>69</sup> Walker 2014.

<sup>70</sup> Marín 1998–99.

<sup>71</sup> Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr, *Risāla* (1986); Marín 1994.

influence that affected not only Muslims but also other religious communities, especially the Jews.<sup>72</sup> Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab‘in was the son of the most renowned intellectual mystic born in al-Andalus after Ibn al-‘Arabī, Ibn Sab‘in (d. 668 or 669 H/1270-1 CE), who had settled in Mecca, where he lived until his death. Thus, his son Yaḥyā may therefore have been born in the East. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab‘in’s *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm* – edited and translated by Bellver – is a short Ṣūfī text that summarizes some of his father’s insights into Ṣūfism, developing the concept of *muḥaqqiq* and depicting some metaphysical correspondences of the pair *muḥaqqiq/murīd*, i.e. realizer/aspirant. Although written from a Neoplatonic perspective, it manages to avoid the use of philosophical terminology. The only known manuscript is preserved today at the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul. Its copyist was ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafūrī al-Dimashqī (d. 1081 H/1670 CE), the teacher of the Ṣūfī scholar ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143 H/1731 CE), thus providing a new context for the latter’s interest in Ibn Sab‘in.

Textual transmission as explored in the previous contributions is also present in Kentaro Sato’s study of how Ibn Khaldūn presented himself in Mamlūk Cairo as a Maghribi scholar in possession of a Maghribi tradition of knowledge. In his first lecture on Mālik b. Anas’s (d. 179 H/796 CE) *Muwaṭṭa’* at the Ṣarḡitmish *madrassa* in Cairo, he made use of an *isnād* in which only Maghribi and Andalusī scholars appeared as transmitters, stretching back to Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī’s (d. 234 H/849 CE) *riwāya*, the quintessential ‘Western’ recension of the foundational text of the Mālikī legal school. As pointed out by Sato, almost no Mashriqī – including Egyptian – scholars ever went to the Maghrib to study this *riwāya*. Those who were interested – such as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī – could study it in Cairo under Maghribi scholars, but its value was limited in the Egyptian context, where it lacked the strong emotional resonance it had in the Maghrib. Moreover, it had to compete with other recensions that attached Mālik b. Anas’s *Muwaṭṭa’* to other regional contexts.

One of Ibn Ḥajar’s teachers had an *isnād* of Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭa’* that went back to the Andalusī Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520 H/1126 CE), a seminal figure in the re-establishment of the Mālikī legal school in Egypt after he settled in Alexandria. The presence of Mālikī jurists from the Maghrib and al-Andalus in post-Fāṭimid Egypt is studied by Maribel Fierro in her paper. Statistics drawn from the *ṭabaqāt* works by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE) clearly show that the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods saw an increase in the numbers of Mālikīs, some of whom were of Maghribi origin. Whatever their background, the Egyptian Mālikīs

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72 Wasserstrom 2000.

who left behind a written production could not but refer in their works to the Andalusī/Maghribī Mālikī tradition. However, Baybars's novel 663 H/1265 CE creation of four judgeships representing the four Sunnī legal schools led to a specific development, which Mohammed Fadel has called "the rise of the *mukhtaṣars*",<sup>73</sup> legal handbooks that offered the predominant doctrine of the school to be applied in the judicial court. Because this predominant doctrine had most often been established in the Maghrib, one would expect the Maghribī Mālikīs to have welcomed the *mukhtaṣars* with open arms. However, the introduction of the *mukhtaṣar* genre from Egypt to the Maghrib coincides with the composition of numerous compilations of Mālikī *fatāwā* – a genre that is absent among the Egyptian Mālikīs. Fierro's proposal is to see in such activities a way of deflecting the potential impact of the Egyptian *mukhtaṣars* on the Maghrib.

The impact that Andalusī and Maghribī Mālikism had in West Africa is well known, given the north-south direction of the process of Islamization in the region.<sup>74</sup> Adday Hernández's contribution focuses on a less explored area, the Horn of Africa, and on more recent times (19th and 20th centuries). Works from the Islamic West represented in the libraries and collections selected are classified into five categories: Ṣūfism and theology; linguistics and grammar; Qur'ānic sciences; jurisprudence; and others, including *adab* and medicine. As one might expect, her research has turned up an abundance of basic summarized texts on easy-to-memorize subjects, such as versified didactic works, which were very common in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. Specifically, we find Ibn Farāḥ's (d. 699 H/1300 CE) poem on *ilm al-ḥadīth*, the *Shāṭibiyya*, Ibn Mālik's (d. 672 H/1273 CE) *Alfiyya*, and al-Sanūsī's (d. 895 H/1490 CE) *Umm al-barāhīn*. A Mālikī legal manual that falls into this category of user-friendly and easy-to-consult books, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's (d. 386 H/996 CE) *Risāla fī al-fiqh*, is also represented. The establishment of the Tijāniyya order in the area explains the presence of certain Ṣūfī works that travelled mainly from Mecca-Yemen and secondarily from Egypt-Sudan. The two most popular Ṣūfī works throughout the Horn – both of Maghribī origin – are al-Jazūlī's (d. 869 H/1465 CE) *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* and Ibn 'Azzūm's (d. 960 H/1552 CE) *Tanbīh al-anām*, consisting of collections of prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad. The works studied represent around ten percent of those catalogued within the project *Islam in the Horn of Africa: A comparative literary approach* (dir. Alessandro Gori), that is, approximately 200 out of the more than 2,000 works analysed.

73 Fadel 1996.

74 See Anderson 1954, and more generally Usman 2009.

## Part V: Remaining Maghribi while in the Mashriq

Andalusi identity in different areas and from different perspectives has been the subject of a number of studies.<sup>75</sup> For example, focusing on the specific field of astronomy, Abdelhamid I. Sabra has stated that “the Andalusian sense of identity went further than self-praise and actually expressed itself in the creation of systems of ideas that were distinctly Andalusian and consciously directed against intellectual authorities in the Eastern part of Islam”.<sup>76</sup> The case of the Maghrib, however, is more complex, as it covers a broader geographical area and a variety of different polities, at times even encompassing al-Andalus, as was the case during the period of the Berber empires. Travelogues by Andalusī and Maghribī authors, then, are one tool that offers particular insight into how these travellers viewed themselves.<sup>77</sup> For example, famous Jewish Andalusī thinker Mūsā b. Maymūn al-Qurṭubī, better known as Maimonides (d. 1204), discusses the regional divide in explicit terms, highlighting the difference between the customs in Egypt, where he finally settled, and those “*chez nous* in the West (*‘indanā fī al-maghrib*)”.<sup>78</sup>

In his contribution, Umberto Bongianino offers a preliminary survey of manuscripts that reveal Maghribī emigrants’ use of their local scripts as enduring vehicles of cultural identity in the Mashriq. Some of these manuscripts were brought from back home in the West, while others were produced in the East, and all of them were read, annotated, and deposited in the mosques and *madrasas* of the eastern Islamic Mediterranean between the 6th/12th century and the 7th/13th century (in Bongianino’s study we once again see the crucial role of Alexandria). The distinctive appearance of such manuscripts reflects the intellectual pursuits and identity of scholars for whom the use of Maghribī scripts was a way to maintain a link with the cultural background from which they came. It was a trait they shared with others, and a link that was not at odds with adaptation and even acculturation to their new contexts, as with some of Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī’s autograph manuscripts, whose script and layout include a number of distinctive Mashriqī features.

Josef Ženka’s contribution also revolves around manuscripts and identity, being part of a wider, innovative and seminal research project that is recovering the manuscript legacy of Naṣrid Granada. In this case, he concentrates on a

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75 For example, in Martínez-Gros 1997; Marín 1999; Weber 2000; Marín 2001.

76 Sabra 1984, 143. Cf. for the field of grammar Carter 2011.

77 Ferhat 2001; Marín 2005; Ghouirgate 2010; Calasso 2014.

78 López Lázaro, 2013, 263, quoting Anidjar 2002. See also Brann 2000 and Alfonso 2008.

unique manuscript – a holograph of the Marīnid Chancellor Muḥammad Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī (d. 788 H/1386 CE) – that offers a valuable example of how Maghribis in the East represented themselves and were represented by others. By skilfully combining different types of source material, Ženka opens up new possibilities for assessing the cultural acts of expression that migrants performed according to their context and the persons involved, and the transformations in meaning that writings were subject to in time and space. In these circumstances, the evidence of how these migrants related to one other is of particular interest.

Takao Ito brings us back to another famous Maghribi, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 H/1406 CE), paying attention to the biographies written by his contemporary and near-contemporary authors. He shows how Maghribi sources from the 9th–10th/15th–16th centuries refer to him less than those produced in the East, especially in the Mamlūk sultanate. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī – who as noted above was partial to the Maghribi *isnād* of Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭaʿ* – criticized Ibn Khaldūn for stubbornly clinging on to Maghribi-style clothing instead of adopting the clothes worn by Egyptian judges.

## Next steps forward

The Eastern legal scholar and theologian al-Juwaynī (d. 478 H/1085 CE), when dealing with the nature and requirements of consensus (*ijmāʿ*), defined it as “the consensus of all those upon whom the sun has shone in the East and the West and by the agreement of the views of all scholars collectively”.<sup>79</sup> This inclusive attitude in the fields of law and theology was not always paralleled in other spheres: of Ibn Diḥya (d. 633 H/1235 CE) it is said that he wrote his *Muṭrib min ash‘ār ahl al-Maghrib* because Eastern authors of poetic anthologies routinely excluded poets from the West.<sup>80</sup> The engagement of Eastern scholars with the knowledge produced in the West took some time, one of the first cases being the writing of a refutation of the Cordoban Ibn Masarra’s (d. 319 H/931 CE) works by the Eastern author Abū Sa‘īd Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 341 H/952 CE). This started a long chain of such reactions that later included, for example, al-Dhahabī’s refutation of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān’s (d. 628 H/1231 CE) commentary on Ibn al-Kharrāṭ’s (d. 581 or 582 H/1185–6 CE) *al-Aḥkām*, *al-Radd ‘alā Ibn al-Qaṭṭān fī kitābihi Bayān al-wahm*

<sup>79</sup> Al-Juwaynī, *Ghiyāth al-umam* (1401/1980), 23; trans. by Hassan 2016, 101.

<sup>80</sup> Gallega Ortega 2004, 66.

*wa-l-ihām*.<sup>81</sup> The study of this type of works – especially when not limited to big names such Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī and Ibn Khaldūn – will do much to advance our knowledge about the reception of Andalusī/Maghribī intellectual production outside the Maghrib. Attention should be paid not only what was rejected, but also to what was absorbed or found useful, as in the case of Ibn Taymiyya’s use of Ibn Rushd.<sup>82</sup> There is certainly room for a monograph on the inclusion of Andalusī/Maghribī scholars in Eastern biographical dictionaries,<sup>83</sup> and about Eastern scholars who travelled to the Maghrib.<sup>84</sup> We have already mentioned the question of how the transmission of knowledge interplayed with long-distance trade routes, different forms of economic exchange, and the flows of merchants, pilgrims and travellers in general. In terms of the wave of migration to the East that took place especially from the 6th/12th century onwards, a study is needed into any networks of solidarity that the emigrants may have established, as well as the consequences that this ‘brain drain’ had on the Maghrib. The impact that the emigrants had outside scholarly circles is also in need of study.<sup>85</sup> Finally, a comparative perspective with similar processes affecting other regions of the Islamic world would considerably enrich our understanding of the case of the Maghrib. It is our hope to continue this project over the coming years in order to produce some of the studies here listed as desiderata.

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<sup>81</sup> These and other refutations can be found in *HATA*.

<sup>82</sup> Hoover 2018.

<sup>83</sup> See above notes 41 and 42. The materials already collected in the series *EOBA* will be of much help, as well as studies such as Ibrāhīm 2002.

<sup>84</sup> For al-Andalus, a preliminary study of the topic was carried out by Estefanía González during her stay at the Institute of Languages and Cultures of the Mediterranean, CSIC, with a JAE-Intro grant (2019). For the case of the Maghrib, see Sciortino 2010.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Frenkel 2008, 14.

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**Part I: Establishing Boundaries between the  
Maghrib and the Mashriq**





Giovanna Calasso

# Constructing the Boundary between Mashriq and Maghrib in Medieval Muslim Sources

## 1 Categorizing the world

The classification of the world's many facets – its territories, populations, languages and history – is one of the fields where the differences between cultures become most evident. Likewise, within a single cultural milieu, such classifications reveal the changes that occur over time in the way of conceiving oneself and others. It is also a field where the need to separate, to establish differences, and thus identities, is continuously held in check by networks of relationships that prove divides wrong, contradicting labels and classifications.

The second volume of the *New Cambridge History of Islam*, entitled *The Western Islamic World: Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, is a case in point. At first glance, it follows a rather unusual geopolitical structure, including, apart from the predictable first section on “Al-Andalus and North and West Africa (Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries)”, a second one on Egypt and Syria (11th c. until the Ottoman conquest), as well as a third one on Muslim Anatolia and the Ottoman Empire. It then returns to “North and West Africa (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)”, and concludes with a chapter dedicated to the “Ottoman Maghreb”. Thus, the label “Western Islamic World”, considered over a period spanning from the 11th century to the 18th century, applies here to a much wider geographical domain than one might expect. However, as can be inferred from Maribel Fierro's introduction to the volume, the Mediterranean orientation of the political powers and commercial trends, as well as the encounter/clash with Christian Europe, are the main elements binding together geographical areas that are not always strictly “western”. Meanwhile, the regions viewed as the Islamic East – including Iran and Central Asia – were much more profoundly influenced by the encounter/clash with Indian and Chinese civilizations.<sup>1</sup> Yet, as observed by the editors of the volume dedicated to *The Eastern Islamic World*, “crudely severing the lands

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1 Fierro 2010, 1–2.

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**Note:** English revision by Nicholas Callaway.

of Islam into two halves can easily generate the impression of a much greater divergence than was the case in reality”,<sup>2</sup> while at the same time the features that identify each of the two halves do not necessarily constitute a unitary reality. As Elton Daniel points out, if “Iran and the Islamic east can be understood as referring to those parts of the Islamic oecumene that had formerly been part of the Sasanian empire and where Islam came to be the dominant religion, but where Arabic did not establish itself as the vernacular language of the majority of the population”,<sup>3</sup> in fact “the Islamic east was not ‘a region’ so much as a group of regions [...] with great variations in terms of relations both with each other and with the greater commonwealth of the caliphate”.<sup>4</sup>

But how was the Islamic world seen from within, particularly by its own historians and geographers, as the actual or alleged unity of the great Caliphate stretching from Iberia to India progressively crumbled and new political powers came to the fore, while conflicts as well as diplomatic and commercial contacts with Europe – or, conversely, with India and China – shaped culturally diversified areas?

The aim of this chapter, then, is to explore when and how a boundary between Mashriq and Maghrib was conceived in medieval Muslim sources, and which elements can be identified as being at the basis of this dichotomy, as explicitly or implicitly found in geographical and historical works by Eastern and Western Muslim authors from the 3rd–4th/9th–10th century to the 6th–7th/12th–13th century, as well as in travel literature. The relationship between mapping the world in terms of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* – “the abode of Islam” and “the abode of war”<sup>5</sup> – and mapping the world of Islam itself in terms of East and West – *mashriq* and *maghrib* – will also be the object of some comparative remarks. Indeed, this study revolves around words which outline boundaries and convey different categorizations of the world and its inhabitants – us/them or inside/outside dichotomies – describing divisions even within the Islamic world. Such categorizations and dichotomies reflect, with varying degrees of clarity, different historical moments marked by major changes inside and outside the world under Muslim rule.

The binary *dār al-islām/dār al-ḥarb* was conceived by jurists of the entourage of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs in Baghdad following the stabilization of the vast Arab-Muslim territorial expansion, which had reached its peak under the Umayyads.

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2 Morgan/Reid 2010, 2.

3 Daniel 2010, 448.

4 Daniel 2010, 449.

5 On this topic, see Calasso/Lancioni 2017.

Devised by jurists as a necessary analytical instrument to deal mainly with the laws of warfare, it would also become the framework in which rules were established to manage a reality made up of movements, exchanges and relationships between individuals residing both inside and outside the domains of Islam.<sup>6</sup> More importantly, apart from their technical meaning in legal texts, *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* are two terms which have to do with the crucial issue of how to conceive of oneself and others, and how to translate this conception into words. In fact, these words were at first a terminological array that at a certain point crystallized into two conventional formulas,<sup>7</sup> constituting an oppositional pair, which would persist up to modern and contemporary times.

Unlike the *dār* dichotomy, the pair *maghrib/mashriq*, which has also persisted up to the present, arose in the 4th/10th century in Eastern geographical texts describing the lands of Islam. In the following pages it will be shown that also this binary – as used by Muslim geographers and travellers between the 4th/10th century and the 7th/13th century – reveals a complexity which goes far beyond descriptive geography, insofar as it introduces a dichotomy *within* “the realm of Islam”. As Ralph Brauer has demonstrated in his thorough analysis of 3rd–6th/9th–12th-century Muslim geographical sources, “apart from sea frontiers, sharply defined boundary lines within the Islamic empire were either non-existent or of little practical importance”.<sup>8</sup> This is true even after the breakup of the empire and the formation of numerous dynastic domains. Yet, does this neglect of inland boundaries between different (Muslim) political entities – as can be found in cartography, in geographical and historical writings, as well as in travelogues – “reflect certain fundamental traits of the intellectual or religious culture of the Islamic empire”? In other words, should this neglect be considered a consequence of “embedded attitudes” of Muslim culture?<sup>9</sup> If we consider Muslim geographers and travellers’ mental maps of their own world, we will find that internal boundaries clearly did exist, albeit between broader regions including the domains of multiple dynasties. However, to understand exactly what kinds of boundaries are at play here, it is crucial to highlight the historical framework in which they developed.

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6 Calasso 2010, 281–286; Calasso 2017, 25, 29–31.

7 See Lancioni 2017, 415–425.

8 Brauer 1995, 36.

9 Brauer 1995, 40–44.

## 2 *Dār al-islām/dār al-ḥarb, bilād al-islām/bilād al-rūm, the Rūm and the Ifranj*

Since the Persian Empire was removed from the political scene of the Near East in the mid-7th century CE, the territorial and political reality of *dār al-ḥarb* largely overlapped with the Byzantine Empire, mostly referred to by Muslim geographers and historians as *bilād al-Rūm*. Even in the works of 4th/10th-century geographers, who deliberately focused on describing Islamic lands, almost completely neglecting the “outside world”,<sup>10</sup> the expression *dār al-islām* rarely occurs – further proof of its being an abstract legal category. However, geographers did make use of other general and equally all-embracing expressions, such as *bilād al-islām* or *mamlakat al-islām*, as well as the word *islām* itself used in a spatial sense. Thus, on the whole, their perception of the existence of two distinct realms, one of which was identified by the reference to Islam, was similar to the binary emerging from legal texts.

As for Muslim historians, they do not usually employ the two oppositional terms coined by jurists either, and, even when describing the wars of conquest, simply name enemy territories after their inhabitants, i.e. *bilād al-Rūm*. For these territories, in particular for the Byzantine-Anatolian borders, which, still at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193 H/786–809 CE), the Muslims’ *jihād* campaigns continued to target primarily, geographers and historians even created a specific frontier terminology, *thughūr* and ‘*awāṣim*.<sup>11</sup> This is also the period in which jurists such as Abū Yūsuf (d. 182 H/798 CE) and al-Shaybānī (d. 189 H/805 CE) – both disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 H/767 CE) – started to use systematically the notions of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* in their works. Even so, the boundary between the two *dārs* is not mentioned in their writings, although it implicitly represents the *raison d’être* of this binary. Rather, they constantly evoke it through verbs of movement, mainly *dakhala fī / kharaja min* (to enter/to exit), since it is crossing this unspoken frontier which will have legal consequences.

Starting from the end of the 5th/11th century, a major historical change occurred, whereby the *dār al-ḥarb* par excellence became the Christian Europe or

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<sup>10</sup> Zayde Antrim, however, suggests that Ibn Ḥawqal’s text is actually much more engaged with lands outside “the realm of Islam” than his regional divisions might suggest. See Antrim 2012, 119. See also Martínez-Gros 1998, 326–327.

<sup>11</sup> See Bonner 1994, who outlines the long process that resulted in the ‘*awāṣim* and *thughūr* system, even though most sources agree in attributing it to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Latin Christendom of the *Ifranĵ*, while much of Anatolia by now included territories subject to Muslim authority. But the words – at least certain words – persist over time. Muslim jurists’ categories and terms – *dār al-islām/dār al-ḥarb* – would continue to be used up to modern times, with shifting meanings and boundaries,<sup>12</sup> as did the words *Rūm* and *rūmī* until the late Middle Ages, becoming less precise and more all-embracing in their use.<sup>13</sup> Although *al-Ifranĵ* was the name Eastern Muslim historians used for crusaders and, more generally, Latin Christians, in contrast to *Rūm/rūmī* – Byzantine Christians – in many cases the latter designation would eventually be used interchangeably for both. Out of many possible examples, it would be enough to quote a passage from Ibn Jubayr’s *Riḥla* (late 6th/12th century) in which the traveller, when mentioning the great defensive works Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) was building in Cairo, such as the citadel and the city walls, writes: “The forced labourers on this construction (...) were *the foreign Rumi prisoners* whose numbers were beyond computation”.<sup>14</sup> In this context, the “Rumi prisoners” can only be Latin Christians who were captured during the constant military expeditions taking place between Muslims and crusaders.

The looseness of the terms *Rūm/rūmī* has received the most attention in studies of medieval texts concerning commercial relations. For instance, Jessica Goldberg, who has recently carried out a thorough critical analysis of the Cairo Geniza materials and their interpretation, observes:

The eleventh-century Geniza does not record a single profitable trading venture to the north, within the frontiers of the large area known undifferentiatedly as *balad al-Rūm* – that is, the land of the Romans. To the Geniza merchants the people of these regions were *Rūm*, Romans – regardless of whether they were from the Northern Italian maritime republics, Byzantine Italy, Greece, or Asia Minor.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, Jews living in Muslim lands used the same basic terminology for the Christian world as those used by Muslims.<sup>16</sup> The Geniza commercial documents reveal

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**12** Besides the different theoretical orientations of Muslim jurists, the changes in historical circumstances inevitably gave rise to different ways of understanding the two terms through time. Over the centuries, Muslims constituted by turns a minority ruling over a majority made up of members of other religious communities, a ruling majority, a religious majority under non-Muslim political rule, and, in different contexts in early modern and modern times, a minority residing in “non-Muslim” countries (see Calasso 2017, 39). On this last issue see Abou El Fadl 1994.

**13** Examples of the persisting undifferentiated usage of the term *Rūm* for Byzantium/Byzantines and for Europeans as well, can be found in Lev 2017, 63–73.

**14** See Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 43; *Riḥla* (1907), 51 (*al-asārā min al-rūm*).

**15** Goldberg 2012, 306–307.

**16** See Lev 2017, 72.

a similar lack of precision regarding the area called the *Maghrib* and its people, the *Maghāribā*. Shelomo Dov Goitein was the first to call attention to the broad geographical meaning of terms such as *Maghrib*, comprising the entire Muslim Mediterranean world west of Egypt (North Africa, al-Andalus and Sicily) and *Rūm*, in the Geniza commercial documents designating both Byzantium and Christian Europe in general. According to Goitein,

The terminology [in the Geniza documents] betrays the existence of a deep barrier between the Muslim East and the Muslim West and between both and Europe (including Byzantine Asia Minor). When a person describes another as a *Rūmī* or a *Maghribī*, without specifying his city or country, he shows lack of familiarity with, or interest in, the latter's permanent or original domicile.<sup>17</sup>

However, Goitein's conclusions do not entirely correspond to reality,<sup>18</sup> and do not apply to Muslim authors in general, be they geographers, historians or travellers. Terminology – as Lev has pointed out – is often more rigid or schematic than reality: whereas we perceive only the opaque outer shells of these words, when used by medieval authors, their meaning is fluid, full of nuances that would not have been lost on their contemporaries.

### 3 *Maghāribā* and *Mashāriqa*

As for the people of the *Maghrib*, the word *maghāribā*, according to Muhammad Talbi, firstly

denotes the Arabic-speakers of the Muslim West as opposed to those of the East, known as *Mashāriqa*. This division of Arabic-speakers into *Mashāriqa* and *Maghāribā* (...) may be traced from its origins. The frontier between the two major groupings – Muslim Spain included, in spite of its special circumstances and its separate destiny – is still located east of Tripoli, at Lebda, which accounts for the peculiar situation of Libya, constantly divided between its *Maghribī* and Oriental associations.<sup>19</sup>

Besides the linguistic reference (“the Arabic speakers of the Muslim West as opposed to those of the East”), and the identification of a linguistic “frontier” between *Maghrib* and *Mashriq*, what stands out in Talbi's remarks is the fact that these definitions are essentially a matter of mutual perception: “The Arabs, who

<sup>17</sup> Goitein 1967, 43–44.

<sup>18</sup> See Lev's remarks on this issue (Lev 2017, 67, 69, 71).

<sup>19</sup> Talbi, “*Maghāribā*”, *EP*, 5: 1159.

settled on a permanent basis in the West, rapidly became sufficiently Maghribised or Hispanised *to appear different* from their racial compatriots who had remained in the East”. Similarly, in the opening paragraph of the “*Mashāriqa*” entry of the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Talbi states, “The concern here is rather with *the Mashāriqa who were perceived as such in the West by the Maghāriba*”.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, some revealing anecdotes are found in biographical dictionaries by Western Muslim authors. For example, in the *Tartīb al-madārik*, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE) describes how certain *maghāriba* living in the first two centuries of Islam were seen by their fellow Muslims in the East during their journey in search of knowledge. One such Westerner is the Tunisian of Persian origin Abū Muḥammad Ibn Farrūkh – a student of both Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H/795 CE), who called him “the *faqīh* of the Maghrib”. According to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, he was scorned (*izdarāhu*) by Zufar b. al-Hudhayl (d. 158 H/775 CE), one of Abū Ḥanīfa’s most important disciples,<sup>21</sup> on account of his Maghribi demeanour (*li-l-maghribiyya*).<sup>22</sup> However, Ibn Farrūkh ultimately got the better of Ibn Hudhayl (*qata’ahu bi-l-ḥujja*) in a dispute, and the latter was reproached by the master. Another is the famous Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 213 H/828 CE), who would become one of the most eminent jurists of Kairouan. During his apprenticeship in Medina, Mālik b. Anas reportedly allowed him to attend his lectures within the group of Egyptian students, because the teacher had noticed “his thirst for knowledge” (*li-raqhbatihi fī al-‘ilm*), although initially, being a Maghribi, he had had to attend the group of the *‘amma*, or common folk. Mālik’s full admissions hierarchy, in fact, was as follows: first the Medinese, then the Egyptians, and lastly, ordinary students, the *‘amma*.<sup>23</sup> As Talbi observes, “Peu importe que ces anecdotes soient vraies ou fausses: l’esprit qu’elles traduisent est authentique”.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Talbi, “*Mashāriqa*”, *EP*, 6: 712. Italics mine.

<sup>21</sup> On this little-known figure and his doctrines, see Cilardo 2008. Although Zufar b. al-Hudhayl was an important disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa, it was Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī who would come to be regarded as the master’s two main companions (Heffening/Schacht, “*Ḥanafīyya*”, *EP*, 3: 162–164).

<sup>22</sup> Talbi 1968, 44. For the entire biography of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Farrūkh al-Fārisī in *Tartīb al-madārik* by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, see Talbi 1968, 40–51. Born in al-Andalus in 115 H/733 CE, he eventually settled in Kairouan. He made two study trips to the East and died in Egypt on the way back from his pilgrimage (Talbi 1968, 50–51). See also al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* (1994), 176–187, where the above-mentioned episode is found in slightly more detail (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* [1994], 181).

<sup>23</sup> Talbi 1968, 53 (full biography 52–70).

<sup>24</sup> Talbi 1966, 20: “It is of little importance whether these anecdotes be true or false: the spirit which they express is authentic”.



According to Talbi, the examples show that the Maghrib at the very least had an inferiority complex vis-à-vis the Mashriq, a fact that would lead the Andalusī poet Ibn Bassām in the 6th/12th century to write indignantly in his *Dhakhīra*: “The people of our lands are eager to ape the Orientals...”<sup>25</sup>

In addition to their presence in biographical dictionaries – of which we have seen only a glimpse, as it is a field still to be systematically explored – as well as in sources such as the Geniza commercial documents,<sup>26</sup> the *maghāriba* also show up in geographical and historiographical texts in reference to the military. Lastly, customs, linguistic peculiarities, and ordinary people’s devotional practices are mainly to be found in travelogues.

As for the military, historical accounts of the Samarra period make repeated references to a regiment of soldiers called the *Maghāriba*.<sup>27</sup> The establishment of the regiment seems to date back to 210s H/830s CE, late in the reign of al-Ma’mūn’s (r. 197–218 H/813–833 CE). Al-Ya’qūbī (d. ca. 292 H/905 CE) in the section of his *Kitāb al-Buldān* dedicated to Samarra’s topography, states that the area inhabited by the *Maghāriba* was among the first neighbourhoods created by al-Mu’tasim (r. 218–227 H/833–842 CE) in his new capital, Samarra.<sup>28</sup> But who were the soldiers who constituted this *Maghāriba* corps? In a passage concerning al-Mu’tasim’s campaign against the Byzantine city of Amorium, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 H/923 CE) says: “On the third day the battle was fought by the Commander of the Faithful’s own troops in particular, together with the Maghāribah and Turks”.<sup>29</sup> As noted by Bosworth, the sources give little exact information about the ethnic or local origins of these “Westerners”, in contrast to the detailed information on the Khorasanians and Transoxianans.<sup>30</sup> Different hypotheses have been suggested: either they were Berbers from the Maghrib<sup>31</sup> or it was an ethnically mixed regiment: Arab tribes from the Delta region of Egypt, Berbers from North Africa,

25 Talbi, “Maghāriba”, *EF*, 5: 1159.

26 In Muslim geographical works commerce is mostly referred to as an exchange between regions, Maghrib and Mashriq, rather than between the inhabitants of these regions.

27 The main sources are al-Ya’qūbī, al-Ṭabarī and al-Mas’ūdī. See Gordon 2001, 37–38; Kennedy 2001, 119, 125–126. According to al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 263, together with Turkish troops and those from Ferghana and Khorasan, in Samarra there were also the *Maghāriba*, “who were granted lots near the river port on the Tigris” (Kennedy 2001, 119).

28 Gordon 2001, 38. More precisely, al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 263, states that “The place known as al-Azlah, which was where the *Maghāriba* foot-soldiers (*al-rajāla al-maghāriba*) lived, was one of the first parts of Samarra to be laid out” (al-Ya’qūbī, *Works* [2018], 1: 97).

29 Al-Ṭabarī, *History* (1991), 113.

30 Al-Ṭabarī, *History* (1991), 113, n. 317.

31 Talbi 1986, 1160.

and possibly blacks brought as slaves from East Africa.<sup>32</sup> However, as pointed out by Gordon, the only specific reference to the origin of the *Maghāribā* troops, that of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345 H/956 CE), associates them solely with the Ḥawf (Delta region): “(Al-Mu'taṣim) had shaped/trained (*iṣṭana'a*) a group from the two 'districts' of Egypt (*min ḥawfay Miṣr*), (that is) from the 'district' of Yemen, and from the 'district' of Qays. He called them the *Maghāribā*”.<sup>33</sup> In all likelihood, according to both Gordon and Kennedy, it was a corps made up of prisoners captured by Abū Ishāq, the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim, when he was sent to Egypt by his brother al-Ma'mūn to suppress unrest and bring the province firmly under the caliph's control.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, these “Westerners”, who made up an important corps in the army of Samarra,<sup>35</sup> where they had their own estates, were in all likelihood Arabs from the Delta region (Ḥawf), “not descendants of the original conquerors, but offspring of later immigrants who had been moved from Syria in Umayyad times”.<sup>36</sup> Their name, “the Westerners”, in this case has a relative meaning within the context of Samarra's troops, most of whom were Turks or soldiers from distant Ferghana in modern-day Uzbekistan. By comparison, troops from Egypt were certainly “Westerners”.

The term *Maghāribā*, then, as employed in 3rd–4th/9th–10th-century Eastern historiographical sources with reference to this 'Abbāsīd army corps, seems to have been used just as loosely as in the Geniza documents with reference to the *Maghāribā* merchants of the Mediterranean area between the 5th/11th century and the 6th/12th century.

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<sup>32</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *History* (1991), 113, n. 317. According to Gordon 2001, 38, this is not a very plausible hypothesis, since mixing different ethnic groups in one regiment was rare in this period.

<sup>33</sup> Gordon 2001, 38. The region to the east of the eastern branch of the Nile was called *al-Ḥawf*, the central region of the Delta was *al-Rif*, while the land to the west of the western arm was called *al-Buḥayra*, and later *al-Ḥawf al-Gharbī* (see Kramers 1995, 39). The term “districts”, in Gordon's translation of the passage, refers therefore to the two Ḥawfs, the two areas of the Egyptian desert, to the east and west respectively of the Nile Delta, where Arab tribes, from Qays and Yemen, had settled. In this passage Al-Mas'ūdī reports that al-Mu'taṣim had already enrolled military forces of different origins such as Turks, whom he favoured, but also the “Maghribis”, as well as soldiers from Khorasan, Ferghana and Ushrūsana, in Baghdad, *before* Samarra was founded. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies* (1873), 118.

<sup>34</sup> Gordon 2001, 38; Kennedy 2001, 125–126.

<sup>35</sup> As for their number, Bosworth refers to al-Bayhaqī's *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī*, written in the first decades of the 4th/10th century, where “it is mentioned, on the authority of the *rāwī* Ḥamdūn b. Ismā'il, that 4,000 *Maghāribā* were involved in a ceremonial parade on the occasion of the 'īd” (al-Ṭabarī, *History* [1991], 113, n. 317).

<sup>36</sup> Kennedy 2001, 125.

However, a small but telling detail in a passage from al-Ṭabarī's *History* reveals something more: the contemptuous way in which the "Easterners" regarded these "Westerners". It is the passage where al-Ṭabarī reports how Mazyār, rebel lord of Tabaristan, denounced general Afshīn for having instigated his revolt against the caliph and having proposed an alliance between them. In a list of the military forces that the caliph al-Mu'taṣim would have had at his disposal to combat them, three groups are mentioned, "the Arabs, the Maghāriba, and the Turks". Quoted as direct speech, the following comment is reported: "As for *the flies*" – meaning the *Maghāriba* – "they are only a handful".<sup>37</sup> It is an interesting passage both in terms of al-Afshīn's disdainful remark about the *Maghāriba* – could the term "flies" refer to their swarthy complexion, as Bosworth suggests<sup>38</sup>, or, perhaps more likely, to their presence being considered annoying, however harmless? – as well as for the fact that al-Ṭabarī, himself a Persian, perfectly understands who the expression hints at and feels the need to explain it to the reader.

It is known, however, that it would be in the Fāṭimid context that the *Maghāriba* were to enjoy a leading role in the military, first in Ifrīqiya, and then well into the Egyptian period. The Kutāma Berbers supplied the major contingents of the Fāṭimid army, and it is in Cairo that the antagonism between *Maghāriba* and *Mashāriqa* (which apparently predates the Fāṭimid conquest)<sup>39</sup> became particularly violent, starting with the passage from al-'Azīz's caliphate (r. 365–386 H/975–996 CE) to al-Ḥākim's (r. 386–411 H/996–1021 CE). The Westerners, as Walker points out, "comprised Arabs as well as Berbers, true Maghribis from Ifrīqiya along with the Ṣiqillis (and possibly Andalusis) – that is any one from west of Egypt".<sup>40</sup> They contrasted with the *Mashāriqa*, mainly Turks and Daylamis, who al-'Azīz had started importing in droves to create his own regiments of professional soldiers from the East, and to whom he offered prominent positions in the

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<sup>37</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *History* (1991), 191. Italics mine. Various degrees of contempt are also expressed in what is said about the other two groups: "As for the Arab, he is like a dog; i will throw him a scrap of food and then beat his brains out with a mace [...] As for the sons of devils – meaning the Turks – it is only a short period of time before they have loosed off their arrows, and then the cavalry [...] will destroy them to the last man".

<sup>38</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *History* (1991), 191, n. 548.

<sup>39</sup> Brett 2001, 161, traces back to the year 323 H/935 CE the rivalry between *Mashāriqa* (Turks) and *Maghāriba*, according to him "probably a combination of Berber and Black squadrons and regiments".

<sup>40</sup> Walker 2008, 48.

army as well as in the government. It is in fact during al-‘Azīz’s reign that “the standing of the Kutāma steadily diminished and that of the Turk rose”.<sup>41</sup>

Egypt is therefore the place where the Western and Eastern military forces – mainly Berbers and Turks, who took turns enjoying the Fāṭimids’ favour – faced off, struggling for power as of the first half of the 4th/10th century, which fits its characterization, across many writings and contexts, as a watershed between East and West.

And this leads us back to the analysis of the terminological pair *Mashriq/Maghrib*, first of all in geographical works, where the two terms arose as descriptive categories starting in the late 3rd/9th century.

## 4 Maghrib and Mashriq in Eastern geographical texts: al-Ya‘qūbī’s view (late 3rd/9th century)

As Claude Cahen observed five decades ago in an article full of both insight and unanswered questions,<sup>42</sup> Eastern Muslim historians almost completely ignored the part of the Islamic world known as the *Maghrib* – roughly the region west of Egypt<sup>43</sup> – until Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 H/1233 CE). Unlike his predecessors, he devoted to it a considerable part of his “universal” history *al-Kāmil fī al-ta’rīkh* (which covers events until 628 H/1231 CE), having got hold of enough material “pour écrire, sur l’histoire aussi bien du Maghreb ou de l’Espagne que de l’Asie Centrale, des chapitres d’une qualité qui en fait pour nous mêmes une source à consulter à égalité des sources autochtones”.<sup>44</sup>

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41 Walker 2008, 49.

42 Cahen 1970, 41–49.

43 In addition to Cahen’s remarks on the Arab historians’ scant interest in the events related to the territories west of Egypt, it is also worth mentioning the following observation by Goodchild: “The Arab documentary sources, relatively detailed in their account of the conquest of Egypt, dry up almost completely once the army of ‘Amr ibn al-Aasi moved westward from the Delta”. Even the fullest and most reliable account of the expedition, that of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, after stating that the Luwāta Berbers had long occupied Anṭābulus (Pentapolis) or Barqa, says no more than: “‘Amr ibn el-Aasi now entered the land with his horsemen and reached Barka, with whose inhabitants he made a treaty” (Goodchild 1976, 255).

44 Cahen 1970, 47. Cahen’s evaluation of Ibn al-Athīr’s ability to write “a number of chapters of such quality to constitute for us a source as valuable as local ones” about the history of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, as well as of Central Asia, must now be compared with Luis Molina’s analysis of Ibn al-Athīr’s work and his use of historical sources from al-Andalus. See Molina 2020. I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy of his paper before publication.

Predictably, al-Baladhurī (d. ca. 279 H/892 CE) hardly says anything in his *Futūḥ al-buldān* apart from the events of the conquest. Likewise, Egyptian historian Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257 H/871 CE) dedicates three quarters of his work on the Arab conquests in North Africa to Egypt. Even al-Ṭabarī, as Cahen observes, in the thousands of pages of his *Ta’rīkh*, did not dedicate more than a few lines to the events of the West, “dont les plus importants lui sont inconnus ou indifférents”.<sup>45</sup> Were the events of the West unknown to him, or else uninteresting?

With reference to al-Andalus, Luis Molina<sup>46</sup> has recently addressed the question of Eastern historians’ silence about the events of the Islamic West after the conquest, by focusing on the circulation of information on the Iberian peninsula among medieval historians from the Islamic East and their use of works written by authors from al-Andalus. The answer, supported by precise documentation, suggests that during the early stage – until the 4th/10th century – there was indeed scant information and interest, limited exclusively to the events of the conquest. Subsequent events are almost completely ignored, possibly for ideological reasons. In certain cases, there are grounds to believe that Eastern historians’ silence responded to a conscious decision.<sup>47</sup> A second stage – from the early 7th/13th century onwards – is marked instead, according to Molina, by a kind of passive attitude on the part of Eastern historians, who, rather than conduct research of their own, seem content to draw directly on Andalusī sources, by then circulating in the East, and which they simply include in their own works.

However, going back to Cahen’s remarks, by contrast with historians, some Eastern geographers between the late 3rd/9th century and the 4th/10th century had already provided well-documented descriptions of the Maghrib region. From this point of view, an especially enigmatic figure is historian and geographer al-

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<sup>45</sup> Cahen 1970, 43: “the most important of which (Western events) are unknown or uninteresting to him”.

<sup>46</sup> Molina 2020.

<sup>47</sup> It seems to be the case with al-Mas‘ūdī, who, as Luis Molina observes, in the geographical section of his encyclopaedic work *Murūj al-dhahab* gives many reports not only referring to the conquest of al-Andalus, but also to historical events up until the time his work was written. However, in the second part of the *Murūj*, a general history of the Islamic world, there is no mention of al-Andalus at all. According to Molina, this indicates that al-Mas‘ūdī was sufficiently informed about the history of al-Andalus, and if he did not include it in the historical section of the *Murūj* this was due to a conscious decision (Molina 2020). This, in turn, poses another question: why such a difference between the historian and the geographer? A problem that, as we will see, also concerns another Eastern author, al-Ya‘qūbī, and which perhaps has to do with the mental boundaries established by Muslim authors between different fields of knowledge. With reference to al-Ṭabarī, see also Calasso 2017, 26.

Ya‘qūbī<sup>48</sup>, who, as Cahen has pointed out, “comme géographe, décrit avec détail l’Afrique du Nord, où il a été, et qui, comme historien, ne connaît plus rien en dehors de l’Orient”.<sup>49</sup>

Thus it is perhaps worth taking as our starting point al-Ya‘qūbī – whose *Kitāb al-Buldān* was composed in the final decade of the 3rd/9th century<sup>50</sup> – in order to identify the path toward the establishment of a boundary between Mashriq and Maghrib in the writings of Muslim geographers.

Al-Ya‘qūbī’s perspective – that of a civil servant and member of the cosmopolitan ‘Abbāsīd elite – is resolutely Iraq-centric, openly stating that this region is “the centre of the world and the navel of the earth” (*waṣat al-dunyā wa-surrat al-arḍ*), in the same way as Baghdad is “the centre of Iraq” (*waṣat al-‘Irāq*), and a city that has no peer, “neither to the east nor to the west of the earth” (*allatī laysa lahā naẓīr fī mashāriq al-arḍ wa-maghāribihī*). Thus, in the words of Matthew Gordon, “the *Buldān* is properly described as an ‘imperial’ digest”.<sup>51</sup> The description of Baghdad, the original ‘Abbāsīd capital, is followed by that of Samarra, the ‘Abbāsīd capital for much of the 3rd/9th century, although by that time it had nearly reached the end of its history as imperial hub. Al-Ya‘qūbī could not be clearer about this, stating, “We began with them because they are the royal cities and the seats of the caliphate...”.<sup>52</sup> Around this centre, the other Islamic regions (al-Ya‘qūbī still does not use the expression *mamlakat al-islām*) are then divided into four “quarters” (*rub‘*, pl. *arbā‘*), the first being the eastern one, *al-Mashriq*, from Jibal to Khorasan, to Transoxiana. Next follows the southern *rub‘*: lower Iraq, Medina, Mecca, Yemen. The third *rub‘* is the northern one and, finally, the fourth is the western one, *al-Maghrib*. Unfortunately, the work we have at our disposal is incomplete. As explained by Everett K. Rowson, “A very large lacuna has deprived us of much of the Southern quarter (and part of what survives is

48 Our best source on al-Ya‘qūbī’s life is Yāqūt’s entry. However, the date of Ibn Wāḍih’s death as given by Yāqūt, 284 H/897 CE, is now considered untenable and should be moved to 295 H/908 CE. See Anthony/Gordon 2018, 12–13.

49 Cahen 1970, 43: “As a geographer, he describes in detail North Africa, where he has been, while as a historian he seemingly knows nothing but the East”. Gérard Lecomte, in a brief article, pointed out that also Ibn Qutayba (d. 276 H/889 CE), the great Sunni polymath and al-Ya‘qūbī’s contemporary, in his *Kitāb al-Ma‘ārif*, only mentions Ifrīqiya twice, in reference to the conquests, without saying anything about the founding of Kairouan, and writes but a few words about the West, both in the Umayyad and the ‘Abbāsīd periods, apart from reporting the arrival of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān – grandson of the caliph Hishām – who took over al-Andalus (Lecomte 1957, 253–255).

50 He himself says that he wrote the *Kitāb al-Buldān* fifty-five years after Samarra’s foundation (221 H/836 CE), hence around 276 H/889 CE. See al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works* (2018), 1: 101.

51 Gordon 2018, 6.

52 Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works* (2018), 1: 102.

mislabeled the Northern quarter), all of the Northern quarter, and the first part of the Western quarter”.<sup>53</sup>

The route westward starts from Aleppo in northern Syria, passing through Homs, Damascus, Jordan, Palestine, Lower and Upper Egypt, and even Nubia, the land of gold and emerald mines. Following this itinerary there is a paragraph describing the route from Egypt to Mecca, for the benefit of pilgrims, after which the author at last moves on to the Maghrib proper: “from Egypt to Barqa to *al-Maghrib al-aqṣā* (the far West)”. After describing the cities of Ifrīqiya, a short section is dedicated to al-Andalus, along with directions on how to reach it from Kairouan. The account then starts again from Tahert (in present-day Algeria), nicknamed “the Iraq of the Maghrib”, and closes with Sijilmāsa and al-Sūs al-Aqṣā (Morocco).<sup>54</sup>

Thus, in al-Ya‘qūbī’s five-area division – a centre, Iraq, surrounded by four *arbā‘* – the attention paid to the Maghrib is indeed limited. No more than fifteen pages are dedicated to the region, including al-Andalus, although it is also true that the information provided is fairly accurate<sup>55</sup>, in particular concerning the itineraries from place to place and the inhabitants. Here, the Maghrib region is simply the westernmost part of the “western *rub‘*” of the Islamic lands, taken to include Syria and Egypt as well. There is still no direct comparison with the Mashriq, nor any indication of a boundary separating the two. There is likewise no explicit hierarchy between the East and the West; the Maghrib is the last region to be described, but this is only logical since in the structure of the work the four *arbā‘* are described from east to west.

By contrast, a hierarchical view is openly expressed in a tradition reported by a contemporary of al-Ya‘qūbī, Iranian geographer Ibn al-Faḥīh, in his *Kitāb al-Buldān* (written ca. 290 H/903 CE). The same tradition is also found, in a slightly modified yet significantly different version, at the beginning of the Egyptian historian Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s (d. 257 H/871 CE) *Futūḥ Miṣr*.<sup>56</sup> According to this tradition, the earth was created in the shape of a bird, with each of the five main parts of its body corresponding to a region, or a group of regions, of the inhabited world: the head, in Ibn al-Faḥīh’s version, corresponds to China, the right wing to India, the left one to the Khazar region, while the chest is Mecca, Hejaz, Syria,

<sup>53</sup> Rowson 2018, 26. See also al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works* (2018), 1: 156, n. 484, where De Goeje’s note about this mislabelling – translated from Latin – is reported.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 342–360; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works* (2018), 1: 178–198.

<sup>55</sup> For what concerns the valuable information provided on toponyms, ports and fortifications, as well as water supplies, agricultural products and mineral resources in the section devoted to the Maghrib in al-Ya‘qūbī’s work, see Manzano 2017.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr* (1922), 1.

Iraq and Egypt. Finally, the tail corresponds to the region stretching from Dhāt al-Ḥumām (near Alexandria in Egypt) “to the land of the setting sun” (*ilā maghrib al-shams*), concluding with the remark that “the worst part of a bird is the tail” (*wa-l-sharru mā fī al-ṭayr al-dhanab*).<sup>57</sup> However, according to the version reported by Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ – son of the Muslim conqueror of Egypt – the bird’s head corresponds to Mecca, Medina and Yemen, while Egypt and Syria are its chest, Iraq and Sind the wings, and the Maghrib the tail. As can be seen, of the two variants of the tradition – whose origins are unknown – the one quoted by Ibn al-Faqīh refers to the whole world, identifying China as the bird’s head and placing Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Egypt in the centre. That of the Egyptian historian, on the other hand, limited to Islamic countries, gives pride of place to Arabia,<sup>58</sup> but chooses Egypt and Syria to occupy the centre, the chest of the bird, placing Iraq on the right wing, and Sind on the left. Both accounts, however, leave the worst part – the tail – to the Maghrib.

A similar hierarchical view does not have any explicit correspondence in al-Ya‘qūbī’s work. What is interesting, rather, is the attention the author devotes to the variety of ethnic components of the Maghrib and the relevant terminology. Of the three political powers unevenly dividing Northern Africa at the time, the Aghlabids of Kairouan, the Rustamids of Tahert and the Idrisids of Fez, al-Ya‘qūbī’s survey of the tribes’ distribution mostly covers the Tahert area. One of the most significant features that emerges, too, is the fragmentation of the ancient tribal groups.<sup>59</sup> However, aside from this fragmentation, what draws the geographer’s attention is more generally the mix of people who inhabit these territories, even in cities and their suburbs, mainly in Ifrīqiya: Arabs, Persians, and ‘*ajam al-balad*, “the non-Arab locals”,<sup>60</sup> among whom he draws further distinctions based on their various places of origin. There are also the *Rūm*, descendants of the ancient Byzantines who ruled the country before the Arab conquest, as for instance in the city of Barnīq, on the Mediterranean coast (“the coast of the Salt Sea”): it is inhabited by people descended from the ancient Romans, who in former times had made up the city’s population (*wa-ahluhā qawm min abnā’ al-rūm al-qudum alladhīna kānū ahlahā qadīman*).<sup>61</sup> Sometimes they are also defined as *baqāyā al-Rūm*, “the remaining Rūm”, in all likelihood the descendants of the

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57 Antrim 2012, 96, 133.

58 It is still to be established whether, given this symbolic recognition of Arabia, the head or the chest is in fact more important in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s mental hierarchy.

59 Marçais 1957, 38.

60 On this autochthonous minority under the Aghlabids, see Bahri 2000, which focuses in particular on their legal and social status as well as the chronology of their Islamization.

61 Al-Ya‘qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 343.



soldiers and officials of the Byzantine Empire, who had established themselves there two or three centuries earlier. Finally, there are the less easily identifiable *Afāriqa*, who are distinguished from the Berbers by al-Ya'qūbī and who, according to Marçais, could essentially be identified by the language they spoke, neither Arabic nor Berber nor Greek, but perhaps the variety of Latin spoken in the ancient Roman province.<sup>62</sup>

The term *akhlāṭ*, which indicates a “mixture”, frequently occurs in this section of his work when referring to the people who inhabit the Maghrib region, who are ‘*arab*, ‘*ajam* and ‘*ajam al-balad*, the latter being the group in which the geographer includes Berbers, *Rūm*, and *Afāriqa*. As for the ‘*ajam*, the Eastern non-Arabs, “We can find some individuals coming from Khorasan, Basra and Kufa (*akhlāṭ min ahl khurāsān wa-min al-baṣra wa-min al-kūfa*)”,<sup>63</sup> but above all the ‘*ajam* are represented by the Persians of the Ibādī principality of Tahert, which he refers to as the “Iraq of the Maghrib”. The term *akhlāṭ* is used to characterise the mixture of groups in general – as in the expression *akhlāṭ min al-nās* (“a mixture of people”) when speaking of Tripoli’s inhabitants – while Gabes’s population is more precisely described as “*akhlāṭ min al-‘arab al-‘ajam wa-l-barbar*” (a mixture of Arabs, Eastern non-Arabs – i.e. Persians – and Berbers).<sup>64</sup> In Kairouan, the mixture is even more heterogeneous, made up of people from the Quraysh and other Arab tribes, Eastern non-Arabs (Persians) from Khorasan (*min quraysh wa-min sā’ir buṭūn al-‘arab (...) wa-bihā aṣnāf min al-‘ajam min ahl khurāsān...*) as well as “autochthonous non-Arabs” (‘*ajam min ‘ajam al-balad*), Berbers and *Rūm*.<sup>65</sup> As for the cities of Qasṭīliya, “the inhabitants of these cities are non-Arabs descending from the ancient *Rūm*, *Afāriqa* and Berbers” (*ahl hādhihi al-mudun qawm ‘ajam min al-rūm al-quḍum wa-l-afāriqa wa-l-barbar*);<sup>66</sup> and in the Zab region, a ten-day journey from Kairouan, “the mixture is made up of Quraysh and other Arab tribes of the army, Eastern non-Arabs (Persians), *Afāriqa*, *Rūm* (Byzantines) and Berbers” (*wa-bihā akhlāṭ min quraysh wa-l-‘arab wa-l-jund wa-l-‘ajam wa-l-afāriqa wa-l-rūm wa-l-barbar*).<sup>67</sup>

Considering that just over ten pages are dedicated to the Maghrib, the concentration of such detailed information on this theme is remarkable. Besides al-

<sup>62</sup> Marçais 1957, 41–42, supports this hypothesis with the fact that al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century), a much later author, claims that in Gafsa, which he refers to as “the city of the *Afāriqa*”, “most people still speak the Latin language of Africa” (*al-lisān al-latīnī al-afāriqī*).

<sup>63</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 345.

<sup>64</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 347.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 348.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 350.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *al-Buldān* (1892), 350.

Ya‘qūbī’s attention to the heterogeneous ethnic composition of the Maghribi population, we can also perceive his concern with the temporal stratification of its different components, in a word, with the history of these regions that witnessed in different periods the overlapping of Berbers, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and Persians. The recurrence of formulaic expressions such as *al-‘ajam al-quḍum*, *al-rūm al-quḍum*, *al-barbar al-quḍum*, *al-jund al-quḍum*, *al-afāriqa al-quḍum*, however imprecise, evokes a past tied to this ethnic diversity.

Also in the section devoted to the eastern *rub‘* – particularly the area from Nahrawan to the main cities of northern Iran (Dinawar, Qazvin, Nihavand, Isfahan, Rayy, Nishapur, Sarakhs) – al-Ya‘qūbī points out on almost every page that the inhabitants are a mixture of Arabs and non-Arabs, the latter mainly called ‘*ajam*, and only three times by their own name: Persians (*al-Furs*).<sup>68</sup> What is worth noting with reference to the Maghrib is that when specifying what the “mixture” is composed of, next to the well-known, longstanding dichotomy ‘*arab/‘ajam*, a new entity appears, that of ‘*ajam al-balad*, the autochthonous non-Arabs (or non-Arabic speakers), i.e. the non-Arabs of the western regions, a category which, according to al-Ya‘qūbī, only partially overlaps with the Berbers.<sup>69</sup> This new component, in symmetrical opposition to that of the Eastern ‘*ajam*, is now given recognition.

## 5 *Al-Mashriq and al-Maghrib in mamlakat al-islām: the contrasting views of Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī (4th/10th century)*

### 5.1 Ibn Ḥawqal’s Maghrib as the land of the Berbers

The first emergence of *al-Maghrib* as a distinct reality from *al-Mashriq* in *mamlakat al-islām* is to be found in the works of the 4th/10th-century Eastern geographers Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī, each of whom nevertheless assesses this reality in different terms. It was still not so in the work of their predecessor – and Ibn Ḥawqal’s teacher – al-Iṣṭakhri, a native of Fārs, whose *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik* was written in the mid-4th/10th century. In the whole of his work, Iran

<sup>68</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works* (2018), 1: 103–114; *al-Buldān* (1892), 270–279. Three times does the author mention also the Kurds among the non-Arabs (al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works* [2018], 1: 103, 104, 109).

<sup>69</sup> See Marçais 1957, 39–42.

– and in particular the author’s native region of Fārs – is placed at the forefront and given ample space, even though the Arabian peninsula – *diyār al-‘arab* – comes first in the text, followed by the description of the surrounding *baḥr Fāris*, by which the author means not just the Persian Gulf but the Indian Ocean as a whole. The ensuing countries are then described as an uninterrupted sequence from west to east, although there is no particular stress on an East/West boundary.<sup>70</sup> It is only with Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī, the two eminent successors of al-Iṣṭakhri in the 4th/10th century, that the Maghrib gains visibility in the general framework of *mamlakat al-islām*.

In the eyes of Eastern Muslim geographers, Egypt seems to be the last region of the East bordering the Maghrib, or rather, as the Palestinian al-Muqaddasī puts it – specifically referring to al-Fuṣṭāṭ – it is “the point of intersection between *al-Maghrib* and the lands of the Arabs (*faṣl bayna al-Maghrib wa-diyār al-‘arab*)”,<sup>71</sup> seemingly implying that the West is an ethnically different reality; does he mean to say that it is the land of the Berbers? The comparison between Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī, as we will see below, shows significant differences in this respect and others.

The first *detailed* description of the medieval Maghrib can be ascribed to Iraqi geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. second half of the 4th/10th century);<sup>72</sup> as Garcin wrote in his important 1983 article on the subject, “Due à un oriental, elle a marqué la place désormais acquise par ce pays dans l’empire de l’Islam”.<sup>73</sup>

Thus, the 4th/10th century officially marks the emergence of the binary division of “the Islamic world” into Mashriq and Maghrib. Whereas the *dār al-islām/dār al-ḥarb* dichotomy was conceived as such by Sunni Muslim jurists, the *mashriq/maghrib* binary as it emerged in these 4th/10th-century geographical texts was the result of Eastern authors’ “acknowledgment” of the Western region

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70 As for the part on the Maghrib in al-Iṣṭakhri’s work, André Miquel has highlighted its value, even though in terms of size and quality of information it is not comparable to the chapter Ibn Ḥawqal dedicates to it. The Maghrib is seen by al-Iṣṭakhri as divided into two halves, an eastern and a western one, the latter coinciding with al-Andalus. Moreover, as Miquel points out, the things al-Iṣṭakhri leaves out of the chapter prove to be equally interesting, for instance Sicily, which he does not perceive as part of the Maghrib (Miquel 1973, 231–239).

71 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1877), 197. In translating *faṣl* as “point of intersection” I have followed Miquel 1972, 115–116.

72 The dates of his birth and death are unknown. What is known is that starting in 331 H/943 CE he undertook a series of journeys through various regions of the Islamic world. His trail is lost after 362 H/973 CE, when he travelled to Sicily (Miquel, “Ibn Ḥawqal”, *EF*).

73 Garcin 1983, 77: “Being the work of an Easterner, it designated the position this land had acquired by then within the Islamic Empire”.

of the Muslim territories, beginning with Ibn Ḥawqal, who devotes a lengthy chapter to “*al-maghrib*”. This name designates a region with precise boundaries, starting in the vicinity of Barqa and stretching westward over the whole of North Africa, also including al-Andalus and Sicily. Mainly inhabited by Berber populations, this region, whose principal activity reported is trade, includes many cities whose names and features are duly indicated and described, along with the roads that connect them. The East/West dichotomy remains implicit, and yet clearly perceptible.

*Al-mashriq*, the eastern part of the Muslim territories, is not mentioned in Ibn Ḥawqal’s work by this name, nor are its borders defined. However, the organization of the material in his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* reveals the hierarchy the author has in mind: following al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal starts off by describing *diyār al-‘arab* – by which he means specifically Arabia – “because Mecca, that is the *qibla*, is found there, and because it is the land of the Arabs, their homeland, which they inhabit without having shared it with any other peoples (*balad al-‘arab wa-awṭānuhum lam yashrakhum fī suknāhā ghayruhum*)”.<sup>74</sup> What follows, as a geographical corollary, is a section devoted to the Indian Ocean (*baḥr Fāris*), due to the fact that it surrounds Arabia on three sides. However, after this due tribute to the cradle of Islam, the author goes on to describe all the Muslim territories from west to east: first the Maghrib, which includes al-Andalus and Sicily;<sup>75</sup> then Egypt, which therefore is not part of the Maghrib, yet is not explicitly defined as part of the Mashriq either; next Syria, followed by a section devoted to the Mediterranean. The author then turns to Jazira and Iraq, which according to him is the best province, blessed with all possible advantages, yet so well known that he declares there is no need to dwell on it for long. Then he moves on to the north-western regions of the eastern Muslim lands – Armenia, Azerbaijan and Jibal – followed by the lands of the north of Iran, Daylam and Tabaristan. An interlude

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74 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 18. Ibn Ḥawqal’s description of Arabia almost seems to represent the opposite of that of the Maghrib given more than fifty years before by al-Ya‘qūbī, who highlights the heterogeneous ethnic composition which characterises the western regions of the lands of Islam, as well as those of north-eastern Iran. Could we already see behind al-Ya‘qūbī’s stressing this mixture of peoples, an implicit comparison with Arabia and its ethnic identity?

75 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 131. Ibn Ḥawqal, after having described North Africa as well as al-Andalus and Sicily, concludes the section with these words: “this is the description of the Maghrib in its entirety” (*wa-hādhihi jumal min awṣāf al-maghrib*). Already in a previous passage, he indicates that al-Andalus is part of the Maghrib (*wa-hiya fī jumlat al-maghrib*). See Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 62.

is then devoted to the Caspian Sea (*baḥr al-Khazar*), before going back to Khorasan and the deserts of Fārs. Lastly, the author turns to Sijistan, Khorasan and Transoxiana.

It is true that, on the whole, Ibn Ḥawqal dedicates the majority of his work to the region of Iran, as pointed out by Gabriel Martinez-Gros.<sup>76</sup> It is also true that in the initial part of his work, in which he provides the general coordinates of *mamlakat al-islām*, including its overall length, Ibn Ḥawqal specifies: “When mentioning the length of the Islamic territories (*tūl al-islām*) I have neglected [to consider] the border of the Maghrib up to al-Andalus because it is like the sleeve of a garment (*li-annah ka-l-kumm fī al-thawb*)”.<sup>77</sup> However despite this apparently unflattering consideration of the westernmost territories of Islam (but is “the sleeve of a garment” the whole of the Maghrib or only al-Andalus?), the number and the quality of the pages dedicated to the description of the western region, as well as the vast amount of information given, shows that in Ibn Ḥawqal’s view it is far from being a secondary, remote periphery of *mamlakat al-islām*. It is also worth mentioning a passage, within the section dedicated to the Mediterranean, in which the Byzantine territories (*bilād al-Rūm*) and the Maghrib are compared: “the countries of the Rūm are far from possessing the means and the strength at the Maghrib’s disposal (*lā yuqāribu asbāb al-Maghrib wa-ḥaddahu*) [...]. I have already mentioned the Berber tribes inhabiting its deserts [...] and I have stressed the strength, the vigour, the resistance and the energy they possess (*quwwa wal-jalad wa-maḥalluhum fī al-ba’s wa-l-shidda*)”.<sup>78</sup>

Ibn Ḥawqal, as stated in his introduction, intended to compile a more complete work than his predecessors, setting himself the goal of studying the reasons behind the differences between countries: their customs, their culture and the ways and paths they adopt (*ilā kayfiyyat al-bayn bayna al-mamālik fī al-siyar wal-ḥaqā’iq wa-tabāyunihim fī al-madhāhib wa-l-ṭarā’iq*).<sup>79</sup> What makes the Maghrib different from the other regions of the Muslim world is the Fāṭimid Caliphate, whose leader Ibn Ḥawqal mainly refers to as the “Lord of the Maghrib” (*ṣāḥib al-*

<sup>76</sup> Martinez-Gros 1998, 323.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 17.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 200.

<sup>79</sup> Garcin 1983, 78; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 3, 1.9.

*maghrib*), and whose influence he sees as pervasive.<sup>80</sup> The intricate textual question of the different, contrasting versions of Ibn Ḥawqal's work<sup>81</sup> – including “pro-Fāṭimid” or “anti-Fāṭimid” passages – which has reemerged with the recent discovery of a manuscript that would appear to contain its earliest version,<sup>82</sup> continues nevertheless to be unresolved. Without trying at all costs to ascribe to the author an exclusive and unambiguous political allegiance, it is undeniable that he felt the presence of the Fāṭimids in this area was significant, and the fact remains that the success of the Fāṭimids clearly hinged on the Maghrib. This, in Garcin's words, was the main reason why “le Maghreb a fait une si belle entrée dans la littérature géographique”.<sup>83</sup> And here is the second and most important distinguishing feature of the Western lands: Ibn Ḥawqal's Maghrib is the land of a people, the Berbers. There is hardly a page that does not mention them, whether by name, or in terms of their presence in different areas; their farming, animal husbandry or trade activities; or their customs, whether to praise or criticize them. Moreover, toward the end of the chapter on the Maghrib the amount of information on them increases, including a summary in which Ibn Ḥawqal provides the reader with the names of their tribes and the clans of which each tribe is composed.

Among the “new” peoples, so to speak, that Ibn Ḥawqal discovered during his travels, he particularly appreciated the inhabitants of Khorasan and Transoxiana in the East and the Berbers in the West, and thought that all three groups shared a set of common traits.<sup>84</sup> He saw the Berbers as a great people capable of

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**80** Garcin 1983, 78, n. 11. See Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1938–39), 83: “All the region between Ifriqiya and Tangiers are under the rule of the lord of the Maghrib” (*kullu dhālika fī jumlat ṣāhib al-maghrib*); Yūsuf b. Zīri is called the “deputy of the lord of the Maghrib” (*khalīfat ṣāhib al-maghrib*) (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* [1938–39], 78). The expression is sometimes used in the plural, *aṣḥāb al-maghrib* (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* [1938–39], 105). In other passages Ibn Ḥawqal refers to the Fāṭimid caliph as *mawlānā amīr al-mu'minīn* (“our lord, the commander of the faithful”; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* [1938–39], 72) or *mawlānā 'alayhi al-salām* (“our lord, peace be upon him”; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* [1938–39], 79, 72 in the plural), or also as *sultān al-maghrib* (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* [1938–39], 75). On the implications of these different denominations, and their presence or absence in the various versions of Ibn Ḥawqal's work, see Bencheikroun 2016, 202–205.

**81** For a synthetic overview, see Ducène 2017.

**82** See Bencheikroun 2016.

**83** Garcin 1983, 85: “this was the main reason why the Maghrib made such a grand entrance into geographical literature”.

**84** See Garcin 1983, 87 about certain Berber tribes' extraordinary ability to find their way in the desert, which he compares to similar reports about the inhabitants of Ferghana, Ushrūsana, Isbjāb and Khwārizm (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* [1938–39], 101–102).

extraordinary endurance, and so believed that the Fāṭimids' strength came from having the Berbers at their disposal.<sup>85</sup> Gone are the *akhlāṭ al-nās* or *'ajam al-balad* including *Rūm* and *Afāriqa*: here the Berber presence is the defining trait of the Maghrib.

Therefore in Ibn Ḥawqal's work, the main components of the identity of the region called *al-Maghrib*, and implicitly of the distinction between Mashriq and Maghrib, seem to be, on the one hand, and whatever his position towards them may have been, the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimids – the heterodox political-religious power challenging the mainstream or “orthodox” Islam of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate – and, on the other, the region's non-Arab prevailing ethnic group, the Berbers, to whom Ibn Ḥawqal credits the Fāṭimids' success.

## 5.2 Al-Muqaddasī's Maghrib, the far-off western periphery of the Arab regions

The topic is organized altogether differently by Palestinian geographer al-Muqaddasī, a contemporary of Ibn Ḥawqal,<sup>86</sup> who divides *mamlakat al-islām* into two groups of regions:<sup>87</sup> *aqālīm al-'arab* and *aqālīm al-'ajam* – the latter being the regions of the Eastern non-Arabs (Persians and others) – for a total of 14 *aqālīm*, 6 Arab and 8 non-Arab. In this division, the Maghrib, made up of North Africa, al-Andalus and Sicily, is listed as the sixth and last Arab *iqlīm* after Arabia, Iraq, Aqūr (Jazira), Syria, and Egypt. In order of appearance in the text, the eight *aqālīm al-'ajam* are: al-Mashriq, Daylam, al-Riḥāb,<sup>88</sup> Jibāl, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān and Sind,<sup>89</sup> “*al-Mashriq*” being just the easternmost reaches of these *aqālīm*, which al-Muqaddasī further divides into two parts (*jānibān*), situated on either

**85** Garcin 1983, 87. This trait of Ibn Ḥawqal's in a way anticipates Ibn Khaldūn's vision of a new ethnic group, a new *'aṣabiyya*, able to defend and once again give vigour to the threatened Islamic world: a new ethnic group which the latter, at the end of the 8th/14th century, would instead identify with a people of Eastern origin, the Mamlūk Turks, at the time lords of Egypt.

**86** The year of his death is unknown. Miquel was inclined to place it around 381 H/991 CE (at al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* [1963], XVI).

**87** As in al-Balkhī (d. 322 H/934 CE), *iqlīm* does not correspond to the Ptolemaic geographical term *klima*, but rather is a geographical entity, a “country”.

**88** This word, “highlands”, indicates the region including Azerbaijan, Arran and Armenia.

**89** Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* (1963), 28.

side of the river Oxus (Khorasan and *Hayṭal*, i.e. Transoxiana), pointing out a parallel with North Africa and al-Andalus, the two *jānibs* of *al-Maghrib*.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, in al-Muqaddasī's usage, *Mashriq* and *Maghrib* are not names that indicate the East and the West of the Islamic Empire as a whole, but have a more precise meaning, designating respectively the name of its easternmost region and its westernmost one, from Barqa to al-Andalus. The point is that al-Muqaddasī, in his classification of the regions of *mamlakat al-islām*, continues to use the "classical" dichotomy 'arab/'ajam (Arabs/Eastern non-Arabs, that is, Persians), completely overlooking the "newer" Arab/Berber dichotomy. Moreover, in spite of the 'arab/'ajam distinction between the regions, the Islamic oecumene is tacitly divided into three parts: the centre, i.e. Arabia and Iraq; the East, comprising all the Iranian regions, Sind and Transoxiana; and the West, made up of not just North Africa, al-Andalus and Sicily, but also Egypt and Syria.

As with Ibn Ḥawqal, in al-Muqaddasī's text the description of the countries also begins with *jazīrat al-'arab*. Here, however, we encounter a further set of justifications for this decision: "because the Ka'ba (*bayt Allāh al-ḥarām*) and the city of the Prophet are found there, because Islam started spreading from there, and because the caliphs *rāshidūn*, as well as *anṣār* and *muhājirūn* resided there",<sup>91</sup> all reasons which are more religious than geographical.

As for *iqḷīm al-maghrib*, "it extends from the borders of Egypt (*min tukhūm Miṣr*) to the Ocean (*al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*), and it looks like a ribbon (*sharīṭa*), enclosed between the Mediterranean to the north and the land of the blacks (*bilād al-sūdān*) to the south".<sup>92</sup> Moreover, as already mentioned, al-Muqaddasī includes it among *aqālīm al-'arab*. Berbers are neither given any particular weight in his description – in any case far less than in Ibn Ḥawqal's work – nor are they the object of his appreciation. For example, when informing us that in the province of Setif (Algeria) the countryside is mainly inhabited by Berbers, who are most numerous in Sūs (Morocco), he remarks that they are "a population like those from Khwārizm: their language is unintelligible, their character unpleasant, because they are mean and hard" (*ma'a khissa wa-shidda*).<sup>93</sup> Interestingly the same term, *shidda*, is used by both al-Muqaddasī and Ibn Ḥawqal, but with a quite different

<sup>90</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 216: "wa-qad ja'alnā al-maghrib ma'a al-andalus ka-hayṭal wa-khurāsān".

<sup>91</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 67. As for the reasons mentioned by Ibn Ḥawqal, see above, section 5.1.

<sup>92</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 62.

<sup>93</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 243.



meaning. What in Ibn Ḥawqal's praise was "force, energy"<sup>94</sup> is in al-Muqaddasī's view "hardness".

Two contemporary and yet different views of the Maghrib emerge: Ibn Ḥawqal, who declares his own interest in the differences within the Islamic world, highlights the positive aspects of the Berber tribes constituting the bulk of the region's population, emphasising the hegemony of this ethnic group; al-Muqaddasī, instead, includes the Maghrib and its inhabitants in the "Arab" regions, focusing perhaps on political hegemony, which in the 4th/10th-century Maghrib was still in Arab hands (the Fāṭimids), and whose centre would shift to Egypt, in fact part of the same set of *aqālīm al-'arab*. However, this *iqlīm al-Maghrib*, despite being a vast, thriving province, with a large number of cities and villages, abundant resources, gardens and numerous fortifications, is, in his eyes, "a remote region, with many deserts, difficult and dangerous roads (*illā annahu ba'īd al-aṭrāf kathīr al-mafāwiz ṣa'b al-masālik kathīr al-mahālik*), placed in a corner of the Islamic world (*fī zāwīyat al-islām mawḍū'*) [...]. There is nobody who wishes to go there, who is curious about it, or who praises its merits (*fa-lā fīhi rāghib wa-lā lahu dhāhib wa-lā 'anhu sā'il wa-lā yufaḍḍiluhu qā'il*").<sup>95</sup> In the rhymed prose of al-Muqaddasī, *al-Maghrib* is indeed the far-off and unappealing periphery of *mamlakat al-islām*.

As far as the eastern boundary of the Maghrib is concerned, for most medieval Muslim geographers it was located in the region of Barqa (modern-day al-Marj),<sup>96</sup> the ancient Cyrenaica, inhabited by the Luwāta Berbers, in far eastern Libya, itself an extremely vague place name as used in medieval Arabic sources. The name, normally rendered as *Lūbiya*, was passed on from the Greeks to the Arabs, who employed it with a wide range of meanings, from place name to province. In some sources Libya is a town in Egypt; in al-Ya'qūbī it is a district (*kūra*) under the authority of Alexandria; and in Yāqūt it is a place located between Alexandria and Barqa.<sup>97</sup> Libya is, then, a geographical nebula lacking an identity of its own, whose only salient feature is its proximity to and dependence on Egypt, and with it the eastern border of the Maghrib is equally nebulous.

As for the Islamic East, even though Eastern geographers do not appear to conceive of it as a geographical entity in itself in need of a name and fixed boundaries, there are two terms, *al-sharq* and *al-mashriq*, which do show up in Muslim

<sup>94</sup> See above, section 5.1.

<sup>95</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 216.

<sup>96</sup> See Despois, "Barqa", *EF*, 1: 1080–1081. See also Goodchild 1976, 255–267.

<sup>97</sup> See Goodchild 1976. Mamlūk authors such as al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Duqmāq and al-Qalqashandī, would see Libya as administratively part of Egypt. ("Libiyā. 1" [Ed.], *EF*, 5: 754).

geographical and historical texts. *Al-sharq*, the East in general, as Elton Daniel observes, “should probably be understood, at least in the conceptual framework of most medieval Muslim geographers, as referring to everything east of Egypt. *Al-mashriq*, the eastern lands, refers to a smaller and more distinct component of this territory; as a term, it was certainly in usage by 203/818f., as it appears on a coin of that date”.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, in al-Muqaddasī’s work we find this terminological clarification: “Every time we mention *Mashriq*, we mean with this word the Sāmānid territory”,<sup>99</sup> roughly corresponding, as André Miquel observes, to the following regions: Khorasan, Transoxiana, Sijistan, Jurjan, the region of Rayy and Tabaristan.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, al-Muqaddasī states, “When we use the word *Sharq*, we add to these territories (i.e. *al-Mashriq*) the regions of Fars, Kerman and Sind”.<sup>101</sup> The geographer also establishes a parallelism between the two pairs *Mashriq/Sharq* and *Maghrib/Gharb*: “the term *Maghrib* indicates the region with this name (*al-maghrib fa-huwa al-iqlīm*); *Gharb* adds to it Egypt and Syria (*Shām*)”.<sup>102</sup> From this definition of *Maghrib* – which refers to his own description of its territory as stretching “from the borders of Egypt to the Ocean” – it can be inferred that in any case the region’s identity was well known. It is also interesting to note that al-Muqaddasī’s definition of *Gharb* is fundamentally very close (excepting the obvious absence of Anatolia, which was at that time still under Byzantine rule) to that of “the Western Islamic World” as defined by the *New Cambridge History of Islam*, which served as the point of departure for this chapter. On the other hand, regions such as Arabia and Iraq fall outside his conception of the *Sharq*. In fact, these regions represent “the centre”, the former being the religious hub, and the latter – at least ideally in al-Muqaddasī’s time – the political hub of *mamlakat al-islām*, as 4th/10th-century geographers called the territories roughly corresponding to the realm which Sunnī jurists, a century and a half before, chose to name *dār al-islām*.<sup>103</sup> In spite of the great changes of the 4th/10th century, which witnessed both the demise of ‘Abbāsīd political authority, and the

<sup>98</sup> Daniel 2010, 448. See also Miquel, “*Mashriq*”, *EP*, 6: 709.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 7: “*wa-kullamā qulnā al-mashriq fa-hiya dawlat āl sāmān*”.

<sup>100</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1963), 24.

<sup>101</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 7.

<sup>102</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1963), 24; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1906), 7.

<sup>103</sup> In fact, while the geographers’ definition is territorial, the meaning of the term *dār* in legal texts is much more complex. For examples and a discussion on this subject, see Calasso 2010, 281–286, 289–290.

rise of the Fāṭimid and Umayyad Caliphates in North Africa and al-Andalus, Eastern Muslim geographers of the time indeed persisted in representing the whole of the Islamic territories as a unitary reality, *mamlakat al-islām*.

Al-Muqaddasī's is therefore a tripartite representation, in which the central and eastern portions, despite the distinction between *'arab* and *'ajam*, seem to form a block (evidence of the fact that three centuries after the conquest, the Arab/Persian dichotomy is not seen as such anymore), at the western border of which lies *al-Maghrib*. There is still a margin of uncertainty about where Egypt should be placed in this framework. When the geographer specifies what he means by the terms *Sharq* and *Gharb*, he includes Egypt in the *Gharb*, along with Syria and the Maghrib, the westernmost region of the West. However, at the beginning of the section entitled "*iqḷīm Miṣr*" al-Muqaddasī states, "Its righteousness spreads to the East and to the West (*wa-birruhu ya'ummu al-sharq wa-l-gharb*), as God situated it between the two seas and raised its reputation in both East and West".<sup>104</sup> Moreover, from a topographical point of view, as we have seen, Fustat is defined as the *faṣl bayna al-Maghrib wa-diyār al-'arab*. Although included among the *Gharb* regions, Egypt seems to resist this inclusion, instead acting as a bridge between East and West.

In summary, in the presentation of the regions, pride of place is always accorded to Arabia, *diyār al-'arab*, a feature common to the works of al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī. Arabia, of course, is not "the centre of the empire", as Iraq was for al-Ya'qūbī, but it deserves the first place as the cradle of Islam and as the Arabs' homeland.

The systematic description of the Islamic regions from west to east can be found in both al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal. More complex is the order in which al-Muqaddasī lists the *'arab* and *'ajam* provinces, in both cases proceeding from east to west to finally return to the east, tracing two circular itineraries.<sup>105</sup> Each author emphasizes what he considers the best region: Iran (and Fārs in particular) for al-Iṣṭakhri, Iraq for Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī. Still, above and beyond their explicit declarations, Ibn Ḥawqal focuses the bulk of his description not on Iraq but on Iran, and al-Muqaddasī, who cannot hide his admiration for his native Palestine, describes *al-Shām* (Syria) extensively, neglects Iraq and dedicates almost half of his work to the *'ajam* regions. However, although the weight of these accounts is located decidedly in the East, the Maghrib is by no means left out. With the boundary between East and West consistently running through Egypt,

<sup>104</sup> Antrim 2012, 128 (al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* [1906], 193).

<sup>105</sup> Martinez-Gros 1998, 321.

the West is indisputably a significant part of the depiction these geographer-travellers make of the *mamlaka*.

## 6 Mashriq and Maghrib as seen by Western geographers, 5th–6th/11th–12th centuries

Until the 4th/10th century the approaches we have just seen constituted the dominant, Eastern view of the Islamic West. However, the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries saw the emergence of two great Western geographers, the Andalusī al-Bakrī and the Moroccan al-Idrīsī, whose work would not only greatly enrich the available information about the western lands of Islam, but would also draw attention to a broader horizon, in which the frontier between Mashriq and Maghrib would become a secondary concern.

Al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, written *ca.* 461 H/1068 CE, presents the perspective of a geographer from al-Andalus – “with al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, the greatest geographer of the Muslim West and one of the most characteristic representatives of Arab Andalusian erudition in the 5th/11th century”.<sup>106</sup> He witnessed the Almoravids' arrival in the Iberian peninsula and died an old man in Córdoba in 487 H/1094 CE.

The work opens with a long introduction on the history of the world, from Creation to Muḥammad – just like al-Ṭabarī in his *Ta'rikh* – followed by a description of the Arabian peninsula (which is complemented by a section dedicated to religion in pre-Islamic Arabia), before moving on to a general discussion of the seven “climates” (sg. *iqlīm*, pl. *aqālim*). The strictly geographical part of the work begins in the east. However, unlike Eastern geographers who proceed from west to east within the *mamlakat al-islām*, al-Bakrī begins from the lands outside of it, firstly India (*mamlakat al-Hind*),<sup>107</sup> followed by China and Central Asia, thus aiming for a kind of “universal” geography.

The times had changed, and the perspective of the 4th/10th-century Eastern geographers, who had intentionally circumscribed their descriptions to *mamlakat al-islām* – nonetheless identifying a boundary between its eastern and western portions – was abandoned in favour of a wider perspective. Thus, the book addresses, in often-untidy sequences, non-Islamic countries in the east, in the north (various regions of Europe), and in the south (“the country of the blacks”,

<sup>106</sup> Lévi-Provençal, “Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī”, *EF*, 1: 159.

<sup>107</sup> Al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik* (1992), 1: 241.

*bilād al-sūdān*). One of the most original features which has been recognised in his work is actually the number of pages that al-Bakrī dedicates not only to the Islamic West, but also – although overshadowed by al-Idrīsī’s famous account – to Christian Europe. Over roughly one hundred pages he describes the peoples that inhabit it: in order of appearance we can find Slavs, Franks, Galicians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, *Rūm* of Byzantium and of Rome (including a long description of the city); and, as well as the inhabitants of the most important islands of the Mediterranean, he also describes regions such as Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessalia. On the eve of the Reconquista, al-Bakrī acknowledges the newly acquired weight of the Christian West. Its awakening is full of threats for Islam, shifting the Andalusī geographer’s gaze both to the north (Europe) as well as to the Maghrib.<sup>108</sup>

The second original element of the work, as observed by various authors, the approximately 190 pages of the Arabic text of his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* dedicated to North Africa, thus making it our most important source on the medieval Maghrib after Ibn Ḥawqal’s geography. Unlike the Eastern Muslim geographers of the 4th/10th century, al-Bakrī was not himself a traveller, and yet the information he gathered on the Maghrib far exceeds that of his wayfaring predecessors.

Contrary to what one might expect, although the author was born in and in all likelihood never left al-Andalus, in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* he dedicates very little space to the Iberian peninsula. As observed by Emanuelle Tixier, the book’s structure indicates a change in the balance of power between al-Andalus and North Africa. The Maghrib is no longer the contested territory of the Umayyads of al-Andalus and the Fāṭimids, but a breeding ground for new military forces. It is a space in which Islam is clearly dominant and of which al-Andalus, by then no more than a frontier march of *mamlakat al-islām*, is but an extension.<sup>109</sup>

Breaking with the Andalusī geographers who came before him, such as Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. ca. 344 H/955 CE), al-Warrāq (d. 363 H/973-4 CE) and al-‘Udhri (d. 478 H/1085 CE), who focused on the Iberian peninsula – and whose works have come down to us only in a handful of fragments – al-Bakrī chooses to focus on the entire geographic unit stretching from Egypt to the Atlantic. He is intent on making an inventory of this space, rendering visible its internal differences based on political divisions and on the various forms of belonging to Islam. This register of groups and divisions encompasses Kairouan, the centre of Mālikī

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108 Tixier 2011, 372.

109 Tixier 2011, 373.

Sunnism; Tahert, the capital of a Khārijī principality for over a century; Fez, founded by the ‘Alid branch of the Idrīsids, who ruled *al-Maghrib al-aqṣā* (“the far West”, i.e. present-day Morocco) until the end of the 4th/10th century; and the Fāṭimids, Ismā‘īlī Shī‘īs, who after taking power in Ifrīqiya went on to conquer Egypt and founded Cairo, where they continued to rule in al-Bakrī’s time. The once unprecedented space that Ibn Ḥawqal dedicated to North Africa a century earlier has shrunk by comparison and, what is more, the Maghrib itself is now divided into a western, central and eastern region of its own.

Besides the Maghrib, al-Bakrī also dedicates a considerable section to Egypt, from the pre-Islamic period to his own time. But taken as a whole, in this broad picture the division between Maghrib and Mashriq, the Islamic West and East, seems to fade into the background. North of the Mediterranean and south of the Sahara, other regions, other populations now deserve attention, although it would be in al-Idrīsī’s *Kitāb Rujār* (1154) that Europe would cease to play the supporting actor in the geopolitical framework of the Mediterranean and take on the lead role.

Al-Idrīsī, who like al-Bakrī was not a geographer-traveller, wrote his work as a commission for the Norman king Roger II of Sicily in the mid-6th/12th century. To quote Gabriel Martinez-Gros, with his geography “Idrisi franchit les frontières d’un monde musulman qu’il avait lui même quitté pour le service des princes normands de Sicile”.<sup>110</sup> The subject of his geographic work is the known world, reaching as far as China to the east; and, above all, Europe is given an unprecedented amount of space (mainly in the 5th, 6th and 7th climates).<sup>111</sup> On the contrary, in the overall organisation of the work, Arabia is no longer given a central position, as was the case in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī. This is one of the effects of the way in which al-Idrīsī structured his work, going back to the division of the earth into seven horizontal climate zones (*iqḷīm, aqālīm*), but separating them from west to east with ten meridian lines, thus obtaining a seventy-box grid. The world itself is thus divided into two halves, east and west, separated by the vertical line that divides the fifth and the sixth section.

The idea of an internal division of the Islamic world between Maghrib and Mashriq is no longer significant, while a western and a central Maghrib are explicitly mentioned for instance in the first section of the first climate: “Bijāya is part of the central Maghrib. The merchants of this city have business dealings with those of the far Maghrib, as well as with those of the Sahara and the East”;

**110** Martinez-Gros 1998, 329: “Idrisi crosses the frontiers of the Muslim world, which he had already left to serve the Norman kings of Sicily”.

**111** Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l’Occident* (1999), 255–464.

“Fez is the axis and the central point of western Maghreb”.<sup>112</sup> Arabia itself, *bilād al-‘arab* or *jazīrat al-‘arab*, which 4th/10th-century Eastern geographers had made the starting point of their descriptions of *mamlakat al-islām*, is now divided from south to north into climate zones, thereby losing visibility. In short, al-Idrīsī’s monumental work seems to reflect, in the words of Henri Bresc and Annie Nef, “un effort immense de construction d’un nouvel objet scientifique, le monde saisi dans son ensemble, sans exclusive”.<sup>113</sup>

## 7 Western travellers and geographers from the late 6th/12th century through the 7th/13th century

That the issue of boundaries and hierarchy between the East and the West of the Islamic world remained nevertheless significant, was revealed, from the late 6th/12th century through the 7th/13th century, by a number of travellers and geographers from the Maghrib. This fact is most clear in the works of three authors: the famous Andalusī traveller-pilgrim Ibn Jubayr (d. 614 H/1217 CE), the less famous Moroccan traveller al-‘Abdarī, who wrote his *Riḥla maghribiyya* in 686 H/1288 CE, and his contemporary, Andalusī geographer Ibn Sa‘īd (d. 685 H/1286 CE). In his *Riḥla* (578–581 H/1183–1185 CE), Ibn Jubayr, who set out from Granada in the time of the Almohads, constantly compares the Maghrib and the Mashriq. Egypt, where he is made to feel like a foreigner, appears as the gateway to an East at once admirable and reprehensible, commended for its science and scorned for its lack of religious unity, which conversely he asserts to be a strong point of the Maghrib. One hundred years after his time, the Moroccan al-‘Abdarī’s criticism of Egypt in his *Riḥla* is so vitriolic that the pages depicting the despicable customs of the inhabitants of Cairo almost seem to be a literary exercise in invective. Moreover, he openly identifies the Fāṭimids, its founders, as the source of all the city’s evils.<sup>114</sup>

Particularly intriguing is the figure of the Andalusī geographer Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī, a contemporary of the Moroccan traveller al-‘Abdarī. As pointed out by Víctor de Castro in his contribution to this volume, of the fifteen chapters in Ibn

<sup>112</sup> Al-Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l’Occident* (1999), 77, 130, 153, 165.

<sup>113</sup> Bresc/Nef 1999, 52: “an immense effort to construct a new scientific subject, the world taken in its entirety, without privileging one area over another”.

<sup>114</sup> Calasso 2014, in particular 202–204.

Saʿīd's *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, six are dedicated to Egypt, three to Ifrīqiya and the Maghrib, and six to al-Andalus, the Christian kingdoms, and northern Europe: a rather surprising geography, with Egypt included within the Islamic West. In his other works, however, Egypt appears variously as part of the West, part of the East, or, as in *al-Ghuṣūn al-yāni'a*, a central region between East and West receiving its own section.<sup>115</sup> To complicate matters even more, in other writings Ibn Saʿīd's harsh criticism of the city of Cairo, where he lived for many years, is reminiscent of al-ʿAbdarī's, although less venomous.<sup>116</sup>

Ibn Saʿīd's inclusion of Egypt in the Maghrib would not go unnoticed. A century later, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), the well-known polymath and high-ranking administrator of the Mamlūk sultanate, would firmly oppose Ibn Saʿīd's inclusion of Egypt in the Maghrib, ascribing it to his partiality toward his own land (*taʿaṣṣub li-bilādihī*),<sup>117</sup> and employing an entire section of his encyclopaedic work *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* to refute the Andalusī author's claims.<sup>118</sup> This debate, as well as Ibn Saʿīd's shifting positions, in any case reveals that between the 7th/13th century and the 8th/14th century the question of whether Egypt belonged to the Maghrib or the Mashriq had become a controversial one. Clearly there was more at stake than just geography; the debate touched on the balance of power both within North Africa, and between the eastern and western Mediterranean. Is it possible to read in Ibn Saʿīd's inclusion of Egypt in the Maghrib a desire to level the playing field between the two halves of the Islamic world?<sup>119</sup> Or, put in slightly different terms, is it to be viewed as an attempt to strengthen the image of the western part of the Islamic world by annexing, so to say, Egypt?

This period saw the political equilibrium of the Mediterranean shift drastically in favour of Europe, and, in the Islamic West, witnessed the collapse of the Almohad Empire. In light of such phenomena, perhaps it is not by chance that the architectural marvels of Ancient Egypt, a testament to the country's great

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**115** In the eighth chapter of this work, Ibn Saʿīd collects the biographies of 7th/13th-century authors and categorizes them as Eastern and Western. See Castro's article in this volume.

**116** See Marín 2005, 220 ff. Ibn Saʿīd's passages on Cairo have been translated and annotated by Blachère 1969, 18–26.

**117** Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (2010), *juz' 5, faṣl 1, 14*; see also *faṣl 2, 33*.

**118** On the debate generated by Ibn Saʿīd's "maghribization" of Egypt, especially among authors of the Mamlūk period, and in particular Abū al-Fidā' (672–732 H/1273–1331 CE), Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (700–749 H/1301–1349 CE), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H/1442 CE), see Víctor de Castro's article in this volume. I am grateful to the author for having allowed me to read a draft of his paper prior to publication.

**119** This hypothesis is entertained by Víctor de Castro.



past, became an object of particular interest among Muslim authors. At the end of the 6th/12th century Ibn Jubayr seems to anticipate this trend, expressing all his admiration for the ancient Egyptian temple of Akhmim, and painstakingly describing it.<sup>120</sup> Since, at the same time, the comparison between Maghrib and Mashriq is a kind of leitmotiv of his travelogue, before concluding, it is worth taking a closer look at his *Rihla*.

## 8 Mashriq and Maghrib, *Maghāribā* and *Mashāriqā*, in Ibn Jubayr's travelogue

Ibn Jubayr's account of his pilgrimage to Mecca and journey back to al-Andalus (578–581 H/1183–1185 CE) treats the division between Mashriq and Maghrib as a matter of fact. Like the main representatives of 4th/10th-century Arabic geography, he emphasizes the differences between the Maghrib – where he feels he belongs – and the unfamiliar Mashriq, lending them even greater prominence on the basis of his personal experience as a pilgrim. His entire travelogue is full of comparative observations about the Maghrib and the Mashriq, Easterners and Westerners. The eye of the traveller picks up on differences, establishes hierarchies, and perceives oppositions, clearly suggesting that it is not just a matter of geographical belonging, but of two separate cultural domains within Islam. The “strange” behaviour of the Eastern people is described in detail, be it their funeral customs, their peculiar way of greeting and addressing each other, or their habit of walking with their hands behind their backs. The devotion they show towards pilgrims returning from Mecca – in Damascus as well as in Baghdad – appears as “the opposite of what we were used to in the Maghrib” (*ḍidd mā i'tadnā fī al-maghrib*). The teaching methods, too, are different “in these Eastern lands” (*bi-hādhīhi al-bilād al-mashriqiyya*), the Qur'ān is only learnt by heart, while poetry is used to learn how to write. There are also a few notes on certain linguistic differences, such as the case of Islamic monasteries (*al-ribāṭāt*), which “they call *khawāniq*”.<sup>121</sup>

The great changes taking place since the late 5th/11th century in the Mediterranean and within the Muslim world itself are reflected in the very structure of Ibn Jubayr's travelogue. The traveller's emphasis on the division of the Islamic

<sup>120</sup> On this subject, see Calasso 2019.

<sup>121</sup> See Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 310, *Rihla* (1907), 294–296; *Travels* (1952), 300, *Rihla* (1907), 286; *Travels* (1952), 283, *Rihla* (1907), 272; *Travels* (1952), 297, *Rihla* (1907), 284.

world into Mashriq and Maghrib coexists with his stress on Islam's unifying imprint on the urban landscape, as seen in the systematic way in which he counts, describes, and even measures, the buildings representing what we might call "institutional" Islam.<sup>122</sup> It is as if the shifting balance of power in the Mediterranean in favour of Latin Christians – in parallel, within Islam, to the political upheaval connected to the decline of the supremacy of the East and the rise of new powers in the West, from the Fāṭimids to the Almohads<sup>123</sup> – also aroused in him a strong need to affirm his belonging to a world which is recognisable in the whole of its territories by certain common features, thus a unitary world, and to enhance its image by appropriating its most visible and prestigious past.

After setting out from Granada, Ibn Jubayr headed to Ceuta, where he boarded a Genoese ship. After a long sea voyage, in Egypt he finally encountered "the East", or, more precisely, a reality other than the Maghrib, in turn becoming a foreigner himself, a *gharīb*. From this point on we find in his travelogue that everything concerning the Maghribis constantly attracts his attention. Every mention of them is accompanied by something positive: e.g. "to Mecca God brought from the Maghrib men skilled in tillage and husbandry who created in it gardens and sown lands",<sup>124</sup> while in Damascus "they trust only strangers from the Maghrib"<sup>125</sup> to watch over a garden, or supervise a *ḥammām* and keep the bathers' clothes as well as to manage a mill or take children to school.<sup>126</sup> Yet the Maghribis, including Ibn Jubayr, are perceived and see themselves as "foreigners" in these Eastern countries – Egypt, Hejaz, Iraq and Syria.

While Ibn Jubayr establishes a sort of hierarchy between East and West, which appears to favour the former,<sup>127</sup> at the same time he feels the need to create a balance, extolling the merits of the Maghrib as well. It is true that the East is at the top of the "knowledge" ladder: the young people of "our Maghrib" (*ma-*

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122 See Calasso 1999.

123 See Jansen/Nef/Picard 2000, 16–25.

124 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 119; *Rihla* (1907), 122.

125 On the possible origins of Syria's Maghribis, about which Ibn Jubayr himself provides a wealth of information, see Cahen 1973, 207–209, while on the Maghribi colony in the next century, see Pouzet 1975.

126 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 289; *Rihla* (1907), 278.

127 Some of Ibn Jubayr's verses, quoted in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*, show an unconditional admiration for the East: "There is no comparison between East and West: the East possesses all the merits indeed" (*la-yastawī sharq al-balad wa-gharbuḥā / al-sharq ḥāza al-faḍl bi-stiḥqāq*). Ibn al-Khaṭīb's biographical entry on Ibn Jubayr is reported in the introduction to Wright's edition of Ibn Jubayr's *Rihla* (1907), 2–10.

*ghribunā*) are warmly encouraged to travel to the East – particularly to Damascus – for their studies,<sup>128</sup> and Eastern preachers are said to have no peers in the Maghrib.<sup>129</sup> Yet the East is also a place of religious divisions: “in the Eastern countries” you find nothing but “sects and heretical groups and schisms”, while “there is no Islam save in the Maghrib lands”. This statement is followed by an explicit homage to the Almohads: “there is no justice nor truth except among the Almohads and they are the last legitimate imams of this time”.<sup>130</sup> In other passages of the *Riḥla*, Ibn Jubayr even hints that many Egyptians believe in signs announcing a coming Almohad conquest of Egypt and other Eastern countries.<sup>131</sup>

There is, however, one exception: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the just sultan, for whom Ibn Jubayr expresses unreserved admiration for having abolished all the iniquitous taxes imposed by the Fāṭimids, and for his heroic, ceaseless *jihād* against the Franks. It is in this contradictory celebration of both the Almohads and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that we can perceive the tension between the “local” sense of belonging of Ibn Jubayr as a Muslim from al-Andalus, a Maghribi, and his sense of belonging to the greater *dār al-islām*, whose internal divisions he cannot help noting during the course of his journey, but which he tries to depict as a unitary reality, mainly by the constant attention he reserves for the buildings – Friday mosques, *madrasas*, hospitals, *ḥammāms* – representing Islam throughout its lands.

As for the East, the Mashriq, it is not so easy to identify what exactly it corresponds to in Ibn Jubayr’s mind. While for him even Egypt – where as soon as he lands he feels like a foreigner – is clearly no longer the Maghrib, Syria is more decidedly “Eastern”,<sup>132</sup> as its inhabitants sometimes do “the opposite of what we were accustomed to in the Maghrib”.<sup>133</sup> This is the *Arab* East. However, starting with his stay in Mecca, Ibn Jubayr becomes increasingly aware of the existence of an even “more eastern East”: the *non-Arab* East as seen through Maghribi eyes. First there are the *‘ajam*, the Persians, with a religious sentiment so intense that it sometimes upsets him (as in the case of one *‘ajamī* pilgrim who becomes so

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128 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 298; *Riḥla* (1907), 285.

129 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 233: “We marvelled at their excellence in comparison with the speakers we knew in the west” (*Riḥla* [1907], 224).

130 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 73; *Riḥla* (1907), 78. On such pro-Almohad statements by Ibn Jubayr, in the broader framework of the relationships between the Almohads and the Mālikī scholars of al-Andalus, see Viguera 2005, 719 ff.

131 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 74; *Riḥla* (1907), 79.

132 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 298: “All these eastern cities are of this fashion, but this city (i.e. Damascus) is more populous and wealthy. Whoever of the young men of the Maghrib seeks prosperity, let him move to these lands (...) in the pursuit of knowledge” (*Riḥla* [1907], 285).

133 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 300; *Riḥla*, 286.

overcome with emotion that he faints).<sup>134</sup> He is also astounded at their skill with languages, as in the case of a preacher from Khorasan who had perfectly mastered Arabic and Persian, “employing them together with a lawful magic of rhetoric” and who deftly replied to every question (“In this manner *the preachers of these eastern lands* meet [...] the copious shower of questions that fall upon them”).<sup>135</sup> However, there are also the *Ghuzz*, Turks who, arriving at Mecca alongside the Khorasanians on the pilgrimage caravan from Iraq, express their religious emotionality with a violence that Ibn Jubayr clearly disapproves of and distances himself from.<sup>136</sup> They are *al-a‘ajim al-aghtām*, “the barbarous-tongue foreigners”; the intensifier *al-aghtām* gives the term ‘*ajam* a pejorative connotation that seems to hint at an otherness which is more than linguistic. In the month of *dhū al-ḥijja*, the Ka‘ba is opened every day for them: “The throngings of these men, the way in which they hurled themselves upon the noble door, their collisions which each other [...] was something that never more horrible was seen”.<sup>137</sup> Just as al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī gave the Maghrib an east, a centre and a west, Ibn Jubayr depicts a Mashriq full of distinct shades of meaning.

## 9 Historical overview and concluding remarks

At the end of this itinerary, we can attempt to draw a picture in which the shifting political equilibrium within the Islamic world as well as the Mediterranean as a whole, intertwines with different forms of categorization of the world emerging in multiple textual genres. At the time of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, from the late 2nd/8th century to the early 3rd/9th century, jurists such as Abū Yūsuf and, above all, al-Shaybānī, both disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa, and their younger contemporary al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204 H/820 CE), introduced in their legal treatises two notions destined to enjoy a long future: *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. This pair of abstract legal concepts summed up a binary categorisation of the world that was essential in order to deal with norms related to warfare, and, additionally, with any other kind of relationship between the inhabitants of territories under Muslim domination and the “outside” world. No definition is given, but the terms are there, constantly employed in the casuistry being analysed; apparently they do not need an

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134 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 143; *Rihla* (1907), 142.

135 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 186–187; *Rihla* (1907), 181. See also *Travels* (1952), 233; *Rihla*, 224.

136 See Calasso 2008, 256–258.

137 Ibn Jubayr, *Travels* (1952), 186; *Rihla*, (1907), 180.

explanation, although their usage will make it clear that jurists have different positions concerning their definition. Is *dār al-islām* a territorial-jurisdictional notion, or does it refer instead to the principle of the personality of law? The answer to such questions would condition different ideas about where to place the boundary between these two entities, *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*. The fact remains that this binary categorization conveys the idea of a world divided into two separate and opposing realms.

This theoretical construction came into being in an imperial context, with Iraq at its centre, and the jurists who coined this binary categorization of the world were members of the entourage of the ‘Abbāsīd rulers. The political unity of the empire’s heartland was still mostly in place, even though al-Andalus had been lost almost half a century earlier to the Umayyad family, who laid the foundations of their return to power in this faraway western province. Likewise, part of present-day Morocco was by then in the hands of the ‘Alid branch of the Idrīsids. Yet Egypt would remain under direct rule of the ‘Abbāsīds until Ibn Ṭulūn (approximately mid-3rd/9th century), and even when in the year 184 H/800 CE the government of Ifrīqiya was officially entrusted to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab, this was by decision of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, in whose name the region was to be ruled.

It would be almost a century before geographers such as Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya‘qūbī would undertake the description of the countries (*buldān*) that constituted the territories of the caliphate. Besides his *Kitāb al-Buldān*, al-Ya‘qūbī would also write one of the first “universal” works of history, his *Ta’rikh* (a history from Adam up to the reign of Caliph al-Mu‘tamīd, who was in power at that time). He would be followed a few decades later by al-Ṭabarī and his monumental and “universal” *History of the Prophets and Kings*.

Unlike the jurists to whom we owe the binary *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*, geographers like al-Ya‘qūbī, and after him the three greats of the 4th/10th century, al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal, and al-Muqaddasī, were also travellers who wandered through Islamic countries far and wide, including its westernmost regions. Interestingly, while they make constant reference to *mamlakat al-islām*, “the empire of Islam” – this “greater regional category of Muslim belonging”,<sup>138</sup> a realm “which loosely conforms to the territorial extent of Muslim suzerainty in the mid-tenth century”<sup>139</sup> – they themselves identify a division internal to the *mamlaka*,

<sup>138</sup> I am quoting one of its most recent definitions; see Antrim 2012, 100.

<sup>139</sup> According to Antrim, “this lack of a clear focal point reflects the reality of multiple political centers in the period” (Antrim 2012, 100); on the contrary, Miquel (1967, 273), considered the idea

that which separates Mashriq and Maghrib, the East and West of the Islamic world.

The 4th/10th century was indeed a turning point. While the political fragmentation of the Islamic Empire reached its peak and rival caliphates proliferated, the two legal categories of *dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* crystallized as terms,<sup>140</sup> after having been in flux for more than a century. This was also the period in which Eastern geographers attested to the need to recognize and render visible different identities *within* the Islamic world, identities whose existence was not relevant to the abstract legal notion of *dār al-islām*. Internal differences were brought to the fore, and made to converge on another binary, Mashriq/Maghrib. This binary, whose literal meaning merely refers to two cardinal points, is linked to the importance acquired, in these geographers' view, by the western region, namely North Africa west of Egypt, a region which, in conjunction with the rise of the Fāṭimids, was for the first time "recognized".

As for the difference, highlighted by Claude Cahen, between geographers and historians in the Islamic East, it can be seen, more than in their vision itself, mainly in *the ways they express a vision they both share* of an Islamic world divided into two halves. Whereas the geographer-travellers of the 4th/10th century provide detailed descriptions of the Maghrib, by marking its territorial boundaries as well as the ethnic and cultural features which distinguish it from the rest of the Islamic world starting from Egypt, Eastern historians outline a similar divide with their own silence, by choosing to ignore in their works the events which took place in the regions west of Egypt after the Arab conquest. When they begin to concern themselves extensively with the Maghrib, starting with Ibn al-Athīr (early 7th/13th century) – the first to devote considerable attention and long sections of his work to the history of North Africa and Iberia – this interest coincides chronologically with the rise of the Berber Almohad empire, unifying North Africa from Morocco to Tripolitania, and proves to be highly dependent on the historical sources of al-Andalus, which by then had begun to circulate in the East.

Explicitly perceived through the eyes of 4th/10th-century Eastern geographers in spatial and ethnic terms, implicitly established by the silence of Eastern Muslim historians of the same period, the distinction/opposition Mashriq/Maghrib thus emerged and became consolidated between the rise of the Fāṭimids and the construction of the Almohad Empire. Indeed, in this period the territorial

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of *mamlakat al-islām* in these works as a fiction at odds with the reality of political decentralization on the ground in the mid-4th/10th century.

**140** In fact from the 4th/10th century onwards all literary genres, starting with *Tafsīr* literature, attest to the circulation of the *dār al-islām/dār al-ḥarb* binary. See Tottoli 2017, 110.

frontier separating the Islamic East and West seems to correspond to the boundary between “orthodoxy” – symbolically represented by the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, as well as by the political powers which formally acknowledged its authority – and the two doctrinally heterodox political powers which established themselves in North Africa between the 4th/10th century and the 6th/12th century.

In this span of time, starting from the moment the Fāṭimids publicly rose to power in Ifrīqiya, wresting this region away from the theoretical control of Baghdad’s caliphs, it is as if there was a sudden reversal in the role and image of the Maghrib. Until the 4th/10th century it was a peripheral region where Easterners of noble descent escaping implacable enemies sought refuge – starting from the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil, the future emir of al-Andalus, to the ‘Alid Idrīs b. ‘Abdallāh, who survived the Fakhkh massacre and founded the Idrīsīd dynasty in *al-Maghrib al-aqṣā* –, where rebels were exiled,<sup>141</sup> or else where groups of “extremist” dissidents like the Khārijites or the Ismā‘īlis secretly organized their propaganda. From the 4th/10th century, however, the Maghrib became the breeding ground of heterodox movements looking eastward. But this would just be an interlude. The cultural features bound to characterize Maghribi identity in a lasting way – most importantly the nearly total adhesion of these societies to Maliki “orthodoxy” – would only become firmly established after the fall of the Almohad Empire. Nevertheless, it was during this interlude that the boundary between Mashriq and Maghrib was constructed in medieval Muslim sources.

And yet, an inextricable web of elements makes it difficult to separate East and West into their component parts. The source of the Fāṭimids’ power – its founder and doctrines – was undoubtedly Eastern, although the dynasty received the decisive military support of a Berber people, the Kutāma, thanks to whom the Fāṭimids were able to take over the regions of Ifrīqiya – along with Sicily, previously conquered by the Aghlabids – and Egypt, with the later addition of part of Syria. By contrast, the Almohads’ power, as well as doctrinal reform, was promoted by the Berber leader of the Maṣmūda tribe, Ibn Tūmart, although by means of an original reworking of doctrines of undeniable Eastern origin, such as Mu‘tazilism and Shī‘ism. Indeed, as Muhammad Talbi has pointed out, quite frequently in the Muslim West the term *mashāriqa*, “Easterners”, denoted religious belonging more than country of origin: “the Shī‘is are often described in

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141 Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Works*, 3: 1272, 1274, 1284.

Ifriqiya, after the coming of the Fāṭimids, as being *mashriqīs*, even when the persons in question were authentic Maghribis”.<sup>142</sup> In the collection of biographies by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād (d. 544 H/1149 CE), several examples can be found of the verbal form *tasharraqa*, literally “to become orientalised” – with reference to individuals who lived in the Aghlabid period – to indicate that a certain person had converted to Shi‘ism.<sup>143</sup>

Conversely, in Ibn Ḥawqal’s description of Egypt, in the version of his work reflecting a significant anti-Fāṭimid bias – until recently held to correspond to a second stay of the author in the country<sup>144</sup> – the Ismā‘īli caliphs are mentioned only as “the Maghribis” and even the foundation of al-Qāhira itself, as well as other architectural structures commissioned by members of the family, remain anonymous, referred to merely as the Maghribis’ creations (“The Maghribis founded a city which was named by them al-Qāhira. Its boundaries were traced by Jawhar, the Maghribis’ general...”; or, in another passage: “A Maghribi princess had one more Friday-mosque built at al-Qarāfa”).<sup>145</sup> The negative connotation of the term *maghribī*, as used in this version of the Iraqi geographer Ibn Ḥawqal’s work, perfectly corresponds to that of the derogatory use of the term *mashriqī* as seen in the above-mentioned biographies by the eminent Ifriqī Maliki scholar al-Qāḍī ‘Iyād. At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Moroccan traveller al-‘Abdarī, in his *al-Rihla al-maghribiyya*, would only display acrimony and contempt towards Egyptians, particularly the inhabitants of Cairo, exclusively listing their “demerits”.<sup>146</sup> And it is no coincidence that, in the eyes of al-‘Abdarī, the main “flaw” of this first “Eastern” capital city is the fact that, ever since its foundation, it had been linked to the Shi‘i Ismā‘īli Fāṭimids.

The fact remains that Egypt, in this intertwining of mutual perceptions, has a unique and shifting role, neither definitely Eastern nor Western, a view that the Maghribi traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in the 8th/14th century, would express in describing Alexandria, which, in his words, “thanks to its being set between Maghrib and Mashriq (*li-tawaṣṣutihā bayna al-maghrib wa-l-mashriq*), combines their various attractions”.<sup>147</sup> In other words, one of the major effects of viewing their own world as divided into two halves, which led Eastern Muslim geographers of the

142 Talbi, “Mashāriḳa”, *EF*, 6: 712. The transliteration has been changed to adapt it to that used in this article.

143 Talbi 1968, 284, 369, 383, 394; and al-Māliki, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* (1994), 2, 502, 338.

144 See Blachère 1969, 3, and Benchekrun’s critical remarks (Benchekrun 2016, 194).

145 Blachère 1969, 3.

146 See Calasso 2014.

147 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages* (1853), 27.



4th/10th century to identify a boundary between Maghrib and Mashriq, was to consolidate the image of Egypt's centrality among all the regions of Islam.<sup>148</sup>

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**148** On the issue of Egypt's uniqueness, see Decobert 1991. As for its centrality, Sam Gellens had pointed out that the biographies of medieval Egyptian ‘*ulamā*’ rarely include the term *riḥla*, referring to travel for study – “a normative feature of medieval Muslim education” –, almost as if Egyptians felt that they were self-sufficient with regard to learning, and the ancient vision of Egypt as the centre of the universe had become part of the cultural patrimony of Egyptian Islam (Gellens 1990, 57–58).

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Víctor de Castro León

# Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī: Egypt as Part of the Maghrib

## 1 Ibn Saʿīd and his Geography

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd al-ʿAnsī al-ʿAmmārī (610–685 H/1214–1286 CE) is one of the most important anthologists, writers, historians and geographers of the Islamic West, and the most celebrated member of the Banū Saʿīd family of Alcalá la Real, early supporters of the Almohads in their takeover of the Iberian Peninsula in the mid-6th/12th century. In al-Andalus Ibn Saʿīd witnessed a period of political turbulence and change, as Almohad control crumbled across the region and independent local powers emerged in the so-called third “*Taifa* Period”. Especially successful at the beginning was Ibn Hūd of Murcia (d. 635 H/1238 CE),<sup>1</sup> who conquered much of Almohad al-Andalus. Ibn Saʿīd served him as governor of Algeciras for one year (631 H/1233-4 CE), replacing his father Mūsā. Ibn Hūd was in turn overthrown by another Andalusī military leader, Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr, who eventually became the first Naṣrid sultan.<sup>2</sup> In Seville, Ibn Saʿīd witnessed the death of the governor of the city, al-Muʿtaḍid al-Bājī, at the hands of the Naṣrid leader,<sup>3</sup> and it was then – fearing the new ruler – that he and his father decided to travel to the East. They left al-Andalus in 636 H/1238-9 CE never to return. Ibn Saʿīd thus spent the majority of his life outside al-Andalus, and finally died in Tunis in 685 H/1286 CE.

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1 See Vidal Castro 2000; Vidal Castro 2012; Carmona González 1994; Molina López 1979.

2 See Boloix 2017.

3 See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 109.

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The vast majority of Ibn Sa'īd's works<sup>4</sup> – not only the well known *Mughrib* and *Mushriq* – base their structure and organization on geographical concepts that were the result not only of his long travels, but also of his concern for the science of geography.<sup>5</sup> The importance of Ibn Sa'īd's work as a geographer is evident in the composition of one of his most important works of geography, entitled *Kitāb Baṣṭ al-arḍ fī al-tūl wa-l-'arḍ* (Book of the extension of the Earth in longitude and latitude) or simply *Kitāb Jughrāfiyā* (Book of Geography),<sup>6</sup> preserved in three main manuscripts, one at the National Library of France in Paris (no. 2234), one at the British Museum in London (MS 1524), and a third copy at the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Selder superius 76).<sup>7</sup> *Kitāb Jughrāfiyā* was written after the year 658 H/1260 CE. It was widely used by subsequent authors, among them Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732 H/1331 CE) in his *Taqwīm al-buldān*, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE) in *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, and later by al-Qalqashandī (d. 820 H/1418 CE) in his *Subḥ al-a'shā*, and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H/1412 CE) in *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*.

Ibn Sa'īd's work introduced new geographical concepts. For example, despite basing the division of the world on the seven climates and ten sections of al-Idrisī's (d. 560 H/1165 CE) *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, he added two new climates, provided 432 new geographical coordinates on the positions of the different sites, and did not use the traditional meridian of water<sup>8</sup> as a starting point (he placed it at a latitude 16 degrees north). Moreover, he provided important information about the ports along the Bay of Biscay, and included data about routes along the Western and Eastern coasts of the African continent that he took directly from the little-known Ibn Fāṭima,<sup>9</sup> who apparently was a sailor.

Ibn Sa'īd's extensive geographical knowledge influenced the composition of his works, especially in their internal organization, as is the case with *al-Mughrib*

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4 For a general perspective on the author and his work see Potiron 1965; Arié 1988; Cano Ávila/Tawfik 2007; Monferrer 2012; Alansari 1992; Vidal Castro 2002. For detailed bio-bibliographical information on Ibn Sa'īd see Iria Santás de Arcos's contribution to this volume.

5 In relation to Ibn Sa'īd's geography, see Vernet 1953; Vernet 1958; Meouak 1996; Viguera Molins 1999; Rei 2003; Mazzoli-Guintard 2009; Mazzoli Guintard/Viguera Molins 2017. For a general perspective on geographical works written in al-Andalus see Mu'nis 1961–62; Tixier du Mesnil 2014.

6 Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Jughrāfiyā* (1970); Kamal 1987.

7 Studies have been carried out by Kamal 1987; Kropp 1992; Kropp 1995. This work and its manuscript tradition still require further, more exhaustive analysis. See Ducène 2016.

8 In relation to this meridian, see Comes 2014a; Comes 2014b.

9 Kropp 1992; Kropp 1995.

*fi ḥulā al-Maghrib*, a literary anthology – composed mainly of poetic texts alongside important geographical and historical data – aimed at compiling a selection of the literary production of authors belonging to the Islamic Maghrib.<sup>10</sup> He also wrote another work, *al-Mushriq fi ḥulā al-Mashriq*,<sup>11</sup> following the same criteria as those used in the *Mughrib*, but with regards to the Islamic East.

## 2 Egypt as part of the Maghrib

The only extant copy of the *Mughrib*<sup>12</sup> is divided into fifteen chapters: six dedicated to Egypt, three dedicated to Ifrīqiya and the Maghrib, and six dedicated to al-Andalus, the Christian kingdoms and Northern Europe. Ibn Saʿīd’s decision to classify Egypt as part of the Islamic West is unusual; one would expect it to have been included in the *Mushriq* instead. It is therefore worth asking what motivated Ibn Saʿīd to make this decision. Was he alone in this geographical conception or did he follow an approach also found in other authors? Did he follow it only in the *Mughrib* or is it a constant in his production?

Before attempting to answer these questions, there is another geographical concept that also affects the internal division of Ibn Saʿīd’s works. In both the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* he orders the authors according to geographical criteria,<sup>13</sup> following a system based on a former territorial organization of al-Andalus used mainly under the Umayyads and Almoravids.<sup>14</sup> Ibn Saʿīd classifies the biographical entries by “kingdoms” (*mamālik*), with every *mamlaka* divided into districts (*kuwar*) and cities (*mudun/madāʿin*). Finally, within each of these, Ibn Saʿīd classifies the biographical entries into five social categories: emirs, viziers, scholars, poets, and other less prominent but socially significant literary figures. This geographical arrangement is not an original feature of Ibn Saʿīd. It had already been used in al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, for example in the literary compilation by Ibn Bassām (d. 543 H/1148 CE), *al-Dhakhira fi maḥāsini ahl al-Jazira*, and coexisted with other criteria, such as the chronological ordering found in *ṭabaqāt* works or biographical repertoires. What is unique about Ibn Saʿīd’s

<sup>10</sup> Mazzoli-Guintard 2009, 560–561; Potiron 1966, 151–155.

<sup>11</sup> Potiron 1966, 155–156.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 62–63.

<sup>13</sup> As recently stated by Mazzoli-Guintard/Viguera Molins 2017, 102–103.

<sup>14</sup> See Mazzoli-Guintard 2009.



*Mughrib*<sup>15</sup> is that his geographical approach differs from that of other Andalusí geographers, dividing each administrative or political territorial section into three parts: eastern, central and western, thus establishing a tripartite structure. In the part of the *Mughrib* dedicated to Egypt,<sup>16</sup> this general division is adapted to the country's topographical peculiarities. Thus, Ibn Sa'īd divides the Egyptian territory into three parts – upper, middle and lower – but following the traditional South to North distribution marked by the course of the Nile, each part having its respective “kingdoms” or *mamālik*. Each of these three parts is then divided into eastern and western districts (*kuwar*). Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ belong to the eastern *kuwar* of the central “kingdom”, and specifically to the *kūra* of ‘Ayn al-Shams.<sup>17</sup> The *Mughrib*'s tripartite organization of the territory and subdivision into “kingdoms”<sup>18</sup> is the first of its kind. According to Mazzoli-Guintard, its origin possibly resides in the tripartite administrative division established in al-Andalus by the Almoravid government, which he then extended to other regions that had not been subject to Almoravid rule.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 Egypt in other geographical sources

Did Ibn Sa'īd decide to include Egypt in the Islamic West (*Maghrib*) because he had encountered this conception among his written sources?<sup>20</sup>

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15 Ibn Sa'īd follows the same literary criteria and geographical concept in the *Mushriq* as he himself expresses in the introduction to this work. See Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 18.

16 This part of the *Mughrib*, containing valuable information, has not yet been sufficiently studied.

17 The name of the chapter dedicated to this *kūra* is “Kitāb Ladhdhat al-lams fi ḥulā kūrat ‘Ayn al-Shams”, and the chapters dedicated to Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ are respectively entitled “Kitāb Nujūm al-zāhira fi ḥulā madinat al-Qāhira” and “Kitāb al-Ightibāṭ fi ḥulā madinat al-Fuṣṭāṭ”. See Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 29–30.

18 Although, as I have said previously, Ibn Sa'īd stated that in the *Mushriq* he had followed the same organization and structure as in the *Mughrib*, the real content and structure of the preserved *Mushriq* manuscript has not yet been studied in depth. It is our intention to prepare a critical edition of this work in the near future.

19 Mazzoli-Guintard 2009, 568.

20 For the literary sources of the *Mughrib* see Meouak 1993.

Ptolemy had divided the world into an eastern and western part,<sup>21</sup> as had other Arab-Islamic geographers. However, the latter expressed a variety of opinions in establishing which territories fell within the East and the West.

In addition to the division into climates and sections, the majority<sup>22</sup> describe the territory of the Islamic Empire on the basis of a political and administrative distribution by countries (*buldān*), using the word East (*mashriq*)<sup>23</sup> when describing the territories east of Syria and Iraq, such as Samarkand, Fars, Transoxiana, India or China. For them, Egypt is never part of the *Maghrib*, regardless of how its borders are defined. In fact, some geographers even conceive of Egypt as an intermediate territory between the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world. Thus, in chronological order:

1. Ibn Ḥawqal (4th/10th century) in his work *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* divides the world into regions/countries, even though he was familiar with the division by climates (*iqlīm*, pl. *aqālīm*) established by Ptolemy. He tells us that Egypt has its western limit in the Maghrib, located according to some in the city of Barqa and according to others near Alexandria.<sup>24</sup> He does not explicitly state whether Egypt itself belongs to the East or the West. For him, the East includes the territories of Khūzistān (Susiana), Fars (Persia), Kirmān and Sind (the lower Indus).<sup>25</sup> Thus, it would seem that for him there is also a central region of which Egypt is part.

2. Al-Muqaddasī (334–380 H/945–990 CE) in his work *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm* divides the world into fourteen climates (= provinces), seven inhabited and seven uninhabited.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, he distinguishes between Arabized and non-Arabized territories. He is one of the few geographers who explicitly defines his conception of East and West, stating that<sup>27</sup>

Every time we say *mashriq* we are referring to the states of the Sāmānids (*dawlat al-Sāmān*), i.e. Khurāsān, Transoxiana, Sijjān, Jurjān, al-Rayy and Ṭabaristān. When we say *sharq* we

<sup>21</sup> See the testimony of al-ʿUmārī citing Ptolemy, *al-Radd* (2009), 79–80, 92–93. For Ptolemy's geographical texts see Berggren/Jones 2000, 3–23.

<sup>22</sup> Some of these authors are analysed below. For the rest see *EP*, s.vv.

<sup>23</sup> For a general overview of this concept see Miquel, “*Mashriq*”, *EP*, and in relation to Maghrib see Yver, “*al-Maghrib*”, *EP*.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1964), 1: 57–59, 131–135.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1964), 1: XV.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1963); al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1991).

<sup>27</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1963), 24; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1991), 7–8.

refer to Fārs, Kirmān and Sind. The word *maghrib* designates the province that bears this name (that is, North Africa); while the word *gharb* refers to Egypt and Syria.<sup>28</sup>

Later, when he discusses the province of Egypt, he states that the city of al-Fuṣṭāṭ marks the dividing line between the West (*al-Maghrib*) and the Arab territories, and is also the pantry (*khizāna*) of the West and the refuge (*maṭraḥ*) of the East.<sup>29</sup>

3. Al-Bakrī (405–487 H/1014–1094 CE) in his work *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, which was one of the direct sources of Ibn Saʿīd, describes the Islamic Empire on the basis of political and administrative criteria.<sup>30</sup> Without expressly mentioning Egypt as part of the East, he does establish a separation between Egypt and the Maghrib and Ifrīqiya, whose eastern border he situates in the city of Sirte, in the province of Barqa.

4. Al-Idrīsī's (d. 560 H/1165 CE) *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* was Ibn Saʿīd's main source for his geographical work. Al-Idrīsī follows a division based on climates (*aqālīm*) in which Egypt is for the most part placed in climate three, section four. As with al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī explicitly situates the border between Egypt and the Maghrib, placing it in the city of Barqa, but he does not describe Egypt as part of the Islamic East. A notable exception is a single instance where he does seem to consider this to be the case:<sup>31</sup> in climate two, section three, he speaks of the alum merchants of the city of Ankalās who in the East sell their wares in Egypt, and in the West sell them in the city of Wārqaḷān as well as in *al-Maghrib al-aqṣā* (the far *Maghrib*).

5. Al-Zuhri (second half of the 6th/12th century) in his *Kitāb al-Jaʿrāfiyya* divides the world into seven zones (*ajzāʿ*),<sup>32</sup> each of which is subdivided into three

**28** Al-Muqaddasī does not specify whether, within the Islamic Empire, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula belong to the East or the West; rather they seem to be treated as a central and independent territory between the two entities. He only states that both territories are the first two of the six Arab provinces, which are the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Aqūr, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib, while the non-Arab provinces are the Mashriq, Daylam, Riḥāb, al-Jibāl, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, and Sind. See al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1963), 28, 123; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1991), 9, 10, 47.

**29** Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (1991), 197.

**30** Al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik* (1913), 48–49; al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik* (1992), 671–672.

**31** Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* (1866), 46.

**32** As Manfred Kropp has demonstrated, the manuscript dealing with geography entitled *Kitāb al-Badʿ wa-l-taʿrīkh*, though often wrongly attributed to Ibn Saʿīd, is in fact the work of al-Shāwī al-Fāsī (d. 977 H/1570 CE) who copied much of the work of al-Zuhri but added his own corrections. See Bramon 1991, XI, XXVIII–XXIX; Kamal 1987, 1088–1093.

sections (*aṣqāʿ*).<sup>33</sup> This division does not respond to scientific-geographical criteria, but rather is a system based on the imaginary route known in Greek as the *bustrofedon* (= route made by a pair of oxen when ploughing the earth). Al-Zuhri simply tells us in relation to Egypt, which is in the second zone, third section, that “it is the gateway to the Maghrib, which begins in the mountains of Barqa”.<sup>34</sup>

6. Contemporaries of Ibn Saʿīd are Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (575–626 H/1179–1229 CE), author of *Muʿjam al-buldān*, and al-Qazwīnī (600–682 H/1203–1283 CE), who follows Yāqūt in his *Āthār al-bilād*.<sup>35</sup> In his introduction to *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Yāqūt follows the climate-based division of al-Idrīsī, and in speaking of the third climate – as well as the second – he enumerates the cities found in each climate, “starting from the East, China, Hind, Sind, Kabul, Kirmān (...) through Fars, Syria and among the cities of Egypt: Tinnīs, Dumyāt, al-Fuṣṭāṭ, Alexandria, Fayyūm (...) and in the Maghrib: Barqa, Kairouan”, which implies that Egypt is not part of the Maghrib.<sup>36</sup> The entry on Asia indicates that the custom of dividing the world into two parts is espoused by the Egyptians themselves, who call “what extends to the right of their territories ‘Maghrib’ and what extends to the left ‘Mashriq’, in which they include themselves”. This means that by Egyptians’ own accounts their country would have belonged the East, but not according to Yāqūt, for whom Egypt seems to constitute a bridge-like zone between West and East, with part of the territory belonging to the East and part to the West.<sup>37</sup> His discussions of the Nile<sup>38</sup> give the impression that he views the river as a natural frontier between East and West. He also states that some Egyptian cities such as Qifṭ and Aswān fall in the East.<sup>39</sup>

7. In Ibn Jubayr’s *Rihla* (540–614 H/1145–1217 CE), Egypt also seems at times to be an intermediate territory between East and West, and its westernmost border is situated near Alexandria. In other instances, however, it seems to be a

33 See Bramon 1991, IX–X, XXVIII–XXIX, XXXV–XXXVI.

34 Al-Zuhri, *al-Jaʿrāfiyya* (1991), 84; al-Zuhri, *al-Jaʿrāfiyya* (1968), 200–201.

35 Al-Qazwīnī divides the world, according to the Ptolemaic tradition, into seven climates, and within each climate the countries/regions are arranged in alphabetical order, as is the case with Yāqūt. In the entry devoted to Egypt, he tells us that it borders on the West at Barqa, but does not specify whether Egypt is part of the East. He only uses the word *mashriq* expressly to refer to regions such as China, Khurāsān, India and Fars. See al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād* (1990), 37–44; al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād* (ca. 1960), 263–270.

36 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (2007), 1: 28–31.

37 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (2007), 1: 54.

38 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (2007), 5: 334.

39 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (2007), 4: 383.

proper part of the East.<sup>40</sup> When describing the kindness of a person from Mecca named Jamāl al-Dīn, Ibn Jubayr tells us that he “repaired all the roads of the Muslims in the countries of the East, from Iraq to Syria and up to the Hejaz”, i.e. excluding Egypt.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, in praising the orthodoxy of the Almohads, he tells us, “There is no true Islam except in the countries of the Maghrib... In the other [countries], in these eastern regions, there are passions, reprehensible innovations (*bidaʿ*)...”<sup>42</sup> As he is writing in Egypt, the phrase “these eastern regions” seems to indicate that he regards Egypt as an eastern land.

8. Upon arriving in Cairo, the traveller al-ʿAbdarī (d. after 688 H/1289 CE)<sup>43</sup> described the city “as the capital of Egypt” and “one of the cities of the kingdom in the territories of the East (*madīnat al-mamlaka bi-l-bilād al-mashriqiyya*)”. He, too, situates Egypt’s border with the Maghrib in the province of Barqa, specifically between the cities of Ajdabiya and Alexandria.<sup>44</sup>

9. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 H/1374 CE) used the works of Ibn Saʿīd as a source, and some of them he even completed and tried to surpass.<sup>45</sup> In his *Kitāb Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, he follows a tripartite structure and divides the Islamic world into three parts: the first, the East, the second, al-Andalus, and the third, North Africa and Sicily. In the first part, the one covering the East, he tells us that it “includes what concerns the eastern territories (*al-bilād al-mashriqiyya*) up to Barqa [beginning of the Maghrib]”,<sup>46</sup> and that “the Maghrib, which borders on the Mashriq, begins in Ifrīqiya”.<sup>47</sup> When dealing with the Fāṭimids,<sup>48</sup> he says that “they launched into the conquest of the East, seizing Egypt, Syria, the Hejaz, and then Iraq”. Clearly, for Ibn al-Khaṭīb Egypt is part of the East.

In summary, Arab-Islamic geographers and travellers had different views about how to situate Egypt geographically. While they saw the political and administrative division of the territories and their boundaries clearly, it is not so

40 On the travels of Ibn Jubayr in relation to those of al-ʿAbdarī and Ibn Saʿīd see Marín 1995; Marín 2005; M’Ghirbi 1996.

41 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* (1988), 154–156.

42 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* (1988), 102.

43 See Calasso 2014.

44 Al-ʿAbdarī, *Riḥla* (1968), 87–88, 125.

45 Ibn al-Khaṭīb was well acquainted with and admired the work of Ibn Saʿīd. The vizier of Granada wrote his *Kitāb al-Siḥr wa-l-shiʿr* in an attempt to complete and surpass Ibn Saʿīd’s *ʿUnwān al-murqīṣāt wa-l-muṭribāt*, and also wrote *al-Tāj al-muḥallā fi musājalat al-Qidḥ al-muʿallā* to rival Ibn Saʿīd’s *al-Qidḥ al-muʿallā fi al-taʿriḫ al-muḥallā*.

46 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* (2003), 346.

47 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* (2003), 44.

48 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* (2003), 230.

evident what exactly forms part of the East or the West – which is not surprising given that these divisions, contrary to the others, are relational concepts. There appears to be a tacit assumption that everything which is not the Maghrib is the Mashriq, as if the Maghrib were easier to define than the Mashriq. In the earliest geographers and travellers, at least until the 6th/12th century, the words Mashriq/Sharq are usually used to designate the territories from Syria onwards – with the exception of al-Muqaddasī – and Egypt appears as a territory of transition. From the second half of the 7th/13th century on, geographers and travellers increasingly situate Egypt as a territory belonging to the East, especially after the Mamlūks’ rise to power. By the 8th/14th century, Egypt is clearly regarded as part of the East. This could be related to the territorial re-organization at the end of the 6th/12th century, and especially from the 7th/13th century onwards with the disintegration of the Almohad Empire in al-Andalus and North Africa, the fall of the Ayyūbids, the rise to power of the Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria, and the Mongols’ conquest of Baghdad in the year 655 H/1258 CE and Aleppo in 658 H/1260 CE. While the Mamlūks did not attempt to expand westwards, they certainly did grow eastwards, and this “Eastern” inclination may be what cemented Egypt firmly in the Mashriq.

## 4 Egypt in other works by Ibn Saʿīd

Ibn Saʿīd’s designation of Egypt as part of the West goes against not only the consensus among other geographers of his time, but even the opinions of his own family. Ibn Saʿīd quotes a letter from his paternal uncle, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Saʿīd (d. 616 H/1220 CE), who wrote from Bukhārā to his relatives telling them about his trip. In the letter he says that after having crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, he marched towards Ifrīqiya “which is the door of the East”.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Saʿīd’s geographical conception of Egypt as Western is not limited to *al-Mughrib*, as elsewhere he adopts the same perspective, albeit with minor variations. In his *Kitāb al-Juḡhrāfiyā* Egypt sometimes appears as part of the West and others as part of the East. In the second climate, section four, he discusses the new route that pilgrims have to follow because of the Crusaders, through the port of ‘Aydhāb via the Red Sea to the port city of Jidda. He then says that “on the road from [the city of] Aswān, on the eastern side, there is the path to the Hejaz, for

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49 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 370–371; Potiron 1965, 88–89; Hoenerbach 1991, 773.

whoever goes to the East has to go by the way of al-Waḍḥ”.<sup>50</sup> By contrast, in climate three, section four, he mentions the mountain of Jālūt (= Goliath)<sup>51</sup> located in south-eastern Egypt, whose name, Ibn Sa‘īd explains, refers “to Jālūt; as they say, when he escaped from Palestine, Jālūt went there before he was killed, and settled in this mountain, and from there entered with his children and his people into the Maghrib”.<sup>52</sup>

Moving now to Ibn Sa‘īd’s more literary works, in the prologue to his *‘Unwān al-murqīṣāt wa-l-muṭribāt*, a compilation of poetic fragments classified on the basis of their ability to thrill the reader, he tells us that he will follow the same criteria he used in the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* of separating the Eastern authors from the Western ones.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, in the chapter dedicated to the Western authors he begins by mentioning “the poets of the Maghrib, from the first territory of Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean (*shu‘arā’ al-maghrib min awwal al-diyār al-miṣriyya ilā al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*)”.<sup>54</sup>

In the small fragment that has been preserved of Ibn Sa‘īd’s *al-Ghuṣūn al-yāni‘a*, specifically the eighth chapter, which contains several biographies of 7th/13th-century writers, he also distinguishes between Eastern and Western authors. In this case, however, Ibn Sa‘īd changes his geographical classification of Egypt: here it becomes a central territory that separates Easterners (Syrians and Iraqis) from Westerners (Maghribis and Andalusis), and as such he dedicates an independent section to Egyptian authors.<sup>55</sup>

The dates for these works by Ibn Sa‘īd are as follows: the *Mughrib* and *Mushriq* were written first (the first version dates from 641 H/1243 CE), followed shortly thereafter by *‘Unwān al-murqīṣāt*, which adopts the same approach as the previous two. Subsequently he wrote *al-Ghuṣūn al-yāni‘a* (Ibn Sa‘īd dates it 657 H/1258-9 CE in the introduction),<sup>56</sup> and finally the *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*, which can be dated to after 659 H/1260 CE. Thus, Ibn Sa‘īd started out placing Egypt squarely in the West, but then came to consider it as an intermediate territory between East and

50 Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Jughrāfiyā* (1970), 116.

51 Vajda, “Djālūt”, *EP*; Boisliveau, “Goliath”, *EP*. Abū al-Fidā’ in his work *Taqwīm al-buldān* tells us that Jālūt is the generic name to designate the Philistine kings. See Abū al-Fidā’, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (1848–83), 2: 86, n. 3.

52 Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Jughrāfiyā* (1970), 129.

53 Ibn Sa‘īd, *‘Unwān al-murqīṣāt* (1896), 3–4; Ibn Sa‘īd, *‘Unwān al-murqīṣāt* (1949), 7.

54 Ibn Sa‘īd, *‘Unwān al-murqīṣāt* (1896), 56 (my translation).

55 Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Ghuṣūn* (1977), 73–74.

56 Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Ghuṣūn* (1977), 1.

West, until finally deciding that part of the territory belonged to the East and part to the West, with the Nile forming a natural boundary between the two.<sup>57</sup>

## 5 Syrian/Egyptian reactions to Ibn Saʿīd's geographical conception

The geographical approach proposed by Ibn Saʿīd generated controversy, especially among Mamlūk authors in Egypt, in particular three of them: Abū al-Fidāʾ (672–732 H/1273–1331 CE), Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (700–749 H/1301–1349 CE) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H/1442 CE). The most severe and critical with Ibn Saʿīd was al-ʿUmarī.

The core of the debate was the Andalusī author's "Maghribization" of Egypt in his geographical works, in particular in the chapter of the *Mughrib* entitled "al-Shuhub al-thāqība fi al-inṣāf bayna al-mashāriqa wa-l-maghāriba" (Penetrating flames in the fair discernment between Easterners and Westerners). This chapter has not been preserved in the manuscripts available to us. It was known to al-Maqqarī<sup>58</sup> and a large part was preserved by al-ʿUmarī, who responded to Ibn Saʿīd by dedicating the entire fifth volume (*sifr*) of his extensive work *Masālik al-abṣār fi mamālik al-amṣār* to this issue.<sup>59</sup>

In a general sense, this confrontation took place on two levels.

1. The debate initially centred on geography: Al-ʿUmarī did not accept Ibn Saʿīd's division of East and West, and above all objected to Egypt, the seat of the Mamlūk government, being considered part of the Maghrib. The Mamlūk author quotes the Andalusī as writing phrases such as "Egypt is the beginning of the West and Syria that of the East", and "Egypt, which according to Ibn Saʿīd is part of the Maghrib",<sup>60</sup> to which al-ʿUmarī replies that "The question of what is the West and what is the East is relative".<sup>61</sup> Al-ʿUmarī looked for different types of arguments to respond with, among them referring to Ibn Saʿīd's work on geography, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*, where, according to al-ʿUmarī, Ibn Saʿīd had claimed just the opposite. Al-ʿUmarī ultimately ends up recognizing in spite of himself

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<sup>57</sup> As previously mentioned, a more exhaustive analysis of the content and manuscripts of his main geographical work, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*, is needed in order to understand better the evolution of his geographical conception and his understanding of the world.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ al-ṭib* (1968), 1: 210.

<sup>59</sup> Part of this fifth volume (*sifr*) can be consulted in al-ʿUmarī, *al-Radd* (2009).

<sup>60</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 43, 80.

<sup>61</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 80.



that “it is true that Egypt is part of the West; nevertheless, this does not cancel out whatever virtues it may possess”,<sup>62</sup> and that “both territories possess things that deserve praise and criticism, but in the end the victor prevails and although God mentions East and West in different places of the Qur’ān, he evidently started with the East”.<sup>63</sup> That said, al-‘Umarī goes on to attack the Maghribis, who “lack any external or internal virtue”, stating that “if any of the [Maghribi] kings enjoy pleasures, they are nothing [in comparison] with those available to a person from the East”.<sup>64</sup> He goes on to attack Ibn Sa‘īd himself, who in his view “certainly reached the limit of favouritism [towards the Maghrib] in the work entitled *al-Mughrib fi ḥulā al-Maghrib*”,<sup>65</sup> adding that “if this virtuous man had felt shame, he would not have cited the *jund* (army) of the West along with the praiseworthy things of the *jund* of the East. If he did it, it was only because he had made Egypt part of the Maghrib”.<sup>66</sup> Al-‘Umarī continues to lambast Westerners in this vein, until taking his argument to a second level.

2. From this point on, al-‘Umarī tries to discredit Ibn Sa‘īd and his work, and the best way to do so is to accuse him of partiality and favouritism towards the Maghribis. By contrast, he defines himself as “an impartial person, since there is no need for the opposite ... because the pre-eminence of the East is evident as the sun”.<sup>67</sup> Al-‘Umarī develops his argument on the basis of a passage he attributes to Ibn Sa‘īd comparing the Earth with the parts of a human body, where India and China are its head and the West (*gharb*) is at its foot, adding that<sup>68</sup> “with this comparison the Easterners would be extremely proud, if the Westerners would recognize it”, to which al-‘Umarī replies, “Westerners ought to recognize [the superiority] of the Easterners in all matters, whether they want to or not, except in a few things that do not admit any discussion”.<sup>69</sup> Al-‘Umarī then launches into an elaborate discourse questioning the existence of any virtue or merit among the territories and people of the Maghrib. Here, the East always proves superior to the West: its provinces and cities are larger and more populous; its people are kinder, wiser and more beautiful; and it is the birthplace of writing, the sciences, trade and commerce. Above all, he supports his arguments on the Qur’ān and the

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<sup>62</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 75.

<sup>63</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 40.

<sup>64</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 86–87.

<sup>65</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 80.

<sup>66</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 156.

<sup>67</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 39–40, 74.

<sup>68</sup> Al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 42.

<sup>69</sup> Al-‘Umarī does not specify which things do not admit discussion. See al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 42.

Sunna, which tell us “that in the East the prophet Muḥammad was born, there the Revelation took place, there the prophets were born and spread the word of God, their graves are found in those territories...”.<sup>70</sup> And so he continues in this vein, offering arguments whereby the East is always the first and the best in every respect, as in the following passage about the prophets:

Are not all the holy places of the prophets – the blessings of God be upon them – in the East? Except Yūsuf, Mūsā and Hārūn – the blessings of God be upon them – who were in Egypt, [a land] that according to the opinion of Ibn Saʿīd belongs to the Maghrib, either because its inhabitants acknowledge this, or because others maintain that it is so. In addition, even if it were accepted that Egypt is part of the Maghrib, it would not matter, because these venerable prophets are really of the East: they arose in Syria, were natives of that place, and there, in the East, had their cradle. All the prophets – the blessings of God be upon them – are from the East, because they were born there, there the prophetic missions of their envoys took place, their graves are there and it was there that the spirit of Revelation descended upon them.

As regards the entrance into Egypt of Yaʿqūb, the tribes of Israel (al-Asbāṭ), Yūshaʿ and the Messiah – the blessings of God be upon them – they did not actually enter to settle there, nor did they settle in any place; they are not counted among the prophets [of Egypt], nor is news about them mentioned in the chronicles [of Egypt].

In the East the ascent of the angels – the blessings of God be upon them – took place, there the book of God was revealed, the sources of Islamic law were developed, the pavilions of faith were raised, the [different] sects were propagated, the sciences branched apart and works spread east and west. There the Arabian Peninsula is located, whose sultan is the Sultan and whose language is the Language.<sup>71</sup>

With regard to Abū al-Fidāʿ, his criticisms were more objective, based mainly on questions of a geographical nature<sup>72</sup> related to latitudes and longitudes. Regardless of this, he never failed to recognize the great value of Ibn Saʿīd’s works, mainly the *Kitāb al-Juḡhrāfiyā*, the *Muḡhrib* and the *Mushriq*.<sup>73</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī, who made extensive use Ibn Saʿīd’s works, supported al-ʿUmarī in his attacks against the Andalusī author. In his work *al-Khiṭaṭ*<sup>74</sup> al-Maqrīzī

<sup>70</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 43, 85–87.

<sup>71</sup> Al-ʿUmarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 43.

<sup>72</sup> Abū al-Fidāʿ, unlike Ibn Saʿīd and other geographers, places the first meridian on the coast of the African continent, with a difference of ten degrees with respect to Ptolemy. His work, *Taqwīm al-buldān*, although it refers to climates, is not organized according to them. It is based on the political-administrative divisions of the Islamic Empire. Within each region/country, the main cities are listed one by one, placing them in their respective climates, with their longitude and latitude.

<sup>73</sup> Abū al-Fidāʿ, *Taqwīm al-buldān* (1848–83), 2: 254; Abū al-Fidāʿ, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1907), 3: 177.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (1997), 2: 167–170, 210–214.

brings up the chapter of the *Mughrib* describing Cairo, where Ibn Saʿīd is critical of the city and its people, to which al-Maqrīzī counters that “this [text] is full of attacks and prejudice”. Al-Maqqarī, who saw this remark, replied, “The one who looks from impartiality will know that the attacks in [the words of Ibn Saʿīd] are proportional to the attacks he received, God Most High and Conciliating [knows well]”.<sup>75</sup>

Ibn Saʿīd was thus criticized for his partiality toward the Maghribis, despite the fact that he always expressed the need to be impartial and fair when making a judgement. He says, for instance, that “the impartial man is the one who examines [literary works] at length, without limitations, who does not admit the superiority of one age over another, nor of one territory over another”, or, similarly, “I did not stop at any consideration of demerit or merit, nor did I worry about issuing an unfavourable or favourable judgement, I only wanted to offer some prose texts, one after the other, and verses of poetry...”.<sup>76</sup>

## 6 Conclusion

The new geographical approach proposed by Ibn Saʿīd in his main works, the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq*, generated an intense debate and put the focus on the question of which territories belonged to the Maghrib and which to the Mashriq. This issue seems to have become controversial especially in the 7th–8th/13th–14th centuries, taking into account the new geopolitical shifts in the territory of the Islamic Empire, with the fall of the Almohad Empire and the Mongol conquest of Baghdad and Aleppo.

It is difficult to establish the exact reasons that led Ibn Saʿīd to include Egypt as part of the Islamic West. It could be that the experience he gained through his travels provided him with a new outlook, leading him to propose a new division of the Earth, perhaps in the belief that the inclusion of Egypt as part of the Maghrib led to a more balanced distribution between East and West. Also, the new division may have been seen as better adapted to a literary context, yielding a more balanced array of Eastern and Western authors. However, the fact that Ibn Saʿīd does not make any statement regarding such literary criteria, along with the

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<sup>75</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 2: 349.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *Unwān al-murqīṣāt* (1896), 3–4; Ibn Saʿīd, *Unwān al-murqīṣāt* (1949), 5, 9; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Muqtataf* (1984), 41–44; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 3: 152–153.

strong criticisms of al-ʿUmarī, seems to indicate that Ibn Saʿīd based his decision more on geographical than literary concepts.

Ibn Saʿīd was always a Maghribi to the eyes of Eastern scholars, for many of whom the West had always been inferior, so that his new conception of integrating Egypt in the Maghrib was not prone to be accepted by Egyptians. Nevertheless, even al-ʿUmarī in his *Masālik al-abṣār*, despite his harsh rebuttal of Ibn Saʿīd, recognized the value and the integrity of the Andalusī author, saying:

He is my teacher (*ṣāhibī*) with whom sometimes I agree in this book of mine, others I condemn him, other times I coincide with him, and a few others I am against him. He is an overflowing sea and a torrential rain [of wisdom], endowed with an exquisite and clear eloquence, whose information flows like the water and his excellences shine like the stars.<sup>77</sup>

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## **Part II: Integrating the Maghrib into Universal Islamic History**





Abdenour Padillo-Saoud

# Al-Andalus in *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, by Abū al-Fidā'

## 1 Introduction

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the work *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, by Abū al-Fidā', acquired great relevance among European scholars, and was considered crucial for an understanding of Islamic history. This keen interest led to the publication of several partial editions of the work, such as *Abilfedae annales moslemici*, published in Leipzig in the late 18th century, the 1831 *Historia anteilamica arabice* by the Orientalist Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, also published in Leipzig, and an edition by French cleric Jean Gaigner published in Oxford in 1723.

However, as scholars became familiar with the sources upon which Abū al-Fidā' had relied, interest in his chronicle waned. Meanwhile, various Arabic editions were published over the course of the 20th century: a 1907 Cairene edition by publishers al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥusayniyya al-Miṣriyya, which was republished in 1968 in Baghdad; another edition prepared in Beirut between 1956 and 1961 by publishers Dār al-Fikr and Dār al-Biḥār; another by Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya in 1997; and, most recently, an edition by Muḥammad Zaynahum, Muḥammad Fakhri and Yaḥyā Sayyid Ḥusayn, published by Dār al-Ma'ārif between 1998 and 1999 in Cairo. However, these editions have done little to rekindle interest in the text, as they lack even the most basic scholarly study one would expect from an academic publication. What is more, they do not even specify the manuscripts used, or offer any sort of critical apparatus to guide the reader through the text.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The 1998–1999 edition contains a greater number of explanatory references than the rest of the editions, but in my opinion, it is still insufficient as a critical apparatus.

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**Note:** This chapter is the developed version of the paper presented in the congress “The Magrib in the Mashriq”, held in Madrid in December 2018. The research has been carried out in the framework of the research project *Local contexts and global dynamics: al-Andalus and the Maghreb in the Islamic East (AMOI)* (FFI2016-78878-R AEI/FEDER,UE), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities, and co-directed by Maribel Fierro (ILC, CSIC) and Mayte Penelas (EEA, CSIC). The Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness of Spain has supported this research under the program “Contratos Predoctorales para la Formación de Doctores/2017”. English translation by Nicholas Callaway.

Thus, today the outlook for Abū al-Fidā's work is hardly better than in the late 19th century. Modern scholars have paid little attention to it, except for translations of various fragments of the text narrating specific events, and brief biographical studies on the author.<sup>2</sup>

That said, the present study is based on the premise that for a broad and in-depth understanding of an intellectual context, it is not enough to study just the great historians of the period. Rather, it is important to understand lesser figures as well, as in the case of Abū al-Fidā'. Overall, the aim of this paper is to provide further elements in the construction of a global perspective of the relationships between the authors of this period and the Islamic West.

This paper presents the partial results of my study and analysis of the information about al-Andalus that appears in Abū al-Fidā's *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*.

## 2 The author

Late Ayyūbid historians have generally been classified into three categories: civil servants or men of state, court historians, and '*ulamā*'.<sup>3</sup> While this classification should not be followed categorically, it does describe an overriding trend that extends into the first years of the Mamlūk period as well. As regards Abū al-Fidā's fellow Syrian historians, they hailed mostly from the third group. However, our author constitutes a notable exception to this rule: he came from an aristocratic Ayyūbid family, and his male ancestors were governors of the city of Hama throughout the dynasty's rule.

'Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Shāhanṣāh b. Ayyūb al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad<sup>4</sup> was born in Damascus in the year 672 H/1273 CE. His close relationship with Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (d. 741 H/1341 CE) and his active role in the fights against the crusaders propelled him to the fore of Hama's city government. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn named him sultan of Hama, and sources say his independence and his authority

<sup>2</sup> Among the exceptions are the partial translation of Holt 1983, the biographical text of Kīlānī 1998, or the most recent articles Najm 'Īsā 2006, and Ḥasan 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Guo 1997.

<sup>4</sup> This string of names is recorded by Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1929–31), 1: 371. However, other sources on Abū al-Fidā's biography record as his *nasab* the string of honorific titles attributed to his powerful family: al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn al-Afḍal Ibn al-Malik al-Muẓẓafar Ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr, *ṣāhib* Ḥamā.

over the city were absolute.<sup>5</sup> While Hama appears to have enjoyed a degree of autonomy from the central Mamlūk authority, there was nevertheless a clear relationship of dependence at work. Likewise, the close ties between Abū al-Fidā' and the Mamlūk authorities remained in place till the end of his life. Sources have attributed to Abū al-Fidā' a wide variety of texts, including poetic compositions and religious and literary works. However, his prestige stems from two works in particular: the chronicle at the heart of this paper, and a descriptive geographical work titled *Taqwīm al-buldān*.<sup>6</sup> Abū al-Fidā' died in 732 H/1331 CE.

### 3 The work of Abū al-Fidā'

*Al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-baṣhar*<sup>7</sup> falls squarely within the *ta'rikh* genre, and more specifically within the sub-genre of works that order information chronologically by year, *ta'rikh 'alā al-sinīn*, i.e. annalistic history.<sup>8</sup> It is characterized by its concision, summarizing the information briefly and succinctly.

The type of information the work contains is for the most part descriptive. He mainly selects from his sources information describing the political events that took place in a given year. We occasionally find Abū al-Fidā''s interpretations of the events he draws from his sources, including the author's personal opinions.<sup>9</sup>

In structural terms, the work spans from the creation of the world up to the year 729 H/1329 CE, two years before the author's death. All of the editions contain the summary and continuation of the *Mukhtaṣar* composed by Syrian historian Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), known as *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Wardī*,<sup>10</sup> which covers historical events up to 749 H/1348 CE. Subsequent continuations were also made, for example by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī (d. 779 H/1377 CE) or al-Qāḍī Ibn al-Shiḥna al-Ḥalabī (d. 890 H/1485 CE), an indication of the prestige that Abū al-Fidā''s work attained during this period.

The overall structure of the work is straightforward, in line with other works from this genre. It is divided into six parts. The first part begins with the creation of Adam, after which the author lists the prophets in chronological order. When

<sup>5</sup> See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1929–31), 1: 371; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 1: 183.

<sup>6</sup> See Gibb, "Abū 'l-Fidā", *EP*; Talmon-Heller, "Abū l-Fidā'", *EP*.

<sup>7</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997).

<sup>8</sup> For further information, see Rosenthal 1952, 71–86.

<sup>9</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 9 and 236–237.

<sup>10</sup> It was published in its own two-volume edition by Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya in 1996, under the title *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Wardī*.

he reaches Moses, he inserts information about the leaders and kings of *banū Isrā'īl*, followed by the prophets up to Jesus and the second destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. The second part covers the kings of Persia and is organized into generations (*ṭabaqāt*). The third contains information on the pharaohs of Ancient Egypt, along with Greek, Roman and Byzantine rulers. The fourth, “*Mulūk al-‘arab qabl al-islām*”, covers pre-Islamic Arab history. The fifth provides information on the different “nations” (*umam*) of the world. These five parts are short in comparison to the sixth and final section, which, on account of its content and the attention it is given by the author, constitutes the core of the work. It covers what Abū al-Fidā’ refers to as “Islamic history” (*al-ta’rīkh al-islāmī*). It reproduces the conventional structure of this sort of works, which is to say it begins with the biography of Muḥammad, followed by the four Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-khulafā’ al-rāshidūn*), and the subsequent dynasties that succeeded them. It is in this part that we find information on al-Andalus, which shows up sporadically, interspersed with all manner of other information whose only common trait is having occurred in the same year. In all it records around 100 historical events pertaining to al-Andalus.

## 4 Analysis of the information

Regarding content, apart from general allusions to the Islamic conquests,<sup>11</sup> Abū al-Fidā’'s accounts of al-Andalus begin with the arrival of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I (r. 138–172 H/756–788 CE). In this sense he diverges from his main source, *al-Kāmil fī al-ta’rīkh*<sup>12</sup> by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 H/1233 CE) – whose relationship with our text we will explore further on – which offers an extensive and detailed account of the conquest of al-Andalus and its aftermath. In other words, Abū al-Fidā’ makes no mention of the conquest of the Iberian peninsula, nor of events prior to the arrival of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I.

In general, the information that Abū al-Fidā’ provides on al-Andalus tends to be organized as follows: he first mentions the death of a ruler, followed by the length of his rule and a brief description of him, both physical and intellectual, ending by mentioning his successor, alongside some relevant facts related to the new ruler. This format characterizes his accounts of the emirate and caliphate, with the exception of the occasional anecdote from the rule of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I,

<sup>11</sup> Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 275.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987).

and the relatively closer attention paid to the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (r. 300–350 H/912–961 CE).

By contrast, he pays much more attention to the figure of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Āmir, Almanzor (r. 366–392 H/976–1002 CE). Abū al-Fidā' offers a detailed description of him, emphasizing his military campaigns as a defining trait of his reign.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the wartime context in which the author was writing motivated, in part, this extra attention to Almanzor's militarism. Abū al-Fidā' took part in multiple campaigns against the Crusaders, which are described in detail in the *Mukhtaṣar*.<sup>14</sup> The importance he affords to *jihād* is evident not only based on his account of these campaigns, but also can be gathered from his own trajectory. As such, it is only natural that he emphasized Almanzor's military campaigns and his determination to fight against "the infidels".

This stylistic shift can also be detected in the events surrounding the period of *fitna* (399–422 H/1008–1031 CE) and the subsequent *taifa* kingdoms (422–484 H/1031–1091 CE). Abū al-Fidā' details the vicissitudes of the collapse of the 'Āmirid dynasty and the demise of the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus.<sup>15</sup> The author of the *Mukhtaṣar* highlights the importance of certain events from this period, such as the fall of Toledo in 478 H/1085 CE, which he attributes directly to the dismembering of Islamic power in the peninsula into a mosaic of independent powers, and the resulting rise of factionalism.<sup>16</sup> This event is related to what our author identifies as the origin "of the collapse of the pillars of the Islamic presence in the peninsula",<sup>17</sup> namely the subsequent attempt by the Almohads to recover Toledo from the Christians. This statement is one of the few examples of critical interpretation that are to be found in Abū al-Fidā''s passages about al-Andalus.

Indeed, the stylistic shift in the narration of these events is clear: in contrast to the brevity and simplicity of the preceding fragments, his account of these periods is rich with detail and explanations, and is much longer by comparison.

The information on the Almoravids and Almohads, however, is subordinated to the events that occurred under both dynasties in North Africa. This shift in the author's focus thus sees al-Andalus cast as a mere extension of a power whose center of gravity is located squarely in the Maghrib. Still, the major milestones of

<sup>13</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 459.

<sup>14</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 357–358 and 359–361.

<sup>15</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 485–486 and 494–499.

<sup>16</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 9.

<sup>17</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 236–237.

Almohad rule in Andalus territory are briefly mentioned. By contrast, the information on the Almoravid dynasty in al-Andalus is limited to a brief mention of the arrival of Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (d. 500 H/1106 CE), the conquest of the territory, and the subsequent loss of certain enclaves.

Likewise, his lack of attention to the Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada is striking. He records only two events related to the Naṣrids: first, their plea for assistance to the Banū Marīn in the face of a Christian attack;<sup>18</sup> and, second, their participation in the Battle of La Vega in 719 H/1319 CE, in which Ismā‘īl I defeated the *infantes* Juan and Pedro of Castile.<sup>19</sup> This decreased attention paid to the Naṣrids coincides with the general lack of information on Andalus history towards the end of the *Mukhtaṣar*, and, in turn, to the last events recorded by Ibn al-Athīr in his *Kāmil*, Abū al-Fidā’'s main source, as we have seen. After reaching the last events recorded in the *Kāmil*, which Abū al-Fidā’ reproduces with slight textual modifications,<sup>20</sup> his interest in al-Andalus diminishes considerably.

Apart from historical events, the work also includes biographical information on various Andalus figures. Their appearance does not follow a clear pattern, as he includes some minor figures while leaving out other more relevant ones. Abū al-Fidā’ tends to provide concise biographical information free of details, essentially confined to a date of death and brief mention of the person’s role or occupation.

## 5 Perception of al-Andalus

Abū al-Fidā’ first mentions al-Andalus in the chapter on the “nation” of the Christians (*al-naṣārā*) in the fifth part of the book, the one containing descriptions of the different nations of the world. The chapter opens with an introduction explaining the origin of the term *naṣārā*, along with other theological considerations regarding Christianity. He then includes a section titled “The nations who have converted to the religion of the Christians”. In this section Abū al-Fidā’ mentions al-Andalus as a geographical reference to help the reader locate the *ifranj*, whose country, in the author’s words, is contiguous with the peninsula of al-Andalus, lying just to the north. He then, without referring directly to the Islamic history of the peninsula, notes that “the *ifranj* have dominated the majority of the

<sup>18</sup> Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 400.

<sup>19</sup> Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 431.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987), 10: 258. Cf. Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 185.

peninsula of al-Andalus".<sup>21</sup> Abū al-Fidā' uses the term *ifranj* in a general sense to refer to the Christians of Western Europe, in clear opposition to the Byzantine Christians, whom he refers to as *rūm*.

In geographical terms, Abū al-Fidā' conceives of al-Andalus as a clearly bounded peninsula that includes both Christian and Muslim territories. This conception was for the most part accepted among the historians of the Mamlūk period and can be extended to other regions of the Islamic world.<sup>22</sup> The geographical sense of the term al-Andalus, which can be inferred in most of the fragments the author dedicates to this territory, prevails over the place name's political-administrative sense.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, one comes away from Abū al-Fidā''s portrayal of al-Andalus with the impression that it is a peripheral region, an unstable borderland of the Islamic territory. As such, it should be borne in mind that he wrote the work in the early 14th century, when Islamic rule in the peninsula had been reduced to the Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada. My own opinion is that the Iberian peninsula's inherent instability, which only worsened after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba – the period where the *Mukhtaṣar* begins to pay the most attention to al-Andalus – reinforces its perception as peripheral and unstable.

## 6 Sources

Abū al-Fidā''s political status suggests that he must have had access to a wide range of books on a number of topics, which would have served as the backbone of his readings, in line with someone of his political stature. What the sources tell us about this author reinforces this idea, which, in any case, is nothing new. The various biographical texts on Abū al-Fidā' by later authors emphasize his role as patron.<sup>24</sup> These testimonies highlight his good treatment of contemporary scholars, his enthusiasm for welcoming them into his circle, and the importance he placed on scholarship (*'ilm*) as a whole. We should therefore assume that access to a wealth of sources of information was not an issue for our author. And yet, this work is not characterized by a particularly original or varied use of sources,

<sup>21</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 147.

<sup>22</sup> Along these lines, see García Sanjuán 2006, 43–59.

<sup>23</sup> There are numerous examples. See, for example, Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 147; 2: 87 and 432.

<sup>24</sup> A summary of the various opinions found among the sources can be found in the entry devoted to him by Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089 H/1679 CE) in *Shadharāt al-dhahab*. See Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (1986), 1: 59–60.



which gives rise to certain doubts as to its nature and aims, as we shall see. In any case, a study of the sources has made it possible to identify common patterns with other authors, and to determine how relevant different works were in the spread of knowledge about the Islamic West.

In this sense, Abū al-Fidā's main source for the *Mukhtaṣar* is, as has been noted, *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'riḫ*, by Ibn al-Athīr. This work is cited at the top of the list of sources provided by the author in the introduction.<sup>25</sup> Unlike the rest of the sources, which Abū al-Fidā employs sporadically for information about specific events, the *Kāmil* has a foundational role in his work as it is his main source throughout the different periods and regions that he covers. Despite this heavy reliance, he rarely cites Ibn al-Athīr's work. The information on al-Andalus in the *Mukhtaṣar* is no exception to this rule, and for this region the *Kāmil* is also our author's core reference.

As for Ibn al-Athīr, his principal source – as he himself states – is the *Ta'riḫ* of al-Ṭabarī<sup>26</sup> (d. 310 H/923 CE). The information that the *Kāmil* provides on al-Andalus, however, contains few references to al-Ṭabarī, which is only logical as the latter only touches on the region tangentially. Ibn al-Athīr himself, after narrating the events of 92 H/711 CE and mentioning the conquest of the Iberian peninsula, states the following:

All of this was mentioned by Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] about the conquest of al-Andalus, as an example of this grand territory and its conquest, but it is insufficient. I will mention the conquests [of the territory] in order to complete [them], with the blessing of Almighty God, through the works of its people, as they know their country better than anyone.<sup>27</sup>

Although this fragment by Ibn al-Athīr explicitly recognizes the importance of Andalusī sources for knowledge on the region, it is of little use to us, as only very rarely does he make explicit reference to the Andalusī sources he employs.

Regarding the Andalusī sources that Ibn al-Athīr used in the *Kāmil*, Luis Molina has drawn attention to its relationship to the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān<sup>28</sup> (d. 469 H/1076 CE). Although the textual relationship between the two is plain to see, based on the data obtained in our study we agree with Molina's hypothesis that there must have been an intermediate source linking them together. The textual differences between the two works, the apparently arbitrary choice of events, as

<sup>25</sup> Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 12.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987), 1: 7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987), 4: 264.

<sup>28</sup> Molina 1980, 435–441; Molina 1998, 39–65.

well as the order in which the information appears, seem to point in this direction. Likewise, Mahmood ul-Hasan, in his study on the *Kāmil*, entitled *Ibn al-Athīr, An Arab Historian. A Critical Analysis of his Tarikh-al-kamil and Tarikh-al-Atabeca*, ventures the possibility that *Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn 'Idhārī (d. after 712 H/1312-3 CE) shared several common sources, including Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabis*.<sup>29</sup> Among the sources we are certain Ibn al-Athīr used<sup>30</sup> we find the work of Ibn Abī al-Fayyāḍ<sup>31</sup> (d. 985 H/1066-7 CE). There is also reason to believe that Ibn al-Athīr knew and used the work of Ibn Khāqān (d. 529 H/1134 CE), *Qalā'id al-'iqyān fī maḥāsin al-a'yān*.<sup>32</sup>

Apart from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, another Eastern source that Abū al-Fidā' used for information on al-Andalus is *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681 H/1282 CE). Ibn Khallikān was an important source for authors from this period. As far as al-Andalus is concerned, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* is a valuable source of information, not only in light of its precision or the fact that Ibn Khallikān regularly cites his sources, but also because it is the only known source for certain events from the peninsula.

Our author makes very peculiar use of this work. He draws on it without citing it in any way, most of all for biographical passages on Andalusī intellectuals and '*ulamā'*'. As mentioned above, the figures he chooses do not appear to follow any clear criterion. The authors that Abū al-Fidā' takes from Ibn Khallikān's work are, in order of appearance, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi; Ibn Sīdah al-Mursī; Ibn Zaydūn; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, when mentioning various *ḥadīths* recorded in his *Bahjat al-majālis*; al-'Alam al-Shantamarī; al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī, in the form of several verses he dedicated to al-Mu'tamid; Abū Bakr Ibn Baqī, of whom he reproduces a *muwashshaḥa* copied, in turn, by Ibn Khallikān from the *Qalā'id* and which Abū al-Fidā' cites, but via *Wafayāt al-a'yān*; Qur'ān reciter Yaḥyā b. Sa'dūn; Ibn Bashkuwāl; Abū Bakr Ibn Zuhr; and Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Kharūf al-Ishbīlī.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ul-Hasan 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987), 8: 109.

<sup>31</sup> A historian from Ēcija who lived in Almería most of his life. He wrote a history book titled *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, of which only three pages have been preserved, in Ibn al-Abbār's (596–658 H/1198–1260 CE) *al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'*. For more information, see the excellent study by Álvarez de Morales 1978–79.

<sup>32</sup> Various fragments found in the *Kāmil* coincide with passages that appear in Ibn Khāqān's *Qalā'id al-'iqyān*, and follow a similar order. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987), 8: 505. Cf. Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-'iqyān* (1860), 28 and 34.

<sup>33</sup> Apart from these, to a lesser degree, brief biographical notes of other Andalusī scholars are recorded. At the end of this article, a list of the Andalusī scholars about whom the *Mukhtaṣar* includes some biographical information is offered in appendix.

In contrast to what we have seen thus far regarding Eastern sources, Western sources in general, and fragments concerning al-Andalus in particular, are less present in Abū al-Fidā's work. These sources are mainly mined for bits of poetry that serve to illustrate the events recorded in the *Mukhtaṣar*, or as evidence of a given figure's literary prowess.

Within this group of sources we find two poetry anthologies: *al-Dhakhīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-Jazīra*, by Ibn Bassām (d. 542 H/1147-8 CE), and the aforementioned *Qalā'id al-'iqyān*, by Ibn Khāqān. Regarding the former, Abū al-Fidā includes a fragment of a poem to illustrate the events that took place during the *fitna* and the ensuing fragmentation of al-Andalus.<sup>34</sup> The verses reproduced by Abū al-Fidā are part of a classical *urjūza* by Andalusī poet Abū Ṭalīb 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Mutanabbī, from Alzira (d. after 512 H/1118 CE), which is not included by Ibn al-Athīr and has been preserved in full in the *Dhakhīra*.<sup>35</sup> However, it is important to point out the many textual differences between the fragment as reproduced by Abū al-Fidā and as it appears in Ibn Bassām, which could indicate an indirect use of this anthology. There is further evidence that the work of the poet of Santarém, Ibn Bassām, circulated in the East very early on, enjoying considerable prestige from the very beginning. Specifically, we are aware of two compendiums of this work made by Eastern authors: *Laṭā'if al-Dhakhīra wa-ṭarā'if al-Jazīra*, by Ibn Mammātī (d. 606 H/1209 CE), an Egyptian residing in Aleppo; and *Nafā'is al-Dhakhīra*, by the Egyptian 'Alī b. Zāfir al-Azdī (d. 613 H/1216 CE)<sup>36</sup>. It is therefore fully possible that Abū al-Fidā obtained information contained in this book via another author.

As for the work of Ibn Khāqān, it is mentioned on two occasions. One of them is in fact a copy of the passage from *Qalā'id al-'iqyān* quoted by Ibn Khallikān when discussing poet from Córdoba Abū Bakr Ibn Baqī<sup>37</sup> (d. 540 or 545 H/1145-6 or 1150-1 CE). Abū al-Fidā reproduces part of a *muwashshaḥa* by this Andalusī author recorded in *Wafayāt al-a'yān*.<sup>38</sup> It is mentioned a second time when relating the exile of al-Mu'tamid (d. 488 H/1095 CE), the last ruler of the *taifa* of Seville, in Aghmat, specifically to introduce a poem by al-Mu'tamid celebrating the end of the period of fasting.<sup>39</sup> These verses are also recorded in the *Kāmil* but, unlike Abū al-Fidā, Ibn al-Athīr does not mention their authorship.<sup>40</sup> The

34 Abū al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 498–499.

35 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (2000), 1: 696–716.

36 Lirola 2009, 581.

37 Abū al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 85–86.

38 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1972), 6: 204.

39 Abū al-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 23.

40 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987), 8: 505.

*Mukhtaṣar* also contains verses by the poet Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507 H/1113 CE) on the death of al-Mu'tamid, which Abū al-Fidā' takes from the work of Ibn Khāqān without citing his source.<sup>41</sup>

Abū al-Fidā''s handling of these works raises the possibility that, although on occasion he may have used them indirectly via other sources, he may indeed have had access to the originals while writing the *Mukhtaṣar*. Indeed, in some instances he cites the work explicitly, while in others he extracts fragments – mainly verses – that do not appear in his other sources.

We also find references to other Western sources in order to provide specific types of information. Foremost among these are *al-Fiṣal fī al-mīl wa-l-ahwā' wa-l-niḥal*, by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE), and *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, by Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 685 H/1286 CE). Ibn Ḥazm's text is used to clarify information regarding the different religious schools within Judaism and Christianity.<sup>42</sup> The *Fiṣal* is not cited, and its author is rarely mentioned; however, we must not rule out the possibility that Abū al-Fidā' consulted this book more extensively. By contrast, Ibn Sa'īd's *Mughrib* is cited in numerous passages, in particular when discussing the history of the prophets and nations prior to Islamic history.<sup>43</sup> It is safe to say that of the Western works we have identified here, this is the one that our author used the most, not only in quantitative terms, but also as a major authority on pre-Islamic history. It is also used to clarify information from other sources, as in the case of Ibn Khallikān's explanation of the meaning of the *nisba* al-Shalawbīn<sup>44</sup> (in reference to the Arabic name for the town of Salobreña, Shalawbāniyya). Here Abū al-Fidā' refers to information recounted by Ibn Sa'īd on renowned grammarian Abū 'Alī al-Shalawbīn<sup>45</sup> (d. 645 H/1247 CE).

Also mention is made of the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463 H/1071 CE) of Córdoba *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfat al-aṣḥāb* on Muḥammad's companions, from which our author takes some verses attributed to Ḥāritha b. Shurāḥīl in relation to his son Zayd, adopted son of the Prophet,<sup>46</sup> and the work of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi *Iqd al-farīd*, which was a fundamental work for the genre of *ayyām al-'arab* (the Battle-Days). Abū al-Fidā' narrates one of these days (*yawm Sha'b*) by explicitly citing

41 Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 23–24. Cf. Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-iqyān* (1860), 32 and 33.

42 Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 132–133 and 143. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal* (1927), 1: 48.

43 For some examples see Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 59, 60, 79, 95.

44 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1972), 3: 451–452.

45 Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 282–283.

46 Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 156–157. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb* (1992), 2: 544.

the work of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi. Although it is mentioned only on two occasions,<sup>47</sup> Abū al-Fidā’ should have used this work more frequently.

Lastly, another Western source employed by Abū al-Fidā’ is *al-Jam‘ al-bayān fi akhbār Qayrawān*, by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṣinhājī, cited as *Ta’rīkh Qayrawān li-l-Ṣinhājī*. While it is explicitly mentioned as a source in the introduction, it could be that it was also used via the work of Ibn al-Athīr, as the *Ta’rīkh* of al-Ṣinhājī enjoyed a degree of popularity among Eastern authors, including Ibn Khallikān and al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H/1442 CE). In the *Mukhtaṣar* it appears in relation to the history of the Maghrib, but it is also used in relation to the information provided on the kings of the Zirid *taifa* of Granada.<sup>48</sup>

Another important aspect that in my opinion makes the *Mukhtaṣar* all the more valuable is its close relationship to *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-‘Umarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE). It is important to bear in mind the fundamental differences between these two works. Whereas Abū al-Fidā’'s almost perfectly matches up with our understanding of the *ta’rīkh* genre, al-‘Umarī's *Masālik* stands at the confluence of multiple genres, encompassing geography, biography and history, as was very often the case among contemporary authors from the region.<sup>49</sup> The connection between Abū al-Fidā’'s work and that of al-‘Umarī is mainly to be found in the purely historical sections of the *Masālik*, i.e. volumes 25, 26 and 27. With the exception of some minor modifications by al-‘Umarī in relation to certain names, and the omission of the biographical fragments recorded by Abū al-Fidā’ and which al-‘Umarī covers in his work's biographical section, one might infer that al-‘Umarī copied the *Mukhtaṣar* in its entirety, including it in his *Masālik* without any mention of its provenance.

In terms of the information on al-Andalus, the relationship between the two works follows the exact same pattern we have just seen, i.e. nearly all the historical information recorded by al-‘Umarī is copied word-for-word from the *Mukhtaṣar*. The similarities run so deep that he even mentions the same sources as Abū al-Fidā’ and, what I find most illuminating, reproduces the same mistakes.<sup>50</sup> In fact, one of the editors of the 2002 edition of al-‘Umarī's text, Ḥamzah Aḥmad ‘Abbās, had to stop and wonder whether this was really a part of the *Masālik* or was in fact a previously unknown manuscript of the *Mukhtaṣar*.<sup>51</sup>

47 Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 131 and 219.

48 Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 2: 11–12.

49 On the encyclopedic genre, see the recent work by Muhanna 2018.

50 For example, al-‘Umarī reproduces Abū al-Fidā’'s mistake when referring to the aforementioned Abū Ṭālib ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Mutanabbī of Alzira as *al-Muthanā al-Andalusī*. See Abū al-Fidā’, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1997), 1: 498–499; al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (2010), 26: 211.

51 Al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (2001–2004), 27: 6.

This relationship between the two works raises a series of questions that we hope to resolve as our research progresses, so that we can come to terms with the reasons behind this striking similarity.

## 7 Conclusions

Abū al-Fidā'’s *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* is a minor work in relation to others from this same period, as large portions of the text reproduce information from other sources, most notably Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil*. Along these same lines, it offers little more than informative summaries, with almost no critical interpretation of the information it presents. Still, the study of “minor” authors is a necessary part of comparative studies that can help us to reach broad conclusions as to the role of the Islamic West in Mamlūk historiography, as stated at the outset of this article. What this study has shown us is that in our author’s time certain Andalusī and Maghribī texts still enjoyed a degree of relevance.

Specifically regarding the *Mukhtaṣar*, what we have learned is that the author likely regarded al-Andalus as a region on the periphery. We can infer this from the lack of attention afforded to al-Andalus as compared not only to the Islamic East, but also to the Maghrib. This vision stands in stark contrast to the sense of centrality that surrounds his portrayal of the Mamlūk Sultanate. Likewise, we can draw still more conclusions that are all the more convincing in light of the author’s political career. As we have seen, the Iberian peninsula’s Umayyad period does not receive the attention that one would expect based on the historical relevance of the dynasty’s rule in al-Andalus, as compared to the greater attention he pays to other periods. In this sense, we must not forget that Abū al-Fidā’ himself was an Ayyūbid prince, and that, however symbolically, this dynasty’s founder, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb (d. 589 H/1193 CE), had recognized the preeminence of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate.<sup>52</sup> Some authors have pointed to Mamlūk historians’ preoccupation with narrating “the injustices of the Umayyads”.<sup>53</sup> While Abū al-Fidā’ does not express outright animosity toward the Umayyads, in the *Mukhtaṣar* he does at least treat the dynasty’s history with indifference.

Lastly, it is worth considering the work’s synthetic character, as well as the preferential treatment afforded to the *Kāmil*. It may be the case that the author’s

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<sup>52</sup> Eddé, “Ayyūbids”, *EP*.

<sup>53</sup> Irwin 2006, 159.

true aim was to write a historical compendium that continued this prior text, adding to it the relevant historical events of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultanates. As we have seen, after the last events from al-Andalus narrated by Ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Fidā's attention to the region is minimal. Although the work continues to provide information on other regions after 628 H/1230-1 CE – the last year covered in the *Kāmil* – the *Mukhtaṣar* begins to take on the characteristics of a local chronicle, focusing mainly on events from the domains of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultanates.

## Appendix

Next a list of the Andalusis about whom Abū al-Fidā' provides some biographical notes in his work is offered. Those Andalusis that are cited by the author only as a source have not been included, as they have already been mentioned throughout the article. Apart from providing additional information about al-Andalus to that which has been obtained from the analysis of Abū al-Fidā's work, this type of lists will allow us to determine which Andalusī personalities enjoyed greater notoriety and prestige among oriental authors.

The data included in the list are the following:

1. Onomastic chain containing the first three generations of the *nasab* (names of the individual, father and grandfather), then the *shuhra* (name by which is known) and finally, the *kunya* (patronymic).
2. Place of birth and date of death.
3. Reference of the place where the individual appears in Abū al-Fidā's *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (1997): AM, volume, page.
4. Link to the character file on the PUA (Prosopography of the 'ulamā' of al-Andalus) Database – directed by María Luisa Ávila –, through which the information relating to these characters can be expanded, and a list of the sources that include his biography can be consulted.

‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Mutanabbī, Abū Ṭālib

Alzira (d. after 512 H/1118 CE)

AM, 1: 498

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=4169](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=4169)

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, Ibn Zaydūn, Abū al-Walīd

Córdoba (d. 463 H/1071 CE)

AM, 1: 545–546

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=1207](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=1207)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Rabbihi, Abū 'Umar

Córdoba (d. 328 H/940 CE)

AM, 1: 419

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=1837](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=1837)

'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ghanī, al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī, Abū al-Ḥasan

Ceuta (d. 488 H/1095 CE)

AM, 2: 24

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=6563](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=6563)

'Alī b. Ismā'īl, Ibn Sīdah al-Mursī, Abū al-Ḥasan

Murcia (d. 458 H/1066 CE)

AM, 1: 544

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=6384](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=6384)

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Ibn Kharūf, al-Duraydanuh, Abū al-Ḥasan

Seville (d. 604 H/1207 CE)

AM, 2: 208

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=6806](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=6806)

Al-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh/al-Faṭḥ, Ibn Khāqān, Abū Naṣr

Seville (d. 529 H/1134 CE)

AM, 2: 82

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=2488](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=2488)

Khalaf b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Mas'ūd, Ibn Bashkuwāl, Abū al-Qāsim

Córdoba (d. 577 H/1181 CE)

AM, 2: 148

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=3132](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=3132)

Mālik b. Yaḥyā b. Wahīb, Ibn Wahīb al-Andalusī, Abū 'Abd Allāh

Seville (d. 525 H/1130 CE)

AM, 2: 54

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=7729](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=7729)



Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālik, Ibn Mālik al-Jayyānī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh

Jaén (d. 672 H/1273 CE)

AM, 2: 339

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=9450](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=9450)

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Zuhr, Ibn Zuhr al-Ḥafīd, Abū Bakr Seville (d. 595 H/1199 CE)

AM, 2: 186

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=12359](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=12359)

Muḥammad b. Fattūḥ Abī Naṣr, al-Ḥumaydī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Mallorca (d. 488 H/1095 CE)

AM, 2: 24

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=10249](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=10249)

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī’, Ibn Hānī’ al-Andalusī, Abū al-Qāsim/Abū al-Ḥasan

Seville (d. 362 H/973 CE)

AM, 1: 452

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=7934](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=7934)

Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad, Ibn al-Labbāna, Abū Bakr

Dénia (d. 507 H/1113 CE)

AM, 2: 23–24

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=10212](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=10212)

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl, Ibn Sahl al-Azdī

Granada (d. 730 H/1329 CE)

AM, 2: 450

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=10387](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=10387)

Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Muḥammad, al-Ṭurṭūshī, Ibn Abī Randaqa, Abū Bakr Tortosa (d. 520 H/1126 CE)

AM, 2: 54

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=10651](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=10651)

Mundhir b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd Allāh, al-Ballūṭī, Abū al-Ḥakam

Córdoba (d. 355 H/966 CE)

AM, 1: 459

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=11038](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=11038)

ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, al-Shalawbīn/al-Shalawbīnī, Abū ʿAlī  
Seville (d. 645 H/1247 CE)

AM, 2: 282–283

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=7087](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=7087)

Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Baqī, Abū Bakr  
Córdoba (d. 540 H/1145 CE)

AM, 2: 85–86

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=11499](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=11499)

Yaḥyā b. Saʿdūn b. Tammām, Ibn Saʿdūn, Abū Bakr  
Córdoba (d. 567 H/1171 CE)

AM, 2: 131

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=11535](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=11535)

Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Abū ʿUmar  
Córdoba (d. 463 H/1071 CE)

AM, 1: 546–547

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=11873](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=11873)

Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. ʿĪsā, al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, Abū al-Ḥajjāj  
Faro (d. 476 H/1083 CE)

AM, 2: 7

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=11843](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=11843)

Al-Walid b. Bakr b. Makhlad, Abū al-ʿAbbās  
Zaragoza (d. 392 H/1002 CE)

AM, 1: 482

[https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta\\_personaje.php?id=2572](https://www.eea.csic.es/pua/personaje/consulta_personaje.php?id=2572)

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Philip Bockholt

# Lost Somewhere in Between? On the Transmission of History from Islamic West to East in Premodern Times: The Case of the Almohad Caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb and the Battle of Alarcos

In his universal history *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar* (*Beloved of Carriers: On the Accounts of People*), early 16th-century Iran and Mughal India’s leading historian Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khvāndamīr (d. 942 H/1535-6 CE)<sup>1</sup> writes:

[S]ince the names and incidents related to the dynasty that ruled the Maghrib after the Banū ‘Abd al-Mu‘min [i.e. the Almohads] are not contained in the books which are available [to me] when writing these lines, I will continue with the accounts of the rulers of Egypt and the sultans of the Ayyūbid dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

This quote suggests that as far as events in al-Andalus and the Maghrib were concerned, Khvāndamīr had nothing to say about the 250 years between the rise of the Marinids and their conquest of the Almohad capital Marrakesh in 668 H/1269 CE and his own time, given the total lack of available books on the subject. And yet, we might expect that Khvāndamīr of all scholars would have had more information at his disposal, as he belonged to an important line of histori-

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1 Arabic names of Persian works and Iranian authors will be given according to the Persian transcription rules.

2 Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (2001), 2: 584.

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ans. His grandfather was Muḥammad b. Khvāndshāh Mirkhvānd (d. 903 H/1498 CE), author of the famous universal history *Rawzat al-ṣafā*. Furthermore, he lived in post-Timūrid Herat in the 1520s, where he had access to some of the best libraries in the Islamic East. Nevertheless, Khvāndamīr apparently did not know anything about the decades-long struggle of the Naṣrīds in the 15th century or the subsequent fall of Granada to the Christians in 1492, both normally seen as a landmark in the relations between Muslims and Christians in Europe.

In this article I will shed light on the question of what historians in the Islamic East knew about the western Islamic lands – al-Andalus and the Maghrib – up to the early 16th century. Afterwards, in early modern times, the ties between the western and the eastern parts of the Mediterranean were strengthened by the steady exchange of emissaries, traders, and travelers, which contributed to a greater flow of knowledge. As such, this article is a contribution to the field of the transmission of knowledge – in this case, knowledge about history – across the Arab and Persian parts of the Islamic world until around 1500. It addresses the questions of which Persian and Arabic sources were employed by historians in the East, the way in which information reached the Islamic East, and how to explain discrepancies between Western and Eastern sources' accounts of the same events. On a broader level, it also tackles the issue of the connectedness of the various parts of the Islamic lands in premodern times.<sup>3</sup>

This article is based on the analysis of several chronicles and biographical dictionaries written in Arabic and Persian, all of which have been subjected to the historical method of source criticism. It goes without saying that a study analyzing different strands of historiography focuses on the numerous ways information is presented, and not on the verification of the events described in the sources. In terms of the accounts of the Battle of Alarcos dealt with here, the latter approach is adopted by Ambrosio Huici Miranda in his seminal *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las invasiones africanas (almorávides, almohades y benimerines)*, in which he discusses the accuracy of various Arabic sources. Recent studies focusing on the transmission of historiographical knowledge are Luis Molina's analysis of the account of the Jewish villain Ṭālūt in Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's (d. 367 H/977 CE) *Ta'rikh iftitāh al-Andalus*, and Omayra Herrero Soto's article on the account of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād's speech in 92 H/711 CE and its transmission in various chronicles.<sup>4</sup> Whereas both studies analyze Arabic texts, the present study is the first of its kind to take into account both Ara-

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<sup>3</sup> For a recent discussion on the transmission of knowledge from the Islamic West to the East, see Fierro 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Huici Miranda 1956, 141–147; Molina 2011; Herrero Soto 2010.

bic and Persian sources concerning the transmission of historiographical knowledge from the Islamic West to the Islamic East.

The starting point are three Persian universal histories from the 16th century: the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* mentioned above, and, to a lesser degree, the *Nusakh-i (or Tārīkh-i) jahān-ārā* written by Qāzī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī Kāshānī (d. 975 H/1567-8) and the *Takmilat al-akhbār* of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alī ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī (d. 988 H/1580 CE), all three of which contain information on the Islamic West. I will first give a brief general overview of the depiction of al-Andalus and the Maghrib in Persian historiography. I will then analyze the information on these regions contained in these three works. Subsequently, I will trace the (possible) sources Khvāndamīr used when covering an event related to one of the most famous figures of the Islamic West in premodern times: the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-Manṣūr (r. 580–595 H/1184–1199 CE) and his victory over the Christians in the Battle of Alarcos in 591 H/1195 CE. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr is a case in point, since whereas Khvāndamīr gives a very detailed depiction of the caliph that is based on various strands of historiographical knowledge, he has little to say about other figures from the West.

## 1 Persian historical writing on the Islamic West

From the 10th century onwards, al-Andalus and the Maghrib were regularly mentioned in history books written in Persian, starting with the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 92 H/711 CE.<sup>5</sup> The amount of text dedicated to these regions and the information conveyed varied from chronicle to chronicle. While works like the *Tārīkh-nāma* – Bal‘amī’s 10th-century Sāmānid-era Persian adaptation of al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*<sup>6</sup> – dedicate only a few lines to the history of the Islamic West, later chronicles composed in Īlkhānid-Mongol times (c. 1250–1350) contain more information. For example, the famous universal history *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḥrallāh Hamadānī (d. 718 H/1318 CE) and two works related to it, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Kāshānī’s (d. c. 736 H/1335 CE) *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* and Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Sulaymān Dāvūd Banākātī’s (d. 730 H/1329-30) *Rawḍat ulī l-albāb fi*

5 For a general introduction to the development of historiographical works written in Persian, see Melville 2012.

6 Cf. Peacock 2007.



*tavārīkh al-akābir va-l-anṣāb* (better known as *Tārīkh-i Banākati*), give detailed accounts of the principalities in al-Andalus and Christian Spain during their time, relying in part on Christian sources. The reason for this is that Rashīd al-Dīn, the long-term vizier of various Īlkhānid-Mongol rulers, had access to information on regions far away from Iran, and was interested in composing a world history in the true sense, and not only the more habitual history of the Islamic lands.<sup>7</sup> In the 14th and 15th centuries, after the Īlkhānid-Mongol Empire in Iran had broken apart and various local dynasties were in power, access to information on regions far from Iran became more and more difficult. This becomes clear when considering the world histories of the Timūrid historians Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833 H/1430 CE) and Khvāndamīr's grandfather Mīrkhvānd, which do not mention any contemporary narratives or sources on the Islamic West.

Although its account is not based on contemporary sources either, Khvāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-siyar* offers a much greater degree of detail about the early centuries of Islam in Spain, that is, on the Umayyads and their successors, as well as on later dynasties like the Almoravids and Almohads, before the narrative abruptly stops. Khvāndamīr wrote his work in post-Timūrid Herat in the 1520s under the reign of Ṣafavid shah Ismā'īl I (r. 906–930 H/1501–1524 CE), who had conquered Iran and various parts of Central Asia and Iraq some years earlier. As his aim was to cast Ismā'īl as a world conqueror who was both forceful defender of Islam and staunch champion of Shi'ism, offering more details on the most distant Islamic lands might have been a way to stress the shah's claim to be the ruler of the entire Muslim community (*umma*). In general, Khvāndamīr's chronicle contains much more information on lesser-known principalities in Iran, as well as on other parts of the Islamic world, than the one of his grandfather Mīrkhvānd.

In regard to the Islamic West, it is interesting to note that Khvāndamīr had problems covering the earliest periods in the history of the Iberian Peninsula under Islamic rule. The oldest manuscripts of his work<sup>8</sup> reveal that Khvāndamīr did not have anything to say about the Umayyad period from the 8th century to the 11th century and, with one exception, the subsequent *taifa* rulers of the 11th century. The lack of attention to the celebrated Umayyad caliphate of 316–

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<sup>7</sup> Rashīd al-Dīn's extraordinary approach to Islamic historiographical writing is demonstrated by his detailed accounts of non-Islamic peoples; see the parts of his chronicle edited by Jahn 1971, 1973, 1977, 1980.

<sup>8</sup> On the manuscript tradition of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and the various versions written by its author, see Bockholt 2021.

422 H/929–1031 CE is particularly striking; instead, the narrative starts with the *taifa* kingdom of the ‘Abbāids in Seville (r. 414–484 H/1023–1091 CE) and the beginning of Almoravid rule (r. 454–541 H/1062–1147 CE) in the 11th century. However, in a slightly revised version of his chronicle, based on additional sources, Khvādamīr added new information on the first centuries of Islam in al-Andalus to the existing narrative. What remains remarkable is the complete omission of the last Islamic dynasty in the Iberian Peninsula, the Naṣrids of Granada (r. 629–897 H/1232–1492 CE), whose rule had ended only thirty years earlier. In particular, the downfall of the Naṣrids would have been an example of the centuries-old conflicts between Muslims and Christians, and thus would have fit one of the core patterns of Islamic historiography. As demonstrated above, Khvādamīr remains silent about all of this, ending with the last Almo-had rulers in the 1260s.

By contrast, the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* covers the history of the Berber Muslim dynasties of the Almoravids and the Almohads (c. 1060–1270) at length, and gives accounts based on Arabic sources. Unlike this work, two other Ṣafavid chronicles of the 16th century, the *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* by Ghaffārī Qazvīnī Kāshānī and the *Takmilat al-akhbār* by ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, merely list rulers and events. Notably, the latter relies on the former and does not convey any further information.<sup>9</sup> While the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* ends with the last Almohad ruler Abū al-‘Ulā Abū Dabbūs Idrīs II Muḥammad al-Wāthiq (r. 665–668 H/1266–1269 CE), the *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* extends the narrative to the first Marīnid rulers, up to the reign of Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān II (731–749 H/1331–1348 CE). At this point it stops abruptly, leaving out later rulers (the dynasty came to an end in 869 H/1465 CE).<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the sources of the *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* remain unknown, as it neither mentions any specific author or work, nor provides enough text for a thorough comparison.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, in order to trace a particular narrative or piece of information on the Islamic West found in a 16th-century Persian historiographical work, the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* alone can provide us with further insight into the transmission of knowledge during premodern times. Of the three chronicles addressed here, this is the only one that states its sources and

<sup>9</sup> The text of the *Takmilat al-akhbār* has not been fully edited yet. For my research, I consulted MS Majlis 8401, fols. 92r–96r. For the later part of the work on Ṣafavid history, see ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-akhbār* (1990).

<sup>10</sup> Ghaffārī Qazvīnī Kāshānī, *Nusakh-i jahān-ārā* (1964), 153–154.

<sup>11</sup> The KITAB project, led by Sarah Bowen Savant (Aga Khan University, London), promises further insights into the composition of texts and the reuse of text units, cf. <http://kitab-project.org>.

includes longer narratives. In the following section I will take as a case study its account of the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr.

## 2 The account of the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb and the Battle of Alarcos in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*

Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-Manṣūr (r. 580–595 H/1184–1199 CE) was the third ruler of the Almohad Caliphate in present-day Morocco, a Berber dynasty founded by his grandfather ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. ‘Alī al-Kūmī (r. 524–558 H/1130–1163 CE) from Tlemcen, who was a close follower of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Tūmart (d. 524 H/1130 CE).<sup>12</sup> Ibn Tūmart, from Sūs (Sous, between the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas mountains), and his followers formed an Islamic reform movement against the ruling Almoravid dynasty, propagating what they touted as a “purer” Islam than the one practiced by their opponents. In the 1130s and 1140s, the Almohads (Ar. *muwaḥḥidūn*, “adherents of the divine unicity”), led by ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, took over the Almoravid capital of Marrakesh and the Almoravid territories in Islamic Spain. In the decades following the Almohad takeover, Muslim power in al-Andalus was steadily contested by Christian rulers from the north, most notably Alfonso VIII of Castile (r. 1158–1214).<sup>13</sup> During his reign, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr fought the Christians in al-Andalus on more than one occasion. In the Battle of Alarcos (al-Arak in the Arabic sources) near Ciudad Real in the summer of 591 H/1195 CE, the Almohad caliph defeated Alfonso VIII, which contributed to his fame as a great warrior king. The details of this battle would later on become an important part of the accounts of the Almohads and the western Islamic lands in various Arabic and Persian works in the East.<sup>14</sup>

In the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, among the Almohad rulers only Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb receives more than one chapter: Khvāndamīr first presents his life in a general

<sup>12</sup> On the history of the Almohad dynasty see Huici Miranda 1956–1957; Le Tourneau 1969; Viguera Molins 1997; Kennedy 1998; Fierro 2010; Fromherz 2010. For Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb in particular, see Huici Miranda 1960a.

<sup>13</sup> On Alfonso VIII, see Sáez 1980.

<sup>14</sup> Huici Miranda 1956, 141–147. For details on the battle, see Huici Miranda 1956, 137–216; Huici Miranda 1960b. Albarrán Iruela 2018 gives an analysis of multiple Arabic sources from later times depicting the caliph as a warrior and Ṣūfī.

biographical sketch, followed by an account of the Battle of Alarcos.<sup>15</sup> Just how little information on the battle was available to Khvāndamīr is evident in the fact that he falsely refers to it as the “Battle of al-Zallāqa”, confusing it with a previous battle between the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (r. 453–500 H/ 1061–1107 CE) and Alfonso VI of León and Castile (r. 1065–1109) more than a century earlier, in 479 H/1086 CE.<sup>16</sup> Concerning the combatants at the Battle of Alarcos, the numbers stated by Khvāndamīr are heavily exaggerated: by his account 100,000 Muslims fought under Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb against 240,000 “Franks” (i.e. the Castilians), leaving 146,000 of their enemies dead, although Alfonso VIII (*malik-i farang/farangistān*, “king of the Franks”) managed to escape. He reports that after the battle so many weapons and animals were captured that market prices plummeted – a donkey went for just a *dirham*, and a sword for as little as half a *dirham* –, details which further highlight the overwhelming victory of the Muslims. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb later returned to North Africa, where he died in 595 H/1199 CE (or, according to another account given here, lived on as a Šūfī; see below). Given the specific details of his account, the question arises as to how this information reached Khvāndamīr, and which sources he relied on when constructing his narrative. Might he have even had access to sources that came from the Islamic West directly?

For his account of the battle, Khvāndamīr names as his sources a certain “Imām Yāfi‘ī” for the general account, and Abū Shāma for the numbers of Christians killed and the booty captured. By Imām Yāfi‘ī, Khvāndamīr is referring to ‘Abd Allāh b. As‘ad ‘Affī al-Dīn al-Yāfi‘ī (d. 768 H/1367 CE), a Yemenite scholar who spent most of his life in Mecca, where he wrote his *Mir‘āt al-janān wa-‘ibrat al-yaqzān* (in Arabic), a cross between a history book and a biographical dictionary.<sup>17</sup> In fact, an analysis of al-Yāfi‘ī’s account of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb in his *Mir‘āt al-janān* reveals that when writing his chronicle, Khvāndamīr most probably relied exclusively on this work, as the numbers supposedly given by Abū Shāma are cited here as well.<sup>18</sup> The only source for the Battle of Alarcos in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is thus a compilation of older works written in the Arabian Peninsula some two hundred years earlier. Going a step further, by identifying the sources used

<sup>15</sup> Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (2001), 2: 581–583; cf. MS Damat İbrahim Paşa 901, fols. 523v–524r.

<sup>16</sup> This confusion occurs in earlier Arabic sources on the battle too, see Huici Miranda 1956, 141–147; on the battle and its sources, see Huici Miranda 1956, 19–82; Tibi 2002.

<sup>17</sup> Geoffroy 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-janān* (1997), 3: 357 and 363–366.

by al-Yāfi‘ī, we might come closer in our attempt to understand by what means and in what form this information on the Islamic West made its way eastward.

### 3 Tracking down the sources of the sources: From Herat to Mecca to Damascus

When writing the *Mir’āt al-janān* in Mecca, al-Yāfi‘ī apparently had access to various Arabic sources. In the case of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb’s victory at Alarcos, one of the texts al-Yāfi‘ī relies on heavily and quotes by name is the biographical dictionary *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābi‘ al-ma‘rūf bi-Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn* (known as *Dhayl*) by the Damascene historian and biographer Abū Shāma Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 665 H/1268 CE).<sup>19</sup> As we have just seen, Khvāndamīr also points to Abū Shāma by name, in an apparent attempt to indicate the original source of his source. Both authors, al-Yāfi‘ī and his source Abū Shāma, mention the details later copied by Khvāndamīr: the number of Muslim and Christian soldiers, and the number of Christians killed on the battlefield. They both also refer to the battle as “*waq‘at al-Zallāqa*” (the Battle of al-Zallāqa), as copied in turn by Khvāndamīr in his *Ḥabīb al-siyar*.

However, in contrast to Khvāndamīr, whose universal history tends to run through older historical events unrelated to Iran as quickly as possible, al-Yāfi‘ī and Abū Shāma provide more details on the battle and its aftermath. From their accounts the reader learns, for example, that the Christian prisoners numbered 30,000, and that the market price for a horse was 5 *dirhams*, which is nowhere mentioned in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. In this context, it is important to note that the accounts of the booty and market prices seem to indicate that the two texts draw on different sources. Whereas Abū Shāma states that the price of a prisoner plummeted to a single *dirham*, and that the booty consisted of 150,000 tents, 80,000 horses, 100,000 mules, and 400,000 donkeys, as well as jewelry and clothing, al-Yāfi‘ī only mentions 60,000 suits of chain mail taken from the *bayt al-māl*, the treasure house of the Christians. Abū Shāma also provides details about Alfonso

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<sup>19</sup> On Abū Shāma’s life and works, see Pouzet 1975; Hirschler 2006; Antrim 2009. Despite its name, Abū Shāma’s work is in fact not a continuation (*dhayl*) of his *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn al-Nūrīyya wa-l-Ṣalāḥīyya* – a history of the Zangid and Ayyūbid rulers of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn (r. 541–569 H/1147–1174 CE) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 564–589 H/1169–1193 CE) – but a work on the scholarly community of Damascus that Abū Shāma had started earlier and updated regularly during his lifetime; see Hirschler 2006, 10–14.

VIII after the battle which are not found in al-Yāfi'ī's *Mir'āt al-janān*: according to the *Dhayl*, Alfonso's mind was so agitated that he vowed only ride by donkey, and to neither have intercourse with a woman nor sleep on a carpet, until he had exacted his revenge. However, al-Yāfi'ī is the only one to state the exact date (9 Sha'bān 591 H/19 July 1195 CE) and place of the battle ("close to the fortress of Ribāḥ"). Considering the significant differences between al-Yāfi'ī and Abū Shāma's accounts in terms of the booty and other details, it is clear that al-Yāfi'ī did not rely on Abū Shāma's text alone, but had access to at least one other source. On the other hand, Abū Shāma's account contains information not given by al-Yāfi'ī. Where does this information come from?

Fortunately for us, unlike Abū Shāma, al-Yāfi'ī does cite his sources. It is of great interest here that the *Mir'āt al-janān* contains information on the Battle of Alarcos and on the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb in *two different* places in the text: first in the account of the battle included alongside the events of the year 591 H/1195 CE, and again in the obituary of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb in 595 H/ 1199 CE. Whereas the account of the battle itself draws on Abū Shāma more or less directly, as stated above, the information on the booty and further details given in the obituary differs from Abū Shāma's text. Here, al-Yāfi'ī relies on the biographical dictionary of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān (d. 681 H/ 1282 CE), the well-known *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, as he himself states in the text. Ibn Khallikān's multi-volume work contains biographical entries on several hundred people, among them a lengthy entry dedicated to Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb.<sup>20</sup> In the *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Ibn Khallikān deals with Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb's life in general, as well as with the Battle of Alarcos in particular. He gives the exact date of the battle, and even specifies the place as "to the north of Córdoba, near the fortress of Ribāḥ, on [the field of] Marj al-ḥadīd". In regard to the booty, he mentions the 60,000 suits of chain mail from the *bayt al-māl* later alluded to by al-Yāfi'ī. Of greatest interest here is the fact that Ibn Khallikān lists various sources for his account, among them members of the Maghribi community in Damascus, which could be the first direct link back to the western Islamic lands.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1994), 7: 3–19. On Ibn Khallikān, see Fück 1971.

<sup>21</sup> Here, "Maghribi community" refers to people who emigrated from al-Andalus and North Africa to Damascus.

## 4 A direct line of transmission? On the ties between Damascus and the Maghrib in the 13th century

As is clear from Ibn Khallikān's own words, the exact information on the place and date (now even specified as *Thursday*, 9 Sha'abān 591) of the Battle of Alarcos as well as the booty taken from the Christians goes back to Maghribis living in Damascus (*jamā'a min fuḍalā' al-maghāribā*). Interestingly, nowhere does Ibn Khallikān state the vast numbers of soldiers and booty mentioned by Khvāndamīr and his sources, al-Yāfi'ī and Abū Shāma. Also, unlike them he does not confuse the Battle of Alarcos with the one that had taken place over a hundred years earlier at al-Zallāqa. Apparently, Ibn Khallikān did indeed rely on sources that differed from the ones quoted by the other authors mentioned. This is especially interesting in regard to Abū Shāma, a contemporary of his who had close ties with the Maghribi community in Damascus.<sup>22</sup> According to Louis Pouzet, who in an article discusses Abū Shāma's connections with this community, the number of Maghribis in the city began to grow after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, between Alfonso VIII and Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb's son and successor Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Nāṣir (r. 595–610 H/1199–1213 CE) in 609 H/1212 CE, which the Muslims lost. In total, Pouzet lists 92 Maghribis who lived in or at least visited Damascus during the 13th century, among them the famous mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī from Murcia, who died in Damascus in 638 H/1240 CE, and whose name is also mentioned by Ibn Khallikān as one of his Maghribi sources.<sup>23</sup> Others mentioned by name in the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* are the scholar Abū al-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Kalbī Ibn Dīḥya (d. 633 H/1235 CE) and his brother Abū 'Amr (or Abū 'Uthmān, d. 634 H/1237 CE; both probably from Valencia), whose names are subsequently mentioned by al-Yāfi'ī as well.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Apart from other family members, one of Abū Shāma's wives belonged to the 'Abdari family, which was originally from al-Andalus, see Pouzet 1975, 170–172; Hirschler 2006, 33–36.

<sup>23</sup> Pouzet 1975, 194–199. Ávila 1990 even counts 555 people from al-Andalus and the Maghrib cited in al-Ṣafadī's biographical dictionary *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, written around eighty years later than Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. See also Ávila 2002 and her analysis of Ibn Ḥārith al-Khushani's biographical dictionary *Akhbār al-fuqahā' wa-l-muḥaddithīn*, in which 225 out of 527 people covered in the work are said to have traveled to the Islamic East.

<sup>24</sup> For Ibn Dīḥya, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1994), 3: 448–450; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* (1962–2004), 22: 327; Granja 1971.

Although these people might indeed have been among Ibn Khallikān's informants, clearly there is no way we can gain further information as to how and when such an encounter might have taken place. It also remains unclear whether Ibn Khallikān's Maghribi contacts transmitted their information orally or in writing, e.g. via drafts of works produced in the West that they had at their disposal in Damascus. The following example of a certain Ibn Ḥamūya mentioned by Ibn Khallikān shows that even "eyewitness" accounts from people in the Islamic East who had traveled to the West and transmitted knowledge about events taking place there cannot be taken at face value.

Apart from his Maghribi contacts, in the entry on Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, Ibn Khallikān states that "in 668 (1269-70 CE), I saw a fragment (*juz'*; maybe part of the now lost *'Aṭf al-Dhayl* or *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*?) by the *shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamūya"<sup>25</sup> (d. 642 H/1244-5 CE), which Ibn Khallikān draws on in order to embellish his account with further details on the relations between the Almohad caliph and his Christian opponent before the battle took place. Tāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamūya al-Sarakhsī was born in Damascus and traveled to the Maghrib in 593 H/1196-7 CE, where he stayed until 600 H/1203-4 CE, apparently serving the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb.<sup>26</sup> As Ibn Ḥamūya's works *'Aṭf al-Dhayl* and *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* are now lost, we only have the information conveyed by Ibn Khallikān, and the details given in his *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. Apart from Ibn Khallikān, in *Ta'riḫ al-islām* the historian and biographer al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) reproduces a conversation between Ibn Ḥamūya and a certain Ibn 'Aṭīyya, a member of the 'Aṭīyya family who served as scribes for the Almoravids and Almohads, which would indeed have made Ibn Ḥamūya a direct witness to events taking place in the Islamic West from 593–600 H/ca. 1196–1204 CE.<sup>27</sup>

According to Ibn Ḥamūya's account as told in the *Wafayāt al-a'yān*,<sup>28</sup> in 590 H/1194 CE Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb assembled a vast army in order to ferry across from North Africa to al-Andalus and raid the lands of the Christians. When the caliph suddenly fell seriously ill, the preparations were called off and his army dispersed. Shortly after, his opponent Alfonso VIII sent him a letter written by

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1994), 7: 5.

<sup>26</sup> Information on Ibn Ḥamūya can be found in the following works: al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-janān* (1997), 4: 82; Abū Shāma, *Tarājim* (1974), 174; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib* (1988), 3: 99–111.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ al-islām* (1990–2000), 42: 222–223; Fierro 2010b, 159. Among the prominent members of the 'Aṭīyya family at that time were 'Aqīl Ibn 'Aṭīyya al-Quḍā'i (d. 608 H/1211 CE), the *qāḍī* (judge) of Sijilmasa (present-day Morocco), and his brother Abū Zakariyyā' Hilāl, who worked as a scribe in al-Andalus; cf. Lirola Delgado 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1994), 7: 5–7.



his vizier Ibn al-Fakhhār, in which he provoked him by saying that the tide had turned (as proven by Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb’s illness), and the caliph would be well advised to be on good terms with him. Instead of sending the ambassadors Alfonso VIII had asked for, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb replied with a quotation from the Qur’ān (Q: 27.37): “Go back to your people: we shall certainly come upon them with irresistible forces, and drive them, disgraced and humbled, from their land”.<sup>29</sup> He also quoted a verse by Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ju‘fi al-Mutanabbī (d. 354 H/965 CE), one of the most important poets in the Arabic language: “Not letters but swords, and not emissaries but many soldiers [will I send]!”.<sup>30</sup> Ibn Ḥamūya’s account ends with the statement that Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb gathered a mighty army once more, sent it over the Straight of Gibraltar, and defeated Alfonso VIII “in the year 592” (which is incorrect).

Apparently, Ibn Khallikān had serious doubts about the veracity of the account given by Ibn Ḥamūya. In the following lines, he points out that he read the same details of the correspondence between the caliph and the king in the *Tadhkir al-‘āqil wa-tanbih al-ghāfil* by Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Bayyāsī, who was originally from Baeza (Spain) and died in Tunis in 653 H/1255 CE.<sup>31</sup> According to Ibn Khallikān, in his work (now lost), al-Bayyāsī reproduces the account of “Ibn al-Ṣayrafī *al-kātib al-Miṣri*”, i.e. Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Ṣayrafī al-Anṣārī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 557 H/1162 CE or 570 H/1174 CE).<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī was an Almoravid-era historian who served as a scribe under Tāshufin b. ‘Alī (r. 537–540 H/1142–1146 CE), who was the governor of Granada during the rule of his father ‘Alī b. Yūsuf (r. 500–537 H/1107–1142 CE), and later on briefly ruled the Almoravid empire as a whole in the years of its downfall. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī’s historiographical works *Taqasṣī al-anbā’ wa-siyāsat al-ru’asā’* and *Ta’riḫ al-dawla al-lamtūniyya* (or *al-Anwār al-jaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-murābiṭiyya*, also known as *Ta’riḫ al-Andalus*) are lost, but he is frequently mentioned as a source for the history of the Almoravids in Ibn ‘Idhārī al-Marrākushī’s *al-Bayān al-mughrib* and Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *al-Iḥāṭa fī ta’riḫ Gharnāṭa*, from the 14th century, as well as in many other works.<sup>33</sup>

According to Ibn Khallikān, the details of the correspondence given by al-Bayyāsī and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī clearly refer to the battle of al-Zallāqa between the Almoravid ruler Yūsuf b. Tāshufin and Alfonso VI of León and Castile in 479 H/

<sup>29</sup> Translation from Abdel Haleem 2004.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. al-Barqūqī 2014, 1289. On al-Mutanabbī and his times, see Hamori 2011.

<sup>31</sup> See Aguirre Sádaba 2012; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* (1994), 7: 238–244.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Khallikān refers to him incorrectly by the *nisba* “al-Miṣri” (the Egyptian).

<sup>33</sup> Guichard/Benhima 2007.

1086 CE (see above). In fact, the earliest extant source that contains the cited verse of al-Mutanabbī as part of the correspondence between the two rulers (though not the verse from the Qur'ān) is Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Qāsim Ibn al-Kardabūs al-Tawzarī's (d. in Tunis c. 1200) universal history *Kitāb al-Iktifā' fi akhbār al-khulafā'*.<sup>34</sup> This proves Ibn Khallikān's point that the account of the correspondence between the two rulers given by Ibn Ḥamūya actually dates further back, to a completely different event in the history of al-Andalus. Although this became clear to Ibn Khallikān, it was not understood by other historians: various Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries of later times contain both the quotation of the verse Q: 27.37 and al-Mutanabbī's verse as part of the correspondence between Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb and Alfonso VIII, and thus take up core parts of Ibn Ḥamūya's account of the events related to the Battle of Alarcos. It is important to note that this confusion shows up in both Eastern and Western works. For example, the Easterner Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764 H/1363 CE), who lived in Damascus and wrote the multi-volume biographical dictionary *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, mentions in his entry on Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb<sup>35</sup> both verses as part of the correspondence, as does the Westerner Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Zar' al-Fāsī (d. 726 H/1326 CE), from Fez, author of the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* (i.e. *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fi akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-ta'rikh madīnat Fās*).<sup>36</sup> In conclusion, the fact that certain details wrongly attributed to events in the history of al-Andalus were transmitted through the centuries was not based on geographical distances, but took place in the West and the East alike.

## 5 Other strands of knowledge transmission

A similar, but not identical, strand of Arabic historiography about the Battle of Alarcos is the universal history *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rikh*, by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 H/1233 CE) from Mosul, which was written decades before Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*.<sup>37</sup> In fact, Ibn al-Athīr is the *first* source that gives exaggerated numbers of combatants killed in battle as well as the

<sup>34</sup> Ibn al-Kardabūs, *Kitāb al-Iktifā'* (2008), 1256–1257; on Ibn al-Kardabūs, see Abellán Pérez 2004; Zomeño 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt* (1962–2004), 29: 5–16. On al-Ṣafadī and his sources, see van Ess 1976–1977; Rosenthal 1995.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Abī Zar', *al-Anīs* (1972), 220–231; on Ibn Abī Zar', see Manzano Rodríguez 2012.

<sup>37</sup> On Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rikh* see Micheau 2007.

immense booty taken by the Muslims (here it consists of 46,000 horses, 100,000 mules, 100,000 donkeys, 143,000 tents, and 70,000 garments).<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, Ibn al-Athīr also gives the verse Q: 27.37 as part of the correspondence between Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb and Alfonso VIII, which, together with the exact same numbers he mentions, was one hundred years later repeated verbatim by Cairo’s Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī al-Tamīmī al-Nuwayrī (d. 733 H/1333 CE) in his biographical dictionary *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*.<sup>39</sup> It was probably Ibn al-Athīr’s account that formed the basis for Abū Shāma, who also puts the number of Christians killed at 146,000. From there, the same number subsequently found its way into al-Yāfi‘ī’s *Mir’āt al-janān* and Khvāndamīr’s *Ḥabīb al-siyar* in the 14th and 16th centuries, respectively.

In contrast to Ibn al-Athīr, early sources written by authors from al-Andalus and the Maghrib, like Ibn al-Kardabūs’s *Kitāb al-Iktifā’* mentioned above or Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Alī al-Tamīmī al-Marrākushī’s (d. 621 H/1225 CE) *al-Mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, do not contain further information on the Battle of Alarcos.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, it is not clear which oral or written sources Ibn al-Athīr relied on when dealing with the Almohad caliph and the Christian king. What is evident, in any case, is that authors of works written in later times, both in the West and the East, based their narratives on Ibn al-Athīr’s *al-Kāmil fī ta’rīkh* as well as on Abū Shāma and Ibn Khallikān. As shown above, all of these accounts differ in terms of the number of participants, the combatants killed, the booty, the correspondence between caliph and king, and, in the case of Abū Shāma, in the vivid account of Alfonso’s vow, which was copied by al-Nuwayrī in his *Nihāyat al-arab*, al-Dhahabī in his *Ta’rīkh al-islām*, and ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 H/1373 CE) in his universal history *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*.<sup>41</sup>

In later times, the various strands of historiography are brought together in Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tilimsānī al-Maqqarī’s (d. 1041 H/1632 CE) important biographical dictionary *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa-dhikr wazīrīhā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*.<sup>42</sup> Al-Maqqarī, born

<sup>38</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1987–2003), 10: 236–238 and 258–260.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* (n.d.), 24: 180–187; on the author, see Chapoutot-Remadi 1995; Benhima 2009.

<sup>40</sup> In his *al-Mu‘jib*, al-Marrākushī mentions the place and the date of the battle, and states that most of the Christians were killed, whereas only a few Muslims lost their lives; see al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu‘jib* (1994), 234–235. On the author, see Benhima 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* (n.d.), 24: 184; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-islām* (1990–2000), 42: 9; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya* (1997), 16: 668.

<sup>42</sup> On al-Maqqarī, see Fierro/Molina 2009; Lévi-Provençal/Pellat 1991.

in Tlemcen around the year 986 H/1578-9 CE, traveled to Cairo and Damascus, where he became known as an expert in the Islamic West and wrote not only his famous history-cum-biography but other works as well. Regarding the Battle of Alarcos, the *Nafh al-ṭīb* combines information contained in several of the works mentioned above, as becomes clear from the entry on Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb, where al-Maqqarī records 146,000 Christians killed, as stated by Abū Shāma and Ibn al-Athīr, whereas for the booty, he provides the numbers given by Abū Shāma, but also the 60,000 suits of chain mail from the *bayt al-māl* that we find in Ibn Khallikān.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, al-Maqqarī rounds out his account of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb and the Battle of Alarcos by citing Alfonso’s vow, which was first mentioned by Abū Shāma. In addition, in his entry on Ibn Ḥamūya, al-Maqqarī repeats the verses from the Qur’ān and al-Mutanabbī as part of the correspondence between the caliph and the king.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, the account of the Battle of Alarcos in al-Maqqarī’s *Nafh al-ṭīb* is a case in point for the method of compilation applied by Arabic historians of premodern times. It is important to note that for the main details on the Battle of Alarcos, al-Maqqarī exclusively relied on sources written in the Islamic East, even though he himself was originally from the West, and was writing a work on the history of al-Andalus.

The basis of Khvādamīr’s account of what happened to Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb *after* the battle, however, stems from a very different strand of historiography than any of the works mentioned above. According to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, in the aftermath of the Battle of Alarcos the Almohad caliph retired to North Africa, where he decided to abandon his caliphate and become a *faqīr*, that is, a Ṣūfī.<sup>45</sup> Khvādamīr quotes here two stories from the *Nafaḥāt al-uns min ḥaḏarāt al-quds*,<sup>46</sup> a biographical dictionary of Ṣūfis written by the famous Herati poet ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Nūr al-Dīn Jāmī (d. 898 H/1492 CE) for Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (d. 906 H/1501 CE), an important patron of artists and poets in Herat and close advisor to Timūrid ruler Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 873–911 H/1469–1506 CE).<sup>47</sup> In his account of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb, Jāmī states that for political reasons the caliph gave the order to execute his brother, an act that he later came to regret. In an attempt to devote his life exclusively to the service of God, he sent emissaries to

<sup>43</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1988), 1: 443, and 4: 382.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1988), 3: 102.

<sup>45</sup> Khvādamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (2001), 2: 582–583.

<sup>46</sup> Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (2011), 570–571.

<sup>47</sup> On Jāmī and his *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, see Losensky 2008; Browne 1959, 435–436 and 509–548; Storey 1927–1977, 1/2: 954–959; for Navā’ī, see Subtelny 2011.

the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb (d. 594 H/1198 CE)<sup>48</sup> in order to summon him to court. Abū Madyan, however, died in Tlemcen while on his way to Marrakesh, but not without first appointing another *shaykh* to teach the caliph the right path to God. According to Jāmī (and repeated by Khvāndamīr), the name of the *shaykh* was Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī, an adherent of the founder of the Shādhilī brotherhood, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656 H/1258 CE). In fact, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī lived around one hundred years after Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb, and died in Alexandria in 686 H/1287 CE, not in Tlemcen.<sup>49</sup>

The first account of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī contained in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* is not untypical for a story on Ṣūfis: since Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb wanted to find out whether the *shaykh* was a real Ṣūfī and had special gifts which would enable him to lead the caliph towards God,<sup>50</sup> Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī was examined at court. There, courtiers placed two dishes of chicken in front of him, of which he had to choose one. Without thinking, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī chose one of them, stating that the other was nothing but a corpse, meaning that the chicken had not been properly slaughtered but simply killed (and therefore eating it would not be permitted by Islamic law). Upon hearing this outcome, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb felt sure that the *shaykh* would be the right one, and proceeded to step down and hand over power to his son. In a second account, given only by Jāmī, after a long dry spell, the *shaykh* asked the caliph to pray for rain as they wandered through the desert, and the rain began to fall immediately after Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb’s invocation. But how did Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī get cast as the contemporary of an Almohad caliph from generations before his time? Where did these stories originate?

In his *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Jāmī refers to al-Yāfi‘ī as a source for both stories, without mentioning a specific work. While Khvāndamīr relied on the *Mir’āt al-janān* when depicting the Almohad caliph, the entry dedicated to him by al-Yāfi‘ī contains no information on the Ṣūfī stories apart from the information that Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb “used to wear wool” (*kāna yalbasu al-ṣūf*, i.e. dressed like a Ṣūfī). Apparently, the story about the caliph and Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī does not show up in the *Mir’āt al-janān* at all. In an entry on a certain Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad *al-zāhid* (“the ascetic”) al-Andalusī al-

<sup>48</sup> Cornell 1996; Marçais 1960. In fact, Abū Madyan was summoned to court because the sultan questioned his loyalty, and feared rebellion by the *shaykh*’s followers; see Cornell 1996, 15.

<sup>49</sup> For the biography of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī and his master Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, see Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, *Laṭā’if al-minan* (2005).

<sup>50</sup> Ferhat 1993, 91–99 contains further stories about the Almohad caliph and his encounters with Ṣūfis.

Mursī, who died in 591 H/1195 CE, al-Yāfi'ī does not include any information related to the Almohad caliph. Another *shaykh*, the famous Ṣūfī from Ceuta Abū al-‘Abbās al-Sabtī (d. 601 H/1204 CE), who lived in Marrakesh where Ibn Ḥamūya met him when he was in the West (as mentioned by al-Maqqarī in his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*), is also not described in relation to the caliph.<sup>51</sup> Could this mean another dead end for source criticism?

After further research, it becomes clear that Jāmī's reference to al-Yāfi'ī is in fact correct; he simply does not mean the work *Mir'āt al-janān*, but rather *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt al-ṣāliḥīn*, a biographical dictionary of Ṣūfīs. The work contains an entry on the Almohad ruler that gives the name of the *shaykh* who passes the exam with the two dishes put in front of him as Abū al-‘Abbās al-Marīnī (not al-Mursī).<sup>52</sup> Tracing back Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Marīnī in the sources shows that he was a *shaykh* who lived in the Maghrib during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. He is mentioned in the Ṣūfī biographical dictionary by the Egyptian Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Abī al-Manṣūr b. Zāfir (d. 682 H/1283 CE), the *Risāla*, where an entry dedicated to him contains the same stories of the encounter between *shaykh* and sovereign as conveyed in the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, and later on repeated by Jāmī and Khvādamīr.<sup>53</sup> Denis Gril, who edited the *Risāla*, discusses the possibility that al-Marīnī might have been a pupil of Abū Madyan, the *shaykh* first summoned to court who died on his way to Marrakesh. In the *Risāla*, nothing more is told about him apart from two more typical Ṣūfī-related stories wherein the *shaykh* speaks to Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima in a dream, and is saved from an enormous snake while sleeping. It is unknown whether al-Yāfi'ī used the *Risāla* when writing the entry on Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb for his *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, but not unlikely. Thus, the path of the Ṣūfī stories conveyed in the works of Jāmī and Khvādamīr in late Timūrid and early Ṣafavid Herat might have led from the Maghrib via Egypt to Mecca before ending up in Iran. To conclude, when dealing with the transmission of knowledge from the West to the East, it is important to note that apparently very different strands of knowledge about a certain person or a single event – here Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb's Ṣūfī and non-Ṣūfī connections – could be transmitted by one and the same author in different literary genres, as seen in regard to al-Yāfi'ī's two works *Mir'āt al-janān* and *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*.

51 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1988), 3: 99. On Abū al-‘Abbās al-Sabtī, see the biography by his contemporary al-Zayyāt (d. 627 H/1229-30 CE); al-Zayyāt, *al-Tashawwuf* (1984), 451–478.

52 Al-Yāfi'ī, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* (1897), 208.

53 Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Risāla* (1986), 151–153 and 216.

## 6 On the transmission of knowledge from the West to the East

For historians in 16th-century Iran, acquiring knowledge on distant parts of the Islamic world like al-Andalus and the Maghrib was a difficult task. Despite the fact that Khvāndamīr had access to the libraries of Herat, which at that time was one of the main cultural centers in the Islamic East, he was unable to track down any information on events taking place in the Islamic West from the 13th century onwards. What is even more striking is the fact that he and later 16th-century historians apparently had no knowledge about the end of Islamic rule in the Iberian peninsula, or, at the very least, did not find this fact worthy of mention. Even decades after Khvāndamīr's death, Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī Kāshānī and 'Abdī Beg Shīrāzī seem unaware of these momentous developments. Their histories of the Islamic lands are as silent about the Naṣrids and their centuries-long fight against the Christians, as they are about the fall of Granada in 1492, which resounded throughout Europe, and has been considered one of the central events in the history of the Mediterranean ever since.

Beyond this specific issue it seems that, on a more general level, historians in early Ṣafavid Iran only rarely received information about the western lands. As demonstrated above, the source for nearly all of Khvāndamīr's information on the last dynasty of the Islamic West covered in his *Ḥabīb al-siyar* was al-Yāfi'ī's *Mir'āt al-janān*, which was written in Mecca in the 14th century. Therefore, Khvāndamīr clearly did not have any access to sources produced in the Islamic West, which says a great deal about books' ability to make their way from the West to the East. Equally telling is the fact that his source, al-Yāfi'ī, does not refer to any "Western" books either, and mainly copies the information given by the Damascene scholar Ibn Khallikān in his 13th-century biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. A second source was Abū Shāma's *Dhayl al-Rawḍatayn*, from which Khvāndamīr draws the statistics on the Battle of Alarcos. Thus, Ibn Khallikān and Abū Shāma constitute the most important links to the West in the transmission of the account of Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb at Alarcos, as they had direct connections with the Maghribi community in Damascus.

However, the story of the correspondence between Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb and his adversary Alfonso VIII shows that even in Damascus, located much further west than Herat, authors of history books and biographical dictionaries had problems distinguishing between events that had occurred in the Western Mediterranean. The same is also true for historians of the Islamic West like Ibn Abī

Zar‘ al-Fāsī who, despite the fact that he lived in the Maghrib, relied on *Eastern* sources. In fact, readers of history books and biographical dictionaries from the 13th century to the 17th century interested in the Almohad caliph and the Battle of Alarcos would have had to turn to very different sources of information. Al-Maqqarī’s *Nafh al-ṭīb*, in this sense, is a good example of an author who attempted to pull together these various strands of history into a single text. This is also the case for Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb’s depiction as a Ṣūfī: whereas the main biographical dictionaries simply refer to him as a king who went on to don Ṣūfī garb, in Khvāndamīr’s *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, based on Jāmi’s *Nafahāt al-uns* and going back to al-Yāfi‘ī’s *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, the account of this caliph contains the vivid story of how he found the right spiritual leader, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Marīnī, whose biography is first given in a biographical dictionary of Ṣūfis written in 13th-century Egypt. This highlights the fact that knowledge was transmitted within the confines of discrete literary genres, here general biographical dictionaries and specific Ṣūfī dictionaries, respectively.

The example of the Almohad ruler Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb and the Battle of Alarcos in al-Andalus has shown that narratives were able to make their way from one region of the Islamic world to another, which means that generally speaking authors in the East did in fact have access to knowledge about events in the West, despite the many constraints. It is not surprising that given the conditions of textual transmission in premodern times, contradictory accounts of one and the same event could be found in different texts. Among all the examples cited, only Ibn Khallikān applied a certain kind of source criticism to the accounts at his disposal, which did not prevent later historians from embellishing their narratives with stylistically rich but apparently ahistorical details that had already been flagged by one of their predecessors. Surprisingly, the Battle of Alarcos in 591 H/1195 CE and the last decades of the Almohads remained more or less the last detailed information on the Iberian Peninsula available to the readers of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and other early Ṣafavid-era history books, thus providing us with insight into their world and perceptions of space, e.g. the limited scope of their “universal” histories, which in fact mainly narrate regional developments. Further research into texts dealing with historiographical knowledge, that is, information on events, people, customs, and the beliefs prevalent in a one region and conveyed to another, might reveal just how entangled and interconnected the Islamic world of premodern times really was.



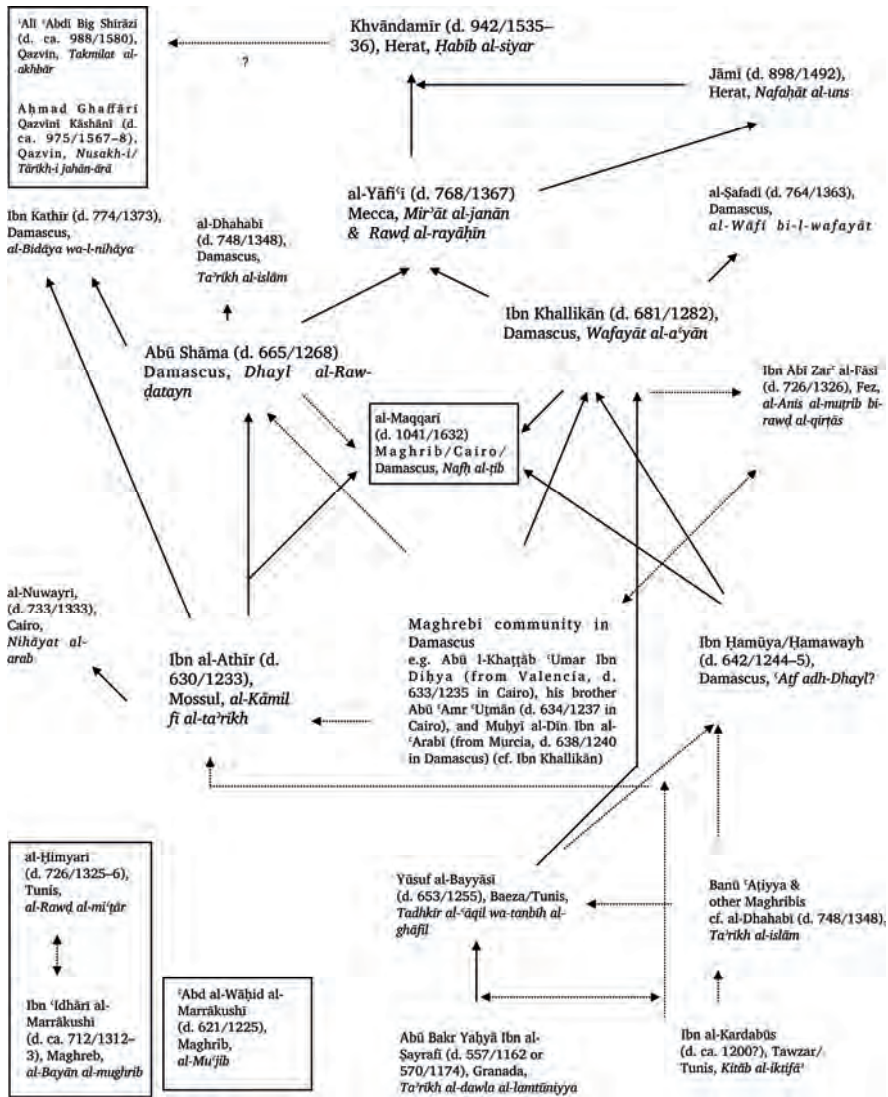


Fig. 1: The Battle of Alarcos (591 H/1195 CE) and its chain of transmission from the Islamic West to the Islamic East

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Maiko Noguchi

# Communicating a Biography: A Comparison of the Maghribi-Andalusi and Mashriqi Sources on al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ

## 1 Introduction

The compilation of biographies was one of the most common and important intellectual activities in the premodern world. In Islam, a large number of biographical dictionaries devoted to poets, ‘*ulamā*’, *a‘yān* (notable people), and others have been produced over the centuries and continue to be written even today.<sup>1</sup> We can ascertain various things from biographies, not only about the individual being described but also about the particular group(s) of people to which they belonged. As such, many modern studies of medieval biographies have been produced to help further knowledge of aspects of social and intellectual history.

However, when researching the life of an individual, we often come across multiple sources. These sources are sometimes contradictory in nature, even though they relate to the same person. In such cases, how should we make sense of the differences between the texts? Which information – if any – should we consider more reliable or plausible? Examining the communication and development or alteration of biographical information over time and space may help us answer these questions, and this paper will do so through a case-study of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE). Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ was one of the most famous jurists of the Mālikī law-school and a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar in the medieval Maghrib. His life was included in a number of biographical dictionaries after his death not only in the Islamic West but also in the East, despite the fact that he never made the *ḥajj*, visited the Mashriq, or had many teachers or students there. This is rather interesting because, although the people of the Mashriq might not have generally shown an interest in someone who had limited involvement with them, a certain

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<sup>1</sup> However, pre-modern biographical literature has little in common with modern (Cooperson 2010). On historical writing in Islam, see Guo 2010. On research analyzing ‘*ulamā*’, see Humphreys 1991, 187–208.

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number of Mashriqī biographers included such Maghribis in their works.<sup>2</sup> And these biographies of ‘Iyāḍ are full of interesting evidence, such as how information was communicated and the spread of the intellectual influence of an ‘ālim between the Islamic West and East. Nevertheless, modern scholars have shown little interest in this issue. Thus, in this paper, I will explore how the biography of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ was communicated and constructed in the Mashriq through a comparison of dictionaries written in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. María José Hermosilla has covered this issue to some extent, but many important Mashriqī sources are ignored in her article.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper, I have classified the sources as either Maghribi-Andalusi or Mashriqī, according to the place where their writers were active. As there are a significant number of dictionaries containing a biography of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, this paper will, with just a few exceptions, only use those sources that were composed up to the end of the 8th/14th century. This is because, following that period, the information contained within the sources on al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ is wholly derivative.

## 2 The life and career of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ

Al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, Abū al-Faḍl ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī was born in Ceuta in 476 H/1083 CE.<sup>4</sup> He came from a distinguished family that traced its origins back to the Arabs of Yemen. His great-grandfather, ‘Amrūn (or ‘Amr), moved to Ceuta from Fez, the oldest town in the central Morocco, around the time of Ibn Abī ‘Āmir (r. 368–392 H/978–1002 CE), the chief minister and *de facto* ruler of the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba. ‘Iyāḍ began his studies in his hometown under various prominent intellectuals, such as Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Tamīmī (d. 505 H/1111 CE) and Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Tāhartī (d. 501 H/1108 CE).<sup>5</sup> In 507 H/1113 CE, at the age of 31, he completed his studies in Ceuta and then crossed to

<sup>2</sup> On the biographies of the Maghribis and Andalusis in the Mashriqī biographical dictionaries, there are several studies in the EOBA (*Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*) series published by CSIC since 1988.

<sup>3</sup> Hermosilla 1978–79.

<sup>4</sup> On his biography, there are not only many historical sources in Arabic but also studies in several other languages. Moreover, the monograph titled *al-Ta‘rīf bi-l-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* (“The Introduction to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ”) was written by his son, Muḥammad, and the 11th/17th-century historian Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1632 CE) wrote *Azhār al-riyāḍ fi akhbār ‘Iyāḍ* (“The Gardens’ Flowers on Reports about ‘Iyāḍ”). For modern studies on ‘Iyāḍ, see the bibliography, below.

<sup>5</sup> On al-Tamīmī, see ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 99–115. On al-Tāhartī, see ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 204–206.

al-Andalus to seek knowledge from scholars there, with support from the Almoravid sovereign of the time, ‘Alī b. Yūsuf (r. 500–537 H/1106–1143 CE).<sup>6</sup> After his arrival in al-Andalus, it is thought that he counted on the *qāḍī* of Córdoba, Ibn Ḥamdīn (d. 508 H/1114 CE),<sup>7</sup> after which he studied law and *ḥadīth* under famous scholars in Murcia, Córdoba, Almería, and Granada including a traditionist, Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514 H/1120 CE), and a scholar of Arabic language and traditionist, Sirāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 507 H/1113 CE).<sup>8</sup> About a year later, he returned to his native town where he became a member of the consultative council (*shūrā*) after participating in an academic debate on Saḥnūn’s (d. 240 H/855 CE) *al-Mudawwana* (“The Corpus”).<sup>9</sup> After this, he became a *qāḍī* in Ceuta and then in Granada. In Ceuta, he held that position for 19 years – from 515 H/1121 CE to 531 H/1136 CE and from 539 H/1145 CE to 543 H/1148 CE – though his time in Granada was either for only several months or for a year sometime in the period 531–532 H/1136–1138 CE. Just as his first *riḥla* (“journey”) to al-Andalus had been, so too were his appointment and dismissal as *qāḍī* the result of his relations with the Almoravid rulers; his dismissal as *qāḍī* of Granada was the result of his falling out of favor with the city’s *amīr*, Tāshfin b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf (future sovereign, r. 537–539 H/1143–1145 CE), and his reappointment as *qāḍī* of Ceuta in 539 H/1145 CE was confirmed by Tāshfin’s son, the ruler Ibrāhīm (r. 539 H/1145 CE).<sup>10</sup>

Only a few sources describe how ‘Iyāḍ spent his later years, but thanks to recent studies we now have an idea not only of his scholarly position at that time but also, to a certain extent, his political one. According to these, after Marrakesh, the Almoravid capital, was captured by the Almohads (524–668 H/1130–1269 CE)

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6 The Almoravids (c. the second half of 5th century–541 H/11th century–1147 CE) was founded by the Ṣanhāja Berber tribes of the western region of the Sahara; they ruled the Maghrib and al-Andalus and adopted the Māliki school of law as their creed.

7 Al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān (d. 529 H/1134 CE, see below for further details) conveys two letters written by the vizier Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Jadd (d. 515 H/1121-2 CE) which recommended ‘Iyāḍ to Ibn Ḥamdīn. One of them is a petition that Abū al-Qāsim wrote on behalf of the sovereign ‘Alī b. Yūsuf. See al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, *Qalā’id al-iqyān* (2010), 326–328. On Ibn Ḥamdīn, see ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 116–117.

8 On al-Ṣadafī, see ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 193–201. On Sirāj, see ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 261–265.

9 According to Camilo Gómez-Rivas, this debate is a kind of rite of passage through which someone had to pass before they could be appointed to the *shūrā*. See Gómez-Rivas 2013, 326.

10 Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ta’rif* (2009), 10–11. In addition to these, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqqarī conveys the poem which ‘Iyāḍ composed when the latter was appointed *qāḍī* of Dāy (a town of Tādla region of central Morocco). It is said that this appointment was in 541 H/1146-7 CE, but Gómez-Rivas considers it happened in 543 H/1148 CE. See al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ* (1980), 4: 267; Gómez-Rivas 2013, 326.



in 541 H/1147 CE, the supporters of the former continued to resist the Almohads both in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. As such, during this period ‘Iyāḍ preached *jihād* against the Almohads in his Friday sermons in Ceuta. Later, though, he changed his view and, in another sermon, swore an oath of allegiance to them. Moreover, he was involved in issuing golden *dīnārs* in Ceuta at that time.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, he can be regarded as a central figure in this resistance, acting as if he were the ruler of the town.<sup>12</sup> After finally conquering Ceuta, the Almohads took ‘Iyāḍ to Marrakesh; in some sources, it is claimed that he died there shortly after, in 544 H/1149 CE.

‘Iyāḍ studied under various important members of the ‘*ulamā*’ and formed friendships with many of them in both his native town and al-Andalus. These included Ibn Ḥamdīn and Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (d. 520 H/1126 CE), the most prominent Mālikī jurist of his day in the Islamic West, in addition to the aforementioned al-Ṣadafī and Sirāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik. From his biographical work focused on his teachers, *al-Ghunya* (“The Richness”), it is known that he was taught by around 100 teachers, and that they were not only from the Islamic West but also the East, with ‘Iyāḍ himself remaining in the Maghrib.<sup>13</sup> As a result, he had significant influence on knowledge flow from al-Andalus to the Maghrib and was also instrumental in establishing the Mālikī school of law in that region.<sup>14</sup> He was a prolific writer, composing around 30 works during his lifetime. Among them a book of praise for the Prophet Muḥammad based on the sciences of *ḥadīth*, *al-Shifā’ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (“Healing by Recognition of the Rights of the Chosen One”), a biographical dictionary on Mālikī ‘*ulamā*’, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-ma’rifat a’lām madhhab Mālik* (“Organizing the Faculties and Revealing the Methods for Discovering the Signs of the School of Mālik”), and *al-Ghunya* are especially well-known. In addition to these, his son Muḥammad compiled his father’s *fatwās* into a volume entitled *Madhāhib al-ḥukkām fī nawāzil al-aḥkām* (“Judges’ Proceedings in Judicial Processes”), which also has been regarded as an important work. However, despite his significant impact on later Islam, information on his students is scarce, and according to modern scholars, only 10–12 students are known, in addition to his son Muḥammad.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On his sermons, see Jones 2013. On his *dīnārs*, see Kassis 1983; Fierro 2006. On the general situation at that time, Gómez-Rivas 2013, 327–328. On his scholarly position, see also Eggen 2018.

<sup>12</sup> For the similar figures of his contemporaries, see Fierro 1994.

<sup>13</sup> Thanks to the location of Ceuta, which is on the Mediterranean coast, he could study from the ‘*ulamā*’ who came and stopped at the town. See ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979).

<sup>14</sup> Gómez-Rivas 2013, 323–324. ‘Iyāḍ was also a *ḥadīth* scholar, and some modern scholars have referred to him as a man of letters. Cf. Shaqūr 1983.

<sup>15</sup> Shawwāt 1999, 239–244; Jallāb 2009, 32–34.

## 3 Biographies of ‘Iyāḍ

### 3.1 Maghribi and Andalusī sources<sup>16</sup>

The earliest source from the Maghrib and al-Andalus with information on ‘Iyāḍ is al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān’s (d. 529 H/1134 CE) *Qalā’id al-‘iqyān wa-mahāsīn al-a’yān* (“Golden Necklaces and the Virtues of Notable People”). Al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān was an anthologist who probably hailed from Jaén or Seville, and a contemporary of ‘Iyāḍ, and they were friends.<sup>17</sup> *Qalā’id al-‘iqyān* is not, strictly speaking, a biographical dictionary but is instead an anthology of the works of famous persons such as princes and viziers, secretaries (*kuttāb*), *qāḍīs*, *fuqahā’*, poets, and men of letters. It covers around 80 men in total, most of whom were contemporaries of the author. ‘Iyāḍ himself was included among the “*qāḍīs* and *fuqahā’*”. The article devoted to him within *Qalā’id al-‘iqyān* includes some of his poetry and letters, in addition to an appreciation of his various abilities. It is a rather unusual tome because it contains hardly any of the kind of information about individuals – such as dates of birth or death, birthplace, career, or teachers and students etc. – that is usually found in Arabic biographical dictionaries, and such is the case for the article on ‘Iyāḍ. The information contained within it seems to have originated from ‘Iyāḍ and the author himself, and it is likely to have been written while ‘Iyāḍ was alive, given the date of the author’s death.<sup>18</sup>

A second biography was written by the man believed to have been ‘Iyāḍ’s only son, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 575 H/1179-80 CE).<sup>19</sup> He received most of his education from his father and was one of the students who helped keep his father’s ideas alive. Muḥammad was appointed *qāḍī* first of Dénia and then of Granada. As mentioned, he produced two main works related to his father: a monograph entitled *al-Ta’rif bi-l-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* and a compilation of his father’s legal

<sup>16</sup> In this paper, I will consider the biographical dictionaries that contain an entry on ‘Iyāḍ.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu’jam* (2011), 374; Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, *al-Dhayl* (2012), 3: 444–445. Cf. Ben Cheneb/Pellat, “al-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Khāqān”, *EP*.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, *Qalā’id al-‘iqyān* (2010), 683–691. According to the description of the date, he compiled this work after 515 H/1121 CE. See al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, *Qalā’id al-‘iqyān* (2010), 357, 361.

<sup>19</sup> Though we have little information about Muḥammad, Ibn Sharīfa, the editor of *al-Ta’rif*, organized his biographies from the sources and listed them in the introduction (Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ta’rif* [2009], alif-shīn). Muḥammad’s date of birth is not known for certain, but it is said that he died in 575 H/1179-80 CE when he was in his forties; therefore, he is likely to have been born around in the 520s or 530s H/mid 1120s or 1130s CE. For Muḥammad’s biography, see Serano Ruano 2004.

opinions entitled *Madhāhib al-ḥukkām*. While *al-Taʿrīf* is not a lengthy work, it records ʿIyāḍ’s biography – including his origins and ancestors – his works – which include selected *ḥadīths*, Friday sermons, poetry, and the titles of about 20 works in total – and his teachers’ names.<sup>20</sup> Most of this information came, naturally, from ʿIyāḍ himself, Muḥammad’s father. Moreover, it is perhaps noteworthy that some of ʿIyāḍ’s poems were recorded by Muḥammad newly; thus, the latter is regarded as one of the main sources for them, in addition to al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.<sup>21</sup> Despite ʿIyāḍ’s reputation and influence among his contemporaries and posterity, Muḥammad’s monograph about his father was employed by only a very limited number of later biographers. It is thought that there was only one copy of this work, kept by one of Muḥammad’s descendant in Málaga.<sup>22</sup>

Although Muḥammad should have had great knowledge about ʿIyāḍ’s life, he was limited in the information he could record. This is at least partly because Muḥammad was in a rather difficult situation when he was writing since his father had revolted against the dynasty – the Almohads – under which Muḥammad himself had been appointed *qāḍī*.<sup>23</sup> It has not proved possible to locate definitive information regarding this monograph’s date of composition, although the phrase “the *qāḍī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad said...” (*qāla al-qāḍī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad*) appears at the beginning of the text, suggesting that he composed the monograph after he himself had been appointed *qāḍī*, which probably occurred sometime in the early 570s H/ the late 1170s CE.<sup>24</sup>

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**20** In the introduction, Muḥammad explained the reason behind compiling the book: his master (in the text, “*sayyidī*”, meaning ‘my master’) – who is mentioned as a sublime *faqīh*, perfect *ḥāfiẓ*, diligent Qurʾān reciter, though we have no specific information about him – asked him about his father, ʿIyāḍ, so he wrote it.

**21** Two poems and a portion of the information originated from Muḥammad’s companions, and his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh, among others.

**22** Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), lām. This information is based on that of al-Bunnāhi, which will be mentioned later.

**23** Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), kāf. See Gómez-Rivas 2013, 327–328.

**24** Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), 3. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, Muḥammad took the position of *qāḍī* of Dénia before 570 H/1174-5 CE and then became the *qāḍī* of Granada (Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, *al-Dhayl* [2012], 5: 242). Moreover, Muḥammad mentions *Qalāʾid al-iqyān* by al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān in his work; therefore, the former was composed after the latter was completed. See Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), 97.

Another author who wrote about ‘Iyāḍ was Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578 H/1183 CE) in his celebrated biographical dictionary of Andalusī ‘ulamā’, *al-Ṣila* (“The Continuation”).<sup>25</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl was from Córdoba and studied first in his native town and then in Seville. After completing his studies, he was appointed *qāḍī* of a district in the region of Seville, and later became involved in teaching and writing. *Al-Ṣila* includes nearly 1,600 biographical entries, including those of various women ‘ulamā’, and in it Ibn Bashkuwāl gives various pieces of information about ‘Iyāḍ, such as his name and origins. He differentiates between Andalusī and “the foreigners” (*min al-ghurabā’*) and describes ‘Iyāḍ as the latter, and records the reasons for ‘Iyāḍ’s move to al-Andalus (from Ceuta): to study. He also details in which cities in al-Andalus ‘Iyāḍ received his education and the teachers responsible for educating him, and gives information about his personality and his time in office as *qāḍī*. He mentions his own relationship with ‘Iyāḍ – ‘Iyāḍ was the teacher and Ibn Bashkuwāl the student, although it seems that the former taught the latter only a little<sup>26</sup> – and, finally, the dates of his birth and death. The source of this information was ‘Iyāḍ himself, as Ibn Bashkuwāl records. The length of the description of his teacher – which is only 22 lines long in the Beirut edition, and therefore neither very short nor very long – is not much different compared to other entries in his dictionary. However, this concise and rather dull portrait is typical of biographical literature; thus, the information Ibn Bashkuwāl conveyed about ‘Iyāḍ was included in later biographies, not only in al-Andalus and the Maghrib but also in the Mashriq, as I will argue below.

A little later, Abū Ja‘far al-Ḍabbī (d. 599 H/1203 CE), a traditionist and a writer from Lorca, conveyed ‘Iyāḍ’s biography in his dictionary, *Bughyat al-multamis fi tārikh rijāl ahl al-Andalus* (“The Wish of the One Who Searches for the History of the Men of al-Andalus”).<sup>27</sup> This work, which contains around 1,600 biographies, was intended to be a continuation (*dhayl*) of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī’s (d. 488 H/1095 CE) *Jadhwat al-muqtabis fi dhikr wulāt al-Andalus* (“The Torch for the One

<sup>25</sup> On Ibn Bashkuwāl, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu‘jam* (2011), 115–117; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 1: 459–462. See also Ávila, “Ibn Bashkuwāl”, *EP*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* (1989), 2: 660–661. According to the end of part one of this work, Ibn Bashkuwāl finished the compilation on 1 Jumādā I 534 H/24 December 1139 CE. However, since some dates in the text appear after this date, it is believed that he continued writing after that (cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* [1989], 1: 15–17).

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Bashkuwāl would rather get information about ‘ulamā’ from ‘Iyāḍ and compiled his biographical dictionary. See Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 1: 461.

<sup>27</sup> On al-Ḍabbī, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 1: 188–189. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (1997), 383–384.

Who Lights the Story of the Governors of al-Andalus”).<sup>28</sup> Al-Ḍabbī spent most of his life in Murcia although he also traveled to numerous other places, including various towns in the North Africa and Mecca, for the *hajj*. He was taught by many teachers in the town in which he stayed, among whom were Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. late 6th/12th century?) and Ibn Bashkuwāl. The former made al-Ḍabbī listen to *ḥadīth* in Ceuta, and the latter gave him authorization (*ijāza*) for something – although there is no specific description for what. In view of this situation, it is likely that his information on ‘Iyāḍ originated with some of al-Ḍabbī’s teachers. Al-Ḍabbī’s text focuses on enumerating the scholars who had taught ‘Iyāḍ *ḥadīth*; as a result, the list of ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers given by al-Ḍabbī is longer than that provided by Ibn Bashkuwāl. Al-Ḍabbī describes ‘Iyāḍ as an expert (*‘arif*) and a man of letters (*adīb*), in addition to being a jurist and a *ḥadīth* scholar. He mentions the title of ‘Iyāḍ’s work on the terminology of *ḥadīth* as being *al-Ilmā‘ ilā ma‘rifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taqyīd al-samā‘* (“The Allusion to the Knowledge of the Principles of the Transmission and the Fixing of Audition”), which is new information compared to the entry in Ibn Bashkuwāl. He received information regarding this book from one Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh; it is likely that this person and his similarly-named teacher are one and the same person. Thus, his information on ‘Iyāḍ is more detailed than that provided by Ibn Bashkuwāl, probably as result of his journey to Ceuta – ‘Iyāḍ’s native town – where he was taught.

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658 H/1260 CE), a well-known historian, traditionist, littérateur, and poet from Valencia, also wrote a biography of ‘Iyāḍ. After extensive study under many scholars including a Mālikī jurist, historian, orator and poet from Murcia, Ibn Sālim al-Kalā‘ī (d. 634 H/1237 CE),<sup>29</sup> Ibn al-Abbār was employed as a secretary by the Almohad governors of Valencia. When the city was conquered by James I of Aragon (r. 1213–1276) in 1238, Ibn al-Abbār left for Tunis, where he was appointed to the chief chancellery of the Ḥafṣids, who ruled Ifrīqiya from 627 H/1229 CE to 982 H/1574 CE.<sup>30</sup>

Ibn al-Abbār is perhaps most famous as the author of *al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila* (“The Supplement of *al-Ṣila*”), a sequel to Ibn Bashkuwāl’s biographical dictionary *al-Ṣila* that his teacher, Ibn Sālim al-Kalā‘ī, had persuaded him to write. However, Ibn al-Abbār did not include an entry on ‘Iyāḍ in it, because the latter has a notice in *al-Ṣila*, as mentioned above. Instead, Ibn al-Abbār recorded ‘Iyāḍ

<sup>28</sup> Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (1997), 11. Regarding the *dhayl* in the historiography of al-Andalus, see Farah 1968, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Pellat, “al-Kalā‘ī”, *EF*.

<sup>30</sup> Ávila, “Ibn al-Abbār”, *EF*. His life was full of ups and downs; finally he was killed in Tunis, and his corpse, books, poetry, and diplomas all were burned together.

in another biographical dictionary, one dedicated to the students of the celebrated traditionist Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī and entitled *al-Mu‘jam fī aṣḥāb al-qāḍī al-imām Abī ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī* (“The Dictionary of the Companions of the qāḍī and imām Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī”).<sup>31</sup> The article on ‘Iyāḍ includes his family’s origin, his teachers in Córdoba, and details of his meetings with al-Ṣadafī, in addition to the many works ‘Iyāḍ studied under him. There is further information on ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers and his education, along with Ibn al-Abbār’s praise for him, his works, and his career, as well as the dates of his birth and death, and his poem. The biography ends with a “*ḥadīth musalsal*”, which was transmitted via al-Ṣadafī and ‘Iyāḍ to Ibn al-Abbār (the author).<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Abbār would have been well aware of the works of both ‘Iyāḍ and Ibn Bashkuwāl; thus, his detailed information – which is much longer than that provided by Ibn Bashkuwāl – seems to depend upon ‘Iyāḍ’s *al-Ghunya* and/or Muḥammad’s *al-Ta‘rīf*, and *al-Ṣila*, judging from the wording, although Ibn al-Abbār does not mention them directly. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that Ibn al-Abbār mentions another work by ‘Iyāḍ relating to *gharīb al-ḥadīth* (a tradition from only one Companion, or from a single man), known as *Mashāriq al-anwār ‘alā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār* (“The Shining Lights on the Correct Prophetic Traditions”), along with a poem by Abū ‘Amr b. al-Ṣalāḥ,<sup>33</sup> in praise of it. Ibn al-Abbār also includes a poem by ‘Iyāḍ, which is almost identical to those employed in al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān’s *Qalā‘id al-iqyān*, but this one was conveyed to Ibn al-Abbār through ‘Iyāḍ’s student Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Zarqūn and the author’s own teacher, Ibn Sālim al-Kalā‘ī.

Incidentally, a number of hagiographies were compiled in the Maghrib around this time. However, as Halima Ferhat has indicated, none of the hagiographers, not even Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādili (d. 627 H/1229-30 CE or 628 H/1230-1 CE) – who would have been most likely to record ‘Iyāḍ in his hagiography – mention

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31 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu‘jam* (2011), 366–370. We have no information about when he finished this work. Ibn al-Abbār compiled it when he knew that ‘Iyāḍ wrote the biographical dictionary of the teachers of ‘Iyāḍ’s teacher al-Ṣadafī. Then, he decided to compile this biographical dictionary of al-Ṣadafī’s students (Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu‘jam* [2011], 21).

32 *Ḥadīth musalsal* is applied when the transmitters in an *isnād* have a similar situation. For example, they use the same words, or are of the same type, or come from the same place. See Robson, “Ḥadīth”, *EP*.

33 Abū ‘Amr b. al-Ṣalāḥ, also known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643 H/1245 CE), was a Shāfi‘ī jurist and traditionist from a village in the Irbil district (Robson, “Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ”, *EP*). According to Ibn al-Abbār’s another work, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ read this book and use it constantly. Cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Muqtaḍab* (1989), 86.

‘Iyāḍ. Al-Tādili only mentions the latter’s name when he records a poem by al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204 H/820 CE) that ‘Iyāḍ had conveyed.<sup>34</sup>

After Ibn al-Abbār, the next writer to provide details about ‘Iyāḍ was a polymath, historian, and vizier of Naṣrid Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 H/1374-5 CE, probably 1374), in his compendium on that town entitled *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* (“The All-embracing Work on Reports about Granada”).<sup>35</sup> In this work, Ibn al-Khaṭīb relates the history of Granada and provides around 500 biographies of various famous people who had some sort of relationship with the town; these include kings, *amīrs*, viziers, *qāḍīs*, ‘*ulamā*’, and Ṣūfis. Compared to earlier examples, Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s biography of ‘Iyāḍ is much more detailed, but his information consists almost entirely of citations and extracts from Muḥammad’s *al-Ta’rīf*,<sup>36</sup> along with a poem conveyed by al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān and others (*ghayrhu*). However, Ibn al-Khaṭīb essentially ignored the political events in which ‘Iyāḍ had taken part, unlike Muḥammad, who wrote about them a certain amount of detail.

Subsequently, a *qāḍī* of Naṣrid Granada from Málaga, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bunnāhī (formerly known as al-Nubāhī, d. the end of the 8th/14th century) included ‘Iyāḍ in his biographical dictionary of the *qāḍīs* of al-Andalus, *al-Marqaba al-‘ulyā fī man yastahiqq al-qaḍā’ wa-l-fatyā* (“The Supreme Watchtower about Those Who Deserve the Judgeship and Issuing Legal Opinions [Muftiship]”).<sup>37</sup> In his description of ‘Iyāḍ, he cites Ibn Bashkuwāl almost verbatim, although he also conveys the new information that ‘Iyāḍ lived in Málaga for a while and had property there. Al-Bunnāhī states that this information was mentioned by ‘Iyāḍ’s descendant (*ḥafīd*) in the section which the latter compiled in “the introduction” (*al-ta’rīf*) to ‘Iyāḍ and his works, information, and sermons.<sup>38</sup> This “introduction” probably refers to *al-Ta’rīf* by Muḥammad – although technically he was his son rather than just a descendant – and it is likely that al-Bunnāhī could access this information because he was from Málaga.

As such, from the above it can be stated that all the various biographies of ‘Iyāḍ that were composed in al-Andalus and the Maghrib were based primarily

34 Al-Tādili, *al-Tashawwuf* (2010), 92–93. See also Ferhat 2014, 123–124.

35 Vidal-Castro, “Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn”, *EP*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (2003), 4: 188–194.

36 On citing Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he said “*min kitāb waladihi fī ma’āthirihī, wa-huwa kunnāsh nabih*” (from his son’s book on his exploits, and it is an outstanding booklet) and “*qāla waladuhu fī ta’līfihī al-nabīl*” (his son said in his noble work). Thus, he was familiar with *al-Ta’rīf*, although he did not mention the title. See also Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ta’rīf* (2009), lām.

37 Carmona, “al-Nubāhī”, *EP*.

38 Al-Bunnāhī, *al-Marqaba* (1995), 132–133. Muḥammad also mentioned this property; Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ta’rīf* (2009), 98.

on three originals: those by Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, Ibn Bashkuwāl, and al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.

**Tab. 1:** Maghribi and Andalusī sources

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the source	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā’</i>
al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān (529 H/1134 CE)	Jaén or Seville	<i>Qalā’id al-iqyān</i> (2010), 683–691	‘Iyāḍ	○	
Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ (575 H/1179–80 CE)	Ceuta	<i>al-Ta’rīf</i> (2009)	‘Iyāḍ and the others <sup>39</sup>	○	○
Ibn Bashkuwāl (578 H/1183 CE)	Córdoba	<i>al-Ṣila</i> (1989), 2: 660–661	‘Iyāḍ		
al-Ḍabbī (599 H/1203 CE)	Lorca	<i>Bughyat al-multamis</i> (1997), 383–384	His teacher		
Ibn al-Abbār (658 H/1260 CE)	Valencia	<i>al-Mu’jam</i> (2011), 366–370	Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ? or ‘Iyāḍ? Ibn Bashkuwāl?	○	
Ibn al-Khaṭīb (776 H/1374–5 CE)	Granada	<i>al-Iḥāṭa</i> (2003), 4: 188–194	Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān	○	○
al-Bunnāhī (end of 8th/14th century)	Málaga	<i>al-Marqaba</i> (1995), 132–133	Ibn Bashkuwāl		

### 3.2 ‘Iyāḍ in the Mashriqī sources<sup>40</sup>

Of the Mashriqī sources that relate the biography of ‘Iyāḍ, the earliest is ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. 597 H/1201 CE) *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-‘aṣr* (“The Pearl-like Virgin of the Castle and the Register of the People of the Age”), which was completed in 573 H/1178 CE.<sup>41</sup> ‘Imād al-Dīn was a *kātib* – chancery official

<sup>39</sup> See also footnote 21.

<sup>40</sup> For further information on the sources and authors examined here, see Guo 2010, 448–453.

<sup>41</sup> Richter-Bernburg 2014, 29–51. He was known to have received favors from the Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (r. 541–569 H/1146–1174 CE) and the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb (r. 569–589 H/1174–1193 CE).



and court poet – and historian who originated from Isfahan, and his aforementioned text is a vast anthology of the works of various 6th/12th-century poets that was inspired by the prolific author Abū al-Manṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī’s (d. 429 H/1038 CE) *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-‘aṣr* (“The Matchless Peal of Time on the Beautiful Achievements of the People of the Age”). The poets included in *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* all lived in the Islamic world. In compiling his list of Maghribi and Andalusī poets, ‘Imād al-Dīn mainly referenced and cited those found in al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān’s *Qalā’id al-iqyān*.<sup>42</sup> Such is the case in the entry on ‘Iyāḍ, although he made a significant error in both the date and place of ‘Iyāḍ’s death, stating that it was “at Fez in AH 543”.<sup>43</sup> ‘Imād al-Dīn’s words are almost identical to those of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān with changing the order of the text, although he excludes some letters (*rasā’il*) that are found in the entry on ‘Iyāḍ in *Qalā’id al-iqyān*. As such, because they were ignored in ‘Imād al-Dīn’s source, *Qalā’id al-iqyān*, ‘Iyāḍ’s education and subsequent career are also not described in *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*. It is worth noting that the anthology of poetry and works was the first text from the Mashriq to refer to ‘Iyāḍ as well as the Islamic West, and that it was composed only thirty years after his death.

After ‘Imād al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Qifṭī – also known as Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646 H/1248 CE) – a historian from Qifṭ, in Upper Egypt, included ‘Iyāḍ in *Inbāh al-ruwāt ‘alā anbāh al-nuḥāt* (“The Awakening of the Transmitters on the Illustriousness of Grammarians”), a biographical dictionary of members of the literati.<sup>44</sup> Although al-Qifṭī does not detail his sources, the wording indicates that he employed Ibn Bashkuwāl, albeit with some alterations; for example, he omits the names of ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers, which are mentioned by Ibn Bashkuwāl. He describes ‘Iyāḍ as an *‘ālim* who gathered many *ḥadīths* and a *qāḍī*, in addition to recording ‘Iyāḍ’s works, such as *Sharḥ khabar Umm Zar* (“Commentary on Tradition of Umm Zar”), *Mashāriq al-anwār*, and *Tamām al-mu‘lim fī sharḥ kitāb*

<sup>42</sup> ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1966–72), 1: kāfbā’.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1966–72), 3: 501–505.

<sup>44</sup> Dietrich, “Ibn al-Qifṭī”, *EP*. His father was a deputy to the chancellor (*al-qāḍī al-fāḍil*) of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Al-Qifṭī himself was in charge of the *dīwān* of the finances of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s son, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī (r. 589–613 H/1193–1216 CE) and of his successor, and then finally appointed vizier. According to the editor of *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, although there is no information about the beginning or completion of writing, the work must have been started by 626 H/1228–9 CE and the copy of this edition finished in 638 H/1240–1 CE. See al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* (1986), 1: 27. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* (1986), 2: 363–364.

*Muslim* (“Completeness of *The Teacher*. Commentary on the Book by Muslim”).<sup>45</sup> As such, al-Qiftī’s work can be considered as the first of the Mashriqī sources to contain a “proper” biography of ‘Iyāḍ.

The next text to refer to ‘Iyāḍ was al-Nawawī’s biographical dictionary of famous men.<sup>46</sup> Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE) was a Shāfi‘ī jurist from Nawā, south of Damascus, and in his *Tahdhīb al-asmā’ wa-l-lughāt* (“An Account of Names and the Languages”) the description of ‘Iyāḍ copies that of Ibn Bashkuwāl almost verbatim and openly states it was the source. Although neither he nor al-Qiftī mention ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers, he does say that ‘Iyāḍ was highly skilled in *ḥadīth* scholarship, jurisprudence, and Arabic. Before compiling his biographical dictionary, al-Nawawī had compiled a work on the positive laws (*furū’ al-fiqh*) of the Shāfi‘ī school, entitled *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn wa-‘umdat al-muftīn* (“Students’ Garden and Muftis’ Support”), and he referred to ‘Iyāḍ’s *al-Shifā’* in the “Kitāb al-ridda” (“The Book of Apostasy”) of *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is clear that *al-Shifā’*, the most well-known of all ‘Iyāḍ’s works, must have been brought to the Mashriq before 669 H/1270 CE – that is, the date when al-Nawawī was said to be finished compiling his work – even though he did not mention any of ‘Iyāḍ’s works in his biography.

The next text to relate the life of ‘Iyāḍ was Ibn Khallikān’s (d. 681 H/1282 CE) famous biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-a’yān wa-anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān* (“Biographies of Deceased Notable People and History of the Sons of the Epoch”).<sup>48</sup> He compiled this dictionary in 672 H/1273-4 CE, and it contains details of ‘Iyāḍ’s names, education, and works, a partial citation from Ibn Bashkuwāl – although it omits his teachers’ names – some poems, an outline of a description from Ibn al-Abbār, dates of his birth and death, and an explanation of proper nouns included in this biography. He mentions ‘Iyāḍ’s works, including *Ikmāl al-mu‘lim*,

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45 *Sharḥ khabar* and *Tamām al-mu‘lim* refer to ‘Iyāḍ’s *Bughyat al-rā‘id li-mā fi ḥadīth Umm Zar’* and *Ikmāl al-mu‘lim fi sharḥ Muslim* respectively. For his works and their outlines, see Serrano Ruano 2009, 417–433.

46 Heffening, “al-Nawawī”, *EF*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā’* (n.d.), sec. 1, part 2, 43–44.

47 Al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn* (1985), 10: 70. On the date of compilation of this work, see al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn* (1985), 12: 316.

48 Ibn Khallikān was from Irbil, in Iraq, and after studying in Aleppo and Damascus he was appointed as deputy to the chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Egypt. After that, he himself was appointed chief *qāḍī* of Damascus by two Mamlūk sultans, Baybars I (r. 658–676 H/1260–1277 CE) and Qalāwūn (r. 678–689 H/1279–1290 CE). See Wedel, “Ibn al-Khallikān”, *EF*. For ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* (1977–78), 3: 483–485.

*Mashāriq al-anwār*, and *al-Tanbīhāt* (“The Admonition”),<sup>49</sup> along with his poems that were conveyed by his son and ‘Imād al-Dīn and which had not been cited by the Mashriqī biographers previously (with the exception of ‘Imād al-Dīn, of course). Moreover, Ibn Khallikān states that ‘Iyāḍ composed “good poetry” (*shi‘r ḥasan*), a statement that had never, as far as we know, been made before. The description of ‘Iyāḍ by Ibn Khallikān was synthetic, as the previously separate components – the biographical description from Ibn Bashkuwāl and the poems from the anthologies and the monograph – were combined.

Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) – a widely respected historian, *ḥadīth* expert, and biographer from early Mamlūk Damascus – added to these descriptions.<sup>50</sup> Al-Dhahabī mentioned ‘Iyāḍ in a number of his works, such as *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a‘lām* (“The History of Islam and Deaths of the Famous People and Signs”) and its abridgements, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (“Memorial of the Qur’ān Masters”) and *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* (“The Lives of Noble Figures”), and others.<sup>51</sup> His information on ‘Iyāḍ, in which he cites Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Khallikān, and Ibn Ḥamāda al-Sabtī, among others, is much more detailed than the preceding biographies, although some of the sources he employed are not named. Even so, the information he cites from Ibn Ḥamāda, who is believed to have been a student of ‘Iyāḍ in Ceuta, is very important because we have hardly any information from Ibn Ḥamāda, not even from the Maghribi nor Andalusī sources, nor personal information about him.<sup>52</sup> Al-Dhahabī also gives the names of ‘Iyāḍ’s five students; this information is the most detailed of all his biographies.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, because al-Dhahabī is fulsome in his praise of *al-Shifā’*, calling it ‘Iyāḍ’s most significant and illustrious work, it is very likely that it was widely circulated and highly regarded in the Mashriq at that time. With al-Dhahabī’s work, what may be termed the “Mashriqī biography” of ‘Iyāḍ may

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49 The full title of *al-Tanbīhāt* is *al-Tanbīhāt al-mustanbiḥa ‘alā kutub al-Mudawwana wa-l-Mukhtalīḥa* (“Discovered admonitions on books of *al-Mudawwana* and *al-Mukhtalīḥa*”). According to the footnote, another manuscript of *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* adds *al-Shifā’* to these titles, although it was omitted in this edition. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* (1977–78), 3: 483, n. 3.  
50 Bori, “al-Dhahabī”, *EP*.

51 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1994–2000), 37: 198–201; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1956–58), 2: 1304–1307; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–88), 20: 212–218. For others, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1994–2000), 37: 198, n. 4.

52 He was known as Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamāda al-Sabtī (c. the first half of the 6th/12th century), who wrote a *mukhtaṣar* (compendium) of ‘Iyāḍ’s biographical dictionary, *Tartīb al-madārik*. This work has been published partially as an appendix at the end of the Mohammedia edition of *Tartīb al-madārik*. On Ibn Ḥamāda, see “Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamāda” (anonymous).

53 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1994–2000), 37: 201; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1956–58), 2: 1306; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–88), 20: 216.

be considered essentially cemented from around the middle of the 8th/14th century.

Two other scholars who wrote ‘Iyāḍ’s biography are Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE) and Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764 H/1363 CE). Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, a famous author and administrator for the Mamlūk state from Damascus, included ‘Iyāḍ in his encyclopedic work *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (“Routes toward Insight into the Capital Empires”).<sup>54</sup> He describes ‘Iyāḍ and praises him, possibly because he had a high opinion of ‘Iyāḍ as the author of *al-Shifā’*. Al-‘Umarī devoted a paragraph to a description of that book, in addition to recording the personality and biography of ‘Iyāḍ, including citations from the descriptions of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, Ibn Bashkuwāl, and ‘Imād al-Dīn. On the other hand, al-Ṣafadī – a philologist, littérateur, biographer from Ṣafad who was friends with al-‘Umarī – included ‘Iyāḍ in his huge biographical dictionary *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* (“Complete Collection of Biographies of the Deceased”). Within it are recorded ‘Iyāḍ’s dates of birth and death, his career as a *qāḍī* in Ceuta and Granada – this description seems to depend upon that of Ibn Bashkuwāl – a poem in praise of ‘Iyāḍ by the jurist Abū al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn al-Mālaqī, a list of his works, and his poetry.<sup>55</sup> What is particularly significant is that al-Ṣafadī wrote that he studied *al-Shifā’* under his teacher Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734 H/1334 CE) in Cairo in Ramaḍān 729 (June-July 1329). Moreover, he lists the transmitters of this book (*isnād*), going back to ‘Iyāḍ himself, which demonstrates the work’s dissemination.<sup>56</sup>

54 Salibi, “Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī”, *EP*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-absār* (2010), part 5 in vol. 3: 349–352.

55 Rosenthal, “al-Ṣafadī”, *EP*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (2008–10), 23: 428–431. On Ibn Hārūn al-Mālaqī, see Ibn ‘Askar/Ibn Khamīs, *A’lām Mālaqa* (1999), 307–309.

56 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (2008–10), 23: 430–431. According to al-Ṣafadī’s *isnād*, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās reported it from Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. ‘Atīq b. Rashīq in Cairo in 677 H/1278-9 CE, and the latter reported it from Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr who reported it from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Tamīmī. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was a biographer of the Prophet, traditionist, Shāfi’ī jurist from Cairo, although he was descended from a distinguished scholarly family in Seville (Pavlovitch, “Ibn Sayyid al-Nās”, *EP*). Ibn Rashīq (d. 680 H/1281-2 CE) was known as ‘Ilm al-Dīn, a Mālikī *qāḍī* of Alexandria (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* [2005], 2: 255–256; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* [2008–10], 3: 16). Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Jubayr is probably the famous Andalusī traveler and writer Ibn Jubayr (d. 614 H/1217 CE), although correctly, his *kunya* is not Abū ‘Abd Allāh, but Abū al-Ḥusayn. According to Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Ibn Rashīq reported it from Ibn Jubayr in 609 H/1212-3 CE (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ‘*Uyūn al-athar* [1993], 2: 417). Furthermore, Ibn Jubayr’s teacher, Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā, is a grandson of aforementioned ‘Iyāḍ’s teacher Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā (Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* [2011], 2: 303, 379).

In that period, various historians – such as Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732 H /1331 CE), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768 H/1367 CE), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 H/1373 CE) – also included 'Iyāḍ in the obituaries contained within their chronicles.<sup>57</sup> Although they add nothing new, it must be pointed out that they tend to describe 'Iyāḍ as a traditionalist and man of letters who composed good poetry. Moreover, three of the historians mention the following works by 'Iyāḍ: *Mashāriq al-anwār*, *Ikmāl al-mu'lim*, and *al-Shifā'*. The fourth, Abū al-Fidā', only mentions *Mashāriq al-anwār* and *Ikmāl al-mu'lim*.

The final writer to be examined is Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE), who also compiled a biographical dictionary.<sup>58</sup> He was from an Arab family that traced its origins to the Quraysh and which had settled in al-Andalus but later returned to Medina, via Tunisia. His *al-Dibāj al-mudhahhab fi ma'rifat a'yān 'ulamā' al-madh-hab* ("The Gilded Brocade about Knowledge of Notable 'ulamā' of the [Mālikī]

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<sup>57</sup> Abū al-Fidā' was a prince of Ayyūbids of Ḥamā, historian, geographer. His universal history, *al-Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-bashar* ("The Concise History of Humanity"), covers the pre-Islamic period up to 729 H/1329 CE (Talmon-Heller, "Abū l-Fidā'", *EP*). He wrote about 'Iyāḍ's name, birth, qualities as an 'ālim such as *imām*, *ḥāfiẓ*, and *faqīh*, etc., and his works *Ikmāl al-mu'lim* (although he mistakenly refers to it as *al-Ijmāl*, something that could have been a mistake by a copyist) and *Mashāriq al-anwār* (Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* [1998–99], 3: 32). Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī was a Shāfi'ī jurist, philologist, man of letters, historian and poet from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. His work, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-bashar* ("Completion of the Concise History of Humanity"), was also known as *Tārīkh Ibn al-Wardī* ("The History of Ibn al-Wardī") (Ben Cheneb, "Ibn al-Wardī", *EP*). In this work, Ibn al-Wardī abridged the above-mentioned chronicle of Abū al-Fidā' and continued it from 729 H/1329 CE to 749 H/1349 CE. Subsequently, his information about 'Iyāḍ almost copies that of Abū al-Fidā'. He also mentions the latter's career as *qāḍī* of Ceuta and Granada, and his poem (Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* [1969], 2: 71). Al-Yāfi'ī was an intellectual and a Ṣūfi from Yemen. He composed a historical book, *Mir'āt al-jinān wa-'ibrat al-yaqẓān fi ma'rifat mā yu'tabar min ḥawādith al-zamān* ("Mirrors of the Soul and the Observant One's Tears about Knowledge of What is Learned from the Events of the Time"), drawn from Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 H/1233 CE), Ibn Khallikān, and al-Dhahabī (Geoffroy, "al-Yāfi'ī", *EP*). He recorded 'Iyāḍ as one of the most distinguished *ḥuffāz* and wrote about his teachers, his career as *qāḍī* of Ceuta and Granada, his works, and his qualities as an 'ālim. He finished the description of 'Iyāḍ by citing one of his poems (al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-jinān* [1970], 3: 282–283). Finally, Ibn Kathīr, one of the best-known historians and traditionalists of the Bahri dynasty in Syria, includes 'Iyāḍ in his great history of Islam, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* ("The Beginning and the End") (Mirza, "Ibn Kathīr", *EP*). Ibn Kathīr describes 'Iyāḍ as a *qāḍī* and *faqīh*, mentions 'Iyāḍ's works and states "he composed good poetry", although he does not cite any poems specifically (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya* [1966], 12: 225).

<sup>58</sup> After studying in Medina, Ibn Farḥūn travelled to Egypt and Syria, before being appointed a Mālikī *qāḍī* in Medina. See Fadel, "Ibn Farḥūn", *EP*. Cf. Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (2004), 1: 15–17. For 'Iyāḍ's biography, see Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (2005), 2: 36–41.

School”) is a biographical dictionary of Mālikī jurists, containing around 630 entries, that was inspired by *Tartīb al-madārik*, a similar dictionary written by ‘Iyāḍ himself.<sup>59</sup> Ibn Farḥūn also studied *al-Shifā’*, under al-Zubayr b. ‘Alī al-Uswānī (d. 748 H/1347 CE), a Qur’ān reciter.<sup>60</sup> Thus, his description of ‘Iyāḍ is comparatively long. In order to produce ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, he gathered all the descriptions found in the various relevant Andalusī and Maghribī sources, and probably the Mashriqī ones as well. While he often used his own words – that is, he did not literally copy the preceding biographer’s wording – his account is heavily dependent on Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in particular. Thus, Ibn Farḥūn has known Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s text *al-Iḥāṭa*, which was compiled around the same time, and used it for his description.<sup>61</sup>

Tab. 2: Mashriqī sources

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the source	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā’</i>
‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (597 H/1201 CE)	Isfahan	<i>Kharīdat al-qaṣr</i> (1966–72), 3: 501–505	al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān	○	
al-Qiṭṭī (646 H/1248 CE)	Qifṭ (Upper Egypt)	<i>Inbāh al-ruwāt</i> (1986), 2: 363– 364	Ibn Bashkuwāl?		
al-Nawawī (676 H/1277 CE)	Nawā (Damascus)	<i>Tahdhīb al-asmā’</i> (n.d.), sec. 1, part 2, 43–44	Ibn Bashkuwāl		(○)

59 Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (2005), 1: 21–23.

60 Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (2004), 1: 16. Cf. Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (2005), 1: 7.

61 According to the introduction to *al-Iḥāṭa* by the editor, Ibn al-Khaṭīb took time to compile his work. It is thought that he started to gather information in 761 H/1358-9 CE, before his exile to the Maghrib, resumed it after his return in 763 H/1362 CE, and continued to add to and revise it. It seems that he finished it in 772 H/1370-1 CE, that is, before crossing over to the Maghrib for the second time. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (2003), 1: 4. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqqarī saw part of a copy of this book in Cairo; according to him, this copy was donated to a *khānqā* as a *waqf* on 22 Muḥarram 768 (28 September 1366). It is thought that the book was introduced to Cairo around this time (al-Maqqarī, *Naḥṣ al-ṭib* [2012], 7: 102–108). Meanwhile, Ibn Farḥūn noted the day of the compilation of this dictionary in Sha‘bān 761 (June-July 1360) (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* [2005], 2: 302); it precedes Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s. Thus, it is reasonable to think that Ibn Farḥūn also took time to compile his work and consulted to a just-completed description by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the source	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā'</i>
Ibn Khallikān (681 H/1282 CE)	Irbil (No. Iraq)	<i>Wafayāt al-a'yān</i> (1977–78), 3: 483–485	Ibn Bashkuwāl, Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, ‘Imād al-Dīn al- Iṣfahānī, Ibn al-Abbār	○	
al-Dhababī (748 H/1348 CE)	Damascus	<i>Tārīkh al-islām</i> (1994–2000), 37: 198–201; <i>Tadhkirat al- ḥuffāz</i> (1956–58), 2: 1304–1307; <i>Siyar</i> (1982–88), 20: 212–218	Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Ḥamāda, Ibn Khallikān, Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ	○	○
al-‘Umarī (749 H/1349 CE)	Damascus	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> (2010), part 5 in vol. 3: 349–352	al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, Ibn Bashkuwāl, ‘Imād al-Dīn al- Iṣfahānī	○	○
al-Ṣafadī (764 H/1363 CE)	Ṣafad (No. Palestine)	<i>al-Wāfi</i> (2008– 10), 23: 428–431	Ibn Bashkuwāl?, his teacher	○	○
Abū al-Fidā’ (732 H/1331 CE)	Damascus	<i>al-Mukhtaṣar</i> (1998–99), 3: 32			
Ibn al-Wardī (749 H/1349 CE)	Ma‘arrat al- Nu‘mān (W. Syria)	<i>Tārīkh</i> (1969), 2: 71		○	○
al-Yāfi‘ī (768 H/1367 CE)	Yemen	<i>Mirāt al-jinān</i> (1970), 3: 282– 283		○	○
Ibn Kathīr (774 H/1373 CE)	Bosra (So. Iraq)	<i>al-Bidāya</i> (1966), 12: 225			○

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the Poem	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā'</i>
Ibn Farḥūn (799 H/1397 CE)	Medina	<i>al-Dībāj</i> (2005), 2: 36–41	Muḥammad b. 'Iyāḍ, Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khallikān or/and al-Dha- habī?	○	○

## 4 The communication of biographical information: A comparison of the Maghribi-Andalusi and Mashriqi sources

I would now like to summarize how biographical information on 'Iyāḍ was communicated within and between the regions. As mentioned, 'Iyāḍ never undertook a *riḥla* to the Mashriq nor went on the *ḥajj*, and there is little evidence that he had any Mashriqi students; consequently, it could be expected that he would have had little intellectual influence in the Mashriq at that time. Nevertheless, a number of biographies of 'Iyāḍ were compiled in the Mashriq quite soon after his death, the result of writers believing that his biography was worthy of inclusion in their dictionaries. Yet, which points about his life did they wish to emphasize? To elucidate the main features of their descriptions of 'Iyāḍ, I will highlight two main points: the first is concerned with his poems, or ability as a man of letters, while the second is their focus on his written works, especially *al-Shifā'*.

The most oft-employed description of 'Iyāḍ was that by Ibn Bashkuwāl, something that was common to both the Maghribi and the Mashriqi biographies. It is perhaps natural that the brief and clear biography written by Ibn Bashkuwāl, a student of 'Iyāḍ, became widely utilized. On the other hand, despite 'Iyāḍ's poetry also being often referenced, it is cited primarily by biographers from the Mashriq, in stark contrast with those from the Maghrib who mostly ignored it. As stated above, the first source to contain 'Iyāḍ's poems in the West was al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān's anthology *Qalā'id al-iqyān* and the first of the Mashriqi sources was also the anthology, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, by 'Imād al-Dīn, in which all the poems found in *Qalā'id al-iqyān* are included. Moreover, it appears that this situation came about primarily through citations in Ibn Khallikān's famous biographical dictionary,



where the flattering phase “[he composed] good poetry” is to be found.<sup>62</sup> As far as Ibn Khallikān is concerned, his information about ‘Iyāḍ’s son Muḥammad – that he was the “*qāḍī* of Dénia” – probably came from Ibn Diḥya’s (d. 633 H/1235 CE) anthology *al-Muṭrib min ash’ār ahl al-Maghrib* (“The Delightfulness from the Poetry of the People of the Maghrib”) rather than from *Qalā’id al-iqyān* or *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, though he did not mention the former.<sup>63</sup> Ibn Khallikān may have considered ‘Iyāḍ to be a good poet not only because of the quality of the poetry itself but also because it was frequently cited by famous anthologists.<sup>64</sup> Subsequent biographical sketches also quote the same poem(s), and this resulted in repeated emphasis being placed on ‘Iyāḍ’s ability to compose good poetry or as a man of letters in the Mashriq. While in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, ‘Iyāḍ’s son Muḥammad, Ibn al-Abbār, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb all made use of his poetry, it never became part of his biographical tradition, where he was instead described primarily as a traditionist and jurist.

Secondly, as far as the sources – that were examined in this paper – are concerned, knowledge and appreciation of ‘Iyāḍ’s most famous work, *al-Shifā’*, can be attested earlier in the Mashriq than in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. At the time of al-Nawawī – that is, around 669 H/1270 CE – this text was already in circulation, and it was to become even more highly regarded around the time of al-Dhabībī, that is, the middle of the 8th/14th century. Moreover, Ibn Farḥūn stated that “copies of this work spread eastward and westward” (*tārat nusakhuhu sharqan wa-gharban*), while, more than 150 years later, one of the most prolific Cairene writers of the Middle Ages, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H/1505 CE), wrote abstracts of the *ḥadīths* contained within *al-Shifā’*, in a work entitled *Manāhil al-ṣafā’ fi takhrīj aḥādīth al-shifā’* (“The Pure Fountain about Extract of *Ḥadīths* from *al-Shifā’*”).<sup>65</sup>

As such, was *al-Shifā’* ignored in the Maghrib and al-Andalus? The answer is, of course, no. While the evidence in the biographical dictionaries is scarce – with

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* (1977–78), 3: 484.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Diḥya al-Kalbī was a poet, philologist, and traditionist, probably from Valencia. He traveled within al-Andalus, and to the Maghrib, North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Persia. After his return to Egypt, he enjoyed the Ayyūbid ruler’s favor. His celebrated work, *al-Muṭrib*, is a vast anthology of the poets of the Islamic West, which was compiled in Egypt and dedicated to his royal patron, al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 615–635 H/1218–1238 CE). Thus, it is likely that Ibn Khallikān had access to this work. See Granja, “Ibn Diḥya”, *EP*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s poetry, which was conveyed by his son, see Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib* (1955), 87.

<sup>64</sup> Hermostilla refers to one of his poems cited by Ibn Khallikān and highlights that it shows ‘Iyāḍ’s talent in *belles-lettres* (Hermostilla 1978–79, 161).

<sup>65</sup> Serrano Ruano 2009, 426.

the exception of those by Muḥammad and Ibn al-Khaṭīb –, in order to get a better understanding of the situation it will be useful to shift focus from the topic of biography to that of the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad. In the Islamic West, the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad as an ideal figure had been steadily increasing from the 6th/12th century.<sup>66</sup> The origin of this veneration is attributable to Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī, who played a significant role in the development of this movement, as he brought from the East a collection of *ḥadīths*, al-Tirmidhī’s (d. 279 H/892 CE) *al-Shamā’il al-Muḥammadiyya* (“The Appearance of Muḥammad”), and taught it to his many students.<sup>67</sup>

‘Iyāḍ was taught this work by al-Ṣadafī directly,<sup>68</sup> and so his *al-Shifā’*, based as it is upon the sciences of *ḥadīth*, can be seen as a product of this movement. Moreover, Ibn Bashkuwāl who was a student not only of ‘Iyāḍ but also of al-Ṣadafī, also wrote a similar work, entitled *Kitāb al-Qurba ilā Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (“The Approach to Lord of Worlds”), and it has been pointed out that this closely resembles part of *al-Shifā’*.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the influence of *al-Shifā’* can be confirmed in the movement of the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad immediately after his compilation. This tradition of composing works venerating the Prophet was continued by Ibn Diḥya. On the other hand, as Muḥammad al-Hāṭī has shown, a large number of commentaries (*sharḥ*) on *al-Shifā’* were produced in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, the first of which was composed by a Qur’ānic exegete from Marrakesh, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrālī (d. 637 H/1239-40 CE or 638 H/1240-1 CE).<sup>70</sup> Thus, *al-Shifā’* was widely read by the people of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, including Ṣūfis.<sup>71</sup> However, it is rather odd that al-Bunnāhī, the biographer of ‘Iyāḍ, makes no mention of this work even though, according to the later biographer Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036 H/1627 CE), he studied it.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the well-known Maghribi biographer Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī (d. 1025 H/1616 CE) is silent about *al-Shifā’*.<sup>73</sup>

66 Sato 2005, 28–33; Sato 2006, 7.

67 We can understand this situation from many descriptions in Ibn al-Abbār’s *Mu’jam*.

68 ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 196.

69 Sato 2005, 28–33.

70 Al-Hāṭī 2015. On al-Ḥarrālī, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 3: 415; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–88), 23: 47.

71 Sato 2005, 29–30.

72 Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (2004), 1: 370–371.

73 Ibn al-Qāḍī barely conveys that a famous *khaṭīb* from Tlemcen, Ibn Marzūq (d. 781 H/1379 CE) wrote an unfinished commentary on *al-Shifā’*, although the former does not mention the author’s name of this book (Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* [1973–74], 1: 227).

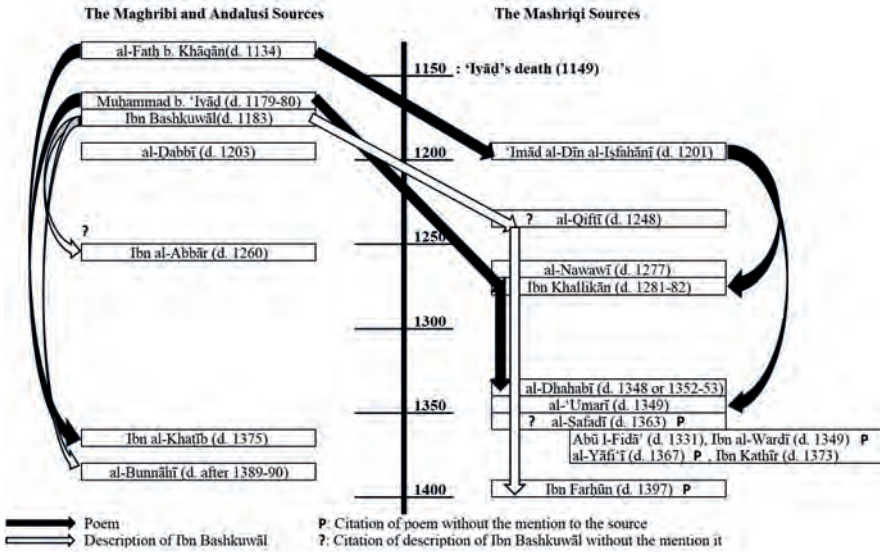


Fig. 1: Communication of biographical information

## 5 Conclusion

Biographies of ‘Iyāḍ started to be written soon after his death and continued to be composed for centuries after, not only in the Maghrib and al-Andalus but also in the Mashriq. Significantly, the biographies of ‘Iyāḍ written in the Maghrib and al-Andalus are no more detailed than those compiled in the Mashriq. Moreover, the Mashriqī authors took advantage of these biographies soon after they were written. The descriptions of ‘Iyāḍ reflect the biographer’s interests and the approach to historical compilation followed in each region.

Generally, it seems possible to construct a plausible figure of an *‘ālim* such as ‘Iyāḍ through examining and comparing two or more biographies but, at the same time, it is important to consider how and why the information regarding that figure was conveyed. This is because the way in which information is conveyed differs according to the values and ideas of both the individual biographers and the society in which it was composed. The extent to which this one case-study of ‘Iyāḍ reflects a wider trend is a question that can only be answered via further, future studies.

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## Part III: **Maghribi Success in the East**





Camilla Adang

# A Majorcan in Baghdad. Al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* and Its Reception in the Mashriq

*Wa-li-Abī 'Abd Allāh hādihā  
kitāb<sup>un</sup> ḥasan<sup>un</sup> jama'a fihī  
bayn Ṣaḥīḥay al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim  
akhadhahu al-nās<sup>u</sup> 'anhu  
—Ibn Bashkuwāl, al-Ṣīla<sup>1</sup>*

## 1 Introduction

Almost anyone who has worked on the history of al-Andalus, whether political, intellectual or religious, will have had occasion to consult the work entitled *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* by al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488 H/1095 CE), which is one of the main sources for the period prior to the rise of the Party-Kings (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*). This work, a biographical dictionary, contains 988 entries mainly on *ḥadīth* experts, judges and other legal scholars, poets and literary figures who either were native to al-Andalus or settled there.<sup>2</sup> The biographies are preceded by a brief survey of the political history of al-Andalus, starting with the conquest by Ṭāriq b. Ziyād in 92 H/711 CE and ending with the last of the Ḥammūdīd rulers in the author's own days. What distinguishes this work from similar ones, such as Ibn al-Faraḍī's (d. 403 H/1013 CE) *Tārīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, Ibn Bashkuwāl's (d. 578 H/1183 CE) *Kitāb al-Ṣīla* and Ibn al-Abbār's (d. 658 H/1260 CE) *al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣīla*, is

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1 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣīla* (2019), 2: 193.

2 There are several editions; the most recent one is by Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf and Maḥmūd Bashshār 'Awwād.

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that it was composed not in al-Andalus but in al-Ḥumaydī's chosen domicile Baghdad, at the request of one of his patrons there, who remains unnamed. Whereas in al-Andalus itself the author was remembered mainly for this work – as well as for his close connections with his teacher Ibn Ḥazm of Córdoba – the situation in the East was completely different. While *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* was of course known there, and would be used by important authors such as Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 H/1229 CE), al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H/1505 CE),<sup>3</sup> scholarly attention focused on another work of al-Ḥumaydī's, which garnered both praise and criticism: *al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, a voluminous work in which the author rearranges the traditions found in the two authoritative *ḥadīth* collections (*Ṣaḥīḥ*) of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. In what follows, I shall first provide some basic biographical information on the author, then describe the aims, sources and structure of *al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, and finally examine its reception among eminent *ḥadīth* scholars in the Mashriq and Egypt as well as the lines of transmission that link these scholars to al-Ḥumaydī, to the extent that these can be traced. In the Appendix a sample from the work is presented in translation. We shall see that this work by a scholar from Majorca who was generally praised for his asceticism and modesty was to have a major impact on *ḥadīth* scholarship east of the author's country of origin.

## 2 The author: al-Ḥumaydī

The full name of the author is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Futūḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Futūḥ b. Ḥumayd b. Yaṣīl al-Azdi al-Ḥumaydī.<sup>4</sup> His family, which was of Arab descent, hailed from a suburb of Córdoba, but at some point his father moved to the isle of Majorca, where al-Ḥumaydī was born before 420 H/1029 CE. When still a child he was taken to attend lectures on *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, sitting on the shoulders of older students. At a more mature age he started studying with the controversial Zāhiri scholar Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE), who lived for ten years in Majorca where he was given free rein to spread the teachings that were unpalatable to the Mālikī religious establishment.<sup>5</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī soon became known as one of Ibn Ḥazm's most loyal disciples, and

<sup>3</sup> Al-Najamī 1433/2012, 1: 442–566 lists the authors who made use of *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* and discusses the extent to which they did.

<sup>4</sup> On al-Ḥumaydī, see Huici Miranda, updated in Roselló Bordoy 2002; Roselló Bordoy/Har-emaska 2012; al-Najamī 1433/2012; Adang 2005, 313–317, with references to the primary sources.

<sup>5</sup> On the life and works of Ibn Ḥazm, see Adang/Fierro/Schmidtke 2013.

as a result he is usually regarded as a *Zāhirī* himself. When in 440 H/1048 CE Ibn Ḥazm left the island under a cloud, his young student joined him in Almería and thereafter may have accompanied him to Seville. In the Andalusian mainland al-Ḥumaydī also studied with Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463 H/1070 CE), one of the foremost experts in *ḥadīth* of all times, as well as with several other scholars such as Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-ʿUdhri (d. 478 H/1085 CE) and Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik al-Khawlānī (d. ca. 440 H/1048 CE). In 448 H/1056 CE he left the Peninsula for the East to continue his studies. He was by then well equipped with knowledge of *ḥadīth*, its transmitters and its methodology, knowledge he further expanded during the sessions he attended in Kairouan, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Wasit, Medina and Mecca. Although undertaking such a journey in search of knowledge (*riḥla*), combined with the pilgrimage to Mecca, was a natural thing to do for a scholar who had the means and the opportunity, Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE) suggests that the timing of al-Ḥumaydī's departure had to do with Ibn Ḥazm's fall from grace, which also affected his partisans.<sup>6</sup> Once al-Ḥumaydī had passed through North Africa and arrived in Egypt, he encountered a much more varied cultural, intellectual and religious landscape than the one he had known in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, areas that were largely dominated by the Mālikī school and where, apart from a small number of Shāfiʿīs and even fewer Ḥanafīs, the only non-Mālikīs were a few men who identified with the *Zāhiriyya*. Studying *ḥadīth* in Egypt, Syria, the Hejaz and Iraq al-Ḥumaydī was rubbing shoulders with members of all the Sunnī *madhāhib*, although most of his contacts seem to have been with Shāfiʿī scholars, teachers and peers alike. Among them, mention should be made of Abū Naṣr b. Mākūlā (d. 475 H/1082 CE), author of a work on names of *muḥaddithūn* with a similar and potentially confusing orthography, whom he got to know in Egypt and who was to become one of his patrons in Baghdad, where he ultimately decided to settle.<sup>7</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī's most influential teacher in Damascus was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463 H/1071 CE), the historian and *ḥadīth* scholar, with whom he stayed in touch also in the ʿAbbāsī capital.<sup>8</sup> The biographical dictionaries and al-Ḥumaydī's own works supply the names of the many scholars with whom he studied before and after his departure from al-Andalus.<sup>9</sup> In the postscript to his

<sup>6</sup> As reported by al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 19: 125–126.

<sup>7</sup> Vadet, “Ibn Mākūlā”, *EF*.

<sup>8</sup> See on him Sellheim, “al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī”, *EF*; Malti Douglas 1977.

<sup>9</sup> The list has been reconstructed by al-Najamī 1433/2012, 1: 163–175, 180–216. No date is given by al-Najamī for al-Ḥumaydī's presence in Medina (al-Najamī 1433/2012, 1: 192), but on the basis of an extant copy of the *musnad* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb by Abū Yaʿqūb b. Shayba b. al-Ṣalt (d. 262 H/875 CE) that was taught in the Great Mosque in that city on 12 Rabiʿ I 469 (14 October 1076)

*Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, the work dealt with in the present contribution, al-Ḥumaydī mentions the teachers from whom he received the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Among the transmitters of the former work, the eminent Meccan *muḥadditha* Karīma al-Marwaziyya (d. 463 H/1070 CE) occupies a special place.<sup>10</sup>

Al-Ḥumaydī was much admired in Baghdad both for his scholarship, especially in the field of *ḥadīth*, and his exemplary lifestyle. Many were the students who sought him out, among them not a few Andalusis, even including one or two *Zāhirīs* who may have felt an affinity with al-Ḥumaydī despite the fact that he kept his *Zāhirism* to himself, as is stated by several biographers. Al-Ḥumaydī appears to have stayed in contact with Ibn Ḥazm, but how frequently they exchanged letters is not known.<sup>11</sup> The claim, made in a recent publication, that he was “Ibn Ḥazm’s envoy to the East” is surely overstated.<sup>12</sup> He died in 488 H/1095 CE in Baghdad, where he was ultimately buried, at his express request, near the ascetic Bishr al-Ḥāfi.<sup>13</sup> He donated his library as a *waqf*. Shortly before his death, al-Ḥumaydī was visited by the Andalusī scholar Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abbād b. Sarḥān al-Ma‘āfirī (d. 543 H/1148 CE).<sup>14</sup> He was by then seriously ill and bedridden but, possibly seeing an opportunity to make his work known in al-Andalus, he

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and that contains a certificate of audition (*samāʿ*) by the Majorcan author, we can establish that he was there at that time, even if we cannot know how long he stayed. See Ibn al-Ṣalt, *Musnad* (1405/1985), 16: 29–30, *samāʿ* no. 14. The idea to compile a work arranged according to *musnads* may already have taken shape in al-Ḥumaydī’s mind by then.

**10** For a brief sketch of her life and importance, see the chapter devoted to her in Robinson 2016 (preceded by a chapter on Ibn Ḥazm, incidentally).

**11** In their 1982 edition of al-Ḥumaydī’s *Dhahab al-masbūk*, 125, Ibn ‘Aqīl al-Zāhirī and ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm ‘Uways state that Ibn al-Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī (d. 628 H/1231 CE) writes in his *Bayān al-Wahm wal-Ṭhām* – a polemical work against ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī – that al-Ḥumaydī corresponded with his former master from Iraq: *kāna yukātibu Ibn Ḥazm min al-‘Irāq*, which suggests a certain regularity. However, the reference in Ibn al-Qaṭṭān’s work refers to one very specific case: Ibn Ḥazm had denied the soundness of a certain tradition on the grounds that one of its transmitters was unreliable. Al-Ḥumaydī wrote to him from Iraq (*qad kataba ... min al-‘Irāq*) arguing that the tradition was sound and explaining the status of the transmitter. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān adds that he does not know whether Ibn Ḥazm changed his opinion or not; see Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, *Bayān al-Wahm* (1417/1997), 5: 226. There may well have been a frequent exchange of letters between the two Andalusis, but this passage alone is not sufficient proof.

**12** The title of al-Najamī’s important two-volume study of al-Ḥumaydī is *Min al-Balyār ilā Baghdād. Al-Ḥumaydī al-Andalusī, rasūl Ibn Ḥazm ilā al-Mashriq*.

**13** This was three years after he had first been buried near the grave of the Shāfi‘ī legal scholar Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476 H/1083 CE), who had been one of his teachers; see Adang 2005, 316.

**14** On ‘Abbād b. Sarḥān, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* (2019), 2: 73, no. 973; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* (1410/1990), 37: 147, no. 150. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl, he was rather less knowledgeable about *ḥadīth* than he claimed.

gave Ibn Sarḥān permission to take his copy of the *Jamʿ* and to teach it, as well as his other works. After that, Ibn Sarḥān read the work to the Baghdadi grammarian and *ḥadīth* scholar Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān b. Baltakīn b. Bajkam al-Turki (d. 513 H/1119 CE), who said that he had already heard it recited once during a session and on another occasion had read it back to al-Ḥumaydī to receive his approval.<sup>15</sup> Back in al-Andalus, Ibn Sarḥān transmitted the work to the bibliographer Ibn Khayr (d. 575 H/1179 CE), who is the source of this information.<sup>16</sup>

Since al-Ḥumaydī left al-Andalus in his late twenties, most of his active life was spent in the Mashriq, where he also wrote most of his works, the only exception apparently being *Marātib al-jazāʿ*, which deals with eschatology and which may have been composed in his homeland. Besides the two above-mentioned works – *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* and *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* – and a series of brief edifying tracts on the importance of refraining from slander and the cultivation of friendship and good neighbourly relations, his writings, not all of which have come down to us, were concerned with history, advice for rulers, epistolary art and, most relevant for our present purpose, *ḥadīth*.<sup>17</sup> It is to his most important work in this field that we now turn.

**15** On the Shāfiʿī Ibn Ṭarkhān, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 19: 423, no. 245; al-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb* (1412/1991), 2: 502, no. 4684, where it is stated that he spent much time with al-Ḥumaydī (*ṣaḥība al-Ḥumaydī wa-lāzamaḥu*). He also received several other works from the author, namely *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*, *Kitāb al-Mutashākih fi asmāʾ al-fawākih* and *Kitāb Nawādir al-aṭibbāʾ*, which he transmitted to the noted Andalusī religious scholar Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543 H/1148 CE), through whom the works reached Ibn Khayr; see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa* (2009), 281–282, 472, nos. 421, 1036, 1037. Ibn Khayr also received these works from the Cordoban *qāḍī* Abū al-Ḥakam ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ghashalyān (d. 541 H/1146 CE), who had obtained, in writing, a license from al-Ḥumaydī to transmit them.

**16** Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa* (2009), 161, no. 162. That Ibn Sarḥān also transmitted other works by al-Ḥumaydī, namely to the Andalusī jurist and *ḥadīth* scholar Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Masarra al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 552 H/1157 CE), is clear from the *Fahrāsa* of al-Mintawrī (d. 834 H/1430 CE); see al-Mintawrī, *Fahrāsa* (1432/2011), 264, no. 428. Al-Ḍabbī (d. 599 H/1203 CE) has the somewhat puzzling information that Ibn Sarḥān transmitted “*musnad* al-Ḥumaydī Abi ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi Naṣr” on our author’s authority, and that he himself transmitted it to Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Nīʿma in Almería in the year 504 H/1110 CE, having been, according to his own statement, the only one to bring the work to al-Andalus. In all likelihood the reference is to *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, which is composed of *musnads*, and Ibn Sarḥān gave the author’s full name so as not to create confusion with another Ḥumaydī, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 219 H/834 CE), whose collection of *ḥadīths* is known as *Musnad al-Ḥumaydī*.

**17** For a descriptive list of the author’s works, see al-Najamī 1433/2012, 252–298. For additional information on the extant manuscripts of and publications on works by al-Ḥumaydī, see Maribel Fierro *et al.*, *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusies* (HATA), accessible through the

### 3 The work: *al-Jam‘ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*

*Al-Jam‘ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*<sup>18</sup> by al-Ḥumaydī belongs to what may be regarded as a sub-genre of *ḥadīth* literature, in which traditions from two or more existing collections, the *Ṣaḥīḥs* or/and others, are combined and rearranged according to different criteria. Our author’s work was not the first one of this kind; it was preceded by *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min al-akhbār fī dhikr aḥādīth al-nabī al-mukhtār*, subtitled on the Damascus manuscript *al-Jam‘ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, a compilation by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Jawzaqī of Nishapur (d. 388 H/998 CE), which combines the traditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim without providing *isnāds* so as to facilitate memorisation.<sup>19</sup> This work roughly follows the order of the books in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, i.e. starting with “al-Īmān” (belief) and followed by the books on ritual purity, mandatory prayer and prayers for different occasions, etcetera. It is quite possible that al-Jawzaqī’s work inspired al-Ḥumaydī to produce his own compilation, just like other authors after him would in turn adopt or adapt al-Ḥumaydī’s model.

### 4 *Al-Jam‘ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*: structure and aims

The structure of al-Ḥumaydī’s work is significantly different from that of al-Jawzaqī’s compilation: all the *ḥadīths* attributed in one of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* or both to a given Companion are grouped together by al-Ḥumaydī in a *musnad*, e.g. *musnad* Zayd b. Thābit, *musnad* ‘Abd Allāh b. Salām, and *musnad* Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr. In the Appendix I shall illustrate this procedure with the *musnad* of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. In his introduction al-Ḥumaydī emphasizes the importance of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, which cover all aspects of Islamic belief and practice. The two *imāms*, al-Bukhārī and Muslim, have established the probity of the transmitters, which in the end determines a tradition’s soundness. This, then, is what lies at the basis of the structure chosen by the author. In the first section of the *Jam‘* al-Ḥumaydī presents the statements transmitted by the so-called *‘asharat al-mubashsharīn bi-*

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portal <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/historia-de-los-autores-y-transmisores-andalusies/-/history-of-the-authors-and-transmitters-of-al-andalus>.

**18** There are two editions, published in 1414/1994 and 1437/2016 respectively. References in this article are to the first one. The work is discussed in detail in al-Asadī 1424/2003.

**19** On al-Jawzaqī, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 16: 493–494, no. 364. The manuscript of his *Jam‘ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* can be viewed online: <https://www.alukah.net/library/0/83900/> (last accessed Aug. 9, 2019).

*l-janna* (The ten who received glad tidings of paradise), namely Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Sa'īd b. Zayd, and Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. This section is followed by the transmissions of the prominent ones after the Ten (*masānīd al-muqaddamīna ba'd al-'ashara*), who are sixty-four in number and include men such as 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Mu'ādh b. Jabal and Ubayy b. Ka'b. These are then followed by those among the Prophet's Companions who transmitted numerous traditions (*masānīd al-mukthirīna min al-ṣaḥāba*). These are six in number, viz. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Anas b. Mālīk, and Abū Hurayra. Forty-one Companions make up the section of the *muqillīn*: the ones who transmitted few *ḥadīths*. The book closes with a section on female Companions, thirty-seven in all, including Muḥammad's wives. In this section the most prominent place is reserved for 'Ā'isha, who is credited with sixty-seven traditions and who should have been included among the *mukthirīn* had the author not chosen to separate the female transmitters from the males. Within a typical *musnad*, al-Ḥumaydī first presents the traditions that can be encountered in both al-Bukhārī and Muslim (*al-muttafaqa 'alayhi*), subsequently the *ḥadīths* found in al-Bukhārī only (*afrād al-Bukhārī*), and finally the traditions only included in Muslim's collection (*afrād Muslim*). However, some *musnads* only contain one or more traditions found in one of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. As he clarifies in his introduction, al-Ḥumaydī does not provide a complete *isnād*, but usually gives no more than one or two names of people who heard the tradition from the *musnid* in question, a fact that drew criticism from some of his detractors. At times he provides one or two lines of biographical information on the person whose *musnad* he provides, as for example in the case of Umm Ḥarām bt. Milḥān b. Khālīd al-Khazrajiyya ("her proper name is al-Ghumayṣā", and she is the maternal aunt of Anas b. Mālīk") or Abū Wāqīd al-Laythī ("his proper name is Ḥārīth b. 'Awf, but Ḥārīth b. Mālīk is also given. He assisted at [the battle of] Badr. Medinan; dwelled in Mecca").<sup>20</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī once more explains the aims of his work in a postscript, in which he also includes a lengthy quotation from Ibn Ḥazm's *Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* on the reasons for the differences of opinion among the first generations of Muslims as well as later '*ulamā'*', pointing in particular to their geographical distribution which meant that not everyone heard the same traditions.<sup>21</sup> Distinguishing the weak *ḥadīths* from the generally accepted ones therefore became imperative, and al-Ḥumaydī set himself the task to

<sup>20</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jam'* (1414/1994), 4: 288, no. 230, and 3: 388, no. 100.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jam'* (1414/1994), 4: 323–328; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām* (1979), 2: 124–130. Al-Ḥumaydī omits some of the examples given by Ibn Ḥazm, whom he calls Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b.



make the sound traditions easily accessible. For his work, al-Ḥumaydī used a number of *ḥadīth* manuals and collections besides the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, a fact for which he was taken to task by later critics, as will be shown below. The works in question are by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ismāʿīlī (d. 371 H/981 CE), Abū Masʿūd Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī (d. 401 H/1010 CE), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqānī (d. 425 H/1033 CE), and a number of other scholars who had compiled collections of sound traditions that were based upon the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, though provided with different, and preferably shorter *isnāds*. Moreover, their versions of these traditions at times showed discrepancies vis-à-vis the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* not only in their chains of transmission, but also in the wording or the length of the *ḥadīths*. Often they also included explanatory notes.<sup>22</sup> Examples of this will be seen below in the *musnad* of Muʿāwiya. Al-Ḥumaydī explicitly indicates where he uses one of these alternative sources, so as to distinguish between the contents of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* and those of other works. Yet, as will be seen, he was accused by various later scholars of blurring this distinction, causing confusion.

Al-Ḥumaydī also compiled a companion volume to his *Jamʿ*, entitled *Tafsīr gharīb mā fī al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Following the same order as in the work on which it is based, though without any internal division into traditions within each *musnad*, the author explains somewhat unusual words and expressions, apparently making use of earlier *Gharīb* works such as the ones by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276 H/889 CE) and Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224 H/838 CE). In the (few) glosses to the *musnad* of Muʿāwiya, for example, al-Ḥumaydī offers synonyms or definitions as well as an explanation of the wording of the call to prayer, which figures in a tradition that has Muʿāwiya repeat the *adhān* after the muezzin.

## 5 The reception of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ*

In what follows I shall provide an overview of the reception history of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ*, from the 11th to the 15th century CE. The authors who studied,

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Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Yazīdī al-Fārisī, thus accepting his master's account of his family's Persian origins, which was rejected by his contemporary, the historian Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469 H/1076 CE), as an invention to obscure the family's Iberian Christian background.

<sup>22</sup> On the *mustakhrajāt* genre, see Brown 2007, 101, 104–109, followed by three case-studies. For a list of such works see al-Asādī 1424/2003, 1: 192–197, and Chapter 3 of the same work for an inventory of additions from the *mustakhrajāt* found in al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ*. The editors of the 1437/2016 edition of the *Jamʿ* have seen fit to mark such passages in red so as to alert the reader.

memorized, summarised, commented on or criticized the work will be presented in roughly chronological order. To the extent possible, the role of al-Ḥumaydī's direct or indirect students in the transmission of the work will be highlighted.

We start our survey in the Islamic West, with 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544 H/1149 CE), the famous *qāḍī* of Ceuta, who took an interest in al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ*.<sup>23</sup> The work was transmitted to him in writing, probably at his request, by Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Malik b. (Abī) Muslim b. Abī Naṣr al-Hamadānī, also known as al-Nahāwandī, who acted as judge in Mecca and perhaps also as *imām* of the *maqām Ibrāhīm* in the holy city.<sup>24</sup> Since al-Nahāwandī died in 519 H/1125 CE, Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ must have received the work before or in this year or even shortly after, which means that it may already have been available in the West before Ibn Sarḥān transmitted it in al-Andalus. Al-Nahāwandī, who apparently studied with al-Ḥumaydī together with the well-known *ḥadīth* scholar Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514 H/1120 CE) from the region of Zaragoza,<sup>25</sup> also transmitted some other materials from the author, with his *ijāza*. Although al-Nahāwandī's *madhhab* affiliation is not indicated, his geographical origin as indicated by his *nisba* would seem to point to Ḥanafism.

The first author who actively engaged with al-Ḥumaydī's work was the Ḥanbalī 'Awn al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Dūrī al-Baghdādī, better known as Ibn Hubayra (d. 560 H/1165 CE), who for sixteen years acted as vizier to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs al-Muqtafī (r. 530–555 H/1136–1160 CE) and al-Mustanjid (r. 555–566 H/1160–1170 CE) and who played a major role in the ultimate defeat of the Seljuks and the temporary political restrengthening of the 'Abbāsīds.<sup>26</sup> But Ibn Hubayra was not only a shrewd and at times ruthless politician, who even took part in active combat, but also a committed scholar who organized *majālis* at his own home. In the introduction to his partially extant *al-Ifṣāḥ 'an ma'ānī al-ṣiḥāḥ*, which is conceived as a commentary on al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ* – the very first one – he states that he wanted to compile a work combining

<sup>23</sup> On Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, see Gómez-Rivas 2013.

<sup>24</sup> Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1402/1982), 172, no. 72; Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *al-Ilmā'* (1389/1970), 221–222. On al-Nahāwandī, see al-Fāsī al-Makkī, *al-'Iqd* (1406/1986), 5: 516.

<sup>25</sup> On al-Ṣadafī, see Puente 1998. He had an *ijāza* from al-Ḥumaydī, though it is not clear for which works. He must have received this license to transmit before relations between the two deteriorated for unknown reasons. According to Puente 1998, 83–84, al-Ṣadafī received a great deal of *ḥadīth* material from al-Ḥumaydī which found its way into the ascetic writings of Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578 H/1183 CE).

<sup>26</sup> A long biographical entry on Ibn Hubayra may be found in Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Dhayl* (1425/2005), 107–186, no. 186. On his vizierate, see Ibn Ṭīqṭaqa, *al-Fakhrī* (1966), 312–315, 316; see also Mason 1972; Peacock 2015, 112, 113, 114, 115, 152–153, 196.

the traditions of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, and that he found that al-Ḥumaydī had already produced such a book, and an excellent one at that (*aḥsana fī taʿlīfihī*). The work was transmitted to Ibn Hubayra in the year 531 H/1136 CE during a formal teaching session (*samāʿ*) in his native village of Dūr, located in the district of Dujayl, north-west of Samarra, by the Majorcan's student Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, otherwise unknown. Al-Harawī had received the work during a session presided over by al-Ḥumaydī himself in 487 H/1094 CE.<sup>27</sup> This must have been in Baghdad. Another student of al-Ḥumaydī's who may have transmitted some of his teacher's writings to Ibn Hubayra was Abū al-Ḥasan Saʿd al-Khayr Muḥammad b. Sahl (d. 541 H/1146 CE), an intrepid *ḥadīth* scholar and *faqīh* from Valencia who apparently made it as far as China.<sup>28</sup> We do not know when exactly he arrived in Baghdad, but clearly in time to study the *Jamʿ* as well as *Jadhwaṭ al-muqtabis* with al-Ḥumaydī.<sup>29</sup> Ibn Hubayra calls Saʿd al-Khayr "our master", but unfortunately he does not indicate if the *ḥadīth* collections that he received from him included the *Jamʿ*.<sup>30</sup> Taking al-Ḥumaydī's compilation as his basic text for al-Bukhārī and Muslim, as a shortcut, so to speak, Ibn Hubayra follows the structure of the *Jamʿ*, quoting (verbatim) the *ḥadīths* in the order in which they appear there before adding his own remarks. Like al-Ḥumaydī's, his concern is not with the *isnād*, but while al-Ḥumaydī presents the material as is, without much further comment, Ibn Hubayra uses the *Jamʿ* as a hook on which to hang his observations, most of them of a legal or semi-legal nature. It would be interesting to examine to what extent his legal opinions faithfully reflect known Ḥanbali positions. That the vizier's work has survived at all, albeit partially, may be due to the fact that he had several copies prepared and sent to the libraries of provincial governors and viziers after it had been discussed in his presence and at his instigation by members of all the *madhāhib* who were brought, at considerable expense, to Baghdad from different areas of the Muslim world.<sup>31</sup> It would seem that after his death by poisoning Ibn Hubayra's enemies,

27 Ibn Hubayra, *al-Ifṣāḥ* (1417/1996), 1: 41.

28 On Saʿd al-Khayr, see Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (1415/1995), 18: 51, no. 4124; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (1434/2013), 20: 370–371; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 158–160, no. 93; al-Ṣafadi, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 15: 189–190, no. 263; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* (1383/1964), 7: 90, no. 785. His daughter Fāṭima (d. 600 H/1203 CE) was to become a respected *muḥadditha*; see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 21: 412–413, no. 209.

29 He transmitted al-Ḥumaydī's *Jadhwa* to the Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir; see al-Daʿjānī 1425/2004, 1: 222. His transmission of the *Jamʿ* will be referred to below.

30 Ibn Hubayra, *al-Ifṣāḥ* (1417/1996), 1: 46.

31 See Makdisi, "Ibn Hubayra", *IEJ*, 803.

perhaps given the green light by al-Mustanjid, took care to destroy his personal library, including the books he collected as well as the ones he authored.<sup>32</sup>

Ibn Hubayra was known as a great champion of Ḥanbalism and many members of this school enjoyed his patronage, but no one more so than the famous polymath Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Jawzī (d. 597 H/1200 CE), with whom he established close relations.<sup>33</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī describes himself as being extremely well read: besides the entire catalogue (*ṭabāt*) of the library of the prestigious Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad, established in 457 H/1065 CE, he mentions having exhausted the list of al-Ḥumaydī's works as well.<sup>34</sup> His erudition is reflected in his immense output, assessed at several hundred works and opuscles representing a variety of genres such as exegesis, *ḥadīth*, biography, theology and morals. Among his most famous works, mention should be made of *Zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr*, *Talbīs Iblīs*, *Dhamm al-hawā*, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, *al-Wafāʾ bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, and *al-Muntaẓam fī tārikh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, all of which are readily available in more or less scholarly or even popular editions. He also produced two works that are directly related to al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ* and his *Tafsīr gharīb al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, namely *Jāmiʿ al-masānīd*, in which he adds Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* and al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ* to the combination, and *Kashf al-mushkil min ḥadīth al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Ibn al-Jawzī structured his *Jāmiʿ al-masānīd* as follows. Like al-Ḥumaydī, he dispenses with the thematic division and instead groups together into *musnads* all traditions emanating from the same authority. However, unlike al-Ḥumaydī, who adopted a kind of hierarchical structure, Ibn al-Jawzī's order is almost completely alphabetical, starting, under *alif*, with Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Ubayy b. Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ, and so on, and ending, under *yāʾ*, with Yūnus b. Shaddād. At the end, however, the author deviates from this structure by adding some categories of transmitters who could not be easily accommodated, e.g. those known not by their given name but rather by their agnomen. A substantial section, taking up the entire last volume in the printed edition, is devoted to female Companions, as in the *Jamʿ*. Although Ibn al-Jawzī does not mention al-Ḥumaydī's work among his sources here, ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb, who has edited both the *Jamʿ* and the *Jāmiʿ*, has shown that the Ḥanbalī author often quotes traditions from al-Ḥumaydī rather than directly from al-Bukhārī and Muslim, and that many references to al-Barqānī, al-Ismāʿīlī and others are simply

<sup>32</sup> Editor's introduction to Ibn Hubayra, *al-Iṣṣāḥ* (1417/1996), 1: 14.

<sup>33</sup> On the two men and the relations between them, see Laoust, "Ibn al-Djawzī", *EP*; Makdisi, "Ibn Hubayra", *EP*.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-khāṭir* (1412/1992), 449, section 338.

lifted from al-Ḥumaydī's compilation.<sup>35</sup> In the second work, *Kashf al-mushkil*, however, Ibn al-Jawzī's indebtedness to al-Ḥumaydī is fully acknowledged. In fact, *Kashf al-mushkil* is simply a commentary on the *Jam'* and follows its structure throughout, explaining more or less obscure words and identifying persons. This does not mean that every single tradition in al-Ḥumaydī's work elicited a comment from Ibn al-Jawzī in *Kashf al-mushkil*. Although it is much more elaborate than al-Ḥumaydī's *Tafsīr gharīb al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, it is obvious that Ibn al-Jawzī extensively used this book besides the *Jam'*, despite his criticism of the two works. He does not always understand, for example, why al-Ḥumaydī includes a particular Companion in one category as opposed to another, more suitable one. He also argues that the author has misidentified several transmitters and that he overlooked materials that are included in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* while on the other hand attributing to these two collections traditions that cannot be found there.<sup>36</sup>

Through which channel(s), now, did Ibn al-Jawzī receive the *Jam'*? Several possibilities suggest themselves. First of all, Ibn Hubayra may have transmitted the work to his protégé. He is known to have held sessions during which he taught his own work, which is, after all, derived from al-Ḥumaydī's. Ibn al-Jawzī assisted at these sessions and compiled an epitome of Ibn Hubayra's *Ifṣāḥ*, and thus indirectly of the *Jam'*, entitled *Maḥḍ al-maḥḍ*, which has not come down to us.<sup>37</sup> But it is obvious that Ibn al-Jawzī had access to a complete version of al-Ḥumaydī's work. A perhaps more likely informant is therefore Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Salāmī of Baghdad (d. 550 H/1155 CE), a Shāfi'ī-Ash'arī *muḥaddith* who at some point became a Ḥanbalī and who had received the *Jam'* from al-Ḥumaydī himself.<sup>38</sup> Al-Salāmī, who played an important role in Ibn al-Jawzī's early education, is known to have transmitted the *Jam'* to Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. 'Imrān (b.) al-Bāqillānī (d. 593 H/1197 CE), who was supervisor of the Friday mosque in Wasit and through whom the *Jam'* reached the Twelver Shī'ī Ibn al-Biṭrīq, as we shall see.<sup>39</sup> A third possibility is Abū al-Faḥ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Baṭṭī (d. 564 H/1169 CE), who had apparently

35 Al-Bawwāb's introduction to Ibn al-Jawzī, *Jāmi' al-masānīd* (1426/2005), 29–30. The *musnad* of Mu'āwīya can be found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Jāmi' al-masānīd* (1426/2005), 7: 151–165, no. 549, and includes 37 traditions.

36 Al-Bawwāb's introduction to Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kashf al-mushkil* (1418/1997), 1: 39–40.

37 Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Dhayl* (1425/2005), 2: 118. It should be added here that Ibn al-Jawzī is one of the main sources for the biography of Ibn Hubayra included in Ibn Rajab's *Dhayl*.

38 On al-Salāmī, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 265–271, no. 180.

39 On (Ibn) al-Bāqillānī, see Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* (1427/2006), 3: 519–521, no. 1719; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 21: 246–248, no. 128. It is said that he used uncanonical readings in his recitation of the Qur'ān and was taken to task for it, but that he ignored the criticism.

been al-Ḥumaydī's last student and who cannot have been more than eleven years old when he attended his lectures.<sup>40</sup> At a later age, Ibn al-Baṭṭī established himself as a scholar, teaching not only Ibn al-Jawzī but, among many others, also Sa'd al-Khayr, whom he may already have met at al-Ḥumaydī's classes. Whoever his direct source was, Ibn al-Jawzī at one point gives the impression that he, or this person, had seen an autograph by al-Ḥumaydī, when he corrects what he takes to be a mistake in the latter's hand.<sup>41</sup>

Another scholar who extensively used al-Ḥumaydī's work as a source is the Shāfi'ī Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. al-Athīr al-Jazarī (d. 606 H/1210 CE),<sup>42</sup> brother of the author of *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, who admits as much in his *Jāmi' al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl*, which is partly preserved. Ibn al-Athīr was born in a town north of Mosul, where he took his first steps in the study of Arabic grammar and lexicography, Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. It was in Mosul itself that he began to engage more actively in scholarship in a variety of disciplines. His preceptor in *adab* was an Andalusi: Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Sa'dūn al-Qurṭubī (d. 567 H/1171 CE).<sup>43</sup> After an apparently brief visit to Baghdad, where he met other scholars, Ibn al-Athīr returned to Mosul. There he filled a number of administrative positions for successive Zangid rulers and was even offered the vizierate, which he declined. When he lost the use of his limbs after a serious illness, he refused the efficacious medicine prepared for him by an unnamed Maghribī, arguing that only in his debilitated state would he not be pestered by officials and rulers. Scholars and students alike visited him at his home, where he died in 606 H/1209 CE. It is not clear when Ibn al-Athīr managed to write his various works, including *Jāmi' al-uṣūl*. In this compilation the author combines the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* with four other collections, namely the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik b. Anas and the

**40** On Ibn al-Baṭṭī, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 481–483, no. 304; al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 3: 209, no. 1196; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1410/1990), 33 (years 481–490): 281; Ibn Nuqṭa, *al-Taḥyīd* (1403/1983), 1: 74–75, no. 77; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (1415/1995), 18: 185, no. 4277. Before pursuing a scholarly career, Ibn al-Baṭṭī served as *ḥājib* to the commander of the caliphal army; see Ohlander 2008, 111, n. 157. He is known to have transmitted at least one other tract by al-Ḥumaydī: *al-Tadhkira*, a collection of sayings on morals and manners which he received from the author and transmitted to the learned Baghdadi trader Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. al-Qubayṭī (d. 641 H/1243 CE); see al-Wādī Āshī, *Barnāmaj* (1982), 294–295, no. 170.

**41** Where in a certain *ḥadīth* in the *musnad* of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī it should read *yataṣaddaqu*, he says, al-Ḥumaydī wrote *yanṣarifū* (*kataba al-Ḥumaydī bi-khaṭṭihī*); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kashf al-mushkil* (1418/1997), 3: 36, no. 46. In a footnote to the 1414/1994 edition of the *Jam'* (2: 351, no. 1568) it is stated that all extant manuscripts of the work have *yanṣarifū*.

**42** See on him Rosenthal, "Ibn al-Athīr", *EP*.

**43** On Ibn Sa'dūn, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 546–547, no. 349.

*Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasā'ī, which taken together constitute in his view the fundamental corpus of reliable traditions, generally accepted and used by *fuqahā'* and other scholars. This selection of six works was not Ibn al-Athīr's own: rather, he took it from *Tajrīd al-Siḥāḥ wa-l-Sunan* by Abū al-Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) Razīn b. Mu'āwiya al-'Abdarī (d. 524 H/1129 CE or 535 H/1140 CE), an Andalusī scholar who settled in Mecca and there became the *imām* of the Mālikīs.<sup>44</sup> Razīn's work serves as the basis for *Jāmi' al-uṣūl*, but Ibn al-Athīr has significantly expanded it for, he says, the *Tajrīd* – as well as al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* – only provides the contents (*mutūn*), without comments or explanations of unusual words, a topic to which he devoted a separate, voluminous work: *al-Nihāya fi gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*.<sup>45</sup> Ibn al-Athīr unapologetically states that for the *ḥadīths* from the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, he has usually relied on al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'*, which shows the confidence he had in its accuracy.<sup>46</sup> He indicates the different lines of transmission through which he received the *Jam'* and the methods by which he was taught it.<sup>47</sup> His direct teacher was the Shāfi'ī scholar and Ṣūfī Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Waḥhāb b. 'Alī (d. 607 H/1210 CE), also known as Ibn Sukayna.<sup>48</sup> In the year 585 H/1189 CE Ibn al-Athīr attended a study session with him in Mosul, during which he and one or several others read the *Jam'* back to their teacher to receive his approval. Abū Aḥmad himself had studied part of the work during a session with his father 'Alī b. 'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Maṣṣūr al-Amīn b. Sukayna (d. 532 H/1137 CE),<sup>49</sup> and read the remainder of the book under Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Nabḥān b. Muḥriz al-Ghanawī al-Raqqī (d. 543 H/1149 CE),<sup>50</sup> so that he ultimately mastered the entire work. Both Ibn Sukayna sr. and Abū Ishāq al-Ghanawī al-Raqqī had received the work directly from al-Ḥumaydī himself and granted Abū Aḥmad a license to transmit it (*ijāza*). Abū

44 See Fierro, "Razīn b. Mu'āwiya", *EP*. See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 204. The above-mentioned Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qurṭubī had studied with him.

45 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya* (1421/2000).

46 Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* (1389/1969), 1: 55.

47 Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* (1389/1969), 1: 204.

48 On Ibn Sukayna jr., see Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* (1427/2006), 4: 171–174, no. 1974; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 21: 502–505, no. 262; Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya* (2004), 2: 712–713, no. 784; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya* (1383/1964), 8: 324–325, no. 1227; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 19: 309–311, no. 292. On his Ṣūfism, see Ohlander 2008, 110–111.

49 On Ibn Sukayna sr. see Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (1415/1995), 17: 331, no. 4041; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 49–50, no. 25; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 21: 334, no. 216, where it says *sami'a al-Jam' li-l-Ḥumaydī*.

50 See on him al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 6: 118, no. 2550; Ibn Nuqṭa, *Takmilat al-Ikmāl* (1408/1987), 4: 434–435, no. 4611; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 20: 175–176, no. 112; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (1415/1995), 18: 66–67.

Iṣḥāq, it should be added, also transmitted the *Jam'* to the *muqri'* Abū Shujā' Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ma'ālī al-Maqrūn of Baghdad (d. 597 H/1200 CE),<sup>51</sup> who in turn taught it to the Ḥanbalī legal scholar and *ḥadīth* specialist al-'Izz Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī (d. 613 H/1217 CE) and others during sessions that took place in 589 H/1193 CE and 596 H/1199 CE.<sup>52</sup>

Whereas, as we have seen, al-Ḥumaydī – and Ibn Hubayra and Ibn al-Jawzī in his wake – arranged his material into *musnads*, that is, according to the name of the first person to report from or about the Prophet, rather than according to topics as is the case in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*, Ibn al-Athīr adopted a topical structure, though not following the division we find in al-Bukhārī or Muslim, but an alphabetic one instead. This, too, he copied from Razīn's work. Under *ḥarf al-hamza*, then, he has “Kitāb al-imān”, “Kitāb al-i'tisām”, “Kitāb al-i'tikāf”, “Kitāb iḥyā' al-mawāt”, etcetera; under *ḥarf al-bā'* he presents “Kitāb al-birr”, “Kitāb al-buyū'” and so on. Thus the traditions associated with Abū Bakr or 'Umar, for example, which appear under one rubric in al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* as well as in Ibn Hubayra's *Iḥṣāḥ* and Ibn al-Jawzī's *Jāmi'*, are scattered throughout Ibn al-Athīr's work like in Razīn's.

A further work closely related to al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* is *al-Ḥujja Sharḥ al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn li-l-Ḥumaydī* by the Ḥanafī Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Khaṭīr b. Abī al-Ḥusayn al-Nu'mānī al-Zahīr (d. 598 H/1201 CE), who is also called al-Fārisī because he studied law in Shiraz.<sup>53</sup> Rather than being a direct commentary on al-Ḥumaydī's work, the *Ḥujja* seems in fact to have been a digest based on Ibn Hubayra's *Iḥṣāḥ*, with some material added. The author was originally from al-Nu'māniyya, a village between Baghdad and Wasit. He was a versatile scholar, who wrote works in a variety of religious, rational and philological disciplines. He is even said to have known Hebrew, which came in useful in his disputations with Jews. From Iraq he went to Syria and then lived for some time in Jerusalem, where he came to the attention of al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, the second son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, who persuaded him to come with him to Egypt where he hoped his new protégé would be able to beat the Shāfi'ī-Ash'arī scholar Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Shihāb al-Ṭūsī (d. 596 H/1199 CE) in disputation.<sup>54</sup> However, after his defeat and subsequent fall from princely grace Ibn al-Khaṭīr spent the remainder of

51 See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 21: 324–325, no. 170.

52 Editors' introduction to al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jam'* (1437/2016), 1: 61–63. On al-'Izz Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 22: 42–44, no. 30.

53 On Ibn al-Khaṭīr, see Ibn al-Sā'i, *al-Durr* (1428/2007), 367; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1993), 2: 857–860, no. 315; al-Tamīmī, *al-Ṭabaqāt* (1403/1983), 3: 55–56.

54 See on him al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 5: 9, no. 1962. The Ḥanbalī *ḥadīth* scholar Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Naḥā, known as Ibn Nujayya (d. 599 H/1203 CE), who



his life teaching Ḥanafī *fiqh* at a *madrassa* in Cairo. The *Ḥujja*, which has not, to the best of my knowledge, come down to us, may date from this period. Unfortunately, we do not know in which manner he received Ibn Hubayra's work, or al-Ḥumaydī's, or both.

Another Ḥanafī who felt inspired by al-Ḥumaydī's work was Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Badr al-Mawṣilī.<sup>55</sup> Of Kurdish descent, he was born in Mosul in 557 H/1161 CE and died in Damascus in 622 H/1225 CE, after having studied with Ibn al-Jawzī and other scholars of the latter's generation and having transmitted *ḥadīth* in Aleppo and Jerusalem. His materials were not much sought after: al-Dhahabī states that the only one to pass on his traditions was a woman, Shuhda, who was the daughter of Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660 H/1262 CE), the historian of Aleppo. Al-Mawṣilī wrote a number of works in the fields of *ḥadīth*, theology and law. The title of the work that interests us here is *al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn ma'a ḥadhf al-sanad wa-l-mukarrar min al-bayn*.<sup>56</sup> In his introduction the author explains what made him decide to compile this relatively short work: the fact that people shun *ḥadīth* because of its sheer volume, lengthy *isnāds* and repetitions. It is intended, then, as a concise yet comprehensive reference work, without chains of transmission and devoid of repetitions. Al-Mawṣilī mentions that what distinguishes his work from those of his predecessors al-Jawzaqī and al-Ḥumaydī is that whereas the former did not have separate sections for the traditions that occur in only one of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (*afṛād*), which al-Ḥumaydī's did, the latter did not divide the material into topical chapters (*lam yubawwib*), which al-Jawzaqī's did. While al-Mawṣilī explicitly mentions al-Ḥumaydī, he neither refers to his own contemporary Ibn al-Athīr, nor to Razīn b. Mu'āwiya, though he clearly follows the structure of their works, described above. Although al-Mawṣilī does not indicate with whom he studied al-Ḥumaydī's work, a possible candidate is Ibn al-Jawzī, himself the author of several works inspired by the *Jam'*, as we have seen.

Ibn al-Jawzī had also taught another well-known author who elaborated on al-Ḥumaydī's work, namely Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 643 H/1245 CE), who compiled a work on the *ḥadīths* included in the *Jam'*, of which unfortunately only a small part is extant.<sup>57</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn was

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was married to Sa'd al-Khayr's daughter Fāṭima (see n. 28 above), also clashed with al-Shihāb al-Ṭūsī; see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 21: 393–396, no. 199 at 395.

55 On al-Mawṣilī, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 22: 287–288, no. 164.

56 Al-Mawṣilī, *al-Jam'* (1416/1995).

57 Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, *al-Istidrāk* (1436/2014). This is not the original title of the work, but rather chosen by the editor. The manuscript has “min kalām al-ḥāfiẓ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'alā shay' min aḥādīth al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn li-l-Ḥumaydī”; see [https://www.bukhari-pedia.net/book/jame\\_andalusi/4143](https://www.bukhari-pedia.net/book/jame_andalusi/4143) (last accessed Sept. 2, 2019). On Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 23: 126–

born in 569 H/1173 CE near Damascus and travelled widely in Greater Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Transoxania and the Hejaz and reportedly studied with several hundred scholars, among them a surprisingly large number of women.<sup>58</sup> As a forum to transmit the knowledge he acquired, and with a focus on *ḥadīth* in general, he founded and, it is said, almost single-handedly constructed a *madrassa* in the Ṣāliḥiyya quarter of Damascus that became known as the Ḍiyāʾiyya, to which he left his books, including a copy of the *Jamʿ*, as *waqf*. Besides his work on al-Ḥumaydī's compilation, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn produced several other works on *ḥadīth* and its transmitters, among them the multivolume *al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtāra*, in which he presents a large selection of traditions that have in common that they do *not* appear in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. For this reason, it contains few references to al-Ḥumaydī's work, which by contrast is of course specifically dedicated to the *ḥadīths* in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Other works by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn (some thirty titles are known) include *Ṣifat al-janna*, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-Maqdis*, *al-Nahy ʿan sabb al-ṣaḥāba*, *Manāqib aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, and *Ittibāʿ al-sunan wa-jtināb al-bidaʿ*. Al-Ḍiyāʾ is praised by his students and later scholars as much for his piety and asceticism as for his learning. While Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn may have obtained some of his knowledge of the *Jamʿ* from Ibn al-Jawzī, there are two other scholars who might fit the bill: (1) Taqī al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, to be discussed presently, and (2) Ibn Sukayna jr. who, as was mentioned above, transmitted al-Ḥumaydī's work to Ibn al-Athīr on the authority of two direct students of the author – his father ʿAlī and Abū Ishāq al-Ghanawī al-Raqqī. In fact, the latter's name is associated with the manuscript that ended up in the Ḍiyāʾiyya.<sup>59</sup>

A scholar who, while not known to have authored a work concerning the *Jamʿ*, is said to have memorized al-Ḥumaydī's work is Najm al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Rājīḥ b. Bilāl b. Hilāl b. ʿĪsā al-Maqdisī (d. 638 H/1241 CE), best known as Ibn Rājīḥ, who is described as a legal scholar well-versed in the differences of opinion among the schools of law, on which he wrote a book.<sup>60</sup> Originally a Ḥanbali like his father, he studied *al-Muqniʿ fi fiqh al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* with its author, the famous legal scholar Muwaffaq al-Dīn b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 620 H/1223 CE), who had studied with Ibn al-Baṭṭī, the last

130, no. 97; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1377/1958), 4: 1405–1406; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 4: 65–66, no. 1515; Talmon-Heller 1992; Talmon-Heller 2002.

58 See Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, *Thabat mawsūʿāt* (1999). His wife Āsiya was the sister of Ibn Rājīḥ, referred to below, and a *muhadditha* in her own right.

59 Editors' introduction to al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jamʿ* (1437/2016), 1: 61.

60 On Ibn Rājīḥ, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 8: 25, no. 3424; al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʾiyya*, (1407/1987), 1: 214–215, no. 404; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 23: 75–76, no. 54.

person known to have studied with al-Ḥumaydī. He was of ascetic disposition, studying day and night and much given to prayer. He even had visions in which God told him that He was pleased with him. Together with his brother he travelled to Hamadan and on to Bukhara, where he became an authority in *ḥadīth*. By the time he returned to Damascus, he had become a Shāfi'ī and was appointed *qāḍī*. It is not known whether this change of *madhhab* was a condition to qualify for the position. Ibn Rājīḥ, too, had studied with Ibn al-Jawzī who, like in the previous case, may have been the source of this scholar's familiarity with al-Ḥumaydī's work.

The major (and perhaps unsurprising) Ḥanbali interest in al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* is further confirmed by the fact that the *faqīh* and *ḥadīth* scholar Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Yūnīnī of Ba'labakk (d. 658 H/1260 CE) is said to have studied the *Jam'* repeatedly and to have memorized it in its entirety.<sup>61</sup> Taqī al-Dīn, who traced his descent back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, studied with Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī. He was also a practising Ṣūfī to whom supernatural wonders (*karāmāt*) were ascribed. Among his students, mention should be made of Diyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, referred to above. Taqī al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī's fame was eclipsed by that of his two sons Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 726 H/1326 CE) and Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 701 H/1302 CE). While the former became known as the author of a historical chronicle that continued Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī's *Mir'āt al-zamān fī tārikh al-a'yān*,<sup>62</sup> the latter is credited with having produced the first critical edition of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>63</sup> From one of his teachers, Sharaf al-Dīn received *ḥadīth* materials taught by al-Ḥumaydī to Ibn al-Baṭṭī as well as some poetry by Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>64</sup> But what is particularly interesting for our purpose is the fact that there exists a partial manuscript of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* that was apparently owned by Taqī al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī and that contains remarks in the hand of Sharaf al-Dīn confirming that he studied

<sup>61</sup> On Taqī al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 2: 121, no. 467; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1377/1958), 4: 1429–1442, no. 1145; al-Dhahabī, *Tārikh al-Islām* (1410/1990), 48 (years 651–660): 356–361, no. 456.

<sup>62</sup> See on him Guo 1998, which includes a translation of part of the work. The *Dhayl* contains a fascinating and lengthy biographical sketch of the author's father, in which it is repeated no fewer than six times that Taqī al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī studied and memorized the *Jam'*; see al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl* (1375/1955), 2: 38–72, at 40, 58, 59, 60, 62 and 71.

<sup>63</sup> Quiring-Zoche 1998.

<sup>64</sup> Al-Ba'labakkī, *Mashyakha* (1423/2002), 129, 131, 132.

the work repeatedly, presumably with his father, and moreover collated the manuscript with a copy belonging to the influential *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, to whom we now turn.<sup>65</sup>

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, whose full name is Taqī al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shahrazūrī, was born in 577 H/1181 CE in the Zangid-controlled Kurdish North of Iraq.<sup>66</sup> It was in the major cities of this region, Irbil and Mosul, that he received his first education in Shāfiʿī law and *ḥadīth*. In order to expand his knowledge and establish scholarly contacts, he travelled to Baghdad, where among others he studied with Ibn Sukayna the younger, followed by visits to Nishapur, Marw, Qazwin and Hamadan. He settled in Aleppo, which by now had come under Ayyūbid rule and where he was appointed to teach Shāfiʿī *fiqh* at the Asadiyya *madrasa*. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ seems to have lived in Damascus for a brief period before moving to Jerusalem, where he taught for ten years at a prestigious college, but in the end he moved back to Damascus. At first he kept a low profile during clashes between Ḥanbalis and Ḥanafis in order not to incur the wrath of the Ayyūbid prince al-Muʿazzam, but his prospects improved after the latter's death. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ died in 643 H/1245 CE, leaving some fifteen works mainly on *ḥadīth* and Shāfiʿī *fiqh*, including a biographical compendium of members of the *madhhab* and a collection of *fatwās*. His main claim to fame is a work entitled *Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, usually simply referred to as *al-Muqaddima*, a handbook of the science of *ḥadīth* that has elicited a great many commentaries, some of which I shall mention towards the end of this survey.<sup>67</sup> The first chapter deals with sound traditions. Speaking of the *mustakhrajāt* of al-Barqānī, Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī and others who provided fuller versions of traditions found in the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, not seldom with additional comments, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ states that a considerable amount of this material can be found in *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Ḥumaydī. “Occasionally a person who does not know better transmits something he finds in this book as if it were from one or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥs*, and falls into error because it is one of these additions not present in

<sup>65</sup> Princeton, MS Garrett 2213Y. Access to digital images of the manuscript is through <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/4733523#view> (last accessed Aug. 9, 2019).

<sup>66</sup> On this man, see Robson, “Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ”, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, and the works mentioned in the next note.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima* (n.d.). A translation of the work was published in 2005 by Dickinson as *An Introduction to the Science of the Ḥadīth*. The *Muqaddima*, along with the commentary literature on the book, is analysed in Gharaibeh's *The Sociology of Commentarial Literature* (unpublished). Both Dickinson and Gharaibeh provide detailed biographical information on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ.

either of the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*”, he writes, stopping short of advising against studying the work.<sup>68</sup>

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ’s familiarity with the *Jamʿ* is abundantly clear from the *Muqaddima*, besides being confirmed by the marginal comments and colophons in a number of extant manuscripts of the *Jamʿ*. One has already been referred to: the copy that had been in the possession of the elder Yūnīnī and that was studied and collated by his son. Others reflect transmissions from al-Ḥumaydī to some of his students.<sup>69</sup> One of these was the Iraqi Shāfiʿī legal scholar Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Khamīs (d. 552 H/1157 CE),<sup>70</sup> who read the text back to the author for his approval and then passed it on to the *muqriʿ* Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. Maṣṣūr b. Abī Ṭāḥir (d. 605 H/1208 CE),<sup>71</sup> who transmitted it to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. Another copy, reproducing the transmissions of Abū Ishāq al-Ghanawī and Saʿd al-Khayr, also reached Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, who moreover owned a copy, based on a transcription of al-Ḥumaydī’s autograph, that had been used by his father Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 612 H/1216 CE).<sup>72</sup>

The caveat expressed by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ in his *Muqaddima* did not mean that al-Ḥumaydī’s *Jamʿ* was condemned to oblivion. The well-known Shāfiʿī scholar al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE) related that he would take a class on *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* every day as a young man in Damascus.<sup>73</sup> Although he does not specifically mention al-Ḥumaydī as its author, and there were other works of that same title around, for example the one by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī (d. 581 H/1185 CE),<sup>74</sup> it is likely that the work he refers to is indeed that by the Majorcan, as he refers to it quite regularly in his commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Parts of al-Ḥumaydī’s *Jamʿ*, as well as two other (*adab*) works by the author, could be consulted in the library attached to the mausoleum of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf in Damascus,

68 See Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddima* (n.d.), 164, 166; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Maʿrifa* (2005), 11, 12.

69 On the three manuscripts of the *Jamʿ* that are collectively described as *nuskhat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ* see the introduction of the 1437/2016 edition of the work (1: 36–60).

70 On Ibn Khamīs, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* (1398/1978), 2: 139–140, no. 188; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 13: 78–79, no. 67; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* (1383/1964), 7: 81, no. 769; al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya* (1407/1987), 1: 234, no. 442.

71 See on him Ibn al-Mustawfi, *Tārīkh Irbil* (1980), 126–129, no. 50.

72 See on him al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 22: 148, no. 96. Besides the fact that he is the father of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ there is little about him that interests the compilers of the biographical dictionaries.

73 Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1377/1958), 4: 1470–1474, no. 1162. On this important author, see Heffening, “al-Nawawī”, *EF*.

74 On Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Azdi al-Ishbīlī, also known as Ibn al-Kharrāṭ, see Puente 2004; Adang 2013, 522–525.

whose holdings were catalogued in the 670s/1270s.<sup>75</sup> The holdings of the Zāhiriyya library in the same city, which in the 1980s were transferred to the Asad Library,<sup>76</sup> include a manuscript of an abridgement of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* penned by the Ḥanafī jurist and *ḥadīth* scholar Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Dammūn b. Muṣṭafā al-Rūmī (d. 730 H/1329 CE), who was a respected *imām* in one of the mosques in the Ṣāliḥiyya quarter of Damascus. He states that he read the work to the Shāfi'ī *shaykh* 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Bājarbaqī (d. 690 H/1291 CE) who, after a critical discussion, gave him an *ijāza* to transmit it.<sup>77</sup> It may be assumed that the *shaykh* was familiar with the source text: al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'*. According to the description of the manuscript in the catalogue of the Zāhiriyya compiled by al-Albānī, al-Rūmī reproduced the section from Ibn Ḥazm's *Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām* on *ikhtilāf* that had been included by al-Ḥumaydī in his *Jam'*.<sup>78</sup> The famous Ḥanbalī legal scholar and theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728 H/1328 CE), who needs no introduction, memorized al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* before any other work on *ḥadīth*.<sup>79</sup> In one of his numerous works, namely *al-Ṣawā'iq al-mursala*, Ibn Taymiyya's student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751 H/1350 CE), likewise a Ḥanbalī, quotes the same lengthy passage from Ibn Ḥazm's *Iḥkām* that was just referred to, on al-Ḥumaydī's authority, which shows that he was familiar with the *Jam'*.<sup>80</sup> In a short tract lamenting the deplorable state of religious knowledge entitled *Bayān zaḡhal al-'ilm*, which can be attributed to the great Shāfi'ī historian, biographer and *ḥadīth* scholar al-Dhahabī, aspiring *ḥadīth* scholars are told to study *al-Jam' bayn*

<sup>75</sup> Hirschler 2016, 392, no. 1438 (= p. 464 in Hirschler's edition of the catalogue): parts Two and Four of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'*, in different hands. See also p. 241, no. 710; p. 352, no. 1269a, and p. 309, no. 1164c for other works by the author. The Ashrafiyya library also held a partial copy of al-Jawzaqī's *Jam'*.

<sup>76</sup> See Tamari/Hudson 1996, 11.

<sup>77</sup> See the introduction of the 1437/2016 edition of the *Jam'*, 1: 49–50, where al-Rūmī is tentatively identified as the copyist of one of the extant manuscripts of the *Jam'* associated with Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Bājarbaqī was originally from Mosul, but moved to Damascus in 677 H/1278 CE and preached in the Great Mosque there. In 679 H/1280 CE he acted as *qāḍī* in Gaza. His son Muḥammad achieved notoriety as an antinomian Ṣūfī: accused of heresy by a Mālikī *qāḍī*, he fled Damascus to escape execution; see Knysch 1999, 303.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Albānī 1422/2001, 531, no. 673.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Bazzār, *al-A'lām* (1396/1976), 22.

<sup>80</sup> Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Ṣawā'iq* (1408/1987), 2: 520–541. I owe this reference to Livnat Holtzman. On Ibn al-Qayyim, see Bori/Holtzman 2010.

*al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*.<sup>81</sup> Here, too, the author is not mentioned by name, but the possibility that it is al-Ḥumaydī's work that al-Dhahabī is recommending in the strongest of terms is not to be excluded, seeing that he expressed his approval of the work elsewhere: *rattabahu aḥsan tartīb*.<sup>82</sup>

The Ḥanbalī scholar 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Riḍwān b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, who is otherwise unknown but who probably wrote in the early 8th/14th century, to go by the dates of the extant manuscripts, produced an abbreviated version of the *Jam'*. This work, entitled *Maṭla' al-nayyirayn Mukhtaṣar al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn li-l-Ḥumaydī*, has been preserved in several copies.<sup>83</sup> As he writes in his introductory comments, Ibn Riḍwān has taken al-Ḥumaydī's work as the basis for his *Maṭla'*, but with several adaptations. First of all, his structure is roughly alphabetical. Thus under *ḥarf al-alif* the compiler first presents the traditions from men known by their *kunyā* (Abū ...). Moreover, under each letter of the alphabet he first presents the *musnad* of the best-known Companions, so that the alphabetical order is not fully adhered to. Interestingly, Ibn Riḍwān has not grouped all female Companions together in a separate, final section, unlike al-Ḥumaydī and Ibn al-Jawzī; rather, they appear at the end of each alphabetical rubric. Thus under *alif* Ibn Riḍwān lists the *ummahāt*: Umm Salama, Umm Hāni', Umm Ḥabība, and others, whereas Sawda and Subay'a, for instance, appear under the letter *sīn*. Within each *musnad* Ibn Riḍwān has retained al-Ḥumaydī's division into traditions included in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and others found in al-Bukhārī or Muslim only.

We may also refer to the later Mālikī scholar al-Qāsīm b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tujībī al-Sabtī (d. 730 H/1329 CE), whose family was originally from Valencia but who was born and raised in Ceuta. Both in his *Barnāmaj* and in his travel account *Mustafād al-riḥla wa-l-ightirāb*, he refers specifically to al-Ḥumaydī. Whereas in the former work he only cites some lines of poetry transmitted by al-Ḥumaydī and briefly mentions the *Jam'* when quoting the author's

<sup>81</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Bayān* (1434/2013), 74. The editors of two of the three editions I had at my disposal identify the author of the work referred to as al-Ḥumaydī, the third does not express an opinion. I am currently preparing a study of this tract including an English translation.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar* (1417/1996), 19: 121.

<sup>83</sup> Two of these, both from the Feyzullah Efendi collection nowadays housed in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (MSS 304 and 542), can be viewed online, and even a cursory glance reveals that they differ from each other on several points, for example in the attention given to biographical detail. See [alukah.net/many/files/manuscript\\_6914/makhtotah.pdf](http://alukah.net/many/files/manuscript_6914/makhtotah.pdf), [alukah.net/manu/files/manuscript\\_8340/matale-alnirin-2.pdf](http://alukah.net/manu/files/manuscript_8340/matale-alnirin-2.pdf) (last accessed Aug. 9, 2019).

praise of al-Bukhārī,<sup>84</sup> in the section on learned men he met in Mecca in the second work he mentions the *Jam'* as one of the many collections of *ḥadīth* transmitted by a local scholar he met: al-ʿImād Abū al-Ḥasan (also known as Abū Muḥammad) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Shāfiʿī al-Makkī.<sup>85</sup> Although al-Tujībī does not state that he himself took al-Ḥumaydī's work from him, though he obviously knew it, it is interesting to look at the *isnād* through which al-ʿImād had received it. His direct teacher was his grandfather, Najm al-Dīn Abū Rabīʿ, or Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 661 H/1262 CE), a Ḥanbalī turned Shāfiʿī who acted as preacher and *muftī* at the Ḥaram in Mecca.<sup>86</sup> He in turn had received it in writing from the Ḥanbalī Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Naṣr b. Abī al-Faraj al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 619 H/1222 CE),<sup>87</sup> who had an *ijāza* from Ibn al-Baṭṭī, already referred to, who, finally, had received it from al-Ḥumaydī with a license to transmit it.

Besides the many Sunnī scholars discussed above, we know of two important Twelver Shīʿī authors who made extensive use of al-Ḥumaydī's work, namely Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī al-Ḥillī, better known as Ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 600 H/1203 CE) and Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī or Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664 H/1265 CE). While the motivation of the Sunnī scholars to summarize, rearrange, comment or elaborate on the *Jam'* was usually to provide an accessible compendium of reliable traditions, the Shīʿī authors used al-Ḥumaydī's work, together with other compilations, mainly for apologetical or polemical purposes, as a source for traditions that either reflect positively on ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the first *Imām*, and his family (*ahl al-bayt*) or reveal that they were wronged by Companions of the Prophet that are venerated by the Sunnīs such as ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his son ʿAbd Allāh.

Ibn al-Biṭrīq refers to the *Jam'* in two of his works, namely *Umdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akḥbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* and *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn*. In the first work the author quotes from a large number of Sunnī sources to show that these contain many *ḥadīths* that are sympathetic towards ʿAlī and his house. At the beginning of the work he lists these sources, the main ones being, besides al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'*, the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, the *Tafsīr* of al-Thaʿlabī, *Manāqib ʿAlī* by the Shāfiʿī scholar Ibn al-Maghāzilī, the compilation of Razīn b. Muʿāwiya,

<sup>84</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 151 and 92 respectively.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Mustafād al-riḥla* (1975), 367.

<sup>86</sup> On al-ʿAsqalānī, see al-Fāsī al-Makkī, *al-Iqd* (1406/1986), 4: 603–605, no. 1331.

<sup>87</sup> On al-Ḥuṣrī, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1410/1990), 44 (years 511–620): 466–468, no. 641.



mentioned above as one of the sources of Ibn al-Athīr, and a number of other works. In the introductory section, Ibn al-Biṭrīq indicates the number of traditions he is quoting from each of these sources. Thus he states that he has taken 56 *ḥadīths* from al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'*. These he then subdivides into traditions concerning 'Alī (30), Fāṭima (1), Khadija (2), al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (7), Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib (2), Abū Ṭālib (2), the twelve *Imāms* (7), the Mahdī (6), and events after the death of the Prophet (10), arriving in the end at 67 *ḥadīths*. For each of his sources the author subsequently indicates the *isnāds* through which it reached him, sometimes together with the dates on which he himself as well as his informants were taught the work. He has three different chains of transmission for al-Ḥumaydī's compilation, each going back to the Majorcan author himself, as follows: in the month of Rabī' I, 585 (April-May 1189), Ibn al-Biṭrīq received the *Jam'* from a man he calls *al-amīr* 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn al-Wazīr, who was the son of a vizier of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mustarshid (ruled 512–529 H/1118–1135 CE).<sup>88</sup> 'Izz al-Dīn had been taught or given the work by *al-sharīf al-khaṭīb* Abū Ya'lā Ḥaydara b. Badr al-Rashīdī al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 562 H/1167 CE), a descendant of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who had received it directly from al-Ḥumaydī.<sup>89</sup> On another, unspecified date, Ibn al-Biṭrīq received the *Jam'* from the Ḥanafī Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh b. 'Alī b. Manṣūr b. Harāsa or Kharāsha of Wasit (d. 586 H/1190 CE), described as *qāḍī* of the great *waqf* of Barīsamā.<sup>90</sup> This man had received the work from someone who is once called Sa'īd and another time Sa'īda, and whom I have not been able to identify.<sup>91</sup> The reading Sa'īda seems to be the more reliable, as the text has Abū al-Faṭḥ state *akhbaratnī* and mention *her* audition from al-Ḥumaydī. This sheds an interesting light on the composition of the latter's student body. Having himself intensively studied *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* with a great female authority on *ḥadīth*, Karīma al-Marwaziyya, it should not surprise us that al-Ḥumaydī welcomed women to his lectures. A third person from whom Ibn al-Biṭrīq received the work, this time in

<sup>88</sup> On the father, see Ibn al-Ṭīqqaqā, *al-Fakhrī* (1966), 304–305; al-Dhahabī, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1371/1951), 1: 32; he turned to religion and became a Ṣūfī towards the end of his life.

<sup>89</sup> On Ḥaydara, see Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* (1427/2006), 3: 218–219, no. 1358; al-Dhahabī, *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1371/1951), 2: 53, no. 638. With al-Ḥumaydī he also studied *Kitāb al-Shihāb* by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Quḍā'ī (d. 454 H/1062 CE). The latter had been one of the Majorcan's main teachers in Cairo.

<sup>90</sup> See on him Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* (1427/2006), 5: 72–73, no. 2706. For Barīsamā Yāqūt has Bārūsmā, identifying it as two areas in the Sawād of Iraq called Upper and Lower Bārūsmā *min kūrāt al-Astān al-Awsaṭ*, which I have not been able to identify; see Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (1397/1977), 1: 320.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Umda* (1407/1986), 20, 43 for Sa'īd and Sa'īda respectively.

Rabīʿ II 585 (May-June 1189) was the *muqriʿ* Abū Bakr (b.) al-Bāqillānī. This man, as was seen, had the *Jamʿ* from Abū al-Faḍl al-Salāmī, who had it directly from the author.

And although in Ibn al-Biṭrīq's second work, *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn*, the impact of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jamʿ* is negligible as it is especially the Qurʾān which is tapped for references to ʿAlī and his house, here, too, the author makes a point of indicating the chains of transmission through which the work reached him, albeit that he mentions only two *isnāds* (the ones through Ḥaydara and al-Salāmī) as opposed to the three we find in the *ʿUmda*.<sup>92</sup> In order to illustrate the way in which Ibn al-Biṭrīq makes use of the *Jamʿ*, these two examples from the *ʿUmda* may suffice.

Also from *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Ḥumaydī: the 7th *ḥadīth* from the ones included by Muslim only from the *musnad* of Salama b. al-Akwaʿ with the aforementioned *isnād*, which has: from Abān b. Salama from his father, who said: I guided the white mule on which rode the Prophet of God (may God bless him and grant him salvation) with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, one sitting in front and the other behind him, until we reached the apartment of the Prophet.<sup>93</sup>

From *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Ḥumaydī: the 2nd *ḥadīth* of the ones accepted by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim from the *musnad* of Jābir b. Samura with the aforementioned *isnād*, saying: from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr from Jābir b. Samura who said: I heard the Prophet say: After me there will be twelve princes (*amīr*). He said: I did not hear that word, so my father said that [the Prophet] had said: all of them are from Quraysh.<sup>94</sup>

The references are indeed accurate, which is only to be expected, seeing that Ibn al-Biṭrīq had become familiar with the work through the mediation of no fewer than three indirect students of al-Ḥumaydī.

The second Shīʿī author, Ibn Ṭāwūs, refers to the *Jamʿ* in four of his many works: *Fathḥ al-Abwāb bayna dhawī al-albāb wa-bayna rabb al-arbāb fī al-istikhārāt*, *al-Yaqīn*, *Saʿd al-suʿūd li-l-nufūs*, and *al-Ṭarāʾif fī maʿrifat madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif*. A description of the structure and subject matter of these writings is provided by Etan Kohlberg in his seminal work on the author and his library, which also includes an inventory of the references to al-Ḥumaydī.<sup>95</sup> These are especially numerous in *al-Ṭarāʾif*. Whereas Ibn al-Biṭrīq had three *isnāds* for the *Jamʿ*, Ibn

<sup>92</sup> Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy* (1417/1996), 21.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *ʿUmda* (1407/1986), 400, no. 814; cf. al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jamʿ* (1414/1994), 1: 587, no. 976.

<sup>94</sup> Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *ʿUmda* (1407/1986), 419–420, no. 871; cf. al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jamʿ* (1414/1994), 1: 337, no. 520.

<sup>95</sup> Kohlberg 1992, 200.

Ṭāwūs has two, which differ from those of his fellow-Shī'ī.<sup>96</sup> One of the men (or perhaps the only man) from whom he received the work was Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. al-Najjār (d. 643 H/1245 CE), the compiler of *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, who was attached to the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* and had studied among others with Ibn al-Jawzī.<sup>97</sup> In Dhū al-Qa'da 633 (7 July-5 August 1236) Ibn al-Najjār granted Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāza* to transmit the *Jam'*. This was in Baghdad. Ibn al-Najjār, now, had received the work from Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Sukayna, who had it from his father who, as we have seen earlier, had received a license from al-Ḥumaydī himself to teach part of the work. Ibn Ṭāwūs also received the work through Abū Ishāq al-Ghanawī al-Raqqī, whom we have also encountered more than once. Considering the chronology, Ibn Ṭāwūs can hardly have received the work directly from Abū Ishāq, and it is therefore likely that he received the text, or part of it, from Ibn al-Najjār after the latter had received it from Abū Aḥmad b. Sukayna. In his *Yaqīn* Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes (once) from a manuscript, possibly owned by him as part of his impressive library, which contained certificates of audition as well as licenses to transmit. Some of these marginal notes were dated to the year 541 H/1146 CE.<sup>98</sup> Unfortunately, he does not elaborate. Some of the materials from the *Jam'* were apparently not taken by Ibn Ṭāwūs from the source, but from Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Umda*.<sup>99</sup>

Whereas Ibn al-Biṭrīq uses the Sunnī collections, the *Jam'* included, as a source of positive traditions concerning the *ahl al-bayt*, Ibn Ṭāwūs appears to see them also as repositories of texts that reflect the hostility of the Prophet's Companions, the compilers of the *ḥadīth* collections and their Sunnī adherents towards 'Alī and his family (among the people to bear the brunt of his indignation are 'Ā'isha bt. Abī Bakr, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the latter's son 'Abd Allāh<sup>100</sup>). Apart from such traditions, Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes *ḥadīths* describing ritual and social practices that differ from Shī'ī ones. Here is an example from *al-Ṭarā'if*.

One of the strange contradictions that I have seen with them, or with most of them, is that they associate with the *ahl al-dhimma* and consider them to be pure, whereas in their col-

<sup>96</sup> Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faṭḥ al-Abwāb* (1422/2002), 149; Kohlberg 1992, 201.

<sup>97</sup> On Ibn al-Najjār, see Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* (1427/2006), 2: 88, no. 525; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1417/1996), 23: 131–134, no. 98; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1377/1958), 1428–1429, no. 1140; al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi* (1381–1425/1962–2004), 5: 9–11, no. 1140; Farah, “Ibn al-Nadīdjār”, *EP*.

<sup>98</sup> Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Yaqīn* (1410/1989), 521; Kohlberg 1992, 201.

<sup>99</sup> Kohlberg 1992, 201.

<sup>100</sup> The only two traditions from the *Jam'* that are quoted by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *Sa'd al-su'ūd* (1421/2000), 595–596, reflect negatively on 'Umar.

lections of sound *ḥadīths* they relate the opposite. An example is what al-Ḥumaydī mentions in his book *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, in the *musnad* of Abū Thaʿlaba al-Khushanī, who said: I went to the Messenger of God and said to him: Oh Messenger of God, I live in the land of a people of the *ahl al-Kitāb*; may we eat from their bowls? And in a hunting area: may I hunt with my bow and with my untrained dog and my trained dog? What is permissible for me? And he said: As to what you mentioned, that is, the bowls of the *ahl al-Kitāb*: if you find others, do not eat from them, but if you do not, then rinse them and eat from them. As for what you hunted with your bow and have mentioned God's name over, eat it, and what you have caught with your trained dog and mentioned God's name over, eat it, and what you have caught with your untrained dog and managed to slaughter [alive], eat it. Said ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd [Ibn Ṭāwūs<sup>101</sup>]: this is a clear statement by their Prophet that it is forbidden to eat from the bowls of the *ahl al-dhimma* until they have been rinsed, but you will not see [the Sunnīs] doing that; rather, you will see a group of them eating with the *ahl al-dhimma* from one bowl.<sup>102</sup>

While Ibn Ṭāwūs's criticism is not directed in particular against al-Ḥumaydī, who for him is merely one of several scholars who relayed the contents of the collections regarded as authoritative by the Sunnīs,<sup>103</sup> it is different in the case of the later Shāfiʿī scholar Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806 H/1403 CE),<sup>104</sup> who wrote several commentaries on the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ which, as we have seen, included some mild criticism of the compiler of the *Jamʿ*. Al-ʿIrāqī, who was actually born in Cairo, is known mainly for a versified tract most commonly referred to as *al-Alfiyya* though its full title is *al-Tabṣira wa-l-tadhkira fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*. In a brief section on *mustakhrajāt* collections of *ḥadīth*, some of which were used by the Majorcan author, al-ʿIrāqī states, in one hemistich: “would that al-Ḥumaydī had distinguished when he added”.<sup>105</sup> In an autocommentary entitled *Sharḥ al-Tabṣira wa-l-tadhkira* as well as in a commentary on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ entitled *al-Taqyīd wa-l-Īdāḥ* the author elaborates on this comment.<sup>106</sup> He states that al-Ḥumaydī has added certain expressions and supplements that do not occur in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, without distinguishing them from the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. He quotes Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's cautionary comment that non-specialists may inadvertently transmit these additional materials as if they were part of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* (see above), and asks where these additions

**101** This is the pseudonym used by Ibn Ṭāwūs in this work; see Kohlberg 1992, 57, 376.

**102** Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarāʾif* (1400/1979), 533. Cf. al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jamʿ* (1414/1994), 3: 460, no. 2996.

**103** He writes that al-Ḥumaydī is regarded as trustworthy (*thiqa*) by all four Sunnī *madhhabs*; see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarāʾif* (1400/1979), 12.

**104** On al-ʿIrāqī, see Gharaibeh (unpublished), 7.5.1.

**105** Al-ʿIrāqī, *Alfiyya* (1427/2006), 96, verse 36.

**106** Al-ʿIrāqī, *Sharḥ al-Tabṣira* (1423/2002), 1: 124–125; al-ʿIrāqī, *al-Taqyīd* (1405/1984), 17.

come from. They do not have the status of sound traditions, for they do not faithfully reflect the wording of these traditions and al-Ḥumaydī does not supply full *isnāds* for them. Whereas *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī does meet al-ʿIrāqī’s criteria and may thus be studied and transmitted, this is not true for al-Ḥumaydī’s work which, it is implied, one should steer clear of. Al-ʿIrāqī’s student Abū ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Zarkashī of Cairo (d. 794 H/1392 CE), who had also familiarized himself with the work of two other commentators, Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804 H/1401 CE) and al-Bulqīnī (d. 805 H/1403 CE), seems to concur with this view.<sup>107</sup> However, several decades after al-ʿIrāqī the eminent *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 H/1448 CE) defends al-Ḥumaydī against the implied criticism of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ and the explicit attacks by al-ʿIrāqī and his peers, all of whom were Egyptian Shāfiʿis like himself. In his *al-Nukat ʿalā Kitāb b. al-Ṣalāḥ* Ibn Ḥajar dedicates a lengthy passage to the allegations, which he refutes.<sup>108</sup> In his view, *pace* his predecessors, al-Ḥumaydī very clearly and consistently indicated where his text deviated from that of one or both of the *Ṣaḥīḥs*, and where quotations from al-Barqānī, al-Ismāʿīlī or Abū Masʿūd begin and end, so that he cannot be accused of deliberately or even inadvertently confusing his readers. In order to prove his point, he quotes a large number of passages from the *Jamʿ*. His contemporary, the well-known Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar and historian Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 H/1497 CE) follows up on Ibn Hajar’s comments in his *Fath al-Mughīth bi-sharḥ Alfīyyat al-ḥadīth*, taking an intermediate view: often al-Ḥumaydī creates ambiguity by, for example, attributing a tradition to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī when in fact it is from al-Barqānī’s *Mustakhraja*, he says, but on many occasions he does clearly indicate his source.<sup>109</sup>

In our own days, discussions on the *Jamʿ* in printed media and the internet show that this matter has still not been settled to everyone’s satisfaction.

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**107** Al-Zarkashī, *al-Nukat* (1419/1998), 1: 196, par. 48; 230, par. 55. Al-Zarkashī and his work, as well as the other commentators of his generation and the generation of his masters, are discussed in detail in Gharaibeh (unpublished), 7.5.

**108** Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Nukat* (1404/1984), 300–310. The author also refers to al-Ḥumaydī in other works, such as his commentary on al-Bukhārī. Al-ʿAkāyila 2014 repeats Ibn Ḥajar’s arguments.

**109** Al-Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughīth* (1426/2005), 1: 72–74. On Ibn Ḥajar, see Rosenthal, “Ibn Ḥajar”, *EF*; Gharaibeh (unpublished), 7.6.1.

## 6 Some conclusions

From the above survey, in which I have attempted to follow the trail of al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, we may conclude that for some three hundred years after the Andalusī author's death, his magnum opus was constantly being copied, studied, taught, excerpted and commented upon by members of all four Sunnī schools of law, and to a lesser extent by Twelver Shī'ī scholars. In many cases we are able to identify the direct and indirect students of the author who passed the work on. The role of Ibn al-Jawzī, whose name crops up repeatedly, deserves further examination. While we find active engagement with the work among Ḥanbalīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs (including several *madhhab*-switchers), there was apparently less interest among Mālikīs. This may be due on the one hand to the fact that the *Jam'* was mainly transmitted in the Mashriq, where the Mālikīs were a minority, and on the other because in the predominantly Mālikī West (al-Andalus and North Africa) several works in the genre by local scholars were available, such as the ones by Muḥammad b. Zarqūn (d. 621 H/1224 CE), Ibn Abī Ḥijja (d. 642 H/1244 CE) and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, already referred to. The fact that al-Ḥumaydī was associated with Ibn Ḥazm and Zāhirism may be an additional reason for Mālikī reluctance to study and transmit the work.<sup>110</sup> We have seen that al-Ḥumaydī's *Jam'* was on the one hand praised and to some extent even imitated, while on the other it was criticized for allegedly failing to distinguish between the contents of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* proper and additions or emendations based on other collections such as the *mustakhrajāt* of al-Barqānī and al-Ismā'īlī. This allegation was refuted by Ibn Ḥajar, who defends al-Ḥumaydī against the strictures of a number of Egyptian Shāfi'ī commentators on the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ whose direct acquaintance with al-Ḥumaydī's work is difficult to assess. The *Jam'* had a different reception among Shī'ī scholars, who apparently regarded the work as a representative and convenient repository of traditions about 'Alī and his house that were considered sound by Sunnīs. Among the men of learning to have engaged with al-Ḥumaydī's work we find some of the most eminent scholars of their respective generations whose fame extends well into the modern period, such as Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and al-Sakhāwī among the Sunnīs, and Ibn Ṭawūs and Ibn al-Bīṭriq among the Twelver Shī'īs.

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**110** Though I should add that 'Abd al-Ḥaqq played an important role in the transmission of the works of Ibn Ḥazm; see Adang 2013, 522–525, 532. Moreover, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's *Jam'* was severely criticized by Ibn al-Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī, so that it cannot be said that it received general acclaim among the Mālikīs.

Coming back now to the question of al-Ḥumaydī's possible role in the transmission of the works of Ibn Ḥazm, which was briefly touched upon in the introduction. In a 2011 article, Maribel Fierro expressed the hope that a study of al-Ḥumaydī's influence in Baghdad might allow us to ascertain to what extent he was instrumental in the circulation of Ibn Ḥazm's teachings outside al-Andalus.<sup>111</sup> Unfortunately, I have found little hard evidence that any of his students, at least the ones mentioned here, received writings by Ibn Ḥazm from him, beyond some poetry. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's statement that al-Ḥumaydī spread Ibn Ḥazm's fame in the Mashriq may allude to the many references to the latter in *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* rather than refer to books by Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>112</sup> Whether al-Ḥumaydī did not offer to teach his master's writings or there was simply no interest in them at the time cannot be established. In fact, the Ḍāhiri scholar's main works seem to have been transmitted in or to the Mashriq by the direct and indirect students of Shurayḥ al-Ruʿaynī of Seville (d. 539 H/1144 CE), probably the last person to have received Ibn Ḥazm's *ijāza*. These men included, besides ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī, luminaries such as the Almohad *qāḍī* Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Baqī (d. 625 H/1228 CE) and the influential *ḥadīth* scholar Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576 H/1180 CE), active in Alexandria, who received additional works by Ibn Ḥazm from the Ḍāhiri Ibn Marzūq.<sup>113</sup> It is through Shurayḥ's transmissions that a number of works by Ibn Ḥazm reached the mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿArabī (d. 638 H/1240 CE), who contributed to their spread in the Mashriq. Al-Dhahabī, among others, owed much of his familiarity with the writings of Ibn Ḥazm to the mystic from Murcia.<sup>114</sup>

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**111** Fierro 2011, 79, n. 59.

**112** Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* (1423/2002), 5: 489: *nashara dhikrahu bi-l-Mashriq*. On the references by al-Ḥumaydī, see Terés 1964.

**113** Adang 2005, 321–322.

**114** See Addas 2019, esp. 36–38, 43–48; Adang 2013.

## Appendix: Musnad Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān<sup>115</sup>

### The traditions accepted by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (may God be pleased with him)

[2895] **The first ḥadīth:** from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās from Muʿāwiya, who said: I cut the hair of the Messenger of God (God's prayer and peace be upon him) with a long blade.<sup>116</sup>

Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī quoted this ḥadīth in his book, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghālib al-Khwārizmī al-Barqānī also produced it on the latter's authority in his book, in the transmission of Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān from Ibn Jurayj, who said that [Muʿāwiya] cut the hair of the Messenger of God with a long blade, or: I saw him cut it at Marwa.

[2896] **The second ḥadīth:** from Abū Muḥammad Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, who said: Muʿāwiya came to Medina and addressed a sermon to us. He took out a bunch of hair, and said: I never thought anyone would use this except the Jews. When the Messenger of God heard of it, he called it cheating (*al-zūr*). Abū Masʿūd al-Dimashqī said: meaning: [hair] extension.<sup>117</sup>

In a ḥadīth of Qatāda from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib it is said that Muʿāwiya said on a certain day: You have adopted an evil fashion; the Messenger of God forbade cheating. He said: a man came, carrying a staff, and with a piece of cloth on his head. Muʿāwiya said: Is this not cheating? Qatāda said: meaning: the pieces of cloth that women use to increase [the volume of] their hair.<sup>118</sup>

Both [al-Bukhārī and Muslim] extracted this from the ḥadīth of Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, namely that he heard Muʿāwiya on the *minbar*, during the year of the Ḥajj, and that [Muʿāwiya] reached for a lock of hair that was held by a guard and said: O people of Medina, where are your learned men? I heard

<sup>115</sup> Al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jamʿ* (1414/1994), 3: 405–411, from the *muqillin* section. The glosses to this section are on pages 233–235 of the author's *Tafsīr gharīb mā fi al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. I have used the one-volume Dār Ibn Kathīr edition (1423/2002) for al-Bukhārī, and the 1427/2006 Dār Ṭayba edition, also in one volume, for Muslim, and have consulted the English translations of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*.

<sup>116</sup> Al-Bukhārī, “al-Ḥajj”, *bāb* 127, no. 1730, p. 417; Muslim, “Ḥajj”, *bāb* 33, nos. 209, 210, pp. 570–571.

<sup>117</sup> Al-Bukhārī, “Aḥādīth al-anbiyā”, *bāb* 54, no. 3488, p. 863; “al-Libās”, *bāb* 83, no. 5938, p. 1493; Muslim, “al-Libās”, *bāb* 33, no. 123, p. 1021.

<sup>118</sup> Muslim, “al-Libās”, *bāb* 33, no. 124, p. 1021.



the Messenger of God forbid such a thing, saying: The Israelites were destroyed when their women used this.<sup>119</sup>

In a *ḥadīth* of Ma‘mar from al-Zuhri, it says [instead]: the Israelites were merely *punished*.<sup>120</sup>

[2897] **The third *ḥadīth*:** From Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf who said: I heard Mu‘āwiya say during a sermon: I heard the Messenger of God say: If God wants to bestow a favour on someone, He makes him understand the religion. I am merely a distributor, but God gives. This nation will continue to follow God’s command, and those who oppose them will not harm them until God’s commandment comes to pass.<sup>121</sup>

In a *ḥadīth* of Ismā‘il b. Abi ‘Uways from Ibn Wahb there is something similar; he said: The affairs of this nation will continue to be in order until the Hour arrives, or until God’s commandment comes to pass.<sup>122</sup>

In a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak from Yūnus b. Yazīd there is something similar; he said: God is the Giver, and I am the distributor; this nation will continue to be victorious over those who oppose them until God’s commandment comes to pass while they are victorious.<sup>123</sup>

This is the wording in the *ḥadīths* in the transmission of al-Bukhārī from Ḥumayd. Muslim does not have any traditions from Ḥumayd apart from his saying: If God wants to bestow a favour on someone, He makes him understand the religion. I am merely the distributor, but God gives.<sup>124</sup>

The third section appears in both Muslim and al-Bukhārī from the *ḥadīth* of ‘Umayr b. Hānī, namely that he heard Mu‘āwiya say on the *minbar*: I heard the Messenger of God say: A party within my nation will continue to stand by God’s command, and those who deceive or oppose them will not harm them, until the commandment of God will come while they are victorious over the people. This is the wording of the *ḥadīth* in Muslim.<sup>125</sup>

The wording of the *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhārī is similar. It has: A nation within my nation will continue to stand by the commandments of God, and he added: Mālik b. Yukhāmīr said: I heard Mu‘ādh say: While they are in al-Shām [instead of:

119 Al-Bukhārī, “Aḥādīth al-anbiyā”, *bāb* 54, no. 3468, pp. 859–860; “al-Libās”, *bāb* 83, no. 5932, p. 1492; Muslim, “al-Libās”, *bāb* 33, no. 122, p. 1021.

120 Muslim, “al-Libās”, *bāb* 33, no. 123, p. 1021.

121 Al-Bukhārī, “al-‘Ilm”, *bāb* 13, no. 71, p. 30.

122 Al-Bukhārī, “al-‘Iṭīṣām”, *bāb* 10, no. 7312, p. 1806.

123 Al-Bukhārī, “Farḍ al-khums”, *bāb* 7, no. 3116, p. 768.

124 Muslim, “al-Zakāt”, *bāb* 33, no. 100, p. 459.

125 Muslim, “al-Imāra”, *bāb* 53, no. 174, pp. 925–926.

while they are victorious]. Mu'āwiya said: This Mālik claims that he heard Mu'ādh say: While they are in al-Shām.<sup>126</sup>

Muslim quoted from the *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm who said: I heard Mu'āwiya mention a *ḥadīth* which he transmitted from the Prophet, and I have not heard him transmit any *ḥadīth* of the Prophet from his *minbar* except for this one. He said: The Messenger of God said: If God wants to bestow a favour on someone, He makes him understand the religion, and a group of Muslims will continue to fight for the truth, being victorious over those who resist them, until Resurrection Day.<sup>127</sup>

[2898] **The fourth *ḥadīth*:** From Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān that he heard Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān addressing a sermon on the Day of 'Āshūrā' to the people in Medina, that is, upon his arrival there, and according to the *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhārī: in the year of the Ḥajj, on the *minbar*, and he said: O people of Medina, where are your learned men? I have heard the Messenger of God say: This is the Day of 'Āshūrā'; God has not prescribed a fast for you on it. I fast, so whoever so wishes may fast, and whoever wishes may break the fast.<sup>128</sup>

## The traditions included only by al-Bukhārī

[2899] **The first *ḥadīth*:** Al-Bukhārī quoted it as an addition to a *ḥadīth* of Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, namely, that he heard Mu'āwiya relate a tradition to a group of Qurashīs in Medina and mention Ka'b al-Aḥbār, saying: He was one of the most trustworthy among those narrators who transmitted from the People of the Book, even though we know some of his [information] to be lies.<sup>129</sup>

[2900] **The second *ḥadīth*:** From 'Īsā b. Ṭalḥa that one day he heard Mu'āwiya, upon hearing the muezzin, repeat the words after him up to *wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan Rasūl Allāh*.<sup>130</sup>

In a *ḥadīth* of Hishām, the companion of al-Dustawā'ī, from Yaḥyā it says something similar: Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr said, and our brothers transmitted, that

<sup>126</sup> Al-Bukhārī, "al-Manāqib", *bāb* 28, no. 3641, p. 895; "al-Tawḥīd", *bāb* 29, no. 7460, p. 1842.

<sup>127</sup> Muslim, "al-Imāra", *bāb* 53, no. 175, p. 926.

<sup>128</sup> Al-Bukhārī, "al-Ṣawm", *bāb* 69, no. 2003, p. 480; Muslim, "al-Ṣiyām", *bāb* 19, no. 126, p. 503.

<sup>129</sup> Al-Bukhārī, "al-I'tiṣām", *bāb* 25, no. 7361, p. 1816.

<sup>130</sup> Al-Bukhārī, "al-Adhān", *bāb* 7, no. 612, p. 156.

when [the muezzin] said *ḥayya ‘alā al-ṣalāt*, [Mu‘āwiya] said: *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā li-llāh*. Then he said: This is what we heard your prophet say.<sup>131</sup>

Al-Bukhārī also extracted [it] from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Sahl, who said: I heard Mu‘āwiya – who was sitting on the *minbar* when the muezzin called *Allāhu akbar Allāhu akbar* – say: *Allāhu akbar Allāhu akbar*. Then [the muezzin] called *ashhadu an lā ilāha illā llāh*, and Mu‘āwiya said: *wa-anā ashhadu an lā ilāha illā llāh*. And when the call to prayer ended, he said: O people, I heard the Messenger of God say the same things you just heard from me as he was sitting on this *minbar* and the call for prayer was sounded.<sup>132</sup>

[2901] **The third ḥadīth:** From Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, who related that while he was with him in a delegation from Quraysh, word reached Mu‘āwiya that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ related that there will be a king from Qaḥṭān. At this Mu‘āwiya got angry and stood up, and after praising God in the manner He is worthy of, he said: Now then, word has reached me that some men among you are relating stories that are not in the book of God, nor can they be traced back to the Messenger of God; those are the ignorant ones among you. Beware of the vain desires that lead their holders astray. I have heard the Messenger of God say: This rule belongs to Quraysh. No one shall show enmity towards them but God will topple him on his face, as long as they uphold the religion.<sup>133</sup>

[2902] **The fourth ḥadīth:** From Abū Sa‘īd Jamrān [Ḥumrān] b. Abān from Mu‘āwiya, who said: You are performing prayer in a way in which I have never seen the Messenger of God perform it, and I have been in his company, and he has forbidden both, namely to pray two *rak‘as* after ‘aṣr.<sup>134</sup>

## The traditions included only by Muslim

[2903] **The first ḥadīth** from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī who said: Mu‘āwiya went to a circle in the mosque and said: What makes you sit [here]? They said: We are sitting here in order to remember God. He said: [Tell me] by God, nothing else makes you sit [here]? They said: By God, nothing else makes us sit [here]. [Mu‘āwiya]

<sup>131</sup> Al-Bukhārī, “al-Adhān”, *bāb* 7, no. 613, p. 156.

<sup>132</sup> Al-Bukhārī, “al-Jum‘a”, *bāb* 23, no. 914, p. 221.

<sup>133</sup> Al-Bukhārī, “al-Manāqib”, *bāb* 2, no. 3500, pp. 865–866; “al-Aḥkām”, *bāb* 2, no. 7139, p. 1764.

<sup>134</sup> Al-Bukhārī, “al-Mawāqīt”, *bāb* 31, no. 587, p. 149; “Faḍā’il aṣḥāb al-Nabī”, *bāb* 28, no. 3766, p. 924.

now said: I am not asking you to take an oath out of suspicion of you, for there is no one in my position who has narrated so few traditions from the Messenger of God as I have. But the Messenger of God [himself] went out to a circle of his Companions and said: What makes you sit [here]?, and they said: We are sitting [here] in order to remember God and to praise Him for having guided us to Islam and having blessed us with it. [The Messenger of God] said: [Tell me] by God, nothing else makes you sit [here]?, and they said: By God, nothing else makes us sit [here]. [The Messenger of God] said: I am not asking you to take an oath out of suspicion of you, but Gabriel, peace be upon him, came to me and he informed me that God was boasting about you to the angels [...].<sup>135</sup>

Abū Bakr al-Barqānī extracted this in his book in the transmission of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba from whom Muslim [in turn] extracted it, and it says that the Messenger of God went out to a circle of his Companions, and then something similar, until the [Messenger's] saying: By God, nothing else makes you sit [here]? And they said, By God, nothing else makes us sit here, and he said: I am not asking you to take an oath out of suspicion of you .... Then he mentions the rest of this *ḥadīth*, which includes: and to have blessed us with *you*.

[2904] **The second *ḥadīth*:** From Abū ʿAmr Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī, who said: We were sitting with Muʿāwiya, and the years of [the life of] the Messenger of God were mentioned, and Muʿāwiya said: the Messenger of God was taken away at the age of sixty-three, Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, and ʿUmar was killed when he was sixty-three.<sup>136</sup>

In a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba it says that Jarīr said that he heard Muʿāwiya deliver a sermon in which he said: the Messenger of God died when he was sixty-three, and likewise Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and I am [now] sixty-three.<sup>137</sup>

[2905] **The third *ḥadīth*:** From the *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī al-Juwār that Nāfiʿ b. Jubayr sent him to al-Sāʾib, the son of the sister of Nimr to ask him about something that Muʿāwiya had seen him do during prayer. He said: Yes, I prayed on Friday with him in the *maqṣūra*, and when the *imām* pronounced salutation I got up from my place and prayed, and when he came in he sent for me and said:

135 Muslim, “al-Dhikr wa-l-duʿāʾ”, *bāb* 11, no. 40, pp. 1242–1243.

136 Muslim, “al-Faḍāʾil”, *bāb* 33, no. 119, p. 1104.

137 Muslim, “al-Faḍāʾil”, *bāb* 33, no. 120, pp. 1104–1105. Muʿāwiya's age at death is variously given as 73, 75, 78, 80 or 85; see Hinds, “Muʿāwiya I”, *EP*, 264.

Do not repeat what you did. If you perform the Friday prayer, do not pray regular *ṣalāt* until we have talked or left [the prayer site]<sup>138</sup>

In a *ḥadīth* of Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad from Ibn Jurayj it says: and when he made the salutation, I got up from my place, but without mentioning the *imām*.<sup>139</sup>

[2906] **The fourth *ḥadīth*:** From Humām b. Munabbih from Mu‘āwiya, who said: The Messenger of God said: Do not importune with questions, for by God, none of you who asks me for something and then gets what he asked for while I dislike it, will be blessed in that which I gave him.<sup>140</sup>

[2907] **The fifth *ḥadīth*:** From ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī who said: I heard Mu‘āwiya say: Beware of traditions, except a tradition that was current in the time of ‘Umar, for ‘Umar would cause the people to fear God. I heard the Messenger of God as he was saying: Whomever God wants to do a favour, he makes him understand the religion, and I heard the Messenger of God say: I am a treasurer; if I give to someone from the goodness of my soul, he will be blessed through it, but if I give to someone because he asks, being corrupt, he is like the one who eats and never gets full.<sup>141</sup>

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138 Muslim, “al-Jum‘a”, *bāb* 18, no. 73, pp. 390–391.

139 Muslim, “al-Jum‘a”, *bāb* 18, no. 73, p. 391.

140 Muslim, “al-Zakāt”, *bāb* 33, p. 458, no. 99.

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Khaoula Trad

# The Impact of Maghribi *Ḥadīth* Commentaries on the Mashriq

## 1 Introduction

Within twenty years of the prophet Muḥammad's death, Islam fanned out westward,<sup>1</sup> beginning with Ifriqiya<sup>2</sup> until reaching the Iberian Peninsula in 92 H/711 CE.<sup>3</sup> From Kairouan to Fez and on to Córdoba, these lands were to remain strongly interconnected, despite the changes of dynasties and the historical events that would push the two shores of the western Mediterranean to confront one another<sup>4</sup> and at times to each consider the other part as the enemy.<sup>5</sup> *Al-Maghrib al-ifriqī* and *al-Maghrib al-andalusī*<sup>6</sup> formed a nucleus of a geographical, social, cultural and religious convergence. The conquest was not only a territorial and political expansion, but also a specifically religious and ideological one, and so the spread of Islam brought with it the development and flourishing of the Islamic sciences, including *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and in particular the genre of *ḥadīth* commentaries.

In this context, the present contribution intends to shed light on how *ḥadīth* collections were introduced into the Islamic West, how they were received, how Maghribi scholars dealt with them, and, accordingly, how the Maghrib came to be considered as *dār ḥadīth*. In addition, I will dedicate a section to the leadership of the Maghrib *vis-à-vis* the *ḥadīth* literature dealing with commentaries. As indicated in the title, the central purpose of this study is to highlight the importance of Maghribi *ḥadīth* commentaries and their impact on the Mashriq. I will take the

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1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ* (1964), 28–29.

2 Present-day Tunisia, western Libya and eastern Algeria.

3 Lévi-Provençal 1938, 14; Chalmeta 1994, 133. A detailed study on the date of the conquest is available on Sánchez Albornoz 1945, 52–105.

4 Marín 1985, 45.

5 They were explicitly called *al-jāratayn al-ʿaduwwatayn* (“the enemy neighbors”). See Nūr al-Dīn 1989, 104.

6 See below.

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**Note:** This paper was presented at the international conference “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, which took place on 20–21 December 2018.

*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Asākir al-Dīn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261 H/875 CE) as a case study, and will attempt to demonstrate its importance through subsequent Maghribi works that were based on it. As for the impact of Maghribi *ḥadīth* commentaries on Mashriqī scholars, I will focus on two commentaries: *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim fi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE) and *al-Mufhim li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ kitāb Muslim* by Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī (d. 656 H/1258 CE).

## 2 Contextualization

### 2.1 The Maghrib and the Mashriq

Geographers and historians differed about the definition of the term *al-Maghrib*, ascribing to it diverse geographical dimensions.<sup>7</sup> Literally, *al-Maghrib* (the West) is the opposite of *al-Mashriq* (the East). From its original meaning indicating the place where the sun sets,<sup>8</sup> it came to designate, during the period of *al-fitna al-kubrā* (35–41 H/656–661 CE), the western part of the Islamic world, which at that time comprised Egypt, its surroundings and the Levant.<sup>9</sup> As the Islamic Empire continued to expand westward and consolidate its hold on North Africa, the Islamic West, now regarded as extending from Barqa in present-day Libya through to the Atlantic, came to be considered as a homogeneous cultural entity. There was, however, the ongoing question of whether or not al-Andalus was a part of the Maghrib or not. Al-Idrīsī (d. ca. 560 H/1164-5 CE), for example, describes al-Andalus as being very close to the Maghrib, and representing a natural extension of it that influences and is influenced by the events happening there.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī’s (d. 626 H/1229 CE) *Mu‘jam al-buldān*,<sup>11</sup> the Maghrib is taken to comprise al-Andalus and the territories between Milyāna<sup>12</sup> and the Sūs mountains.<sup>13</sup> In *al-Miqbās fi akhbār al-Maghrib wa-Fās* – attributed to Abū

7 See the studies by Giovanna Calasso and by Víctor de Castro included in this same volume.

8 Sa‘dūn 1988, 19.

9 Mu‘nis 2003, 24; Laqbāl 1951, 14.

10 Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* (1989), 2: 525.

11 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (1988), 5: 161.

12 A town in north-western Algeria, considered as the border of Ifriqiya.

13 It is located in the Sūs, which is a region in mid-southern Morocco, bordered by the Grand Atlas Mountains to the north, by the Anti-Atlas to the east and south, and by the Atlantic Ocean to the west.

Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik b. Mūsā al-Warrāq (alive in 555 H/1160 CE)<sup>14</sup> – it includes all the lands from the banks of the Nile in Alexandria up to Salé.<sup>15</sup> However, despite these differing views, the majority of geographers and historians reached the general consensus that *al-Maghrib* referred to “the Islamic lands [that] extended from western Egypt until the Atlantic Ocean, including al-Andalus. Considering the existence of *al-Maghrib al-ifriqī* and *al-Maghrib al-andalusī*, the term *Maghrib* or *Maghāriba* includes, indeed, al-Andalus and its inhabitants”.<sup>16</sup>

As for *al-Mashriq*, it begins in Egypt and extends through the Levant (*bilād al-shām*), the Arabian peninsula (*al-jazīra al-‘arabiyya*), upper Mesopotamia (*al-jazīra al-furātiyya*), Iraq, Khorasan, Transoxiana (*bilād mā warā’ a al-nahr*), Persia (*bilād Fāris*), *iqīm al-Jibāl*,<sup>17</sup> Sindh, Sistan (*Sijistān*) and Daylam (*bilād al-daylam*).<sup>18</sup> Although Egypt is situated in the middle – thus playing the role of a connecting boundary, and sharing cultural, political, historical and ethnic characteristics with both parts – it is generally considered to belong to the Mashriq.

## 2.2 The introduction of *ḥadīth* literature in the Maghrib

The 2nd/8th century is held to mark the spread of Mālikism out of its original birthplace in Medina, where its eponymous founder Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H/795 CE) lived and taught, and Egypt was the first province outside the Arabian Peninsula to receive this doctrine.<sup>19</sup> By the end of the century, the Mālikī legal school in Alexandria was established,<sup>20</sup> which made a significant contribution to the spread of Mālikism into the West. Alexandria was the principal gateway to

<sup>14</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān* (2013), 1: 26.

<sup>15</sup> A town in north-western Morocco.

<sup>16</sup> Al-‘Abbādi 1978, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1992), 304.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Jabrānī 2016, 42.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Jaydī 1987, 19.

<sup>20</sup> Due to its strategic location as a nexus between the Maghrib and the Mashriq. See Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh, *al-Ḥikam* (1984), 5. In addition, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Khālid b. Yazīd al-Jumaḥī (d. 163 H/780 CE) – who was the first to introduce the “issues” (*masā’il*) of Mālik’s *madhhab* into Egypt – was from Alexandria, as were Zayn b. Shu‘ayb b. Kurayb al-Ma‘āfirī (d. 184 H/801 CE) and Ṭulayb b. Kāmil al-Lakhmī (d. 173 H/790 CE). Likewise, Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191 H/807 CE), Ashhab (d. 203 H/819 CE) and ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214 H/830 CE) taught there before travelling to Medina to meet Mālik in order to certify what they had learned or to obtain the honour of *isnād* superiority (*nayl sharaf ‘ulūw al-isnād*); e.g. Ibn al-Qāsim asserts that he knew all there was to know about Mālik and his *madhhab* before meeting him (*mā kharajtu li-Mālik illā wa-anā ‘ālim bi-qawlihi*). See Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1983), 3: 56, 54–61.

Ifriqiya and would afterward become the base for Maghribi scholars during their *riḥla fi ṭalab al-‘ilm*, or journey in search of knowledge, which was often carried out in combination with the *hajj*.<sup>21</sup> After Medina and Alexandria, Kairouan constituted the third major Mālikī hub. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Mālikism had become the main *madhhab* in the Maghrib, together with Ḥanafism.<sup>22</sup> ‘Alī b. Ziyād al-Tūnisi (d. 183 H/799 CE)<sup>23</sup> introduced the *Muwaṭṭa’* of Mālik in Ifriqiya<sup>24</sup> before 161 H/777 CE<sup>25</sup> and al-Ghāzī b. Qays (d. 199 H/815 CE) later brought it to Córdoba.<sup>26</sup> Being the second seminal book introduced in the Maghrib after the Qur’ān, the *Muwaṭṭa’* contributed substantially to the development and establishment of Mālikī law in the region. The process of reception was accompanied by that of reflection and adaptation; in Ben ‘Ashūr’s words:

Exegesis, thematization, the definitive choice between the solutions proposed and the shift from proposed doctrine to declarations of uniform law, the establishment of mechanisms for memorization and automated thought – all of this belongs to the Maghrib.<sup>27</sup>

Some scholars started to combine their interest in the study of Mālikī *furū’* legal treatises such as the *Mudawwana* with that of *ḥadīth*, as did Muḥammad Ibn Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287 H/897 CE). His contemporary Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276 H/889 CE) went as a step further, as he did not follow the Mālikī legal school. After some thirty-five years of long journeys in search of knowledge, Baqī b. Makhlad introduced the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235 H/850 CE) in al-Andalus.<sup>28</sup> His *ḥadīth*-oriented outlook elicited the strong opposition of some Mālikī jurists,<sup>29</sup> but

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<sup>21</sup> The journey in search of knowledge was a requirement for everyone who aspired to strengthen and widen their skills, to meet great authorities and learn from them. Traditionally, the *riḥla* was an eastward journey because it was associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>22</sup> Two schools of thought preceded the Mālikī *madhhab* in the Maghrib, those of al-Thawrī (d. 161 H/777 CE) and al-Awzā‘ī (d. 157 H/774 CE), but they quickly disappeared, making way for the consolidation of Mālikism.

<sup>23</sup> Also known as al-Imām al-Ṭarābulusī. He was a companion of Mālik and the teacher of Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 213 H/828 CE) and Imām Saḥnūn (d. 240 H/854 CE).

<sup>24</sup> Specifically in Kairouan. See al-Sharīf 1999, 34.

<sup>25</sup> Ghrab 1992, 170–171.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Ḥamīdī 2008, 313, maintains that Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī (d. 193 H/809 CE), known as Shabṭūn, was the first to introduce the Mālikī school of law in al-Andalus and accordingly the dissemination of the doctrine is attributed to him. More details on this topic can be found in Idris 1967, 397–414; Fierro 1989, 68–93; Carmona 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Ben ‘Ashūr 1992, 85.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīkh* (2008), 1: 145.

<sup>29</sup> Aṣḥab b. Khalīl (d. 273 H/988 CE) prevented Qāsim b. Aṣḥab from listening to Baqī b. Makhlad and had forbidden the disciples from being taught by *ahl al-ḥadīth*. He went so far as to assert

Baqī b. Makhḷad was able to survive persecution and had many students who attended his lessons. Thanks to him and to Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, al-Andalus came to be considered *dār ḥadīth*.

Gradually, the collections of *ḥadīth* spread across the Maghrib. The *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275 H/888 CE) occupied the first place and captured the attention of the Cordoban jurists.<sup>30</sup> As regards al-Andalus, the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275 H/888 CE) was introduced by, among others, Aḥmad b. Duḥaym b. Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Ḥarb al-Qurṭubī (278–338 H/891–949 CE).<sup>31</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 358 H/971 CE), known as Ibn al-Aḥmar, introduced the *Sunan* of al-Nasā‘ī (d. 303 H/915 CE) into al-Andalus around 350 H/963 CE.<sup>32</sup> The *Jāmi‘* of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 H/892 CE) came next,<sup>33</sup> gaining more popularity in al-Andalus than in Ifrīqiya, where it was replaced by Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It was followed by al-Dāraquṭnī’s (d. 385 H/995 CE) *Sunan* and the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 H/855 CE), while Ibn Māja’s (d. 273 H/886 CE) *Sunan* did not attract scholarly attention in the Maghrib.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the 4th/10th century marks the beginning of the heyday of *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* in al-Andalus, where scholars became increasingly well-versed in this discipline as “the opposition between *ahl al-ra’y* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* diminished”.<sup>35</sup>

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that he would rather be buried with a pig’s head than with the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 13: 202. See also Talīdī 1995, 24.

30 Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa* (1998), 91.

31 Robson 1952, 584.

32 He set out on his *riḥla* in 295 H/907 CE, and saw al-Nasā‘ī in 297 H/909 CE in Fustat. From there he went on to Baghdad, Basra and India. When he came back to al-Andalus, he brought with him the *Sunan* and taught it to Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabī‘ b. Bannūsh al-Tamīmī (d. 415 H/1027 CE). See Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa* (1998), 91; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 16: 68.

33 Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) maintains in *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* that *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī* entered al-Andalus only after the death of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE) and in *Mizān al-i‘tidāl* he states that the *Jāmi‘* was unknown to Ibn Ḥazm (*innahu majhūl*) and that he had never heard about its existence nor its *‘ilal*. See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i‘tidāl* (1963), 3: 678; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 18: 202. Indeed, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463 H/1071 CE), who was a teacher and close companion of Ibn Ḥazm, taught the *Jāmi‘* to his disciples and heard it from Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (d. 498 H/1105 CE). In addition, as we know that he never left al-Andalus, *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī* must have been brought there at least sixty years before the death of Ibn Ḥazm. This is an indication, partial but pertinent, that Ibn Ḥazm may have heard about al-Tirmidhī and his *Jāmi‘*; however, if this were the case, it is not clear why he would have failed to ever mention it. See Ibn ‘Atiyya, *Fahrāsa* (1983), 70; Robson 1954, 259. In spite of what al-Dhahabī reported, it is recorded in Ibn ‘Atiyya’s *Fihrist* that Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Jayyānī (d. 390 H/1000 CE) introduced al-Tirmidhī’s *Jāmi‘* into al-Andalus, as Robson 1954, 259 already pointed out.

34 See more in Brown 2011.

35 Fierro 2011, 76.



The *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* reached Kairouan in the year 357 H/967 CE thanks to Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Qābisī (d. 403 H/1012 CE), a prominent Qayrawānī jurist and traditionist.<sup>36</sup> ‘Abd Allāh al-Aṣīlī (d. 392 H/1001 CE), one of al-Qābisī’s students who had accompanied him on his *riḥla*, entered al-Andalus during the final days of al-Ḥakam al-Mustansīr’s rule, in 366 H/976 CE, and brought with him the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>37</sup> As regards the introduction of Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* into the Maghrib, Cordoban *imām* and *muḥaddith* Qāsim b. Aṣḡagh (d. 340 H/951 CE) is said to have written a compilation of *ḥadīth* based on Muslim’s work: *Kitāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ ‘alā hay’at Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.<sup>38</sup> The aforementioned Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Jayyānī (d. 390 H/1000 CE)<sup>39</sup> is explicitly mentioned as having introduced this work into al-Andalus.<sup>40</sup>

To summarize, although initially in the Maghrib Mālikī jurists paid little attention to the reception of *aḥādīth* and *‘ilm al-ḥadīth*, from the 4th/10th century onwards, after the introduction of most of the so-called six canonical collections, the circulation of *ḥadīth* increased, as did its study and its development as a genre. From then on, many Maghribi scholars devoted their lives to studying the prophetic tradition in all its aspects. They scrutinized the materials, commented on them, wrote glosses (*ḥāshiyāt*), summaries (*talākhīṣ*) and abridged versions (*mukhtaṣarāt*), and commented on the *mutūn* and *asānīd*. Moreover, they looked into its problems (*mushkilāt*) and terms (*alfāz*), added epilogues (*takmilāt*), researched the biographies of the traditionists (*tarājīm*), determined and identified its authorities (*rijāl*), composed prefaces (*iftitāḥiyyāt*) and conclusions (*khatamāt*), etc. The high proficiency that Maghribi scholars attained in *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* allowed them to make specific contributions in this field, which we will now examine.

### 2.3 The development of *ḥadīth* commentaries in the Maghrib

A significant corpus of *ḥadīth* and legal literature was produced in the Maghribi milieu; as stated by Blecher,

Beginning in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, largely but not exclusively among Maliki hadith scholars in southern Spain and North Africa, the hadith collections themselves came

<sup>36</sup> Al-Qābisī, *al-Risāla* (1986), 9.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn al-Faraḡī, *Ta’riḫ* (2008), 1: 335.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1971), 2: 49.

<sup>39</sup> See footnote 33.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Faraḡī, *Ta’riḫ* (2008), 2: 244; Makki 1968, 203.

to be understood as worthy of systematic commentary. These commentaries took the form of live lessons, oral glosses during a recitation of hadith commentary, and multivolume written works for use as reference during devotional study, recitation, legal instruction, and legal practice.<sup>41</sup>

Before this development took place, Maghribi scholars had already written commentaries, starting with *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* by Qayrawānī jurist al-Imām Ṣaḥnūn (d. 240 H/854 CE), a work that, to quote Nicole Cottart, is “à l’origine de toute littérature de commentaires”.<sup>42</sup>

Based on *al-Asadiyya*,<sup>43</sup> Ṣaḥnūn developed the legal basis established by Mālik in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* through his dialogue with Mālik’s direct disciple, the Egyptian jurist Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191 H/806 CE). Although Ṣaḥnūn’s own opinions are sparse, he wrote down all that he had heard, and then sifted through the material, classifying and systematizing it.<sup>44</sup> One of al-Ghāzī b. Qays’s disciples, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238 H/854 CE), composed the first commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, entitled *Tafsīr gharīb al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*.<sup>45</sup>

As for the first commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, it is generally assumed that it was written by al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388 H/988 CE), with the title *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.<sup>46</sup> Around the same time, the Maghribi scholar Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Dāwūdī al-Tilimsānī (d. 402 H/1011 CE) wrote a commentary known as *al-Naṣīḥa fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*.<sup>47</sup> Al-Khaṭṭābī, an Easterner – whose work is preserved and can be found in modern editions – died fourteen years earlier than al-Dāwūdī, whose work has since been lost. Al-Khaṭṭābī declares in his commentary’s preface that after the insistence of his disciples in Balkh<sup>48</sup> he decided to dictate his *sharḥ* there.<sup>49</sup> Al-Dāwūdī, on the other hand, wrote his commentary

41 Blecher 2016, 1.

42 Cottart, “Mālikiyya”, *EF*, 6: 263.

43 The legal work by Asad b. al-Furāt, who composed it in Egypt after discussing 36,000 juristic themes (*masāʾil fiqhiyya*) with Ibn al-Qāsim. See Zirikli 2002, 298.

44 Puente 1995, 311.

45 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 12: 103; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tafsīr* (2001), 1: 151–154; Muranyi 1997, 88.

46 Al-Dimashqī 1988, 623. It is possible that al-Khaṭṭābī’s commentary could either be in *Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn* in Fez among the non-catalogued list of manuscripts, or could have been lent out and unfortunately not been returned. See al-Kattānī, *Madrasa* (n.d.), 2: 569, 580–581.

47 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1983), 7: 103; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1972), 1: 166. Al-Dāwūdī also wrote a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* titled *al-Nāmi fī sharḥ Muwaṭṭaʿ al-Imām Mālik*. To my knowledge the work is not preserved, so we do not know exactly what kind of commentary it was.

48 In the north of Afghanistan.

49 Al-Khaṭṭābī, *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth* (1988), 1: 101.

in Tlemcen, far in the West.<sup>50</sup> There is, moreover, no indication that the two ever met. Al-Dāwūdī's commentary was the first commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī written in the Maghrib; although it has not been preserved, it is described as having been extensive and precise.<sup>51</sup> As we can gather based on al-Dāwūdī's date of death, his commentary was written at roughly the same time as that of al-Khaṭṭābī, which is usually given precedence without taking into account this Western counterpart.

During Ramaḍān of the year 499 H/1106 CE, in the great mosque of al-Mahdiyya, al-Imām al-Māzarī (d. 536 H/1141 CE) dedicated his lessons to the study of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. At the end of the month<sup>52</sup> his disciples gave him their notes of his dictations. He added and removed passages, rearranged it, and named it *al-Mu'lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*.<sup>53</sup> All the commentaries composed before *al-Mu'lim* were either unfinished works or belonged to the genre of *sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth*, which focused on explaining difficult, unusual and obscure words.<sup>54</sup> Therefore,

50 *Mawsū'at al-'ulamā'* (2013), 2: 10; Nwīḥīq 1980, 140.

51 Al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-qāri'* (n.d.), 2: 277, 8: 40, 16: 202; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Faṭḥ al-bārī* (1960), 3: 99; al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī* (1905), 1: 42.

52 Ramaḍān 499 fell in June 1106, which implies more hours of daylight, and thus longer sessions or lectures. This strengthens the hypothesis of al-Nayfar, who asserted that the whole work was dictated during the month of Ramaḍān, despite descriptions of how careful and slow al-Māzarī's dictations were. See al-Māzarī, *al-Mu'lim* (1988), 1: 193.

53 In the majority of biographical books (*kutub al-tarājim*) the work is entitled *al-Mu'lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*, as Ibn Khalqān, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn 'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, Ibn 'Aṭīyya and others maintained. However, Qāḍī 'Iyāq, for instance, in the biographical work dedicated to his teachers, *al-Ghunya*, specifies that he received by licence from al-Māzarī his work *al-Mu'lim fi sharḥ Muslim*. See Qāḍī 'Iyāq, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1982), 65; al-Māzarī, *al-Mu'lim* (1988), 1: 190–192.

54 While *al-Mufḥim fi sharḥ gharīb Muslim* composed by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā'īl al-Fārisī (d. 529 H/1135 CE) paid attention to difficult and unclear terms (*gharīb al-ḥadīth*) (see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* [1978], 3: 225), Ibn al-Ḥājjī's (d. 529 H/1135 CE) *al-Ijāz wa-l-bayān li-sharḥ khuṭbat kitāb Muslim ma'a kitāb al-Imān* had been limited to the commentary of the first chapter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and remained unfinished at the time of the author's death (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* [1998], 165). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Isā al-Shaybānī al-Andalusī (d. 530 H/1136 CE) likewise passed away before finishing his commentary, entitled *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* [2010], 1: 385). Another commentary appeared in the same period as *al-Mu'lim*, namely *al-Irshād* by Ibn Barraḡān (d. 536 H/1141 CE). However, he limited his commentary only to the traditions containing Qur'ānic verses (see al-Kattānī al-Fāsī, *Niẓām al-ḥukūma* [n.d.], 2: 141). Finally, Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī (d. 530 H/1136 CE) took the helm after the death of his son, who had passed away while working on his commentary to the two *Ṣaḥīḥayn* (see Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn* [1941], 2: 558).

al-Māzarī's is considered to be the first comprehensive commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and an important pillar upon which most later commentaries were built.<sup>55</sup>

The Sevillian jurist Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī al-Ishbili's (d. 543 H/1148 CE) commentary, entitled *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī fī sharḥ al-Tirmidhī*, was the first Maghribi commentary on al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ*.<sup>56</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571 H/1176 CE), in his account of the life of Ibn al-ʿArabī, asserts that after returning to al-Andalus after his long *riḥla* in 495 H/1100 CE, he devoted a *sharḥ* to *Jāmiʿ Abī ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī*.<sup>57</sup> In the chapter "Abwāb al-qirāʾāt", Ibn al-ʿArabī states that he dictated it in 533 H/1138 CE (*amlaynāhu sanat thalāth wa-thalāthīn bi-jamīʿi wujūhihā*). Likewise, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Zuhri, one of Ibn al-ʿArabī's disciples, says that he heard him dictate *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī* in 540 H/1145 CE,<sup>58</sup> just three years before his death and after having written his works *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*<sup>59</sup> and *al-Qabas*.<sup>60</sup> Thus, he wrote this commentary during a period of intellectual maturity and after having abandoned his position as judge, at a time when he was able to devote all his energies to writing (*taṣnīf*), dictation (*imlāʿ*) and teaching (*tadrīs*).<sup>61</sup>

In the Islamic West, the genre of *ḥadīth* commentaries was nurtured by the increase and diversification of the *shurūḥ* produced there. Many of these commentaries, e.g. *al-Muʿlim* and *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī*, were influential sources of inspiration for later works.<sup>62</sup> We might ask, then, in what ways this Maghribi influence shows up in works by Mashriqi scholars.

55 Sezgin 1967, 1: 136, 137.

56 Brockelmann and Sezgin mention the presence of a manuscript of a *sharḥ* in the Maḥmūdiyya Library in Medina (only the last part according to Spies 1936) attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d. 510 H/1117 CE). See Brockelmann 1977, 3: 190; Sezgin 1967, 1: 155. Nevertheless, none of the biographical dictionaries mentions this, and in the introduction to his commentary, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī denies the existence of other commentaries before *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Qūt al-mughṭadhī* (2013), 1: 18.

57 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh* (1997), 54: 24.

58 Aʿrāb 1987, 111.

59 He finished it in 530 H/1135-6 CE. See Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (2003), 7: 151.

60 He dictated it in 532 H/1137-8 CE. See Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Qabas* (1992), 66.

61 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣīla* (2010), 2: 228.

62 Both the title and content influenced later commentaries: *Ikṃāl al-Muʿlim fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Ikṃāl li-l-Qāḍī ʿIyād*, *Ikṃāl al-Ikṃāl*, *Ikṃāl Ikṃāl al-Muʿlim*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*.

### 3 The *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* as a case study

#### 3.1 Maghribi commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*

Once it was introduced into the Maghrib, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* drew the attention of the scholars who encountered it, as reflected in the diversity and the number of works they composed on it. The Eastern authors Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643 H/1245 CE)<sup>63</sup> and al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE),<sup>64</sup> as well as the Maghribi al-Tujībī (d. 730 H/1329 CE)<sup>65</sup> and other scholars claimed that *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* was preferred over *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the western Islamic lands.<sup>66</sup> Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 H/1406 CE) confirms this:

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim has been given much attention by Maghribi scholars. They applied themselves to it and agreed that it was superior to the work of al-Bukhārī. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ said: "It is considered superior [by Maghribis and other scholars] to the work of al-Bukhārī, because it is free from admixtures of material that is not sound and that al-Bukhārī wrote down disregarding his own conditions [of soundness], mostly in connection with the chapter headings".<sup>67</sup>

From what I have found in the biographical books (*kutub al-tarājim*), together with *kutub al-barāmij* and *al-fahāris*, that I have consulted,<sup>68</sup> I have provisionally concluded that commentaries (*shurūḥ*) comprised the lion's share as compared to the other genres within *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*. As mentioned above, the *Muʿlim* of al-Māzarī is considered the first and oldest complete commentary on Muslim's compilation. In this table, I have placed the Maghribi commentaries in ascending order according to the scholars' date of death.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* (1984), 70.

<sup>64</sup> Al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj* (2000), 21.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 93.

<sup>66</sup> For more details about the preference for *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* over *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, see Trad (in press), 5–6.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1958), 2: 459.

<sup>68</sup> *Kutub al-barāmij wa-l-fahāris wa-l-maʿājim wa-l-athbāt* are bibliographical dictionaries that focus on the transmission of works in different disciplines. For a detailed review on this topic, see ʿAmad 1993, 11–15.

**Tab. 1:** Maghribi commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*

Scholars	Works
al-Māzarī (d. 536 H/1141 CE)	<i>al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʿid Muslim</i>
Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE)	<i>Ikmāl al-Muʿlim fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Ibn Mawjūwāl al-Balansī (d. 566 H/1170 CE)	<i>Sharḥ fī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Ibn Qurqūl (d. 569 H/1173 CE)	<i>Maṭālīʿ al-anwār ʿalā Ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār</i>
Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍabbī (d. 599 H/1202 CE)	<i>Maṭālīʿ al-anwār li-Ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār</i>
Ibn Abī Jamra, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 599 H/1202 CE)	<i>Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Dhahabī al-Balansī (d. 601 H/1204 CE)	<i>Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 609 H/1212 CE)	<i>Iqtibās al-sirāj fī sharḥ Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj</i>
Ibn al-Mawwāq (d. 642 H/1244 CE)	<i>Sharḥ Muqqadimat Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī (d. 646 H/1248 CE)	<i>al-Muḥṣiḥ al-muḥḥim wa-l-muwaḍḍaḥ al-mul-him li-maʿānī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Qurṭubī (d. 656 H/1258 CE)	<i>al-Muḥḥim li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ Kitāb Muslim</i>
Ibn Abī al-Aḥwaṣ (d. 679 H/1280 CE)	<i>al-Muʿrib al-muḥḥim fī sharḥ Muslim</i>
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī al-Andalusī (d. 707 H/1307 CE)	<i>Ikmāl li-l-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ</i>
Muḥammad b. Juzayy al-Kalbī al-Gharnaṭī (d. 741 H/1340 CE)	<i>Wasīlat al-muslim fī tahdhīb Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Abū al-Faraj ʿĪsā b. Masʿūd al-Zawāwī (d. 744 H/1343 CE)	<i>Sharḥ Muslim</i>
al-Sharīf al-Sallāwī al-Idrīsī (d. 780 H/1378 CE)	<i>Ikmāl al-Ikmāl</i>
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ubbī al-Tūnisī (d. 827 H/1423 CE)	<i>Ikmāl Ikmāl al-Muʿlim</i>
Ibn al-Shāṭ (d. 890 H/1485 CE)	<i>Taʿlīq ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanūsī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 895 H/1489 CE)	<i>Mukammal Ikmāl al-Ikmāl</i>
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Marrākushī (d. 1348 H/1929 CE)	<i>Bughyat kull muslim min Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>

The analysis of the Maghribi commentaries that follows below – in this case, two have been selected – will allow us to gain a better understanding of the importance and reception of these works in the East, and will shed some light on the Maghrib’s impact on the Mashriq.

### 3.1.1 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s commentary

As the title *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim fī sharḥ Muslim* indicates (*ikmāl* meaning “completion”), the commentary of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ sought to rearrange and further develop a pre-existing work elaborated by al-Māzarī, *al-Mu‘lim bi-fawā’id Muslim*.<sup>69</sup> In addition, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* was based on the book *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* by Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (d. 498 H/1105 CE).<sup>70</sup> In the introduction, ‘Iyāḍ pays tribute to the high status of both works and to their important contribution to the genre. However, he also asserts that the authors overlooked certain problematic traditions, unclear terms and other other sources of confusion. With this in mind, and with the continued insistence of his disciples, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ decided to take the helm from his teachers and write a complete, comprehensive and detailed commentary.<sup>71</sup> *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* was the first link in the chain of consecutive commentaries based on *al-Mu‘lim*, i.e. *Ikmāl li-l-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Laythī al-Andalusī (d. 707 H/1307 CE), *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl* by al-Sharīf al-Sallāwī al-Idrīsī (d. 780 H/1378 CE), *Ikmāl Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ubbī al-Tūnisī (d. 827 H/1424 CE) and *Mukammal Ikmāl al-Ikmāl* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sanūsī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 895 H/1490 CE).

### 3.1.2 Al-Qurṭubī’s (578–656 H/1182–1258 CE) commentary

To assess the real value of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s contribution and his continuators, previous and later commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* need to be taken into account, together with the intellectual atmosphere in which they arose. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī lived in the period where “the study of *aḥādīth* became widespread”.<sup>72</sup> His commentary to Muslim’s work, entitled *al-Mufḥim fī sharḥ kitāb Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, is preserved in many manuscripts, of which there are a number of modern editions. Although a sizeable number of *ḥadīth* commentaries had already been circulating in both the Maghrib and the Mashriq, the *Mufḥim* managed to reach a sizeable audience because of its crucial role as an interface between, on the one

<sup>69</sup> Al-Māzarī was Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s teacher by correspondence, as Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s *riḥla* was only to al-Andalus. Al-Māzarī gave him the license to transmit his work *al-Mu‘lim* (*ajāza lahu bihi*).

<sup>70</sup> *Taqyīd al-muḥmal wa-tamyiz al-mushkil fī rijāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* is a compilation of the authorities in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. It accurately verifies their names (*asmā’*), agnomens (*kunā*) and lineages (*ansāb*); highlights and corrects mistakes; and presents these authorities’ origins and tribal affiliations. See al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* (2000), 93; Serrano Ruano 2013, 299.

<sup>71</sup> Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* (1998), 1: 71–72.

<sup>72</sup> Fierro 2011, 77. On al-Qurṭubī see Kaddouri 2005, 160–207.

hand, al-Māzarī and Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, and, on the other, al-Ubbī and al-Sanūsī.<sup>73</sup> In addition, this commentary is distinguished by offering a readily comprehensible synthesis, coupled with an inimitable simplicity (*al-sahil al-mumtana’*),<sup>74</sup> as indicated in the title, where *mufhim* means “that which makes intelligible”.

As for the date and place where *al-Mufhim* was written, they are not mentioned in the book. However, al-Qurṭubī does make reference to his own previous works, and explicitly discusses his trip to the East, after which he settled in Alexandria.<sup>75</sup> Thus, this commentary must have been composed for the most part in Egypt, and more specifically in Alexandria, between 619 H/1222 CE and 656 H/1258 CE.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.2 The impact of *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* and *al-Mufhim* on later Eastern commentaries

What sort of influence did Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī’s commentaries have on the Mashriq? This can be ascertained on two levels: form and content.

As for form, the chapter division (*tabwīb*) of Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* is attributed to Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE).<sup>77</sup> Muslim, in fact, did not divide his book into chapters (*kutub*) and subchapters (*abwāb*),<sup>78</sup> but rather arranged the traditions following a logic-based and juristic order (*tartīb fiqhī*),<sup>79</sup> possibly in order to save space and avoid redundancy. While the oldest copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* – e.g. the copy of Abū Ishāq al-Ṣirīfaynī (d. 641 H/1242 CE) – do not contain the *abwāb*,<sup>80</sup> the later ones are arranged differently, and these differences vary from place to place and according to the schools of law.<sup>81</sup> Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H/1505 CE)

<sup>73</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufhim* (1996), 1: 17.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufhim* (1996), 1: 17.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufhim* (1996), 6: 25–26.

<sup>76</sup> For the dates of al-Qurṭubī’s return from his pilgrimage to Alexandria and his death, see Kad-douri 2005, 192.

<sup>77</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *Mukhtaṣar* (1987), 9.

<sup>78</sup> In fact, the *kutub* form part of the process of *tabwīb*, since the *kitāb* is actually a large *bāb* with internal ramifications or subchapters.

<sup>79</sup> Āl Ḥumayyid 1999, 40.

<sup>80</sup> Salmān 1994, 175.

<sup>81</sup> There is, of course, still some ambiguity concerning Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s assertion that some copies of Muslim were divided into chapters similarly to al-Bukhārī (*wa-qaḍ wa-qa’a li-Muslim fi ba’d tarājimihi min ba’d al-riwāyāt mithla tarjamat al-Bukhārī ‘alā hādihā al-ḥadīth, wa-naṣṣuhu: bāb*



agrees that Muslim did not divide his book in this way, and that the division was undertaken by those who came after him.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, al-Māzarī arranged his commentary into forty-one chapters, two subchapters entitled “bāb al-qasāma” and “bāb al-shi’r”, and one independent part called “al-luqaṭa”. Later on, in *Ikmāl al-Mu’lim*, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ eliminated eight chapters<sup>83</sup> from the previous commentary, added twenty new ones,<sup>84</sup> and divided each chapter into subchapters.

Al-Nawawī essentially followed Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s divisions, excluding five *kutub*<sup>85</sup> and reintegrating “kitāb qatl al-ḥayyāt wa-ghayrihā”, from al-Māzarī’s commentary. The example in Table 2 shows the development from al-Māzarī’s arrangement to the work carried out by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and its reception by al-Nawawī.

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*al-taṭayyub ba’d al-ghusl min al-janāba*). See Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu’lim* (1998), 2: 160. In addition, the eminent traditionist of Córdoba and teacher of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, mentions in his *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* one of the *abwāb* of Muslim: *wa-akhraja Muslim fī bāb tasmiyat al-Mawlūd* (al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* [2000], 905). The fact that the teacher and his disciple referred to the *abwāb* of Muslim is a strong indication that they were both using the same copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which employed this structure. In the case of the Maghrib, the most well known copy circulating there was that of Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mughira b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qalānisi (date of death unknown). On the other hand, the version of Ibn Sufyān (d. 308 H/920 CE) was at the same time gaining ground and had been used by the majority of scholars. Therefore, regardless of whether Muslim arranged his book into *kutub* and *abwāb* or not, the role of the Maghrib is crucial here, because it was there that this concept of *tabwīb* first appeared, whether in al-Qalānisi’s version or in a Maghribi *ḥadīth* commentary. For further information about al-Qalānisi’s copy see Trad (in press).

**82** See Appendix.

**83** “Kitāb al-taflis”, “kitāb al-shuf’a”, “kitāb al-sariqa”, “kitāb al-qaḍā’ wa-l-shahādāt”, “kitāb al-aṭ’ima”, “kitāb al-ṭibb”, “kitāb al-ṭā’ūn”, and “kitāb al-manāqīb”.

**84** “Kitāb al-ḥayḍ”, “kitāb al-masājid wa-mawāḍi’ al-ṣalāt”, “kitāb ṣalāt al-musāfirin”, “kitāb al-jum’a”, “kitāb ṣalāt al-’idayn”, “kitāb ṣalāt al-istisqā’”, “kitāb al-kusūf”, “kitāb al-i’tikāf”, “kitāb al-li’ān”, “kitāb al-hibāt”, “kitāb al-waṣiyya”, “kitāb al-ḥudūd”, “kitāb al-aqḍiya”, “kitāb al-salām”, “kitāb al-alfāz min al-adab”, “kitāb al-faḍā’il”, “kitāb faḍā’il al-ṣaḥāba”, “kitāb al-’ilm”, “kitāb al-tawba”, and “kitāb al-janna wa-ṣifat na’imihā wa-ahlihā”.

**85** “Kitāb al-ṣiyām”, “kitāb al-riḍā”, “kitāb al-’itq”, “kitāb al-musāqāt”, and “kitāb al-nadhr”.

**Tab. 2:** The arrangement of “kitāb al-qadar” in al-Māzarī, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and al-Nawawī’s commentaries on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim

“Kitāb al-qadar” in <i>al-Mu‘lim</i> by al-Māzarī	“Kitāb al-qadar” in <i>Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim</i> by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ	“Kitāb al-qadar” in <i>al-Minhāj</i> by al-Nawawī
Taḥrīr al-Māzarī li-qawlihi: mā min nafs manfūsa illā wa-qad kataba Allāh makānahā fī al-janna wa-l-nār...	Bāb kayfiyyat khalq al-ādamī fī baṭn ummihi wa-kitābat rizqihi wa-ajalihi wa-‘amalihi wa-shaqāwatihi wa-sa‘ādatihi	Bāb kayfiyyat khalq al-ādamī fī baṭn ummihi wa-kitābat rizqihi wa-ajalihi wa-‘amalihi wa-shaqāwatihi wa-sa‘ādatihi
Ḥadīth iḥtijāj Ādam wa-Mūsā ‘alayhimā al-salām wa-izālat mā yarid fī hādihā al-maqām	Bāb ḥijāj Ādam wa-Mūsā ‘alayhimā al-salām	Bāb ḥijāj Ādam wa-Mūsā ‘alayhimā al-salām
Ḥadīth “latarkabanna sunana man qablakum”		
Qawluhu: inna qulūba banī Ādam bayn işba‘ayn min aşābi‘ Allāh	Bāb taṣrīf Allāh ta‘ālā al-qulūb kayfa shā‘a	Bāb taṣrīf Allāh ta‘ālā al-qulūb kayfa shā‘a
	Bāb kullu shay‘ bi-qadar	Bāb kullu shay‘ bi-qadar
	Bāb quddira ‘alā Ibn Ādam ḥaḍḍuhu min al-zinā wa-ghayruhu	Bāb quddira ‘alā Ibn Ādam ḥaḍḍuhu min al-zinā wa-ghayruhu
Ḥadīth “mā min mawlūd illā yūladu ‘alā al-fiṭra fa-abawāhu yuhawwidānihi wa-yunaṣṣirānihi wa-yumajjisānihi”	Bāb ma‘nā kull mawlūd yūladu ‘alā al-fiṭra wa-ḥukm mawt aṭfāl al-kuffār wa-aṭfāl al-muslimīn	Bāb ma‘nā kull mawlūd yūladu ‘alā al-fiṭra wa-ḥukm mawt aṭfāl al-kuffār wa-aṭfāl al-muslimīn
Ikhtilāf al-nās fī al-mutashābah		
	Bāb bayān anna al-ājāl wa-l-arzāq wa-ghayruhā lā tazīd wa-lā tanquṣu ‘ammā sabaqa bihi al-qadar	Bāb bayān anna al-ājāl wa-l-arzāq wa-ghayruhā lā tazīd wa-lā tanquṣu ‘ammā sabaqa bihi al-qadar
	Bāb fī al-amr bi-l-quwwa wa-tark al-‘ajz wa-l-isti‘āna bi-Llāh wa-tafwīḍ al-maqādīr li-Llāh	Bāb fī al-amr bi-l-quwwa wa-tark al-‘ajz wa-l-isti‘āna bi-Llāh wa-tafwīḍ al-maqādīr li-Llāh

Given this example, the assertion that it was al-Nawawī who arranged the *Ṣaḥīḥ* should be called into question,<sup>86</sup> because this was *a fortiori* a task that had already

<sup>86</sup> Admittedly, it could still have been argued until 1988 or 1998, the dates when *al-Mu‘lim* and then *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* were published, thereby making it possible to refute this attribution.

been carried out by previous Maghribi traditionists, the results of which were afterwards adopted in the Mashriq.

Turning now to the level of content, here the impact of Maghribi commentaries on Mashriqī works is immediately perceptible. The analysis I have carried out of al-Nawawī's commentary has shown that the roots of his *sharḥ* are to be found in the *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim*. This can be clearly ascertained in al-Nawawī's own words in the "kitāb al-īmān", where he discusses the *ḥadīth* "man māta wa-huwa ya'lamu anna lā ilāha illā Allāh dakhala al-janna". Al-Nawawī asserts that Qāḍī 'Iyād's painstaking explanation of this *ḥadīth* was highly valuable (*jama'a fihī nafā'is*) and that he will be quoting from and abridging Qāḍī 'Iyād's words (*fa-anā anqulu kalāmahu mukhtaṣaran*), followed by his own additions.<sup>87</sup>

Maghribi commentaries' impact on the East was not limited to works addressing Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*; it also extended to the *shurūḥ* of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Abū al-'Abbās al-Qurṭubī's *al-Mufḥim* inspired many scholars dealing with al-Bukhārī's work. This was especially true with Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 H/1449 CE) in his *Fath al-bārī*, Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (d. 855 H/1451 CE) in '*Umdat al-qārī*', and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qaṣṭalānī (d. 923 H/1517 CE) in *Irshād al-sārī*. *Al-Mufḥim* was of great help in explaining the meanings of ambiguous terms in the titles of the chapters and subchapters. Thus, in *Fath al-bārī*, in "kitāb al-ḥajj", "bāb faḍl al-ḥajj al-mabrūr", Ibn Ḥajar quotes al-Qurṭubī's commentary.<sup>88</sup> It was also a reference concerning the explanation of the ambiguous and less readily understood terms (*sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth*),<sup>89</sup> the verification and rectification of the main text of the report (*ḍabṭ al-matn*),<sup>90</sup> the declension of some terms (*i'rāb al-alfāz*),<sup>91</sup> the assemblage of traditions (*al-jam' bayn al-aḥādīth*),<sup>92</sup> etc. The *Mufḥim* also served as a source for correcting issues related to the Mālikī school of law and certain Mālikī rituals, such as raising the hands during prayer.<sup>93</sup>

Within this context, I will provide an example showing how an idea that appeared first in the Maghrib started to circulate outside this region and was later introduced implicitly in the Mashriqī commentaries.<sup>94</sup> In "kitāb al-ḥayḍ" and "kitāb al-qadar", in *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim*, Qāḍī 'Iyād, when dealing with the morphogenesis of the embryo, maintains that it is formed thanks to the "water" of the

87 Al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj* (2000), 105.

88 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 3: 382.

89 Al-'Aynī, '*Umdat al-qārī*' (n.d.), 6: 269.

90 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 4: 316.

91 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 5: 366.

92 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 4: 134.

93 Al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī* (1905), 2: 73.

94 I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Thomas Eich bringing this example to my attention.

woman and also the “water” of the man. In order to clarify his opinion, he compares male sperm to rennet and its ability to curdle milk.<sup>95</sup> The commentary is as follows:

And in it, there is an indication that the child is made of both waters, and this is an answer to those who thought that it is only of the water of the woman, and that the water of the man only has the function of curdling, as with rennet and milk.<sup>96</sup>

Later, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ states:

It contains a rejection to the anatomists (*ahl al-tashrīḥ*), doctors (*wa-[ahl] al-tibb*) and philosophers/naturalists (*wa-l-ṭabā‘i ‘iyyīn*) and those who believe in what they say, that is, that the child comes instead from the menstrual blood, and that the semen has nothing to do with its creation, but merely coagulates it (*‘aqdihī*), as with rennet and milk, which the book of God and the authentic *aḥādīth* contradict.<sup>97</sup>

One century later, the same comparison appears in the commentary of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī, in “*kitāb al-ṭahāra*”:

And these *aḥādīth* indicate (...) that the child is made of the water of man and woman, unlike those who thought that the child was made of the woman’s water and that the water of the man was the cause of the fermentation like rennet for the milk. And God knows best.<sup>98</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī reproduces the exact same idea with minor differences in word choice:

Many of the anatomists (*ahl al-tashrīḥ*) claim that the sperm (*manī‘*) of the man has no influence on the child (*walad*), leaving no trace but his coagulation (*‘aqd*). It arises from the menstrual blood. The *aḥādīth* of the chapter nullify this, and what was first mentioned corresponds more closely with the *ḥadīth*. And God knows best.<sup>99</sup>

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95 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ was not the first to make this comparison; it has its roots in the Hellenistic period, descending from Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates. It also appears in the Hebrew Bible: “Did you not pour me out like milk and curdle me like cheese” (Job 10.10). Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ was, however, the first commentator to incorporate this idea into a *ḥadīth* commentary. Knowing that Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ travelled many times to al-Andalus, a question that could be raised is whether he heard this information from one of the eminent Andalusī Jewish scholars. For further information about the history of embryology, see Needham 1959.

96 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* (1998), 2: 151.

97 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* (1998), 8: 125.

98 Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Muḥim* (1996), 1: 572.

99 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 11: 480.

It resurfaces in *Sharḥ al-arbaʿin al-nawawiyya* by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Manāwī (d. 1031 H/1621 CE) under the following form:

And many of the anatomists (*ahl al-tashrīḥ*) claim that the sperm (*manīʾ*) of the man has no influence on the child except in his coagulation (*ʿaqd*), and that instead it arises from the menstrual blood. And the *aḥādīth* of the chapter nullify this.<sup>100</sup>

There are two key facts at play here. First, we know that after receiving a sound, well-rounded education, al-Qurṭubī set out on his *riḥla* from al-Andalus to the East and that he settled in Egypt,<sup>101</sup> where he lived until his death in 656 H/1258 CE. Second, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Manāwī were themselves from Egypt. Therefore, I suggest the following interpretation: al-Qurṭubī constituted the link between the Maghrib and the Mashriq, transmitting the knowledge he acquired in Córdoba and al-Mahdiyya to his disciples during his lessons (*ḥalaqāt taḍrīs*).<sup>102</sup> If this is the case, we can see how the *riḥla* could in some instances be bidirectional, helping the travelling scholar to widen his knowledge, while at the same time spreading knowledge stemming from his own intellectual and regional/local background.

## 4 Conclusion

In this article I have summarized in diachronic order the chief stages in the introduction of the *ḥadīth* collections to the Maghrib, and have then discussed how this region shaped the genre of *ḥadīth* commentary by concentrating on Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* and its commentaries, due to its fame and superiority in the Islamic west. It was here that commentary writing reached its apogee, providing solid foundations on which later works from across the Islamic world would build. Nevertheless, Mashriqī scholars mainly focused on Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, claiming that “if it were not for [Qāḍī] ʿIyāḍ, the Maghrib would not have been known” (*law lā ʿIyāḍ, la-mā ʿurifa al-Maghrib*),<sup>103</sup> thereby overshadowing other eminent Maghribi scholars like al-Ghāzī b. Qays, Baqī b. Makhlad, Qāsim b. Aṣḥab, Abū Jaʿfar b. Naṣr al-Dāwūdī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadaḥī (d. 514 H/1126 CE), al-Māzarī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qābisī, and Abū al-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh (d.

<sup>100</sup> Berlin, National Library MS 461–1500, fol. 66r.

<sup>101</sup> In Alexandria.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj* (1972), 1: 131.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Tāwīt 1982, 59.

1014 H/1622 CE), whose library boasted more than one thousand copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

## Appendix

### Al-Suyūṭī, *Qūt al-muḡtadhī* (2013), 1: 33

(وإذا) قال راو: حدثنا، وقال اخر: أخبرنا، ولم يخلط معها شيئاً من أقوال الصحابة ومن بعدهم، حتى ولا الأبواب والتراجم، كل ذلك حرصاً على أن لا يدخل في الحديث غيرُهُ. فليس فيه بعد المقدمة إلا الحديث السرد، وما يوجد في نسخة من الأبواب مترجمةً فليس من صنع المؤلف وإنما صنعه جماعة بعده – كما قال النووي (21/1) – ومنها الجيد وغيره.

قلت: وكأنهم أرادوا به التقريب على من يكشف منه، وكان الصواب ترك ذلك (ق4/2) ولهذا تجد النسخ القديمة ليس فيها أبواب البتة، نسخة بخط الحافظ أبي إسحاق الصريفي كذلك لا أبواب فيها أصلاً.

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Zohra Azgal

# Andalusi Scholars on Qur'ānic Readings in the Islamic East: The Case of Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (538–590 H/1143–1194 CE)

In the 6th/12th century, the discipline of Qur'ānic sciences and Qur'ānic textual variants or readings (*qirā'āt*) attracted a large number of Andalusi scholars (*qurrā'*) who taught in prestigious educational institutions (*madrasas*) in both Damascus and Cairo. Medieval biographical dictionaries devoted to Andalusi scholars clearly show the predominance of the discipline of Qur'ānic readings both in their training and in their teaching activities, while Eastern scholars seem to have devoted more attention to *ḥadīth* transmission.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest mention of the teaching of Qur'ānic readings in al-Andalus dates back to the 4th/10th century, with the presence of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Anṭākī (d. 377 H/987 CE) in Córdoba from 352 H/963 CE onwards, invited by the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh to train the inhabitants of al-Andalus in the science of the *qirā'āt*. Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403 H/1013 CE) tells us that he was the best in this field and that no one equaled him in his time. Abū 'Amr al-Dānī (d. 444 H/1053 CE) learned Qur'ānic readings from one of his students, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Salama.<sup>2</sup> Despite this relatively late occurrence in the Andalusi religious context, the study of Qur'ānic readings grew exponentially between the 4th/10th century and the 6th/12th century, the latter century having the largest number of specialists in this domain, as testified by Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658 H/1260 CE) in his bio-bibliographical dictionary (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Thus, in just over a century, owing to a substantial number of Andalusi scholars receiving their training not only in al-

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1 Zanon 1998, 556 (data taken from al-Dhahabī's *Ma'rifa*) and 560 (from al-Dhahabī's *Tadhkira*).

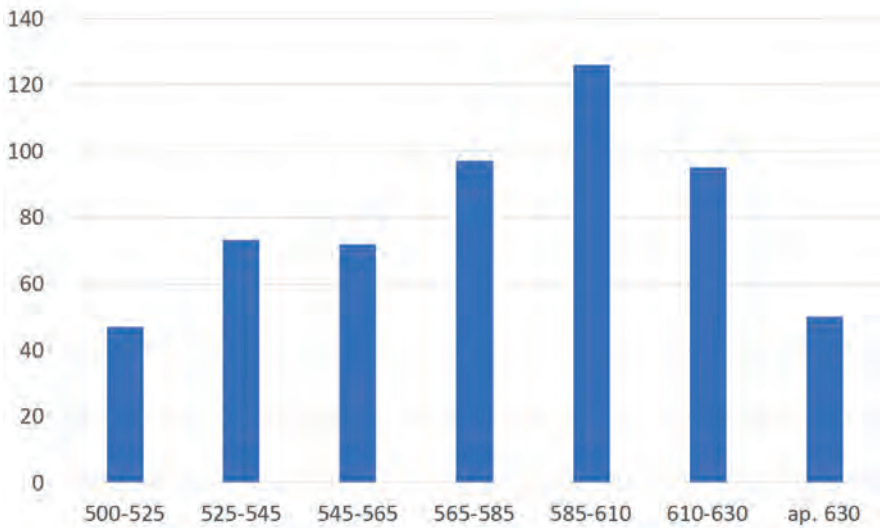
2 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rikh* (2008), 1: 411.

3 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1995). In his statistical study of the Andalusi '*ulamā'* based on Ibn al-Abbār's dictionary, Urvoy 1998 concludes that the 6th/12th century saw the greatest number of *qirā'āt* scholars, at the expense of the number of jurists. See Urvoy 1978. Jesús Zanon, in turn, has noted an increasing preference during this period for Qur'ānic studies; indeed, 25% of the works written under the Almoravids are dedicated to this genre, which includes *qirā'āt*. He also notes a decline of interest in the study of *fiqh* in the same period. See Zanon 1998.

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Andalus but also in the East, the local *‘ulamā’* were able to produce a synthesis of knowledge related to the sacred text, the best example being that of Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī, although he was not alone.<sup>4</sup> The presence of specialists in Qur’ānic readings coming from al-Andalus and the Maghrib who settled in the East, at a time when their Eastern co-religionists mainly concentrated on *ḥadīth* disciplines, certainly had a great influence on the transmission of this local production of knowledge to the rest of the Islamic world.



**Fig. 1:** The specialists in the Qur’ān and its readings, according to Ibn al-Abbār (number/date of death H) (source: Azgal)

One particular specialist stands out: Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (d. 590 H/1194 CE), from Shāṭiba (Játiva) near Valencia. Having settled in Cairo, he had a significant impact on the science of *qirā’āt* and their transmission. His didactic poem combining the seven variant readings of the Qur’ān – *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī fī al-qirā’āt al-sab‘*, better known as *al-Shāṭibiyya* or *al-Lāmiyya* – has been used

<sup>4</sup> On al-Dānī and *qirā’āt* in al-Andalus, see A’rāb 1990; Rodríguez Mañas 1990; Puente 2011; Vizcaíno/Fakhri al-Wasif 2012; Padillo Saoud 2017; Penelas, “al-Dānī”, *EP*.

as a reference manual for teaching variant Qur'ānic readings through to the present. Our study of this author and his work will begin with the emigration of Andalusī *qurrā'* towards the East in the 6th/12th century.

## 1 *Riḥla* as a way of transmitting knowledge

The study of how the intellectual production of the Muslim West impacted the Muslim East must necessarily deal with the scholarly practice of travelling in search of knowledge, commonly known as the *riḥla*. While there are numerous studies on this practice,<sup>5</sup> little attention has been paid to the category of the *qurrā'*, the scholars who specialized in variant Qur'ānic readings, and who played a decisive role in the transmission and canonization of their discipline. Contrary to the jurists, for whom different positions and offices were available and who played an important social function, the *qurrā'* had a lower profile in society.

As with other specialist fields, from the 4th/10th century to the 5th/11th century a great many students who would eventually become *qurrā'* embarked on educational journeys to the East. Foremost among them were Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī (d. 437 H/1045 CE), Abū al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmmār al-Mahdawī (d. 438 H/1046 CE), and the aforementioned Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī. Many of them, after studying in the East, returned to al-Andalus, where they were able to transmit what they had learned.<sup>6</sup>

The main destinations for these Maghribi travellers were Alexandria and Cairo, given their strategic geographical locations on the pilgrimage route to Mecca, as well as the presence of scholars specialized in the science of *qirā'āt*. The importance of Egypt in the spread of Qur'ānic readings in the Maghrib began early on. The reading of Nāfi' (d. 169 H/785 CE), from Medina, was initially adopted after the Islamic conquest of al-Andalus by the Andalusī Abū Muḥammad al-Ghāzī b. Qays (d. 199 H/814 CE).<sup>7</sup> The same reading, through the *riwāya* of Egyptian scholar Warsh, was introduced in al-Andalus during the rule of the emir al-Ḥakam b. Hishām (r. 180–206 H/796–822 CE) by Abū ʿAbd Allāh

<sup>5</sup> On the *riḥla* in general see Touati 2000. On the *riḥla* of the Andalusis and Maghribis see Pouzet 1975; Arié 1986; Ávila 2002; Dejugnat 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Dānī, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Mahdawī trained with a number of highly respected scholars in Kairouan and Egypt.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn* (1984), 254; and Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 3.

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurṭubī, who had studied with Warsh in person.<sup>8</sup> The Nāfi‘-Warsh reading has prevailed in the Maghrib until today, especially after having been supported by the influential Cordoban scholar Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287 H/900 CE).<sup>9</sup>

From the 6th/12th century onwards, Egypt became the residence of an extensive Andalusī community of migrants who settled there to teach. In this century, a major turning point should be noted. In previous centuries the Andalusīs who travelled to the East in search of knowledge typically met renowned *qurrā’* in every region they visited during their *riḥla*. Now, however, they began to almost exclusively join the circles of Western scholars who had already settled in the East. Thus, on his arrival in Alexandria, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Zawzanālī (d. 536 H/1141 CE) studied the Qur’ānic variant readings with the Sicilian Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Faḥḥām (d. 516 H/1122 CE),<sup>10</sup> and Ibn al-Fanakī (d. 597 H/1201 CE) joined the circle of the Cordoban Yaḥyā b. Sa‘dūn (d. 567 H/1171 CE) on reaching Mosul.<sup>11</sup> This raises the question of the existence of networks of Maghribī *qurrā’* in the Mashriq, a phenomenon that has been proven in the case of Ṣūfis from al-Andalus who settled in the East.<sup>12</sup>

These ‘travelling *qurrā’*’ not only acquired knowledge, but also took the opportunity to transmit the readings and works they had studied in al-Andalus. In this light, the *riḥla* takes on a new dimension, as it was in fact a journey that involved an actual exchange of knowledge. Thus, ‘Alī b. Khalaf (d. 550 H/1155 CE) from Valencia took advantage of his pilgrimage to Mecca to transmit there *al-*

<sup>8</sup> PUA, id. 9744.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 3: 241. The sources often attribute to Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287 H/900 CE) the introduction of the variant reading of Warsh in al-Andalus, according to a quotation from al-Dānī in *Ghāyat al-nihāya*: “since his time the Andalusīs adopted the reading of Warsh and abandoned al-Ghāzī’s variant”, and current researchers have followed this; see Puente 2011 and Ḥmittū 2003. However, al-Zubaydī and Ibn al-Faraḍī attribute its introduction to a certain Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, who was the direct disciple of Warsh and the preceptor of the children of the emir al-Ḥakam b. Hishām (al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyyīn* [1984], 270; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’riḫ* [2008], 2: 11). Therefore, al-Andalus became familiar with the Warsh reading of the Qur’ān even before the time of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl* (2012), 1: 740. See PUA, id. 2038.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1995), 1: 81. See PUA, id. 1385 (Ibn al-Fanakī) and id. 11535 (Ibn Sa‘dūn).

<sup>12</sup> Motia Zouihel has defended this argument in his PhD thesis, *Le pouvoir et les soufis en Syrie et en Égypte sous Nūr al-Dīn, Saladin et les premiers Ayyoubides de 549/1154 à 596/1200* (Paris, 2017).

*Taysīr*, by Abū 'Amr al-Dānī.<sup>13</sup> The Cordoban Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥanīn (d. 569 H/1173 CE), known for his many journeys to the East and the many *shuyūkh* from whom he learned Qur'ānic readings, stayed nine months in Jerusalem teaching the Qur'ān and its readings before returning to the West.<sup>14</sup> These and other examples prove that the distribution of knowledge ran in both directions, and denote the maturity that the science of *qirā'āt* had reached al-Andalus, such that the transmission of knowledge no longer flowed exclusively from East to West.

The reputation of Andalusi *qurrā'* became such that, in order to attract them to stay, they were offered positions as *muqri'* (teacher of the Qur'ān and its readings) in large mosques or religious institutions. They were even offered to lead the *tarāwīḥ* prayers during the holy month of Ramaḍān. This is how the Cordoban Ibn Sa'dūn (d. 567 H/1171 CE) received the title of *shaykh al-qurrā'*<sup>15</sup> in Mosul, the Sicilian Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Faḥḥām (d. 516 H/1122 CE) was nominated *shaykh al-qurrā'* of Alexandria, and Ibn al-Fanakī (d. 597 H/1200 CE) led the *tarāwīḥ* Ramaḍān prayers at the Great Mosque of Mecca, as recorded by Ibn Jubayr (d. 614 H/1217 CE),<sup>16</sup> and, later on, at the Kallāsa mosque in Damascus as well. According to Ibn al-Abbār, the people of Damascus came out in large numbers to listen to his recitation.<sup>17</sup>

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) even chose an Andalusi from Málaga, Abū al-Ḥasan b. Jamīl al-Ma'āfirī (d. 605 H/1208 CE),<sup>18</sup> as the first *imām* to lead the prayer at the Great Mosque of the Dome of the Rock after the re-conquest of Jerusalem. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's secretary, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, commented:

The sultan chose for the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock an *imām* who had the best recitation among all reciters, the most beautiful and melodious voice; he was the most renowned for his religiosity and the most knowledgeable in the seven – even the ten – readings of Qur'ān...<sup>19</sup>

13 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 479. See PUA, id. 6455.

14 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1995), 3: 210. See PUA, id. 6306.

15 This is the highest title for a Qur'ān reader, as it indicates that he is the reader of reference in a city or region.

16 The famous traveller Ibn Jubayr writes about him: "Five *imāms* took turns performing these *tarāwīḥ* before the Maqām: ... The third was our companion Abū Ja'far b. 'Alī al-Fanakī al-Qurṭubī, whose Qur'ān recitation rendered even the inanimate objects so humble as to feel pity" (Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* [1995], 173, translation mine).

17 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1995), 1: 81.

18 See PUA, id. 6675.

19 Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl* (2012), 3: 265–266.



In the 6th/12th century, the science of *qirā'āt* was at its peak in al-Andalus, while it seemed to have been neglected in the East in favor of the transmission of the *sunna*. The *qurrā'* who travelled or emigrated from the Maghrib found in the East an environment that was particularly suitable for teaching, with the establishment and flourishing of the *madrassa* system, a teaching institution that had emerged in Khorasan,<sup>20</sup> whereas similar institutions only emerged in the western Islamic world as late as the 7th/13th century or the 8th/14th century.<sup>21</sup> Educational classes in al-Andalus took place mostly in mosques. Thus, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1631 CE) quotes Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī (d. 675 H/1276 CE) as saying, “The population of al-Andalus did not have any *madrassa* to study at, but they received all kinds of education in the mosque, provided by a salaried teacher”.<sup>22</sup> Teaching within mosques maintained a strong link with the socio-political context, whereas *madrassas*, many of which were private institutions, benefitted from greater freedom. This certainly encouraged many *qurrā'* to accept the positions that they were being offered in the East.

It is in this context that *qirā'āt* specialist Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (d. 590 H/1194 CE) left al-Andalus in 572 H/1176 CE under the guise of performing the *ḥajj*, in order to settle permanently in Egypt.

## 2 Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī

### 2.1 In al-Andalus

Abū al-Qāsim b. Firruh al-Shāṭibī<sup>23</sup> was born in 538 H/1144 CE in Játiva, in al-Andalus. He began to specialize in the field of Qur'ānic readings in his hometown under the guidance of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nafzī. According to an *ijāza*

<sup>20</sup> Sourdel 1977, 165–184, and Makdisi 1981.

<sup>21</sup> The first *madrassas* appeared in the Islamic West in 650 H/1252 CE under the Ḥafṣid dynasty in Ifrīqiya, in 684 H/1285 CE in Fez under the Marīnids, and only in 750 H/1349 CE in Granada under the Naṣrīds.

<sup>22</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 1: 220.

<sup>23</sup> He is known in the sources under two *kunyas*: Abū Muḥammad and Abū al-Qāsim. See al-Qasṭallānī, *al-Faṭḥ* (2000); Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1993), 2: 2216–2217; al-Dhahabī, *Ma'rifaṭ al-qurrā'* (1995), 1110–1115; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 20–22; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* (1967), 1: 496–497; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1995), 1: 73–74. See also Marīn 2004.

kept in a manuscript in Medina,<sup>24</sup> we know that he completed his education with al-Nafzī in Rabi' II 555/April 1160. He then moved to Valencia, which had become the most important teaching center for Qur'ān readings in the Andalusi Levant (*Sharq al-Andalus*). This was especially true after the renowned follower of al-Dānī, Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Najāḥ (d. 496 H/1103 CE), settled there, establishing a center of learning within the Great Mosque of Valencia. There al-Shāṭibī completed his study of the seven readings of the Qur'ān, and studied *ḥadīth* sciences and Arabic language under Ibn Hudhayl (d. 564 H/1168 CE), Abū Dāwūd's son-in-law and student. He then returned to Játiva, where he started teaching and transmitting the *qirā'āt*, and was offered the responsibility of preaching (*khiṭāba*) despite his young age. The offer came, however, after Valencia had fallen under Almohad control in 567 H/1172 CE, following the death of Muḥammad b. Mardanīsh, the Emir of the Levant. Under the pretext of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, he refused the position and left al-Andalus in order to avoid officially pledging his allegiance to the Almohads. We are informed of this thanks to Abū Shāma al-Maqdisī (d. 665 H/1268 CE), who recorded this explanation as to why al-Shāṭibī undertook his journey and settled in the East. The rest of the sources simply mention a *riḥla* to perform the *ḥajj* at face value. Abū Shāma received this information from his teacher 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 643 H/1245 CE), who was also a student of al-Shāṭibī:

He was appointed to preach at the Great Mosque, but he refused on the pretext of the pilgrimage to Mecca because the preacher would not be free to preach as he wished. On the contrary, he would be ordered to preach on topics, according to him, contrary to God's requirements.<sup>25</sup>

## 2.2 In Egypt

Al-Shāṭibī arrived in Egypt in 572 H/1176 CE under circumstances about which we have little information. The Fāṭimids had already been driven out of power and the region had submitted once again to the 'Abbāsids under the governance of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ms 46/*qirā'āt* housed at King 'Abd al-'Azīz Public Library in Medina (Saudi Arabia), 'Arif Ḥikmat collection.

<sup>25</sup> Abū Shāma, *al-Dhayl* (2002), 6–7.

<sup>26</sup> The Friday *khuṭba* that had been said in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph al-'Āḍid, was, starting in the year 567 H/1172 CE, proclaimed in the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mustaḍī' bi-Amr Allāh.

Al-Shāṭibī first attended the classes of the renowned traditionist al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silāfi (d. 576 H/1180 CE) in Alexandria before going to Cairo, attracted by the prosperity and dynamism of the intellectual and religious life of the city. In Egypt Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built up a large network of *madrasas* on which he would permanently rely in order to eliminate any trace of Shi'ism and to strengthen Sunni Islam. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn even offered Maghribi students the possibility of studying within the Mālikī school in *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*.<sup>27</sup> Al-Shāṭibī first taught at the 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ mosque in Fustat, before being spotted by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's celebrated vizier al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil,<sup>28</sup> who gave him the responsibility of teaching in Cairo at the Fāḍiliyya *madrasa* when it opened its doors in 580 H/1184 CE.<sup>29</sup> He also allocated him a private apartment within the school, as well as a house outside for his family.

It appears that at this point al-Shāṭibī's success had at last been secured. He devoted his time exclusively to teaching and transmitting Qur'ānic readings through his didactic poem *Ḥirz al-amānī*, which brought him great fame. Egypt's central position between the Islamic East and West enabled al-Shāṭibī to welcome and train students from different regions, from North Africa, Egypt, or even Syria and Iraq (Fig. 2). In the *ṭabaqāt* books, I have identified thirty-one of al-Shāṭibī's students, many of whom went on to earn important positions in their hometowns,<sup>30</sup> including *shaykh al-qurrā'*, which was considered the highest title that a specialist on Qur'ānic readings could claim. Of his students, this distinction was awarded to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in Baghdad, 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī in Damascus, Ibn Shujā' (d. 661 H/1262 CE) in Egypt<sup>31</sup> and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAzafī in Ceuta (d. 633 H/1236 CE).<sup>32</sup> Some other students attained strategic positions for the diffusion of variants, like 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Balansī (d. 634 H/1236 CE),<sup>33</sup> reader

27 The first Egyptian *madrasa*, al-Nāṣiriyya, was opened in Cairo in 566 H/1170 CE by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The construction of the Qamḥiyya *madrasa* dedicated to Mālikī scholars opened the same year, followed by twenty other *madrasas* founded under the rule of the Ayyūbids in Egypt. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (2002), 4: 454–455.

28 Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Alī al-Baysānī, better known as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596 H/1200 CE), was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's vizier and the director of his chancery. He seems to have played a very important role in the reception and integration of the Andalusī migrants in Egypt.

29 He devoted a large central room for *iqrā'*, i.e. the transmission of the Qur'ān and *qirā'āt*. For a description the Fāḍiliyya *madrasa*, see Eche 1967, 249–255; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (2002), 4: 462–463.

30 The main sources for these findings are al-Dhahabī, *Ma'rifat al-qurrā'* (1995) and Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006).

31 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 1: 482.

32 See PUA, id. 1645.

33 See PUA, id. 6334.

and *imām* of the Great Mosque of Valencia, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saraqusṭī (d. 598 H/1201 CE), judge of Fez,<sup>34</sup> Ibn al-Khashshāb, reader and *imām* of *al-Jāmi‘ al-‘atīq* in Cairo,<sup>35</sup> and ‘Īsā b. Makkī (d. 649 H/1251 CE), *imām* of *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥakamī*, also in Cairo (Table 1).<sup>36</sup>

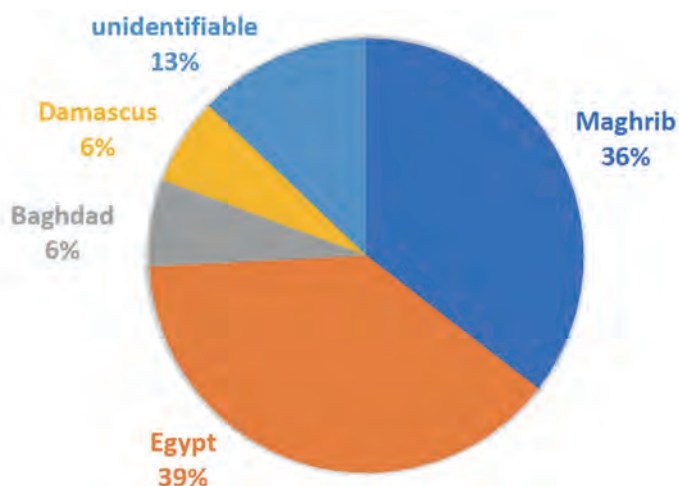


Fig. 2: Origins of al-Shāṭibī's students

Tab. 1: Posts held by some of al-Shāṭibī's students

<i>Shaykh al-qurrā'</i>	<i>Imām and khaṭīb of al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr</i>	<i>Qāḍī</i>
Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (Baghdad)	‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Balansī (Valencia)	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saraqusṭī (Fez)
‘Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (Damascus)	Ibn al-Khashshāb ( <i>al-Jāmi‘ al-‘atīq</i> , Cairo)	
Ibn Shujā‘ (Egypt)	‘Īsā b. Makkī ( <i>al-Jāmi‘ al-Ḥakamī</i> , Cairo)	

<sup>34</sup> See PUA, id. 9328.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 256.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 1: 541–542.

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*Shaykh al-qurrā'**Imām and khaṭīb of al-Jāmi'* *Qāḍī*  
*al-kabīr*

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Abū al-'Abbās al-Azafī  
(Ceuta)

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All these elements, added to the upward social mobility that al-Shāṭibī experienced in Cairo, most certainly contributed to his success and to the spread of his work on a large scale. We should nevertheless explore more deeply the socio-cultural and political context in which he evolved, by looking more specifically at how holiness was attached to al-Shāṭibī and his poem. The historiographical sources, including the biographical work that al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 923 H/1517 CE) devoted to al-Shāṭibī in the 9th/15th century, describe him as a *walī*, a saint without sin endowed with many divine gifts (*karāmāt*) that led to miraculous deeds.<sup>37</sup> Before al-Qaṣṭallānī, Abū Shāma, the historian from 7th/13th-century Damascus, had already composed various verses comparing al-Shāṭibī and his students to the Prophet and his companions.<sup>38</sup> Al-Shāṭibī was ultimately buried in the *turba* that al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil had originally built for himself at Cairo's al-Qarāfa al-Ṣuḡhrā cemetery. As attested by Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833 H/1429 CE), a visitation ritual was established among believers, and more specifically among Qur'ānic reading specialists, more than two centuries after al-Shāṭibī's death.<sup>39</sup> In 1802, Emir Yūsuf Katkhudāh added an epitaph during the construction of a small adjacent mosque, which includes the traditional recommendation for visitors to pray for the Sultan, the Pasha and the Emir. The last line is devoted to the saint (*walī*) al-Shāṭibī: "Come in and visit this saint. Whoever is afflicted by an evil shall come out healed" (Fig. 3).

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37 Al-Qaṣṭallānī, *al-Faṭḥ* (2000), 51–57.

38 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 20–22; Abū Shāma, *al-Dhayl* (2002), 6–7.

39 Ibn al-Jazarī records having visited the tomb several times with his students and recited there the poem *Ḥirz al-amānī*. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 20–22.



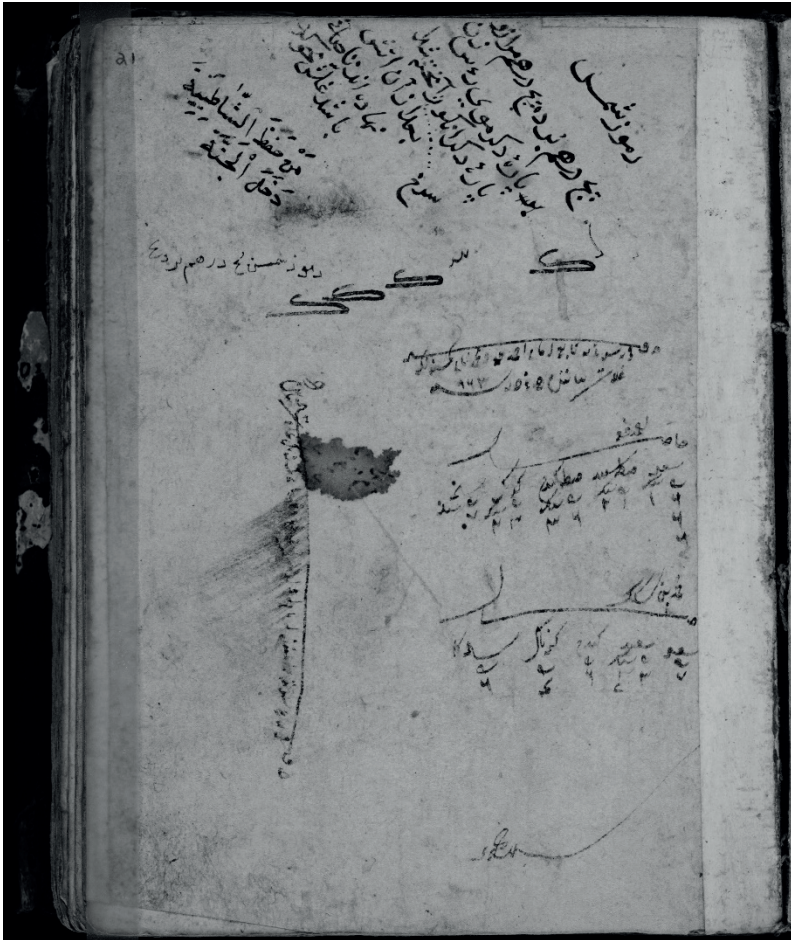
Fig. 3: The epitaph affixed in 1802 by Emir Yūsuf Katkhudāh at the entrance to al-Shāṭibī's tomb in Cairo

The healing powers attributed to al-Shāṭibī's tomb were also assigned to his famous poem, and we might infer that the many stories surrounding its writing were at the origin of these beliefs. In one account, al-Shāṭibī first completed the seven circumambulations around the Ka'ba with the manuscript in his hands before presenting it to his students, making it blessed and sacred.<sup>40</sup> Other sources report that al-Shāṭibī threw his poem into the sea, praying God to save it from the waters only if it could bring good to the Muslim community. The sea then rejected the manuscript, which his students received as a divine gift. His students were also reported to have pronounced words such as “whoever learns *al-Shāṭibiyya* will enter Paradise” and even “whoever has *al-Shāṭibiyya* in his abode will enter paradise”.<sup>41</sup> The first of these two sayings is also attributed to the prophet Muḥammad himself, according to a tradition whereby al-Shāṭibī saw him in a dream after he had finished writing the poem. He stood up, greeted him and offered him the manuscript of the *Ḥirz*. The Prophet took it from him and declared, “It is blessed. He who memorizes it will enter paradise!” This tradition can also

<sup>40</sup> There is reason to doubt that al-Shāṭibī ever performed the *ḥajj* in the first place. Indeed, no reliable source mentions it explicitly except al-Qaṣṭallānī in *al-Faṭḥ al-mawāhibī*.

<sup>41</sup> For all these traditions and stories see al-Qaṣṭallānī, *al-Faṭḥ* (2000), 51–57; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 20–22.

be read in the margin of folio 21r of the manuscript “Arabic supplement 143” of Yale University Library’s Beinecke Collection (Fig. 4). Luxurious copies that were probably not used for learning but rather kept at home for their *baraka* confirm this prophylactic role assigned to them and the text they contained. A deeper study of the manuscript production of this text would help us to better understand the uses and functions of these didactic poems and the role they played in transmitting Qur’ānic variants.



**Fig. 4:** The inscription “He who memorizes *al-Shāṭibiyya* enters paradise”, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, MS Arabic suppl. 143, fol. 21r

### 3 *Al-Shāṭibiyya*: a 'bestselling' teaching handbook for Qur'ānic readings

Beyond the attribution of holiness to the author and his poem, the way the work itself was composed is another reason behind its success. As with other biographers, Ibn Khallikān, in the notice he devotes to al-Shāṭibī, first defines him as the author of *Ḥirz al-amānī*, later better known as *al-Shāṭibiyya*. It is this didactic poem that eventually became a 'bestseller' among *qirā'āt* teaching handbooks, so much so that it actually worked to strengthen the legitimacy of the seven readings of the Qur'ān in the versions chosen by al-Shāṭibī. The Iraqi Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324 H/935 CE) had represented a turning point in the discipline by being the first to compile seven readings of the Qur'ān,<sup>42</sup> but his attempt partly failed as much larger works by other scholars continued to circulate and be taught until the advent of *al-Shāṭibiyya*. We might mention by way of example *al-Kāmil fī al-qirā'āt*, a work in which its author, Abū al-Qāsim al-Hudhālī (d. 465 H/1072 CE), compiled all the reading variants he encountered during his journey from North Africa through the East to Transoxiana. He reached a total of 50 readings based on 1,459 versions (*ṭarīq* and *rāwī*) collected from nearly 365 *shuyūkh*.<sup>43</sup> The *qirā'āt* books that had initially helped to compile the variants received from different *qurrā'* masters progressively acquired the role of restricting the number of authorized variants. It was actually *al-Shāṭibiyya* that would impose the seven readings of the Qur'ān in the variants selected by al-Shāṭibī himself. His didactic poem achieved great success, serving as the essential manual for teaching *qirā'āt* to this day, thereby eliminating the variants contained in other treatises that Muslim tradition today considers as non-canonical, including some of those originally reported by Ibn Mujāhid.

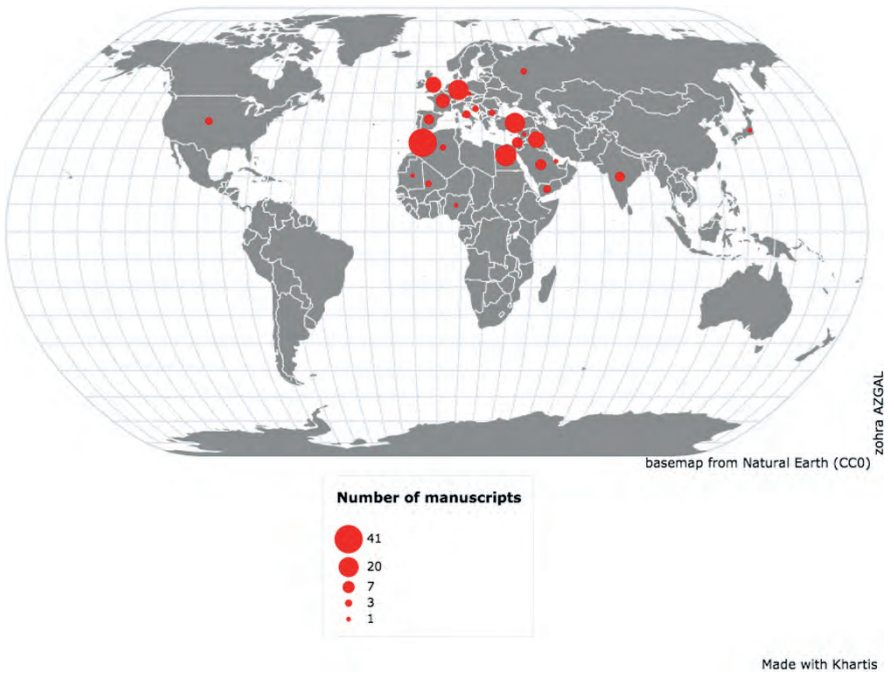
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<sup>42</sup> Muslim scholars refer to Ibn Mujāhid as *musabbi' al-sab'* (the 'Septuplist' as translated by Shady Nasser 2013). He selected seven eponymous readers from five different cities and he compiled their readings in his book *Kitāb al-Sab'a fī al-qirā'āt*. His selection became a standard since he launched a great tradition of seven-reading compilations which gradually led to the disappearance of the many other variant readings that were then in circulation. On the role of Ibn Mujāhid in the transmission of the Qur'ānic readings, see Melchert 2000 and Nasser 2013, 35–78. I do not agree with these scholars that the canonization of the seven readings is to be attributed only to Ibn Mujāhid, given that his book is not considered authoritative to transmit the seven readings, and what is more, some textual variants compiled in his book are considered today *shādhāh* or irregular and non-canonical.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (2006), 2: 345. Abū al-Qāsim al-Hudhālī's *al-Kāmil fī al-qirā'āt* is considered to be one of the most extensive books on *qirā'āt*.



As a 1,173-verse didactic poem intended for memorization, it placed oral tradition back at the core of the transmission of the Qur’ānic readings, while paradoxically constituting the source of a very significant written production extending across the entire geography of the Muslim world, such that there is hardly a major library today whose manuscript collection does not hold several copies (Fig. 5).



**Fig. 5:** Manuscripts of *al-Shāṭibiyya* according to the HATA database<sup>44</sup>

Despite its central place in the transmission of Qur’ānic variants, *al-Shāṭibiyya* has yet to be properly studied in depth. According to German Orientalist T. Nöldeke, it is “the most famous *qirā’āt* book, as well as the one most widely learned by heart throughout the ages across the Muslim world”. Still, he was nev-

<sup>44</sup> HATA (*Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes*) is a database of works written and transmitted in al-Andalus from the 8th century CE to the 15th century CE that is coordinated by Maribel Fierro (ILC-CCHS, CSIC).

ertheless very critical towards this poem, which he also characterized as “an insane work written in a barbaric, artificial and incomprehensible language that confirms the darkness of *qirā'āt* science”,<sup>45</sup> and did not feel that it deserved further study. And already in the 7th/13th century, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 H/1229 CE) argued that “his [al-Shāṭibī's] poems are complicated, written in an enigmatic style that is nearly incomprehensible”.<sup>46</sup> These two testimonies reveal many scholars' contempt for this book throughout the ages, despite its paramount importance for a complete understanding of the history of the Qur'ān's transmission and reading variants.

One exception to this rule is Angelika Neuwirth, who highlighted the poem's ingenious methodology.<sup>47</sup> Its methodology is indeed ingenious, involving mental tree structures with an important mnemonic role that merit further study in order to better understand how they function. In fact, to my knowledge there have been few if any serious studies of the development of memory ability in the Arab world, while the subject has long been researched in the case of medieval Latin and Greek texts.<sup>48</sup>

The subject of mnemonic devices can be illustrated by al-Shāṭibī's reliance on *rumūz*, letter-symbols integrated into the text that refer to certain readers or groups of readers. Their use made it possible to considerably shorten the academic content of the book. By contrast, a poem from the previous century in the same discipline, al-Dānī's *Munabbihā*, contains nearly 2,600 verses. However, al-Shāṭibī was not the first to use the *rumūz* technique in a manual of Qur'ānic readings. Indeed, Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370 H/980-1 CE) had used it two centuries before in Iraq, as testified by his book *al-Badī'*, of which a *codex unicus* is to be found at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.<sup>49</sup>

As far as we know, al-Shāṭibī was, however, the first one to use the *abjad* system for this purpose.<sup>50</sup> This is a technique that is usually used in divinatory sciences and astrology, where each letter corresponds to a numerical value. Al-Shāṭibī's use of this technique is much more developed than the one used by Ibn Khālawayh, who employed letters as abbreviations, taking the first letter of the

45 Nöldeke 1860, 338.

46 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1993), 2: 2216.

47 Neuwirth, “al-Shāṭibī”, *EP*; Neuwirth 1986. See also Ḥmittü 2005; Sobieroj 2016, 96–97.

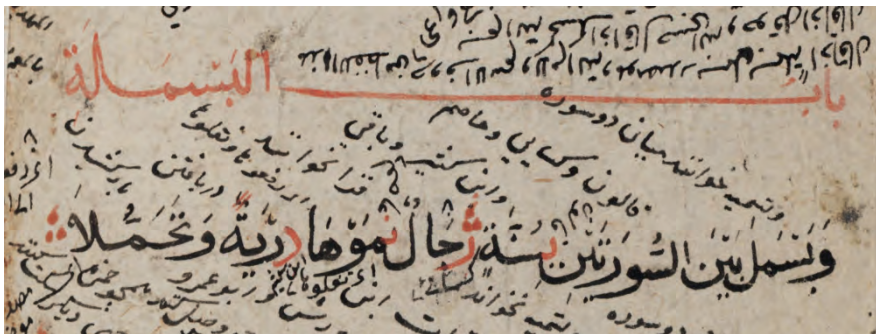
48 Yates 1984; Carruthers 1998; Carruthers 2008; Rossi 2006.

49 Chester Beatty MS 3051 can be consulted online at [https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/object/Ar\\_3051/14/](https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/object/Ar_3051/14/). See Arberry 1955, 21.

50 As al-Shāṭibī was from al-Andalus, he naturally used the Maghribi system of *abjad*, which is noticeably different from that of the Mashriq.

reader's name in order to report the reading variant.<sup>51</sup> Arabic manuscript 6921 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France presents on the second leaf a table of concordances of the *rumūz* of the *Shāṭibiyya*, containing 35 symbols, whereas the system of Ibn Khālawayh has only seven.<sup>52</sup> Al-Shāṭibi assigned a letter-symbol (*ramz fardī*) for each of the seven readings (*qirā'a*), so that the *alif* corresponded to the Medina reading reported by Nāfi', then another letter-symbol for each version of that reading (*al-riwāya*), for example the *jīm* for the Egyptian version of the Medina reading reported by Warsh. He also assigned to groups of readers a letter or a group of letters (*ramz jamā'ī*); the readings of Hejaz were thus represented by *ḥirmī* (for *ḥaram al-makkī wa-l-madani*)<sup>53</sup> and those of Iraq by the letter *ghayn*.<sup>54</sup>

Let's take an example drawn directly from the poem *al-Shāṭibiyya* in order to understand better the use of these *rumūz*. I propose to examine the hundredth verse of the poem, using the Yale University Library's manuscript (Fig. 6).



**Fig. 6:** The hundredth verse of *al-Shāṭibiyya*, about the *basmala*. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, MS Arabic suppl. 143, fol. 29v

The verse reads, “The *basmala* [the opening formula of the *sūras* in the Qur’ān] is a *sunna* [tradition] reported by men of science”. While the surface meaning of the

<sup>51</sup> On the use of *abjad* as letter-symbols (*ramz*), see Weil/Collin, “Abjad”, *EP*; Rosenthal 1947, 35–36.

<sup>52</sup> MS BnF arabe 6921 can be consulted online at [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10030201s](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10030201s).

<sup>53</sup> *Ḥirmī* is the *ramz* of the Ḥijāzī readers (the readers of the *ḥaramayn*), which corresponds to the reading of the Medinese Nāfi' (d. 169 H/785 CE) and that of the Meccan Ibn Kathīr (d. 120 H/738 CE).

<sup>54</sup> The letter *ghayn* corresponds to the Iraqī readers, who are the Baṣran Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ (d. 154 H/770 CE) and ‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd (d. 128 H/745 CE), and the Kūfan ‘Alī al-Kisā’ī (d. 189 H/804 CE) and Ḥamza al-Zayyāt (d. 156 H/773 CE).

verse is quite straightforward, the *rumūz*, highlighted in red by the copyist, open up a second meaning linked to the science of *qirā'āt*, which, unpacked, would be as follows: “The *basmala* was transmitted by Qālūn (*bā'*), al-Kisā'ī (*rā'*), 'Āṣim (*nūn*) and Ibn Kathīr (*dāl*) with a chain of transmitters going back to the Prophet” (Fig. 7). The whole poem is built on these two levels of reading, which requires specialized training in order to understand the underlying meaning of the *qaṣīda*.

While this specificity made it possible to shorten the scientific content of the work considerably, and also made it easier to commit to memory, it was at the same time the origin of a very profuse literature of commentaries (*shurūḥ*), numbering as many as 118 according to the sources.<sup>55</sup> By the same token, these commentaries undoubtedly contributed greatly to the dissemination of the *Shāṭibiyya*,<sup>56</sup> to such an extent that after al-Shāṭibī, the literature on Qur'ānic variants would largely center on commentaries to *Ḥīrz al-amānī*, thus leaving little room for original compositions.

## 4 Conclusion

Moving forward, a systematic study of the didactic poem *al-Shāṭibiyya*, and a comparison with contemporary Eastern works, would help to shed light on its major role in the transmission of this branch of knowledge and in the standardization of Qur'ānic readings. Likewise, the study of the large production of handwritten copies of this manual would clarify its uses and functions, and help improve our knowledge how the Qur'ān and its *qirā'āt* were taught in the Middle Ages, as well as how the Andalusī *qirā'āt* school eventually prevailed throughout the Muslim world.

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<sup>55</sup> Ḥmittū 2005.

<sup>56</sup> The most important ones used in this study are Abū Shāma al-Maqdisī's *Ibrāz al-ma'ānī min Ḥīrz al-amānī* (1891), and al-Sakhāwī's *Fath al-waṣīd fī sharḥ al-qaṣīd* (2005).

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Iria Santás de Arcos

## On the Success of Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī's *al-Mughrib* in the Islamic East

The purpose of the present study is twofold: on the one hand, to re-evaluate the figure of poet, historian, writer and geographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (d. 685 H/1286 CE) based on the historical context and personal circumstances that undoubtedly influenced his intellectual production and the dissemination of his work, especially in the Islamic East. On the other hand, its purpose is to point out that the quality and value of his oeuvre is the result of his intense, lifelong efforts to achieve the most complete intellectual training possible, which led him to search out teachers and books ceaselessly across the territories that he visited, right up to the end of his life.<sup>1</sup> This strong literary background was also his way of life and sustenance, and an important motivation to carry out his travels in search of patronage. His departure from al-Andalus alongside his father was motivated mainly by the political situation following the death of military leader Ibn Hūd of Murcia (d. 635 H/1238 CE). Ibn Saʿīd and his father Mūsā, who had been supporters of Ibn Hūd, found themselves at that moment in a complicated personal and economic situation, and were forced to find new ways of life in exile. As we shall see, their ‘cover letter’ and livelihood was their work *al-Mughrib fi ḥulā al-Maghrib*, which was especially true in the case of Ibn Saʿīd following the death of his father in Alexandria in 640 H/1243 CE.

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<sup>1</sup> This study is complemented by that of Víctor de Castro, also in this volume, which focuses on the geographical concepts employed by Ibn Saʿīd in his works and the controversy they generated regarding his understanding of the Maghrib.

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## 1 Ibn Sa‘īd’s biography

His full name was Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd.<sup>2</sup> Although he is known by the *nisba* al-Maghribī, properly speaking he was an Andalusī, born in Granada on 30 Ramaḍān 610 (12 February 1214), as he himself indicates when discussing this city in *al-Mughrib fi ḥulā al-Maghrib*.<sup>3</sup> He came from an illustrious family of noble Arab lineage, the Banū Sa‘īd al-‘Ammārī, whose origins date back to the Prophet Muḥammad’s famous Companion ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, who supported ‘Alī, cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, in his confrontation against Mu‘āwiya, founder of the Umayyad dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd wrote a work dedicated to the ‘Alid lineage entitled *Kunūz al-maṭālib fi āl Abī Ṭālib* (The trove of information about Abū Ṭālib’s family), which has been interpreted as evidence of his support for the Shī‘ī cause. The modern scholar Jasim Alubudi, for example, believes that in his works Ibn Sa‘īd actively admits he is a Shī‘ī, which he argues would explain the harsh criticism of his works by authors such as Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), as Víctor de Castro explores in his contribution to this volume.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Sa‘īd’s ancestors, who were of Yemeni origin, emigrated to al-Andalus following the demise of the eastern Umayyad dynasty. The founder of the lineage in al-Andalus was ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Sa‘īd b. ‘Ammār, military chief of the Yemeni troops in Damascus, who settled in Qal‘at Yaḥṣub (Alcalá la Real) as its governor.<sup>6</sup> This place eventually became known as Qal‘at Banī Sa‘īd,<sup>7</sup> and, centuries later during the Almohad period, the Banū Sa‘īd answered to the Mu‘minid caliphs.

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<sup>2</sup> For more information about his complete biography see Cano Ávila/Tawfik 2007; Monferrer 2012; Alansari 1992; Arié 1988; Granja 1981, 88–89; Potiron 1965; Potiron 1966; Hoenerbach 1989; Hoenerbach 1991.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 103.

<sup>4</sup> Reckendorf, “‘Ammār b. Yāsir”, *EF*.

<sup>5</sup> Jasim Alubudi does not give any specific testimony drawn from the works of Ibn Sa‘īd where the author recognizes his affiliation to this doctrine. Rather, he bases his arguments on the praise that Ibn Sa‘īd bestows on the Fāṭimid rulers of Egypt in the *Mughrib*, and on his description of Ṭabaristān and how Shī‘ism is followed by the people of that country, as cited in the work *al-Radd* by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE). See al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 141; see also the introduction by Jasim Alubudi to his edition and translation of al-‘Umarī, *al-Radd* (2009), 27–28. Regarding Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, as Víctor de Castro shows in his study in this volume, he in fact valued not only Ibn Sa‘īd’s works, which were an important source for him, but also his overall literary and intellectual contributions. He only attacked Ibn Sa‘īd over his decision to include Egypt as part of the Maghrib.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 161; Potiron 1965, 79–82.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 161.

Ibn Saʿīd lived out his youth in the city of Seville, the political and intellectual capital of the Almohad caliphate, where he was trained in language, poetry and other branches of knowledge under the most renowned teachers active in the city, including the grammarian and Seville native Abū ʿAlī al-Shalawbīnī,<sup>8</sup> and the writer Abū Bakr b. Hishām.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, among his fellow students were figures such as the poet Abū Ishāq Ibn Sahl al-Isrāʿīlī<sup>10</sup> and Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Bayyāsī,<sup>11</sup> among others. However, the most important influence on his education undoubtedly came from his father, Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd,<sup>12</sup> who served as a role model both intellectually and in life.

Thanks to his father's interest in books and position as governor of Algeciras – a post later occupied by Ibn Saʿīd under the sovereignty of Ibn Hūd of Murcia in the year 631 H/1233-4 CE<sup>13</sup> – he had the opportunity to frequent gatherings with the most important writers and poets of the city. He made several trips within al-Andalus, mainly to the southwest of the peninsula, which would provide him with many contacts and an excellent knowledge of the cities of al-Andalus and their intellectual context, as reflected in the *Mughrib*.<sup>14</sup>

## 2 A forced exile?

After the death of Ibn Hūd in 635 H/1238 CE and the rise of the Naṣrid sultan Muḥammad I, the situation became increasingly trying for Ibn Saʿīd and his father.<sup>15</sup> They ultimately opted to leave al-Andalus in 636 H/1238-9 CE when Ibn

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *Ikhtisār al-qidh* (1980), 152; Haremska 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1984), 217; Carmona, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1984), 218; Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt al-mubarrazīn* (1978), 22, 148–149; López y López, 2007.

<sup>11</sup> PUA (Prosopography of the ʿulamāʾ of al-Andalus), id. 11913; Aguirre, 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 170–171.

<sup>13</sup> The end of Almohad rule in al-Andalus ushered in the “Third Period of *Taifas*”. The most prominent of those who revolted against the Almohads was Ibn Hūd al-Mutawakkil (d. 635 H/1238 CE), an alleged descendant of the Banū Hūd of Zaragoza. He began his revolt in the Valley of Ricote (Murcia) and managed to take control of the majority of al-Andalus, recognizing the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate and bearing the honorary titles (*alqāb*) of Amīr al-Andalus and Amīr al-muslimīn. For a general perspective on this period see Vidal Castro 2000; Vidal Castro 2012; Carmona González 1994; Molina López 1979.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 172–173.

<sup>15</sup> As already noted, Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd had been governor of Algeciras under Ibn Hūd, and Ibn Saʿīd replaced him during a brief period of time, in the year 631 H/1233-4 CE. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 270–271; Ibn Saʿīd, *Ikhtisār al-qidh* (1980), 2.

Sa'īd was 24 years old, stating their intention to go on pilgrimage to Mecca – a common practice among Andalusis in times of political upheaval in the face of uncertainty as to how their new rulers would treat them.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of Ibn Sa'īd and his father Mūsā, their support for Ibn Hūd situated them as enemies of the new Naṣrid ruler. They left for the East with few economic resources, but with their intellectual background as their bargaining chip for survival. Ibn Sa'īd spent the rest of his life travelling in different regions of the Islamic world, frequenting – as he had in al-Andalus – scholars from each city and visiting the most prestigious libraries, in search of patronage from different governors and notables in Egypt and Syria, under both Ayyūbid (566–648 H/1171–1250 CE) and Mamlūk (648–922 H/1250–1517) rule.<sup>17</sup>

Neither Ibn Sa'īd nor his father would ever return to their homeland: Mūsā Ibn Sa'īd died in Alexandria in 640 H/1243 CE and Ibn Sa'īd in Tunis in 685 H/1286 CE. It was in Egypt where the author, following the family tradition, finished shaping the monumental literary encyclopedia that is the *Mughrib*.

### 3 *Al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*

Ibn Sa'īd was one of the most prolific Andalusī authors, writing many works on a wide range of subjects such as poetry, music, travel, biography, genealogy, geography, and history, including a work about his own lineage, the Banū Sa'īd, entitled *al-Ṭāli' al-sa'īd fī ta'rikh Banī Sa'īd* (Good fortune in the history of the Banū Sa'īd). Unfortunately, many of his writings have been lost, and some are only partially preserved, which prevents us from arriving at an overall picture of his literary production.<sup>18</sup>

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**16** Other Andalusis before Ibn Sa'īd and his father, in similar situations, had already followed this course of action: they claimed that they intended to perform the pilgrimage when in reality they were fleeing from a difficult political situation in which their properties had been confiscated and they feared for their lives. The closest and most famous case is that of Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī and his father, who left al-Andalus when the Almoravids took over. Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī did not return until he had obtained letters from al-Ghazālī and the 'Abbāsīd caliph that helped him win over the new rulers. See Cano Ávila/Sanjuán/Tawfik 2009; Marín 1995, 126–127.

**17** Ibn Sa'īd, who had left al-Andalus because of an unstable political situation, found himself in similar circumstances a few years later in Cairo. He witnessed the turbulent times as power changed hands from the Ayyūbid dynasty to the Mamlūks. This may have been the motivating factor in his move first from Cairo to Damascus, and then from Damascus to Baghdad. Finally, the Mongol threat may have led him to return to Tunis in the year 652 H/1254 CE.

**18** Vidal Castro 2002; Arié 1988; Viguera Molins 2006; Potiron 1966.

In the case of *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib* (The extraordinary jewels of the West), a historical-literary-geographical anthology aimed at compiling a selection of the literary production of Maghribi authors, Ibn Sa'īd was in fact not the sole author, but rather built on the work of a series of previous authors who had worked on the volume before him. Since all that remains of the introduction are a few fragments, we cannot know exactly what criteria were used in selecting the materials and authors.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, much of the value of this work lies in the precision with which these sources are cited, as well as the relevance of the materials collected, some of which originally belonged to works now lost. In addition, Ibn Sa'īd and his co-authors collected a large amount of oral material, much of it belonging to local folklore, which is an aspect of the project that until now has been afforded little consideration.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.1 *Al-Mughrib's* composition: A family matter<sup>21</sup>

The composition of *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib* is in fact the result of the work of six different writers over a period of 115 years.<sup>22</sup> The starting point was in the early 6th/12th century, specifically a work written in 530 H/1135 CE (now lost) by the poet al-Ḥijārī,<sup>23</sup> entitled *al-Mushib fī faḍā'il/gharā'ib al-Maghrib* (Proverb of the merits of the West)<sup>24</sup> and dedicated to his patron, 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd, great-grandfather of Ibn Sa'īd, during his stay in Alcalá la Real.

After the efforts of al-Ḥijārī, 'Abd al-Malik decided to continue the work, adding to it more men of letters that he considered should be included. After him, his

<sup>19</sup> The introduction to the *Mughrib* has not been preserved in the Cairo *codex unicus*. Some fragments, however, are quoted by al-Maqqarī. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* (1968), 2: 329–330.

<sup>20</sup> See for instance the fable of the father, the donkey and the son. This fable of Eastern origin, which became widespread in medieval Europe from the 13th century to the 16th century, was first recorded in Arabic by Ibn Sa'īd during his stay in Cairo. See Molina/Castro 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Viguera 2006.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Sa'īd himself states this at the end of each chapter of the only preserved copy of this work, for instance, at the end of the fourth chapter: *al-rābi' min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib alladhī ṣannafahu bi-l-muwarāthati fī mi'ati wa-khamsa 'ashrata sanatan sittatun wa-hum Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥijārī wa-'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd wa-Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik wa-Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik wa-Mūsā b. Muḥammad wa-'Alī b. Mūsā*. See Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 11, 58–59.

<sup>23</sup> Lirola Delgado 2012.

<sup>24</sup> This work, together with the *Mughrib*, was one of the main sources used by al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1632 CE) for the geographical and poetic portion on al-Andalus in his celebrated *Nafh al-tib*. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* (1968), 1: 686–693.

sons Aḥmad and Muḥammad continued to enrich the work with their own contributions, but it was the son of Muḥammad, Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd, who became the most devoted to the family opus, working tirelessly on it, first alone and then with his son Ibn Saʿīd, until the last day of his life.<sup>25</sup>

As Luis Molina and Victor de Castro state in a recent article,<sup>26</sup> Mūsā was not merely a link in this chain of family members who, after al-Ḥijārī, involved themselves in the composition of this work brought to fruition by Ibn Saʿīd. Instead, he should be considered the true author of the work (or at least the writer who contributed the most to it), which his son would take up and complete following his death with a first version finished in 641 H/1243 CE. Ibn Saʿīd had been collaborating with his father for some time on the *Mughrib*, and Mūsā in all likelihood had already made it available to readers before Ibn Saʿīd finished it. The drafting of the *Mughrib*, therefore, as Luis Molina and Víctor de Castro maintain, was well advanced by the time of Mūsā's death.

Without changing the basic structure of the work, Ibn Saʿīd – the last author – added the information he collected in the course of his travels, mainly regarding his experiences in Egypt and his fruitful visits to many important libraries in Baghdad and Aleppo. Once Ibn Saʿīd took over the *Mughrib*, he produced several versions, some shorter and some longer, as he incorporated materials extracted from sources both written and oral that he encountered during his travels. The first version of the work is believed to have been composed shortly after the death of his father Mūsā, around the year 641 H/1243 CE. The second version, according to Ibn Saʿīd, was written in the year 645 H/1247-8 CE, and the third, according to the *Mughrib* manuscript, was finished in the year 647 H/1249 CE, during the years he resided in Aleppo.

Once Ibn Saʿīd and Mūsā arrived in the East, they seem to have realized that the same formula used in the *Mughrib* could be expanded to include the Mashriq, which would also increase their opportunities for finding patronage. Thus, a work entitled *al-Mushriq fī ḥulā al-Mashriq* (The shining jewels of the East) arose as a continuation of the *Mushriq*, this time covering the authors of the East, an idea that occurred to Mūsā some time prior to his death on 8 Shawwāl 640 H/31 March 1243 CE.<sup>27</sup> Ibn Saʿīd explains in the introduction to the *Mushriq*<sup>28</sup> that:

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 170; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 334.

<sup>26</sup> See Molina/Castro 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 171.

<sup>28</sup> This introduction is cited by the editor of the *Mughrib* in the part corresponding to al-Fuṣṭāṭ. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 18–19.

It occurred to him (Mūsā) the idea of writing a book similar to the *Mughrib* but devoted to the East. He pursued this goal for a long period of time, consulting many books, as he enjoyed access to the libraries of the great kings and notables of whom he was a companion, frequenting and meeting people interested in these matters, having dedicated his long life to this task and to observing books, until his life came to an end (...).<sup>29</sup>

To carry out this task, Ibn Saʿīd followed in the footsteps of his father: he consulted many books in the libraries of kings and illustrious people, frequented experts in the field, gathered a wealth of information about each region, and collected poems. Thus, Ibn Saʿīd was the one who in 647 H/1249 CE culminated (*mukammil*) the work begun by his father.<sup>30</sup> However, in the case of the *Mushriq*, his contribution was greater than in the *Mughrib*, given the vast material he collected on his travels to the East, mainly in cities like Cairo, Baghdad, Aleppo and Damascus.

In a passage quoted by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Ibn Saʿīd voices his pride in the work he carried out on both the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq*, saying:

Because it was an inheritance, it has reaped the fruits of all the books, and in the course of its long gestation it has been purified into the cream of time. No period was beyond the reach of its hands and no country failed to be trodden by its feet. In sum, it became a book of rest, though writing it had subjected ears, eyes, hands and mind to fatigue (...).<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2 *Al-Mughrib's* structure and methodology

In a general sense, the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* both rest on territorial divisions of the regions covered, and share a common structure: both compile biographies ordered geographically and classified by “kingdoms” (*mamālik*)<sup>32</sup> that were, at

<sup>29</sup> *thāra bi-khāṭirihi (Mūsā) an yuqābila al-Mughrib bi-kitāb yumāthiluhu ʿan al-Mashriq wa-istaʿāna ʿalā hādihā al-gharaḍ bi-l-mudda wa-kathrat al-kutub wa-l-taḥakkum fi khazāʾin man ṣaḥibahu min ʿuzamāʾ al-mulūk fa-man dūnahum wa-kathrat al-mukhālaṭa wa-l-mumāzaja li-ahl hādihā al-shaʾn wa-ṭawwala al-ʿumr al-mufarragh li-hādihā al-gharaḍ wa-fawāʾid al-asfār ilā an qaṭaʾahu intihāʾ al-ʿumr...* (Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* [2003], 18).

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 172.

<sup>31</sup> *janat lahu bi-l-muwāratha thamarāt al-kutub wa maḥaḍat fihi bi-l-muṭāwala zubd al-ḥuqb, falam taqṣur yaḍuhu ʿan ʿaṣr min al-a-ṣār wa lā qaṣṣarat khuṭāhu ʿan quṭr min al-aqṭār, fa jāʾa kitāb rāḥatin qad taʾibat fihi al-asmāʾ wa-l-abṣār wa-l-aydi wa-l-afkār* (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* [2010], 13: 189–194). I would like to thank Luis Molina for his suggestions and corrections in the translation of this text.

<sup>32</sup> The territorial division that Ibn Saʿīd proposes for al-Andalus seems to be based on a past geographical division, when the political entity of al-Andalus occupied the majority of the Iberian Peninsula, and for some time (5th/11th century) was divided into different kingdoms (the

the same time, subdivided into provinces (*kuwar*) and cities (*mudun*). For each of them, the *Mughrib* offers a list of personalities subdivided into social categories: emirs, viziers, scholars, poets and other less prominent figures.

The length of each one varies, based on the literary production of each region – and perhaps on the degree to which works from each region were available to Ibn Sa‘id. As far as we know,<sup>33</sup> the *Mughrib* contained at least fifteen books: the first six about Egypt; books seven, eight and nine about North Africa; and the remaining six about al-Andalus.

It is important to clarify a few points in relation to the *Mushib*, the work upon which the *Mughrib* is built, even though it has not been preserved. If we look at instances where it was drawn upon by later authors, and the short references about its content and structure, it seems that the *Mushib* only contained six volumes (*mujalladāt*), all dedicated to al-Andalus. Thus, Ibn Sa‘id only makes reference to the *Mushib* in the part of the *Mughrib* that deals with al-Andalus, and does not mention al-Ḥijārī in the preserved volumes dedicated to Egypt. Al-Maqqarī, too, who made ample use of the *Mushib* in his *Nafh al-ṭīb*, only used or cited *al-Mushib* and al-Ḥijārī when describing the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus) and its scholars and writers. We can therefore assume that it was Ibn Sa‘id and Mūsā’s idea to include Egypt as part of the Maghrib, after travelling to the East and settling in Egypt. It is not possible to establish exactly when they first included Egypt in the *Mughrib*, just as we cannot attribute this geographical conception exclusively to Ibn Sa‘id, as it may have been his father’s. While it seems logical to assume that they included Egypt as part of the Maghrib together after settling in Egypt, perhaps it was Ibn Sa‘id who thought of it himself after the death of Mūsā in 640 H/1243 CE, when he settled in Cairo and brought to completion the first version of the *Mughrib*.

We cannot be sure if the *Mushib* was a source for the *Mughrib*’s information – now lost – on North Africa and Ifrīqiya, as it is not mentioned by later authors in relation to these regions. Until new evidence comes to light, and taking into account the title of the work (*al-Mushib fī faḍā’il al-Maghrib*), it is logical to think that the *Mushib* contained information at least on North Africa. It is possible, too, that al-Ḥijārī did not complete it and was only able to compose the part

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*Taifas*). This division no longer existed in the author’s time, since al-Andalus had been reduced to the small kingdom of Granada ruled by the Naṣrid sultans. In relation to Ibn Sa‘id’s geography see Vernet 1953; Vernet 1958; Meouak 1996; Viguera 1999; Rei 2003; Mazzoli-Guintard 2009; Mazzoli-Guintard/Viguera Molins 2017.

33 For the manuscript record see section 5.2.

on al-Andalus, which is the one for which we do find quotations in works by subsequent authors.<sup>34</sup> A similar question can be raised in relation to the order of each geographical area in the *Mughrib*. As we know it today, the work begins with Egypt, continues with Ifrīqiya and North Africa, and ends with al-Andalus. Was this the original order of the *Mushib*, the foundation of the *Mughrib*? Or was this, at least, al-Ḥijārī's intention? As mentioned, given that the quotations preserved from the *Mushib* deal only with al-Andalus, the final structure of the *Mughrib* seems to have been devised by Mūsā and Ibn Saʿīd once they started their journey to the East through North Africa and Ifrīqiya, finally settling in Egypt.

One of the developments that Ibn Saʿīd introduced into his work was the tripartite division of each territory. This division is especially significant in the part on al-Andalus,<sup>35</sup> divided into three clear regions: eastern, central and western, with a chapter devoted to each one, subdivided, as we have said, into “kingdoms” and cities. The part concerning Egypt<sup>36</sup> – which still requires further study – also has a tripartite structure, but with some differences: it is divided into an upper, a middle and a lower region, each one with its respective “kingdoms” (*mamālik*), each of which is in turn divided into eastern and western provinces or *kuwar*. In contrast to the section on al-Andalus, it is difficult to perform an in-depth analysis of the section on Egypt because not enough chapters have come down to us. It is worth noting that, as Ibn Saʿīd himself points out, he penned specific chapters in this section enumerating various dynasties such as the Ṭūlūnids, the Ikshīdids, and the Ayyūbid sultans, as quasi-independent history chapters.<sup>37</sup>

### 3.3 Sources of *al-Mughrib*

As already mentioned, in the *Mughrib* Ibn Saʿīd is very careful about citing the sources he and the other members of his family have used in researching the

<sup>34</sup> See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1973–78), 3: 432–435; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 330, 337, and 4: 123–124, 314–315.

<sup>35</sup> Some chapters of the Andalusī section (specifically the chapters on Córdoba, Toledo, Málaga, Elvira, and Almería) have been translated into Spanish by Hanaa Mohamed-Hammadi Mejdoubi. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2014–18).

<sup>36</sup> The Egyptian portion of the *Mughrib* is entitled “al-Iklil fi ḥulā wādī al-Nīl”.

<sup>37</sup> The titles of the respective chapters are: “Kitāb al-durra al-maknūn fi ḥulā dawlat Banī Ṭūlūn”, “Kitāb al-ʿuyūn al-daʿj fi ḥulā dawlat Banī Ṭaghj”, and “Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mahḍūb fi ḥulā dawlat Banī Ayyūb”. He also wrote a specific chapter dedicated to the ʿAbbādī dynasty of Seville that has not been preserved and that was included in the *Mughrib*, in the part on al-Andalus. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 29–30.



*Mughrib*, and records how this information was obtained and how reliable it is. Common phrases used when citing sources are, “And from the book of X”, “and X said”, “and it was said that”, “I read in X”, “I found this in the book of X”, or “I borrowed this from X”.

We can classify the main sources of the *Mughrib* into three groups:

1. Written sources,<sup>38</sup> which are quite numerous and constitute the backbone of the work. They were gathered during the travels of the Banū Saʿīd.
2. Oral sources. The Banū Saʿīd frequented many scholars and men of letters in their corresponding periods (throughout more than a century), with whom they exchanged their works and collected from them not only fragments of prose and poetry but also popular proverbs, sayings or fables.
3. Direct observations, collected mainly by Mūsā and Ibn Saʿīd. Thus, for example, in the part of the *Mughrib* dedicated to Cairo, Ibn Saʿīd says that apart from recording fragments of al-Bayhaqī, al-Qurṭī and other authors, he has added everything he has seen with his own eyes about the city of Cairo, because he has lived in it for many years.<sup>39</sup>

If we classify the sources according to geographical criteria we can divide them into: Andalusī sources (for instance, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, Ibn al-Faraḡī, and Ibn Bassām), Eastern sources (like al-Thaʿālibī and Ibn Ḥawqal), and North African sources (such as al-Raḡīq and Ibn Ghālib). No monographic study has yet been carried out on this subject.

## 4 *Al-Mughrib* in the East: Ibn Saʿīd and his travels

Whereas Mūsā Ibn Saʿīd can be credited with writing the largest share of the *Mughrib*, his son Ibn Saʿīd is the principal figure responsible for disseminating it. As is well known, Andalusī and Maghribī regularly travelled to the East for study, trade and other reasons.<sup>40</sup> As we have seen, following the death of Ibn Hūd,<sup>41</sup> Ibn Saʿīd and his father, feeling helpless in the face of a difficult situation,<sup>42</sup> decided to leave al-Andalus in the year 636 H/1238-9 CE under the guise of performing the *ḥajj*. They travelled by land across the territories of the Maghrib,

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<sup>38</sup> In relation to his written sources see Meouak 1993.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Nujūm* (1970), 22.

<sup>40</sup> For a general perspective, see Arié 1995; Marín 1995; Ávila 2002; Marín 2005.

<sup>41</sup> See above, footnote 13.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *Ikhtisār al-qidh* (1980), 60–61.

visiting Fez, Tunis and other important towns and cities. In Tunis they met Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Tifāshī, with whom they established a close friendship and who would subsequently help Ibn Saʿīd gain access to the court of the sultan of Ifrīqiya, Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā (r. 626–646 H/1229–1249 CE). During this period, in both al-Andalus and North Africa, they met important figures such as Ibn al-Abbār (d. 661 H/1260 CE), Abū al-Walīd al-Shaqundī (d. 630 H/1232 CE),<sup>43</sup> Abū al-Ḥasan Sahl Ibn Mālik (d. 639 H/1241–2 CE) and Ibn al-ʿAskar (d. 636 H/1239 CE). From Tunis they went on to Egypt, arriving in Alexandria in 639 H/1241 CE. While Mūsā stayed on there, Ibn Saʿīd continued to Cairo, before returning to Alexandria to be with his father, who died a year later on 8 Shawwāl 640 H/31 March 1243 CE.

After the death of his father, Ibn Saʿīd again settled for several years in the Ayyūbid Cairo of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 637–647 H/1240–1249 CE). His return to the city was a great literary event: a banquet was offered in his honor, with important personages in attendance, including the governor of Cairo (and later of Damascus) Jamāl al-Dīn al-Amīr Mūsā Ibn Yaghmur (599–663 H/1203–1265 CE), who became his patron and to whom he dedicated a summary of (or rather an excerpt from) the *Mughrib*, entitled *Rāyāt al-mubarrazīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyazīn* (The flags of the champions and the goals of the outstanding ones),<sup>44</sup> while finishing the *Mughrib*.

Ibn Saʿīd completed a first version of the *Mughrib* in 641 H/1243 CE,<sup>45</sup> which was very well received in Cairo. Among its enthusiastic readers was the Ayyūbid Sultan of Egypt, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (601–647 H/1205–1249 CE),<sup>46</sup> who granted its author access to the royal libraries.

In addition to his constant visits to libraries in search of knowledge and materials for his works, Ibn Saʿīd was also an expert in the manuscript markets of his time. This is recorded in the *Mughrib*, where he tells, for example, that “the *dīwān* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kizānī was well known among the people, and was often sold in the souks of Cairo and al-Fuṣṭāṭ”.<sup>47</sup> Ibn Saʿīd was not satisfied with simply recording what he heard, insisting that his informants share with him any further materials and anecdotes to help round out his books.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Saʿīd composed an appendix to his famous *risāla* in praise of al-Andalus. See al-Shaqundī, *Risāla* (1976).

<sup>44</sup> See the study, edition and Spanish translation of this work by García Gómez 1978.

<sup>45</sup> See Molina/Castro 2019.

<sup>46</sup> See Ibn Saʿīd, *Ikhtisār al-qidḥ* (1980), 6–7.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 261.

Ibn Saʿīd also makes note of the places where he tracked down rare manuscripts,<sup>48</sup> as well as the generous people who lent him their books (and the stingy ones who did not). The binomial *generosity/greed* is a constant in Ibn Saʿīd's works, to such an extent that we can use it to classify the many scholars that show up in his writings. For instance, during his stay in Cairo he met Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Marwān al-Zanāṭī,<sup>49</sup> Najm al-Rayḥānī and Ibn Ḥabāqa al-Khazrajī, all of whom he showered in praise for their generosity in giving him access to their libraries and providing him with information about the Egyptian literary scene.<sup>50</sup>

An important issue for Maghribi travellers and pilgrims was the dangerous and rude reception that they sometimes received when arriving in Alexandria and other Egyptian ports.<sup>51</sup> For this reason, Ibn Saʿīd highlighted the role of Maghribis who had settled in the East<sup>52</sup> and helped their Western countrymen on their way to Mecca via Egypt.<sup>53</sup>

An important moment in Ibn Saʿīd's life that contributed to the dissemination of his work was when, in the year 644 H/1246 CE, he met Ibn al-ʿAdīm, writer and vizier of the Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo, al-Nāṣir al-Malik (625–658 H/1228–1260 CE), who had come to Cairo on one of his embassies. Ibn Saʿīd left Cairo to accompany his friend Ibn al-ʿAdīm to Aleppo, to the court al-Nāṣir al-Malik, who gave him a lavish reception. He remained there for three years (644–647 H/1246–1249 CE), during which time the sultan granted him access not only to his royal libraries but also to those of Mosul and Baghdad, in exchange for a copy of the *Mughrib*.<sup>54</sup>

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48 Al-Maqqarī reports that Ibn Saʿīd found in the ʿĀdiliyya *madrassa* of Damascus – the library of the Ayyūbid sultan al-ʿĀdil I (d. 615 H/1218 CE) – a copy of the *History* of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571 H/1176 CE) that was completed and summarized by Abū Shāma (d. 665 H/1268 CE), from whom he heard about this work when he was living in Damascus. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 299.

49 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 301–302.

50 Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 267, 322.

51 Marín 2004, 217–220.

52 Pouzet 1975.

53 One example is Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qastālānī. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 269.

54 This information is recorded not only by al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 272–273, but before him by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* (2003), 270. Both authors report that the sultan was pleased with a poem that Ibn Saʿīd recited as soon as he arrived, and invited him to sit with him. The sultan asked him about his country (the Maghrib) and the reason and purpose of his travels. Ibn Saʿīd replied that he had gathered in two books, one dedicated to the East entitled *al-Mushriq fī ḥulā al-Mashriq* and another to the West, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, the excellences of these territories and their literati. The sultan offered him access to his libraries and brought for him

In 647 H/1249 CE, perhaps owing to the unstable situation in the East as a whole, but in particular in Cairo, following the death of Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and the Mamlūks' imminent ascent to power, Ibn Saʿīd – as he had done before in al-Andalus – decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and then headed to Damascus, where he explored the libraries of the city and its surroundings. In 648 H/1250 CE he went to Homs, Mosul and Baghdad,<sup>55</sup> where he visited, as recorded by al-Maqqarī,<sup>56</sup> a total of 36 libraries, where he copied the most important manuscripts he encountered. As just a few years later the city was sacked by the Mongols, many quotations from these works have come down to us only through Ibn Saʿīd's writings.<sup>57</sup>

Later he moved to Basra, passing through Armenia (Arrajān), and returned to Mecca. In 652 H/1254 CE he set sail for Tunis, where he entered into the service of the Ḥafṣid emir Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustanṣir (r. 646–677 H/1249–1279 CE). He stayed there for a few years before returning to the East in 666 H/1267 CE, this time to visit Iran, passing through Baghdad on the way, and returning to Tunis for good in 674 H/1276 CE, where he continued to serve al-Mustanṣir until his own death in 685 H/1286 CE.<sup>58</sup>

Ibn Saʿīd travels were undoubtedly the main vehicle for the transmission of his work,<sup>59</sup> and he continually expanded his network of contacts with each new city he visited. Such contacts served both as sources to include in his work as well as transmitters to disseminate it. As the author himself informs us, he sometimes travelled in a group, in the company of other scholars such as Ibn Jannān al-Shāṭibī.<sup>60</sup> The fact that they travelled together further facilitated dissemination, as they exchanged their respective works with one another.

In his biographical notes, Ibn Saʿīd relates the encounters with those he met, and the constant exchange of verses, prose and licenses between them.<sup>61</sup> Given the number of his trips in the East and North Africa, he had ample opportunity to

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works from Baghdad and Mosul, in exchange for a copy of the *Mughrib*. Al-Maqqarī also records that Ibn Saʿīd composed for this sultan another work entitled *Mulūk al-shiʿr*. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 295.

55 In relation to his stay in Baghdad see Alubudi 2004.

56 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 273, 370; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1984), 41.

57 See Amitai 1987.

58 This travelling from one place to another without definitively establishing himself in the East seems to indicate that Ibn Saʿīd did not feel comfortable under Mamlūk rule, unlike many other Andalusī scholars.

59 Marín 1995, 129–130.

60 Pouzet 1975, 174.

61 For a list of these encounters in Egypt see Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 35.

make his work known, at least in oral form. This happened not only in the East, but also earlier, when he was still living in his homeland. If we consider that even before leaving behind al-Andalus, Mūsā, in collaboration with his son, had already completed a sizeable portion of the work, they must have spread information about its contents among the poets and scholars they interacted with in Algeciras.<sup>62</sup>

In spite of this, only one incomplete manuscript has been preserved, in the case of both the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq*.<sup>63</sup> However, we know that there were a number of copies that circulated in the East and the West during Ibn Sa'īd's lifetime and after his death, a subject we will continue to explore in the following section.

## 5 Contemporary and later diffusion of *al-Mughrib*

During Ibn Sa'īd's time his work was disseminated by his teachers or fellow students such as Ibn Mufarrij al-Umawī,<sup>64</sup> Aḥmad Ibn Ṭalḥa and Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī. His relationship with them involved teaching, gatherings, exchanging compositions, and reciting their poetry to one another. We know, however, almost nothing about Ibn Sa'īd's disciples.<sup>65</sup> Only one of his works<sup>66</sup> points out the existence of a disciple named Hudhayl al-Ishbīlī, who could also have helped spread the author's work.

Three scholars, besides Ibn Sa'īd himself, played a prominent role in the diffusion of the *Mughrib*:

1. Muḥammad b. Hamūshk al-Tinmalī, to whom Ibn Sa'īd dedicated extensive biographies in his own writings.<sup>67</sup> He was born in Ceuta and received his education in this city and Algeciras; he then settled with his family in Tunis, where he lived the rest of his life. Ibn Sa'īd and Ibn Hamūshk knew each other very well and shared common ancestors.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Hamūshk was a teacher of Ibn Rushayd (d.

<sup>62</sup> See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 2: 328.

<sup>63</sup> The only manuscript preserved of the *Mushriq* is the one located in Cairo, in the History section of the Taymūr Library, MS 2532.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *Ikhtisār al-qidḥ* (1980), 181.

<sup>65</sup> None of the authors that have included a biography of Ibn Sa'īd in their works record any information about this issue. See a list of these authors in the table below.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Ghusūn* (1977), 69–71.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *Ikhtisār al-qidḥ* (1980), 11, 98–108.

<sup>68</sup> Potiron 1965, 82–83, 85–87.

721 H/1321 CE)<sup>69</sup> and, as the latter indicates in his *Rihla*, Ibn Sa'īd transmitted and licensed to Ibn Hamūshk the great majority of his works, and it was through him that Ibn Rushayd became aware of them.<sup>70</sup> Ibn Hamūshk had a scribe who made a copy of each of Ibn Sa'īd's works, including, of course, the *Mughrib*. He thereby gathered a larger collection of Ibn Sa'īd's works than had ever been made before. He did not lend them out, but readily had copies made for anyone who came to see them.<sup>71</sup>

2. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī,<sup>72</sup> who was from Tifāsh in Ifrīqiya, and travelled to Cairo, where he lived for many years on his search for knowledge<sup>73</sup> and patronage. He contributed to the eastward transmission and spread of the works of Ibn Sa'īd,<sup>74</sup> of whom he was master-disciple. Al-Tifāshī was an admirer of the beauty and value of the *Mughrib*, praising it in several of his own verses.<sup>75</sup> An important document preserved by al-Maqqarī is the *ijāza*<sup>76</sup> that al-Tifāshī – and one of his disciples – received from Ibn Sa'īd to transmit his work:

And I found in the handwriting of ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd – God the Highest have mercy on him – at the end of a volume of the *Kitāb al-Mughrib* the following: “And I granted the license to the *shaykh*, to the high *qāḍī* Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh al-Qāḍī Abū Ya'qūb al-Tifāshī to transmit this work of mine, *al-Mughrib fī maḥāsin al-Maghrib*, and to transmit

**69** Ibn Rushayd, born in Ceuta, was an important jurist (*faqīh*), preacher, traditionist, prose writer, *ḥāfiẓ*, and the author of an important travelogue or *riḥla*. According to Ibn Rushayd, Ibn Hamūshk was born in Ceuta and was a prominent scholar who maintained correspondence with jurists, chiefs (*ru'asā'*) and emirs. See Ḥaddādī 2003, 337–338; Lirola Delgado 2006.

**70** Escorial, MS 1737, folio 101, in the 6th part not edited.

**71** Ḥaddādī 2003, 337–338.

**72** Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tifāshī came from Tifāsh, a city located in Ifrīqiya. He travelled to Egypt to learn and teach, and returned to his hometown where he headed the judiciary. Later, he returned to the East but lost his possessions and his books at sea so he sought refuge with Muḥammad b. Nadī al-Jazarī – an important character on which we will return later – with whom Ibn Sa'īd also lived for a time and for whom he copied the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq*. Al-Tifāshī composed several works for this governor, including the 24-volume work *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*. He died in the year 651 H/1253 CE. He was also the author of the work *Azhār al-afkār* that served Ibn Sa'īd as a source of information. See Ruska/Kahl, “al-Tifāshī”, *EP*.

**73** In Cairo, al-Tifāshī was disciple of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629 H/1231 CE), a famous scholar trained in many subjects, including *ḥadīth*, grammar and calligraphy, but mainly known for his medical knowledge. In relation to his life and search for knowledge and patronage, see Toorawa 2004.

**74** See Ibn Sa'īd, *Ikhtisār al-qidḥ* (1980), 163–164; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib* (1968), 2: 324–325; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1983), 8: 188–190.

**75** Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 40.

**76** Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 48.

it to anyone he wishes, trusting in his judgment and wisdom. And I also granted the license (*ijāza*) to his noble disciple (*fatā*) Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Khaṭlakh al-Fārisī al-Urmawī to transmit it from me and to anyone he wishes. Written by its author, ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd on the date on which the copy of this volume was completed”.<sup>77</sup>

It is difficult to establish with precision when and how Ibn Sa‘īd granted this license or *ijāza* to al-Tifāshī and his disciple because we have little information about al-Tifāshī’s life in Cairo. As Ibn Sa‘īd stated in his work *Ikhtisār al-qidh al-mu‘allā*,<sup>78</sup> in the biography of Abū al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Utba al-Ishbīlī, al-Tifāshī informed him about the stay of this scholar in Cairo (*akhbarānī ṣāhibuhu bi-Miṣr Abū al-Faḍl al-Tifāshī*). We can therefore assume that Ibn Sa‘īd met al-Tifāshī in person when he settled in Cairo after the death of his father and before travelling to Aleppo with Ibn al-‘Adīm, between the years 640 H/1243 CE and 644 H/1246 CE. Another question is when Ibn Sa‘īd recorded this license in the *Mughrib*. According to the editors of the *Mughrib*, it is not found in the *codex unicus* preserved in Cairo, so it must have been part of the broader manuscript that al-Maqqarī handled and that could be the last version of the *Mughrib*, or one of the last ones, written by Ibn Sa‘īd after the year 647 H/1249 CE, the date of the Cairo manuscript.

3. Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Jarāda Ibn al-‘Adīm,<sup>79</sup> born in 588 H/1192 CE, was an outstanding man of letters who served as vizier to the Ayyūbid governor of Aleppo, al-Nāṣir al-Malik. He dedicated his life to writing and reading, producing copies of many works, in addition to composing one work of his own, *Ta’rīkh Ḥalab* (History of Aleppo). He also owned a sizeable library that Ibn Sa‘īd mentions several times having used, along with the books he consulted in it. Ibn al-‘Adīm met Ibn Sa‘īd on one of his embassies to Egypt, specifically in the year 637 H/1239 CE, as Ibn Sa‘īd describes in his work *al-Muqtaṭaf*,<sup>80</sup> and, as mentioned above, they later travelled together to Aleppo.

Ibn Sa‘īd, in his biography of Ibn al-‘Adīm,<sup>81</sup> describes this important encounter, and adds the following:

It was said that in Aleppo they called him *ra’īs al-aṣḥāb*.<sup>82</sup> When I arrived with him in this city he lodged me in a house that had a garden with running water, and he told me, “You

<sup>77</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 332.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, *Ikhtisār al-qidh* (1980), 163–164.

<sup>79</sup> Lewis, “Ibn al-‘Adīm”, *EP*; Canard 1973.

<sup>80</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1984), 298.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1984), 199–200.

<sup>82</sup> This term seems to refer to a person with a position of prestige and economic means who was continually surrounded by people with the same intellectual concerns and motivations – hence

are an Andalusī. I have heard that in your houses there is no lack of such things". He prepared plenty of food and entertainment for me each day. He also told me, "This will mean that you do not need to ask for anything or have to serve the sultan until he himself comes to you; trust in my commitment to you. I have described you to him as a noble and honorable man". I clung to this and he behaved above and beyond my expectations.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm died in the year 660 H/1262 CE. Upon his death, al-Maqqarī quoted from Ibn Sa'īd:

Among the works of Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Sa'īd there is *ʿUddat al-mustanjiz wa-ʿuqlat al-mustawfiz*. In it he mentions that he travelled from Tunis to the East on his second trip in the year 666 [H/1267 CE] (...) and mentions in [this work] that when he entered Alexandria he did not find anyone to inform him about al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He was informed of his situation and of what had happened to him with the Tartars, who killed him after having granted him the *amān* (...) and during this event al-Badr Ibn al-ʿAdīm was also killed.<sup>83</sup>

We also know that Ibn Sa'īd had relations with some of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's relatives, including his nephew al-Iftikhār b. al-ʿAdīm,<sup>84</sup> and with his grandfather, Abū al-Majd Muḥammad Ibn al-Wazīr, to whom he wrote a letter when he was in Tunis serving the Ḥafṣid sultan, during his first trip to the East.<sup>85</sup>

One important encounter for the spread of Ibn Sa'īd's work was when al-Tifāshī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm met face to face in Cairo.<sup>86</sup> The former recited to the latter several poems by Ibn Sa'īd, and stated that he had taken them from the *Mughrib*. We do not know when this meeting took place, but it must have been before Ibn Sa'īd copied the *Mughrib* for Ibn al-ʿAdīm in Aleppo.

In addition to Ibn Sa'īd's three contemporaries mentioned above, who were decisive in the spread not only of the *Mughrib* but also of other works by Ibn Sa'īd, Mamlūk authors also became interested, finding it to be a very valuable source, especially for information on al-Andalus and North Africa. For instance, Abū al-Fidā' invokes the *Mughrib* to recriminate Ibn Khallikān for a mistake he made when dealing with a scholar from Salobreña, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Shalawbīnī, a mistake that could have been avoided had he consulted the *Mughrib*.<sup>87</sup> Among the Mamlūk authors familiar with Ibn Sa'īd's works, al-Ṣafādī

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the term *aṣḥāb* (friends) – of whom he was the visible head (*ra'īs*) and surely the one who organized the *majālis* (encounters) where they would meet.

<sup>83</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 368.

<sup>84</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 369.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *Ikhtisār al-qidḥ* (1980), 6.

<sup>86</sup> Recorded by al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 325.

<sup>87</sup> See Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* (1907), 3: 177; Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-buldān* (1848–83), 2: 254.



(d. 763 H/1362 CE) possessed copies that were all in Ibn Sa‘īd’s own hand. In the biography dedicated to Ibn Sa‘īd in his work *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*,<sup>88</sup> al-Şafadī states that his copies include *al-Mughrib*, *al-Mushriq*, *Kitāb al-Gharāmiyyāt*, *Ḥulā al-rasā’il*, *Kunūz al-maṭālib fi āl Abī Ṭālib*, and *al-Murqīş wa-l-muṭrib*.

The following table includes some of the authors – mainly Mamlūk but also Maghribi and Ottoman – who made use of Ibn Sa‘īd’s works either directly or indirectly. They engaged especially with the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq*, but also with other works that have not been preserved, like *‘Uddat al-mustanjiz* and *Ḥulā al-rasā’il*. Thus, we can see that his works were disseminated not only during his lifetime, but after his death as well.

**Tab. 1:** Authors who made use of Ibn Sa‘īd’s works

Authors	Works
Ibn al-‘Adīm (d. 660 H/1262 CE)	<i>Ta’rīkh Ḥalab</i>
Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 701 H/1302 CE)	<i>al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila</i>
Ibn Rushayd (d. 721 H/1321 CE)	<i>Mil’ al-‘ayba</i>
Abū al-Fidā’ (d. 731 H/1331 CE)	<i>Taqwīm al-buldān</i> <i>al-Mukhtaşar fi akhbār al-bashar</i>
Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. 749 H/1349 CE)	<i>Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār</i>
al-Şafadī (d. 763 H/1362 CE)	<i>al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt</i>
Ibn Şākīr al-Kutubī (d. 764 H/1363 CE)	<i>Fawāt al-wafayāt</i>
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 769 H/1368 CE or 778 H/1377 CE)	<i>Riḥla</i>
Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 H/1374 CE)	<i>Kitāb A’māl al-a’lām</i> <i>al-Iḥāṭa fi akhbār Gharnāṭa</i> <sup>89</sup>
Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE)	<i>al-Dībāj al-mudhhab</i>
Aḥmad al-Raba‘ī (d. 9th/15th century)	<i>Masraḥ al-afkār fi nasamāt al-azhār</i>

<sup>88</sup> Al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1983), 22: 253.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb made extensive use of the works of Ibn Sa‘īd, to the point that some of them served as direct inspiration for his own writings. In the *Iḥāṭa* he dedicates a biography to Ibn Sa‘īd in which he says, “he was a prodigy travelling through the countries, interviewing prominent men to enjoy their libraries, recording the valuable data of the East as well as the West”. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1973–78), 4: 152–158.

Authors	Works
Ibn Khaldūn <sup>90</sup> (d. 808 H/1406 CE)	<i>Kitāb al-'Ibar</i> (including the <i>Muqaddima</i> )
Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809 H/1407 CE)	<i>al-Intiṣār li-wāṣīyat 'aqq al-amṣār</i>
al-Qalqashandī (d. 820 H/1418 CE)	<i>Ṣubḥ al-a'shā</i>
al-Maqrīzī (d. 845 H/1442 CE)	<i>Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ</i> <i>Ighāthat al-umma</i>
Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874 H/1470 CE)	<i>al-Manhal al-ṣāfi</i>
al-Sakhāwī (d. 901 H/1496 CE)	<i>al-'Ilān bi-l-tawbīkh</i>
al-Suyūṭī (d. 910 H/1505 CE)	<i>Bughyat al-wu'āt</i> <i>Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara</i>
Ibn al-Qāḍī (d. 1024 H/1616 CE)	<i>Durrat al-ḥijāl</i>
al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1632 CE)	<i>Nafḥ al-ṭīb</i> <i>Azhār al-riyāḍ</i>
Ḥājji Khalīfa (d. 1067 H/1657 CE)	<i>Kashf al-zunūn</i>

It is worth nothing that of these works, *Masraḥ al-afkār* by 9th/15th-century Tunisian author Aḥmad al-Raba'ī has been fundamental for the preservation of materials compiled in two of Ibn Sa'īd's works, *'Uddat al-mustanjiz* and *Ḥulā al-rasā'il*, since these were subsequently lost.<sup>91</sup>

## 5.1 Ibn Sa'īd's copies for his patrons

Ibn Sa'īd made, over the course of his lifetime, various copies of his works that he presented to sultans, governors and other important figures of the day. Ḥājji Khalīfa, in his book *Kashf al-zunūn*,<sup>92</sup> states that the *Mughrib* was composed (*al-lafahu*) for Muḥyi al-Dīn b. Nadī al-Jazarī (d. 651 H/1253 CE), who ruled in al-Jazīra (Northern Iraq),<sup>93</sup> first as independent governor after the death of his father Shams al-Dīn, and then under the supervision of Ayyūbid Sultan al-Kāmil b. al-'Ādil (r. 614–636 H/1218–1238 CE) and his successors. Muḥyi al-Dīn b. Nadī al-Jazarī surrounded himself with scholars who wrote works for him, among them

<sup>90</sup> The information that Ibn Khaldūn includes in his *Muqaddima* about *muwashshahāt* and *azjāl* is extracted for the most part from the *Mughrib*, possibly one of the best Arab-Islamic sources for this type of poetry. See Lévi-Provençal 1954.

<sup>91</sup> Al-Raba'ī, *Masraḥ al-afkār* (1992).

<sup>92</sup> Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn* (1941), 2: 1747.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 54. On al-Jazarī, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1983), 1: 143–144.

Ibn Sa‘id.<sup>94</sup> Ḥājji Khalīfa seems to have taken this information from al-Ṣafadī’s biography of Ibn Sa‘id in his work *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, as well his biography of Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Jazarī, where he states,<sup>95</sup> “Ibn Sa‘id wrote (*ṣannafa*) for him a copy of the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* and he also composed poems in his honor”.

Taken on its own, the report by al-Ṣafadī, later recorded by Ḥājji Khalīfa, may seem to imply that the *Mughrib* was exclusively the work of Ibn Sa‘id, who wrote it (*ṣannafa* / *allafa*) for al-Jazarī. Since we know this is not the case, this report should be interpreted as referring to the fact that Ibn Sa‘id made a copy (*nuskha*) of the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* for his patron, which must have led al-Jazarī to believe – or to boast – that Ibn Sa‘id had actually composed them for him. The *Mughrib* is, of course, the result of the work of several members of Ibn Sa‘id’s family, Ibn Sa‘id being the final author (*mukammil*) in this long line.

Another copy is mentioned by al-Maqqarī in the biography dedicated to Ibn Sa‘id in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*,<sup>96</sup> where he reports that Ibn Sa‘id “wrote” a copy of the *Mughrib* for the sultan of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, when they met, as we have already mentioned, in the company of Ibn al-‘Adīm.

## 5.2 The Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya manuscript

Despite the fact that the *Mughrib* was well known, its modern editors believe that there were probably few copies in circulation. The dissemination of the *Mughrib* – as well as other works by Ibn Sa‘id, such as the *Mushriq* – seems in fact to have occurred basically in a fragmentary way by means of oral transmission or through the use of quotations from the few original copies made by Ibn Sa‘id – such as those made for Ibn al-‘Adīm and Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Jazarī – and those made by others such as Ibn Hamūshk and perhaps by al-Tifāshī.<sup>97</sup> Al-‘Umarī and al-Maqqarī – and perhaps Abū al-Fidā’ as well – seem to have had access to a complete copy

<sup>94</sup> We do not know exactly when Ibn Sa‘id met Ibn Nadi al-Jazarī. It could have happened when Ibn Sa‘id travelled to Baghdad, Homs and Mosul, in the year 648 H/1250 CE, from the court of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Nāṣir al-Malik.

<sup>95</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1983), 1: 143–144.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 272–273. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A‘māl al-a‘lām* (2003), 270.

<sup>97</sup> As with the oral license granted to Ibn al-‘Adīm, we know that in Cairo Ibn Sa‘id granted al-Tifāshī a license or *ijāza* to transmit the *Mughrib*; however, at present we cannot be certain whether al-Tifāshī had a copy of this work.

of the *Mughrib*, as they quote many materials taken from this work that do not appear in the only extant copy, preserved at Cairo's Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya.<sup>98</sup>

This copy is of great value since it appears to have been made by the author himself, and may possibly be the first copy he made while in Aleppo. This is what the editors of the text have proposed given the deletions, blank spaces, and numerous corrections found in the text. Ibn Saʿīd states at the end of every extant volume that the copy was made for Ibn al-ʿAdīm, specifically for his noble library, during the years that the author spent in Aleppo (644–647 H/1246–1249 CE). Later – we do not know when – this copy reached al-Ṣafadī's hands, since his signature appears in the manuscript to indicate that he owned it,<sup>99</sup> as well as the signatures and brief notes of others who used this copy after him:<sup>100</sup>

1. Praying to God for its owner, it was used by Ibrāhīm b. Duqmāq [d. 809 H/1407 CE], may God forgive him and have mercy on him, Amen.
2. And it was read by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Awḥadī in the year 802 (H/1399 CE).
3. And, praying to God for its owner, it was used by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī in the year 803 (H/1400 CE).
4. [And it was read by] Khalīl b. ʿUmar al-Muḥtāj al-Ashʿarī.
5. [And] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qaṣṣās al-Miṣrī al-Bakrī al-Wafāʿī in the year 974 (H/1566 CE).
6. [And] al-Sharīf Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥamawī in the year 1087 (H/1676 CE).
7. [And] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Amīr in the year 1191 (H/1777 CE).
8. And this volume was seen and read from beginning to end by the *faqīh* Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-ʿAṭṭār (...) who believes this is a work unlike any other ever written. I managed to see it in the al-Muʿayyad library in the year 1243 (H/1827 CE), and I pray God will allow me to see the rest of this work by his grace and generosity.

The undated signature of al-Suyūfī also appears in the margins of one of the pages, and al-Maqrīzī, who consulted this work in Cairo, left in the margin of the

<sup>98</sup> The copy of the *Mughrib* used by al-Maqqarī and al-ʿUmarī, as mentioned before, must have been the last one made by Ibn Saʿīd. Perhaps it is a copy of the Cairo manuscript, but in any case, it was one of the last copies written by Ibn Saʿīd. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 48–49.

<sup>99</sup> The cover of volume four states, “Read and borrowed from its owner by Khalīl b. Aybak b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣafadī, may God forgive him”. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 54.

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 59–60.

biography devoted to Ibn Sūrīn a long note where he adds further information about this author and his writings.<sup>101</sup>

All these signatures confirm that by the end of the 8th/14th century, specifically before 809 H/1407 CE, the date of Ibn Duqmāq's death, the Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya manuscript was already in Cairo, although it is possible that al-Ṣafadī himself had already brought it there at an earlier date while serving in the Egyptian capital. Al-ʿAṭṭār's signature confirms that at least part of the manuscript had already been lost at the al-Muʿayyad mosque before 1243 H/1827 CE, the year he consulted it. Another important moment recorded in the manuscript itself, in the 9th/15th century, was when it was deposited as a pious donation (*waqf*) by the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Muʿayyad Abū al-Nāṣir (r. 814–823 H/1412–1421 CE) in the library of the Muʿayyadiyya mosque.<sup>102</sup> It is Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 901 H/1496 CE), in his work *al-Iʿlān bi-l-tawbikh li-man dhamma ahl al-taʾrīkh*, who records this information.<sup>103</sup>

The manuscript consists of 1300 pages, classified into four volumes that have not been preserved in their original order. The successive editors of the *Mughrib* have managed to restore order to the preserved volumes, especially Shawqī Ḍayf, the editor of the Andalusī portion. The first, second and third of the six chapters dedicated to Egypt have been lost; chapters seven, eight and nine devoted to Ifriqiya and North Africa have been lost; and of the six chapters dedicated to al-Andalus (that is, from chapter ten to fifteen) the tenth is lost – although a large portion has been preserved thanks to al-Maqqarī's *Nafh al-ṭīb* – and chapters eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen are preserved, except for a few pages relating to Seville and the ʿAbbādī dynasty.

## 6 Concluding remarks

Ibn Saʿīd experienced mixed feelings upon his arrival in Egypt. On the one hand, he was fascinated by the majestic palaces, buildings and gardens of Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ, but on the other, he was distressed by the Egyptian capital's bustling crowds.<sup>104</sup> Ibn Saʿīd puts forth the pros and cons of a city as exciting and thrilling as Cairo was at that time. His criticism, however, has garnered more attention than his praise, so that medieval and modern authors alike have characterized

101 Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Nujūm* (1970), 249, n. 2.

102 This mosque was built between 1405 and 1410 CE. See Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (2003), 60.

103 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Iʿlān* (1986), 269.

104 Blachère 1975; Bejarano 1995; Marín, 2004.

him as a pro-Maghribi writer critical of Egypt and its people – even though he chose to include Egypt as part of the Maghrib, as analyzed by Víctor de Castro in this volume.

Likewise, when speaking of al-Andalus, Ibn Saʿīd does not always indulge in praise; he can be severe even in discussing the inhabitants of his native Alcalá la Real (Qalʿat Banī Saʿīd or Qalʿat Yaḥṣūb). For instance, when speaking of the people of Locubín (al-ʿUqbīn),<sup>105</sup> one of the fortresses of the district of Alcalá la Real, he says, “The people of Locubín are characterized by their ignorance, dominated by nomadism (*badāwa*), and are far removed from the manners of civilization (*ādāb al-ḥadāra*)”.<sup>106</sup>

Ibn Saʿīd thus paints a complex picture of the lands that appear in his *Mughrib*. The work was also the product of a complex history that involved the integration of different layers of materials, first in al-Andalus through a long period when it seems to have been limited to the Maghrib proper (i.e. not including Egypt), and later when Ibn Saʿīd, having settled in the East, decided to add Egyptian materials, and to create a parallel anthology of Mashriqi materials in a separate work, the *Mushriq*. Ibn Saʿīd himself produced different versions of the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* during his stay in Aleppo, and these copies are the ones that seem to have made his work known in the East and most especially in Egypt, as they were the ones consulted and quoted by Egyptian scholars. Of fundamental importance in this process was the presence of one of these copies in the 9th/15th century in the library of the Muʿayyadiyya mosque as a pious donation (*waqf*) instituted by the Mamlūk sultan. This moment marks the passage of Ibn Saʿīd's literary anthology from a restricted court and scholarly setting to one in which scholars in general could have access to it, thus making the production of new copies less of a necessity. Various other copies are known to have existed – among them those made by Ibn Hamūshk and perhaps by al-Tifāshī – although it is not clear if they included both the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* or only the former. Also, we have no information about their later history, as no Maghribi manuscript has been preserved. Did the *Mushriq* circulate in the Maghrib? Did Andalusī authors, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who never went to Egypt, have access to the final copies of the *Mughrib* and the *Mushriq* made by Ibn Saʿīd himself, or was he quoting from earlier copies, or even indirectly? Unfortunately, at the present stage of our research, these questions must remain unanswered.

<sup>105</sup> In relation to this castle see Castillo 1974; Castillo 2009.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib* (1953), 2: 186.

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Teresa Garulo

# A Successful Andalusi *muwashshaḥ*: ‘Ubāda b. Mā’ al-Samā’<sup>1</sup>’s *Man walī*

## 1 The Beginnings

One of the most important contributors to the formal evolution of the *muwashshaḥ* genre was the poet and anthologist ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’.<sup>1</sup> Probably born in Córdoba, he died in Málaga some time after Šafar 421 H/February 1030 CE, according to Ibn Ḥazm, although other dates have also been proposed.<sup>2</sup> Most of his poems were dedicated to the Ḥammūdī rulers of Málaga, but previously he had eulogized the ‘Āmirids of Córdoba. Some of his classical poems are preserved in Andalusi anthologies and biographical dictionaries, e.g. Ibn Bassām’s *Dhakhira*, Ibn al-Kattānī’s *Tashbihāt*,<sup>3</sup> Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī’s *Rabī’*,<sup>4</sup> Ibn ‘Askar/Ibn Khamīs’s *A’lām Mālaqa*, etc. Frequently his poems, or his personality, are found intermingled with those of another Andalusi poet, Muḥammad b.

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1 See Granja, “Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’”, *EP*; Vizcaíno Plaza 2006.

2 Al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* (1429/2008), 424–426 (biog. 663). Al-Ḥumaydī seems perplexed when confronted with the date 419 H/1028 CE provided by Ibn Shuhayd, as he believes his teacher Ibn Ḥazm to be more reliable; but this last date is accepted in other biographies: Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Šila* (1410/1989), 655 (biog. 973), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān; Ibn ‘Askar/Ibn Khamīs, *A’lām Mālaqa* (1420/2000), 281–285 (biog. 111); but, more frequently, the biographers give both dates: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira* (1978), 1: 468–480; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (1410/1989), 517–518 (biog. 1126); al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1413/1993), 28: 461 (biog. 361), and 29: 58–59 (biog. 23); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 149–153 (biog. 209); al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 355–359 (biog. 5911).

3 Ibn al-Kattānī, *al-Tashbihāt* (1966), index. Ibn al-Kattānī collected 22 poems or poetic fragments by ‘Ubāda. They have been translated into Spanish, along with those preserved in Ibn Bassām’s *Dhakhira* (also 21 poems), by W. Hoenerbach (1986).

4 Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rabī’* (1410/1989).

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‘Ubāda, known as Ibn al-Qazzāz,<sup>5</sup> who lived in Almería at the court of al-Mu‘tašim b. Šumādiḥ (r. 443–484 H/1051–1091 CE).<sup>6</sup> Both were famous for their *muwashshahāt*, which has often led to confusion.

Ibn Bassām, in his brief report on the history of the *muwashshah* genre, included at the beginning of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s biography, emphasizes ‘Ubāda’s role as the last link in its evolution, a process which took place during the second half of the 4th/10th century.<sup>7</sup> The *muwashshah* poetic genre was very successful in Ibn Bassām’s times, and probably had been for many decades already. It was invented by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd or, according to Ibn Sa‘īd in his *Muqtaṭaf*, by Muqaddam b. Mu‘āfā,<sup>8</sup> both of whom were poets during the reign of the emir ‘Abd Allāh (r. 275–300 H/888–912 CE). The genre had a very distinguished follower, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 328 H/940 CE), the author of the outstanding encyclopaedia of Arabic and Islamic knowledge entitled *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*. The only clue as to the formal characteristics of these first *muwashshahāt* is Ibn Bassām’s mention as to the use of a short song or statement (*lafẓ*) in the vernacular language (colloquial Arabic or Romance) as the prosodic foundation of the entire poem. Ibn Bassām, after Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, called it the *markaz* (“centre”, pl. *marākiz*), and referred to the other parts of the poem as the *ghuṣn* (“branch”, pl. *aghṣān*). The first important innovation was introduced by Yūsuf b. Hārūn al-Ramādī (d. 403 H/1013 CE), who extended the use of internal rhymes into these *marākiz*. And, finally, ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ was the first poet to insert internal rhymes into the *aghṣān*.

None of the *muwashshahāt* composed by the genre’s creator Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (or Muqaddam b. Mu‘āfā) have been preserved, and the same is true for his immediate followers Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi and, later, al-Ramādī. Moreover, al-

5 On this issue, see Stern 1950, who tries to disentangle the confusions in the Arabic sources, and draws up an inventory of Ibn al-Qazzāz’s classical poems and *muwashshahāt*. To the five strophic poems collected by Stern from *Dār al-ṭirāz* by Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (1949) can be added those included in Ibn al-Bishrī (1992) (nos. 22, 109, 158, 214, 215, 275, 276, 309, 325, 327, 340, 341; nos. 23, 138 and 263 are also found in *Dār al-ṭirāz*).

6 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (1978), 1: 801–805, collected six classical poetical fragments by him.

7 Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra* (1978), 1: 469–470. A very thorough analysis of Ibn Bassām’s report can be found in Monroe 1985–86, 121–147.

8 Ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī, *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1983), 255; in the last chapter of this book (*khamīla 12th*), 255–266, Ibn Sa‘īd outlines a history of the strophic poetry of al-Andalus for his Eastern audience (he wrote his book in Aleppo, between 640 H/1243 CE and 645 H/1247 CE). As is well known, Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) quoted it freely in his *Muqaddima* (al-Ahwānī 1948, 19–33); see also, Garulo 2008, 361–369; Garulo 2006.

though Ibn Bassām says that in his time there were poets who composed *muwashshaḥāt* following al-Ramādī’s innovative rhyme scheme (he mentions the names of three poets, one of whom does not appear in other Arabic sources, Mukarram b. Sa’īd, and two others who are not identifiable, namely the sons of Abū al-Ḥasan), their poems were never collected. As such, their actual structure is a matter for conjecture. Perhaps, as suggested by Miqdād Raḥīm,<sup>9</sup> al-Ramādī’s was the least sophisticated known *muwashshaḥāt* rhyme scheme: (*m m*) a a a *m m*, b b b *m m*,<sup>10</sup> and so on up to five stanzas. However, why does Ibn Bassām mention these unknown poets, when some of his contemporaries, such as Ibn al-Labbāna,<sup>11</sup> al-Jazzār,<sup>12</sup> Ibn Arfa’ Ra’suh,<sup>13</sup> Ibn Lubbūn,<sup>14</sup> etc., were already using this pattern?

‘Ubāda’s *muwashshaḥāt* and their new style were an immediate success, and with them all the previous rhyme schemes seem to have been forgotten. The new rhyme schemes are probably those present in all collections of strophic poetry or in the *dīwāns* of the poets who composed them: (*m n*) a a a *m n*, b b b *m n*, etc., (*m m*) a a a *m m*, b b b *m m*, etc., or (*mn mn*) ab ab ab *mn mn*, etc., (*mn on*) ab ab ab *mn on* – the latter being the most frequent pattern in Ibn Bishrī’s (8th/14th century) *Uddat al-jalīs* – or all the possible combinations in the *aghṣān* or in the *marākiz* that the virtuosity of the *muwashshaḥ* authors afforded them. But Ibn Bassām never collected any of ‘Ubāda’s strophic poems, because, as he explains, this kind of poetry lies beyond the scope of his anthology. In fact, the same was true of all Andalusi anthologists, none of whom would include *muwashshaḥāt* in their works until the 8th/14th century, with the anthologies of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d.

<sup>9</sup> Raḥīm 1407/1987, 46–48.

<sup>10</sup> In this paper, in order to describe the rhyme schemes I will use the letters of the alphabet up to the letter *l* for the rhymes of the *ghuṣn*, pl. *aghṣān* (Ibn Bassām) or *bayt*, pl. *abyāt* (Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk), the section of the stanza whose rhymes change with each new stanza (Spanish, *mu-danza*); and from letter *m* onwards for the rhymes of the *markaz* (Ibn Bassām) or *qufl*, pl. *aqfāl* (Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk), the last section of every stanza, whose rhymes are common to all the stanzas (Spanish *vuelta*); the name of the last *markaz* or *qufl* is *kharja*. This common rhyme can appear at the very beginning of the poem, in which case it is called *maṭla’* (prelude), and a *muwashshaḥa* with it is called *tāmma*, that is to say ‘complete’. About two thirds of the extant *muwwashshaḥāt* have a prelude, and are indeed *muwashshaḥāt tāmma*. In quoting a *muwashshaḥa*, or describing its rhyme schemes, I will use italics for the common rhymes.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 71–72, no. 5; 76–77, no. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 180–181, no. 2; 188–189, no. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 92–94, no. 7 (but the rhyme scheme is a a a *m n*, like *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* [1997], 182–183, no. 3, by al-Jazzār).

<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997), 197–199, no. 2 and no. 3; 207–209, no. 10.

776 H/1375 CE) and Ibn Bushrā/Bishrī.<sup>15</sup> By then, and already from the second half of the 7th/13th century onward, Andalusī authors, who surpassed their Eastern colleagues in this poetic genre, were fully aware of the interest it aroused, of its success in Syria and Egypt, of the amount of imitations of the strophic poems, and of the Eastern treatises<sup>16</sup> composed in order to master their technical difficulties and to teach them to people whose ears were not familiar with their rhythms. And so, when writing in the East, they began to include some *muwashshaḥāt*,<sup>17</sup> or at least to provide their readers with an overview of the genre's history.<sup>18</sup>

## 2 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā' in the East

Fortunately, thanks to the interest in Andalusī strophic poetry in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, two *muwashshaḥāt* attributed to 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā' have been preserved. Both poems were selected by the Syrian historian Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī (d. 764 H/1363 CE) in his biographical dictionary *Fawāt al-wafayāt*,<sup>19</sup> and by his contemporary al-Ṣafadī (d. 764 H/1363 CE) in his *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*.<sup>20</sup>

The first one is *Man walī*, alluded to in the title of this paper, and to which I shall return later. The second one begins *Hubbu l-mahā 'ibādah*<sup>21</sup> (To love an antelope is worship). This poem exhibits something of the sophistication that seems to be at the root of the success of 'Ubāda's innovations. It is a *muwashshaḥa tamma*, that is, with a prelude (*maṭla'*), and five stanzas. However, while the lines of the *aghṣān* have the more habitual pattern ab ab ab, etc., the common rhymes

15 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Jaysh al-tawshīḥ* (1997); Ibn Bishrī, 'Uddat al-jalīs (1992).

16 On the *muwashshaḥa*, see Ibn Sanā' al-Mulq, *Dār al-tirāz* (1949); García Gómez 1962. On the *zajal*, strophic poems in the Andalusī vernacular, see Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *al-Āṭil* (1981).

17 Ibn Dihya (d. 633 H/1235 CE), writing in Egypt in the first third of the 7th/13th century, only includes two *muwashshaḥāt*, both by Ibn Zuhr al-Ḥafid (d. 595 H/1198 CE). See Ibn Dihya, *al-Muṭrib* (1993), 203–206. In the second half of that century, Ibn Sa'īd collected in his *Mughrib* a considerable number of strophic poems (*muwashshaḥāt* as well as *azjāl*) in nineteen of the twenty sections of his work, entitled *ahdāb*, "fringes", all dedicated to *hazl*, 'humor' and 'humorous poems'. See Garulo 2009a, 311–330.

18 Ibn Sa'īd in the 12th chapter (*khamīla*) of *al-Muqṭaṭaf*, mentioned above.

19 Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 149–153 (biog. 209).

20 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 355–359 (biog. 5911).

21 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 358–359; Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 152–153; Ghāzī 1979, 1: 8–10.

(*marākiz*) have a very unusual rhyme scheme, *mno po*.<sup>22</sup> Also the parts of the *aghṣān* are more regular than those of the common rhymes: all of them have seven syllables, and perhaps they can be metrically analyzed as a shortened form of the *rajaz* meter (x – ◡ – ◡ – –), as suggested by Ghāzī.<sup>23</sup> The metrics in the section of the common rhymes is again more sophisticated, because they have 7, 9, 5, 9, 5 syllables, respectively, in a way not so easily adjusted to that meter,<sup>24</sup> although there is an underlying heptasyllabic rhythm (9 + 5 = 14 = 7 + 7).

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*ḥubbi l-mahā ‘ibādah*  
*min kulli bassāmi l-sirāri*  
*qamarun yaṭlu‘*  
*min ḥusni ‘āfāqi l-kamāli*  
*ḥusnu-hu l-‘abda‘*

1

*li-Llāhi dhātu ḥusni*  
*maliḥātu l-muḥayyā*  
*la-hā qawāmu ghuṣni*  
*wa-shinfu-hā l-thurayyā*  
*wa-l-thaghru ḥabbu muzni*  
*ruḍābu-hu l-ḥumayyā*  
*min rashfi-hi sa‘ādah*  
*ka-‘anna-hu ṣirfu l-‘uqāri*  
*jawharun ruṣṣi‘*  
*yasqi-ka min ḥulwi l-zalāli*  
*ṭayyiba l-mashra‘*

2

*rashīqatu l-ma‘āṭif*  
*ka-l-ghusni fi l-qawāmi*  
*shuhdiyyatu l-marāshifi*  
*ka-l-durri fi niḏāmi*  
*di‘ṣiyyatu l-rawādifi*

<sup>22</sup> A “freak”, in the words of Stern 1974, 25. There is no *muwashshaḥa* with this rhyme scheme in Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992); for instance, in this anthology, which records 354 *muwashshaḥāt*, there are only seven with five parts in the common rhymes (*markaz/qufl*), and all of them are unique in their combinations.

<sup>23</sup> See also Stern 1974, 32, who thinks that it may be “the catalectic *basīf*”, but that in the common rhymes matters are less clear.

<sup>24</sup> The nine-syllable segments can be scanned as: x – ◡ – – – ◡ – –; and the five-syllable segments are: x ◡ – – – (x stands for a syllable that can be short or long); but they do not fit any Arabic meter.



al-khaşru dhū nhiḍāmi  
*jawwalatu l-qilādah*  
*maḥlūlatun 'aqdu l-'izāri*  
*ḥusnu-hā 'abda'*  
*min ḥusni dhayyāka l-ghazāli*  
*'akḥalu l-madma'*

3  
 layliyyatu l-dhawā'ib  
 wa-wajhu-hā nahāru  
 maşqūlatu l-tarā'ib  
 wa-rashfu-hā 'uqāru  
 'aşdāghu-hā 'aqārib  
 wa-l-khaddu jullanāru  
*nadaytu wā-fu'ādah*  
*min ghādatin dhati qtidāri*  
*lahzu-hā 'aqṭa'*  
*min ḥaddi maşqūlin l-nişāli*  
*fi l-fatā l-'ashja'*

4  
 safarjalu l-nuhūdi  
 fi marmari l-şudūri  
 yuzhā 'alā l-'uqūdi  
 min labbati l-nuḥūri  
 bi-muqlatin wa-jīdi  
 min ghadatin safūri  
*ḥubbī la-hā 'ibādah*  
*'a'ūdhu min dhāka l-fakhāri*  
*bi-rashan yarta'*  
*fi rawḍi 'azhāri l-jamāli*  
*kullamā 'ayna'*

5  
 'affatu l-dhuyūli  
 naqiyyatu l-thiyābi  
 sallābatu l-'uqūli  
 'araqqu min sharābi  
 'aḍḥā la-hā nuḥūli  
 fi l-ḥubbi min 'adhābi  
*fi l-nawmi lī sharādah*  
*wa-ḥukmu-hā ḥukmu qtidāri*  
*kullamā 'amna'*  
*min-hā fa-'in ṭayfu l-khayāl*  
*zāra-nī 'ahja'*

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*To love an antelope is worship.  
Out of a smiling face  
a moon rises  
above horizons of perfection:  
his amazing beauty.*

1

*How beautiful she is!  
She has a pretty face,  
her body is straight as a bough,  
her earrings are the Pleiades,  
her teeth, drops of rain,  
and her saliva, an intoxicating drink  
that produces happiness when drunk,  
like a pure sparkling wine,  
ornate pearls  
that give you fresh and sweet water  
from a good spring.*

2

*Her figure is slender  
like a bough,  
her mouth is like honey  
with pearls neatly arranged,  
her hips are a dune,  
her waist so thin;  
when she wears a necklace  
over her open neckline  
her beauty exceeds  
the beauty of the gazelles  
and their black eyes.*

3

*Her locks are the night,  
and her face, the day,  
her bosom is bright,  
her saliva is wine,  
her earlocks are scorpions,  
her cheeks, pomegranate blossoms.  
I cried: Oh my heart,  
beware of a wondrous girl  
whose glances are  
for the courageous hero  
sharper than the edge of a shining sword.*

4

Her breasts, like quinces  
 on the marble of her bosom,  
 ignore the necklaces  
 that decorate her throat,  
 and vaunt the eyes and the neck  
 of an unveiled young girl.  
*My love for her is worship,  
 I seek the protection of this glory  
 in an antelope who grazes  
 in the garden of the blossoms of beauty  
 when they grow ripe.*

5

Pure and clean  
 in her appearance and clothes,  
 more pleasant than wine,  
 she is an enslaver of minds.  
 The torment of her love  
 has emaciated me,  
*sleep has deserted me,  
 she commands, as do the powerful,  
 whenever I try to defend myself  
 from her; but if her image should come to me  
 at night I will be at peace).*

Far more popular than this poem, however, is the first *muwashshaḥa* collected in the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī and al-Ṣafadī, which begins with the phrase *Man walī*.<sup>25</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, in particular, seems fascinated by this poem, and returns to it two more times. He not only includes it in the biography of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, but also in that of Muḥammad b. ‘Ubāda Ibn al-Qazzāz,<sup>26</sup> out of the frequent confusion between these two poets to which we have already alluded. It again reappears in al-Ṣafadī’s *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*,<sup>27</sup> as the model of two of his *mu‘āraḍāt* (emulations, or contrafacta<sup>28</sup>) of famous *muwashshaḥāt* from al-Andalus and elsewhere, and, a century later, Ibn Taghrībirdī

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 2: 152–153; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 358–359; Ghāzī 1979, 1: 5–7.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 3: 156 (biog. 1168).

<sup>27</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* (1966), 113–115 (no. 32).

<sup>28</sup> I use this technical term usually associated with music in order to bring to mind the close relationship between the *muwashshaḥāt* and music, as can be seen in the report in Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s *Dār al-ṭirāz*, his treatise on the genre, and today in the Andalusī musical traditions of Morocco and Syria. See also Monroe 1987, and Liu/Monroe 1989.

(d. 874 H/1470 CE) includes it in *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*.<sup>29</sup> But its success does not end here: there are emulations of ‘Ubāda’s poem from the 6th/12th century – Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (d. 608 H/1211 CE)<sup>30</sup> – to the 20th century – ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (1945–2014)<sup>31</sup> – and there is even an emulation in Yemeni poetry by Muḥammad b. Sharaf (938–1010 H/1532–1601 CE).<sup>32</sup>

Why, and how, were these poems by ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ known in Syria and Egypt, when there is no trace of them in Andalusi or Maghribi sources? When did they migrate to the East? Who transmitted them? It does not seem possible to answer these questions, just as it is impossible to ascertain when the *muwashshaḥ* genre arrived in Egypt and Syria,<sup>33</sup> because it was probably transmitted orally, in the same way that the Andalusi poems included in *Yatīmat al-dahr* by al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 429 H/1038 CE) arrived in the East – a transmission not without weaknesses, as was later criticized by Ibn Bassām or Ibn al-Abbār –<sup>34</sup> therefore leaving no trace in the written sources. It can be assumed that the poems by ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ travelled to Egypt at an early date, before they were forgotten in al-Andalus after the *muwashshaḥāt*’s period of greatest success, starting in the second half of the 5th/11th century and reaching its height during the 6th/12th century. It is indeed tempting to speculate as to the role of scholars like al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488 H/1095 CE), who left al-Andalus in 448 H/1048 CE<sup>35</sup> and was an appreciated teacher and transmitter of Andalusi science and literature to his Eastern students. Though he could not have met ‘Ubāda, he was a disciple of Ibn Ḥazm, who praises ‘Ubāda’s book on the poets of al-Andalus in his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal* (1993), 7: 50–52 (biog. 1302).

<sup>30</sup> Al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (1371/1952), 2: 237–238; Stern 1974, 94; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161; more references in Dufourq 2011, 214–215.

<sup>31</sup> See below, 5.7.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn, *Dīwān* (1978?), 150–152; see also Semah 1988, 231–232; and Dufour 2011, 214–215.

<sup>33</sup> See a summary in Raḥīm 1407/1978, 132–142.

<sup>34</sup> Rowson/Bonebakker 1980, 11.

<sup>35</sup> Roselló Bordoy 2002.

<sup>36</sup> Pellat 1954, 53–102. For other transmitters of Ibn Ḥazm’s teachings, see Adang 2013, 513–537.

### 3 First examples of Andalusī strophic poetry in Egypt

In any case, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the *muwashshaḥ* was being cultivated in Egypt and seems to have been well appreciated by the public. Ibn Zāfir al-Ḥaddād (d. 525 H/1131 CE),<sup>37</sup> an Egyptian Fāṭimid poet from Alexandria, composed at least two *muwashshaḥāt* that seem to be the earliest surviving examples of the genre in the East. Another poet from Alexandria, ‘Alī b. ‘Iyād al-Iskandarī (d. 526 H/1131-2 CE),<sup>38</sup> is the author of a poem introduced by al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī with these words: “*qara’ tu la-hu [‘Alī b. ‘Iyād al-Iskandarī] fi majmū’ fi madḥ Muḥammad b. Abī Usāma kalima dhāt awzān muwashshaḥa*” (‘In a collection of panerical poems in honor of Muḥammad b. Abī Usāma I read a poem [*kalima*] by him with the rhythms (*awzān*) of a *muwashshaḥa*’). I do not know how to interpret what exactly al-‘Imād means by this comment. Perhaps he is only trying to say that its metrics were peculiar, and that its peculiarities could be attributed to some degree to the influence of the *muwashshaḥ* genre. Here is the poem:

1  
 yā man ‘alūdhu bi-zilli-hi  
 fi kulli khaṭbin mu‘ḍili  
 lā ziltu min ‘aṣḥābi-hi  
 mutamassikan bi-yadi l-salāmah  
 ‘āminan min kulli bāsi  
 fi l-ḥawādithi wa-l-ṣurūfi

<sup>37</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 16: 298–302 (biog. 5801): the *muwashshaḥa* beginning “*thaghrun lāḥ / yasta’siru l-’arwāḥ*” (a mouth appears and captivates the souls) in 301–302 (prelude, 5 stanzas, aa aa aa *mm mm*; the rhythm is 4–6, in all the rhyming segments); the second one beginning “*yā lāḥin fi sumrīn ka-l-sumrī / mahlan fa-’inna ṣabrī ka-l-ṣibrī*” (oh, you who rebuke me for my love of brown-skinned youths that are like spears, / bear with me, my endurance is like bitter aloe) (prelude, 4 stanzas, aa aa aa *mm*; a rhythm 7–3 in the *aḡḥṣān*, and 9–10 in the *aḡfāl*), in *Dīwān Zāfir al-Ḥaddād*, <https://www.aldiwan.net/cat-poet-dhafer-al-haddad> and <https://www.aldiwan.net/poem14700.html> (last accessed Apr. 1, 2019); both in ‘Aṭā 1422/2001. The date of this poet’s death is variously reported: 525 H/130 CE (al-Ṣafadī), or 529 H/1134-5 CE (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* [1970], 2: 540–543), or 563 H/1167-8 CE (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm* [1383/1963], 5: 376–378). See Nassar, “Zāfir al-Ḥaddād”, *EL*.

<sup>38</sup> Al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1986), 2: 43–44; al-Suyūfī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* (1387/1967), 1: 562 (no. 18); Raḥīm 1407/1987, 139.

2

wa-’a’ūdhu min-hu li-faḍli-hi  
 fi kulli ’amrin mushkili  
 mā lāḥa fajru ṣawābi-hi  
 ka-l-shamsi min khalfi l-ghamāmah  
 lā tamīlu ’ilā shimāsi  
 dūna mawḍi’i-hā l-sharīfi

3

wa-’a’uddu-hu lī ma’qilā  
 ’aḍḥā ’alay-hi mu’awwalī  
 ’inda l-muthūli bi-bābi-hi  
 lammā ’amintu mina l-nadāmah  
 fi l-samā’ wa-fi l-qiyāsi  
 al-maḥḍi wa-l-naẓari l-sharīfi

4

wa-’ajullu-hu ’an mithili-hi  
 mithla l-ḥusāmi l-fayṣalī  
 māḍin bi-ḥaddi dhubābi-hi  
 fi kulli jumjumatin wa-hāmah  
 thābitun ṣa’bu l-mirāsi  
 ’alā mubāsharati l-ḥutūfi

(1

Oh prince, whose protection  
 I seek in all difficult circumstances;  
 like his followers,  
 I always look for the hand of welfare,  
 feeling safe from all the injuries  
 of adversities and misfortunes.

2

In all difficulties, I take refuge  
 in his favor to protect me  
 as long as the light of his righteousness shines,  
 just as the sun behind the clouds  
 does not approve of unruliness  
 that compromises its high position.

3

I think he is to me a refuge  
 on which I rely  
 when we gather in front of his doors,  
 because I am free of regrets  
 awaiting his words, his genuine  
 deductions and his noble discernment.

4

I consider that he has no equals,  
 as he is like the sharp sword,  
 ready to kill,  
 that cuts  
 skulls and heads,  
 steady, unruly).

As can be seen, the poem al-ʿImād presents is not a *muwashshaḥa* at all. Indeed, although it is a strophic poem, its four stanzas invariably have the same rhymes (A B C D E F), but there is nothing like a refrain (*markaz, qūfl*) whose rhymes are repeated in all of the stanzas, nor a set of rhymes (*ghuṣn, bayt*) that change in every one of them. As for the meter, allegedly akin to that of the *tawshīḥ*, it can be scanned as hemistichs of a dimeter *kāmīl*, but the rhyming segments E and F always lack the first syllable of the first foot (— ◡ — instead of — — ◡ —, or ◡ — ◡ — instead of ◡ ◡ — ◡ —).

ʿAlī b. ʿIyād al-Iskandarī probably composed this poem in 525 H/1131 CE, to be recited in the same public reception in which a group of poets offered their accolades to the Banū Abī Usāma family. Among the poets assembled for this occasion was the Egyptian Mūsā b. ʿAlī al-Iskandarānī, who recited a strophic poem, preserved, perhaps incompletely, in *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*.<sup>39</sup>

0

<i>ʿinna-nī badā lī</i>	<i>fī l-hawā badā lī</i>
<i>mudh jafat wiṣāli</i>	<i>ṭalʿatu l-hilāli</i>

1

<i>ʿasʿarta bi-qalbi</i>	<i>fī-hi ḥalla qalbī</i>
<i>ṣāḥa badru ḥubbī</i>	<i>fī wiṣāli ḥibbī</i>
<i>qad salabti lubbī</i>	<i>fa-ʿanā ʿulabbī</i>
<i>rabbatu l-ḥijāli</i>	<i>lam tadaʿ ḥijā lī</i>

2

<i>ʿasarat janānī</i>	<i>rabbatū l-ḥanānī</i>
<i>khaddu-hā dahā-nī</i>	<i>fa-hwa ka-l-dihānī</i>
<i>ʿādhilay daʿā-nī</i>	<i>ḥidu-hā daʿā-nī</i>
<i>fa-ʿabāda ḥālī</i>	<i>ʿāṭilan wa-ḥālī</i>

3

<i>lam yuḥiṭ bi-ʿādī</i>	<i>mā janā bi-ʿādī</i>
<i>hā ʿanā ʿunādī</i>	<i>naḥra kulli nādī</i>

39 Al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1986), 2: 113; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 139.

man mujīru ṣādi      mu’minin bi-ṣādi  
*sulla bi-l-niṣāli*      *li-l-hawāni ṣāli*

(0

*He appeared before me  
 in my love he appeared;  
 since his face like a moon  
 rejected our union.*

1

You have left almost nothing  
 where my heart was.  
 The full moon of my love cried  
 imploring my beloved for union:  
 You stole my soul,  
 and so I obey you.  
*My lady had left  
 nothing of my mind.*

2

A gentle lady  
 has stolen my soul,  
 her cheeks like a rose  
 strike me as a misfortune.  
 Oh my rebukers, leave me alone,  
 her neck attracted me  
*and ruined my present,  
 leaving me destitute and lonesome.*

3

My enemy knows not  
 how much I suffer because of her absence.  
 Now I shout  
 with all my strength:  
 Who will protect a thirsty man  
 who believes in<sup>40</sup> ...  
*the sword is unsheathed against him  
 and suffers to be disgraced).*

The poem presented by al-‘Imād al-Iṣfahānī has just three stanzas and a prelude, and, because the common rhymes are half the prelude, it is not a *muwashshaḥa* but a *zajal*, with the rhyme scheme *mm mm (maṭla’)*, *aa aa mm*, *bb bb mm*, *cc cc mm*. All the rhyming segments have six syllables, which can be scanned

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40 The meaning of this and some other lines is rather obscure.



as:  $x \cup - \cup - -$ . This combination of short and long syllables appears in some Andalusī *muwashshaḥāt*,<sup>41</sup> but it also appears in a non-strophic poem by the great mystic Ibn ‘Arabī (560–638 H/1165–1240 CE).<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this poem is its pervasive use of *jinās*, or *tajnīs*, a rhetorical figure that can be described as “a pair of utterances (mostly, but not necessarily single words), within a line or colon, which are semantically different but phonetically, either completely or partially, identical”.<sup>43</sup> It is a very frequent figure in Eastern *muwashshaḥāt*, even when its authors imitate Andalusī ones, which are more natural and unaffected.

## 4 A successful *muwashshaḥa*

Let us turn now to ‘Ubāda’s *muwashshaḥa*, *Man walī*. It is a *muwashshaḥa tāmma*, that is to say complete with a prelude and five stanzas. It is a love poem addressed to one ‘Alī, whose name is mentioned in the *kharja*. The rhyme scheme is: *mm mm ab ab mm mm*, *cd cd cd mm mm*, etc. All the stanzas have a combination of verses of three and eleven syllables. Those with three syllables have a prosody like one possible foot in Arabic metrics ( $x \cup -$ ; called *fā’ilun* in the treatises on metrics), but without full status as a meter. By contrast, those with eleven syllables can be scanned as the Arabic *sarī’* meter ( $x x \cup - \mid x x \cup - \mid x \cup -$ ), rendering it easily imitated, as opposed to the other *muwashshaḥa* by ‘Ubāda, whose prosodic complexity, at least in the *aqfāl*, seems to have prevented emulations or contrafacta. This is the text:

0  
*Man walī*  
*fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya ‘dili*  
*yu ‘zalī*  
*‘illā liḥāzu l-rasha ‘i l-‘akḥali*

1  
*jurta fi*  
*ḥukmi-ka fi qatliya yā musrifu*  
*fa-nṣifi*

41 For instance, Ibn Bishrī, *‘Uddat al-jalis* (1992), no. 72, no. 73, no. 104 (by Ibn Zuhr), etc., in the segments of six syllables.

42 Gelder 2012, 133.

43 Heinrichs, “Tajnīs”, *EP*.

fa-wājibun ‘an yunṣifa l-munṣifu  
 wa-r’afi  
 fa-’inna hādhā l-shawqa lā yar’afu  
 ‘allili  
 qalbī bi-dhāka l-bāridi l-salsali  
 yanjali  
 mā bi-fu’ādī min jawan mush’ali

2

’innamā  
 tabruzu kay tūqida nāra l-fitan  
 ṣanamā  
 muṣawwaran min kulli shay’in ḥasan  
 ’in ramā  
 lam yukhtī min dūni l-qulūbi l-junan  
 kayfa lī  
 takhalluṣun min saḥmi-ka l-mursali  
 fa-ṣīli  
 wa-stabqi-nī ḥayyan wa-lā taqtuli

3

yā sanā  
 l-shamsi wa-yā ’abhā mina l-kawkabi<sup>44</sup>  
 yā munā  
 l-nafsi wa-yā su’lī wa-yā maṭlabī  
 hā ’anā  
 ḥalla bi-’a’ dā’i-ka mā ḥalla bī  
 ‘udhdhalī  
 min ’alami l-ḥijrāni fī ma’zili  
 wa-l-khalī  
 fī l-ḥubbi lā yas’alu ‘amman bulī

4

’anta qad  
 ṣayyarta bi-l-ḥusni mina l-rushdi ghay  
 lam ’ajjid

**44** Although all the medieval anthologists agree on this reading, here, as in the following eleven-syllable verse, Ghāzī writes *’al-shamsi* and *’al-nafsi* (with a *hamza* on the *alif* of the article), in order to highlight the pause at the end of the verse, but in doing so there is one extra syllable for the Arabic meter, so he had removed *wa-yā* in this line (to remove only *wa-* would give a succession of three long syllables inconsistent with the meter, although in Ghāzī’s reading a syllable is missing), and one *wa-* in the second line before *yā su’lī*. However Arabic metrics do not object to a caesura in the middle of a word – we will see it in a *muwashshaḥa* by al-Ṣafadī –, or between the article *al-* and the name it is appended to.

fi ʔarafay ḥubbi-ka dhanban ‘alay  
 fa-tta’id  
 wa-’in tasha’ qatliya shay’an fa-shay  
 ’ajmili  
 wa-wāli-nī min-ka yada l-muʔdili  
 fa-hya lī  
 min ḥasanāti l-zamani l-muʔbili

5  
 mā ghtadhā  
 ʔarfiya ’illā bi-sanā nāʔiray-k  
 wa-kadhā  
 fi l-ḥubbi mā bī laysa yakhfā ‘alay-k  
 wa-li-dhā  
 ’unshidu wa-l-ʔalbu rahinun laday-k  
 yā ’Alī  
 sallatta jafnay-ka ‘alā maʔtalī  
 fa-bqi lī  
 ʔalbī wa-ʔud bi-l-ʔaʔli yā maw’ilī.

(0  
*He who governs  
 over a nation and is not just  
 will be deposed  
 unless the despot is the black eyes of a gazelle.*

1  
 You were unfair  
 when your harsh sentence put me to death;  
 be equitable,  
 that is the duty of a just ruler;  
 show mercy on me,  
 because my desire has no compassion;  
*give me to drink  
 the sweet and fresh water of your mouth,  
 and the burning grief of my soul  
 will go away.*

2  
 You only appear  
 to kindle the fire of seduction  
 like an idol,  
 painted with everything in place,  
 who, when he throws his arrows,  
 always hits the shield that protects the hearts.  
*How can I be  
 impervious to the darts that you send?*

*Love me  
and keep me alive, kill me not.*

3  
Oh light of the sun,  
more brilliant than the stars,  
oh desire of my soul,  
oh my wish, and all that I request,  
here I am  
– may your enemies suffer all that I suffer!  
*My rebukers  
know nothing of the agony of separation,  
and the carefree,  
in love, do not ask after the afflicted.*

4  
With your beauty  
you induced me to err after doing right,  
I do not find  
in my love for you any guilt.  
Hurry not,  
and, if you wish to kill me slowly,  
*be nice,  
and give me your favor;  
it will be to me  
one of the blessings of the time to come.*

5  
My eyes feed  
on the light of yours,  
and so  
you know very well the love that I feel;  
this is why  
I sing, and give to you my heart on a pledge:  
*Oh ‘Alī,  
you gave your eyes power over my life,  
spare my heart  
and be generous, oh my refuge).*

## 5 A first set of emulations

### 5.1 Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk

The first poet to emulate this poem was the Egyptian Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608 H/1211 CE), the author of the first treatise on the *muwashshaḥ* genre.<sup>45</sup> His *muwashshaḥa* was collected by al-Ibshīhī (790–after 850 H/1388–after 1446 CE), in his *al-Mustaṭraf fi kull fann al-mustazraf*,<sup>46</sup> one of the most famous anthologies of Arabic literature. It is also included in *'Uqūd al-la'āl*,<sup>47</sup> an anthology of *muwashshaḥāt* composed by al-Nawāji (788–858 H/1386–1454 CE), a contemporary of al-Ibshīhī, but al-Nawāji attributes it to Muẓaffar al-'Aylānī (544–623 H/1149–1226 CE), a blind Egyptian poet contemporary to Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk.<sup>48</sup> This *muwashshaḥa* is a bacchic poem with a bucolic depiction of nature; in the sixth and last stanza the poem is reminiscent of the original *muwashshaḥa*, and employs Ibn Mā' al-Samā'’s prelude as the *kharja* of his own poem.

0  
*kallīlī*  
*yā suḥbu tijāna l-rubā bi-l-ḥulī*  
*wa-j'ālī*  
*siwāra-ki l-mun'aṭifa l-jadwali*

1  
*yā samā*  
*fi-ki wa-fi l-arḍi nujūmun wa-mā*

<sup>45</sup> Stern 1974, 94; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161; more references in Dufourq 2011, 214–215.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (1371/1952), 2: 207–208. I will follow this version. Some of its stanzas are still sung in Syria and Egypt: see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bLUzIRLmX0> (last accessed Jan. 25, 2019); [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XGj-\\_2Xdd5E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XGj-_2Xdd5E) (here the singer is Ṣabāḥ Fakhri, b. Aleppo 1933) (last accessed Jan. 25, 2019).

<sup>47</sup> Al-Nawāji, *'Uqūd al-la'āl* (1420/1999), 164–167. For other references, see 'Aṭā 1422/2001, 173–174. The version provided by al-Nawāji has eight stanzas; that included in Ibn 'Umar's (1210–1273 H/1795–1857 CE) *Safīnat al-mulk* (1271/1854-5), fol. 44, without attribution, has seven, but some of these new stanzas seem to have been added more recently. There is an edition of Ibn 'Umar's *Safīnat al-mulk wa-naḥīyat al-fulk* published by Maṭba'at al-Jāmi'a in 1891, but I have only had access to the manuscript preserved at King Saud University MS 929 *adab*, which was copied in 1271 H/1854-5 CE. I could not verify the other sources of 'Aṭā.

<sup>48</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* (1993), 2700–2701 (biog. 1149); Ibn Khallikān *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (1970), 5: 213–217 (biog. 724); al-Ṭayyib b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā Makhrama al-Hijrānī al-Ḥaḍramī al-Shāfi'i (870–947 H/1465–1540 CE), *Qilādāt al-naḥr* (1428/2008), 5: 109–111 (biog. 2869).

kullamā  
 ’akhfayti najman ’aḏharat ’anjumā  
 wa-hya mā  
 taḥṭīlu ’illā bi-l-ṭilā wa-l-dumā  
*fa-ḥṭīlī*  
 ‘alā quṭūfi l-karmi kay tamtalī  
*wa-nqulī*  
 li-l-danni ṭa’ma l-shuhdi wa-l-fawfalī<sup>49</sup>

2  
 tattaqid  
 ka-l-kawkabi l-durriyyi li-l-murtaṣid  
 ya’taqid  
 fi-hā l-majūsiyyu bi-mā ya’taqid  
 fa-tta’id  
 yā sāqiya l-rāḥi bi-hā wa-’tamid  
*wa-mla lī*  
*ḥattā tarā-nī* ‘an-ka fi ma’zili  
*qalla lī*  
*fa-l-rāḥu ka-l-’ishqi n<sup>50</sup> yazid yaqtuli*

3  
 lā ’ulīm  
 fi shurbi ṣahbā’a wa-fi ’ishqi rīm  
 fa-l-na’im  
 ‘ayshun jadidun wa-mudāmun qadīm  
 lā ’ahīm  
 ’illā bi-hādhayni fa-qum yā nadīm  
*wa-jlu lī*  
*min ak’usin ṣayyarta min fawfalī*  
*ladhdha lī*  
*min nakhati l-’ambari wa-l-mandali*

4  
 khudh hini  
 wa-’ṭi-nī kāsi mithla kāsi-ka hanī  
 wa-sqi-nī  
 ‘alā ruḏābi l-faṭīni l-mulsini  
 wa-lhi-nī  
 bi-ba’ḏi mā ṣiḡha mina l-’alsuni

49 So in al-Nawāji, *‘Uqūd al-la’āl* (1420/1999), 164; and Ibn ‘Umar, *Safīnat al-mulk* (1271/1854-5), fol. 44. Al-Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf* (1371/1952), 2: 207, has *li-l-qaranfuli*.

50 I think that the conditional particle ’in must be read as *in*, without *hamza*, but with *waṣla*, and so it must be linked to *’ishqi*: *fa-l-rāḥu ka-l-’ishqi-n yazid yaqtuli*.

*law tulī*  
*madḥu sanā-hu ma‘ rashan ‘akḥali*  
*ladhdha lī*  
*‘alā sanā l-ṣahbā‘i wa-l-salsali*

5  
 ‘azharat  
 laylatu-nā bi-l-waṣli mudh ‘asfarat  
 ‘aṣdarat  
 bi-zawrati l-maḥbūbi ‘idh bashsharat  
 ‘akhkharat  
 fa-qultu li-l-ḡalmā‘i mudh qaṣṣarat  
 ṭawwili  
*yā laylata l-waṣli wa-lā tanjalī*  
*wa-sbili*  
*sitra-ki fa-l-maḥbūbu fī manzilī*

6  
 man ḡalam  
 fī dawlati l-ḡusni ‘idhāmā ḡakam  
 fa-l-‘alam  
 yajūlu fī bāṭini-hi wa-l-nadam  
 wa-l-qalam  
 yaktubu fī-hi ‘an lisāni l-‘umam  
*Man walī*  
*fī dawlati l-ḡusni wa-lam ya‘dili*  
*yu‘zali*  
*illā liḡāzu l-rasha‘i l-akḥali.*

(0  
*Oh clouds,*  
*adorn with jewels the crowns of the hills,*  
*and wear*  
*the winding brook as a bracelet.*

1  
 Oh sky,  
 you and the earth have stars and water;  
 whenever  
 you hide a star, the earth produces many others;  
 the earth  
 produces dark and white flowers like wine or fair women;  
*oh sky,*  
*shower with rain the fruits of the vines, so that they ripen,*  
*and bring*  
*to the wine jar the flavor of honey and palm,*

2

a burning wine,  
to the eyes of the observer like a shining star  
in which  
the Zoroastrian believes.  
Oh cupbearer,  
come slowly with it, and rest here,  
*stay with me for a time*  
*until you see me leaving you;*  
*pour it sparingly*  
*because wine, like love, when drunk in excess, can kill.*

3

I do not blame anybody  
for drinking red wine and loving a white gazelle,  
for happiness  
is new life and old wine –  
I love only  
these two pleasures; get up, my friend,  
*and show me*  
*the drinking glass made of betel palm,*  
*which I find more pleasant*  
*than the scent of ambergris and sandalwood.*

4

Hold it for me  
and give, give me a glass like yours,  
and let me drink  
with an intelligent and eloquent man;  
delight me  
with something created from words,  
*that if they were read aloud,*  
*praising his high rank, in the company of a black-eyed gazelle,*  
*would delight me*  
*more than the sparkle of red wine and of cool, sweet water.*

5

The night shone  
with our love, and glowed;  
it disclosed  
and announced the visit of my beloved,  
but it was so delayed  
that I said to the darkness, now so short:  
*Be long,*  
*oh night of love, do not leave,*  
*and drop*  
*your veils, my beloved is in my home.*



6

He who tyrannizes  
 over the land of beauty  
 will find sorrow  
 and remorse enter his core,  
 and pens will write  
 about him through the mouth of nations:  
*He who governs  
 over the land of beauty and is not just,  
 will be deposed  
 unless the despot is the black eyes of a gazelle.*

## 5.2 Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī

The second *mu'āraḍa* (contrafactum) of Ibn Mā' al-Samā'’s *muwashshaḥa* was composed by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī, a poet well appreciated for his *muwashshaḥāt*, which were sometimes imitated by other Eastern poets.<sup>51</sup> Almost nothing is known about him, except that he praised the Ayyūbid ruler al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr (d. 683 H/1284 CE), who governed Hama from 642 H/1244-5 CE until his death.<sup>52</sup> His eulogy for the Ayyūbid sultan was in fact a *muwashshaḥa*, beginning *bāsimun 'an la'āl / nāsimun 'an 'iṭri* (a smile like pearls, / a breath like perfume), itself a contrafactum (*mu'āraḍa*) of a *muwashshaḥa* by Andalusī poet al-A'mā al-Tuḥlī (d. 525 H/1130-1).<sup>53</sup> Later on this same poem (*bāsimun 'an la'āl*) by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī would be imitated in turn by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Ṣūfī al-Khaṭīb (693–750 H/1293–1349 CE)<sup>54</sup> and al-Ṣafadī.<sup>55</sup>

Probably, as mentioned by al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Taghribirdī,<sup>56</sup> the *muwashshaḥa* by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī is not a direct imitation of Ibn Mā' al-Samā'’s *Man walī*, but a *mu'āraḍa* of the poem by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk just quoted, and which is, in fact, alluded to in the prelude to al-Mawṣilī’s poem. Thus, it begins as a bacchic poem, turns into a love poem, and then ends with a very short panegyric envoi.

51 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 6: 203–204; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1410/1990), 1: 275–277 (only its prelude and the first three stanzas). See Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161, 200–201.

52 Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* (1417/1997), 2: 224; al-Yāfi', *Mir'āt al-janān* (1417/1997), 4: 150.

53 It is the famous *muwashshaḥa* beginning *Ḍāḥikun 'an jumān*, quoted by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk as an example of a *muwashshaḥa tāmma* (i.e. with a prelude) in his treatise *Dār al-ṭirāz* (1949), 32, and 57–58 (no. 1); García Gómez 1962, 33, 65–66.

54 Ibn Shakir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 4: 343–349; Raḥīm 1407/1987, 210–211.

55 All three Eastern poems are quoted in al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī' al-tawshīḥ* (1966), nos. 3, 4 and 5; and in al-'Adhārā al-mā'isāt (1902), 115–120 (nos. 44, 45, 46).

56 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 6: 203; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1410/1990), 1: 275.

The need to end on this note of praise seems to be the reason for the displacement of the reference to Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’*’s muwashshaḥa*, now quoted in the fifth stanza.

0

*jallīlī*  
*yā rāḥa ka’sī wa-la-hā kallīlī*  
*bi-l-ḥulī*  
*wa-sawwiri-hā wa-la-hā khalkhalī*

1

*min ghurar*  
*ḥabābu-ki l-manzūmi mithla l-durar*  
*bi-l-khamar*  
*ka-’anna-hu l-yāqūti fawqa l-jamar*  
*wa-l-zahar*  
*fi l-rawḡi ’amthālu l-nujūmi l-zuhar*  
*fa-nqulī*  
*min danni-ki l-makhtūmi bi-l-mandali*  
*wa-rsalī*  
*ṭība l-shadhā ma’ nasmati l-sham’ali*

2

*qad qadaḥ*  
*zinādu ’anwāri l-ṭīlā fi l-qadaḥ*  
*wa-l-taraḥ*  
*’adbar idhā ’aqbala min-hā l-faraḥ*  
*wa-nsharaḥ*  
*ṣadrī bi-hā wa-l-ghammu ’annī saraḥ*  
*fa-jtalī*  
*li-bnati l-karmi mina l-jadwali*  
*salsalī*  
*fa-qad shadā l-qumru ma’a l-bulbuli*

3

*dhī l-shumūs*  
*bi-’aydi l-’aqmāri taḥki l-shumūs*  
*fi l-ku’ūs*  
*bi-ṣirfi-hā yuṣrifu hammun wa-būs*  
*li-l-nufūs*  
*rawḥun wa-rayḥānun wa-hadyu l-’arūs*  
*tanjalī*  
*’alayya fi muṭrafi-hā l-ṣandali*  
*’anmulī*  
*’akhḍibu-hā min kāsi-hā ’in mulī*

4

bī rashā  
 yasmū 'alā badri l-dujā wa-l-wishā  
 law yashā  
 yamshī 'alā ra'sī wa-'aynī mashā  
 al-ḥashā  
 bi-l-nāri min jafwati-hi qad ḥashā  
*qad qalī*  
*muḥibba-hu bal qalbu-hu yanqalī*  
*yaṣṭalī*  
*min-hu ka-nāri l-ḥarbi fī l-qasṭalī*

5

'ahyafu  
 mina l-ṣabā fī laṭafin 'alṭafu  
 mutlifū  
 siḥrun bi-'ayni-hi 'awi l-murhafū  
 'awṭafu  
 ruḍābu-hu l-shuhdu 'ami l-qarqafu  
*wa-l-khalī*  
*'alayya qad jāra wa-lam ya'dilī*  
*'idh walī*  
*fī dawlati l-ḥusni wa-lam yaz'ali*

6

mā khabā  
 wajdi wa-'ashwāqī fu'ādī ḥabā  
 wa-l-ḥibā  
 jarradna min 'ajfāni-hinna l-ḥubā  
 qad ṣabā  
 'ilay-ka qalbī yā nasim al-ṣabā  
*fa-qbalī*  
*yā riḥu naḥwī wa-'alayya qbilī*  
*fa-qbalī*  
*qawlī wa-'aknāfu l-ḥimā qibalī*

(0

*Oh wine,*  
*fill my cup and adorn it*  
*with jewels,*  
*and with bracelets and anklets,*

1

with the stars  
 of your bubbles arranged as pearls,  
 a wine  
 that resembles a ruby over embers,

and with flowers  
 in a garden like shining stars,  
*and transfer it*  
*from the earthen jar sealed with sandalwood,*  
*and send*  
*its fragrance on the breeze of the north.*

2  
 Like tinder,  
 the wine’s sparkles set the goblets on fire,  
 and sadness  
 runs away, as the wine ushers in happiness;  
 my heart  
 rejoices with it and my worries take leave.  
*Look*  
*from the brook at the daughter of the vine,*  
*pour water into it,*  
*now that the doves’ song has joined that of the nightingales.*

3  
 The sun of the wine  
 in the hands of moonlike youths resembles the sun  
 in the glasses,  
 a wine so unmixed  
 that it keeps away sorrows and sufferings;  
 the souls find in it  
 refreshment, aromatic plants and the serenity of a bride,  
*that appears*  
*before me in her scented shawls.*  
*The glass,*  
*when filled up, tinges my fingertips.*

4  
 In my heart lives a gazelle  
 rising through the dark above moon and shimmering sword.  
 If he wanted  
 to walk on my head and my eyes, he would do so.  
 My soul is full  
 of the fire of his roughness,  
*he hates*  
*his lover, indeed, his heart is the hater,*  
*and burns*  
*like the fire of war on the chestnuts.*

5  
 Slender,  
 gentler than the east wind in its gifts,

he kills the lovers,  
 – is there magic in his eyes or is it a sword?  
 Bushy-browed,  
 – is his saliva honey or wine?  
*Carefree,*  
*he was unfair to me, was not just*  
*in governing*  
*over the land of beauty, and was not deposed.*

6  
 My heart  
 does not hide my love and desire,  
 when young women like gazelles  
 have unsheathed the sword of their eyes.  
 My heart  
 longs for you, oh breeze of the zephyr,  
*come to me,*  
*oh wind, come close to me,*  
*and receive favorably*  
*my poem, as I head for the shadow of his shelter).*

### 5.3 Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī

The following imitation of *Man walī* is a *muwashshaḥa* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī (Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im) (633–710 H/1235–1310 CE), a well-known Egyptian poet, as well as a merchant in Cairo, who was successful at writing both classical and strophic poems.<sup>57</sup> Both al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Taghrībirdī did collect, among al-‘Azāzī’s poems and contrafacta of Andalusi and Eastern poets, a *muwashshaḥa* with the same structure as *Man walī*, although with different rhymes in the common rhymed sections of the stanzas, which, as I will explain later on, was not unusual in the art of contrafactum. They did not collect, however, al-‘Azāzī’s contrafactum more closely following the poem by Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, which begins ‘*Arsilī*. This *muwashshaḥa* seems to be preserved only in *al-Durr al-maknūn fī sab‘at funūn*, by Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī (852–ca. 930 H/1448–1524 CE), a source which I have been unable to access.<sup>58</sup> Fortunately it is also

<sup>57</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 1: 269–275 (biog. 130); al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (1420/2000), 7: 99–105 (biog. 734); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984), 1: 362–373 (biog. 196).

<sup>58</sup> Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161, who quotes only the first two lines. There is an *al-Shi‘r al-maḥḥūn*. *Awzānu-hu wa-qawāfi-hi ma‘a taḥqīq Kitāb al-Durr al-maknūn fī al-sab‘at al-funūn*, by ‘Ahdī Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Sīsī, Ṭanṭā: Jāmi‘at Ṭanṭā, 2000; and a later edition: *al-Durr al-maknūn fī al-sab‘at al-funūn li-Abī al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās (t 930 h)*, ed. by ‘Ahdī al-Sīsī,

found in ‘Aṭā’s *Dīwān al-muwashshaḥāt al-mamlūkiyya*,<sup>59</sup> although the version included there appears to be incomplete, as it has only four stanzas. In this first contrafactum – a love poem, like that of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ – al-‘Azāzī did indeed follow his model closely.

0

*’arsilī*  
*satra dayājī sha’ri-ki l-musbali*  
*wa-njalī*  
*ka-l-badri fī thawbi l-dujā l-’alyali*

1

*yā ghinā*  
*man lā la-hu ‘an-ki bi-shay’in ghinā*  
*yā hanā*  
*man nāla min waṣli-ki ḥiba l-hanā*  
*yā ‘anā*  
*man lam yushāhid min-ki ḥusna l-‘anā*  
*fa-mhalī*  
*fī qatlātī l-’ushshāqī lā ta’jalī*  
*’awṣilī*  
*fa-l-hajru bi-l-maḥbūbi lam yajmulī*

2

*qalbu-hu*  
*qad zāda min farṭī l-jawā karba-hu*  
*laylu-hu*  
*yazdādu ‘aḍ’āfan bi-hi ḥarba-hu*  
*ḥubbu-hu*  
*min-hā wa-’in ṭāla l-madā ḥubba-hu*  
*fa-’dilī*  
*fī dawlatī l-ḥusni fa-qad tu’dalī*  
*wa-fḍilī*  
*’alā l-shajiyi l-mughrami l-mubtali*

3

*yā ‘adhūl*  
*jahlita fī lawmi-ka mādhā taqūl*  
*yā jahūl*  
*al-’aqlu fī ba’ḍi l-taṣābi yazūl*  
*lā taḥūl*

Risālat Duktūrāt Kulliyyat al-ādāb Jāmi‘at Ṭanṭā, 2014. But, as mentioned above, I have been unable to access them.

59 ‘Aṭā 1420/1999, 37–38.

'ishqī wa-dhāka l-'adhlu min-ka yaṭūl  
*fa-jmulī*  
*fī qatlātī l-mughramī kay tanṭalī*  
*wa-qlilī*  
*min rashqī saḥmin ghāba fī maqṭalī*

4

law tarā  
 dam'ī 'alā khaddī li-mā qad jarā  
 'aḥmarā  
 la-kunta li min dhā l-hawā mu'dhirā  
 wa-l-karā  
 'amsā 'ani l-'ajfāni mustanfarā  
*kayfa lī*  
*law bittu min wajdī bi-qalbin khālī*  
*man bulī*  
*yaṣbir 'alā ḥukmī l-qaḍā l-munzālī*

(0)

*Let down*  
*the dark veil of your loose hair,*  
*and show your face*  
*like a moon upon the dark garment of night.*

1

Oh all that is needed  
 for a man that cannot do without you;  
 oh happiness  
 of a lover who through your love has attained true happiness;  
 oh pain  
 of a heart that always sees you unpained;  
*so take your time,*  
*do not hasten to kill your lovers;*  
*join yourself to me,*  
*for to take leave of the beloved is not right.*

2

His heart  
 grieves more with so ardent a love;  
 his nights  
 through their strife multiply his sorrows  
 and his love  
 of her, if his love can last.  
*So be just*  
*over the land of beauty, and perhaps be justly treated,*  
*and grant your favor*  
*to a sad and suffering lover.*

3

Oh rebuker,  
 when blaming me you know not what to say;  
 oh foolish creature,  
 sense abandons a man in love;  
 you cannot stop  
 my passion, and your censure is undue.  
*So be gracious*  
*in killing the lover so as to deceive him,*  
*and do not*  
*strike my heart with a hidden arrow.*

4

If you saw  
 my tears afterward upon my cheek  
 so red,  
 you would excuse that passion.  
 Sleep  
 is denied to my eyes.  
*What can I do?*  
*If only my heart cared not for this ecstasy!*  
*One afflicted*  
*must be patient with fate's sentence).*

## 5.4 Al-Ṣafadī

The author of the next contrafactum is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696–764 H/1297–1363 CE),<sup>60</sup> a well-known man of letters, biographer, and literary critic. His *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*<sup>61</sup> is an anthology of *muwashshaḥāt*, with an introduction about this genre based on Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s *Dār al-ṭirāz*, in which al-Ṣafadī includes his own contrafacta of his favourite strophic poems. Among them, there are two *muwashshaḥāt* that the author describes as *mu‘araḍāt* of *Man walī*, numbers 33 and 34.<sup>62</sup> I will deal now with the first of them, number 33, because it is a close emulation of *Man walī*, while the second one (no. 34) has different rhymes in the *aqfāl* (common rhymes). It is a second possibility of emulation that al-Ṣafadī expressly comments upon, and there are some other poems of this kind that in my opinion deserve special treatment.

<sup>60</sup> Rosenthal, “al-Ṣafadī”, *EF*.

<sup>61</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* (1966).

<sup>62</sup> Al-Ṣafadī, *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* (1966), 116–118 and 118–121.



Al-Şafadī introduces his first *muwashshaḥa* by saying that in composing the poem's rhythm (*wazn*) he will follow certain rhyming rules ignored in 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā's poem. He acknowledges that the latter does repeat some rhymes (*wa-i'tamadtu fi-hi luzūm<sup>m</sup> lam yaltazim-hu 'Ubāda al-madhkūr fi muwashshaḥi-hi 'alā anna-hu huwa takarrara ma'a-hu ba'ḍ al-qawāfi*), but not consistently. Al-Şafadī's is not the first *muwashshaḥa* whose rhyme scheme is different from 'Ubāda's, that is to say, it is aa aa aa in the *aghşān* (rhymes which change in every stanza) as opposed to 'Ubāda's ab ab ab. This is the rhyme scheme chosen by all the preceding Eastern poets we are dealing with, probably after Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's poem. Although al-Şafadī's intention is to follow a sort of *luzūm mā lā yalzam*,<sup>63</sup> an enriched rhyme based on two consonants, he is not strictly consistent either: neither the prelude and *kharja*, nor the first stanza, follow these rules. As for its genre, al-Şafadī's *muwashshaḥā* is a love poem, in which the poet complains of the usual cruelty of the beloved and his own sufferings.

0  
*tanbalī*  
*ḥushāshatī wajdan fa-lā tansa lī*  
*mā bulī*  
*qalbī bi-hi min ṭarfi-ka l-bābilī*

1  
*kam 'ilā*  
*hādḥā l-tajannī wa-l-jafā wa-l-qilā*  
*wa-l-balā*  
*fa-'inna dam'ī qad jarā jadwalā*  
*min-hu lā*  
*min ghayri-hi ṣayyarta li manhalā*  
*fa-fşilī*  
*hādḥā l-jafā 'an-nī bi-waşlin jalī*  
*yanjali*  
*şadā fu'ādin bi-l-jawā mumtalī*

2  
*salli-nī*  
*bi-wa'di zūrin fa-l-ḡanā salla-nī*  
*malli-nī*  
*bi-l-qurbi 'inna l-suqma qad malla-nī*  
*ḥalli-nī*  
*bi-durri waşlin fa-l-jafā ḥalla-nī*  
*wa-'dili*

63 Bonebakker, "Luzūm Mā Lā Yalzam", *EF*.

*wa-‘an ṭarīqi l-waṣli lā ta‘dali*  
*wa-qbali*  
*qawli wa-naḥwī bi-l-riḍā ‘aqbili*

3  
 al-sadam  
 nādama-nī ba‘da l-hanā wa-l-nadam  
 wa-l-‘alam  
 bi-sā‘iri l-‘a‘dā‘i min-nī ‘alam(m)  
 wa-l-saqam  
 ḥazzī fa-subḥāna l-ladhī qad qasam  
*fa-ḥṭālī*  
*yā suḥba l-ajfāni wa-lā tamṭālī*  
*ta‘ṭālī*  
*fa-‘inna nāra l-shawqi lam tabṭuli*

4  
 yā gazāl  
 hazlu-ka ḥādhā jadda bī fi l-huzāl  
 lā yazāl  
 ṭarfu-ka yad‘ū l-ḡalba min-nī nizāl  
 fi khtizāl  
 wa-mālikī māla ‘ilā l-‘itizāl  
*kam yalī*  
*wasmīyyu dam‘ī fi l-dujā man walī*  
*wa-l-walī*  
*‘āda mina l-‘a‘dā‘i fi l-‘awwali*

5  
 ‘antumā  
 yā ‘ādhilay wajdi l-ladhī khuntumā  
 qultu mā  
 yadkhulu fi ‘udhni l-ladhī qultumā  
 sallimā  
 ḥalī ‘ilā ‘amri l-hawā wa-slamā  
*fa-l-khalī*  
*‘ammā yuqāsī l-ṣabbu fi ma‘zili*  
*wa-l-malī*  
*bi-l-wajdi mā yuṣghī ‘ilā l-‘udhdhali*

(0  
*My dying breath*  
*is hastened through ecstasy; do not forget*  
*the suffering*  
*of my heart under your charming gaze.*

1

How long can I survive  
such false incriminations, roughness, hate,  
and trials?

My tears flow like rivers  
only because of him;  
you have made a spring of me.

*Free me*

*of this estrangement and renew our union,  
and the thirst  
of a heart full of passion will disappear.*

2

Console me  
with a false promise, that this emaciation not consume me;  
Come be  
by my side, now that illness has overcome me;  
give me  
the pearls of union, as your enstrangement has given me grief.

*Be just,*

*and from the path of union do not just turn away;  
accept  
my poem and come to me with good will.*

3

Sadness  
is my companion after happiness, and regret  
and pain  
fill my body.

Sickness

is my fate – praise to the one who arranges all affairs!  
*Flow in torrents,  
oh clouds of my eyes, do not delay,  
or you will be useless,  
the fire of longing is raging!*

4

Oh gazelle, I take your playfulness  
quite seriously, which is why I've grown thin.

Your eyes

always call my heart to exchange blows  
alone,

while my master remains aloof.

*So near*

*have my tears in the dark drawn me to him who governs;  
this friend  
who is among my enemies supreme!*

5

You two  
 who rebuke a love you betrayed,  
 I said: never  
 will I hear what you say;  
 commit  
 my case to the hands of passion;  
*for one who is carefree*  
*before the suffering of a lover, isolated*  
*and filled*  
*with ecstasy, will not listen to rebukers).*

### 5.5 ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī

The next contrafactum is a wine poem. Its author is ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī (‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr) (d. Dhū al-Qa‘da 789 H/November 1387 CE),<sup>64</sup> or, according to ‘Aṭā, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Umar ‘Uthmān.<sup>65</sup> ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī was a poet based in Damascus, although he also lived in Aleppo. He is the author of a *qaṣīda badī‘iyya*, emulating *al-Kāfiyya al-badī‘iyya* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677–749 H/1278–1348 CE)<sup>66</sup> in praise of the Prophet, and, just like his model, he also wrote a commentary on his own poem. The *muwashshaḥa* of ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī emulating Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s poem seems closely related to those of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk and his followers, and, like in their poems, the prelude (*maṭla’*) of *Man walī* is now the *kharja*, with a small alteration.

0

*ghanni lī*  
*qad ṭāba lī shurbī ‘alā l-jadwali*  
*wa-mli lī*  
*mudāmatan tashgalu sirri l-khalī*

1

*fi l-ṭilā*  
*shifā’u karbi l-mudnafi l-mubtali*  
*qad ḥalā*

<sup>64</sup> Raḥīm 1407/1987, 161–162, 216–217; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāh al-ghumr* (1389/1969), 1: 342; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1349/1930-1), 3: 43; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr* (1404/1984), 1, part 2: 389.

<sup>65</sup> The text of this *muwashshaḥa* can be found in ‘Aṭā 1422/2001, 175–176, but I have been unable to ascertain who this Fakhr al-Dīn is. ‘Aṭā’s sources are *al-Durr al-maknūn* of Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī (see above, footnote 58), and *Saj’ al-wurq* by al-Sakhāwī (830–902 H/1427–1497 CE).

<sup>66</sup> Heinrichs, “Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī”, *EP*; DeYoung 2011, 75–88.

tahattukī fi l-shurbi bayna l-malā  
 kayfa lā  
 yu'dharu man hāma bi-ka'sin milā  
*tanjalī*  
*ka-l-kā'ibi l-ḥasnā'i tahta l-ḥulī*  
*taṣṭalī*  
*min ḍaw'i-hā fi l-ka'si 'idh tamtalī*

2  
 mā l-surūr  
 'illā samā'ī li-l-ghinā wa-l-zuhūr  
 wa-l-khumūr  
 wa-rashfu ka'sāti l-lamā wa-l-thughūr  
 wa-l-ghurūr  
 man yumsi 'an nayli l-'amāni ṣabūr  
*fa-bdhulī*  
*mā 'azza fi l-rāḥi wa-lā tanjalī*  
*tafḍulī*  
*'alā l-warā māḍin wa-mustaqbali*

3  
 lan yaqī'  
 al-'umru fi l-dunyā bi-ghayri l-qaṭī'  
 fa-l-rafi'  
 'idhā du'ī li-l-ka'si labbā sarī'  
 fa-l-raqī'  
 man bāta fi mithli zamāni l-rabi'  
*mukhtalī*  
*bi-l-ṣaḥwi min nayli l-'amāni khali*  
*mubtalī*  
*'an ladhhati l-'ashyā'ī fi ma'zali*

4  
 fi l-shamūl  
 ma'nān bi-hi tasbī jamī'a l-'uqūl  
 wa-l-jahūl  
 man yuṣṣghi fi-hā li-maqāli l-'adhūl  
 da' yaqūl  
 mā shā'a fi-hā lastu 'an-hā 'aḥūl  
*tanjalī*  
*'annī humūmī 'idh 'arā manzilī*  
*mumtalī*  
*min qahwatin 'adhrā'a lam tubdhali*

5  
 qad samā  
 min ba'di dhā qalbi li-ḥubbi l-dumā

wa-ntamā  
 li-ḥubbi badrīn fī-hi wajdī namā  
 kullamā  
 fawwaqa naḥwī ṭarfū-hu ‘ashumā  
*ladhdha lī*  
*mawṭī wa-yā bushrā-ya ‘in ṣaḥḥa lī*  
*fa-‘dhili*  
*wa-l-lawmu fī-hi kaththara-w qalla lī*

6  
 mā ranā  
 ‘illā ‘ā‘āra l-jisma thawba l-ḍanā  
 wa-jtanā  
 min ghuṣṣni-hi qalba l-‘asā wa-l-‘anā  
 wa-nthanā  
 lisānu ḥālī qā‘ilan mu‘linā  
*man walī*  
*fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya‘dali*  
*yu‘zali*  
*bi-nabli ‘alḥāzi l-rashā l-‘akḥali*

(0  
*Sing to me,*  
*it is delightful to drink by the stream;*  
*fill my glass*  
*with wine to hide my secrets from the carefree one.*

1  
 In wine  
 is the cure for the sorrows of an emaciated and afflicted lover;  
 it is so pleasant  
 to drink shamelessly in public!  
 Why shouldn’t it be so?  
 But they rebuke one who loves a full glass  
*that appears*  
*like a beautiful maiden under her jewels,*  
*when the wine*  
*that glows in it warms his heart.*

2  
 Joy  
 inhabits songs, flowers,  
 and wine,  
 and kisses the dark red lips of glasses and young girls;  
 he who refrains  
 from fulfilling his wishes is deceived.  
*Pay generously*

*for this wine and do not go away,  
and you will outdo  
all mankind, past and future.*

3

Life will never be sweet  
in this world without a group of friends.  
A refined man,  
when invited to drink, promptly obeys,  
but the fool  
passes the night, in a time like spring,  
*alone*  
*and sober, indifferent to his desires,*  
*afflicted,*  
*deprived of enjoyment.*

4

In the cool wine  
there is something that captivates the mind;  
Only a fool  
listens to the words of a rebuker.  
He can say  
what he wants about the wine, I will not change my mind:  
*my worries*  
*will disappear if I see my house*  
*well provided*  
*with a virgin wine sparingly served.*

5

After drinking  
my heart wishes to love young girls,  
and ardently  
longs for a full moon that my ecstasy might grow  
whenever  
it casts at me its gaze like arrows;  
*death is delightful to me,*  
*oh joyful tidings if he cures me.*  
*So rebuke me,*  
*I am indifferent to all your criticism.*

6

One look from him  
and my body is clothed with emaciation;  
the fruit  
of his boughs is but a heart full of grief and worry.  
Now my tongue  
is ready to tell everyone:

*He who governs  
over a nation and is not just,  
will be deposed  
with arrows from the black eyes of a gazelle).*

## 5.6 Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn

The success of the *muwashshaḥa* of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ did not end in Ayyūbid or Mamlūk Egypt. Two centuries later, a Yemeni poet, Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn (938–1010 H/1532–1601 CE), wrote yet another poem emulating Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa*.<sup>67</sup> Although it is included in the poet's *Dīwān of mubayyatāt and muwashshaḥāt*, it is neither a *mubayyata* – the Ḥumaynī strophic poem more akin to an Andalusi *muwashshaḥa* – nor a Yemeni *muwashshaḥa* – whose structure is very different from its Andalusi equivalent. Still, it is clearly an emulation of *Man walī*, and, like it, contains five stanzas. As suggested by Semah, Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn probably also had in mind the *mu‘āraḍa* of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk. It is a bacchic poem with the usual garden scenery, the beautiful cupbearer, and the love for gazelle-like youths. According to the compiler ‘Isā b. Luṭf Allāh, Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn composed his poem late in life, around 1008–1010 H/1599–1601 CE.

0  
*al-walī*  
*‘alqā ‘alā l-rawḍi funūna l-ḥulī*  
*fa-njalī*  
*‘isfanṭa ka’sin nūru-hu yaghtalī*

1  
*‘asfarat*  
*zuhru l-dujā fi rawḍatin ‘azharat*  
*ṣawwarat*  
*la-nā l-samā fi l-’arḍi ‘idh nawwarat*  
*ḥayyarat*  
*‘albāba-nā fi ḥusni mā ḥayyarat*  
*ḥaythu lī*  
*ka’si ‘alā zahri l-rubā yanjalī*  
*ka-l-ḥulī*  
*yazīnu jīda l-‘āṭili l-‘ayṭalī*

<sup>67</sup> Semah 1988, 231–232; Dufour 2011, 214–215. See the complete poem in Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn, *Dīwān* (1978?), 150–152.



2

al-sa'īd  
 ṣabbun yu'āṭī l-kāsa ghizlāna ghid  
 ka-l-farīd  
 mabāsiman wa-l-ḡabyu 'aynan wa-jīd  
 al-rashīd  
 man yamzuju l-ka'sa bi-khamri l-badīd  
*kallīlī*  
*bi-l-ka'si kaffa l-shādīni l-'akḥali*  
*wa-mli lī*  
*ka'sī 'alā raj'i ghinā l-bulbuli*

3

mu'nīsī  
 'alā rtishāfi durrata l-'anfusi  
 'ak'usi  
 bi-Llāhi 'adhiq-hā wa-lā taḥbasi  
 wa-ḥtasī  
 min kaffi sāqin 'aḥwari 'al'asi  
*salsilī*  
*fī l-kā'si dhāka l-rā'iqi l-salsali*  
*'allīlī*  
*'akwāba-hā bi-l-miski wa-l-mindali*

4

al-maliḥ  
 maliḥun mithla smih wa-fil'ih maliḥ  
 wa-l-qabiḥ  
 qabiḥun min bāhi l-muḥayyā l-ṣabiḥ  
 wa-l-ṣaḥiḥ  
 wa-Llāhi lā yaslā wa-lā yastariḥ  
*man bulī*  
*bi-'ishqi ḡabyin 'ad'ajin 'anjali*  
*yanḥalī*  
*mithla muḥayyā l-qamari l-munjali*

5

man naḡar  
 'ilā ṭal'ati-h 'aqsam mā dhā bashar  
 wa-l-bashar  
 ḥārū wa-qālū dhā malak 'aw qamar  
 wa-l-qamar  
 min-hu khtafā wa-l-shamsu ghābat khafar  
*'asbilī*  
*yā shamsu 'adhyāla l-ḥayā wa-kḥjalī*  
*wa-'filī*  
*bi-Llāhi min 'ujbi-ki dhā l-'awwali*

(0

*The Lord*

*has cast down upon the garden countless jewels,  
so unveil  
a fragrant wine whose light shimmers in its glass.*

1

The stars of the night  
shine in a garden full of flowers  
that appears to us,  
when it blooms, like heaven on earth,  
and bewitches  
our minds with its unrivalled beauty.

*There*

*my glass, upon the flowers of the hills, appears  
like jewels  
adorning the long neck of a beautiful woman.*

2

Happy  
is a lover who offers a glass to tender gazelles  
with unrivalled  
mouths and an antelope's eyes and necks.

Wise

is he who mixes that wine into the glass.

*Make the glass*

*a crown in the hand of the black-eyed gazelle,  
and fill  
my cup as the nightingales renew their song.*

3

My companions,  
when I drink the pearls of wine,  
are the glasses;  
by God, fill them up, and do not put them away,  
sip from the hand  
of a black-eyed and red-lipped cupbearer,  
*pour  
it into the glass, fresh and pure;  
serve  
the cups with musk and sandalwood.*

4

The beautiful  
is as beautiful as his name and his deeds are beautiful,  
and the ugly  
is ugly in spite of his pretty face,

and the reliable,  
 by God, never forgets nor finds rest.  
*One afflicted*  
*by love for an antelope with large, dark eyes*  
*wastes away*  
*like the unveiled face of the moon.*

5  
 He who looks  
 upon his countenance cries “This is no mortal”.  
 And the humans  
 are at a loss and say: “This is an angel or the moon!”  
 The moon  
 vanishes and the sun sets before him out of shyness.  
*Let down,*  
*oh sun, the last of the rain in shame,*  
*and go down,*  
*in awe – by God – of this one, supreme).*

### 5.7 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (Abū Hammām) (1945–2014)

The last emulation of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s poem is a very recent one. Its author is the Egyptian poet, researcher, critic, and translator – mostly of poetry from Spain and Latin America – ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (1945–2014), also known as Abū Hammām. His poem, entitled “Muwashshaḥa miṣriyya”, was first published in the first issue of the literary journal *Ibdā’* (January 1994),<sup>68</sup> and later on was included in the poet’s last book of poetry, *Zahrat al-nār* (1998), and in his *al-A‘māl al-shi‘riyya al-kāmila* (2011), pages 238–244. This contrafactum is the longest poem in this series, with ten stanzas instead of the usual five or seven. A further difference with the preceding poems, centered on love or wine, is that this one is a political poem,<sup>69</sup> in which the author denounces a corrupt and oppressive power, here identified with that of the last Fāṭimid sultan al-‘Āḍid (r. 555–567 H/ 1160–1171 CE) and his viziers, unable to fend off the Crusaders. It is not difficult

**68** Some months later, in the same journal, no. 12, December 1994, Maḥmūd al-‘Ashīrī published a study of the poem and its relationship with ‘Ubāda’s poem, entitled “‘Īqā’ al-ma’nā wa-shā’iriyat al-īqā’”. *Dirāsa fī qaṣīda “an muwashshaḥa andalusīyya” li-l-shā’ir ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (Abū Hammām)*”, now included in Maḥmūd al-‘Ashīrī’s *al-Sayr naḥw nuqṭa muftariḍa*. See al-‘Ashīrī 2014.

**69** These two reasons, its length and its theme, have led me not to quote the poem in its entirety in this paper, in addition to the significant gap in time – four centuries – between this contemporary poet and the last pre-modern one, Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn.

to see in it the same critical attitude of Jamāl al-Ghīṭānī in his first novel *al-Zaynī Barakāt* (1971). Also like him, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm uses the past as a metaphor for the present (the Mamlūks of the poem stand for the power of the military establishment under president Ḥusnī Mubārak [1981–2011]), likely a ruse to avoid censorship.

However, it is no surprise that, in order to address Egyptian politics, the contemporary poet turns time and again to the expressions of Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk’s original, framed around the concept of just governance. It is also likely that the author has in mind all the other emulations by Mamlūk poets. The poem seems encircled by the initial and final *aqfāl*, that is to say, by the prelude (*maṭla’*) and the *kharja*, which repeats the prelude almost word for word:

(Prelude)

*Man walī*

*fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya‘dili*

*yu‘zali*

*‘illā l-mamāliku fa-lā tanjali*

(He who governs

over a nation and is not just,

will be deposed,

except the Mamlūks, who will not disappear).

(Kharja)

*Man walī*

*fī ‘ummatin ‘amran wa-lam ya‘dili*

*yu‘zali*

*ḥattā l-mamāliki fa-qad tanjali*

(He who governs

over a nation and is not just,

will be deposed,

even the Mamlūks, who perhaps will disappear).

## 6 A second set of emulations

As mentioned before, al-Ṣafadī, after his first emulation of *Man walī* (*Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* number 33), declares, when introducing number 34, that he wanted to compose another *muwashshaḥa* with the rhythm (*wazn*) of ‘Ubāda’s poem, but with a different set of rhymes (*wa-ghayyartu al-qāfiya al-ūlā*, ‘I changed the first

rhyme') – here considering only the common rhymes. It is not an infrequent device even when a *kharja* is in fact re-used by a younger poet, because it is enough to change the last word to create a poem that seems somewhat different.<sup>70</sup> Although there are plenty of earlier examples, even in these cases of reusing a *kharja*, in which the change of the last word compromises the original set of rhymes of the first *muwashshaḥa*, it is in the Mamlūk period, when al-Şafadī lived, that this possibility seems to have been fully developed. In any case, there are another four poems from this period that are emulations of the *muwashshaḥa* of 'Ubāda Ibn Mā' al-Samā'. Chronologically, Al-Şafadī's is the last one, but, as he states clearly that his poem is a *mu'āraḍa* of the Andalusī poet, I will begin with it because it is a very clear example. Although in the other poems it can be concluded based on the rhythm that they are in fact emulations, neither the poets who wrote them nor the anthologists who collected them mention this fact.

## 6.1 Al-Şafadī

Al-Şafadī's *muwashshaḥa* is a love poem; at six stanzas and a prelude, it is a bit longer than his previous one, and is even more affected, since the use of *tajnis* in the rhymes is more frequent and more emphasized.

0  
*Qaddirī*  
 'anna raqībī bi-l-liqā qad durī  
 'aw 'arī  
 hal yantahī 'an khulqī-hi l-'aw'arī

1  
 qad ḥashad  
 fi-ki saqāmī wa-'adhāba l-ḥasad  
 wa-l-ḥasad  
 min 'ādhilī mtadda 'ilā ghayri ḥad(d)  
 wa-qtasad  
 bi-'anna-hu yashmutu bī waqta ṣad(d)

<sup>70</sup> See for instance a *muwashshaḥa* by Ibn Zuhri (Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* [1992], no. 292), in which the poet uses the same *kharja* as Ibn Baqī (d. 540 H/1145 CE or 545 H/1150 CE) (Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* [1992], no. 177), but with a small change to the rhyme (Ibn Zuhri has *šana'ū*, where Ibn Baqī has *fa'alū*) that does not modify the meaning, as both verbs mean 'to do, to make'. A century later, the Hebrew poet Todros Abulafia (1247–ca. 1306 CE) again reused the *kharja* from Ibn Baqī's version. See Monroe/Swiatlo 1977, 146; more on this kind of reuse in Garulo 2009b.

*fa-khburī*  
*ḥāla l-mu‘annā fi l-ḍanā wa-ḥburī*  
*wa-bṣurī*  
*’in kāna qad khāna fa-lā tabṣurī*

2

*’anti fi*  
*qalbī wa-fi fikrī fa-lā ’antafi*  
*fa-’ṭifi*  
*’alayya wa-sta’nī wa-lā ta’sifi*  
*wa-s’ifi*  
*ya’qūba hādhā ḥusna-ki l-yūsufi*  
*wa-’dhirī*  
*man massa-hu l-ḍarru wa-lā taghdirī*  
*wa-nṣurī*  
*qalbī ’alā ’ādhili-hi l-muftarī*

3

*jalla man*  
*’abdā la-nā hādhā l-muḥayyā l-ḥasan*  
*wa-rtahan*  
*’ahla hawā-hu bi-l-shajā wa-l-shajan*  
*wa-mtaḥan*  
*’ushshāqa-hu dūna l-warā bi-l-ḥazan*  
*tanbarī*  
*sihāmu jafnay-ki li-qatli l-barī*  
*’in barī*  
*fa-’inna-hu yaḥyā wa-lam yuqbari*

4

*bi-l-da’aj*  
*min jafni-hā safku dimā’i l-muhaj*  
*wa-zdawaj*  
*nūru thanāyā-hā wa-nūru l-balaj*  
*wa-mtazaj*  
*fi khaddi-hā mā’u l-ḥibā bi-l-ḍaraj*  
*fa-nzurī*  
*li-yāsaminin fawqa wardin ṭarī*  
*’aḥmari*  
*mudabbajin min khāli-hā l-’akhḍari*

5

*man qaḍā*  
*’alā l-mu‘annā fi-ki ḥattā qaḍā*  
*wa-qtaḍā*  
*’an shabba fi qalbiya jamru l-ghaḍā*  
*wa-ntaḍā*

min jafni-ki l-'aswadi li 'abyaqā  
*fa-qdirī*  
 ṣabrī 'alā dhā qaddi-ki l-'asmari  
 wa-qṣirī  
 yā ju'dharān ṣāla 'alā qaswari

6

yā khali  
 min ḥubbi man qalbi bi-hā qad buli  
 khalli li  
 mā qāla-hu fi shāni-hā 'udhdhali  
 wa-rsili  
 ṭarfa-ka fi hādihā l-muḥayyā l-khali  
*tubṣiri*  
 nūra thanāyā thaghri-hā l-jawharī  
 'idh yarī  
 yarwī l-sanā 'an khaddi-hā l-'azhari

(0

*Suppose*  
*that the spy already knows about our meetings*  
*and comes to us –*  
*will he change his rough nature?*

1

My sickness  
 grows because of you, and consumes my body;  
 the envy  
 of my rebuker has no limits,  
 and he rejoices  
 at my sufferings when you send me away.  
*Now consider*  
*the state of a lover suffering and emaciated; make him happy,*  
*look at him,*  
*but if he has betrayed you, look not.*

2

You live  
 in my heart and in my mind, I do not deny it;  
 so have mercy  
 on me, take your time and do not act thoughtlessly;  
 and grant  
 this Ya'qūb your beauty, like Yūsuf's;  
*forgive and betray not*  
*a man wounded by adversity,*  
*and assist*  
*my heart against a slandering rebuker.*

3

How far above is  
 a youth who shows us that beautiful face  
 which makes his lovers  
 prisoners of sorrows and worries,  
 and afflicts  
 those who love him with sadness.

*The arrows  
 of his eyes are sharpened to kill all creatures  
 even innocents.  
 Indeed, they are alive and cannot be buried.*

4

Large and black,  
 her eyes shed the blood of hearts;  
 As one:  
 the light of her teeth and the light of dawn,  
 and blended  
 in her cheeks are shyness and blush.

*Now look  
 at that jasmine above a fresh rose,  
 red,  
 adorned with a birthmark, green.*

5

Who sentenced  
 your suffering lover to death?  
 Who decreed  
 that embers of tamarisk wood should burn in my heart,  
 and unsheathed  
 the bright sword of your black eyes?

*May my patience  
 resist your spear-like figure,  
 and restrain you,  
 oh antelope who takes on lions.*

6

You, carefree  
 without this love that afflicts my heart:  
 listen not  
 to my rebukers' words against her,  
 and fix  
 your gaze upon her carefree face.

*You will see  
 the light of her teeth like jewels,  
 with a glow  
 that draws its brilliance from her bright cheeks).*



## 6.2 Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī

Al-Şafadī, however, was not the first poet to compose a *mu‘āraḍa* of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa* with altered rhyming. Some years earlier, Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), a contemporary of al-Şafadī, had already composed an emulation of *Man walī*, in which he also modified the rhymes. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī, a Shāfi‘ī jurist, philologist, man of letters, and poet, was born in Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān (Syria) in 689 H/1290-1 CE or 691 H/1291-2 CE, and died in Aleppo in 749 H/1349 CE, during the plague.<sup>71</sup> Almost coeval with him, al-Şafadī includes a long biography of Ibn al-Wardī in his *A’yān al-‘aṣr*, quoting poems and letters drawn from their mutual correspondence, as well as other poems. Among them is this *muwashshaḥa* whose structure imitates that of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, a poem that Ibn al-Wardī composed in his youth.<sup>72</sup> His *muwashshaḥa*, which, with only four stanzas, appears to be incomplete, is a love poem with a profusion of rhetorical devices, especially *jinās* or paronomasia.

0  
*madhhabī*  
*ḥubbu rashān dhī jasadīn mudhhabī*  
*qad ḥubī*  
*ḥusnan bi-hi yasta‘dhibu l-qadḥa bī*

1  
‘ādhilā  
mā ‘anta fi lawmi-ka li ‘ādilā  
sā’ilā  
yukhbiru-ka dam‘un qad hamā sā’ilā  
āhi lā  
ta’dhil fa-mā qalbī bi-dhā ‘āhilā  
*manṣibī*  
*wa-l-‘aqlu ‘adhhabtu-humā min sabī*  
*mā rubī*  
‘illā wa-qad rubī fi-hi mā rubī

2  
raqqa mā  
fi khaddi-hi l-wardiyyi qad raqqamā

71 Bencheneb, “Ibn al-Wardī, Zayn al-Dīn”, *EP*. See al-Şafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 3: 677–706 (biog. 1301); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1973), 3: 157–160 (biog. 383).

72 Al-Şafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 3: 705–706; ‘Aṭā 1420/1999, 263–264. I have followed ‘Aṭā’s version, that of the *dīwān*, but in some cases have turned, as a contrast, to the one provided by al-Şafadī in *A’yān al-‘aṣr*; in al-Şafadī the stanzas are ordered differently: 1, 4, 2, 3.

‘indamā  
 ra’aytu dam‘ī qad ḥakā ‘andamā  
 ḡarra mā  
 fī muhjatī min hajri-hi ḡarramā  
*min ‘abī*  
 ya’bā l-riḡā niltu l-jafā min ‘abī  
*fa-r‘a bī*  
 riḡā-hu yā qalbu wa- tih wa-r‘abi

3  
 man ṣalā  
 lī fakḥkha-hu bal qad naḡā munṣulā  
 ‘awwalā  
 mulāzimun ‘ākhiru-hu l-‘awwalā  
 balbalā  
 fu’ādu muḡnā-hu balā bal balā  
*fa-nha bī*  
 ḡhayrī wa-ladhḡātu l-ḡharāmi nhabi  
 wa-lha bī  
 ‘an ‘udḡḡalin bal yā ḡashā-ya lhabi

4  
 mā nasi  
 ṡība zamāni l-waṣli fī mā nasi  
 wa-lmasī  
 raḡība-nā bi-l-kaffi lam ‘almasi  
 jā nasi  
 ḡarbī fa-‘alfi kullamā jā nasi<sup>73</sup>  
*wa-rḡa bī*  
 yā ṡarfū suḡdan wa-l-nujūma rḡabi  
 wa-shna bī  
 man lam yahummu fī ṡagrīn ‘ashnabi

(0  
*My creed*  
*is the love of a willowy bodied gazelle,*  
*endowed*  
*with a beauty that sweetens the slander against me.*

1  
 Rebuker,  
 how unjust are your reproaches;

<sup>73</sup> In al-Ṣafādī, *A ‘yān al-‘aṣr* (1418/1998), 701: *jānisī / ḡuznī fa-‘alfi kullamā jā nisī*, but its meaning is equally obscure.

inquirer,  
 my flowing tears will inform you.  
 Ah, do not  
 blame me, my heart does not deserve it;  
*dignity*  
*and reason, gone over of a boy*  
*who grew*  
*and, grown, so too his beauty did grow.*

2  
 What beautiful is  
 the down in his rose-colored cheeks,  
 that, when  
 I saw the safflower of my tears,  
 the fire he has kindled  
 in my soul by his absence will hurt me.  
*Oh what a proud youth,*  
*who would deny me pleasure, leaving only the rough.*  
*So, for me, desist*  
*from pleasing him, oh heart, or be perplexed and frightened.*

3  
 He who set  
 his traps for me, and who, indeed, drew his sword  
 in the beginning,  
 keeps doing so, time and again.  
 Confounded  
 is the heart of his emaciated lover; his beloved besets him with woe.  
*Take leave of me,*  
*distress another, and plunder the pleasures of passion;*  
*let me forget*  
*my rebukers, and you, my soul: burn in your fire.*

4  
 He forgot  
 completely the delightful time of union;  
 now touch  
 our guardian with a hand I did not touch,  
 ...  
 ...<sup>74</sup>  
*Fend off*  
*my insomnia, oh my eyes, and watch the stars,*  
*and hate with me*

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74 See footnote 73.

*a man unconcerned with a dazzling smile).*

### 6.3 Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī

Even before Ibn al-Wardī and al-Ṣafadī, another Eastern poet had used this device, namely to change the rhyme of the *aqfāl* (common rhymes) in order to compose a new poem, perhaps perceived as more original. His name was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-‘Azāzī (d. 710 H/1310 CE), and his *muwashshaḥa* imitating *Man walī*, following closely its rhymes, has already been quoted in this chapter (see above, 5.3). His new imitation<sup>75</sup> begins *Mā ‘alā*, thus representing a truly subtle variation of the rhyme, as al-‘Azāzī maintains the rhyme letter (*lām*), changing only the vowel that follows it. It is collected in al-Ṣafadī’s *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*, no. 19, but he does not mention it being an emulation of *Man walī*, a poem that he includes in his anthology and that he imitates twice therein. This kind of omission is not especially noticeable, because al-Ṣafadī sometimes seems to forget the ultimate source for his imitations. An example at hand are the *muwashshaḥāt* nos. 3, 4 and 5 of his anthology: no. 3 (*bāsimum ‘an la’āl*) is the poem by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī (see 5.2), and nos. 4 and 5, the emulations composed by al-Ṣafadī and Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Ṣūfī. But al-Ṣafadī never says that the poem of this al-Mawṣilī is a *mu‘āraḍa* of the *muwashshaḥa Dāḥikun ‘an jumān* by al-A‘mā al-Tuṭilī. And yet he must undoubtedly have been familiar with al-Tuṭilī’s poem, the first quoted by Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk in his treatise on the art of the *muwashshaḥ*, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, because al-Ṣafadī gives a summary of it at the beginning of *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*. Is the change in the rhymes sufficient grounds to consider the new poem as completely independent? But al-Ṣafadī himself said that he composed an imitation of *Man walī* with different rhymes! Why do the same criteria not apply in the case of Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Azāzī?

*Mā ‘alā* seems to have been a well-appreciated poem. In addition to *Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ*, al-Ṣafadī included it in other two works: his biographical dictionaries *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* ([1420/2000], 7: 103), and *A‘yān al-‘aṣr* ([1418/1998], 1: 273–274). It is also included in Ibn Taghribirdī’s *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi* ([1984–2009], 1: 367–369), in al-Nawāji’s *‘Uqūd al-la’āl* ([1420/1999], 161–163), and in al-Maqqarī’s *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* ([1388/1968], 7: 91–92).<sup>76</sup>

It is a love poem, and like the *muwashshaḥa* of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’, it has five stanzas and a prelude:

<sup>75</sup> Stern called attention to this imitation in his 1950 doctoral dissertation. See Stern 1974, 94.

<sup>76</sup> And in ‘Aṭā 1420/1999, 21–23.

0

*mā 'alā**man hāma wajdan bi-dhawāti l-ḥulā**mubtalā**bi-l-ḥadaqi l-sūdi wa-bīḍi l-ṭulā*

1

*bi-l-lawā**maliyyu ḥusnin li-duyūni lawā**kam nawā**qatli wa-kam 'adhdhaba-nī bi-l-lawā**qad hawā**fi ḥubbi-hi qalbi bi-ḥukmi l-hawā**wa-ṣṭalā**nāra tajanni-hi wa-nāra l-qilā**kayfa lā**yadhūqu man hāma bi-rīmi l-falā*

2

*hal turā**yajma 'u-nā l-dahru wa-law fi l-karā**'am tarā**'aynī muḥayyā man li-jismī barā**bi-l-surā**yā ḥādiyā rakbin bi-laylin sarā**'allilā**qalbi bi-tadhkārī l-liqā 'allilā**wa-nzilā**dūna l-ḥimā ḥayya l-ḥimā manzilā*

3

*bi rashā**dam'ī bi-sirrī fi hawā-hu washā**law yashā**barrada minni jamarāti l-ḥashā**mā mashā**'illā nthanā min sukri-hi wa-ntashā**'aṭṭilā**mina l-ḥumayyā yā mudīrā l-ṭilā**mā ḥalā**'idhā 'adāra l-nāzira l-'akḥalā*

4

*hal yulām**man ghalaba l-ḥubbu 'alay-hi fa-hām**mustahām**bi-fātīri l-laḥzi rashīqi l-qawām*

dhī btisām  
 ’aḥsana naẓman min ḥabābi l-mudām  
*law malā*  
*min riqī-hi ka’san la-’aḥyā l-malā*  
 ’aw jalā  
*wajhan ra’ayta l-qamara l-mujtalā*

5  
 law ’afā  
 qalbu-ka ’amman zalla ’aw man hafā  
 ’aw ṣafā  
 mā kāna ka-l-jalmadi ’aw ka-l-ṣafā  
 bi-l-wafā  
 sal ’an fatā ’adhhabta-hu bi-l-jafā  
*hal khalā*  
*fu’ādu-hu min khaṭarāti l-walā*  
 ’aw salā  
*wa-khāna dhāka l-mawthiqa l-’awwalā*

(0  
*What accusation can be levelled  
 against one in ecstasy over young girls bejewelled,  
 and afflicted  
 by their black eyes and figures like white swords?*

1  
 Beautiful is he  
 who has deferred payment of his painful debts;  
 how frequently  
 he resolved to kill me, and how he tormented me with his absence!  
 My heart,  
 ruled by the power of passion, loves him,  
*but he kindled*  
*the fire of his reproaches and his hate;*  
*why shouldn’t*  
*he, in love with a desert gazelle, suffer too?*

2  
 I wonder  
 if Fate would bring us together even in our dreams,  
 or if my eyes  
 would see the face of a beloved who wears out my body  
 with night travel;  
 oh caravan leader,  
*entertain*  
*my heart with memories of our meetings,*  
*and stop*

*at a dwelling in a protected valley – may God preserve it.*

3

For a gazelle  
is the love whose secret my tears betray;  
if he wanted  
he could cool the embers of my soul.  
He walks,  
tottering gracefully as if drunk.  
*You two, serving the wine,  
serve no more,  
for still sweeter  
is a backward glance from his dark eyes.*

4

Can one blame  
a lover vanquished by ardent passion,  
infatuated  
by his languid glances, his slender frame,  
and his smiles  
revealing a string of pearls lovelier than the bubbles of wine?  
*If he filled  
the glass with his saliva, it would give new life to the desert,  
or if he showed  
his face, you would see the shining moon.*

5

If your heart  
forgave the one who made a mistake, or erred,  
or loved you  
faithfully,  
he would not be like a rock or a stone.  
Ask about a young man you roughly torment,  
*if his soul  
is free from thoughts and desires of fidelity,  
or if he has forgotten  
and betrayed his first covenant).*

## 6.4 Al-Şafadī

Al-Şafadī was so enthusiastic about this poem that he not only recorded it, but was eager to compose an emulation (*Tawshī‘ al-tawshīḥ* no. 20) following al-‘Azāzī, but with a degree of virtuosity in rhymes’ *tajnīs* far superior to his model, affecting all the rhyme words in the *aghşān* of every stanza: *qamar* ‘moon’/*qamar*

‘to be sleepless in the moonlight’; *khatar* ‘to come to the mind’/fi *khaṭar* ‘in danger’; *saḥar* ‘to bewitch’/ *al-saḥar* ‘dawn’, etc.

0

*lī ‘ilā*  
*ḡabyi l-ḡimā shawqun wa-ḡad ‘anḡalā*  
*‘in ḡalā*  
*fa-‘inna-hu jarra ‘a-nī l-ḡanzalā*

1

*bī qamar*  
*sabā l-ḡashā minnī wa-‘aqlī qamar*  
*law khaṭar*  
*‘amsā bi-hi ‘ahlu l-hawā fi khaṭar*  
*mudh saḡar*  
*bi-ṭarfi-hi ‘talla nasimu l-saḡar*  
*wa-ṣṡalā*  
*muḡibbu-hu tadhkāra ‘aṣrin khalā*  
*wa-btalā*  
*bi-l-wajdi ḡattā ‘at ‘aba l-‘udhdhalā*

2

*kam ‘alam*  
*min ṡayfi-hi li-mā bi-jafnī ‘alam(m)*  
*fi l-ṡalam*  
*‘anṡafa lākin ḡīna wallā ṡalam*  
*law nasam*  
*mabsamu-hu ‘aḡyā jamī‘a l-nasam*  
*‘aw jalā*  
*ṡal‘atu-hu fi dāmisin ‘alyalā*  
*la-‘talā*  
*‘alā budūri l-timmi bayna l-malā*

3

*‘in ḡaḡā*  
*bi-ḡatlati ṡarfu ḡhazāli nḡaḡā*  
*‘idh maḡā*  
*fi kabidi jafnā-hu fi-mā maḡā*  
*‘aw ‘aḡā*  
*barqu l-riḡā li ‘inda dhāti l-‘aḡā*  
*la-njalā*  
*‘annī l-‘anā ‘aw qalla min-hu l-ḡilā*  
*wa-nsalā*  
*qalbu ‘aduwwin ḡāla ‘annī salā*



4

'in şafā  
 lī qalbu-hu min hajri-hi 'anşafā  
 'in tafā-  
 'altu<sup>77</sup> li-qalbī bi-riḡā-hu ntafā  
 'aw ṭafā  
 dam'ī 'alā jafnin la-hu 'awṭafā  
 'akhjalā  
*qaṭra ghawādin qad ghadat ḥuffalā*  
*kayfa lā*  
*wa-hwa ḥayā dam'ī wa-qad 'asbalā*

5

bi'sa mā  
 'āmala-nī l-ḥubbu l-ladhī bi samā  
 'indamā  
 'ajrā dumū'ī bi-l-jafā 'andamā  
 'ajra mā  
 ghafartu li-l-wāshī l-ladhī 'ajramā  
*fa-khtalā*  
*bi-hi wa-khallā l-bāla rahna l-balā*  
 'amma lā  
*dūna na'am fī kulli mā 'ammalā.*

(0)

*I yearn*  
*for a gazelle from a sheltered valley; it has consumed me,*  
*and, though sweet,*  
*has made me swallow colocynth.*

1

A moon  
 has captivated me from within, its light dazzling my mind;  
 if it appears,  
 the lovers will be in danger;  
 it has bewitched  
 the dawn breeze, sapping its strength;  
*its lover is burning*  
*with memories of a bygone time,*  
*and suffers*  
*an ecstasy that has exasperated even the rebukers.*

---

77 Note the violence of the caesura, cutting a word (*tafā'altu*) in half at the end of a rhymed segment.

2

What pain  
 his specter before my eyes elicits  
 in the darkness!  
 He is equitable, but with power is unfair.  
 If his mouth  
 blew gently, he would give new life to all creatures;  
*and if his face*  
*appeared in the dark of night,*  
*it would rise*  
*over the full moon on the desert.*

3

If sentenced  
 to death by a look from my gazelle, it would be done,  
 for in the past  
 those eyes already pierced my soul;  
 if in a flash  
 I felt his approval, among other favors,  
*then gone*  
*would be my suffering, or lessened his aversion,*  
*and happy once more*  
*this enemy heart, which said that he, about me, had forgotten.*

4

If it would desist  
 from deserting me, his heart would be just.  
 If I regarded  
 his approval as a good omen for my heart, he would reject it.  
 If my tears  
 brimmed over eyelids beneath bushy brows,  
*they would put to shame*  
*even a hard morning rain.*  
*Why shouldn't*  
*they, if my tears themselves are the downpour?*

5

How badly  
 I am treated by this love that rose sky high  
 when  
 his roughness drew my tears – red resin:  
 a reward  
 for forgiving the slanderer his crimes.  
*He chose to be alone*  
*with him, leaving my soul a prisoner of woe:*  
*he said no –*  
*better than a yes – to all of those high hopes).*

## 7 A success only in the East?

Eleven Syrian and Egyptian contrafacta of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’<sup>78</sup>’s *muwashshaḥa Man walī* is truly remarkable. Why did it not receive the same acclaim in al-Andalus? Was its rhythm forgotten? Perhaps amidst the new stage in the genre’s evolution in al-Andalus in the years that followed ‘Ubāda’s time his somewhat contrived patterns simply receded from memory. The combination of rhymed segments of three and eleven syllables, in this order, is infrequent in Andalusī anthologies of *muwashshaḥāt*, where it is more common to find poems with the long segment before the short one. Nevertheless, there are some examples. In the anthology by Ibn Bishrī, *‘Uddat al-jalīs*, there are two such *muwashshaḥāt*, no. 25 and no. 168.<sup>78</sup> Both are anonymous love poems that lack a prelude.

I will begin with no. 168, because it is more regular, or at least its rhyme schemes are of the more frequent sort in this anthology, in both the *aghṣān* (ab ab) and the *aqfāl* (*mn on*).<sup>79</sup> It is a love poem addressed to an Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad.

1  
 marḥabā  
 bi-l-qamari l-ṭāli‘i min ‘ufqi-hi  
 qad sabā  
 qalbī fa-ḥusnu l-nuṭqi min nuṭqi-hi  
 jannibā  
 yā ‘ādhilayya l-lawma fi ‘ishqi-hi  
 fa-l-munā  
 fi ḥubbi badrin laysa bi-l-‘āfili  
 mā salā  
 ‘an ḥubbi-hi ḡhayru fatā jāhili

2  
 hākadhā  
 ‘a‘shaqu ḡattā ‘an ‘urā hālikā  
 hākadhā<sup>80</sup>

**78** The sequence of three and eleven syllables also appears in another *muwashshaḥa* in *‘Uddat al-jalīs* (no. 195), but its rhythm is so different from all these poems, its metrics in the eleven-syllable segments so alien to Arabic prosody, that I will exclude it from the *Man walī* family.

**79** In *‘Uddat al-jalīs* there are 68 *muwashshaḥāt* with exactly this rhyme scheme throughout the whole poem (ab ab ab *mn on*); the combination ab ab in the *aghṣān* is the most popular in Ibn Bishrī’s anthology (180 *muwashshaḥāt* have it); and, in the *aqfāl*, *mn on* is likewise the most frequent (77).

**80** Ibn Bishrī, *‘Uddat al-jalīs* (1992), 257; its editor suggests in his notes as a possibility ‘ā’idhā.

min mālikin ‘aṣbaḥa lī mālikā  
 fa-‘idha  
 lāqaytu-hu lāḥaḥa-nī ḍāḥikā  
*wa-nthanā*  
*yahtazzu kā<sup>81</sup>-l-ghuṣuni l-mā’ili*  
*wa-btalā*  
*qalbi bi-ḥubbin laysa bi-l-zā’ili*

3

Aḥmadu  
 ḥallalta fi ḥubbi-ka safka l-dimā  
 ‘uḥsadu  
 fi l-mawridi l-‘adhbi wa-‘akhshā l-ḥamā  
 ‘ashhadu  
 law ‘anna-nī niltu rtishāfa l-lamā  
*wa-l-ḍanā*  
*muḥtakamun fi jismiya l-nāḥili*  
*la-njalā*  
*mā ‘ashtakī min ‘alamin qātili*

4

fi l-ḥashā  
 law‘atu ḥubbin yā ‘Abā Ja‘fari  
 qad fashā  
 mā kuntu ‘akhfā min-hu fi muḍmari  
 yā rashā  
 nuzhatu-nā fi wajhi-hi l-qamarī  
*mā ‘anā*  
*mimman yuṭī‘u l-‘adhla min ‘ādhili*  
*wa-l-‘ulā*  
*tamna ‘u-nī min khud‘ati l-bāṭili*

5

‘innamā  
 yatamannā l-yawma ghazālun sharūd  
 qad ṣamā  
 bi-laḥḡi ‘aynay-hi wa-wardi l-khudūd  
 kullamā  
 ghāzaltu-hu ‘aw qultu kayfa yajūd  
*hal la-nā*

**81** Ibn Bishrī, *‘Uddat al-jalis* (1992), 257; Jones is probably right when he proposes in his notes *mithla l-ghuṣuni*.

*fī yawmi-nā<sup>82</sup> min maw'idin 'ājili*  
*qāla lā*  
*ḥattā mina l-yawmi 'ilā qābili*

(1

Welcome,  
 moon rising over the horizon,  
 who captivated  
 my heart with an eloquence that is the heart of all eloquence.  
 Spare me,  
 rebukers, your reproaches over my love for him,  
*I desire*  
*the love of a moon that never sets;*  
*only the ignorant*  
*could forget his love.*

2

Thus  
 will I love until I die;  
 may I be saved  
 by a master who has become my master.  
 When I meet him,  
 he looks at me smiling.  
*He walks gracefully*  
*trembling like a swaying bough,*  
*and afflicts*  
*my heart with a love that knows no end.*

3

Aḥmad,  
 you think in love it is fine to shed blood;  
 people want to hold me back  
 from the sweet spring, and I fear thirst;  
 I swear  
 that if I win a kiss of his red lips,  
*now that emaciation*  
*has taken over my thin body,*  
*gone will be*  
*the mortal pain that I suffer.*

4

In my heart,

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**82** Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992), 257, has *fī l-yawmi*, but in this rendering it comes up one syllable short.

oh Abū Ja‘far, lovesickness  
disclosed  
what I kept secret in my mind.  
Oh antelope,  
in your moon-like visage we find solace,  
*don't think that I*  
*will allow my rebuker to rebuke me;*  
*dignity*  
*bars me from liars' deceit.*

5  
But  
what does he want today, this shy gazelle  
who hunts  
with the glint of his eyes and the roses of his cheeks?  
Whenever  
I speak words of love or ask if he will be generous,  
*or if we,*  
*on this day, will have our tryst without delay,*  
*he says: No,*  
*neither today nor tomorrow).*

But, can this *muwashshaḥā* be counted as belonging to the same family as that of Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s poem? The answer is yes, in view of the variations on the rhymes introduced by the Eastern poets who acknowledged – at least in the case of al-Ṣafadī – that they were emulating *Man walī*. It is worth noting that the Ayyūbī and Mamlūk poets had a clear preference for an aa aa aa rhyme scheme in the *aghṣān*, which was very infrequent in al-Andalus,<sup>83</sup> and which they furthermore highlighted through *tajnīs*. This seems to point to a difference in the literary tastes of the authors of *muwashshaḥāt* in the East and in the West, perhaps due to the higher degree of mannerism in the later periods of Arabic literature. In any case, it appears that in al-Andalus poets who chose to use *Man walī*'s pattern of three and eleven syllables preferred a simpler set of rhymes, resulting in a less rhetorically adorned poem. But it was precisely the rhetorical embellishment of the *aqfāl* of ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’'s *muwashshaḥa*, with the use of a *mm mm* rhyme scheme, that prompted the Egyptian poet Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulḳ to emulate it

<sup>83</sup> There are only three *muwashshaḥāt* with such a rhyme scheme in the *aghṣān* in Ibn Bishrī, *Uddat al-jalīs* (1992), no. 2 (aa aa aa *mm nn*; 10–5 syllables), no. 10 (aa aa aa *mmn mmn*; 7–8 in the *aghṣān*, and 7–8–3 in the *aqfāl*), and no. 169 (aa aa aa *mm*; and this is a rhyme with its echo, that is, 10–2 syllables), and, besides, their *aqfāl* have a very different rhyme scheme from each other, as can be seen, and from *Man walī*.

and to add more sophistication to the rhymes of his entire *muwashshaḥa*, rhyming both short and long segments alike also in the *aghṣān*, a formula that hit the mark in the East, ensuring the poem's success over the centuries.

The other Andalusi *muwashshaḥa* that follows Ibn Mā' al-Samā's combination of three and eleven syllables is 'Uddat al-jalīs no. 25. This poem seems to belong to a stage in the evolution of the genre prior to 'Ubāda's innovations, at least partially, because while the *aqfāl* segments have an *mn xn* rhyme scheme (x being an unrhymed verse), the first segments of the *aghṣān*, those with three syllables, have no rhyme at all. The rhyme scheme is therefore *xa xa xa mn xn*. Lastly, as we have already mentioned, it has no prelude.

1  
 qad badā  
 mā kuntu 'ukhfi-hi 'ani l-'ādhili  
 fi hawā  
 man zāda fi l-siḥri 'alā bābili  
 fa-qṣiri  
 'an lawmi ṣabbin danifin nāḥili  
*law mashā*  
*fawqa ḥabābin ṣāra fi lujjati*  
*lam yura*  
*yaghriqu fi l-mā'i mina l-khiffati*

2  
 shaffa-nī  
 ḥubbu ghazālin laysa bi-l-munṣifi  
 laḥḏu-hu  
 'amqā 'alā qalbī mina l-murhafi  
 rīqu-hu  
 ka-l-shuhdi wa-l-miski ma'a l-qarqafi  
*mudh nashā*  
*lam tastafiq min ḥubbi-hi sakrati*  
*wa-hwa lā*  
*ya 'lamu mā 'uḏmira min law'ati*

3  
 yā hilā.<sup>84</sup>

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**84** In this stanza there are two cases in which the caesura falls in the middle of a word: here, in *hilā-lan* 'moon', and, in the third *ghuṣn*, in *ḥat-tā* 'until'. In the fourth stanza, in the second of the *aghṣān*, the caesura falls in the middle of the word *al-ḥisā-ni* 'the beautiful ones'. Also in the fifth stanza, in the first line, the caesura falls in the middle of the word *lam-mā* 'when'. See above, the poem 6.4 by al-Ṣafadi, who cuts the word *tafā'altu* 'I regarded as a good omen', in order to rhyme with *tafā*.

lan lam yazal yaṭla‘u bi-l-’as‘udi  
 laysa fī  
 ḥubbi-ka għayru l-ḥayni min mus‘idi  
 dhubtu ḥat-  
 tā raqqa lī min raḥmatin ‘uwwadi  
*fa-l-wushā*  
*lammā ra’aw dam‘iya min muqlatī*  
*qad jarā*  
*yukhbiru ‘an wajdi wa-‘an zafratī*

4

lam tara  
 ‘ayni ka-man ‘ahwā-hu bayna l-warā  
 fi l-ḥisā-  
 ni l-khurradi l-‘ayni wa-mā ‘in yarā  
 layta-hu  
 law jāda bi-l-waṣli wa-law fi l-karā  
*fa-l-ḥashā*  
*qad kāda yanḍaju mina l-waḥshati*  
*mudh na‘ā*  
*yā ‘ādhilī man wajhu-hu qiblatī*

5

qultu lam-  
 mā ‘an badā ka-l-shamsi fi l-manẓari  
 mā‘isan  
 fi ḥullatin min sundusin ‘akhḍari  
 ‘ābiqan  
 min ‘indi riḍwāna wa-lam yash‘uri  
*yā rashā*  
*yakhtālu fī thawbin mina l-bahjati*  
*qul matā*  
*‘aqbalta yā ḥibbī mina l-jannati*

(1

It is now evident  
 what I was concealing from the rebukers:  
 I love  
 one even more enchanting than Babel;  
 so stop  
 reproaching a lover so ailing and frail that  
*if he walked*  
*over an ocean of bubbles,*  
*he would not*  
*drown in the waters, so light is he.*



2

I was consumed  
 by love for a gazelle, unjust,  
 whose eyes  
 penetrated my heart deeper than swords,  
 whose saliva  
 is like honey and musk with wine;  
*ever since he appeared,<sup>85</sup>*  
*my intoxication for his love has no cure,*  
*and he knows not*  
*the yearning I conceal.*

3

Oh moon,  
 ever rising auspiciously,  
 there is nothing  
 in this love for me but death;  
 So gaunt  
 have I become that my visitors, even the slanderers,  
*took pity on me*  
*when they saw the tears in my eyes*  
*flowing forth,*  
*betraying my passion and my grief.*

4

My eyes had not seen  
 any like their beloved, not among all the creatures,  
 nor among  
 the shy beautiful maidens.  
 If only  
 he would join me in union, at least in my dreams!  
*My heart*  
*has been so lonely it could burst,*  
*since the departure*  
 – *oh rebuker – of the one whose face is my qibla.*

5

I said  
 when he appeared like the sun before me,  
 swaying  
 in robes of green silk brocade,

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**85** I think that *nashā*, ‘to be lightly inebriated’, stands for *nasha’a*, ‘to appear, to grow’. By dropping the *hamza*, the poet can preserve that evocation of intoxication that elicited the next line, as well as the allusion to the youth of his beloved.

running away  
 from Riḍwān, unaware of his flight:  
*Oh gazelle*  
*strutting about in the garments of beauty,*  
*tell me: when*  
*did you arrive, my love, from paradise?).*

## 8 The End

Here ends the story of this family of *muwashshaḥāt*, a successful strophic poem structure that probably arrived in Syria and Egypt very early on, at the end of the 5th/11th century, but seems to have been forgotten in al-Andalus. What were the reasons behind its success? This is question with no easy answer, as nobody at the time bothered to record an explanation for its popularity. Only al-Ṣafadī expressly describes his enthusiasm for Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’’s *muwashshaḥa*, and his interest in composing a *mu‘āraḍa* or emulation of it – in fact, he composed three. As with several of his predecessors, he relies on the rhyme strategies, mostly word play or paronomasia (*tajnīs*), and specifically the repetition of very similar or identical words with different meanings, at the end of every rhymed segment. It is perhaps a rhetorical device used to cope with the asymmetry of a very short first verse. This would make sense in the Arabic poetic tradition, in which verses traditionally contain a caesura mid-way through, i.e. they are composed of two equal halves or hemistichs, with internal rhymes (as in *musammaṭ* poems), or without them. In this context, while the long segment of eleven syllables is easily scanned as *sarī‘* meter, the very short three-syllable rhymed verse seems to emphasize and even anticipate the next rhyme, especially because its foot is similar to the last foot of the *sarī‘*. Although by making this short segment repeat the last foot of the long one, echoing it, the effect can be amplified, it seems that Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ was unaware of this ornate device. Although his poem is quite sophisticated, he only uses this sort of paronomasia in the prelude of the *muwashshaḥa* (*ya‘dili/ya‘dhali*). His imitators were indeed much more interested in plays on words and *tajnīs* than he was.

Neither al-Ṣafadī nor other poets and anthologists mention the music that accompanied the poem, but it did have musical accompaniment. We know that at least *Kallilī*, the *mu‘āraḍa* by Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk (or perhaps Muḥaffar al-‘Aylānī), was sung, and is still sung today.<sup>86</sup> As an Andalusī song, *Kallilī*’s prelude

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<sup>86</sup> See footnote 46.

and first stanza appear in *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik*, the compilation of lyrics to the Andalusi songs still sung in the lifetime of its author, Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Tiṭwānī (12th/18th century).<sup>87</sup>

Another *muwashshaḥa* from this family that appears in recent repertoires of Andalusi songs is the last poem analyzed, the anonymous *Qad badā* – no. 25 of *‘Uddat al-jalīs*, the anthology by Ibn Bishrī (8th/14th century). It is found on at least two websites dedicated to Andalusi music and songs,<sup>88</sup> and to *malḥūn* poetry.<sup>89</sup> These sites are not identical, but all of them are similar to and seem to draw on *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik*, compiling songs composed of one stanza of a *muwashshaḥa* or *zajal*, with or without a prelude. In this case the song – a *zajal* according to the compiler – contains the *ghuṣn* of the first stanza of this *muwashshaḥa* along with the *kharja*, with minimal but substantive variations. The first one reads:

qad badā mā kuntu 'akhfi-hi	'alā l-'ādhili
fi l-hawā man jāda bi-l-siḥri	'alā bābili
'aqṣiri l-lawma 'an ṣabbin	danifin naḥīli
yā rashā yakhtālu fī thawbin	mina l-bahjāti
fa-matā 'aqbalta yā ḥibbī	mina l-jannāti

As one can see, this rendition reveals a kind of uneasiness at the combination of a very short segment followed by a long one. In fact, they have chosen the opposite combination, a long segment followed by the short one.

On the second and third web pages there is no caesura at all. In both typographical arrangements, all the lines have fourteen syllables. However, in all three pages the prosody of the *sarī'* meter disappears, altered into a sort of *ramal* meter, at least at the beginning of the line (– ◡ – – – ◡ – – – | ◡ – – ◡ –),<sup>90</sup> although in the third line this scansion is not possible, since it contains 8 + 6 syllables, instead of 9 + 5, with the following sequence of short and long syllables: – ◡ – – ◡ – – – | ◡ ◡ – ◡ – –. It is also interesting to note that the spelling suggests again that little attention has been paid to the syllable count

<sup>87</sup> *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā'ik* (1999), 364–365 (no. 362). See also, Valderrama, “al-Ḥā'ik”, *EP*; Davila 2016.

<sup>88</sup> <https://sites.google.com/site/starziko1/andaloussi/hjdghjdfgs> (last accessed Apr. 21, 2019); <https://www.djelfa.info/vb/showthread.php?p=12011631&styleid=16> (last accessed Apr. 21, 2019).

<sup>89</sup> <http://montada.echroukonline.com/showthread.php?t=221382&page=2> (last accessed July 4, 2020). On *malḥūn* see Pellat, “Malḥūn”, *EP*.

<sup>90</sup> Given that the *sarī'* meter is in fact a variety of *rajaz* verse (Frolov 2000, 170), this does not pose a problem, because in Arabic metrics both meters *rajaz* and *ramal* are included in the same circle.

and the supposed stress pattern of Classical Arabic. For example, in the lines of the *kharja*, instead of *bahjati* and *jannati*, it is written *bahjāti* and *jannāti*, a final succession of long syllables that is not possible in *sarīʿ* meter (nor in *ramal*), following the actual stress pattern.<sup>91</sup> The same is true with the substitution of *nāḥīli* with the more common *naḥīli*, creating a final foot that is, again, impossible in *sarīʿ* meter, not to mention that *naḥīli* can not rhyme with ‘*ādḥīli* and *bābīli* in Arabic metrics.

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91 On stress in contemporary Arabic poetry recitation, see Stoetzer 1989, 90–109.

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**Part IV: Pathways of Reception from the Maghrib  
to the Mashriq**



Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva

## Andalusi Romance Terms in *Kitāb al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt*, by al-Suwaydī of Damascus (d. 690 H/1291 CE)

The circumstances surrounding the emergence of Arabic pharmacology, and its development within the broad geographical framework of the medieval Islamic world, left a lasting mark on the discipline's terminology, and in particular regarding medicinal substances and the terms used to designate them. Without going into great detail, it is worth mentioning a few of the most relevant events and factors in this historical and scientific process. The most important of these phenomena is the translation into Arabic of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*, enabling the work to be transmitted and commented on across the Arab world.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, it is important to recall that Islam incorporated a number of pharmacological traditions, which brought with them new drugs that had been unknown to the Greeks and, in turn, new names to designate them. Along the same lines, we must bear in mind the process by which pharmacology was established, cultivated and developed across the widely diverse set of regions, peoples and languages with which the Arab-Islamic world entered into contact, a process which would reach its culmination in al-Andalus.<sup>2</sup>

The linguistic impact of this process was immense, involving a major influx of new medical terms from the most disparate array of regions and languages. Even the names of simple medicines (*asmā' al-adwiya al-mufrada*) were so diverse that, in the words of Max Meyerhof, "n'a pu manquer de déconcerter les médecins du moyen âge arabe".<sup>3</sup>

As such, there was a pressing need to make sense of this great mass of foreign terms, and to identify these drugs and medicines being referred to by the strangest of names. The desire to reduce this mosaic to a set of known terms gave rise among Arab writers to a concern with linguistics, and more specifically lexicography. This concern is clear in the medieval pharmacological literature, where

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1 See Sadek 1983, or Dietrich's monumental study on the subject (Dietrich 1988).

2 For an overview of medieval Arabic pharmacology, with special attention to linguistic aspects, see Levey 1973.

3 Meyerhof 1940, xi.

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**Note:** Translated from Spanish by Nicholas Callaway.

medical treatises included full chapters or sections specifically addressing nomenclature, clarifying and explaining their linguistic origins. More importantly, it spawned works dedicated exclusively to this pursuit of compiling, clarifying, explaining and glossing the medicines' names. Specifically, I am referring to the well-known lists of synonyms, a highly useful aid that allowed physicians to engage with and navigate this tangled web of terminology.<sup>4</sup>

This genre of works, with an exclusively (or at least predominantly) lexicographical approach, includes *Kitāb al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt* (The book of the characteristics of plant names), by physician 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ṭarkhān al-Suwaydī (or b. al-Suwaydī). His *nisba* stems from his family's city of origin, al-Suwaydā', in Syria's Hawran region, even though al-Suwaydī himself was born in Damascus in the year 600 H/1204 CE. Apart from a short time in Egypt, he spent most of his life – which spanned almost the entire 7th/13th century – in Syria and its capital, where he died in the year 690 H/1291 CE.<sup>5</sup>

The great historian of Arab medicine Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 668 H/1270 CE), who was not only a contemporary of al-Suwaydī, but also his friend (as were their respective fathers before them), wrote a biography on him<sup>6</sup> in which he describes his extensive training in literature and his talents as a writer of both poetry and prose. He likewise refers to him in the highest of terms as an outstanding physician with an intense curiosity and a wealth of knowledge acquired and put into practice in the famous hospitals of Damascus, where he cultivated relationships with the most important physicians of the period, including Muḥadhdhib al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Alī, known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628 H/1230 CE).

Moreover, although not mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, we know that al-Suwaydī's key references included the renowned Ibn al-Bayṭār,<sup>7</sup> a native of the region of Málaga who left al-Andalus early on and, after a time in the Maghrib and Ifrīqiya, and a stay in Egypt, would live in Damascus until his death in 646 H/1248 CE. He is a figure we will return to later on.

To complete this sketch of the multifaceted al-Suwaydī, it is worth mentioning that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a describes his friend as a talented calligrapher who had

<sup>4</sup> On the books of synonyms, see Meyerhof 1940, XI–XLIV; and Ullmann 1970, 288–292.

<sup>5</sup> For more on al-Suwaydī, apart from the book by Meyerhof cited above (1940, XXII and LVII–LVIII), see Ullmann 1970, 284 and 291; Dietrich 1974; Dietrich 1998; and the works cited therein, in addition to Ullmann 1977 and Leclerc 1876.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'* (1299/1882), 2: 266–267.

<sup>7</sup> As inferred from a note in the *codex unicus* of Maimonides' *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uqqār*, presumably written by al-Suwaydī, in which he indicates that the manuscript was copied by Ibn al-Bayṭār, whom he refers to as “our sheikh”: “bi-khaṭṭ *shaykhi-nā* al-ḥākim al-fāḍil Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ashshāb al-Mālaqī” (in Meyerhof 1940, LVII–LVIII).

mastered a number of styles, and who had made numerous copies of books on medicine, including three copies of Avicenna's lengthy *Kitāb al-Qānūn*.

Three works by al-Suwaydī have come down to us. One is a short treatise on precious stones, *Kitāb al-Bāhir fī al-jawāhīr*, which apparently is of little interest beyond the value of his references to other authors.<sup>8</sup> Another is an extensive treatise on therapeutics, *Kitāb al-Tadhkira al-hādiya wa-l-dhakhira al-kāfiya*, a compilation of quotations and excerpts from a variety of authors containing medical prescriptions for each part of the body. Of the *Tadhkira*, which Ullmann has criticized as overly bookish and scarcely judicious,<sup>9</sup> there are several abridged versions, that of Egyptian physician al-Sha'rānī (d. 963 H/1556 CE) being the most noteworthy.<sup>10</sup>

However, al-Suwaydī's most important work is his treatise on the names of medicines, *Kitāb al-Simāt fī asmā' al-nabāt*, which we will turn to presently.<sup>11</sup> *Kitāb al-Simāt* is not among the works mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, who only provides the titles of the first two treatises mentioned above. This gives us reason to suspect that it was written in the author's later years (between 1270 and 1291), and therefore after Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a completed his initial version of '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', dedicated to physician and vizier Amīn al-Dawla b. Ghazzāl, a Samaritan convert to Islam (overthrown in 643 H/1245 CE)<sup>12</sup>, although it appears that he continued to add information, editing and reformulating passages of his magnum opus up until his death (ca. 668 H/1270 CE).

<sup>8</sup> See Mieli 1966, 162; and Ullmann 1972, 129.

<sup>9</sup> Ullmann 1970, 284; the same author also has a study focusing exclusively on this work (Ullmann 1977).

<sup>10</sup> See Leclerc 1876, 2: 201. On al-Sha'rānī's abridged version (completed in 943 H/1536 CE) Ullmann mentions an edition published in Būlāq (1294/1877) in the margins of *Kāmil al-Ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya* by al-Majūsi (Ullmann 1977, 33, n. 2). In fact, al-Sha'rānī's version had already been printed in Egypt: *Mukhtaṣar Tadhkirat al-imām al-Suwaydī fī al-ṭibb*, edited by Ṣāliḥ al-Ashmūnī and printed by Angelo Castelli (1286/1869). A. Mieli 1966, 165, likewise mentions an 1862 edition from Cairo, purportedly of the entire book, but in fact almost certainly an abridged version, most likely one of the two cited above. Today, the work continues to be republished (e.g. al-Suwaydī, *al-Ṭibb* [1416/1995]).

<sup>11</sup> Dietrich even mentions a possible fourth work by al-Suwaydī, supposedly cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*al-Dhakhira al-kāfiya fī al-ṭibb*); see Dietrich 1998. However, this is most likely just the complete title of the *Tadhkira*, which does indeed appear in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a: *Kitāb al-Tadhkira al-hādiya wa-l-dhakhira al-kāfiya*, confirmed, moreover, by certain manuscripts of the book (see Ullman 1977, 33, n. 3). The confusion seems to have originated with Ḥājji Khalifa (see Leclerc 1876, 2: 202).

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'* (1299/1882), 1: 3, and 2: 235.

*Kitāb al-Simāt* has come down to us in a single manuscript containing 307 folios, believed to be in the author's own hand, held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (current call number Ar. 3004, *olim* Suppl. 877).<sup>13</sup> At one point, since there were pages missing at the beginning and end, a copyist fashioned a new cover that included the title of the work and the author's name, scholar Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Ṭarkhān.<sup>14</sup> The copyist also tried to reproduce the prologue, supposedly based on a damaged original, of which he managed to recover just a few lines. The handwriting is elegant, flowing and legible, as is to be expected of a talented calligrapher, with frequent notes in the same hand, inserted both between lines and in the margins.

Albert Dietrich<sup>15</sup> has noted certain peculiarities in the language and spelling of this manuscript (the names of letters treated as masculine, triptote case marking on the names of colors, confusion between *alif maqṣūra* and *mamdūda*, etc.), to which we could add several more, for example the spelling of the name of the city Beirut, often spelled *Bayrūth*, i.e. with *thā'* instead of *tā'*.

The work consists of an extensive repertoire of names of simple medicines, which, contrary to what the title might suggest, are not limited exclusively to the names of plants, although these do make up the vast majority of the entries. Rather, it also includes the names of animals used in pharmacology, in addition to mineral-based drugs. Thus, it is an exhaustive dictionary providing independent entries for all sorts of terms in a variety of languages. However, this also implies a great deal of repetition across entries, which, as noted by Dietrich,<sup>16</sup> makes the

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**13** Slane 1883–95, 534–535.

**14** The fact that the manuscript makes no mention of the author's *nisba* (al-Suwaydī), along with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's silence on the matter, must have confused Lucien Leclerc, whose blunder was already noted by Meyerhof (1935, 35). Indeed, in his *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, after discussing al-Suwaydī and his *Tadhkira* in the section titled "Souedy" (Leclerc 1876, 2: 199–202), he attributes *Kitāb al-Simāt* to a different author altogether, dedicating a separate section to "Ibrahim ben Ahmed ben Tarkhan", whom he situates in the 14th century (Leclerc 1876, 2: 273–274). Moreover, Leclerc, who held that most of this work was nothing but "un index d'Ebn el Beithâr" (Leclerc 1876, 2: 273), was the first historian of Arabic medicine to successfully use al-Suwaydī's dictionary in his notes to the translation (Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des simples* [1877–83]) of Ibn al-Bayṭār's treatise on simple medicines, with references to *Kitāb al-Simāt* (no. 65, 152, 211 *et passim*).

**15** Dietrich 1974, 92–93.

**16** Dietrich 1974, 92.

work unnecessarily long. The book contains 28 chapters corresponding to the letters of the Arabic alphabet (*abjad* order<sup>17</sup>), and the number of entries in each chapter is specified at its outset in both numbers and letters. The total number of entries is well over 3,000.<sup>18</sup> All scholars who have examined the manuscript have emphasized the extraordinary linguistic richness of al-Suwaydī's book, which certainly merits future research into this rich multilingual trove of information.<sup>19</sup>

Among the languages represented in the book, the most prominent is of course 'arabiyya and its numerous dialectal variants, with constant references to particular usage in different areas across the Arabic-speaking world, especially the Middle East. In this sense, the author provides the most detailed information on the area he knew best, Syria/Palestine/Lebanon, regularly referring to these provinces and their linguistic usage, recording vocabulary unique to Syria, Damascus, Palestine, Gaza, Jerusalem, Lebanon, Beirut, etc. He also regularly provides terms from Egypt (especially Cairo and Alexandria), frequently indicating peculiar meanings and names used in this region. Although less abundant, al-Suwaydī also provides dialectal uses from Mesopotamia (al-'Irāq) and from the Arabian Peninsula, including Hejaz, Najd and other areas such as Yemen, Oman, etc.

We occasionally find synonyms for the medicines in other Middle-Eastern languages, such as Nabataean or Coptic, and, in just a handful of instances, he also includes terms from other geographical regions and their languages, such as Nubia, Armenia, the land of the Turks and Kurds, and even one isolated reference to Hebrew.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, al-Suwaydī also provides medical terminology from languages whose scientific traditions had an overwhelming influence on Arabic pharmacology, in particular Greek, which he designates as either *yūnāniyya* for Classical

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17 As indicated in a marginal note at the beginning of chapter *hamza*: “hādihā murattab ‘alā ḥurūf abjad” (fol. 2 r), with the following order: ‘, b, j, d, h, w, z, ḥ, ṭ, y, k, l, m, n, s, ‘, f, ṣ, q, r, sh, t, th, kh, dh, ḍ, z, gh.

18 This figure does not even include the many entries added by the author either in the margins or between lines.

19 Apart from the occasional use of al-Suwaydī's dictionary by Leclerc and, in particular, by Max Meyerhof (the first to recognize the immense value of the text, which he marked as a priority for publication in the *Corpus Scriptorum Arabicorum*: *apud* Mieli 1966, 283), till now the only scholar to bring to light any portion of *Kitāb al-Simāt* has been Albert Dietrich, with his annotated German translation of the 37 entries corresponding to chapter *dhāl* (Dietrich 1974, 94–107). More recently, Fabian Käs has compiled a repertory of the mineral-based medicinal substances included in the book (Käs 2010).

20 As a marginal note to the entry for *dam al-akhawayn*, ‘dragon's blood’ (fol. 76r), which he takes from Ibn al-Jazzār's *I'timād*.



Greek or *rūmiyya* for Byzantine Greek. In the same way, although less frequent than Greek, there is a notable presence of synonyms from Persian, and, to a lesser extent, Syriac, while Hindi trails far behind with just a handful of terms.

Turning now to the Islamic West, despite the relatively lower number of languages and dialects, the synonyms from these areas are still sizeable, even in comparison to those from the languages spoken in the Islamic East. From North Africa we find a large number of terms from the region of Ifrīqiya (in particular Tunis and Kairouan), as well as the Maghrib, with frequent references and information regarding the Arabic dialects spoken in these areas. On occasion the author mentions the territory of *bilād al-barbar*, and specifically the Berber language, including concrete information on tribal language use, making for a total of several dozen Berber terms. The western lands he mentions also include the island of Sicily, which comes up several times.

However, it is al-Andalus that is by far the most widely represented land in *Kitāb al-Simāt*. Al-Suwaydī's references to the Iberian peninsula – however bookish, as we will see below – are constant, and exceed by far his references to any of the other foregoing regions. In the absence of prior data on the frequency of these references to al-Andalus, for the purposes of this paper I was able to make quickly my own approximate calculations. What I have discovered is that there are over 200 such references, either to al-Andalus as a whole or to a specific city or area, far more than the approximately 120 references to the author's native Syria. As for the other countries we have seen, there are just over 100 references to Egypt, 80 to Palestine and Lebanon, just under 80 to the Maghrib, fewer than 40 to Ifrīqiya, and a mere 7 to Sicily.

Leaving aside the imperfection of the totals, which still merit further analysis, these abundant references to al-Andalus offer a variety of information, much of which has to do with the relative availability of different plants or medicinal substances, and, most of all, with these substances' Andalusī names and synonyms. From a linguistic point of view, it is interesting to note that the information provided by al-Suwaydī reflects an Arabic/Romance duality in al-Andalus, which is not to say that it reflects an actual Arabic/Romance bilingualism alleged to have existed during the author's time.

As far as the Arabic terms are concerned, the author indicates that they are used specifically by Andalusī botanists (*shajjārū* ~ *ashshābū al-Andalus*), and whether they enjoy widespread use (*inda ahl al-Andalus*), belonging to the Andalusī dialect (*ʿammīyyat al-Andalus*), or whether, on the contrary, their use is confined to a certain region (*Sharq al-Andalus*) or city (e.g. Málaga or Seville).

However, alongside these terms from the Arabic of al-Andalus, we find an equal number of references to their synonyms in Romance, generally referred to

as *laṭīniyya* ('Latin'), but also as '*ajamiyyat al-Andalus*. These two labels, which both refer to the same linguistic reality (i.e. the Romance vernacular of al-Andalus),<sup>21</sup> are applied to words such as the following:<sup>22</sup> *aqučēlla<sup>h</sup>* (fols. 24v, 64r, 236v), *basilisko<sup>h</sup>* (fols. 57r, 67r, 136r, 191v), *serrālya<sup>h</sup>* (fols. 81v, 232v, 274v), *māṭresélba<sup>h</sup>* (fols. 164r, 199v, 233r, 240v), *ṭornasōle* (fols. 113v, 123r, 203v), *yédra<sup>h</sup>* (fols. 131r, 245v), *yedqo<sup>h</sup>* (fols. 66r, 131v, 287r), and so on up to a total of nearly 60 terms whose Romance features are clearly recognizable, and which are unequivocally designated as such by the author.<sup>23</sup>

In other cases, there are terms with a readily apparent Latinate origin that are not explicitly designated as *laṭīniyya* or '*ajamiyya*, but merely classified as Andalusī: *berbena<sup>t</sup>* (53r), *čiqāla<sup>t</sup>* (fols. 69v, 233r), *pulqāyra<sup>t</sup>* (fol. 237r), *ṭu<sup>w</sup>éra<sup>t</sup>* (fols. 16v, 60r, 115v), etc., up to a total of approximately 40 further terms with undeniable Romance features. In such cases it is reasonable to assume that the author merely forgot to classify them under *laṭīniyya* or '*ajamiyyat al-Andalus*, although some could also be indicative of Romance loan words that had been fully integrated into Andalusī Arabic.

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**21** The terms *laṭīniyya* and '*ajamiyya* coexisted among Andalusī botanists and physicians to refer to the Romance vernacular. The former is more common in older sources (up to the late 10th century), whereas '*ajamiyya* became predominant starting with al-Zahrāwī (d. ca. 404 H/1013 CE). However, the term *laṭīniyya* does still show up in later authors as well, as they continued to copy from older sources. Clear evidence of this is to be found in Ibn al-Bayṭār, whose prologue to *Kitāb al-Jāmi'* establishes the two terms' equivalence ("al-*laṭīniyya* wa-*hiya* '*ajamiyyat al-Andalus*"), a statement he repeats throughout the text, and al-Suwaydī, in turn, explicitly echoes this equation of *laṭīniyya* = '*ajamiyyat al-Andalus* (fol. 41r).

**22** I have deemed it unnecessary for the purposes of this paper to include the botanical identification of the list of Romance terms that follows; without going into excessive detail, please note that, in addition to adding in the vowels (generally not included in the manuscript) and marking the stressed syllable with an accent, my system of transliteration is based on that used in al-Andalus to represent Romance in Arabic characters, one which centuries later would continue to be used (with some variations) in the *aljamiado* texts of the Mudejars and Moriscos. Thus, I have transcribed the Arabic letter *shīn* as "s" taking into account the particular apico-alveolar character of /s/ in Hispanic languages, which was particularly salient to Arabic speakers. Likewise, I have used "č" to transliterate *jīm* with *shadda* (often omitted in manuscripts), which represents Romance's voiceless palatal affricate, and "d" to avoid the digraph "dh" for the corresponding fricative. Lastly, the superscript letters preserve the use of *yā<sup>a</sup>* and *wāw* to represent diphthongs, as well as the use of *hā<sup>a</sup>* and *tā<sup>a</sup>* *marbūta* to indicate the presence of word-final vowels (-*u*/*-o* and *-a*, respectively).

**23** As we can see, it is not uncommon for a single term to appear several times, as a result of the author's obstinate accumulation of synonyms in their own separate entries. For example, *maṭrōnyo<sup>h</sup>* 'strawberry tree' is documented no less than six times throughout the text (fols. 37v, 158r, 167v, 190v, 235v, 238v).

However, the identification of Romance terms in *Kitāb al-Simāt* is not always an easy task, at least not at first sight. This is due to the deformation some terms undergo when rendered into Arabic script, making them unintelligible to the point that they can only be deciphered through the comparative study of al-Suwaydī's sources, as well as other Andalusī sources containing Andalusī Romance terms for medicinal substances. As the manuscript is in the author's own hand, we can infer that he himself was unfamiliar with the Romance language of al-Andalus, even though he makes a show of his ability to accurately spell and vocalize all manner of terms, including Andalusī ones. For example, for the Romance term for danewort, he states "yadhqu<sup>h</sup> bi-faṭḥ al-yā' al-musaffal wa-iskān al-dhāl al-mu'jam, ba'da-hā qāf maḍmūma, thumma hā'" (fol. 131v), in other words, "yadhqu<sup>h</sup>, with a *faṭḥa* on the *yā'* with dots under it, and no vowel on the *dhāl*, which has a dot on it, then a *qāf* with a *ḍamma* on it, followed by a *hā'*" (i.e. *yédqo<sup>h</sup>*). He then adds that it is a Romance term (*laṭīniyya*), and offers a precise botanical description and identification.

Some flagrant errors confirm the author's lack of knowledge about Andalusī Romance, as when the Hispanic term *yédqo<sup>h</sup>*, which we have just seen in detail, is classified in another passage as a Berber term (fol. 44v); or when the Persian-origin term *marzajūsh* is attributed to 'ajamiyyat al-Andalus (fol. 159v); or his insistence on classifying the Syriac term *qunābirā*, cited in various instances throughout the work (fols. 55v, 212v, 283v), as *laṭīniyya*<sup>24</sup> (i.e. Romance), to cite just a few examples of faulty associations in relation to Andalusī Romance vernacular.

With relative frequency he records faulty terminology that is repeated throughout the work, as in the case of *shūqo<sup>h</sup>* 'elder' (fols. 115v, 268v), or in one instance *sūqo<sup>h</sup>* with a *sin* (fol. 193r), perhaps by mistake, since he was clearly aware of the diacritics on the first letter of the term: "shūqo<sup>h</sup> bi-shīn mu'jam" (fol. 193r). The correct term, however, is *shabūqo<sup>h</sup>* (i.e. *sabūqo<sup>h</sup>*), the Romance term Andalusī authors normally give for elder. One interesting case is the term he provides for the carline thistle, known in Andalusī Romance as *biskarāyin*<sup>25</sup> (< lat.

<sup>24</sup> In one case (fol. 244v), the author actually goes back and rectifies his misidentification, writing in *nabaṭiyya*, i.e. Nabataean, above the term *laṭīniyya*.

<sup>25</sup> It is of course beyond the scope of this essay to examine methodological issues such as the transliteration of Romance terms into Arabic characters and how best to interpret them, or the finer points of the phonetic history of the Andalusī Romance vernacular. However, it is worth pointing out that this term should be vocalized as proposed above, ending in *-āyin*, and not with the hypothetical evolved form *-āyn*, as has often been proposed (see Simonet 1888, 569; Asín 1943, 158–159; Corominas 1984–91, 5: 830; Corriente 2000–2001, 119). This is because the sequence *-āyin* exhibits the regular Andalusī Romance form of the Latin suffix *-a g i n e*, reflected

*viscaragine*), which al-Suwaydī records properly in the term's own entry (fol. 57r), but everywhere else in the manuscript shows up as the truncated *sh·k·r'·y·n* (fols. 4r, 29r, 84r [twice], 269r, 285r). This distorted form even enjoys its own entry under the letter *shīn* (fol. 271r), a confusion stemming in all likelihood from a misidentification of the initial consonant as the Arabic preposition *bi-*.

Along the same lines, we sometimes find forms repeatedly written with a bare consonant ductus lacking the corresponding diacritics (as occurs frequently throughout the manuscript). One example is the Andalusi name for the white asphodel (*abučo* < lat. *albucium*), which our author records as ابوچه (without the dot under the *bā'* and the *jīm*) three times throughout the work (fols. 54r, 277v, 292r). However, it does not have its own entry, perhaps because this error made it impossible to order alphabetically.

For certain terms, though, the translation provided by the author is useful in identifying them. This is the case, for example, of the ductus *بربه د فوفه* given for a supposedly “Latin” term (fol. 303v) that on first glance appears indecipherable, as the diacritics are missing on some of the consonants (*yā'*, *bā'*, *fā'* and *qāf*, respectively). The most logical interpretation is, of course, *بربه فوفه* (*yerba' de fōqo<sup>h</sup>*), following the Arabic equivalent offered by the author: ‘*ushbat al-nār*. Indeed, *yerba de fōqo* (lit. “fire grass”) was the Andalusi name for, among others, *Clematis flammula* L., known in Arabic as *yāsmīn barrī* or ‘wild jasmine.’

These and other issues raised by the study of the Romance lexicon in al-Suwaydī's work, which we have merely outlined here, point to the question of the sources used for *Kitāb al-Simāt*. In our particular case we are interested in the *laṭīniyya* or ‘*ajamiyya* of al-Andalus, but the same is true more broadly for the rest of the languages he includes as well.<sup>26</sup>

Al-Suwaydī frequently cites his sources, which are by and large Eastern authors and texts. With 100 citations, the most important authority is al-Abharī, i.e. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. before 588 H/1192 CE), and in particular his lexicographical work, *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq*. Other important sources, from most cited to least, are the encyclopedia *Mabāhij al-fikar* by the author's contemporary al-

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in the consonant ductus *b·sh·k·r'·y·n*, whose *alif* after *rā'*, apart from indicating the stressed syllable, ensures the presence of a vowel after the *yā'* that follows.

**26** In order to offer a complete panorama of the synonyms recorded in *Kitāb al-Simāt*, we should also mention a small group of five terms that the author ascribes to a language he calls *ifranjiyya* (fols. 26r, 98r, 122r, 177r, 213v). The term is not readily identifiable, and probably refers to a non-Iberian Romance language, possible from the French or Italian (Sicily?) linguistic domains. In order to answer this question, one would have to consider the several dozen *ifranjiyya* terms that show up in al-Idrīsī's book on simple medicines, a source that has yet to be thoroughly explored and analyzed (see now Corriente 2012, esp. 59).

Waṭwāṭ (d. 718 H/1318 CE); the *Jamhara*, by Ibn Durayd (d. 321 H/933 CE); the cosmography known as *Nukhbat al-dahr [fī ‘ajā’ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr]*, by Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abi Ṭālib al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī (d. 727 H/1327 CE), here referred to as al-Mizzī. Various works cited less frequently are the *Minhāj*, by al-Kōhēn al-‘Aṭṭār (fl. 658 H/1260 CE) or Ibn Jazla (d. 493 H/1100 CE); *al-Nihāya [fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-āthār]*, by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606 H/1210 CE), and others, or some cited by title alone, such as *al-I‘timād [fī al-adwiya al-mufrada]*, undoubtedly that of Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369 H/979-80 CE), even though he is not mentioned by name.

This list of works cited is, of course, by no means exhaustive. Other authors of lexicographical and medical texts worth mentioning are the well-known Abū Ḥanīfa (3rd/9rd c.), Khalīl (2nd/8th c.), al-Aṣma‘ī (d. 213 H/828 CE), al-Rāzī (d. 311 H/923 CE), and Galen (d. about 216), whose sporadic appearances lead me to believe that they are being cited through secondary sources. Also of interest are a handful of Andalusī treatise writers who are mentioned only on occasion, such as Ibn Juljul (d. after 384 H/994-5 CE) or al-Ghāfiqī (d. about 560 H/1164-5 CE).

The authority of these sources is sometimes contrasted with al-Suwaydī’s own opinion, which is always introduced by the expression *qultu*.

However, the most important source used in *Kitāb al-Simāt* is the great Andalusī botanist, pharmacologist and physician Ibn al-Bayṭār, whom we have already mentioned. Without a doubt all of al-Suwaydī’s copious references to al-Andalus come from Ibn al-Bayṭār, along with his references to the Maghrib and Ifriqiya, some of his information on Egypt, and even some areas further east, such as the Levant, including Damascus itself.

Even though al-Suwaydī only mentions his key source by name on a handful of occasions,<sup>27</sup> there is one work by Ibn al-Bayṭār that is cited constantly in *Kitāb al-Simāt*. Interestingly enough, these quotations do not come from Ibn al-Bayṭār’s great alphabetically ordered compendium of simple medicines, the famous *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-aghdhīya*, but rather from another work, *Kitāb al-Mughnī*<sup>28</sup>, which is also about simple medicines, but specifically their therapeutic use for ailments of the human body following the *a capite ad calcem* (“head to foot”) method of exposure. In effect, in his *Kitāb al-Mughnī* Ibn al-Bayṭār also includes frequent synonyms for medicines in other languages, among them Andalusī Romance. While this work lacks the richness of *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘*, *Kitāb al-Mughnī* does contain unique information that is not found in his more

27 As Ibn al-Bayṭār (fols. 37r, 87r, 272r, 275r) and in one case as Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Bayṭār (fol. 205r).

28 As mentioned by Meyerhof 1940, xxxv.

famous work, in particular data from the author's fieldwork in different locations throughout North Africa and the Middle East.

And while *Kitāb al-Simāt*'s reliance on *Kitāb al-Mughnī* appears unquestionable, there is one fact that remains both peculiar and striking. One would expect to find the Romance terms that al-Suwaydī has clearly borrowed from Ibn al-Bayṭār in *Kitāb al-Mughnī*, the work he so frequently quotes. However, of the roughly 100 terms in *laṭīniyya* or '*ajamiyyat al-Andalus* that al-Suwaydī provides, a mere tenth of them appear in *Kitāb al-Mughnī*,<sup>29</sup> while every single one of them shows up in *Kitāb al-Jāmi'*, which we can therefore reasonably assume is where our author found them.

A thorough analysis of this subject, taking into account all of its ramifications, would greatly exceed the scope of this paper<sup>30</sup>, and would require an exhaustive comparison between al-Suwaydī's book and the two works by Ibn al-Bayṭār.<sup>31</sup> It is, therefore, a subject I will continue to work on within the framework of a broader ongoing study of the Romance language of al-Andalus as recorded in Arabic botanical, pharmacological and medicinal works and manuscripts (by Andalusi, Maghribi and even Eastern authors, as we have just seen), a project that involves inventorying, cataloguing, editing and studying these and other materials.<sup>32</sup>

As such, my goal here is simply to draw attention to these Romance terms present in *Kitāb al-Simāt*, which traveled from al-Andalus to the Middle East in written form via the work of Ibn al-Bayṭār, for whom they likely represented somewhat distant echoes of a *laṭīniyya* or '*ajamiyya* formerly spoken in his homeland. Thanks to al-Suwaydī's exhaustive dictionary, these odd-sounding terms would continue to reverberate in Damascus, although not without significant al-

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**29** I have consulted a two-volume Eastern copy of the work held at Spain's Real Academia de la Historia (Colección Gayangos, MSS CXLV-CXLVI). On *Kitāb al-Mughnī*, see now Rajab 2008.

**30** Originally delivered at the international conference *Repensar al-Andalus a través del Tiempo y del Espacio*, held from 31 October to 2 November 2002 in the Auditorium of Damascus University's School of Pharmacy. For this new version I have added some new bibliographical references that have appeared in the intervening years.

**31** There is an additional book by Ibn al-Bayṭār on the names of simple medicines, his *Tafsīr* to Dioscorides, preserved in an autograph manuscript held in the library of Mecca and published in two important editions carried out by Murād (1989) and Dietrich (1991) respectively. The work had previously been published in Egypt, but in a less reliable edition.

**32** On the complex problems affecting the textual transmission of materials in Andalusi Romance (and the concurrence of other Hispanic Romance varieties) in Arabic manuscripts, in the context of a single work, see Villaverde 2008.

terations – a flaw which by no means diminishes the enormous value of this encyclopedic work, with its dual pharmacological and linguistic focus, and remarkable degree of erudition.

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José Bellver

# The Influence of Andalusī Šūfism on the Central Islamicate World: Ibn Sabʿīn's son and his *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm*

The aim of the present contribution is to edit and translate the treatise *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm* (Book on the voyage along the pathway of the spiritual kindred), a short Šūfī text extant in one known manuscript, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hekimoğlu 506, fols. 11v–16r. The manuscript ascribes the text to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Sabʿīn, a son of the Andalusī philosopher and Šūfī Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669 H/1270 CE), whose name was otherwise unknown. To provide some context, I will summarize the extant information about Ibn Sabʿīn's life and present the available data about his son. Then, I will summarize the contents of this short treatise and examine its link to the school of Ibn Sabʿīn. And last, I will describe the manuscript on which the edition is based, and provide the edition and translation of this work. The *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm* represents a witness during the early Mamlūk period of the spread of Andalusī intellectual Šūfism, particularly in the school of Ibn Sabʿīn, to the Mashriq.

## 1 Ibn Sabʿīn

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn Sabʿīn,<sup>1</sup> was the most renowned intellectual Šūfī born in al-Andalus after Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638 H/1240 CE). He was born in 613 H/1216 CE or more likely in 614 H/1217 CE in the town of Ricote, in the vicinity of Murcia, to a wealthy family of high-ranked officials

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**1** For primary sources on Ibn Sabʿīn, see al-Bādīsī, *al-Maqṣad* (1993), 69; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām* (1990–2000), 49: 283–287; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1985), 5: 326–335; al-Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya* (1979), 237–238; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1973–77), 4: 31–38; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1974), 2: 254; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 2: 196–207; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Qawl* (1431–33 H), 286–291. For secondary bibliography on Ibn Sabʿīn, see al-ʿAdlūnī 2006; Akasoy 2007a; Cornell 1997; Cornell 2007; Kattoura 1977; Spallino 2011; Taftāzānī 1973. For the editions of Ibn Sabʿīn's works, see Ibn Sabʿīn, *al-Kalām* (1941); *Rasāʾil* (1965); *Budd al-ʿarīf* (1978); *Rasāʾil* (2007).

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with close ties with the Banū Hūd. Ibn Sabʿīn spent his initial formative period in al-Andalus, most likely in the region of Murcia, where he became well acquainted with the sciences of the ancients at a very young age. This confirms that he came from a learned and wealthy environment with access to rich libraries, maybe palatine. During the second quarter of the 7th/13th century, the Christian conquests of Andalusī territories led to a massive emigration of Andalusis to the Maghrib and the central Islamic world. In this context, Ibn Sabʿīn moved to Ceuta around 640 H/1242-3 CE during the period when Abū ʿAlī Ibn Khalāṣ (r. 635–ca. 646 H/1237–ca. 1248 CE) was governor of the city. Even though Ibn Sabʿīn was in his mid-twenties when he arrived in Ceuta, he had already garnered a group of close devotees in al-Andalus around his figure, who followed him to Ceuta. According to al-Bādisī, in Ceuta Ibn Sabʿīn got married to a rich woman, who built a *zāwiya* within her house and covered his expenses, although this information may be derogatory considering Ibn Sabʿīn's wealthy origins and al-Bādisī's theological enmity against Ibn Sabʿīn.<sup>2</sup> Since there is no other marriage of Ibn Sabʿīn reported, it can be surmised that Ibn Sabʿīn's two known children, a son and a daughter, were born from this marriage. Ibn Sabʿīn's daughter was eventually married to the disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn, the poet and Ṣūfī ʿAfif al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Tilimsānī (ca. 610–690 H/ca. 1213–1291 CE), and gave birth to a son named Muḥammad,<sup>3</sup> that is the famous poet Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAfif al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 688 H/1289 CE), known as al-Shābb al-Zarīf, and born in 661 H/1263 CE, when Ibn Sabʿīn was still alive. Thus, Ibn Sabʿīn's daughter should have been born early in the 640s H, and should have been married to ʿAfif al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī late in the 650s H or the very early 660s H. After his period in Ceuta, Ibn Sabʿīn, presumably fleeing from the enmity of the legists, initially moved to Bejaya around 644 H/1246-7 CE,<sup>4</sup> where Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī (d. 668 H/1269 CE) became his disciple. According to a famous account of their meeting, Ibn Sabʿīn told al-Shushtarī to go with Abū Madyan (d. 594 H/1198 CE), an eponymous of ethical Ṣūfism, if his goal was to attain Paradise, but to stay with him if his goal was to attain the Lord of Paradise.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Sabʿīn left the Maghrib around 648 H/1250-1 CE<sup>6</sup> and subsequently passed through Tunis, where he was not allowed to remain for long, and Cairo; and finally settled in Mecca around 652 H/1254 CE under the protection of the

2 Al-Bādisī, *al-Maqṣad* (1993), 69.

3 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Qawl* (1431–33 H), 293.

4 Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (1974), 2: 254.

5 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1973–77), 4: 206.

6 Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1985), 5: 334.

local ruler Abū Numayy Muḥammad I (r. 652–701 H/1254–1301 CE). Ibn Sabʿīn died in Mecca in 668 H/1269 CE or 669 H/1270 CE in unclear circumstances.

## 2 Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Sabʿīn

Very little is known about the son or sons of Ibn Sabʿīn. The main information is provided by Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832 H/1429 CE),<sup>7</sup> who transmits it on the authority of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Mayūrqi (d. 778 H/1377 CE).<sup>8</sup> Al-Fāsī, in the context of his enumeration of the hardships that Ibn Sabʿīn went through during his lifetime as a punishment for his beliefs, points out that Ibn Sabʿīn had a son who died in 666 H/1267-8 CE, before Ibn Sabʿīn did. Thus, Ibn Sabʿīn's son should have died in his early to mid-twenties. Al-Fāsī also remarks that Ibn Sabʿīn's son had been imprisoned, presumably in Cairo, by the Mamlūk sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 658–676 H/1259–1277 CE), because of a *kalima* transmitted from Ibn Sabʿīn. It is not clear what the word *kalima* may mean in this context. Meaning literally a word, it may intend a speech, a short treatise or a letter. It is thus possible that the present treatise conveying the Ṣūfism of Ibn Sabʿīn would be the reason behind the imprisonment of Ibn Sabʿīn's son. Additionally, al-Fāsī gives no indication about the reasons for his death, nor about the place where he died. Furthermore, according to al-Fāsī, on the occasion of al-Zāhir's pilgrimage to Mecca in 667 H/1269 CE, once Abū Numayy and his uncle had paid allegiance to the Mamlūk sultan, al-Zāhir strenuously searched for Ibn Sabʿīn, but Ibn Sabʿīn hid from him, maybe fearing for his life once the pilgrimage would have concluded.

The way al-Fāsī phrases the sentence by which he gives information about Ibn Sabʿīn's son, i.e. “he had a child (*walad*) who died during [Ibn Sabʿīn's] lifetime in the year 66”,<sup>9</sup> does not preclude that Ibn Sabʿīn would have had more children, including more than one son; and in fact we know that he also had a daughter at least. Nevertheless, it is very likely that the son of Ibn Sabʿīn who died in 666 H/1267-8 CE in his early to mid-twenties would be his only son and the author of the present treatise, i.e. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Sabʿīn. To my knowledge, there is no further information about other sons. Additionally, the present treatise contains some deep insights, so the author was a penetrating

7 Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1985), 5: 334.

8 On him, see al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1985), 3: 102–103, no. 596.

9 Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1985), 5: 334.

intellectual Šūfī. Consequently, should the author have lived enough, more biographical information and more works of such an insightful Šūfī would be expected, considering the preeminent position which a son of Ibn Sabʿīn would have had in the eyes of Ibn Sabʿīn's disciples. Moreover, a mistaken attribution of this work to a son of Ibn Sabʿīn can be ruled out, because of the oddity of attributing a work to an otherwise unknown figure. In short, the fact that such introductory but insightful work is the only treatise known to us attributed to a son of Ibn Sabʿīn squares with a short-lived author raised in a highly intellectual milieu of Šūfī adscription. Thus, it may be presumed with some degree of certainty that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Sabʿīn was Ibn Sabʿīn's son reported by al-Fāsī who died in 666 H/1267-8 CE. If this is so, then this work should have been written in the first half of the 660s H, although the place where it was written cannot be concluded.

### 3 The *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm*

Contrary to what the term *sulūk* in the title of Yaḥyā b. Sabʿīn's work, *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm*, may suggest, the present treatise is not a work of Šūfī ethics addressing the needed behavior (*sulūk*) of the Šūfī aspirant (*murīd*) in order to attain the presence of God, despite minor references to ethical Šūfism, as it is assumed that the reader already knows the Šūfī etiquette and practices. Rather, the *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm* is a brief summary of some ideas about the spiritual wayfaring according to the Šūfism of the school of Ibn Sabʿīn. The inclusion of Ibn Sabʿīn within Šūfism is not unproblematic. In his early work, *Budd al-ʿarīf*, Ibn Sabʿīn distinguishes his spiritual pathway from Šūfism, understood in the rather narrow sense of ethical Šūfism. Ibn Sabʿīn points out that the main pathways are five and lead to different degrees of perfection. These are the pathways of the legist (*faqīh*), the theologian, whom he identifies with al-Ashʿarī, the philosopher, the Šūfī, and the realizer (*muḥaqqiq*) or intimate (*muqarrab*). In *Budd al-ʿarīf*, Ibn Sabʿīn criticizes Šūfism, because in his view Šūfism does not address existential unity to its fullness, since there is still a duality between the wayfarer and his object,<sup>10</sup> whilst he identifies his spiritual pathway with the *muqarrab* or *muḥaqqiq*, the intimate for whom there is no plurality in existence. However, in Ibn Sabʿīn's later works, ethical Šūfism

<sup>10</sup> See al-Taftāzānī 1973, 266; Ibn Sabʿīn, “al-Risāla al-faḳīriyya”, in *Rasāʿil* (2007), 53–73, here 67.

becomes an integral part of his teaching, so that he ends up merging his grasping of Neoplatonism with ethical Şūfism and his personal elaborations on absolute existence (*waḥda muṭlaqa*). In short, his view of Şūfism is summarized in his meeting with al-Shushtarī pointed out above. In his view, Şūfism, epitomized by Abū Madyan, may allow an aspirant to attain Paradise, i.e. the attributes of God, but by following the pathway of the *muḥaqqiq*, the aspirant would attain the Lord of Paradise, i.e. existential unity (*waḥda*).

Yaḥyā b. Sabʿīn divides his *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm* in two different sections in which he addresses the *sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm* from two different perspectives. First, the author addresses the stages in the spiritual pathway from a rather traditional Şūfī perspective, although in connection with his understanding of the soul; and second, he develops the concept of *muḥaqqiq* from a perspective specific to the school of Ibn Sabʿīn, and depicts some metaphysical correspondences of the pair *muḥaqqiq/murīd*, i.e. realizer/aspirant. Even though the author has a Neoplatonic mindset considering his understanding of the relationship between the soul and materiality, in this treatise he presents a traditional Şūfī cosmology and psychology aimed at the spiritual realization (*tahqīq*) and leaves aside any direct reference to technical, philosophical terminology addressing the hierarchies of the cosmos or of the soul, to whose classifications and faculties his father devoted important sections of his *Budd al-ʿārif*. Thus, taking into consideration that our current understanding of Şūfism is wider than during the period of the author, this is a work of intellectual Şūfism in the school of Ibn Sabʿīn written from a Neoplatonic standpoint. This work avoids the use of philosophical, technical terminology, with which nevertheless the author should have been well acquainted.

In the first section,<sup>11</sup> written from a more traditional Şūfī perspective, Yaḥyā b. Sabʿīn endorses the common Şūfī cosmology which, depicting the worlds traversed by the wayfarer in his spiritual ascension, consists of three levels of reality: first, the world of dominion (*ʿālam al-mulk*), which is tantamount to the material world; then the world of sovereignty (*ʿālam al-malakūt*); and last the world of compulsion (*ʿālam al-jabarūt*).<sup>12</sup> The closer the wayfarer is to the divine Essence, the more real the traversed world is; whereas the actual reality of the material world to which the wayfarer returns in his descent is in fact metaphori-

11 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fols. 11v–14v.

12 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fols. 13v–14r.

cal (*majāzī*). Since God is beyond time and space, distances from God are measured in terms of the knowledge the spiritual wayfarer has of God.<sup>13</sup>

The author also adopts the traditional Islamic classification of the states of the soul, ultimately based on the Qur'ān, consisting of the inciting soul (*nafs ammāra*), the blaming soul (*nafs lawwāma*), the inspired soul (*nafs mulhama*), and the appeased soul (*nafs muṭma'inna*).<sup>14</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn devises the true nature of the soul as a reality essentially detached from matter, and which comes to be engulfed by matter only accidentally. The nature of the soul is essentially intellectual and perfect, but when engulfed by matter it becomes evil and devilish. Thus, depending on whether the soul is freed from matter or not, the soul is either knowledgeable – what is tantamount to the soul grasping the primary substances of things, i.e. their essential realities – or ignorant.<sup>15</sup> To have his soul detached from matter, the wayfarer should seek the mid-point in his soul, i.e. the balance between defectiveness and excess, which lays in its intellectual dimension.<sup>16</sup> In the school of Ibn Sab'īn, the mid-point is an indication of perfection, since perfection is attained when nothing can be added to a thing, nor can be detracted from it.<sup>17</sup>

During his return to God, the wayfarer covers three different stages: first, from pure evil (*sharr maḥḍ*) to common good (*khayr mushtarak*); second, from limited good (*khayr muqayyad*) to absolute good (*khayr muṭlaq*); and last, from pure good (*khayr maḥḍ*) to pure good. These three stages make up the three levels of *tawba*, that is of turning oneself to God. These stages may be connected, first, to the *'ālam al-mulk*, second to the *'ālam al-malakūt*, and last to the *'ālam al-jabarūt*, although the author does not expressively state so. In the fourth and last stage, the wayfarer brings to the material and metaphorical world the spiritual realities that he has attained. Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn draws his short presentation of the stages in the spiritual pathway from one of the descriptions of spiritual poverty (*faqr*) that Ibn Sab'īn includes in his *al-Risāla al-faqīriyya*:

<sup>13</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 14r. See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007) by an unknown disciple of Ibn Sab'īn in 151, 162, for distances from God in terms of knowledge in the school of Ibn Sab'īn.

<sup>14</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 13r.

<sup>15</sup> For the happiness of the soul according to Ibn Sab'īn, which consists in the rational soul being detached from matter and dwelling in the proximity of God, see Ibn Sab'īn, *Budd al-'arīf* (1978), 320–368.

<sup>16</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 14r.

<sup>17</sup> See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 123.

It is said that poverty (*faqr*) is [embodied by] the one who portrays his beginnings with will, worship, submission (*islām*), the world of testimony (*‘ālam al-shahāda*), leaving behind the pure evil (*sharr maḥḍ*) for the common good (*khayr mushtarak*), striving (*mu-jāhada*), a restricted method (*tariq muqayyad*), trusting in God (*tawakkul*), surrendering to Him (*taslīm*), entrusting the matters to Him (*tafwīd*), the first level of turning oneself to God (*tawba*), desired seclusion (*khalwa*), a broad vestibule (*dihlīz jāmi‘*), and periods of forty days which stir and make ready. His voyage (*sulūk*) is portrayed with satisfaction, faith, servanthood, the world of sovereignty (*‘ālam al-malakūt*), leaving behind the limited good (*khayr muqayyad*) for the perfect good (*khayr muṭlaq*), endurance (*mukābada*), journeying along the pathway mentioned before when portraying the beginnings, the second level of turning oneself to God (*tawba*), reflection which follows quietness (*sakīna*), the remembrance which stirs abandonment [of any other than God] (*takhalli*), adornment [with the attributes of God] (*taḥalli*), God’s self-disclosure (*tajalli*), distance from relatives and the own country, curtailing the bonds with the whole, and self-imposing abundant actions to unveil the goal. And his arrival (*wuṣūl*) is portrayed with servanthood, witnessing (*mushāhada*), the world of compulsion (*‘ālam al-jabarūt*), the station of excelling (*maqām al-iḥsān*), leaving behind the limited pure good for the whole to attain the goal and the participation (*ishtirāk*), turning away effacement (*maḥū*) for serene clarity (*ṣaḥū*), the third level of turning oneself to God (*tawba*) established<sup>18</sup> along seventy stations bringing<sup>19</sup> the assumption (*takhalluq*) of the most beautiful names, and the arrangement (*tadbīr*) of the first sage (*‘ālim*) with works of knowledge and practice and with the common name. So, understand.<sup>20</sup>

The concept of *khayr maḥḍ* is very frequent in the school of Ibn Sab‘īn. This is an obvious reference to the Neoplatonic *topos* transmitted by the *Theology of Aristotle* and *al-Kalām fī maḥḍ al-khayr*, i.e. the Latin *Liber de Causis*, into the Islamic world. Ibn ‘Arabī, and before him Ibn Sīnā (d. 428 H/1037 CE), identified it with absolute existence. More unusual is the concept of *sharr maḥḍ*, which Ibn ‘Arabī identified with absolute non-existence (*‘adam muṭlaq*).<sup>21</sup>

The process by which the soul becomes detached from matter and attains perfection is described in the terms of a theosis, or deification.<sup>22</sup> To refer to this process, Yaḥyā b. Sab‘īn uses the term *takhalluq*, that is the assumption of the attributes associated with the divine names as one’s own character traits (*ta-*

18 I read *maḍrūba* instead of *maṣrūfa* appearing in both editions. Cf. Cairo, Dār al-kutub, MS Taymūr taṣawwuf 149, fol. 119r (= p. 235).

19 I read *fā‘ila* instead of *fāṣila* appearing in both editions. Even though the *‘ayn* is almost closed and resembles a *ṣād*, the scribe writes a vertical stroke below *‘ayns*, as in this case. In addition, the verb *fa‘ala* takes the particle *bi-* as in this case, while the verb *faṣala* usually takes *bayna*. Cf. Cairo, Dār al-kutub, MS Taymūr taṣawwuf 149, *op. cit.*

20 Ibn Sab‘īn, “al-Risāla al-faḍīriyya”, in *Rasā’il* (2007), 65.

21 Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Futūḥāt* (1911), 3: 556.

22 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 14r.



*khalluq bi-asmā' Allāh*), a term which al-Ghazālī (d. 505 H/1111 CE) had used before in his commentary of the names of God.<sup>23</sup> However, Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn understands *takhalluq* in the sense of a radical theosis (*ta'alluh*). As the soul becomes detached from matter, the wayfarer leaves behind the bodily character traits and assumes as his own character traits the attributes associated with the divine names. However, the assumed attributes by the wayfarer are not different from the attributes of God. And in turn, the attributes of God are not superadded to His essence.<sup>24</sup> This approach is different from *waḥda muṭlaqa*, or absolute unity, which is the hallmark of the Sab'īniyya, since there is no possible deification when only God's existence is real.<sup>25</sup> Thus, from a *waḥda muṭlaqa* perspective, the existential nature of the aspirant is not transformed by his spiritual wayfaring, since at all time there is only one existence: God's existence, which Ibn Sab'īn represents by the all-encompassing circle (*iḥāṭa*). The spiritual wayfaring entails a transformation of the aspirant's awareness of the existential reality, but not a transformation of his being, since for Ibn Sab'īn being is no other than God's existence. Nevertheless, it is possible that Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn avoided to address *waḥda muṭlaqa* openly in this writing and simply adopted a bottom-up perspective suitable for the aspirant, since he also states that God's existence takes upon the existence of things, which do not have an existence in themselves.<sup>26</sup>

The process of detaching the soul from matter is ultimately carried out by the master, to whom Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn ascribes two main characteristics: he is both an *'ālim* and a *mudabbir*.<sup>27</sup> He understands the term *'ālim*, which is usually translated as knower or religious scholar, as the one who directly knows the essential realities of things. Thus, his concept of *'ilm* is less related to the transmitted knowledge of religious scholars than to the direct intellectual grasping on non-material essences. Second, the *mudabbir*,<sup>28</sup> with the sense of arranger or organizer, is the one who detaches souls from matter and brings them to the direct intellectual grasping of the essential realities of things. Thus, the *mudabbir* makes the aspirant become an *'ālim*. Hence, the ultimate goal of the master is the realization (*taḥqīq*) of the aspirant (*murīd*).

23 See Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *al-Maqṣad* (2003), 45–58.

24 See also *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 153.

25 See Ibn Sab'īn, “al-Risāla al-faḥriyya”, in *Rasā'il* (2007), 66.

26 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 14r.

27 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 13r.

28 Ibn Sab'īn regards God as the ultimate *mudabbir*. See Ibn Sab'īn, *Budd al-'arīf* (1978), 147.

The Ṣūfism of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab‘īn has been frequently linked to the Shūdhīyya Ṣūfī strand, which flourished in the region of Murcia during the late Almohad and third *taifa* periods, and whose main proponents were the theologians and Ṣūfis Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Dahāq al-Awsī, known as Ibn al-Mar’a (d. 611 H/1214 CE), and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn Aḥlā al-Anṣārī (d. 645 H/1247 CE).<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Ibn Sab‘īn’s Ṣūfism is rather personal and his Ṣūfī metaphysics presents important differences with Ibn Dahāq’s theological metaphysics. In any case, Ibn Aḥlā and his followers referred to their Ṣūfī strand as *madhhab al-tahqīq*, i.e. the school of realization,<sup>30</sup> a concept which is central in Ibn Sab‘īn’s metaphysics.

In the second section of the work,<sup>31</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sab‘īn addresses his concepts of *tahqīq* and, particularly, of the *muḥaqqiq*. The author’s understanding of the *muḥaqqiq*,<sup>32</sup> i.e. the one who, being perfectly aware of absolute unity, brings into effect *tahqīq*, is rather broad. In Yaḥyā b. Sab‘īn’s view, the *muḥaqqiq* and the *murīd*, i.e. the realizer and the aspirant, become macrocosmic principles transcending the roles they play in their microcosmic embodiments. Having assumed the character traits associated with the divine attributes and dwelling in the unity of God, all *muḥaqqiqs* are the same one *muḥaqqiq*, who is eternally permanent.<sup>33</sup> Ultimately, the *muḥaqqiq* represents the divine effusion, whilst the *murīd* represents the reception of the divine effusion by creation. For Yaḥyā b. Sab‘īn, the quiddity<sup>34</sup> of the *muḥaqqiq* is not inside creation.<sup>35</sup> Hence, it is not limited by created beings, and thus all created beings receive the effusion,

<sup>29</sup> For instance, the Syrian scholar Badr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā’a al-Kinānī (639–733 H/1241–1333 CE) linked Ibn Sab‘īn to the school of Ibn Dahāq and Ibn Aḥlā. See al-Fāsī, *al-‘Iqd* (1985), 5: 330. On Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā’a, see al-Dhahabī, *Mu’jam* (1990), 448, no. 652.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-ṣila* (1993–95), 5: 413. For Ibn Dahāq and *tahqīq*, see also the poem that Ibn Dahāq addresses to Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Faḍl al-Sulamī al-Mursī (d. 655 H/1257 CE) quoted in al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–93), 23: 316.

<sup>31</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fols. 14v–16r.

<sup>32</sup> On Ibn Sab‘īn’s concept of the *muḥaqqiq*, see al-Taftāzānī 1973, 250–293. Akasoy 2007b examines Ibn Sab‘īn’s biography and his historic context and doubts that Ibn Sab‘īn understood the concept of *muḥaqqiq* in a Mahdist sense.

<sup>33</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 15r.

<sup>34</sup> The term quiddity (*māhiyya*) is widely used in the Ṣūfī texts of the school of Ibn Sab‘īn. Rather than the universal definition of the species, the quiddity (*māhiyya*) is the spiritual counterpart of any being, its immaterial reality. Contrary to the technical sense in philosophy, the quiddity in their Ṣūfī works seems to include also the *hecceitas*, so that every single individual seems to have his own individual quiddity.

<sup>35</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 14v.

which is the *muḥaqqiq* himself, according to their predisposition (*isti'dād*), since the quiddity of the *muḥaqqiq*, not being limited by the quiddities of the created beings, can become the active enlivening element in everything. Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn gives examples in which the effusion represented by the *muḥaqqiq* becomes the specific difference of any particular reality according to its predisposition (*isti'dād*). For instance, the *muḥaqqiq* becomes growth in the plant kingdom, motion in the animal kingdom, or intellection in the human being.<sup>36</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn's understanding of the *muḥaqqiq* seems to address the third thing, i.e. the isthmus (*barzakh*) between the uncreated and the created, which is the universal human being (*insān kullī*) in the terminology of Ibn Barrajān (d. 536 H/1141 CE); and the Muḥammadan reality (*ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya*), the breath of the All-Merciful (*nafas al-Raḥmān*), or the perfect human being (*insān kāmil*) in the terminology of Ibn 'Arabī.

The *muḥaqqiq* gathers in himself the three deputyships:<sup>37</sup> namely the divine deputyship (*khilāfa ilāhiyya*), the prophetic deputyship (*khilāfa nabawiyya*), and the deputyship of the ahead (*khilāfat al-sibq*). As to the *muḥaqqiq*'s embodiment of the *khilāfa ilāhiyya*,<sup>38</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn identifies the *muḥaqqiq* with the divine unfolding of the worlds, which he illustrates with the descent of the word (*kalima*)<sup>39</sup> and the spirit (*rūḥ*) exemplified by Jesus,<sup>40</sup> who in his descent gathers the spiritual and the corporeal and sums up the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). Despite the fact that Ibn 'Arabī is usually regarded as the proponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and Ibn Sab'īn of *waḥda muṭlaqa*, the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was probably used first by Ibn Sab'īn.<sup>41</sup> In turn, by *khilāfa nabawiyya* and the *khilāfat al-sibq*, Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn apparently refers to the plain concepts of prophecy and sainthood/imamate.

Ultimately, for Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn, the *muḥaqqiq* becomes the seventh and last all-encompassing element in a universal unfolding of seven periods or personifications. Thus, the *muḥaqqiq* is the final fullness or pleroma. Among the days

36 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fols. 14v–15r.

37 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 16r.

38 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 14v.

39 The *kalima* is a frequent topic in Andalusī Sūfism also common in Ismā'īlī texts. See Ebstein 2013, 33–76.

40 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 15v.

41 Nevertheless, Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn should have been also acquainted with the school of Ibn 'Arabī through his brother-in-law, 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, who before becoming the disciple of Ibn Sab'īn was disciple of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673 H/1274 CE), himself disciple of Ibn 'Arabī. Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī is known for using the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* twice. See Cornell 2007, 34, n. 21.

of the week, the *muḥaqqiq* is equivalent to Friday (*yawm al-jum'a*),<sup>42</sup> i.e. the day of reunion and, in the eyes of Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn, the last day of the week, although in Islamic timekeeping the day usually regarded as the last day of the week is Saturday. Considering Friday as the last day of the week is very specific to Ibn Barrajān's Şūfism, who had already deemed Friday as a totalizing and scatological day in his symbolization of the days of the week in his commentary of the divine name al-Dahr in his *Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*.<sup>43</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn may have had access to Ibn Barrajān's *Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* through his brother-in-law, 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, himself older than Yaḥyā's father, since al-Tilimsānī wrote a commentary of the names of God with verbatim quotations of substantial sections of Ibn Barrajān's *Sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*.

As an embodiment of a pleromatic figure, the *muḥaqqiq* is also equivalent to the seventh *nāṭiq*,<sup>44</sup> i.e. the seventh and last speaker or speaking prophet. Thus, the *muḥaqqiq* represents a Muhammadan personification,<sup>45</sup> since Muḥammad, being the fullness of prophecy, abrogates all previous adscriptions and partial revelations in a final and all-encompassing pleroma. Additionally, the *muḥaqqiq* sums up the influences and powers of all seven planets.

To have a better understanding of the concept of the *muḥaqqiq* in the school of Ibn Sab'īn, the *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* by an unknown disciple of Ibn Sab'īn may shed additional light. The author identifies a hierarchy of three levels of objects of desire (*maṭlūb*) in the spiritual pathway: namely God, who is the highest desired one (*maṭlūb a'zam*),<sup>46</sup> the Prophet, and the heir (*wārith*).<sup>47</sup> The goal in the spiritual ascension is no other than God; but God cannot be known or attained except through the Prophet, so the Prophet ends up embodying the desired one. However, the quiddity of the Prophet cannot be known or attained except through the heir, who is no other than the *muḥaqqiq*. Thus, the *muḥaqqiq* becomes the ultimate desired goal in the spiritual pathway. Considering this hierarchy of objects of desire, the pure good (*khayr maḥḍ*), that is God,<sup>48</sup> comes to be represented by the Prophet.<sup>49</sup> In turn, the *muḥaqqiq* becomes the good (*khayr*) and the desired goal, and as the link to God through the Prophet, the

42 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 16r.

43 Ibn Barrajān, *Sharḥ* (2010), 2: 354–355.

44 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 16r. For the evolution of the concept of the seven speaking prophets in al-Andalus, see Ebstein 2013, q.v. *nāṭiq*.

45 Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Hekimoğlu 506, fol. 15v.

46 See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 145.

47 See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 186–187.

48 See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 145, 171, 185.

49 See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 127, 131.

*muḥaqqiq* is the condition to attain eternal joy (*ladhdha*) and happiness (*sa'āda*). This is what Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn probably intends by the three deputyships, although for him the deputyship of the ahead is only a particular aspect of the *muḥaqqiq*.

The author of *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* also addresses the macrocosmic role of the *muḥaqqiq* as Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn does.<sup>50</sup> The *muḥaqqiq*'s macrocosmic role is ultimately inherited from the equivalent role of the Prophet, since the *muḥaqqiq* is the link to him. And because God effuses everything through the Prophet, and the *muḥaqqiq* is the link to the Prophet, the *muḥaqqiq* becomes the deputy effuser (*fayyād*) and the source (*'ayn*) of everything (*al-kull*). God is the ultimate effuser (*mufiḍ*), and the quiddity of all quiddities. He is both desired by the quiddities, and the only one existing in the desiring quiddities.<sup>51</sup> Since the effusion takes place through the *muḥaqqiq*, quiddities receive the effusion through him according to their share.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, the author of *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* views all the effected existents, i.e. the effused existents by the *muḥaqqiq*, as possible existence (*mumkin al-wujūd*), which he identifies with the servant (*'abd*), understood in a macrocosmic sense.<sup>53</sup> The personification of possible existence in the servant agrees with the macrocosmic role Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn attributes to the aspirant (*murīd*). Nevertheless, contrary to Yaḥyā b. Sab'īn's text, there are no references to the pleromatic role of the *muḥaqqiq* in *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd*, maybe because the only known extant manuscript of this text is incomplete.

## 4 The manuscript

The edition presented hereby is based on the only known manuscript of *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī ṭarīq al-qawm*, MS Hekimoğlu 506, fols. 11v–16r, held at Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (referred to as H in the present edition). The manuscript is a collection of twelve works, of which ten are authored by or attributed to Ibn 'Arabī. In addition to the present work by Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab'īn, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Sha'rānī's *al-Mizān al-dharriyya al-mubayyina li-'aqqā'id al-firaq al-'aliyya* is the only other work whose authorship is not attributed to Ibn 'Arabī in the manuscript.

<sup>50</sup> See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 187.

<sup>51</sup> See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 171.

<sup>52</sup> See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 187.

<sup>53</sup> See *Sharḥ Risālat al-'ahd* (2007), 161.

The manuscript is a rebinding of previous manuscripts copied in Istanbul and Damascus in at least two different hands. The present treatise does not have a colophon, and consequently it does not indicate the identity of the scribe or the place and time when the treatise was copied. Nevertheless, the hand of the present work is the same of the first seventy-seven folios of the manuscript. The scribe provides a colophon at the end of the subsequent work containing Ibn ‘Arabī’s *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya* in fols. 16v–77v. This first section of the manuscript (fols. 1r–77v) was copied by ‘Abd al-Qādir b. al-Marḥūm al-Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Dimashqī between 5–7 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1057 H/22–24 December 1647 CE in Istanbul (fol. 77v). Thus, the scribe can be identified as ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafūrī al-Dimashqī (1010–1081 H/1601–1670 CE), born in Damascus, who, after a formative period in Cairo and a time in Turkey, spent most of his teaching life in Damascus, becoming one of the most renowned scholars of the city.<sup>54</sup> He is described as a jurist, Qur’ānic commentator, traditionist, grammarian and theologian. His name also appears in the chain of transmission of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works to Abū al-Mawāhib Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanbalī al-Dimashqī (d. 1126 H/1714 CE) as al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir b. al-Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafūrī,<sup>55</sup> which confirms the identification of the scribe. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafūrī was also the teacher of the celebrated scholar and Ṣūfī ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1050–1143 H/1641–1731 CE),<sup>56</sup> in turn well-known for his interest in Ibn Sab‘īn, al-Shushtarī and ‘Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the works of the school of Ibn Sab‘īn were already read in the scholarly circles of Damascus on the eve of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī along the works of Ibn ‘Arabī. It is also possible that ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣafūrī were among those who introduced ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī to the Sab‘īyya.

The work is written in a very clear and readable, slightly cursive *naskh* in black, with titling and abjad notation in red *naskh*. The text is almost fully dotted, except for few *tā’ marbūṭas*. It contains few *hamzas*, but no vowels or *shaddas*, whilst punctuation is indicated with red overlines. The body text consists of twenty-three lines per page. There are no marginalia, i.e. no marginal corrections, collations or glosses, except few infrequent three-dot signs referred to by intext calls, probably indicating problems in the transmitted text. The manuscript is foliated with both Hindu and Arabic numerals and contains catchwords in verso folios.

54 On him, see al-Muḥibbī (n.d.), 2: 467–469.

55 Al-Ḥanbalī, *Mashyakha* (1990), 106.

56 Al-Kattānī 1982–86, 2: 756–758 (here 757), no. 415.

57 Sirriyeh 2005, 9–12 and 136.

The transmitted text may contain few lacunae indicated with a slightly greater separation between words and intext calls, although the marginalia do not indicate the reasons after the calls, and in a couple of cases the sentences are grammatical to some extent. The text presents problems with verbal agreements, particularly in the *muḍāri*‘ form, since it shows a tendency to make agreements with the object rather than with the frequently anaphoric subject, probably owing to an eventual, although common, dropping of the dotting of personal prefixes of the *muḍāri*‘ form at some point in the chain of transmission of the text, which were incorrectly supplemented by some later scribe. Additionally, in nominal sentences, pronouns in the role of subject tend to agree with the predicate and not with their references. All these textual problems, in a highly anaphoric text rich in appositions and coordinate clauses, make the syntactic structure of the text difficult to be followed. Thus, considering that this edition is based on the only known extant copy of the work, both the edition and translation of the work should be deemed tentative and temporary until new copies of this work may come to our knowledge.

## 5 Edition

### ١2٧\ كتاب السلوك في طريق القوم

الحمد لله رب العالمين هادي المضلّين إلى الحقّ المبين والصلاة والتسليم على خاتم الأنبياء والمرسلين.  
أما بعد:

يقول العبد الفقير إلى الله العارف بالسالك بالله يحيى ابن عبد الحق بن سبعين:  
يستحب للمريد ويجب على السالك العبد<sup>58</sup> أن يعرف مراتب النفس وكم هي في تقسيمها ويعلم خواصّها في نفسه وتقيّدتها وتقيّد<sup>59</sup> أحوالها؛ وكلّ فرد وأين هو من ١3٢\ العالم وفي أي نفس هو وهل هو في الأمانة أو الملهمة<sup>60</sup> أو اللزامة أو المطمئنة. ويعلم أي شيء حدث عنده من زيادة أو نقصان أو توسط، فإن كان نقصاً يتوب ويؤب، وإن كان زيادة يستنكر ويستكثر، وإن كان واقفاً يحرك أحواله ويطلب الكمال. ولا خير في سالك يكون كذلك. فالشيخ هو العالم المدبّر. ومعنى عالم أنّه قام به العلم. ومعنى مدبّر لأنّه يدبّر الأشياء ويخلصها وينقلها من الشرّ المحض إلى الخير المشترك أو من الخير المقيّد إلى الخير المطلق أو من الخير المحض إلى الخير المحض، كما ذكر. ونقول إنّه عالم بحقائق الأمور، أي يعلم حقائق الأشياء كاملها وناقصها. ومدبّر بمعنى ينقل من النقص إلى الكمال. ومعنى عالم لأنّه يعلم الجواهر الأصلية للأشياء من حيث كانت مجردة عن المواد.<sup>61</sup> ومدبّر بمعنى مخلص لها من الأشياء أت الطادية عليها والمادة الغامرة لها. والتدبير يردها إلى جوهرها الأول. ومعنى عالم

58 *dub.* H [العبد]

59 H وتقيّد *scripsi* [وتقيّد]

60 H موالب *scripsi* [الملهمة]

61 H المراد *scripsi* [المواد]

لأنه يكشف الأنيّة المطلقة المقولة على كل شيء الملازمة كل شيء في عهده. والمدبر أيضاً بمعنى مخلصها من الأشياء الوهميّة المتعدّدة للنظفة تتكرّرها<sup>62</sup> ويصرفها <إلى> أنيتها الأصليّة التي الأشياء فيها ذاتها،<sup>63</sup> وهي محمولة على الكلّ <لا يغادر<sup>64</sup> صغيرة ولا كبيرة>.

والمريد الذي تكلفت إرادته بالله وتحرّك إليه بجملته واشتغاله به في توجهه؛ وتحرك المطلوب إلى المطلوب. مثال ذلك توجهه إلى أمه وهو يتقرب إليه بصفاته من حيث التخلّق إليها والتجوهر بما أمطر منها. وأوّل التوبة الخروج من الشرّ المحض إلى الخير المشترك. وتستعين على قطع عقبات النفس وقهر أخلاقها بالتوكل والتسليم والتفويض والتوبة الأولى والثانية والثالثة. 137\ وحّد الأولى من التوبة الخروج من الشرّ المحض إلى الخير المشترك. والثانية من التوبة الخروج من الخير المقيد إلى الخير المطلق. والثالثة من التوبة الخروج من الخير المحض إلى الخير المحض. وسعادة الصوفي إمّا هي في تحلّسه من الشهوات الطبيعيّة، وتحقّقه لعالم الشهادة، والتجرّد من الأجسام وقواها، والتجوهر بالأخلاق الرحمانية، والفناء من عالم النفس، والثبوت في حضرة الحقّ، والإجابة لله ولرسوله، والامتثال على قدر الوسع. وذهاب هواه شرط عنده في وحدانيّة الحقّ. ويدرك سعادته ويقطع بها في الدنيا إمّا بكشف ما في النظام القديم، أو بوارد صادق بخير، أو بما يظهر له من الاستغراق في أمر الله ورسوله ومشاهدتهم في مقام الإحسان، أو في ثبوت من الخير المحض الذي هو علامات رضوان الله وانقطاع الشرّ من محلّه انقطاعاً ذاتيّاً، أو بتحقيق الفناء وما أشبه ذلك. وهذا الكلام في المريد على مذهب الصوفيّة.

واعلم أنّ النفس عند الصوفيّة لها نسبة من الذات القديمة، ومن العقل الكلي، ومن النفس الكليّة، وجميع ذلك في موضع<sup>65</sup> الجسم على التجاور إذ الجسم غير مفارق والذات الروحانيّة مفارقة. وإمّا ذلك لا<sup>66</sup> نقول الواحد من العشرة. فهو من حيث يطعم حيوان، ومن حيث يعقل إنسان، ومن حيث يكشف عبده، ومن حيث يتصرّف ويتوحّد ويحصل أنواع الشرف ويصّصف بما هي صفة قديمة حقّاً.<sup>67</sup> وهذا المفهوم من قوله، عليه السلام، "كنت سمعه الذي يسمع به" الحديث المشهور.

والنفس معنى تعلّل ولا تفهم، وتعلم ولا تعلم. وجهله بنفسه وجوده في عالم الملك؛ وعلمه بنفسه حضوره في عالم 142\ الملكوت، وخروجه عن جهله، وحلوله في عالم الجبروت، وزواله عن ذلك، وثبوته الذي يعقل منه ما لا يعقل من القديم المطلق، <وصوله إلى غايته، وإعادته إلى مجازة، وإخباره عنه كلسه، وقله<sup>68</sup> الكون، ومجده المحروم، وكفره المحجوب. وظهر من هذا أنّ الإنسان كامل ومتوسّط من حيث العقلية وناقص من حيث الحيوانية والأخلاق الجسدانية، وأنّ الخير فيه بالذات، والشرّ العارض له هي الأخلاق المذمومة، وهي التي تسميها الصوفيّة نفساً، وهي الشيطان، وهي الظلّ المذكور في <هل أتى على الإنسان>، وهي الشرّ الصادر عن عالم الفواسق، وهي الحجاب، وهي النار التي تمرّق اتصال الإنسان. والكلام في أسبابها ولواحقها يطول عليها ذكره.

اعلم أنّ الحقّ ليس بينه وبين الموجودات مرتبة زمنيّة ولا مكانيّة، وإنّه موجود مع الأشياء يقوم بوجودها ولا وجود لها فلا قرب ولا بعد إلا بحسب العلم به، والتخلّق بأسمانه، والاتّصاف بأوصافه وصفاته. واعلم أنّ العلم بالله تعالى والتخلّق بأسمانه هي النعمة<sup>69</sup> التي تقيم المنعم عليه في حضرة المنعم بالخلق الحسنه، وهي صفات الحقّ. وصفات الحقّ غير زائدة على ذاته، والتغاير في موصوفها. فالتخلّق بصفات الحقّ، إن كانت

62 H يتكرّرها *scripsi* [تتكرّرها]

63 H ذاته *scripsi* [ذاتها]

64 H تغادر *scripsi* [يغادر]

65 موضوع *scripsi* [موضوع]

66 H *dub. lac.* [لا]

67 H حقّ *scripsi* [حقّاً]

68 H *dub.* [وقله]

69 *add. et ras. H* العظمى [النعمة]



الصفات ذاته، فهو صفة الحقّ؛ والصفة غير زائدة على الذات فهو الحقّ، لا يفارق في ذاته، فهو ثابت أبدًا. فالتخلّق عالم بالله ثابت أبدًا. وكذلك قال الله تعالى للذي شهد فيه بالخلق العظيم: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَبَايِعُونَكَ إِنَّمَا يُبَايِعُونَ اللَّهَ﴾ لكونه كانت الخلق التي هي صفات الحقّ ذاته وعلمه علم. فافهم ذلك. وتخلّص من الأخلاق المذمومة خلاصًا تامًا يتصل بالحقّ اتصالًا تامًا. وبحسب هذا (14٧٧) مقيس في كلّ زمان، فأنت من القرب على قدر ما أنت عليه من التخلّق والعلم. هذا الكلام على النفس بحسب كلام الصوفيّة تكلمنا فيه بكلام يعشق الصب ويزيل الكرب.

وها أنا أتكلّم على النفس بقوة أخرى والشّيخ الصوفي روح كان أو صفة ومريد ثابت أو خير مشترك في بدايته وفي سلوكه خير مقيّد وفي نهايته خير محض. والمحقّق اسم مستجيب في نهاية المسّى ومريده صديق أخذ عن الاسم من غير سبب ولا برهان، صاغي بل معتزل<sup>70</sup> محض، ونظرة كاملة؛ أو هي كلمة مطلقة ومريده كون مطلق؛ أو هو إحاطة ومريدها محاطها،<sup>71</sup> وهو كالإحاطة وواحد فيها ومريد أجزاء الإحاطة ومجموعة مراتبها؛ أو هو فيض مطلق ومريده قبول مطلق. وبهذه النظرة، ويكون<sup>72</sup> الخلافة الإلهية، لأنّه يقبض العوالم ويمدّها إمدادًا واحدًا. ويقبل منه مريده في العوالم كلّها قولًا مختلفًا للأنواع متّفق الوجود، لأنّ المحقّق لا ماهية له داخله الكون. وإنّ ماهيته معروفة المجاز موجودة حقيقةً. والحقيقة تجمع العوالم، فإنّها أجزاء ماهيتها. وهي تحيل العدد إلى الواحد. والحقّ مفيض. ويقبله كلّ على قدر استعداده. فيقبله المعدن جامدًا والنبات نموًا والحيوان حسًا والإنسان فكّرًا. ورؤيته وعقله والعقول بحسب استعدادها. وهكذا إلى منتهي<sup>73</sup> العالم. أو هي العقل الكلّي بنظر ما. أو هم العلم، أعني المحقّق والصديق وتأصيله.

وها أنا أذكر بعض الأمثلة المذكورة<sup>74</sup> عندنا. فنقول هي سبب من حيث جسمه، ونبات من حيث نموه، وحيوان من حيث صفته وحرّكته، 15٢٨ وإنسان من حيث فكره ورؤيته، وصالح من حيث عمله ببعض مصالحه وعجزه عن الأكثر، وحكيم من حيث تحصيل العقول المذكورة قبل، وفلك من حيث دورانه على قطبه، وقدرته من حيث امتداده من ذاته ورجوعه إليها، وملك من حيث هو مجرد خالص مفارق المادّة، وخير محض، وعالم بالله بعلم غير نظري. فهو صورة العالم مجرد عن المادّة، وشيخه ممّد في تلك العوالم كلّها، وهو حقّ وكلمة.

هذا ما ذكر قبل، والكلام فيما بعد ذلك هو ما نصب فافتح بما هنا. وإن كان هذا الاسم ممّا يليق بعقله والحكمة تحض على مخاطبة الإنسان على قدر عقله، فإنّ خاطب عقله الموجود عند أحواله، والمفروض في طريقه عند نسبه جاز. فإنّ كلّ طائفة عقلها<sup>75</sup> طريقها، وبه تحكّم وترجع وتتنظر<sup>76</sup> في صغرها إلى كبرها. وكذا القوم في طريقهم، هو عقلهم الكلّي ومنه يستمدون وعنه يأخذون. فافهم ذلك، واسأل إخوانك المحبّين منهم المعتقدين في نسبك، رجل عارف بالله، يدلك على الله تعالى. فإن المقلّد الصادق من إخوانك بمثابة العارف من حيث عدم الإنكار وقبول الحقائق، وهو فوقه من حيث العلو<sup>77</sup> ودونه من حيث المعرفة.

وبالجملة إن الذوات المتحقّقة العارفة بالله ورسوله، فهي ممّا. وإن تقدّمنا بالزمان أو تأخّرنا، فإنّ المعرفة هي في جوهر النفس من حيث هو مفارق<sup>78</sup> لا تدخل<sup>79</sup> تحت الزمان. والعارفون، وإن كثرت أشخاصهم، فجوهرهم واحد

70 معتزل *dub.* H

71 *bis scr.* H [كون مطلق أو هو إحاطة ومريدها محاطها]

72 تكون *scripsi* [يكون]

73 منتهي *scripsi* [منتهي]

74 أمثلة المذكور *scripsi* [الأمثلة المذكورة]

75 غطها *scripsi* [غطها]

76 وينظر *scripsi* [وينظر]

77 العلوي *scripsi* [العلو]

78 مفارق *scripsi* [مفارق]

79 يدخل *scripsi* [تدخل]

وخواصهم مختلفة. وكذلك أنصبتهم في المعرفة. والعارف يعرف الحقّ بالحقّ. وعلم الله تعالى بذاته لا يتبدّل. فالعارف لا يتبدّل. وعلم الله بذاته واحد، فالعارف واحد. فافهم ذلك.

فالمتقدّم من المحقّقين هو المتأخّر وبالعكس. فمن هنا يفهم كيف \15v\ ظهرت الصورة المعنوية. فإن عيسى ظهر بالروح والكلمة. وهذا من حيث إدراك حقائق الأشياء يكلم الناس في المهدي، وهي السفينة الحاملة الإلهية، ولا تأخذ المهدي مثل ما تأخذه العوام والفقهاء، فتدخل المجاز على الحقيقة، وكذلك من حيث كان تحفظه الشريعة المتقدّمة وهذا معنى شريعة النبي عليه السلام وكشف حقائقها وبيانها، وكذلك من حيث علمه من عند الله تعالى من غير أب أفاده. وبالجملة الذوات المجرّدة واحدة كما تقدّم. والكلمة هي الروح هو هو. فافهم ذلك.

وقوله "ينزل عيسى" يريد بذلك نزول الروح الكاشف والكلمة المؤيّد، فهو من حيث ما ذكر <في> ذلك، ومن حيث تصرّف الروحاني على الجسماني. ولا يهّمك شيء<sup>80</sup> من المظاهر. ويجعل الظاهر نفس الباطن ويعكسه. ويترحل إلى غاية من غير انتقال<sup>81</sup>. ويجتمع من غير تجريد. وهي وحدة الوجود. ويجعلها واحداً في الروحاني والجسماني. ويرفع الإضافة محلّ الأوامر. فهو محمديّ. ومن حيث يمحّق الطرق والصناعات، وينسخ المذاهب، ويعرف الكلّ في حقيقة، وبيّن<sup>82</sup> الفرق، ولا يبقى إلا من دخل معه في مذهبه، فهو حينئذٍ الـان. ومن حيث تتبدّى<sup>83</sup> عوالم بحرًا،<sup>84</sup> وتتولد<sup>85</sup> منه ذوات، وتتفرّع<sup>86</sup> عوالم، فهو الـام. ومن حيث يجزّ العوالم، ويخرجها عن الأجساد، ويحقّق<sup>87</sup> جواهر النفس المفارقة، ويكشف المبادئ الأولى،<sup>88</sup> فهو حينئذٍ الـال الك. يا هذا، الخلافة الإلهية تخترع الذوات وتبينها وتبدأ عوالم وتخفض وترفع وتقبض وتبسط وتعدّب وتنعم. وشرحها لا يمكن وصفه في هذا الكتاب.

والخلافة النبوية تصلح العوالم وتخبر عن الغيبات وتكشف حقائق الأشياء. وخلافة السبق تحفظ \16r\ معاملات الخلق وتقمع الذوات وتزيل العزّ والفساد من الأرض. والمحقّق لجمع الثلاثة وسكون الوحدة من أجزاء ماهيته. وهو محقّق الحقّ على ما هو عليه. ويزيد الناظر بالجملة، ويعيد العالم إلى مبتدئه الأول، ويكشف جميع ما غاب عن أهل الملل في كتبهم المنزلة عليه، ويطلبهم بمدلولها، ويحتجّ عليهم بها، ويضع الجزية على من جحد رسالة النبي، صلّى الله تعالى عليه وسلّم.

يشاهد المحقّق المذكور خاتمه. <...> محموديّ. وهو تساعي، لا يفقد أبداً. ويا هذا، المحقّق سابع النطاق<sup>89</sup> وأخرهم؛ وهو يوم الله؛ وهو الآخر؛ وهو يوم الجمعة؛ وكمال الإنسان الذاتي. وكما يكمل الشخص الربّانيّ سبعة أيام، يا هذا، فيوم الجمعة فيها يجمع كلّ ما تبدّد من الأيام. ومن صلّى فيها غفر له التقريط المقدّم في الأيام الخالية قبلها؛ وهي ركعتان، الواحد للمقدّم والأخرى للمقيم؛ والخطبة تقرير الخلق على أحوالهم. فافهم ذلك.

يا هذا، السابع من النطاق،<sup>90</sup> له قوة كلّ واحد منهم، من الأفلاك كذلك، من الدراري كذلك. مثال ذلك: له من زحل، المشرق على المعلومات، وقبض الذوات كلّها، وحصرها عنده. ومن المشتري، نمو الحقائق وزادتها في

80 H شينا *scripsi* [شيء]

81 H انتعال *scripsi* [انتقال]

82 H وبيّن *scripsi* [وبيّن]

83 H يتبدّى *scripsi* [يتبدّى]

84 H بحر *scripsi* [بحرًا]

85 H ويتولد *scripsi* [وتتولد]

86 H ويتفرّع *scripsi* [وتتفرّع]

87 H وتحقّق *scripsi* [ويحقّق]

88 H الأول *scripsi* [الأولى]

89 H النطاق *scripsi* [النطاق]

90 H النطاق *scripsi* [النطاق]

صوره وفي نصيبه وتوَلَّدات. ومن المَرِيخ، الإقدام<sup>91</sup> بأمر الله، والنصر على أعداء الله، وقوة العزم والإقدام، وإظهار حَجَّتِه، وقهر خصمائه. ومن الشمس، الظهور المحض، وكشف حقائق الموجودات. وهو على هذا المثال. والله أعلم بالصواب.

## 6 Translation

### /12v/ Book on the voyage along the pathway of the spiritual kindred

Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, the Guide to the clear truth of those who have gone astray; and blessings and peace be upon the Seal of the prophets and the messengers.

The poor servant of God, the knower (*‘arīf*), the wayfarer in God, Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sab‘īn, says:

It is recommendable for the aspirant (*murīd*) and an obligation for the returning wayfarer to know the degrees of the soul, the number of its divisions, its attributes in himself, the restrictions inherent to it, and the restrictions inherent to its states; and every individual [should know] where is he in /13r/ the universe and which soul he relates to, [i.e.] the inciting soul (*ammāra*), the inspired soul (*mulhama*), the blaming soul (*lawwāma*), or the appeased soul (*muṭma‘inna*). He [should] know if what happens to him is excessive, deficient, or in the middle point; and in case it is deficient, he [should] turn to God and go back [to Him]; and if it is excessive, he [should] reject it and regard it as excessive; and if he is standing still, he should stir up his states and seek perfection, and no [other] good befalling a wayfarer is like this.

The master (*shaykh*) is the sage (*‘ālim*) and the arranger (*mudabbir*). The meaning of ‘sage’ is such that through him knowledge is carried out; and the meaning of ‘arranger’ is because he arranges things, frees them, and renders them from being pure evil (*sharr maḥḍ*) to common good (*khayr mushtarak*), or from limited good (*khayr muqayyad*) to absolute good (*khayr muṭlaq*), or from pure good (*khayr maḥḍ*) to pure good, as it has been mentioned before. So, we say that [the master] is a ‘sage’ because he knows the realities (*ḥaqā‘iq*) of the affairs, i.e. he knows the realities of the things, be they perfect or defective. [He is] an ‘arranger’ (*mudabbir*) in the sense that he renders things from defectiveness to perfection. The meaning of ‘sage’ [attributed to the master] is because

91 صداع [الإقدام] *add. sup. lin. H*

he knows the primary substances (*jawāhir aṣliyya*) of things in that they are detached from matters, whilst [he is] an ‘arranger’ in the sense that he frees them, [i.e. the souls], from things which bring about firmness to them and [from] the matter engulfing them; and the arrangement (*tadbīr*) brings them back to their first substance. The meaning of ‘sage’ is because he unveils the absolute being (*al-anniyya al-muṭlaqa*) said of every single thing and which is fastened [to] everything in its neck.<sup>92</sup> And ‘arranger’ [is] also [meant] in the sense that he frees them from illusory things, made abundant by a sperm that multiplies them, and he turns them back [to] their primary beings in which things [have] their essence,<sup>93</sup> and they are predicated from all, and [the book] “does not leave anything small or big”.<sup>94</sup>

The aspirant is the one who enjoins his will with God, moves completely towards Him and his occupation is to devote his attention to Him; and the desired moves to the desired. An example of this is his attention devoted to his source (*umm*). And he comes close to Him by His attributes, [i.e.] by assuming the character traits related to them and the substantiation of what flows from them. The first level of turning oneself to God (*tawba*) is to leave the pure evil for the common good. You need the help of trusting in God (*tawakkul*), surrendering to Him (*taslīm*), entrusting your matters to Him (*tafwīd*) and the first, second and third degrees of turning yourself to God (*tawba*) to cut the hindrances of the soul and to subjugate its character traits. /13v/ The first degree of turning oneself to God is leaving the pure evil for the common good. The second degree of turning oneself to God is leaving the limited good for the absolute good. The third degree of turning oneself to God is leaving the pure good for the pure good. The happiness of the Ṣūfī is to be freed from the physical appetites; [it is] his realization to achieve the world of testimony (*‘ālam al-shahāda*); [it is] the detachment from bodies and their faculties; the substantiation of the merciful character traits; the extinction from the world of the soul; the permanence in the presence of the True; to answer to God and His Messenger; and the compliance [with God’s commands] in the measure of his possibility. To dwindle his craving is a self-imposed condition to achieve the unity (*waḥdāniyya*) of the True. [The aspirant] attains his happiness and asserts it in the lowly world (*dunyā*) by an unveiling (*kashf*) of what dwells in the pre-eternal order (*nizām qadīm*); or by an inspiration confirmed by a prophetic information (*khbar*); or

<sup>92</sup> See Qur’ān 17.13.

<sup>93</sup> Both the edition and translation of this last sentence is tentative, since the Arabic text in the manuscript seems corrupted.

<sup>94</sup> Q: 18.49.

by what becomes manifest to him after immersing in the command of God and His Messenger; [or by] their witnessing in the station of excelling (*iḥsān*) or in the permanence in the pure good – which consists in the signs of the satisfaction of God, and in the essential separation of evil from his place; or by the realization of the extinction in God; [or by] anything similar to this. And these are the remarks regarding the aspirant according to the Ṣūfī path.

Know that for the Ṣūfis the soul is linked to the pre-eternal essence, the universal intellect, and the universal soul. All of this is in the vicinity of the body, since the body is not separated, whilst the spiritual essence is. And yet, we do not <...><sup>95</sup> say the first of ten. Consequently, he is an animal considering his tasting, a human being considering his reasoning, a servant considering that he experiences unveilings, goes back [to God], declares the unity of God, obtains different kinds of dignity, and is described by truly pre-eternal attributes. And this is the sense of his famous dictum, peace be upon him: “I was the hearing by which he hears”.<sup>96</sup>

The ‘soul’ is a spiritual reality (*ma‘nā*) which explains the causes and does not understand, which knows and does not know. Its ignorance in itself is its existence in the world of dominion (*‘ālam al-mulk*); whereas its knowledge in itself is [namely] being present in the world of /14r/ sovereignty (*‘ālam al-malakūt*), leaving behind its ignorance, inhabiting the world of compulsion (*‘ālam al-jabarūt*), abandoning it, establishing what can be grasped from it which cannot be grasped from the absolute pre-eternal, attaining to its outmost reach, returning to its metaphorical reality (*majāz*), informing of it to its lime (*kils*),<sup>97</sup> deeming creation as insignificant, glorifying the bereft (*maḥrūm*), and hiding (*kufr*) the veiled.

And this shows that the human being (*insān*) is perfect and in the middle point (*mutawassit*) considering his intellectual dimension, whilst he is deficient considering his animal dimension and his bodily character traits. [This also shows] that in him the good is essential, whilst the evil, which is predicated of him by accident, is [namely] the plurality of blameworthy character traits, what the Ṣūfis call the ‘soul’, the devil, the shadow mentioned in “Hath there come

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<sup>95</sup> At this point in the Arabic text, there is a call on a short blank to a marginal note by the scribe that may point to a lacuna in the text. Nevertheless, the scribe does not specify in the margin the meaning of the call, whilst the current sentence, regardless of a possible lacuna, is grammatical. However, the topic of the paragraph apparently changes in this point.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (2002), 1617, no. 6502.

<sup>97</sup> A possible reference to the body.

upon man”,<sup>98</sup> the evil originated in the world of vices, the veil, and the fire which tears to pieces the unity of the human being. And discussing their causes and concomitants would be lengthy.

Know that between the True and the existents there is no temporal or spatial degree. He exists with the things and takes upon their existence (*yaqūmu bi-wujūdihā*), although they have no existence [in themselves], and there is no closeness and no farness except according to the knowledge of Him, to the assumption of His names as character traits, and to taking His attributes and qualities as one’s own.

Know that the knowledge of God, exalted may He be, and the assumption of His names as character traits (*takhalluq bi-asmā’i-Hi*) are a grace that stirs the conferred in the presence of the Conferrer through nice characters (*khilāq ḥasana*), which are the attributes of the True. The attributes of the True are not superadded to His essence, and variation is ascribed to the subject receiving the attributes. Thus, the assumption of the attributes of the True, if His attributes are His essence, is an attribute of the True; and the attribute, since it is not superadded to the essence, is the True. And since there is no division in His essence, He is eternally permanent. Therefore, the one who has assumed the [divine] character traits knows God [and is] eternally permanent. In like manner, God, exalted may He be, said to whom He bore witness of his immense nature (*khuluq ‘azīm*):<sup>99</sup> “Those who swear allegiance unto thee, swear allegiance only unto Allāh”<sup>100</sup> because of the fact that his characters, which are the attributes of the True, are His essence, and because his knowledge is [His] knowledge. So, understand this. To free oneself completely from the blameworthy character traits completely unites with the True. And considering that /14v/ this is a rule for any time, so come close in accordance with your assumption of the character traits and knowledge. These are the remarks on the soul according to the approach of the Ṣūfis in which we talk with words which stir passionate love in the enamored and bring sorrow to an end.

Now, I will talk about the soul with another faculty (*quwwa*),<sup>101</sup> [about] the Ṣūfī master, be he a spiritual essence (*rūḥ*) or an attribute (*ṣifa*), and [about] the

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**98** Q: 76.1 (trans. Pickthall). The author is referring to *sūra* 76, i.e. al-Dahr. This may be a reference to 76.14, “the shade thereof is close upon them and the clustered fruits thereof bow down” (trans. Pickthall), although the shade referred to here is part of the description of Paradise.

**99** A reference to the Prophet. See Q: 68.4.

**100** Q: 48.10 (trans. Pickthall).

**101** The faculty (*quwwa*) referred to by the author, in the context of a section which primarily deals with the *muḥaqqiq*, is rather intriguing. This *quwwa* may refer to the one Ibn Sab’in defi-

aspirant, be he firmly established or common good in his beginnings, limited good while traveling the pathway, or pure good at the end. The [noun] ‘realizer’ (*muḥaqqiq*), [i.e. the one who makes the aspirant achieve true reality], is an answering noun (*ism*) to the utmost degree of the named, and his aspirant (*murīd*) is a veracious (*ṣiddīq*) who takes from the name with no connecting cause or rational proof. [The realizer] is attentive (*ṣāghī*) but detached and purely unmixed, [although with] perfect contemplation.<sup>102</sup> [The realizer] is an absolute word (*kalima muṭlaqa*), whilst his aspirant is an absolute created being (*kawn muṭlaq*). Or [the realizer] is an encompassing circle (*iḥāṭa*), whilst its aspirant<sup>103</sup> is the encompassed by it.<sup>104</sup> He is like one within the encompassing circle who aspires to the sections (*ajzāʾ*) of the encompassing circle and to all of its degrees (*marātib*). Or [the realizer] is the absolute effusion (*fayḍ muṭlaq*), whilst his aspirant is the absolute reception (*qubūl muṭlaq*). And with this in view, he is the divine deputyship (*khilāfa ilāhiyya*), because he grips the worlds and assists them with single help. And from him, his aspirant receives, in all the worlds, a different speech for every species, in agreement with [their kind of] existence, because the realizer does not have a quiddity (*māhiyya*) inside creation (*kawn*), and the way his quiddity is conventionally perceived is the metaphor, [whereas] it exists as reality. The Reality (*ḥaqīqa*) sums up the worlds, and they are parts of its quiddity, and it transforms the numbers into the one. The True effuses and every being receives [His effusion] in the measure of its predisposition (*istiʿdād*). The mineral receives [His effusion] in the form of being inanimate; plants receive it in the form of growth; the animal in the form of sensation; and the human being in the form of thinking. His intellectual vision, his intellect and [in general] the intellects are in the measure of their predisposi-

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ned as a gathering unsurmountable all-encompassing word (*kalima jāmiʿa māniʿa muḥiṭa*). This faculty, or level of the soul, encompasses all other faculties, including the mind (*dhihn*). See Ibn Sabʿīn, “Risālat al-Iḥāṭa”, in *Rasāʿil* (2007), 193–212, here 194. Additionally, Ibn Sabʿīn points out that the *muqarrab*, i.e. the *muḥaqqiq*, speaks to every degree of existence with his faculty, i.e. the faculty of the *muḥaqqiq*, which partakes that degree of existence. The fact that Yahyā b. Sabʿīn addresses the topic with a specific faculty of the soul, above the one with which Sūfism is discussed, may point to the fact that Yahyā b. Sabʿīn regarded himself as a *muḥaqqiq*. See Ibn Sabʿīn, “Mulāḥazāt Budd al-ʿarīf”, in *Rasāʿil* (2007), 329–339, here 332. The *Mulāḥazāt Budd al-ʿarīf* was commonly known as *Miftāḥ Budd al-ʿarīf* or *al-Faṭḥ al-mushtarik*.

**102** This is a rather tentative translation of a likely corrupted sentence.

**103** I.e., the aspirant aiming for the encompassing circle, i.e. God.

**104** See Ibn Sabʿīn, “al-Risāla al-faqīriyya”, in *Rasāʿil* (2007), 64, where the center of the circle is the limited existence associated with created beings, while the perimeter of the circle exemplifies absolute existence. Instead, Ibn Sabʿīn’s *iḥāṭa*, as in his *Risālat al-Iḥāṭa*, is an expression of absolute existence in which the center is as absolute existence as the perimeter or the radii.

tion, and this is so until the end of the world. Or it [i.e. the Reality or the quiddity of the realizer] is the universal intellect from a certain point of view. Or they are the knowledge, [and by them] I mean the realizer, the veracious and his foundation (*ta'ṣīl*).

Now, I will provide some examples common among us. So, we say: [the Reality or the quiddity of the realizer] is a rope (*sabab*) considering [the aspirant's] body,<sup>105</sup> a plant considering his growth, an animal considering his attribute and motion, /15r/ a human being considering his thinking and intellectual vision, a virtuous (*ṣāliḥ*) considering his action in some of his matters and his failure in most of them, a knowledgeable in the rational sciences (*ḥakīm*) considering the grasping of the intellects already mentioned, a sphere (*falak*) considering his rotation around his axis (*quṭb*), his capability (*qudra*) considering his stretch from his essence and his return to it, an angel considering that he is detached, freed and separated from matter, and [that he is] pure good and a sage (*'ālim*) of God with non-rational (*ghayr naẓarī*) knowledge. Thus, he is the form (*ṣūra*) of the universe and detached from matter. His master assists him in all these worlds, and he is true and a word (*kalima*).

This is what has been mentioned before, and the discussion following the above is now presented – so be satisfied with what you will find here. If this noun (*ism*) is suitable for his intellect, and rational knowledge (*ḥikma*) stirs to address the human being in the measure of his intellect, then what is found in his spiritual states (*aḥwāl*) addresses his intellect; and what is imposed onto him by his spiritual method (*ṭarīq*) in accordance with his kinship succeeds. Consequently, for every group their intellect is their method, and with it, they judge, go back and in their littleness direct their attention to their eminence. And so, for the spiritual kindred (*qawm*), their method is their universal intellect; they borrow from it, and from it they take [their knowledge]. So, understand this and ask the loving ones of your brethren, those who firmly believe among your lineage, [i.e.] a man who acknowledges God (*'arīf bi-Llāh*), who will guide you to God, exalted may He be, since one truthful imitator of your brothers is equivalent to the knower (*'arīf*) from the point of view of his absence of denial and the reception of the realities, and the [truthful imitator] is over the [knower] regarding his high rank and is below him regarding his direct knowledge (*ma'rifa*).

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**105** Here the author seems to be considering the term *sabab*, pl. *asbāb*, which is usually translated as 'cause', i.e. secondary cause, in its original sense of 'rope', since the author views materiality, and thus the bodily, as a rope tethering the soul.



In all, the essences effected by the realizer (*dhawāt mutaḥaqqiqa*) acknowledging God and His Messenger are one of us. If we advance or are delayed from the temporal point of view, direct knowledge (*maʿrifa*), which is in the substance of the soul, considering that [the substance of the soul] is separated, is not subjected to time. And if the number of individuals [with direct knowledge] increases, their substance remains one, whilst their properties are varied. And the same happens regarding their shares of direct knowledge (*maʿrifa*), since the knower (*ʿarif*) knows the True by means of the True, and the knowledge (*ʿilm*) that God, exalted may He be, has of His essence does not change, so consequently the knower does not change. Thus, the knowledge which God has of His essence is one, and therefore the knower is one. So, understand this.

Regarding the realizers, the advanced one is the delayed one and vice versa. From here, it is understood how /15v/ the ideal form (*ṣūra maʿnawiyya*) becomes manifested. Jesus became manifested by means of the spirit and the word. And so, considering his grasping of the realities of things, he spoke to the people from the cradle, and [the cradle] is the divine carrying ship (*safīna ḥāmila ilāhiyya*) – and do not take the cradle like the common and the jurists take it, because the metaphoric sense would meddle in the real world. Similarly, [this is so] considering that the previous divine law (*sharīʿa*) was committed to his memory – and this is the meaning of the divine law of the Prophet, peace be upon him. And he unveiled the realities of [the divine law] and their explanations. And in like manner, [this is so] considering that his knowledge (*ʿilm*) comes from God, exalted may He be, and he had no father from whom he would have benefitted. In all, the detached essences are one as stated before. And the word is the spirit, [and the spirit] is He (*al-kalīma hiya al-rūḥ huwa huwa*). So, understand this.

And his<sup>106</sup> word “Jesus descends” intends, with the above in mind, the descent of the unveiling spirit and of the confirming word, and this is so considering what is mentioned in this regard and considering the outflow (*taṣarruf*) of the spiritual over the bodily. Do not be concerned by anything regarding the *loci* of manifestation (*maẓāhir*).<sup>107</sup> He [i.e. the unveiling spirit, that is the confirming word, in his descent exemplified by Jesus] makes the outward (*ẓāhir*) as the inward (*bāṭin*) and vice versa. He moves to an utmost point without changing his position. He joins together [all the worlds covered over his descent] without

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**106** The author may refer here to the Prophet.

**107** I.e. the apparent differences in the manifested beings are produced by the *loci* of manifestation, and not by the spiritual reality detached from matter which they manifest; so, do not be concerned by the apparent differences.

detachment (*tajrīd*) [from matter]. This is the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). He makes them one in the spiritual and the bodily and removes the relation (*iḍāfa*) in the place of illusions (*maḥall al-awhām*);<sup>108</sup> and thus, he is Muḥammadi. Considering that he effaces the methods (*turuq*) and the occupations, abrogates the schools (*madhāhib*), knows all in reality, makes the difference evident, and no one remains except he who enters with him in his path, he is then AAAN.<sup>109</sup> Considering that the worlds are manifested in the form of a sea, essences originate from it, and the worlds ramify, he is AAAM.<sup>110</sup> And considering that he drags the worlds, draws them away from the bodies, brings the separated substances of the soul into effect, and unveils the first principles, he is then AAAL<sup>111</sup> AAAM.<sup>112</sup> Oh you!, the divine deputyship (*khilāfa ilāhiyya*) produces the essences, makes them evident, originates the worlds, lowers, lifts, grips, unfolds, punishes, and bestows. And the commentary of all of the above cannot be carried out in the present book.

The prophetic deputyship (*khilāfa nabawiyya*) improves the worlds, gives information about the hidden, and unveils the realities of things; whilst the deputyship of the ahead (*khilāfat al-sibq*) preserves /16r/ the conducts of created beings, subdues the essences, and removes the high standing (‘*izz*) and corruption (*fasād*) from earth. The realizer (*muḥaqqiq*) combines all three [deputyships] and the quietness of unity from parts of his quiddity. He is the realizer of the True the way he is. He supplies the contemplator (*nāẓir*) with the whole; returns the sage (‘*ālim*) to his first origin; unveils what the people of the different religious adscriptions do not penetrate in their revealed books; calls for their return with the meanings contained in [these books]; argues against them with [these books]; and imposes the tax (*jizya*) on whom rejects the message of the Prophet, God’s blessings and peace be upon him.

The realizer already mentioned regards his seal. <...> Maḥmūdī. [The seal] is a nonagon (*tusā’ī*) and it is never lost. Oh you!, the realizer is the seventh speaker (*nuṭaqā’*), and the last of them. He is the day of God, and the last one. He is the Friday (*yawm al-jum‘a*), the perfection of the essential human being (*insān dhātī*). And as the lordly individual completes seven days, oh you!, in Friday everything which is scattered throughout the days [of the week] is gathered. Whoever prays in that day, God forgives the negligence in the previous

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**108** I.e. unity is beyond the category of relation.

**109** Its *abjad* value is 53.

**110** Its *abjad* value is 43.

**111** Its *abjad* value is 33.

**112** Its *abjad* value is 23.

days. The prayer consists of two cycles (*rak'a*): the first stands for the previous [days of the week] and the last for the current one; while the sermon makes mankind acknowledge their spiritual states. So, understand this.

Oh you!, the seventh speaker has the powers of the other speakers. [He has the powers which he receives] from the spheres as well, and from the firmaments too. An example of this is the following: from Saturn, he receives the capability to illuminate knowledge (*mushriq 'alā al-ma'lūmāt*), to grip all the essences, and to gather them with him; from Jupiter, the capability to make the realities grow, to increase them according to his forms and in his participation, and engenderings; from Mars, the fearlessness in performing the command of God, the victory against the enemies of God, the power of determination and fearlessness, the manifestation of His proof (*ḥujja*), and the subjugation of His opponents; and from the Sun, the pure appearance, and the unveiling of the realities of the existents. And so forth according to this example. And God knows what is right.

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Kentaro Sato

# *Isnād* of Ibn Khaldūn: Maghribi Tradition of Knowledge in Mamlūk Cairo

## 1 Introduction

In Muḥarram 791 H/January 1389 CE, Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) was appointed as a professor of *ḥadīth* at the Ṣarḥitmish *madrasa* in Cairo. He chose to lecture on *al-Muwattaʿa*, the famous *ḥadīth* collection compiled by Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179 H/795 CE). His first lecture, before starting on the body of the text, focused on his *isnād* and the brief introduction of the author and book. For his autobiography, Ibn Khaldūn reproduced the full text of his first lecture, including his *isnād* that traces back to the author Mālik.<sup>1</sup> Figure 1 is the reconstructed *isnād* of Ibn Khaldūn based on his lecture text.<sup>2</sup>

One of the remarkable things in this figure is that it shows only Maghribi<sup>3</sup> scholars' names, and none of Mashriqi scholars', except the author Mālik. It is true that Ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis and lived in various cities and towns in al-Maghrib, such as Fez, Granada, and others, until he finally migrated to Cairo around the age of 50. Given that he learned from Maghribi scholars in the early stages of his life and inherited the Maghribi tradition of knowledge, it does not seem so surprising that his *isnād* does not include any Mashriqi scholars' names.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 293–310. For his appointment, see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1986), 2: 347–348; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1939–73), 3: 589–590.

<sup>2</sup> Identification of transmitters in the Figures 1 and 2 is based on Lirola Delgado/Puerta Vílchez 2004–12 as well as medieval biographical dictionaries cited in the bibliography. I, however, have not specified sources of the identification for each transmitter.

<sup>3</sup> In this article, the term al-Maghrib refers to the Muslim West as a whole, including al-Andalus.

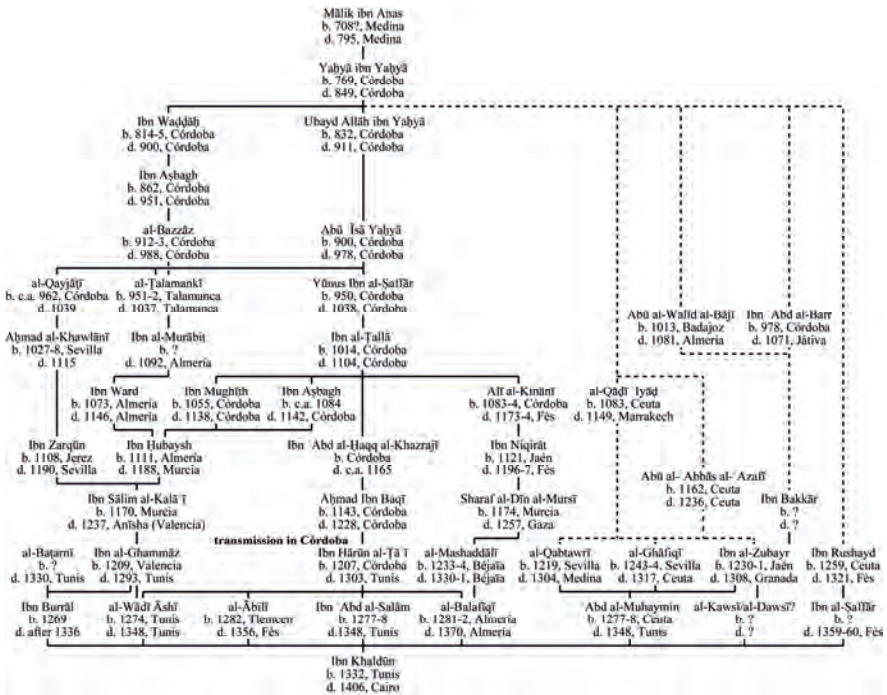


Fig. 1: *Isnād* of Ibn Khaldūn

In the Maghribi context, however, knowledge comes from the east. There indeed was a disparity between the west and the east in terms of the authority of knowledge. Since the early Islamic period, many Maghribi scholars travelled to the east and studied there. However, travel and learning in the opposite direction was rare.<sup>4</sup> Knowledge brought back from the east was deemed authoritative in the west and Maghribi scholars who returned from the east were highly respected.

One such scholar is Ibn Rushayd (657–721 H/1259–1321 CE), called *al-rahḥāla* or the great traveller. He was born in Ceuta and travelled to the east in the 680s

<sup>4</sup> In the case of al-Andalus, we have a quantitative analysis relevant to this point. The *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, a monumental ‘Data Base’ of Andalusī authors, includes entries of 2,465 authors who were born in al-Andalus or came from other places and left their mark in al-Andalus. Of the 2,294 authors born in al-Andalus, 383 (i.e. 16.7%) travelled to al-Mashriq. On the other hand, only 40 Mashriqi-born authors were found on the intellectual scene of al-Andalus. See Lirola Delgado 2013, 22–32, 54–60.

H/1280s CE. After returning to the west with abundant knowledge which he had acquired from many Mashriqī scholars, he became a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar in Granada and Fez. In fact, the name of Ibn Rushayd appears in Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād*, but in his lecture in Cairo, he told that Ibn Rushayd transmitted *al-Muwaṭṭa'* from the scholars of Ceuta and al-Andalus, omitting their names, saying, "They are not in my memory at present".<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in Cairo, Ibn Khaldūn presented himself as a scholar based exclusively on the Maghribi tradition of knowledge. This might reflect his enduring attachment to al-Maghrib; in Cairo Ibn Khaldūn continued to dress in the Maghribi style and maintained contact with Maghribi rulers and scholars.<sup>6</sup> However, my objective here is not to examine this *isnād* from the viewpoint of his personality. Rather, my question is: What was the advantage of his Maghribi *isnād*? Was it accepted in Cairo, and, if accepted, how and to what degree?

## 2 Advantages of Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād*

Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād* has two advantages that could attract students. One is the fact that it goes back to Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī (152?–234 H/769?–849 CE), an influential scholar in 3rd/9th-century Córdoba. He travelled from al-Andalus to the east, learned directly from Mālik ibn Anas in Medina, and brought back his teachings to his homeland. It is said that there were 15 transmitted versions (*riwāyas*) of *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, as the author Mālik himself did not leave a definitive text and his work was transmitted by several of his disciples, including Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā. Of the 15 versions, Yaḥyā's was the most widespread, being one of the two surviving versions in their entirety in our days.<sup>7</sup> In his lecture, Ibn Khaldūn said that once Yaḥyā had introduced *al-Muwaṭṭa'* to the west, people were satisfied only with his version and abandoned the others, until everyone learned the Yaḥyā version in both the east and the west in Ibn Khaldūn's time.<sup>8</sup> It seems that the case was not so different in Cairo either. When enumerating various versions of *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, al-Suyūṭī (849–911 H/1445–1505 CE), a prolific scholar in 9th/15th-century Cairo, placed the Yaḥyā version above the others and gave the

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 310.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣr* (1998), 235; Fischel 1967, 23–25.

<sup>7</sup> Schacht, "Mālik b. Anas", *EF*, 6: 264.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 304–305.



most detailed accounts.<sup>9</sup> As Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā transmitted his version to his disciples in Córdoba, its *isnād* would naturally consist of the names of Maghribi scholars, especially Cordoban ones. To learn the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*, one needed to rely on the Maghribi tradition.

The second advantage lies in the line from Aḥmad Ibn Baqī (537–625 H/1143–1228 CE) to Ibn Hārūn al-Ṭāʿī (603–702 H/1207–1303 CE) among the many other lines in Ibn Khaldūn’s *isnād*. This line leads to Ibn Khaldūn by way of his four teachers: al-Wādī Āshī (673–749 H/1274–1348 CE), al-Ābilī (681–757 H/1282–1356 CE), Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (676–749 H/1277–8–1348 CE), and al-Balafīqī (680–771 H/1281–2–1370 CE). Ibn Khaldūn himself does not detail its advantage;<sup>10</sup> however, there are other Maghribi scholars who learned *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* with the same line of *isnād* and emphasized its value and excellence. For example, a scholar of Ceuta, al-Qāsim al-Tujībī (ca. 670–730 H/ca. 1271–1329–30 CE) recorded his *isnād* of the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*.<sup>11</sup> He learned it in Tunis from the elderly teacher Ibn Hārūn al-Ṭāʿī, who was probably more than 70 years old at the time judging from the birth years of the two. Ibn Hārūn, in his turn, had learned it from his teacher Ibn Baqī, again quite old. Al-Tujībī considers this line as a great and lofty one (*isnād jalīl ‘ālin*) because Ibn Hārūn was the last disciple of his teacher Ibn Baqī. Moreover, Ibn Baqī was the last disciple of his teacher Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Khazrajī (d. ca. 560 H/1164–5 CE), and al-Khazrajī and all the transmitters of earlier generations were also the last disciples of their respective teachers.<sup>12</sup> As is well known, the transmission of knowledge from an aged teacher is highly esteemed, especially in *ḥadīth* transmission, because it reduces the number of transmitters, thus drawing the disciple closer to the authority of the author or the Prophet Muḥammad.

In addition, the location where Ibn Hārūn learned from Ibn Baqī was also important. Al-Tujībī says that Ibn Baqī transmitted *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* to Ibn Hārūn between 617 H/1220–1 CE and 620 H/1223–4 CE “in the room of his ancestor Baqī ibn Makhlad – May God give him mercy – in Córdoba – May God restore it – (*bi-ghurfat jaddi-hi Baqī ibn Makhlad, raḥīma-hu Allāh ta‘ālā, bi-Qurṭuba, a‘āda-hā Allāh ta‘ālā*)”.<sup>13</sup> Baqī ibn Makhlad (201–276 H/817–889 CE) was a distinguished scholar in 3rd/9th-century Córdoba and his residence apparently remained in his

<sup>9</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Tazyīn al-mamālik* (2010), 113.

<sup>10</sup> He only describes this line as “lofty paths (*ṭuruq ‘āliya*)” in explanation of his learning from Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 19.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 53–54.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 54–55.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 53.

descendants' hands even in the 7th/13th century. Al-Tujībī also says that this *isnād* connected scholars to Mālik through native Cordobans (*al-Qurṭubīyyīn al-baladiyyīn*) because all the transmitters from Ibn Hārūn to Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā were Cordobans, and that the *isnād* is rare and precious (*nādir mustaṭraf*).<sup>14</sup> The Islamic city of Córdoba was conquered by the Christian king of Castile, Fernando III, in 633 H/1236 CE, only a dozen years after the transmission from Ibn Baqī to Ibn Hārūn. Therefore, Ibn Hārūn belonged to the last generation that could learn in Islamic Córdoba. Most likely the critical situation in his native town was why he emigrated from Córdoba to Tunis, though we do not know the details of his emigration. This line of *isnād* from Ibn Hārūn to Ibn Baqī must have brought back memories of the lost Islamic city of Córdoba for Muslim scholars.

Al-Tujībī is not the only scholar who exalted this *isnād*. Al-Wādī Āshī, one of Ibn Khaldūn's teachers, also said that he did not know at the time any *isnād* on earth loftier than this one (*mā a'lamu al-āna 'alā wajh al-arḍ a'lā min hādhā al-sanad*).<sup>15</sup> This *isnād* was highly appreciated and diffused in al-Maghrib, especially among those scholars who learned in Tunis where Ibn Hārūn emigrated to, taught, and died. Many Maghribi scholars shared the same *isnād* with Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>16</sup>

### 3 Acceptance of the Maghribi tradition in Cairo

Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād* was of particular advantage, at least in al-Maghrib. The question then arises whether this advantage was accepted as such in Cairo as well. Unfortunately, I could not identify any specific scholar who attended his lecture at the Ṣarghitmish *madrasa*. It is true that some scholars of Cairo, including the famous historian al-Maqrīzī (766–845 H/1364–1442 CE) and prominent *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773–852 H/1372–1449 CE), studied with Ibn Khaldūn in Cairo, especially his book on history. Also, Ibn Khaldūn's entry appears in the record of Ibn Ḥajar's learning, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*.<sup>17</sup> According to that, Ibn Khaldūn wrote an *ijāza* for Ibn Ḥajar, mentioning *al-Muwaṭṭa'* transmitted from

<sup>14</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 57.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Wādī Āshī, *Barnāmaj* (1980), 188.

<sup>16</sup> For example, see Ibn Rushayd, *Mil' al-'ayba* (1981), 144–145; al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq* (n.d.), 177–178.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas* (1992–94), 3: 159. This work is an adaptation of his record *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras*; the former is arranged by teachers from whom he learned while the latter by books that he studied.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām but without further details or *isnād*. It seems that Ibn Ḥajar did not really attend any lecture of *ḥadīth* by Ibn Khaldūn, just received the *ijāza*.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥajar learned the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa’* from another teacher with an *isnād* similar to that of Ibn Khaldūn. He shows his *isnād* in detail in the record of his learning, *al-Mu‘jam al-mufahras* and *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas* (Fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> According to that, he learned the Yaḥyā version from scholars both in Cairo and Damascus. One of his teachers in Cairo, Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī (709–800 H/1309-10–1398 CE), in turn, learned it from al-Wādī Āshī, i.e. one of Ibn Khaldūn’s teachers in Tunis.<sup>20</sup> The *isnād* continues to al-Wādī Āshī’s teacher, Ibn Hārūn, and then to the Cordoban Ibn Baqī. Although Ibn Ḥajar did not include Ibn Khaldūn among his teachers of *al-Muwaṭṭa’*, he definitely shared the *isnād* with Ibn Khaldūn.

Ibn Ḥajar also recognized the advantage of this *isnād*. He cites a remark by al-Wādī Āshī, which was transmitted from his teacher Ibn al-Kharrāṭ: “There are two advantages (*maziyyatān*) in the *isnād* of Ibn Hārūn. One of them is that all the men in the *isnād* are Cordobans (*Qurṭubiyyūn*) until Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā. The other is that there is no *ijāza* in it”. He also cites a similar remark by Abū Ḥayyān, which was transmitted by another teacher of his, al-Tanūkhī.<sup>21</sup> Ibn Ḥajar and his teachers in Cairo well understood the advantage of the *isnād* as the Cordoban tradition.

**18** Al-Sakhāwī records names of some other scholars who learned from Ibn Khaldūn. One of them, Ibn al-Shammā‘ (791–863 H/1389–1459 CE), learned *ḥadīth* from him, but al-Sakhāwī does not detail it. There were others who received an *ijāza* from Ibn Khaldūn. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’* (1353–55 H), 9: 142. See also Rosenthal 2000.

**19** Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Mu‘jam al-mufahras* (1998), 36–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma‘ al-mu‘assas* (1992–94), 1: 106–108; 2: 540–542.

**20** When al-Sakhāwī described Ibn Ḥajar’s learning of the Yaḥyā version, he mentioned only al-Tanūkhī as a transmitter. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir* (1999), 1: 245. This is probably due to the significance of al-Tanūkhī among the other teachers of Ibn Ḥajar.

**21** Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Mu‘jam al-mufahras* (1998), 37.



Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa'* from a Maghribi scholar, al-Wādī Āshī. The latter was born in Tunis and probably learned the Yaḥyā version in his native town from two Andalusi scholars, Ibn al-Ghammāz and Ibn Hārūn. Afterwards, he travelled to the east twice; hence, he was called *ṣāhib al-riḥlatayn*, or man of two travels.<sup>23</sup> During these travels, he learned from many Mashriqī scholars and brought back a lot of knowledge to the west as is the usual case with Maghribi scholars, and he also taught and transmitted the Maghribi tradition of knowledge to Mashriqī scholars. He transmitted the Yaḥyā version to Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī on the occasion of his second travel, which begins in 734 H/1333-4 CE.<sup>24</sup> The other teacher of al-Tanūkhī, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (654–745 H/1256–1344 CE), was a scholar from the west, too. He is primarily famous as a grammarian but also acquired knowledge from many other fields, including *ḥadīth*. Born in Granada, he left al-Andalus around 679 H/1280 CE and travelled to the east. On his way, he stopped in Tunis, where he learned the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa'* from the Cordoban immigrant Ibn Hārūn. After the pilgrimage to Mecca, he settled in Cairo, where, seemingly, al-Tanūkhī learned from him.

Of course, these two teachers of al-Tanūkhī were not the first to travel from the west to the east. Maghribi scholars had come to al-Mashriq in much earlier periods and transmitted the Maghribi tradition of knowledge. Again, according to Ibn Ḥajar, his teacher al-Tanūkhī transmitted the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa'* to him with a line of *isnād* which goes back to a 5th/11th-century Andalusi scholar, al-Ḥumaydī (420–488 H/1029–1095 CE).<sup>25</sup> Born in the Majorca island, he travelled to the east for the pilgrimage in 440 H/1048-9 CE. After visiting Cairo, Damascus, and other cities, he finally settled in Baghdad. There, he transmitted the Yaḥyā version to his disciples. Another teacher of Ibn Ḥajar, Najm al-Dīn al-Bālisī (730–804 H/1329-30–1401 CE) had an *isnād* that went back to Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (451–520 H/1059?–1126 CE). This prolific Andalusi scholar travelled to the east in 476 H/1083 CE and established himself in Alexandria. He transmitted the Yaḥyā version to his pupil Abū Ṭāhir Ibn 'Awf (485–581 H/1092-3–1185-6 CE), who was from a famous intellectual family in Alexandria and was related to him by marriage.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 18.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (n.d.), 4: 34. Al-Wādī Āshī also left his traits in other Mashriqī cities besides Cairo. For example, he visited Hejaz and transmitted the Yaḥyā version to Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE) in Medina in 746 H/1345-6 CE. See Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1996), 401.

<sup>25</sup> See Adang's article included in this volume.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1996), 155–157.

When the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿa* was transmitted to the east, a Mashriqī pupil needed to meet a Maghribi teacher. Such an encounter, however, always happened in the east, in Alexandria, Medina, Baghdad, and above all in Cairo. Maghribi scholars had much reason to travel to the east, either for the pilgrimage or the learning. Therefore, Mashriqī pupils could only expect that their future instructors would come to their country and bring them the Maghribi tradition of knowledge so that they do not need to take pains to travel to the west. Ibn Khaldūn was just one of those Maghribi scholars who travelled from the west to the east.

Finally, to what degree was the Maghribi tradition of knowledge valuable in Cairo? Ibn Khaldūn often compared knowledge to commodities (*baḍāʿi*).<sup>27</sup> Following his comparison, we may say that the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿa* was a speciality of al-Maghrib, which was not produced in al-Mashriq. Therefore, scholars of Cairo were eager to acquire it and Maghribi scholars could teach it or, we may say, “sell” it as a Maghribi speciality. When Ibn Khaldūn chose the Yaḥyā version for his lecture at the Ṣarghitmish *madrassa*, he probably took this point into consideration. He knew what students in Cairo expected from a Maghribi teacher.<sup>28</sup>

In Cairo, however, scholars could easily acquire specialities from other regions. Ibn Ḥajar learned six more versions of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿa* besides the Maghribi Yaḥyā version. One of them, *riwāya* of Abū Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī (150–242 H/767–8–857 CE), was transmitted to him by Badr al-Dīn al-Bālisī (721–803 H/1321–1401 CE) in Ṣāliḥiyya quarter of Damascus’s suburbs. Abū Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī was a disciple of Mālik ibn Anas, like Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, but unlike Yaḥyā, he was a scholar of Medina; hence, as a matter of course, Maghribi transmitters’ names do not appear in its *isnād* to the Damascene Badr al-Dīn al-Bālisī.<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ḥajar did not need any

27 For example, he described the prosperity of Egypt during the reign of Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, saying: “Holders of the commodities (*al-baḍāʿi*), including intellectuals and merchants, travelled to Egypt”. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 319.

28 Actually, Mashriqī scholars did not lack interest in Maghribi tradition. They included some entries of Andalusī traditionists in their biographical works, though the percentage of Andalusī fluctuates according to the works or the ages. Around one third of the 6th–7th/12th–13th-century traditionists recorded in *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* by al-Dhahabī are Andalusī, while their percentage is extremely low in the same compiler’s *Mizān al-iʿtidāl*. See Fierro/Zanón 1988; Vizcaíno 1990.

29 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras* (1998), 37–38.

Maghribi tradition of knowledge for this version although it was transmitted even in the West, as documented by Ibn ‘Aṭiyya (d. 541 H/1147 CE) in his *Fihris*.<sup>30</sup>

In this regard, Ibn Khaldūn’s predecessor at Ṣarḡhitmish *madrasa*, Naṣr Allāh al-Baḡhdādī (733–812 H/1332–3–1409 CE), might be relevant. He was born in Baḡhdad, almost a contemporary to Ibn Khaldūn. He studied in his hometown and became famous particularly for his knowledge of *ḥadīth*. He was even appointed as a professor of *ḥadīth* at the prestigious Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* of Baḡhdad. Immediately after he emigrated to Cairo in 790 H/1388 CE over fears of Timur’s invasion, he was successively appointed as a professor of *ḥadīth* and Ḥanbalī law at several *madrasas*, including Ṣarḡhitmish *madrasa*.<sup>31</sup>

Ṣarḡhitmish *madrasa* was founded in 757 H/1356 CE by Mamlūk *amīr* Ṣarḡhitmish, who was inclined to the Ḥanafī school of law and non-Arab foreigners (*‘ajam*). Its endowment deeds (*waqfiyya*) stipulated clauses fostering the teachings of Ḥanafī school to foreign students. According to Leonor Fernandes, such learning institutions were founded by sultans and *amīrs* to attract prominent scholars from other countries so that Cairo would be the centre of the Muslim world.<sup>32</sup> At present, I am not aware whether such an intention was the case with the appointments of Ibn Khaldūn and Naṣr Allāh al-Baḡhdādī, as both taught *ḥadīth* not Ḥanafī law and were never *‘ajam*. Nonetheless, both were foreigners in Cairo and brought specialities of their own countries. Naṣr Allāh al-Baḡhdādī could likely have transmitted the Iraqī tradition of knowledge, just as Ibn Khaldūn transmitted the Maghribi tradition of knowledge.

Cairo was certainly an intellectual centre with an extensive array of traditions of knowledge, which attracted many scholars from various countries. They could enjoy a wide variety of knowledge there. In turn, they further enriched the intellectual milieu of the Mamlūk capital by carrying with them knowledges that had been transmitted to them in their own countries. In such a city, the valuable Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa’*, even with the memories of the lost Islamic city of Córdoba, would be just another speciality.

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<sup>30</sup> See Fórneas 1992. The transmission of Abū Muṣ‘ab’s version in al-Andalus can be found in Maribel Fierro, dir., *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores de al-Andalus (HATA)* at <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/>. I am much obliged to Maribel Fierro for information on the *riwāya* of Abū Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhri.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1986), 6: 196–197; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd* (2002), 5: 503; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1353–55 H), 10: 198.

<sup>32</sup> Fernandes 1987, 98.

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Maribel Fierro

# Mālikī Jurists from the Maghrib and al-Andalus in Post-Fāṭimid Egypt

Al-Rā'ī al-Gharnāṭī was a grammarian, poet and jurist from Naṣrid Granada who settled in Egypt, where he died in 853 H/1450 CE,<sup>1</sup> one of many Andalusī scholars who emigrated from their homeland. The *riḥla* or travel for study had long been a common practice among Andalusī scholars, and, in the early centuries of al-Andalus, had in some cases resulted in their permanently settling abroad for a variety of reasons.<sup>2</sup> From the 6th/12th century onwards, however, migration increased alongside rising internal dissension back home. For example, the traditionalist Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Muzayn al-Qurṭubī (578–656 H/1182–1258 CE) embarked on the pilgrimage in 618 H/1221 CE, almost ten years after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 609 H/1212 CE. The landmark battle, won by the Christians, ushered in the disintegration of Almohad rule in the Iberian Peninsula, with Ibn Hūd al-Judhāmī rebelling against them in 625 H/1228 CE. Ibn Muzayn al-Qurṭubī eventually settled in Alexandria, never to return, and complained in his writings about the chaos and violence that reigned inside al-

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1 Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Rā'ī al-Gharnāṭī al-Andalusī al-Maghribī al-Qāhirī al-Naḥwī al-Mālikī (ca. 782–853 H/1380–1450 CE). For more on him, see El Bazi 2012.

2 Gellens 1990; Ávila 2002. The migratory movements of Andalusī scholars can now be studied thanks to the database “Prosopography of the ‘*ulamā*’ of al-Andalus (PUA)” (directed by María Luisa Ávila), accessible online at <https://www.eea.csic.es/pua>. A partial overview can be found in Lirola Delgado *et al.* 2013.

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**Note:** This paper was read at the Sixth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies, Waseda University, Tokyo, 15–17 June 2019. I wish to thank Professor Kentaro Sato for his kind invitation to participate in the panel *Intellectual activities across the regions in the Mamluk period: Views from al-Andalus and Khurasan*, in which this paper was included. Research for the paper has been conducted within the project *Local contexts and global dynamics: al-Andalus and the Maghreb in the Islamic East* (FFI2016-78878-R AEI/FEDER, UE), which I co-direct alongside Mayte Penelas with funding from the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. It is part of a wider study on the Mālikī legal school from its origins to the 9th/15th century that I am currently working on during my stay at the University of Exeter as Visiting al-Qasimi Professor in Islamic Studies (2019–2020), this paper being a first overview of the subject. My thanks to Luis Molina, Yaacov Lev and Víctor de Castro for their help. Nicholas Callaway has revised the English text.

Andalus, with women being raped and many inhabitants murdered.<sup>3</sup> It was not only the internal tensions in the Almohad caliphate, but more importantly, the growing threat from the Christian kingdoms as their advancing armies conquered Muslim lands, all of this contributing to an increase in Andalusī scholars emigrating to settle abroad.<sup>4</sup> In 1492, nearly three centuries after Las Navas de Tolosa, and forty-two years after al-Rā'ī al-Gharnāṭī's death, the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada fell, putting an end to Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula. But the 'push' factor was also combined with a 'pull' factor: the job opportunities that scholars from different Islamic regions found in the Mamlūk sultanate, but also earlier, in the lands under Ayyūbid rule where a process of 'Sunnitization' after the fall of the Fāṭimids was taking place.<sup>5</sup> Many traveling Andalusī and Maghribī scholars were attracted to stay. Among them, the rate of success in finding employment was high, especially for those who, trained in Almohad times, had developed specific skills in writing didactic poems and encyclopaedic works, which effectively met the needs of the *madrāsas* and the cultivated elites.<sup>6</sup> Al-Rā'ī al-Gharnāṭī became a grammar instructor in Cairo, writing pedagogical works on the subject, as well as a biography of the Andalusī poet Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī (a Jewish convert to Islam), whose verses had a profound impact in the East.

Al-Rā'ī al-Gharnāṭī also wrote *Intiṣār al-faqīr al-sālik li-tarjih madhhab al-imām al-kabīr Mālik*, a book that accumulates arguments in favor of the Mālikīs' superiority over the other legal schools.<sup>7</sup> He recorded, for example, a Prophetic *ḥadīth* stating that the people of the Maghrib would continue on the path of truth until the coming of the Hour, as ensured by their adoption of Mālikism. He also praised the merits of the Medinese Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H/795 CE), considered the eponymous founder of the school, adding that on his thigh it was written "in the writing of Divine Power, 'Mālik is Allāh's proof against His creation'", and that Mālik and God possessed a shared secret.<sup>8</sup> Al-Rā'ī's *Intiṣār al-faqīr al-sālik* fits well into what we know about the competition between the legal schools under the Mamlūks, and especially between Mālikīs and Shāfī'īs, as Shāfī'ism had

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3 Kaddouri 2005–2006; Belaid/Kaddouri 2012.

4 Pouzet 1975; Romero 1989; Marín 1995.

5 I suggested for the first time this 'push' factor in Fierro 1997, 504.

6 I have dealt with these skills in lectures delivered at SOAS (London) in 2011, at the École des Hautes Études in Sciences Sociales (Paris) in 2012, at the Université Louvaine-la-Neuve in 2013, and at Pompeu Fabra University and Göttingen University in 2019. My publication on didacticism and encyclopaedism under the Almohads is forthcoming.

7 Al-Rā'ī, *Intiṣār al-faqīr* (1981). The English translation by Dutton 2007 has been reviewed by Maribel Fierro in *Islamic Law and Society* 16, 2009, 231–233.

8 Al-Rā'ī, *Intiṣār al-faqīr* (2007), 51, 65.

always represented the main challenge to the foundations of the Mālikī legal school.<sup>9</sup> Al-Rāʿī's text, like that of Ḥanafī scholar al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 758 H/1357 CE) a century earlier,<sup>10</sup> looked for state support in order to give predominance to a specific legal school over the rest. In al-Rāʿī's text, a Mālikī debates with a Shāfiʿī about the relative merits of their schools. The Mālikī starts by stating that all four *madhāhib* are true and good, but that the Shāfiʿī should acknowledge the Mālikī school's superiority. Immediately afterwards, al-Rāʿī quotes the story of how the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158 H/754–775 CE) intended to write Mālik's *Muwattaʿa* in gold letters and have it hung on the Kaʿba to make people follow it, but Mālik refused. Regret was expressed for the missed opportunity, lamenting that had the caliph carried out his plan, he would have “removed all the confusion and prejudice between people”.<sup>11</sup> For all his apparent acknowledgment of the equal value of the Sunnī legal schools, al-Rāʿī clearly believes that Mālikism should triumph over the rest – a position unsurprising among Andalusi and Maghribī Mālikīs given that in North Africa and al-Andalus they had never had to deal with competition in the legal sphere. There, the other legal schools – contrary to the situation in Mamlūk Egypt – were almost completely absent, a prevalent position that the Mālikīs had acquired, among other reasons, because of state support. As Ibn Ḥazm had put it, both Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs had initially prevailed under the 'Abbāsīds and the Cordoban Umayyads, respectively, because of a combination of *riyāsa* and *sulṭa*.<sup>12</sup>

The intensity of the competition among the Sunnī legal schools reflected in writings such as those of al-Ṭarsūsī and al-Rāʿī was linked to the Mamlūk policy of accommodating all four legal schools in their judicial system – a policy unheard of in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. Some two hundred years before al-Rāʿī's death, in 665 H/1265 CE, the Mamlūk ruler Baybars had granted representation to the four Sunnī schools of law, entitling each of them to have their own judge. Baybars first established this system in Cairo, followed by Damascus, Aleppo,

<sup>9</sup> Brunschvig 1950; Fierro 2005.

<sup>10</sup> Winter 2001.

<sup>11</sup> Al-Rāʿī, *Intiṣār al faqīr* (2007), 72–73.

<sup>12</sup> Quotation of Ibn Ḥazm in al-Ḥumaydī's (d. 488 H/1095 CE) *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*. See al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-muqtabis* (1952), no. 908 (biography of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī). One exception occurred under the Fāṭimids: during the Aghlabid period, Ḥanafīs co-existed with Mālikīs in Ifriqiya (Tunis), but during the Fāṭimid caliphate, the former disappeared from the scene; their collaboration with the new Shīʿī/Ismāʿīlī rulers led some to convert to their doctrines, while popular support went to the Mālikīs. The Fāṭimids, moreover, renounced imposing Ismāʿīlī law in its totality on their subjects (cf. below note 14).

Tripoli and Hama.<sup>13</sup> A similar system, which some consider to have functioned as a precedent, had already been established in 525 H/1130 CE during the Fāṭimid period under the rule of vizier Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad al-Afḍal Kutayfāt (d. 526 H/1131 CE), although in that case the four sanctioned legal traditions were the Ismā‘īlī, the Imāmī, the Shāfi‘ī and the Mālikī schools.<sup>14</sup> After the Fāṭimid case, the Šāliḥiyya *madrasa*, established in 641 H/1243 CE during the rule of Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, also included representatives of the four legal schools. In the plural judicial system initiated by Baybars in 665 H/1265 CE, the Shāfi‘ī judge had a more prominent position than the rest, as shown by the fact that he sat first to the right of the Mamlūk sultan and had sole jurisdiction over such matters as the execution of wills and the management of the property of orphans.

Baybars’s decision has been subject to different interpretations. Both Escovitz and Jackson have pointed out that it could be seen as a further development of a prior decision of his in 661 H/1263 CE, when he ordered the Shāfi‘ī judge Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-A‘azz – known for his hesitations in executing legal decisions outside his own school – to choose three delegate judges from among the other legal schools who would help him when dealing with cases that involved non-Shāfi‘īs. For Yossef Rapoport, the aim was to create a uniform and, at the same time, flexible legal system.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, the need for predictable and stable legal rules was addressed by limiting the *qāḍīs’* discretion and promoting *taqlīd*, that is, adherence to established school doctrine. On the other hand, the plurality of judges allowed for flexibility and prevented the legal system from becoming too rigid. Rapoport indicates how royal deeds of appointments “instruct Chief *Qāḍīs* to follow the established doctrines of their schools, as expressed by the authoritative compilations or *mukhtaṣars*, and to avoid non-standard interpretations”.<sup>16</sup> Thus, for example, one 8th/14th-century scholar indicated that a Mālikī judge had to follow the opinions attributed to the 2nd/8th-century Egyptian scholar Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191 H/806 CE), disregarding those espoused by later

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**13** Escovitz 1982; Jackson 1995.

**14** Allouche 1985. Al-Afḍal’s appointment of the four judges seems to have been motivated by the legal disagreements between Ismā‘īlīs, Imāmīs (privileged by the vizier) and the Sunnī legal schools regarding inheritance matters, with the Sunnīs afterwards being allowed to apply the norms specific to their own school. The Andalusī jurist al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520 H/1126 CE), who had settled in Alexandria, is said to have gotten the vizier al-Baḡā‘īhī (515–519 H/1121–1125 CE) to agree not to have Fāṭimid inheritance laws apply to the Sunnī population, and for the government not to seize properties without legal heirs. See Lev 1991, 138 note 21, and 197.

**15** Rapoport 2003.

**16** Rapoport 2003, 216.

jurists such as the Andalusī Abū ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (368–463 H/978–1071 CE) or the Egyptian al-Qarāfi (626–684 H/1228–1285 CE).<sup>17</sup>

The names and number of judges who acted in this manner for each legal school after Baybars’s innovation have been reconstructed by Kamal S. Salibi.<sup>18</sup> However, to my knowledge, there is no monograph on the Mālikī legal school under Mamlūk rule nor on Egyptian Mālikism in general.<sup>19</sup> What follows is a summary of what seems to be the standard understanding.

Mālikīs had been a strong presence in early Islamic Egypt, boasting seminal scholars such Ibn al-Qāsim and Ibn Wahb (d. 197 H/813 CE), among many others who had studied with Mālik b. Anas.<sup>20</sup> In this early stage, ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214 H/829 CE) wrote a *Mukhtaṣar*,<sup>21</sup> unusual at the time because of the effort for systematization, that enjoyed popularity in later times.<sup>22</sup> The first judge identified as a Mālikī was from 184 H/800 CE.<sup>23</sup> According to Ahmed El Shamsy, Egyptian Mālikīs were connected to what he calls the dominant “exclusive class of Arab notables”. Later, Egyptian Mālikīs faced a growing challenge from the Ḥanafī school, which prevailed at the ‘Abbāsīd court in Baghdad. This was achieved in particular via Ḥanafī officials dispatched to Egypt by the ‘Abbāsīds, who “particularly when serving as judges, did occasionally attempt to influence legal practice in Egypt in the direction of Hanafi doctrines. However ... Hanafism did not initially succeed in gaining a permanent foothold in Egyptian society”.<sup>24</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204 H/820 CE), a former student of Mālik b. Anas, settled in Egypt, and eventually Shāfi‘ism gained more and more adepts in the region.<sup>25</sup> According

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**17** Rapoport 2003, 215.

**18** Salibi 1957. The figures provided are not absolute, as some of the judges enjoyed multiple periods in office. Thus, the 90 Shāfi‘īs listed are in reality 55, the 55 Ḥanafīs are 44, the 51 Mālikīs are 36 and the 25 Ḥanbalīs are 19.

**19** It is only addressed by Ahmed Bekir in his *Histoire de l'École malikite en Orient jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, a book that is in many ways unsatisfactory in terms of the information provided, and should be updated and expanded.

**20** Cf. Brockopp 2011, questioning the extent to which such early jurists can appropriately be labeled as Mālikīs. More generally see Melchert 1997.

**21** Studied by Brockopp 2000.

**22** For example, in al-Andalus its transmission is attested in the 7th/13th century, having been studied by Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Raḥīma al-Kinānī al-Shāṭibī (614–699 H/1217–1299 CE). I have taken this information from the *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores de al-Andalus (HATA)*, available online at <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/>.

**23** Al-Kindī, *Akhbār* (2012), 29.

**24** El Shamsy 2017.

**25** The complex process that led to this situation has been analyzed more thoroughly in El Shamsy 2013.

to El Shamsy, the majority of al-Shāfi‘ī’s early followers in Egypt would have been non-Arab clients (*mawālī*),

who had converted to Islam and been incorporated into the social and cultural network of an Arab tribe but whose status within the social hierarchy remained largely subordinate. As a consequence, the clients’ self-image was not as closely wedded to the Maliki notion of a continuous normative communal tradition, and they were more open to the merits of al-Shafi‘ī’s textualist approach which, in effect, leveled the playing field between Arabs and non-Arabs.<sup>26</sup>

In El Shamsy’s view, the eventual loss of power and influence on the part of the Mālikīs – both to the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfi‘īs – was thus connected to the loss of power of the old Arab elites. As tribal loyalties dissolved, non-Arabs rose to prominence, and the centralizing ‘Abbāsīd policies undermined local autonomy. Shāfi‘ism in particular “offered several advantages in this context: it was allied with neither the imperial centre nor the old Egyptian social order, and its textualism, which divorced law from particular local settings and located the fount of normativity in a disembodied corpus of canonical texts, fitted the needs of the essentially rootless Turkic newcomers”, such as the Ṭūlūnids, who “sought not only political independence but also an independent basis of Islamic legitimacy, which was ideally provided by Shafi‘ī doctrine”.<sup>27</sup>

To my knowledge, there is no study comparing the numbers of Mālikī scholars in Egypt with those of Ḥanafīs and Shāfi‘īs for this early period, but I take from El Shamsy’s study that the Shāfi‘īs began to outnumber the Mālikīs by as early as the 4th/10th century. If this is correct, Mālikīs’ numbers would have already begun to decline even before the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt. However, when Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu‘izz moved to Egypt in 362 H/973 CE, the judge in old Cairo was still a Mālikī, Abū al-Ṭāhir al-Dhuhlī (d. 368 H/978 CE), and he was left in his post. After his death, the Ismā‘īlī Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān became judge of Egypt, and there would be no further Mālikī judges in Egypt until the collapse of the Fāṭimid caliphate, except for the brief initiative by al-Afḍal Kutayfāt mentioned above.

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<sup>26</sup> El Shamsy 2017.

<sup>27</sup> El Shamsy 2017. The decline of Mālikism in Egypt under the Ṭūlūnids (254–292 H/868–905 CE) was not paralleled in the central lands of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate, as evidenced by the cases of Mālikī jurists such as the famous Qāḍī Ismā‘īl al-Baghdādī (199–282 H/815–895 CE), al-Abharī (d. 395 H/1004 CE) and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403 H/1013 CE). Another important figure in Eastern Mālikism during this period was Ibn al-Jallāb al-Baṣrī (d. 378 H/988 CE).

During the Fāṭimid period, both Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs survived, as shown by the studies of Thierry Bianquis and Delia Cortese.<sup>28</sup> Each of these schools boasted an important non-Egyptian figure, both of whom settled in Alexandria:<sup>29</sup> the Iranian Shāfi'ī Abū al-Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576 H/1180 CE),<sup>30</sup> and the Andalusi Mālikī Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520 H/1126 CE). Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī, as mentioned above,<sup>31</sup> campaigned for the Sunnī population of Fāṭimid Egypt to be allowed to follow their own inheritance practices, and became a popular teacher credited with spreading Mālikism in Alexandria. He is moreover said to have merged the Eastern and Western branches of the Mālikī legal school.<sup>32</sup>

Mālikism continued to prosper under the Ayyūbids, who ruled Egypt between 567 H/1171 CE and 648 H/1250 CE.<sup>33</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) himself visited Alexandria with his two sons to hear local Mālikī scholar Ibn 'Awf (d. 581 H/1185 CE), a student of al-Ṭurṭūshī, who taught and commented on Mālik's *Muwatta'*. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's famous secretary al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil compared the visit to Hārūn al-Rashīd's trip to Medina with his two sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn to hear the *Muwatta'* from Mālik himself.<sup>34</sup> In this period, an Egyptian scholar, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Shāsh al-Judhāmī al-Sa'dī (d. 616 H/1219 CE),<sup>35</sup> wrote a work on Mālikī positive law, the *Kitāb al-Jawāhir al-thamīna fī madhhab 'ālim al-madīna*. The book drew heavily on Andalusi and Maghribi Mālikī sources, with which the author was obviously familiar.<sup>36</sup> Maghribi and Andalusi scholars such as the aforementioned Ibn Muzayn al-Qurṭubī<sup>37</sup> settled in Egypt at a time when significant numbers of religious figures – not only jurists but also traditionists, Qur'ānic readers, grammarians and specialists in other disciplines, as well as Ṣūfis – were making Egypt their new home.<sup>38</sup> As Denis Gril has stated: “Après avoir beaucoup reçu jadis de l'Orient, al-Andalus et

<sup>28</sup> Bianquis 1975; Cortese 2012.

<sup>29</sup> Leiser 1999; Walker 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Ṣāliḥ 1977. Many were the Andalusi and Maghribi scholars who attended his classes, as Alexandria was situated along the pilgrimage routes from the Maghrib; see Ibn Azzuz 1432/2011.

<sup>31</sup> See note 14.

<sup>32</sup> On al-Ṭurṭūshī's biography see the introductory study in Fierro 1993. On how his tract against innovations reflects a Mālikī rejection of Fāṭimid practices, see Fierro 2017.

<sup>33</sup> El Shamsy 2013, 144.

<sup>34</sup> Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn* (1956), 1/2: 24; Leiser 1976, 138–140.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE) includes his biography in *al-Dibāj al-mudhhab fī ma'rifat a'yān 'ulamā' al-madhhab*. See Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1972), 1: 290–291; see also Kaḥḥāla 1957–61, 6: 158; Brockelmann 1943–49, SI: 538.

<sup>36</sup> As can be corroborated in Ibn Shās, *Iqd al-jawāhir* (1995; repr. 2003).

<sup>37</sup> See note 3.

<sup>38</sup> Hofer 2015; McGregor 2004; Zouihal 2017.



*le Magreb donnent naissance à des foyers de spiritualité qui irradient à leur tour vers leur origine*".<sup>39</sup> Again, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's religious policies were crucial in this trend.<sup>40</sup>

Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis were a minority under the Ayyūbids, and the Ḥanbalis continued to be under the Mamlūks. However, the numbers of Ḥanafis increased, especially after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad (656 H/1258 CE), when many Eastern refugees fled to Egypt. Mālikīs still outnumbered Ḥanafis in the early Baḥrī Mamlūk period, but the numbers of Ḥanafis increased due to the fact that the Mamlūks themselves were followers of the school considered to have been founded by the Iraqi Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 H/767 CE). For the 9th/15th century, although we do not have statistics that specifically address the representation of the *madhhabs* in the Egyptian legal domain,<sup>41</sup> the available evidence – such as Salibi's study on the affiliation of the chief judges of Mamlūk Egypt – indicates the predominance of Shāfi'īs and the growing number of Ḥanafis. This situation explains al-Rā'ī's interest and effort in promoting the Mālikī legal school.

The Ottomans began to rule Egypt in 922 H/1517 CE, sixty-seven years after al-Rā'ī's death. According to Michael Winter, the Mālikī *madhhab* in Egypt was at that time an extension of North African Mālikism, being largely associated with populations which were either foreign (the Maghribis)<sup>42</sup> or lived in outlying provinces, such as the Sa'īd (Upper Egypt).<sup>43</sup>

The shifting fortunes of Mālikism in Egypt can be quantitatively traced through the information provided by two Mālikī *ṭabaqāt* works:<sup>44</sup>

- *Tartīb al-madārik li-ma'rifat a'lām madhhab Mālik*, by the North African Qāḍī 'Iyāq (d. 544 H/1149 CE).<sup>45</sup> It records 1569 biographies from the early period to the time of its author, of which 1149 are from the Maghrib<sup>46</sup> and al-Andalus, and 194 from Egypt.

<sup>39</sup> Gril 1986, 26–27.

<sup>40</sup> Hofer 2017, 53–54.

<sup>41</sup> Such representation is absent from Petry 1981.

<sup>42</sup> On the long-lasting presence of Maghribis in Egypt see Walker 2008; Ḥanafī 2005; Mus'ad 2002.

<sup>43</sup> Winter 1992, 110–111.

<sup>44</sup> Although it is debatable whether some of the scholars included in the list should rightly be considered Mālikis; see above note 20 and below on the case of Ḥumayd.

<sup>45</sup> Qāḍī 'Iyāq, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1403/1983).

<sup>46</sup> The Maghrib refers to North Africa, including Ifriqiya (Tunis), al-Maghrib al-awsaṭ (Algeria) and al-Maghrib al-aqṣā (Morocco).

- *Al-Dībāj al-mudhhab fī ma‘rifat a‘yān ‘ulamā’ al-madhhab* by the Medinese jurist of Maghribi origin Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE).<sup>47</sup> It records 630 biographies from the early period to the time of its author,<sup>48</sup> of which 62 are Egyptians, and 447 from the Maghrib (125) and al-Andalus (322).

In the case of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, the decline in the number of Mālikīs in Egypt after al-Shāfi‘ī and after the Fāṭimid conquest is very clearly reflected (see Fig. 1 below).<sup>49</sup> In the case of Ibn Farḥūn, although he includes a much smaller number of entries than Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, his results for the period until 470 H are equivalent, with an almost complete absence of Mālikīs in Egypt during the pre-Ṭurṭūshī Fāṭimid period, and a noticeable increase from the period 530–560 H onwards, with two peaks: the period 620–650 H (late Ayyūbid) and 680–710 H (under the Baḥrī Mamlūks) (see Fig. 2 below).<sup>50</sup>

But who were the Mālikīs active in Egypt after al-Ṭurṭūshī? Were they from Egypt or did they migrate there? And in the latter case, where did they come from? I will concentrate here on the information found in Ibn Farḥūn’s work. For the period between 530 H and 790 H, the total number of Egyptian jurists (scholars who were born and died in Egypt) is 31.<sup>51</sup> They are distributed as follows:

1. *Ṭabaqa* XIII (6th/12th century, died between 530–560 H) Egypt: 1
2. *Ṭabaqa* XIV (6th/12th century, died between 560–590 H) Egypt: 1
3. *Ṭabaqa* XV (6th–7th/12th–13th century, died between 590–620 H) Egypt: 3
4. *Ṭabaqa* XVI (7th/13th century, died between 620–650 H) Egypt: 5
5. *Ṭabaqa* XVII (7th/13th century, died between 650–680 H) Egypt: 2
6. *Ṭabaqa* XVIII (7th–8th/13th–14th century, died between 680–710 H) Egypt: 7
7. *Ṭabaqa* XIX (8th/14th century, died between 710–740 H) Egypt: 5

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj* (1423/2003). In the following notes I refer to the 1423/2003 edition of Ibn Farḥūn’s *Dībāj* as DM.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Farḥūn’s contemporary Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) is not included. On Ibn Khaldūn’s views on the legal situation in Egypt see Morimoto 2002.

<sup>49</sup> I wish to thank Luis Molina for his help in preparing the charts. For the early period, the results offered here can be put into the wider perspective presented by Bernards/Nawas 2003.

<sup>50</sup> When referring to the scholars belonging to these *ṭabaqāt* only Hijri dates are given.

<sup>51</sup> DM, 1: 123–124, no. 28; 205–208, no. 123; 209, no. 124; 211–213, no. 126; 213, no. 127; 217, no. 131; 218, no. 132; 224, no. 140; 225–226, no. 141; 253–254, no. 256; 257–259, no. 169; 272–273, no. 184; 291, no. 201; 312–313, no. 223; 349–351, no. 253; 390, no. 283; 394–395, no. 289; 396, no. 290; DM, 2: 21, no. 333; 40, no. 345; 57–58, no. 358; 68, no. 364; 73–74, no. 368; 77–82, no. 375; 110–111, no. 407; 111–112, no. 409; 297–298, no. 564; 300, no. 567; 300, no. 568; 302, no. 570; 305–306, no. 576.

8. *Ṭabaqa XX* (8th/14th century, died between 740–790 H) Egypt: 7

Of these 31 Egyptian Mālikīs, four of them are of Maghribi origin:<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 636 H),<sup>53</sup> al-Qarāfī (d. 684 H),<sup>54</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Masīlī (d. 744 H),<sup>55</sup> and ‘Īsā b. Makhluṭ b. ‘Īsā al-Maghribī (d. 746 H).<sup>56</sup> Nothing is said about their ancestors who came from the Maghrib, nor the circumstances that brought them to Egypt and made them settle there. Given the close connections of the Fāṭimids with North Africa and also the Ayyūbids’ intervention in the area,<sup>57</sup> these North African origins are not surprising. More striking is that none of these Egyptian Mālikīs have Andalusī origins, which seems to indicate that the Andalusīs who settled in Egypt did not produce local scholars, at least not of any renown.<sup>58</sup>

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52 Perhaps also Idrīs b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Ṣanhājī, given the fact that his *nisba* refers to a North African Berber tribe: DM, 1: 269, no. 180.

53 DM, 1: 209, no. 124. He is not to be confused with the famous author of a commentary on al-Bukhārī who died in 923 H/1517 CE.

54 DM, 1: 205–208, no. 123. He is one of the most important Mālikī Egyptian scholars of the post-Fāṭimid period; see al-Sulamī 1990; al-Wakīlī 1996; Jackson 1996. One of his works, *al-Iḥkām fī tamyiz al-Fatāwā ‘an al-aḥkām wa-ṭaṣarrufāt al-qāḍī wa-l-imām*, has been translated into English by Mohammad H. Fadel with the title *The Criterion for Distinguishing Legal Opinions from Judicial Rulings and the Administrative Acts of Judges and Rulers*. His ancestors belonged to the Ṣanhāja Berber tribe and perhaps arrived in Egypt during the period of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s alliance with the Banū Ghāniya, the Ṣanhāja Almoravids who long held out against the Almohads in southern Ifrīqiya. Al-Qarāfī attended a Mālikī *madrasa* in Cairo, studying with Muḥammad b. ‘Umrān b. Mūsā, known as al-Sharīf al-Karakī (d. 688 H/1289 CE), a Mālikī jurist from Fez who had settled in Egypt, and ‘Uthmān b. Abī Bakr Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646 H/1249 CE) (see on him below note 76). He also had Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanbalī teachers, the most influential being the Shāfi‘ī ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 660 H/1262 CE), who was from Damascus but settled in Egypt, and wrote a work on legal canons that was imitated by al-Qarāfī in his *Qawā‘id*.

55 DM, 1: 396, no. 290.

56 DM, 2: 68, no. 364.

57 On this topic see Baadj 2015, and see also note 42 above. The Ayyūbids’ significant interest in Maghribi politics involved a number of aspects not limited to economic and military matters that deserve to be studied.

58 This is striking because in the Andalusī scholarly milieu one finds a large number of ‘*ulamā*’ families spanning several generations, indicating entrenched cultural practices that allowed fathers to successfully transmit their cultural and social capital to their descendants. The extent to which they were able to maintain such practices in a migratory context will be the object of another study.

The number of Maghribis mentioned by Ibn Farḥūn who settled in Egypt in the period considered here is nine.<sup>59</sup> Some among them were particularly productive and/or influential jurists such as Ibn al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī (d. 737 H/1336 CE), the author of the famous treatise against innovations, *Madkhal al-shar‘ al-sharīf (al-Madkhal)*, and al-Rahūnī (d. 775 H), who taught at *madrasas* in Cairo and wrote a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājj’s *mukhtaṣar* (on which, see below). Ibn Jumayl (d. 715 H), in turn, acted as judge in both Alexandria and Cairo, where he died, while al-Zawāwī (d. 717 H) lived in Egypt and was later a judge in Damascus. Al-Zawāwī al-Manklātī, from Tunis (d. 743 H), appears to have been the most successful of all of them: he was a judge in Damascus and also in Egypt (judge delegate of Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Makhlūf and Taqī al-Dīn al-Ijnā‘ī), wrote several books (a commentary on Muslim, a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājj’s *mukhtaṣar*, a summary of a commentary of the *Mudawwana*, a work on *wathā‘iq*, a refutation of Ibn Taymiyya regarding *ṭalāq*, *Manāqib Mālik*, and a historical work), and was considered a leader in issuing *fatāwā* according to the Mālikī legal school.

Ibn Farḥūn mentions a total of six Andalusis who settled in Egypt.<sup>60</sup> While some are clearly Mālikīs, Ibn Farḥūn’s decision to classify others as Mālikīs can be challenged, especially those educated under the Almohads (513–667 H/1120–1269 CE), rulers who had opposed Mālikism and promoted legal alternatives to it. This is the case of Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī, known as Ḥumayd (607–652 H/1210–1254 CE).<sup>61</sup> He was the son of a famous traditionist, Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Qurṭubī (d. 611 H/1214 CE). Born in Málaga to a family originally from Córdoba, Ḥumayd studied in al-Andalus with scholars such as Ibn ‘Askar (584–636 H/1188–1239 CE) and Abū Muḥammad Ibn ‘Aṭīyya (573–646 H/1177–1248 CE), and received his *ijāza* from scholars in both the Maghrib and the Mashriq, among them the famous specialist in *ḥadīth* sciences ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Kurdī al-Shahrazūrī al-Mawṣilī (577–643 H/1181–1243 CE). Ḥumayd became a Qur’ānic reader, jurist, traditionist, grammarian and

<sup>59</sup> DM, 1: 216–217, no. 130; 397–398, no. 291; DM, 2: 23, no. 338; 67–68, no. 363; 296, no. 563; 299, no. 566; 301, no. 569; 302, no. 571; 343–344, no. 620. Some Maghribis studied in Egypt and then returned to North Africa, or settled elsewhere in the East: DM, 1: 223, no. 138; 223–224, no. 139; 271–272, no. 183; DM, 2: 25, no. 340. Salibi mentions a Mālikī judge during the period 794–801 H/1392–1399 CE who was from Tlemcen, and two brothers born in the Maghrib who held judicial positions between 861 H/1457 CE and 873 H/1469 CE.

<sup>60</sup> DM, 1: 177–191, no. 86; 198, no. 113; 210, no. 125; 215–216, no. 129; DM, 2: 136–138, no. 428; 287–288, no. 547. Ibn Suḥmān (d. 685 H) was both Mālikī and Shāfi‘ī (DM, 2: 298–299, no. 565) and al-Baqūrī (d. 707 H) eventually returned to Marrakesh, where remained until his death (DM, 2: 295, no. 562).

<sup>61</sup> DM, 1: 177–179, no. 86. For other references see Rodríguez Figueroa 2006.

litterateur. He also grew famous for his piety and asceticism: he never laughed, apologized for smiling, and was constantly crying; in his poems dealing with *ḥikam*, he never included a *nasīb*. In the year 649 H/1251 CE, when he was 42 years old, Ḥumayd left al-Andalus in order to perform the pilgrimage, probably motivated by problems with the post-Almohad ruler Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad I *al-Ghālib bi-Llāh* (r. 629–671 H/1232–1273 CE), founder of the Naṣrid dynasty. However, according to Ibn Farḥūn, once he had arrived in Egypt, his purity, intelligence and many virtues had become so proverbial that he was asked to stay on.<sup>62</sup> He accepted, but fell ill in 652 H/1254 CE. He arrived in Egypt shortly after the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty and the beginning of the Mamlūk sultanate in 648 H/1251 CE. It is said that the second Mamlūk sultan, al-Mu‘izz ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkmānī al-Ṣāliḥī (r. 648–655 H/1250–1257 CE), tried to visit him in order to obtain his blessing, but Ḥumayd refused. Only after the sultan insisted did Ḥumayd allow the sultan to visit him, but rejected his gifts. Ḥumayd died shortly afterwards and his funeral was attended by a great number of people, including the sultan. He was buried in the *rawḍa* of Abū Bakr al-Khazrajī.

It is not clear on what basis Ibn Farḥūn decided that Ḥumayd was a Mālikī. In Ḥumayd’s time Mālikism had been marginalized in the Maghrib, as well as in al-Andalus after its incorporation into the Almohad empire. More specifically, Ḥumayd lived under the Almohad/Mu’minid caliphate established by ‘Abd al-Mu’min (r. 527–558 H/1133–1163 CE) after he succeeded the Berber Mahdī Ibn Tūmart (d. 524 H/1130 CE). The Almohad movement that Ibn Tūmart had founded was, in its early stages, a revolutionary movement that imposed unified belief on the people living in Almohad territory, where everybody (Jews, Christians and Muslims) had to follow Ibn Tūmart’s creed. In the legal sphere, the Almohads rejected traditional Mālikism, with its strong reliance on casuistry and *taqlīd*. Eventually, a *retour aux sources* was promoted that privileged the study of Qur’ān and *ḥadīth*. The new rulers created the *ṭalaba*, salaried doctrinarians trained to cater to the intellectual and religious needs of the Almohad empire, who were closer to Ismā‘īlī *du‘āt* than to Sunnī *‘ulamā’*. The Mu’minid caliphs sought alternatives to Mālikism and, after an initial attraction to Ibn Ḥazm’s Ḍāhirism, they eventually asked Ibn Ruṣhd al-Ḥafīd (Averroes) to collect the existing divergent legal views on positive law (*furū’*) – regardless of the legal school – the result of which was his *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*. This work – as I have argued elsewhere – can be taken as a first step towards a legal codification that would have been issued by the third Almohad caliph, as the Fāṭimids had done in the 4th/10th century under al-

<sup>62</sup> Similar situations are recorded regarding other Andalusī and Maghribī travelers, as in the case of Abū Marwān al-Bājī; see Marín 1994.

Mu'izz. However, this last step never came to pass, due to internal divisions among the Almohads.<sup>63</sup> Thus, it seems that Ibn Farḥūn chose to include Ḥumayd in his biographical dictionary of Mālikīs based only on the fact that he was an Andalusī; indeed, nothing in his biography allows us to ascertain his legal affiliation. The same can be said of two other, more important scholarly figures, Ibn Muzayn al-Qurṭubī al-kabīr (578–656 H/1182–1258 CE)<sup>64</sup> and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Qurṭubī al-ṣaghīr (d. 671 H/1273 CE), author of a famous *Tafsīr*.<sup>65</sup> These two figures, again, reflect the type of scholars trained in Almohad times whose education and writings transcended traditional legal affiliations.<sup>66</sup>

I have mentioned above that the Maghribī and Andalusī scholars trained in Almohad times developed specific skills for writing didactic poems and works of an encyclopaedic character that helped them negotiate the 'job market' once they emigrated. They also brought with them their knowledge of the local Maghribī and, especially, Andalusī intellectual production<sup>67</sup> in every field, for example: Qur'ānic readings, as in the case of Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (538–590 H/1143–1194 CE); history, as in the case of Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE); and grammar, as in the case of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (654–745 H/1256–1344 CE).<sup>68</sup> The commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* by the Andalusī Mālikī Ibn Baṭṭāl (d.

**63** Fierro 1999; Fierro 2014; Fierro 2018.

**64** For more on him, see above note 3, and DM, 1: 210, no. 125. He had written a refutation against the Christians that he took with him to Egypt and was one of the sources for al-Qarāfī's polemical work on Christianity; see Sarrió Cucarella 2015. Ibn Muzayn's *Ikhtisār Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and his *Mufḥim* on Muslim's *ḥadīth* collection are quoted by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (see Khaoula Trad's paper in this volume).

**65** Arnaldez, "al-Qurṭubī", *EL*; Salmān 1993; Ibn Sharifa (Bencherifa) 2010; Serrano, "al-Qurṭubī", *EQ*.

**66** This was also the type of scholar that the Ayyūbids seem to have favored among the Andalusī emigrants, as shown, for example, by the cases of al-Yasa' b. 'Īsā b. Ḥazm al-Ghāfiqī (d. 575 H/1179 CE) and Ibn Diḥya al-Kalbī (d. 633 H/1235 CE). See, respectively, Fierro 1995; Gallega Ortega 2004; Adang 2000, 450–453.

**67** I say 'especially' because in al-Andalus the political, social and economic context under the Umayyads had fostered developments in the religious and intellectual domains that had no parallel in the Maghrib in the same period. Ifrīqiya under the Aghlabids had known similar developments, but the Fāṭimid caliphate and the Hilālī invasion had negative consequences.

**68** See on this topic the studies by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥanafī and Samiya Muṣṭafā Mus'ad quoted in note 42 above, as well as Yukawa 1979 (in Japanese, which I have been unable to read). Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī's interest in Turkish and Persian as reflected in his studies on those languages may be related to the Almohad precedent of privileging the Berber language used in the call to prayer, in prayer itself, and in the teaching of Ibn Tūmart's profession of faith.

449 H/1057 CE)<sup>69</sup> was quoted by both the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728 H/1328 CE) and the Shāfi‘ī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 777 H/1375 CE), as they read in it views that they found convincing, and thus privileged over those of other scholars.<sup>70</sup> I have already mentioned the case of al-Ṭurṭūshī, whose teaching – along with that of other scholars with similar backgrounds – helped spread Western Mālikī works among the Egyptian Mālikīs, and also how the Egyptian Ibn Shāsh quoted extensively from Western Mālikī sources. Ahmed Fekry Ibrahim’s study on the legal regulations regarding child custody in Egypt clearly shows the impact of Mālikī doctrines on the rest of the legal schools.<sup>71</sup>

More research must be done in order to more precisely track the exchange between the Western Mālikī travelers and migrants and the local Egyptian Mālikīs. However, for the time being I would like to point out one striking difference: while in the Maghrib and al-Andalus Mālikīs wrote a great number of collections of legal opinions (*fatāwā*), to my knowledge none is extant from Egyptian Mālikī scholars.<sup>72</sup> This of course does not mean that they did not formulate legal opinions,<sup>73</sup> but for some reason they did not collect them in compilations as the Western Mālikīs did.<sup>74</sup> Conversely, the Egyptian Mālikīs seem to have specialized in other genres, and most especially in the writing of *mukhtaṣars*.

Ibn Farḥūn was a contemporary of the Egyptian Khalīl b. Ishāq al-Jundī (d. 776 H/1374 CE), who in his *Mukhtaṣar* offered such a user-friendly synthesis of Mālikī legal doctrine that he came to enjoy great support among Mālikīs everywhere, which remains true even today.<sup>75</sup> Khalīl’s *Mukhtaṣar* shows a clear influence of doctrines that had developed mainly in the Maghrib and al-Andalus (for example, regarding blasphemy). Before him, the Egyptian Mālikī of Kurdish origin Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646 H/1249 CE) had written a *Mukhtaṣar* of Mālikī positive law, entitled *Jāmi‘ al-ummahāt*. Born in Upper Egypt, after studying with Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī, among others, he taught in Cairo before leaving for Damascus ca. 616 H/1219-20 CE, where he taught in the Mālikī *zāwiya* of the Great Mosque.

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69 Ibn Baṭṭāl, *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* (2003).

70 For the case of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī see Holtzman 2019, 304–306 (I thank the author for letting me consult her paper before publication). For the case of Ibn Taymiyya see Holtzman 2016, 577.

71 Ibrahim 2018.

72 Compilations do exist from scholars other than Mālikīs, as in the case of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī’s (d. 756 H/1355 CE) *Fatāwā*.

73 See above the case of al-Zawāwī al-Manklātī.

74 Fierro 2020. What follows is taken from the last section of this article, with the permission of the journal.

75 Ben Cheneb, “Khalīl b. Ishāq”, *EF*.

A dispute with Ayyūbid ruler Ismā'īl al-Ṣāliḥ saw him banished from Damascus in 639 H/1241 CE, whereupon he returned to Cairo, eventually settling in Alexandria till his death. Ibn al-Ḥājjib's work, which combined both grammar and law, was very similar to the scholarly model found in the Maghrib and al-Andalus during Almohad times. As a grammarian, he wrote a very short condensed tract on morphology, *al-Shāfiya*, and another on syntax, *al-Kāfiya*, both of which became very popular. He also wrote a treatise on the sources of law according to the Mālikī school, entitled *Muntahā al-su'āl wa-l-amal fī 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-jadal*. Its abridgement or *Mukhtaṣar* (= *al-Mukhtaṣar al-aṣli*) became extremely popular and was the subject of numerous commentaries, glosses on the commentaries, and super-glosses. Ibn al-Ḥājjib was also the author of a compendium of Mālikī law, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī al-furū'* or *Jāmi' al-Ummahāt*, also known as *al-Mukhtaṣar al-far'ī*, commented among others by Khalīl b. Ishāq al-Jundī, who used it as a model for his own *Mukhtaṣar*.<sup>76</sup> One of Ibn al-Ḥājjib's students was the Egyptian jurist of Maghribi origin mentioned above, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qarāfi al-Ṣanhājī (626–684 H/1228–1285 CE), who wrote his *Tamyīz al-fatāwā 'an al-aḥkām wa-taṣarrufāt al-qāḍī wa-l-imām* to counteract the policy of the Shāfi'ī judge Ibn Bint al-'A'azz, who held that no sentence could be implemented if it went against the doctrine of the Shāfi'ī school.<sup>77</sup>

I have asked elsewhere why the *mukhtaṣars* were initially written by scholars from Egypt, where Mālikism was not dominant, and if perhaps the lack of qualified *muftīs* required such works to be composed as an aid for the Mālikī judges. Likewise, I have asked what consequences arose from their reception by Maghribi and Andalusī scholars. It seems clear that the importance acquired by the *mukhtaṣar* genre in the Mālikī legal school was an Egyptian phenomenon that must be closely linked to Baybars's aforementioned decision in 665 H/1265 CE to establish four judgeships. As studied by Mohamed Fadel,<sup>78</sup> this genre represented an effort to “formalize” the doctrine of the legal schools by systematically classifying the opinions of each school, clarifying their authoritative rules and offering a set of formal norms. This was no small task, given the rich and often contradictory legal heritage of the four schools, the Mālikīs included. Especially crucial was the concept of the *mashhūr*: confronted with a choice between competing opinions within the Mālikī legal school, Ibn al-Ḥājjib offered the *muqallid* what was considered to be the ‘acknowledged’ doctrine of the school so as to save him the difficulty of extracting it from the school's primary texts (*ummahāt*). Ibn al-

<sup>76</sup> DM, 2: 77–82, no. 375; Fleisch, “Ibn al-Ḥājjib”, *EF*.

<sup>77</sup> See above note 54.

<sup>78</sup> Fadel 1996 and 1997.



Ḥājjib also addressed the more advanced jurists who could use non-*mashhūr* opinions in their *ijtihād*, opinions always based on the original texts of the school. This complex arrangement did not make Ibn al-Ḥājjib's work user-friendly, and did not resolve the problem of legal indeterminacy. Khalīl b. Ishāq al-Jundī offered a more univocal expression of Mālikī doctrine in his *Mukhtaṣar*, i.e. he limited himself to the *mashhūr* opinion.

The *mukhtaṣars* made sense in the Egyptian context, where the Mālikīs had to compete with other legal schools and where their doctrine likewise needed to be easily accessible to non-Mālikī judges and jurists. However, they also proved popular in the Maghrib and al-Andalus after being studied by Maghribi and Andalusī travelers, who felt attracted to their systematization and user-friendly organization of Mālikī doctrines. Upon returning to their homeland, these travelers took what they had learned with them, and so the *mukhtaṣars* of Ibn al-Ḥājjib and Khalīl b. Ishāq soon spread beyond the confines of Egypt.

The scholar from Tlemcen Abū Sālim Ibrāhīm b. Qāsim al-ʿUqbānī (808–880 H/1405–1475 CE), who wrote a *Taʿlīq ʿalā Ibn al-Ḥājjib*, was once asked if the jurists and judges could issue *fatāwā* and rulings on the basis of 'weak' opinions departing from the *mashhūr*, and his answer was negative (although with some qualifications). He used the precedent of al-Māzarī (d. 536 H/1141 CE), a *mujtahid* who lived till the age of 83 but never issued a single *fatwā* that departed from the *mashhūr*.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, Fadel has also shown that although in 9th/15th-century Granada around 50% of the *fatāwā* recorded in *al-Ḥaḍīqa* follow the explicit wording of the *Mukhtaṣar*, a significant portion of the opinions – approximately 20–25% – contradict the school's doctrine as a result of the individual *muftī*'s discretion.<sup>80</sup> This indicates that Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar* did not really function as a strict code.<sup>81</sup> Jacques Berque has also noted that in the compilation by Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿImrān al-Maghīlī al-Māzūnī (d. 883 H/1478 CE), *Nawāzil Māzūna*, Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar* is scarcely mentioned.<sup>82</sup> For all these reasons I have tentatively suggested that the flourishing of *fatāwā* compilation activities in the 9th/15th century was an attempt to deflect the tendency towards 'codification' as represented by the rise of the *mukhtaṣar* genre in Egypt.<sup>83</sup> If we connect the rise of the *mukhtaṣar* (in Egypt) with the efforts to compile *fatāwā* (in the Maghrib and al-Andalus), the latter can perhaps be understood as a result of the former: against

<sup>79</sup> Al-Wansharīsī (d. 914 H/1508 CE), *al-Miʿyār* (1401/1981), 12: 5–7.

<sup>80</sup> Fadel 1997, 53.

<sup>81</sup> Viktor 2005, 131.

<sup>82</sup> Berque 1970.

<sup>83</sup> See my article quoted in note 74.

the restrictions proposed by the *mukhtaṣars*, the *fatāwā* compilations revealed the variety of cases in which the interpretative activity of the *muftīs* continued to be necessary, and by doing so also exposed the limits of the *mukhtaṣars*.

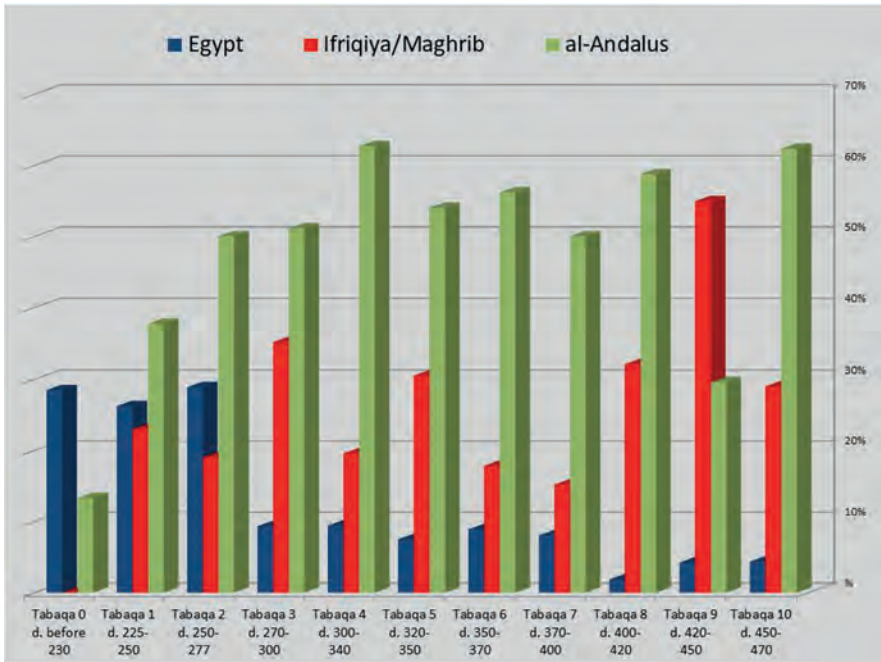
Denis Gril, as we have seen,<sup>84</sup> has noted that the impact of Maghribi and Andalusī Sūfis in Egypt, and in the East more generally, was not unidirectional, but a ‘round-trip’ phenomenon. The same can be applied to Mālikism. Andalusī and Maghribī Mālikī scholars were always in contact with their peers in other Islamic regions, especially Egypt, which had played a crucial role in the early development of Mālikism as evidenced by the role Mālik’s Egyptian students had in the legal works composed in Ifriqiya and al-Andalus. Later, in the period considered here, the teachings of Andalusī and Maghribī jurists were crucial in reviving the Egyptian Mālikī legal school in ways that are still to be mapped and analyzed. The Egyptian context, especially Baybars’s legal innovation of the four judge-ships, determined new developments such as what Mohamed Fadel has termed “the rise of the *mukhtaṣar*”. This genre, which had a powerful impact in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, was inevitably adapted to local contexts, as it seems to have given ‘rise’ in turn to a striking effort to compile *fatāwā* materials. It is worth noting that such innovative trends do not necessarily go hand in hand with the number of adherents on the ground. For all the flourishing of Mālikism in post-Fāṭimid Egypt, there were still few Mālikīs as compared to the Islamic West.<sup>85</sup> However, the political context in which they operated forced them to think up new ways of being Mālikī, and thus to re-think their legal tradition. The fact that their school had to share the legal sphere with others was decisive in this respect. Although I have so far found no specific comment addressing this fact on the part of the Mālikīs west of Egypt – for whom this was an unusual feature – al-Rā’ī’s work quoted at the outset of this chapter bears witness to the extremes they felt they had to go to in order to substantiate their claims to superiority.<sup>86</sup>

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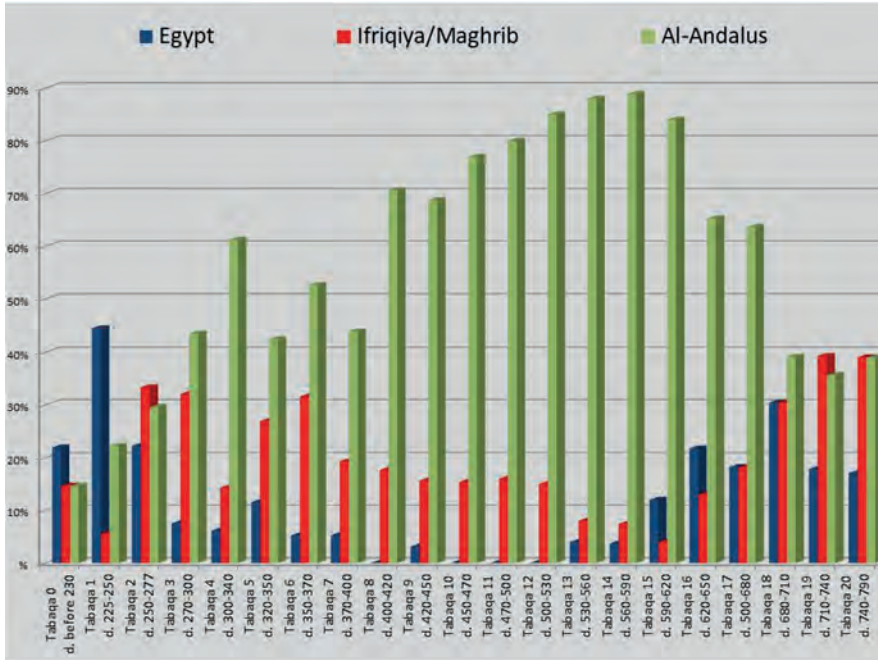
**84** See above note 39.

**85** However, the Almohad period greatly disrupted the Mālikī legal school in the territories under the control of the Mu’minid caliphs, a process whose extent and ramifications must still be fully understood.

**86** As an Andalusī, al-Rā’ī could rely on precedents in praising the school through the figure of its eponym; see Turki 1971.



**Fig. 1:** Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE), *Tartīb al-madārik li-ma’rifat a’lām madhhab Mālik*: a comparison of the numbers of Egyptian, Maghribi and Andalusī scholars from ca. 230 H to 470 H.



**Fig. 2:** Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE), *al-Dibāj al-mudhhab fī ma'rifat a'yān 'ulamā' al-madhhab*: a comparison of the numbers of Egyptian, Maghribi and Andalusī scholars from ca. 230 H to 740–750 H.

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Adday Hernández López

# Traces of the Medieval Islamic West in Modern East Africa: Andalusi and Maghribi Works in the Horn of Africa

While the main vehicle for the spread of Andalusi and Maghribi intellectual production in space and time was the circulation of books and the mobility of scholars, scholars outside the Maghrib also played an important role by commenting on, expanding or refuting works produced in the Islamic West. In this paper I will concentrate on the presence of this sort of intellectual production in the Horn of Africa, using the materials catalogued for the project *Islam in the Horn of Africa: A Comparative Literary Approach*.<sup>1</sup> Thousands of Arabic manuscripts and other types of writings from different locations, mainly produced between the 18th century and the 20th century in the Horn, were catalogued between 2014 and 2018, and have been classified according to genre, content, author, title, place of creation, etc.<sup>2</sup> I already discussed the presence of Andalusi and Maghribi works in the region in a 2015 paper on the Andalusi texts and authors found in the Arabic collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, I came across a commentary to the work of the Andalusi author Ibn Farḥ/Faraḥ (d. 699 H/1300 CE), *Qaṣīda ghazaliyya fī alqāb al-ḥadīth*. The commentary, entitled *Zawāl al-taraḥ*, was written by Ibn Jamā‘a (d. 819 H/1416 CE), but in the Ethiopian manuscript it was attributed to an Ethiopian author.<sup>4</sup> Since then I have been able to locate many more scholars and works from the medieval Islamic West after examining other

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1 IslHornAfr, European Research Council Advanced Grant no. 322849, 2013–2018, PI Alessandro Gori, <http://www.islhornafr.eu/index.html>.

2 The information has been entered into a relational database created by the project’s IT manager, Orhan Toy. At <http://islhornafr.tors.sc.ku.dk/> the database can be freely accessed, and can be searched by author, text or manuscript in order to retrieve all the associated data.

3 Hernández 2015–16, 10–19. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies belongs to Addis Ababa University, and its manuscripts have been digitized by the project EMIP (Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project) directed by professor Steve Delamarter.

4 Hernández 2019, 153–173.

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**Note:** This paper was presented at the international conference “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, which took place on 20–21 December 2018. English revision by Nicholas Callaway.

collections of manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> My aim in this paper is to expand and revise the information given in previous publications, asking what the particular conditions were that fostered the spread of such texts, and why they aroused interest within the Horn of Africa.

## 1 Transmitters

The main collector of Andalusí texts that I initially found was Shaykh Ḥabīb (d. 1373 H/1953 CE), from Amum Agar, in Wallo,<sup>6</sup> who copied Ṣūfī texts originating from different places across the Islamic world. The jurisprudence-related texts, in turn, were in many cases found in the Zabī Molla collection, owing to the personal interest in this genre of its compiler, Badr al-Dīn al-Ubbī (d. 1401 H/1981 CE). This collection contains *fiqh* works from the different *madhāhib* in both manuscript and printed form.

Despite the relevance of these two individuals' collections, the bulk of Andalusí and Maghribi works are spread across a number of other private collections that require a short introduction.

Several fieldwork missions were carried out at different sites in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somaliland<sup>7</sup> in order to locate collections and digitize them. Due to a popular uprising,<sup>8</sup> the team had to change the original plans of some of its missions in Ethiopia, and the new collections digitized were related to the *ṭarīqa Tijāniyya*. This Ṣūfī order was founded by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Tijānī (d. 1230 H/1815 CE) in 'Ayn Māḍī, Fez. Soon after its founding, it spread throughout sub-Saharan Africa and was introduced in Ethiopia beginning in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>9</sup> This order emerged as a reaction against Ottoman cultural influence<sup>10</sup> and subsequently was keen to preserve its traditions, cutting itself off from other Ṣūfī orders,<sup>11</sup> which explains why they have

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5 There are around 32 different collections from different provenances. Some of them were already available, while others have been collected during the course of the project.

6 Hernández 2017, 106–128.

7 The information on the different missions can be found on the project website.

8 In November 2015 there was an uprising in different areas of Ethiopia led by the Oromo ethnic group, who are not represented in the country's ruling coalition.

9 For more information about the introduction and spread of the order in Ethiopia see Ishihara 1997, 391–402; Ishihara 2010a, 248–259; Ishihara 2010b; Petrone 2016, 165–187; Seifedin 2006.

10 Diego 2018, 70.

11 Petrone 2016, 165.

preserved their Maghribi heritage. The Tijānī collections are held in Tije, Warukko, Agaro, Toba, Haro and Jimata.<sup>12</sup>

## 2 Paths of transmission

The main routes for the transmission of Western Islamic works to the Horn of Africa passed through Mecca or Mecca–Yemen, and Egypt or Egypt–Sudan. Until now there was no evidence of direct contact between East and West Africa, but the material analyzed in the last stage of our project has brought to light new information in this sense that requires further analysis. In his study on the Ethiopian branch of the Tijāniyya, Michele Petrone states that although at the outset the Tijāniyya was a localized foreign order whose main representatives entered the *ṭarīqa* in Mecca, the manuscripts analyzed show ongoing relations between the Ethiopian Tijānī scholars and other Tijānī ‘*ulamā*’ from North and West Africa:

The case of the Tiḡāniyya in Ethiopia, as presented in previous studies, appears to be analysed mainly as a localized foreign order, following an inward path: Aḥmad b. ‘Umar was from Bornu and apparently entered the *ṭarīqa* while he was in Ḥiḡāz to perform Pilgrimage, as al-Ḥāḡḡ Yūsuf also did. This perfectly represents the beginnings of the order in Ethiopia. Nonetheless manuscripts collections digitized during recent missions bear evidence that there have been ongoing relations between Ethiopian masters and other exponents of the Tiḡāniyya, mainly from North and West Africa.<sup>13</sup>

That is the case of al-Sharīf al-Fāsī, who the Ethiopian Abbā Jamāl b. Ḥājj Yūsuf (d. 1406 H/1985 CE), compiler of one of the collections digitized in 2016 in Jimata, names in a poem as one of his masters.<sup>14</sup>

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**12** For more information see the report of the Second Mission of the Islam in the Horn of Africa Project (30 January–4 March 2016), [www.islhornafr.eu/Report\\_Mission\\_2016\\_Ethiopia.pdf](http://www.islhornafr.eu/Report_Mission_2016_Ethiopia.pdf).

**13** Petrone 2016, 171.

**14** Michele Petrone will examine the links between the Ethiopian and North African branches of the Tijāniyya order in the project *The Islamic Literary Tradition in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Academic Network*. This project is a collaboration between Alessandro Gori (University of Copenhagen) and Shamil Jeppie (Cape Town University), funded by the Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science. For more information on the relations between East and West Africa see Birks 1978; Lecocq 2015, 23–36; Miran 2015, 389–408; Yamba 1995.

### 3 Classification according to the content of the texts

If we classify the texts in the corpus written by Andalusī and Maghribī scholars according to genre, two main categories emerge. The first consists of Ṣūfī poems and other Ṣūfī works such as collections of prayers. The second includes other types of texts which can be subdivided into linguistics or grammar, Qur'ānic sciences, and jurisprudence.

#### 3.1 Ṣūfism and theology

Most of the authors from the Islamic West that I first studied (Abū Madyan, al-Fāzāzī, Ibn 'Arabī, Ibn Masdī al-Muhallabī, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Maqqarī, Ibn Jābir, and 'Īsā b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Lakhmī) could be included in this category, made up mainly of devotional literature.<sup>15</sup> Since that time, we have located many other texts and scholars from both al-Andalus and the Maghrib that can be added to this list.

The two most popular works in relation to Ṣūfī devotional literature were written by 'ulamā' from North Africa, and consist of collections of prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad. The first is *Tanbīh al-anām*, attributed to 'Abd al-Jalīl b. 'Azzūm al-Qayrawānī (d. 960 H/1552 CE) and copied in more than 90 manuscripts distributed among nearly all of the catalogued collections.

The second is *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, written by the Moroccan Ṣūfī scholar Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr al-Samlālī, known as al-Jazūlī (d. 869 H/1465 CE), founder of the Jazūliyya, a sub-order of the Shādhiliyya. This is a work that spread all across the Islamic world<sup>16</sup> and is included in at least 21 manuscripts belonging to multiple collections throughout the Horn. It is divided into parts to be recited during the different days of the week. A commentary by Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī (d. 1109 H/1697 CE), the *Maṭāli' al-masarrāt bi-jalā' Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, is also quoted in six manuscripts. Thanks to a note that appears in one of the manuscripts, we know exactly how *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* entered Ethiopia.<sup>17</sup> According to the note, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* was transmitted by al-Jazūlī

<sup>15</sup> Hernández 2015–16, 12–15.

<sup>16</sup> On this work see Witkam 2002; Witkam 2007; Daub 2016.

<sup>17</sup> This note of transmission appears in a manuscript held in Leiden (MS Drewes - Stroomer DWL00001, fol. 58v). It belongs to the collection gathered by Abraham J. Drewes. The collection

to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tabbā‘ (d. 914 H/1508 CE), his successor as the head of the Jazūliyya; from al-Tabbā‘ it was transmitted to Aḥmad b. Abī al-‘Abbās al-Ṣam‘ī (d. ca. 1050 H/1640 CE); from him to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1091 H/1680 CE); then to Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (d. 1041 H/1631 CE),<sup>18</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj (d. ca. 1080 H/1669 CE), Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muthannā (d. ca. 1120 H/1708 CE), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Madgharī al-Ḥasanī (d. ca. 1160 H/1747 CE), and, finally, to ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Madanī (d. ca. 1200 H/1785 CE), who was the one who transmitted it to an Ethiopian, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hararī (d. ca. 1240 H/1824 CE). From there, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān transmitted it to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Tajrāwī al-Hararī, who in 1261 H/1845 CE gave the *ijāza* for this text to his pupil ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad ‘Uthmān.

A third popular work is *Umm al-barāhīn*, by the Maghribi Ṣūfī theologian al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. Shu‘ayb (d. 895 H/1490 CE). His text, also known as *al-‘Aqīda al-ṣuḡhrā* or the *Sanūsiyya*, is a text that was traditionally employed in Fez for the basic teaching of theology, and spread in the 11th/17th century through West Africa to the Niger, after which numerous commentaries and glosses began to appear.<sup>19</sup> It is found in five manuscripts held in four different Ethiopian collections. Apart from the main text by al-Sanūsī, four works based on the *Umm al-barāhīn* have been also found in the corpus:

- *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn*: al-Sanūsī, two printed books in Ethiopia.
- *Sharḥ al-Ṣuḡhrā*: Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Burnusī al-Fāsī known as Zarrūq (d. 899 H/1494 CE), one manuscript in Ethiopia.<sup>20</sup>
- *Sharḥ al-Hudhudī ‘alā al-Sanūsiyya*: Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Hudhudī, one printed book in Ethiopia.
- *Ḥāshiyat al-Sharqāwī ‘alā sharḥ al-Hudhudī ‘alā al-Sanūsiyya*: the same printed book.
- *Ta‘līq ‘alā Muqaddīmat al-Sanūsī*: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Akaddāwī al-Qināwī al-Miṣrī, known as al-Muḍawwī (d. 1095 H/1684 CE), a Sudanese scholar; one manuscript in Ethiopia.<sup>21</sup>

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is now preserved by Prof. Harry Stroemer, and it was digitized by Dr. Michele Petrone and Prof. Alessandro Gori in September 2016.

**18** This transmission is theoretically possible, yet the dates indicate that there could be a mistake in the chain, since al-Maqqarī appears to have died fifty years before his alleged pupil, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī. There could also be a mistake in the order of the names.

**19** Bencheneb, “al-Sanūsī”, *EF*.

**20** Limmu Ghannat, MS Limmu - Muḥammad b. Abbā Ruksī LMG00012, fols. 4r–49r.

**21** Warukko, MS Warukko WRK00009, fols. 1v–42v.

- *Al-Durr al-thamīn fī naẓm Umm al-barāhīn* (versification): Qāsim b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qādirī al-Barāwī (d. 1340 H/1922 CE), a renowned scholar from Hargeisa; one manuscript in Hargeisa, Somaliland.<sup>22</sup>

Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675 H/1276 CE), the founder of another Ṣūfī order, the Badawiyya, who was also from the Maghrib, is mentioned in several manuscripts, and we find two poems dedicated to him, one of them in ‘Afar ‘*ajamī*.<sup>23</sup> However, his own writing appears in just one manuscript, via a single fragment of one of his works.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from these works, various poems attributed to Andalusī and Maghribī scholars have been found, such as Ibn Shihāb al-Andalusī’s (d. 393 H/1003 CE) *Qaṣīda li-arba’a ḥaqq ‘alā al-ghayr lāzīm*; a poem attributed to Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Izm b. Arqam al-Numayrī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 749 H/1348 CE);<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Naḥwī’s (d. 513 H/1119 CE) *al-Qaṣīda al-munfarija*;<sup>26</sup> al-Suhaylī’s (d. 581 H/1185 CE) *al-Qaṣīda al-‘ayniyya fī al-munājāt*;<sup>27</sup> and *al-Ḥazīra fī naẓm muḥimm al-sīra*, by ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī al-Fāsī (d. 1110 H/1698 CE), who was a pupil of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ma’n al-Andalusī al-Fāsī (d. 1120 H/1708 CE). In addition to these texts, one of the most widespread poems for the celebration of the *mawlid* found in the Ethiopian collections is the poem starting with the verse “*Mā arsala al-Raḥmān*”, which is attributed to two different authors: one of them is Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 994 H/1586 CE), from Egypt, and the other is Muḥammad al-Fāṭimī al-Idrīsī (d. 1295 H/1878 CE), from the Maghrib.

<sup>22</sup> MS Hargeisa Cultural Center - Jama Musse Jama HCC00021, fols. 1v–8v.

<sup>23</sup> This means that it is written in the local ‘Afar language but employing the Arabic script: *Ta-wassul bi-l-‘Afarīyya “Yā Rabb irḥamhu raḥmat al-abrār*”, by Ḥājj Ḥamza b. Maḥmūd b. Kabīr Ḥamza b. Kabīr Maḥmūd (d. 1341 H/1923 CE). Found on a loose folio in a manuscript from Balbala, Djibouti (MS Kabirto - ‘Alawī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥājj Ḥamza DJKH00022).

<sup>24</sup> *Ṣiḡhat kayfiyyat al-ṣalāt*. Kept in a manuscript in Pavia (Biblioteca civica “Carlo Bonetta” MS Pavia - Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti PAV00003, fol. 72r).

<sup>25</sup> A quotation from his *naẓm* “*Ta’ālū nu’āṭī-hā muqaddasa ṣirfā*” appears on a loose folio inside the manuscript at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, MS Arabic collection IES05517, fols. 138r–141v.

<sup>26</sup> This poem is found in three manuscripts, and its commentary, *Faṭḥ mufarrij al-kurūb*, by the famous Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī (d. 926 H/1520 CE), is found in two more. The complete references can be found in the database of the project IslHornAfr.

<sup>27</sup> Among the texts there is an anonymous *takhmīs* of this poem which is copied in at least six manuscripts and a printed book. Another of al-Suhaylī’s works, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf fī sharḥ al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, is mentioned in a manuscript from Haro (MS Abbā Durā HRDVar03, fol. 2r).

The text *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-‘aliyya bi-sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-‘Aṭā’iyya*, by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn ‘Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792 H/1390 CE), is a commentary to *al-Ḥikam*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī al-Shādhili (d. 709 H/1309 CE). A copy of this work is found in a manuscript of the ‘Abd Allāh Sharif collection in Harar,<sup>28</sup> and two printed books of the same work were found in Zabī Molla, probably because of the presence of the *ṭarīqa Shādhiliyya* at both sites.

Another Maghribi author is Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī (d. 1304 H/1887 CE). His *Sayf al-Naṣr bi-l-Sāda al-Kirām Ahl Badr* is copied in a manuscript from Warukko,<sup>29</sup> one of the Tijānī collections. The presence of this text reflects modern Ethiopian scholars’ active involvement in the reception and transmission of the texts, and shows they stayed abreast of the latest works written in the Maghrib.

The list of Maghribi authors is completed with two scholars from Kairouan, for whom we have neither dates nor any other information. They are ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Qayrawānī,<sup>30</sup> author of the *qaṣīda* “‘*Aqīdat al-tawḥīd*”,<sup>31</sup> and al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Khalūf al-Qayrawānī, who wrote a poem in praise of the Prophet (*madḥ al-Nabī*).<sup>32</sup>

## 3.2 Linguistics

In a previous paper, I already indicated that grammar is a widely cultivated genre in the Horn.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Mālik’s (d. 672 H/1273 CE) *Alfiyya* is known all over the Islamic world and is also found in one of the manuscripts analyzed here. It is also represented in three printed books, and four different commentaries are to be found as well. The commentary that appears most frequently is *Sharḥ Ibn ‘Aqīl ‘alā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, of which we find three manuscripts and six printed books, followed by

<sup>28</sup> Museum of Harar MS Abdallah Sharif ASH00217, fols. 46r–103v.

<sup>29</sup> MS Warukko WRK00041, fols. 1v–28r.

<sup>30</sup> He could plausibly be identified with ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Šālīh b. ‘Īsā al-Qayrawānī al-Qurašī (known as Sayyidī ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Qayrawānī), whose *zāwiya* is located in the Tunisian village of *Ḥidā’ wādī al-‘abid*.

<sup>31</sup> There is no available information on this author. His *Aqīda* is found in three manuscripts from different collections (Warukko, MS Warukko WRK00022, fols. 6r–7r; Suuse, MS Suuse SSE00032, fols. 27v–29r; Balbala, MS Kabirto - ‘Alawī b. ‘Abd al-Šamad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥājj Ḥamza DJKH00021, fols. Ar-Bv).

<sup>32</sup> Institute of Ethiopian Studies MS Arabic collection IES05517, fols. 158v–158v.

<sup>33</sup> Hernández 2015–16, 11–12.



*Sharḥ al-Ushmūnī li-Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, found in five printed books. We also find quotations from two other texts based on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*: al-Azharī's (d. 905 H/1499 CE) *Tamrīn al-ṭullāb fī ṣinā'at al-i'rāb*, and *al-Faṭḥ al-wudūdī 'alā sharḥ al-Makkūdī 'alā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, by the aforementioned Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj, pupil of al-Maqqarī and transmitter of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*.

In addition, two new manuscripts containing Ibn Mālik's other work, *Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, must be added to the manuscript from Suuse that I previously identified in another paper.<sup>34</sup> Also to be added are two commentaries by the Ethiopian scholar Muḥammad al-Amin b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī (alive in 1398 H/1978 CE), *Taḥnīk al-atfāl 'alā Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, and *Manāhil al-rijāl wamarāqī 'al-atfāl bi-libān ma'ānī Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, both in printed form.

The other noteworthy presence is that of the Moroccan grammarian Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723 H/1323 CE). His work *al-Muqaddīma al-Ājurrūmiyya* is well known in the Horn of Africa. Until now we have found six manuscripts and three printed books, but the number of commentaries is far more abundant than the commentaries to Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, with at least 11 texts in the corpus deriving from the *Ājurrūmiyya*:<sup>35</sup>

- *Sharḥ al-Azharī 'alā al-Muqaddīma al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Azharī (d. 905 H/1499 CE).
- *Ḥāshiyat Abī al-Najā 'alā Sharḥ al-Azharī li-l-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Abū al-Najā Muḥammad Mujāhid al-Ṭantidā'ī (d. 1270 H/1853 CE).
- *Mutammimat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ru'aynī al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 954 H/1547 CE).
- *Al-Fawākih al-janiyya 'alā Mutammimat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 972 H/1564 CE).
- *Al-Kawākib al-durriyya sharḥ Mutammimat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Bārī al-Ahdal (d. 1298 H/1880 CE).
- *Al-Kharīda al-bahiyya fī i'rāb alfāz al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad al-'Ujaymī (d. 1307 H/1889 CE).
- *Hidāyat al-ṭālibiyya*, unknown author.
- *I'rāb al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kafrāwī (d. 1202 H/1787 CE).
- *Sharḥ al-Ājurrūmiyya fī al-naḥw*, by Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304 H/1886 CE).
- *Ḥāshiyat al-Ājurrūmiyya*, unknown author.

<sup>34</sup> Hernández 2015–16, 12.

<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, numerous commentaries and glosses to these 11 texts based on the *Ājurrūmiyya* have been found in their margins.

- *Al-Maqāṣid al-wafīyya fī sharḥ al-muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Ethiopian author Muḥammad Amān, from Dawway, in Wallo.
- *Al-Bākūra al-janniyya min qaṭāf I‘rāb al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad al-Amīn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Urumī al-‘Alawī (b. 1348 H/1930 CE), who commented on Ibn Mālik’s *Lāmiyyat al-af‘āl* as well.
- *Al-Durar al-bahiyya fī i‘rāb amthilat al-Ājurrūmiyya wa-fakk ma‘ānīhā wa-bayā ḍawābiṭihā wa-‘ilalihā*, by Muḥammad al-Amīn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī.
- *Al-Futūḥāt al-Qayyūmiyya fī ḥall wa-fakk ma‘ānī wa-mabānī matn al-Ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad al-Amīn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī.

As can be seen, Muḥammad al-Amīn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Harārī al-Buwayṭī, who lived in the 20th century, is the most prolific Ethiopian commentator, and thus transmitter, of Maghribi works on Arabic Grammar.<sup>36</sup> His production has been mainly found in printed books, and he has also commented on other famous grammar works such as al-Ḥarārī’s *Mulḥat al-i‘rāb*.

### 3.3 Qur’ānic sciences

In general, the Qur’ānic sciences are not as well represented as writings in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, grammar books or Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence. However, some Andalusī works that are well known throughout the Islamic world are also represented in the Ethiopian manuscripts. For example, we find the exegetical work of Ibn Farḥ al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 H/1273 CE), but only as a pair of references in the marginal notes to manuscripts from different collections. An edition of the abridgement by al-Sha‘rānī (d. 973 H/1565 CE) to Ibn Farḥ al-Qurṭubī’s eschatological treatise *Tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirā* can be also found.<sup>37</sup>

In the latest collections analyzed, *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* – a versification of al-Dānī’s *al-Taysīr fī al-qirā‘āt al-sab‘*, also known as *al-Shāṭibiyya* in reference to its author, Abū al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibi (d. 590 H/1193 CE) – has been found in four different collections: Agaro-Shaykh Kemal, Jimata-Mukhtār, Haro,

<sup>36</sup> I have no information about his date of death.

<sup>37</sup> Collection Jimata-Mukhtār (Jimata, MS Jimata - Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād JMK00174).

and Zabī Molla.<sup>38</sup> In addition, three printed commentaries to al-Shāṭibī's work can be found in Zabī Molla:

- *Kanz al-ma'ānī fī sharḥ Ḥirz al-amānī*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Shu'la (d. 656 H/1258 CE).
- *Ibrāz al-ma'ānī min Ḥirz al-amānī*, by Abū Shāma 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl (d. 665 H/1268 CE).
- *Irshād al-murīd ilā maqṣūd al-qaṣīd*, by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḍabbā' (d. 781 H/1380 CE).

Another work by al-Shāṭibī, *Matn 'aqīlat atrāb al-qāṣa'id fī al-rasm*, is found in a printed book held in the Jimata-Mukhtār collection.

### 3.4 Jurisprudence

The predominant school of law in the Horn is the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, but the Ḥanafī school is also well represented. While the Mālikī doctrine also boasts some followers, especially in the areas of Ethiopia bordering on Sudan, our study does not include any manuscripts from this area. As such, owing to the predominance of the Mālikī doctrine in the Islamic West, few works of *fiqh* from al-Andalus and the Maghrib are found in the corpus. However, in spite of this general lack of interest in the Mālikī intellectual tradition, some of its most representative works are indeed represented. This is the case of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's (d. 386 H/996 CE) *Risāla fī al-fiqh*,<sup>39</sup> and *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa-nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Rushd (d. 595 H/1198 CE).<sup>40</sup> The edition of another work by a famous Andalusī Mālikī scholar, *al-I'tiṣām*, by Naṣrid jurist Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Lakhmī al-Shāṭibī (d. 790 H/1388 CE), is found in the collection preserved in Zabī Molla. The only complete Mālikī work copied in manuscript form is *al-Murshid al-mu'in 'alā al-ḍarūrī min 'ulūm al-dīn*, by 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-'Āshir (alive in 1008–1040 H/1599–1630 CE).<sup>41</sup>

There is also a reference to *Kitāb al-Bida'*, by Muḥammad b. Waḍḍaḥ al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī (d. 289 H/902 CE), in a quotation extracted from al-

<sup>38</sup> This is the only non-Tijānī collection of the four containing the *Shāṭibiyya*.

<sup>39</sup> A printed book in the collection Jimata-Mukhtār.

<sup>40</sup> Two fragments copied in two manuscripts from Zabī Molla and a printed book in the collection Jimata-Mukhtār.

<sup>41</sup> Copied in a manuscript from the collection Jimata-Mukhtār (Jimata, MS Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād JMK00169, fols.1v–11v).

Ghumārī's *Muṭābaqa*,<sup>42</sup> but upon closer examination of the note we find that it is related to Judgment Day, not to legal issues. The quotation appears in a marginal note to a codex preserved in the Jimata-Mukhtār collection that contains Tijānī texts such as *Shurūṭ al-tarbiya bi-l-ṭarīqa al-tijāniyya*, by Muḥammad al-Fāsi (alive after 1193 H/1780 CE), and *Bulūgh al-amānī bi-l-ijāza li-murīd al-wird al-tijānī*, by Moroccan Tijānī Aḥmad Sukayrij (d. 1363 H/1944 CE).<sup>43</sup>

Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's *Kitāb al-Bida'* is one of the few extant Andalusī works composed in the 3rd/9th century. It is a religious treatise against innovations based on Prophetic traditions that reflects Muslim ascetic concerns in the first period of Islam, and continues to appeal to Muslim audiences today:

*Kitāb al-Bida'* ... by Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī, is one of the few works written in al-Andalus in the 3rd/9th century that has come down to us. But this is not the only reason it deserves to be brought back into focus, as it constitutes an interesting document on medieval misoneism from an Islamic perspective (it is the oldest preserved treatise against innovation). It also sheds light on the formation of Muslim practices of ritual and devotion, reflecting the ascetic concerns of the period and the fear that the End was fast approaching. Likewise, it is representative of one of the periods in the introduction of the traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*) in al-Andalus. ... For non-specialists, the translation of Ibn Waḍḍāḥ's work is an occasion to enter into contact with an example of early Islamic religious literature, whose content continues to resonate with Muslim believers today.<sup>44</sup>

Al-Ghumārī was a late *ḥadīth* scholar from Morocco and leader of the Ṣiddīqiyya Ṣūfī order<sup>45</sup> who was very critical with the eastern Ṣūfī orders, especially the Naqshbandiyya, so it is not unusual to find references to his work in the Tijānī manuscripts. Al-Ghumārī studied at al-Azhar, and his *Muṭābaqa* could have been discovered there by a Tijānī scholar from Jimata, since in the collection digitized at this site, we also find an edition of the *Muṭābaqa* printed in Cairo.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, there are also two works by al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. 'Iyāḍ b. 'Amrūn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī, d. 544 H/1149 CE), considered a central figure of Mālikism in the Islamic West,<sup>47</sup> although the works in question are not strictly related to legal matters.<sup>48</sup> *Al-Shifā' bi-ta'rif ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* and

42 *Muṭābaqat al-ikhtirā'āt al-'aṣriyya li-mā akhbara bi-hi sayyid al-barriyya*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Ḥasanī al-Ghumārī (d. 1381 H/1962 CE).

43 Jimata, MS Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād JMK00164, fol. 17v.

44 See Fierro 1998, 7; translation mine.

45 It is a branch of the Shādhiliyya.

46 Al-Ghumārī 1960.

47 Talbi, "'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā", *EF*.

48 *Al-Shifā'*, whose full title could be translated as "Healing by the Recognition of the Rights of the Chosen One", is a work on the Prophet, and *Mashāriq al-anwār* deals with *ḥadīth*.

*Mashāriq al-anwār* ‘*alā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār*’ are both quoted in marginal notes to other manuscripts. Considering that more manuscripts of *al-Shifā’* have been preserved than of over any other work by an author linked to al-Andalus,<sup>49</sup> one might expect to find more copies in these Tijānī collections, but only two printed books were found, and no manuscripts.<sup>50</sup>

In the traditional Islamic schools, a common practice was to compare the Shāfi’ī *fiqh* texts with others produced by Ḥanafī or Mālīkī scholars, and this could explain the existence of mixed texts from the three schools of law. However, it is more likely that the presence of Mālīkī works among the Tijānī manuscripts has to do with the fact that Aḥmad al-Tijānī, founder of the *ṭariqa*, was himself a Mālīkī.

### 3.5 Other references

There are a number of texts that do not fit easily into any of the other sections. For example, in the Agaro-Shaykh Kemal collection we found a printed copy of ‘*Ayn al-adab wa-l-siyāsa wa-zayn al-ḥasab wa-l-riyāsa*’ written by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Hudhayl al-Fazārī (d. after 812 H/1409 CE), an Andalusī man of letters, poet, and *faqīh* who, according to Francisco Vidal Castro, wrote several miscellaneous works of “moralizing entertainment”.<sup>51</sup>

Two texts on medicine have appeared in the Ethiopian manuscripts of the Bruce collection, held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The codices containing these texts constitute the only example to date of Islamic manuscripts written on parchment.<sup>52</sup> Both manuscripts look very similar, and thanks to the information provided in one of them, we know that they were copied around 1770 CE. One of them is *Faṣl min al-dawā wa-l-ṭibb*. According to Sara Fani, cataloguer of these items, the name of the author is given sometimes as al-Ḥakīm Hirmūs and other times as Hirmīs b. al-Bayṭār, apparently a mixture between the Andalusī botanist Ibn al-Bayṭār (Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Mālaqī, d. 646 H/1248 CE) – whose work is one of the most widespread Andalusī texts in the Islamic

<sup>49</sup> *Al-Shifā’* is the most widely disseminated Andalusī text, as measured by the number of preserved manuscripts worldwide. See Fierro (in press).

<sup>50</sup> One of them in the Jimata-Mukhtār collection and the other in the Agaro-Muḥammad Sayf collection.

<sup>51</sup> Vidal-Castro, “Ibn Hudhayl al-Fazārī”, *EP*.

<sup>52</sup> Anne Regourd has studied the physical features of the manuscripts in Gori 2014, xlvi–xcii.

world<sup>53</sup> – and Hermes Trismegistus, who is often invoked for magical and occult medical remedies.<sup>54</sup>

The other text is a compound of fragments on medicine attributed to Cordoban scholar Ibn ‘Azrūn (Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Ishāq al-Isrā’īlī, alive in 494 H/1101 CE).<sup>55</sup>

An edition of *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, by Andalusī author Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE),<sup>56</sup> is held in the collection digitized at the Tijānī site in Haro.<sup>57</sup> While it is not a Šūfī work, the reason behind its inclusion must respond to its analysis of love, and the importance given by Šūfī scholars to this concept in its divine form. Preserved in a *codex unicus*, Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* was not a popular work in the pre-modern period. Rather, it was the attention devoted to it by modern Western scholars, who translated it into different European languages, that has made it famous today, in turn generating interest in the text in the Arab world as well.

## 4 Concluding remarks

In my previous piece on this subject, I concluded that specific local ‘*ulamā*’ who were interested in certain subjects, such as jurisprudence or Šūfī poetry in praise of the Prophet, collected Andalusī and Maghribī works on account of their fame in the broader Islamic world. Although in general terms the genres remain the same – that is, mainly grammar and Šūfī texts – the examination of the Tijānī collections has revealed more titles and authors, especially in light of the collection compiled by Abbā Jihād al-Tijānī (alive in 1382 H/1962 CE) in Jimata, and preserved today by his son, Mukhtār b. Abbā Jihād. The main vehicle for the transmission of the Western Islamic production has thus been Šūfism, especially the Tijāniyya, and the main channels through which the transmission took place are still Mecca–Yemen and secondly Egypt–Sudan. However, it has now been proven that direct scholarly relations between Western and Eastern Africa did in-

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53 Maribel Fierro has found that Ibn al-Bayṭār’s *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-agh-dhiya* is the fourth most widely disseminated Andalusī work. See Fierro (in press).

54 Bodleian MS Bruce 50.

55 Bodleian MS Bruce 45.

56 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (n.d.).

57 MS Abbā Durā HRD00046.

deed exist. Šūfī networks and practices are behind the choice not only of devotional texts, but also of texts such as Ibn Farḥ's poem on *'ilm al-ḥadīth*, written in the form of a Šūfī love poem, and perhaps also of the *Shāṭibiyya*.<sup>58</sup>

An additional reason for the presence of some of the works seems to be the Ethiopian Muslim communities' need for basic summarized and easy-to-memorize texts on a range of Islamic subjects. For instance, Ibn Farḥ's poem, the *Shāṭibiyya*, or Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, are all versified didactic works, which – together with the migration of their authors to the East – has certainly been a decisive factor in their spread not only in the Horn of Africa, but throughout the whole Islamic world as well.<sup>59</sup> Another example of the usage of works intended for basic-level teaching is *Umm al-barāhīn*.<sup>60</sup>

The two most popular works throughout the Horn, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* and *Tanbīh al-anām*, are of Maghribi origin. The case of *Tanbīh al-anām* is of special interest. It probably travelled from Mecca to Yemen and from there to both the Horn and Southwest Asia, where it is also extremely popular,<sup>61</sup> in contrast to its relative lack of popularity in the Arab world. Likewise, *Umm al-barāhīn* also spread to Malaysia and Indonesia, becoming the most popular of the “works explaining the Ash'arī doctrine on the divine and prophetic attributes (*ṣifāt*)”.<sup>62</sup>

Although as compared to the situation in West Africa<sup>63</sup> the percentage of works originating from the Islamic West is small, it is nonetheless significant, as they represent around ten percent of the catalogued manuscripts, that is some 200 codices out of the more than 2000 analyzed.

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**58** Zohra Azgal discusses the legend of holiness developed around this work and its author in her contribution to this volume.

**59** The origin and the reception of these didactic poems have been analyzed by Maribel Fierro. See Fierro (in press).

**60** Bencheneb points out that al-Sanūsī's three *'aqā'id* marked the grades of primary, middle and advanced studies, with the *Ṣuḡhrā al-ṣuḡhrā* sometimes replacing the *Ṣuḡhrā* in the first grade. See Bencheneb, “al-Sanūsī”, *EF*.

**61** These transnational scholarly networks have been studied by Abdul Sheriff and Anne Bang. See Sheriff 2010; Bang 2014.

**62** See Bencheneb, “al-Sanūsī”, *EF*.

**63** For the case of West Africa, see <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/arbms/historical.html>.

## Appendix I: Chronological list of Andalusī scholars

- Muḥammad b. Waḍḍaḥ al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī (d. 289 H/902 CE).
- Ibn Shihāb al-Andalusī, ‘Abd al-Mālik b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Shahīd al-Qurṭubī (d. 393 H/1003 CE).
- Al-Dānī, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Umar al-Umawī al-Mālikī (d. 444 H/1053 CE).
- Ibn ‘Azrūn, Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Ishāq al-Isrā‘īlī (alive in 494 H/1101 CE).
- ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ b. ‘Amrūn al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī, Abū al-Faḍl (d. 544 H/1149 CE).
- Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE).
- Al-Shāṭibī, Abū al-Qāsim b. Firruh b. Khalaf (d. 590 H/1193 CE).
- Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Andalusī (d. 590 H/1193 CE).
- Ibn Rushd, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 595 H/1198 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Yakhlaftan al-Fāzāzī (d. 627 H/1230 CE).
- Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-‘Arabī (d. 638 H/1240 CE).
- Ibn al-Bayṭār, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Mālaqī (d. 646 H/1248 CE).
- Al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ/Faraḥ al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. 671 H/1273 CE).
- Ibn Mālik (d. 672 H/1273 CE).
- Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Masdī al-Muhallabī (d. 673 H/1274 CE).
- Aḥmad b. Faraḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Faraḥ, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ishbīlī al-Lakhmī al-Khawlānī al-Shāfi‘ī, Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 699 H/1300 CE).
- Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Iẓm b. Arqam al-Numayrī al-Andalusī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 749 H/1348 CE).
- Ibn al-Jayyāb ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 749 H/1348 CE).
- Ibn Hudhayl, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hudhayl al-Fazārī (alive in 763 H/1362 CE).
- Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 H/1375 CE).
- Ibn Jābir al-Hawwārī al-A‘mā (d. 780 H/1378 CE).
- Al-Shāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Lakhmī (d. 790 H/1388 CE).
- Ibn ‘Abbād, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rundī (d. 792 H/1390 CE).



## Appendix II: Chronological list of Maghribi scholars

- Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386 H/996 CE).
- Ibn al-Naḥwī, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Abū al-Faḍl al-Tawzarī (d. 513 H/1119 CE).
- ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ al-Hārūshī al-Fāsī al-Tūnisī (d. 570 H/1175 CE).
- Al-Suhaylī, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 581 H/1185 CE).
- Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675 H/1277 CE).
- Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723 H/1323 CE).
- Al-Jazūlī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr al-Samlālī (d. 869 H/1465 CE).
- Al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. Shu‘ayb (d. 895 H/1490 CE).
- Zarrūq, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī (d. 899 H/1494 CE).
- Al-Tabbā‘, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 914 H/1508 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn ‘Azzūm al-Qayrawānī (d. 960 H/1552 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-‘Āshir (alive in 1008–1040 H/1599–1630 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (11th/17th c.): master of al-Maqqarī.
- Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-‘Abbās al-Andalusī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1041 H/1631 CE).
- Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Fāsī (d. 1109 H/1697 CE).
- ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī al-Fāsī (d. 1110 H/1698 CE).
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ma‘n al-Andalusī al-Fāsī (d. 1120 H/1708 CE): master of ‘Abd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī al-Fāsī.
- Aḥmad al-Tijānī, Abū al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār (d. 1230 H/1815 CE).
- Al-Idrisī, Muḥammad al-Fāṭimī (d. 1295 H/1878 CE).
- Muḥammad al-Fāsī (alive after 1193 H/1780 CE).
- Ibrāhīm b. Idrīs al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī al-Fāsī (d. 1304 H/1887 CE).
- Aḥmad Sukayrij (d. 1363 H/1944 CE).
- Al-Ghumārī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Ḥasanī (d. 1381 H/1962 CE).
- Al-Sharīf al-Fāsī (master of Abbā Jamāl b. Ḥājj Yūsuf, Aḥmad al-Nūr b. ‘Alī al-Faḍl al-Tijānī [d. 1406 H/1985 CE]).
- Al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Khalīf al-Qayrawānī (n.d.).
- ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Qayrawānī (n.d.).

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**Part V: Remaining Maghribi while in the Mashriq**



Umberto Bongianino

# Vehicles of Cultural Identity: Some Thoughts on Maghribi Scripts and Manuscripts in the Mashriq

Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf Ibn al-Shaykh al-Balawī (527–604 H/1132–1208 CE) was one of the most respected scholars from Almohad Málaga: a prolific author of prose and poetry, a renowned teacher of Arabic literature, grammar, and Islamic jurisprudence, and *imām* at the congregational mosque of the city. He was also a wealthy and vigorous man: he is recorded to have paid for, and physically contributed to, the erection of 25 mosques and the digging of more than 50 wells in Málaga, in service to the urban community. Before becoming established as a notable in his hometown, however, Ibn al-Shaykh was one of the many Andalusī intellectuals who had travelled to the Mashriq to perform the *ḥajj* and study under the most prominent scholars of Egypt, Iraq, and Greater Syria. Being a man of action as well as intellect, he fought as a *ghāzī* against the Castilians under the Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, and against the Crusaders under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), thus playing an active role on the two major *jihād* fronts of the 12th-century Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup>

During most of the year 562 H/1166-7 CE, Ibn al-Shaykh resided in Alexandria and became a close disciple of the local traditionist Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576 H/1180 CE). In his partly autobiographical treatise *Kitāb Alif bā' li-l-alibbā'* (“The Book of *Alif* and *Bā'* for the Discerning”), a pedagogical work completed shortly before his death and dedicated to his son, the Malagan scholar recounts the following anecdote:

I was in Alexandria, reading to the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (may God have mercy upon him and protect the city) a passage of his own work, when I got to a *ḥadīth* transmitted by his masters on the authority of al-Shāfi'ī (may God be pleased with them). The *ḥadīth* read: “Broad beans [*fūl*] strengthen the brain, and a bigger brain increases the intelligence”. However, the people of those lands mark the letter *fā'* with one dot above it, and *qāf* with two dots also above it, and because of a distraction, I mistook the *fā'* for a *qāf* and read instead: “Speech [*qawl*] strengthens the brain”. The *ḥāfiẓ* burst into laughter (he was an amiable and witty man, may God have mercy upon him) and declared: “Speech exhausts the brain!” or something to that effect. I replied that the word ‘speech’ was in my book, but he corrected

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<sup>1</sup> For a complete biography of Ibn al-Shaykh and a discussion of his works, see Peña Martín 2007.

me: “It’s broad beans!”, enlightening me about their way of dotting letters. Then I asked him: “How can beans strengthen the brain? In my country we say the exact contrary!”. He laughed and replied: “I posed the very same question to my master so-and-so (I forgot his name). I asked him: ‘How can Tabaristan be the greatest producer of broad beans in the whole world, while its inhabitants are the most empty-headed?’”. He replied: ‘Were it not for their beans, they would all be flying!’”.<sup>2</sup>

In this humorous passage, Ibn al-Shaykh refers to the well-known Maghribi practice of dotting the letter *fāʾ* with one dot below it, and *qāf* with one dot above it, attested in virtually all the manuscripts copied in the Islamic West from the 3rd/9th century onwards. This apparently insignificant difference in writing conventions is what caused the author’s misunderstanding and al-Silafi’s amused reaction. As one of the distinctive features of Maghribi scripts, the idiosyncratic way of dotting *fāʾ* and *qāf* was a trait that travelling Andalusī intellectuals such as Ibn al-Shaykh carried with them as part of their cultural background, and confusions of this kind must have been a natural consequence of the encounter between scholars born and trained at the two extremes of the Arabic-speaking Mediterranean. Because of the many differences between Maghribi and Mashriqī scribal practices, similar misunderstandings were arguably commonplace, and must have given rise to a variety of responses spanning from harmless jokes to diplomatic incidents, evidence of which is yet to emerge from the scrutiny of medieval Arabic sources. Among the possible triggers, one should imagine not only the differences in letter shapes (e.g. the final *dāl* and *dhāl* of Maghribi scripts resembling the final *rāʾ* and *zāy* of eastern scripts), but also the disparity between the eastern and western alphanumerical systems (e.g. the letter *ṣād* expressing the number 60 in the Maghrib, but the number 90 in the Mashriq), the distinctive *mise-en-page* of Maghribi diplomatic correspondence, the discrepancies between the formulae and terminology employed in both manuscripts and notarial documents, and so forth.<sup>3</sup>

Although never really considered in this light by modern cultural historians, it is becoming increasingly evident that the use of Maghribi scripts represented a key factor in the creation and promulgation of the Andalusī identity throughout the Islamic world, at least from the 6th/12th century. The distinctive round bookhands originated in al-Andalus during the Umayyad period were introduced in Northwest Africa under the Almoravids and Almohads – Berber dynasties from

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Shaykh, *Alif bāʾ* (1870), 1: 159–160. The passage is also mentioned in Ibn Sharifa 1994, 75–76.

<sup>3</sup> Gacek 2012, 11–12 (“Arabic alpha-numerical notation”), 147–150 (“Maghribī script”), 82–89 (“Dates and dating”).

the Sahara and the Atlas Mountains who unified the two sides of the Strait of Gibraltar and employed Andalusí secretaries and calligraphers as instruments of legitimation and propaganda.<sup>4</sup> This political and cultural coalescence was accompanied by an increased socio-economic interconnection between the two shores of the Alboran Sea, which led to a surge in the circulation and re-settling of Andalusí intellectuals and merchant-scholars in present-day Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. Further to the East, the presence of Andalusí and Maghribi expatriates is attested well before this period, and it is a known fact that cities like Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, and Baghdad were all home to significant Maghribi communities whose members, although occasionally marginalised, made important contributions to the local intellectual debates and the transmission of knowledge.<sup>5</sup> This constant presence is certainly attested in the written sources (travelogues, historiography, biographical dictionaries, etc.), but, from the 6th/12th century, it becomes all the more visible thanks to a different and more concrete type of evidence, namely manuscripts copied in the Mashriq by Maghribi scholars who proudly clung to the writing practices of their homeland. In the next pages, I shall present a brief overview of some of these important vehicles of cultural identity, which deserve to be studied and understood as part of a much larger and still unidentified corpus of Maghribi manuscripts produced, read, annotated, and deposited in the mosques and *madrasas* of the eastern Islamic Mediterranean.

## 1 Alexandria: the frontier at sea

It was in the fortified port city of Alexandria that the vast majority of Maghribi pilgrims, merchants, and scholars journeying by sea had their first encounter with the Mashriq. This typically happened under the towering height of the famous lighthouse, a monument so vividly described by Ibn al-Shaykh and several other Andalusí travellers.<sup>6</sup> By the time of Ibn al-Shaykh's sojourn in 562 H/1166-7 CE, the political decline of the Fāṭimids, once rivals of the Almoravids and largely opposed to the Maghribi presence in Egypt, had allowed the establishment in Alexandria of Šūfī circles animated by disciples of the Andalusí mystic Abū Madyan

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<sup>4</sup> Al-ʿAllaoui/Buresi 2005; Lagardère 1993–94; al-Manūni 1991, 21–42.

<sup>5</sup> On Greater Syria, see Aḥmad 1989; on Damascus in particular, see Pouzet 1975; on Baghdad, see Fierro 2009, 75–90; on Alexandria, see Geoffroy 2002; on Egypt in general, see Ḥanafī 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Asín Palacios 1933. For the description of the *Pharos* given by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, who visited Alexandria in the year 512 H/1118 CE, see Bejarano Escanilla 1995.



(d. 594 H/1198 CE), as well as of scholars of Mālikī jurisprudence.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the first Sunnī *madrasa* established in Fāṭimid Egypt – the Ḥāfiẓiyya – was directed by the Mālikī *imām* Ibn ‘Awf al-Zuhri, and opened in Alexandria in 532 H/1137-8.<sup>8</sup> Among the most ancient manuscripts once in the Municipal Library of the city and now incorporated in the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, are four volumes of a parchment copy of Saḥnūn’s *Mudawwana*, one of the founding texts of the Mālikī *madhhab*, penned in an elegant Maghribi script in Calatrava la Vieja (in present-day Castile-La Mancha), between 506 H/1112 CE and 510 H/1116 CE.<sup>9</sup> Although there is no conclusive evidence to prove it, one is tempted to imagine that these precious codices were brought to Egypt by Andalusī scholars fleeing from the Castilian conquest of Calatrava in 1147.<sup>10</sup>

In the same way as Calatrava and the other towns of the northern Andalusī marches, 12th-century Alexandria was also organized and perceived as a frontier city. It attracted militant intellectuals and saintly warriors from all over the Muslim world, desirous to defend the Nile delta from the raids of the Crusader armies and armadas.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that Ibn al-Shaykh gained his own experience of *jihād* here, since in the very year 562 H/1167 CE Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn valiantly held the city during a four-month siege laid by King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Fāṭimid vizier Shāwar b. Mujir.<sup>12</sup> A certain fascination with the figure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his image of heroic champion of Sunnism was a quality shared by many Maghribi scholars, including the Valencian traveller Ibn Jubayr, who visited Alexandria in 578 H/1183 CE.<sup>13</sup> As recently pointed out by Maribel Fierro, the Andalusī historian al-Yasa‘ al-Ghāfiqī (d. 575 H/1179 CE), after re-settling in Egypt and becoming an esteemed member of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s entourage, wrote one of the first accounts of

**7** Geoffroy 2002, 171. For the persecution of Maghribi pilgrims in Egypt under the Fāṭimid vizier Badr al-Jamālī (r. 466–487 H/1073–1094 CE), mentioned by the historian Ibn al-Athīr, see Vajda 1968, 4.

**8** Sayyid 1992, 117–118. In his unpublished doctoral thesis, Gary Leiser argues that before the foundation of the Ḥāfiẓiyya by the Fāṭimid vizier Riḍwān b. Walkhashī, there were already three ‘*madrasas*’ in Alexandria: one in the house of the Andalusī Mālikī jurist Abū Bakr al-Ṭurtūshī (d. 520 H/1126 CE), one erected by the Mālikī judge of the city Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Majīd b. Ḥadīd and named Makiniyya, and one established by the Shāfi‘ī judge Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā al-Maqḍisi. See Leiser 1976, 115–131.

**9** MS 532/B; see Ziedan 2003, 8–11. Part of the same manuscript is in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MSS Ar. 3006 and Ar. 4835; see Arberry 1955–66, 6: 113.

**10** This manuscript was already in Alexandria in the 16th century, as it bears a number of annotations by the Egyptian scholar and mystic ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 973 H/1565 CE).

**11** Geoffroy 2002, 169–170.

**12** Omran 1985.

**13** Phillips 2013.

the Maghrib specifically intended for a Mashriqi audience, aiming to elicit his patron's military intervention in the western Mediterranean as well.<sup>14</sup>

Three decades before Ibn al-Shaykh's journey, the famous jurist of Dénia Ibn Ghulām al-Faras (d. 547 H/1152 CE) also visited Alexandria on his way to Mecca, and attended the lectures of Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafi.<sup>15</sup> While in the city, in 528 H/1133 CE, he transcribed a work on the variant readings of the Qur'ān by Ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī (320–392 H/932–1002 CE), in a manuscript now held in the National Library of Cairo.<sup>16</sup>

This precious codex – possibly the oldest and most accurate copy of Ibn Jinnī's treatise to have survived – confirms and adds to the little we know of Ibn Ghulām from the biographical dictionaries: he was clearly a keen scholar of the Qur'ān and its recitation, gifted with a fine handwriting and skilled at compiling and binding books (“*kāna [...] ḥasan al-khaṭṭ, anīq al-wirāqa*”).<sup>17</sup> He signed the manuscript's final colophon with the title of *muqri* (“Qur'ānic reader”) and the *nisba* al-Andalusī, arguably the two personal qualities he was most proud of, adding that he completed the book's copying “in the frontier town of Alexandria (*bi-thaḡhr al-Iskandariyya*)”, which is indicative of how the city was perceived by newly-arrived travellers. Ibn Ghulām must have been particularly excited about the variety of books available within the learned circles of Alexandria, as he included after the colophon of his manuscript a detailed description of the exemplar he transcribed, a book copied by the *muqri*' Abū al-Husayn Naṣr al-Shīrāzī, read to a certain 'Alī b. Zayd al-Qasānī (i.e. from Kāshān) in 411 H/1021 CE, and carefully checked against the autograph of Ibn Jinnī. Had he never embarked on his journey eastwards, it would have been very difficult for Ibn Ghulām to come across a manuscript with such a remarkable and 'exotic' line of transmission in his hometown of Dénia.

14 PUA, id. 2583; Fierro 2018, 356.

15 PUA, id. 8633; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1887–89), 1: 193–195, no. 669.

16 MS 78 *qirā'āt*; see Ibn Jinnī, *al-Muḥtasab* (1998), 1: 72, 97–99; Moritz 1905, pl. 177a.

17 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (1887–89), 1: 194.

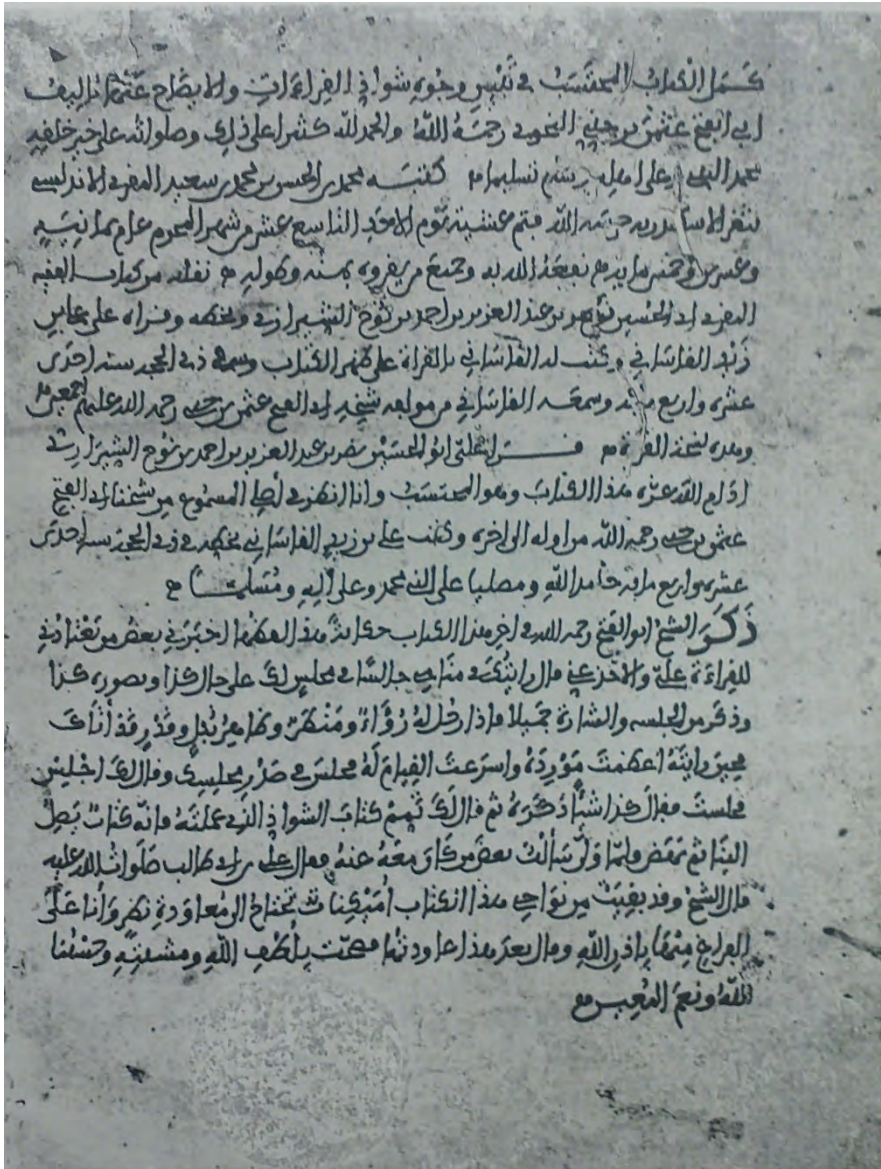


Fig. 1: Cairo, Egyptian National Library MS 78 *qirā'at*, fol. 169r. Final colophon of a copy of Ibn Jinnī's treatise on the variant readings of the Qur'ān, titled *al-Muhtasib fī tabyīn wujūh shawādhidh al-qirā'at*. The manuscript was copied by Ibn Ghulām al-Faras in Alexandria, in 582 H/1133 CE (image from Moritz 1905)

It was also customary for travelling scholars such as Ibn Ghulām to carry with them manuscripts written in the Maghrib, with a view to collating them with eastern copies of the same works, or reading them in the presence of Mashriqi specialists. A perfect witness to this practice is a codex now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, containing the second volume of a 12th-century copy of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-Sunan*, one of the most important *ḥadīth* collections ever compiled (the original work dates from the 3rd/9th century).<sup>18</sup> The manuscript is in Maghribi script, undated, and it was left unsigned by its copyist. The date 12 Ramaḍān 585 (24 October 1189), found in a collation note at the end of the work (fol. 207r), is written in a different hand from the main text, and can only provide a *terminus ante quem* for the production of this copy. As for the origin of the manuscript, the presence of zigzag marks along the central fold of numerous bifolia leaves no doubt that it was originally transcribed in al-Andalus, on locally produced paper.<sup>19</sup>

However, three notes added after the final colophon indicate that, by the beginning of the following century, the book had been brought to Alexandria: the first note, dated 604 H/1207-8 CE, is a reading certificate written in Mashriqi script by a certain Ibn Yāqūt al-Iskandarī al-Muqri' al-Mālikī, clearly a local exponent of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence; the second annotation, this time in Maghribi script, is a hearing certificate penned by a scholar from Málaga – Ibn Ḥarīra al-Mālaqī – who attended a joint reading of this work given by a *shaykh* from Ceuta – Ibn Abī Zayd al-Sabtī – and a second *shaykh* from Béjaïa – Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bijā'ī – in the hall of one their homes (“*fi dihliz dār al-shaykh*”), at the end of a series of sessions (“*majālis*”) on 5 Ramaḍān 605 (13 March 1209); on the next page (fol. 207v), another hearing certificate in Maghribi script was added by a student from Valencia – Ibn al-Walī al-Balansī – who attended the reading sessions of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Sabtī's son Muḥammad, and of a second *shaykh* from Algeciras – Ibn Jābir al-Jazīrī al-Khaḍrā'ī – on 10 Rabī' I 607 (1 September 1210), always “in the frontier town of Alexandria (*bi-thaḡhr al-Iskandariyya*)”. It is difficult to overstate the historical importance of annotations such as these, documenting the breadth and vitality of the Maghribi scholarly circles of Alexandria, whose members copied, read, and gathered around manuscripts that, in both their aspect and content, reflected the intellectual pursuits and identity of an entire community.

<sup>18</sup> Bodleian Library MS Marsh 292; see Uri 1787, 75, no. CCVII.

<sup>19</sup> On the zigzag marks found in Andalusī paper and their possible function, see Estève 2001.

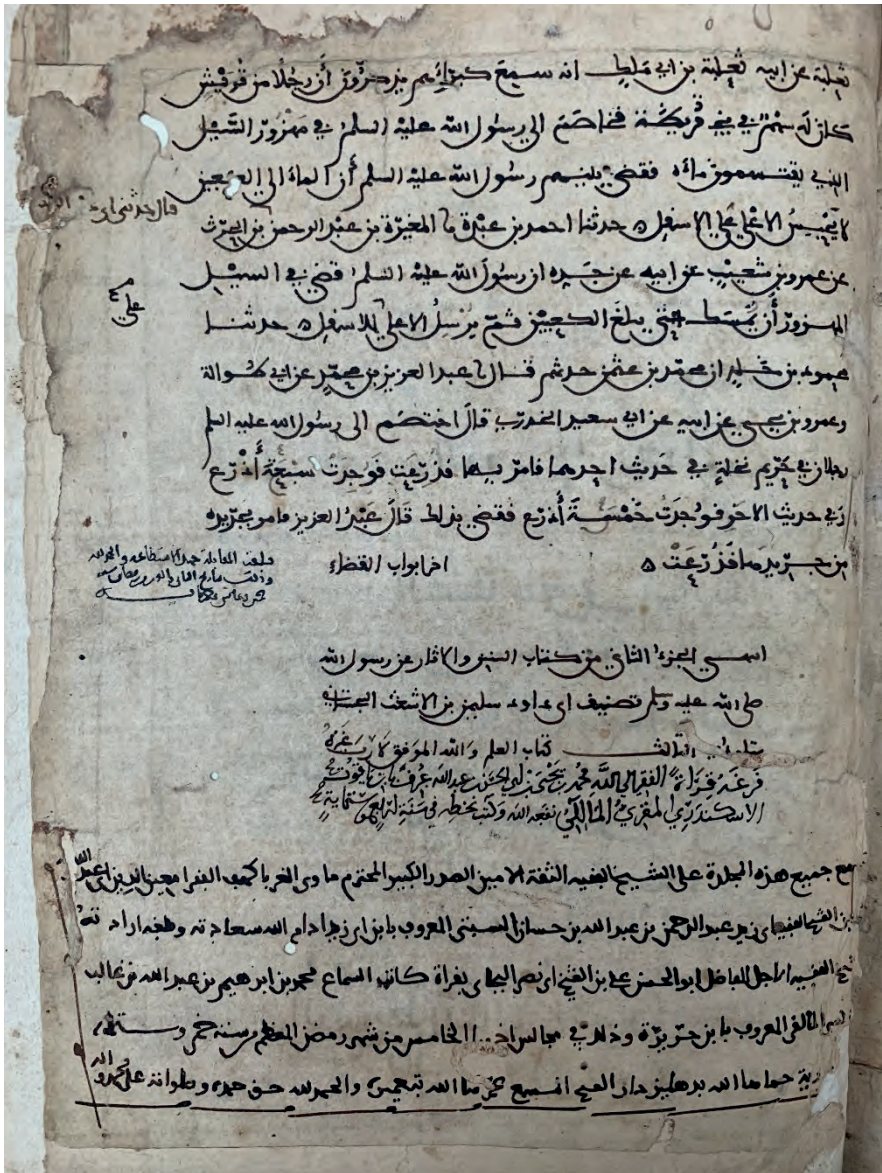


Fig. 2: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Marsh 292, fol. 207r. Final page of an Andalusī copy of Abū Dāwūd's collection of ḥadīth, titled *al-Sunan wa-l-āthār an rasūl Allāh*. Besides the original colophon, the image also shows a collation note dated 585 H/1189 CE, as well as a reading certificate and a hearing certificate, both written in Alexandria (photo by the author)

## 2 Mecca and Jerusalem: scholarship and piety

As the ultimate destination of virtually all Maghribi pilgrims and travellers, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were bustling centres of learning, where scholars from all over the Islamic world met and exchanged ideas, and where the activities of trading, studying, and copying books were fuelled by the relentless coming and going of people. An acephalous manuscript of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* completed in Mecca, in Maghribi script, and dated Ramaḍān 578 (29 December 1182–27 January 1183), auctioned in 2001 and currently in an unknown collection, attests to the presence of Maghribi scholars who resided in the Hejaz and transcribed important religious works not just as an erudite endeavour, but probably also as an act of devotion during the holy month of Ramaḍān.<sup>20</sup> The copyist of this particular manuscript was a certain Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Aghmāṭī, namely from the town of Aghmat, an important mercantile centre of Almohad Morocco, 30 km southeast of Marrakesh. Two centuries after its production, the manuscript came into the possession of the Rasūlid sultan of Yemen, al-Ashraf Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās (r. 778–803 H/1377–1400 CE), as suggested by a hearing certificate written in his name that was added to the right of the original colophon.

An important Meccan manuscript revealing the presence of Andalusī scholars in the city during the 6th/12th century is a copy of al-Tirmidhī's *ḥadīth* collection, *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, today in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>21</sup> The book was transcribed by the Afghan traditionist 'Abd al-Mālik b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Qazzāz al-Harawī al-Kurūkhī in 547 H/1153 CE, one year before his death. It was then given by him to Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Kawthar al-Muḥāribī, a pilgrim from Granada who resided and studied in Mecca for six years with his son 'Alī.<sup>22</sup> After his father's death in 550 H/1155 CE, 'Alī returned to al-Andalus with al-Kurūkhī's gift, and rose to become the most authoritative transmitter of al-Tirmidhī's work in the whole Maghrib.<sup>23</sup> The circulation of this manuscript within the Andalusī community in Mecca first, and then within the scholarly circles of Almohad Iberia, is demonstrated by a series of hearing and reading certificates written in Maghribi scripts on its first and last folios, published by Georges Vajda in 1957.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Islamic Art and Manuscripts* 16/10/2001, lot 28. See also <https://www.christies.com/lot-finder/Lot/muhammad-ibn-ismail-al-bukhari-d-ah-256870-3052204-details.aspx> (accessed Mar. 2020).

<sup>21</sup> MS arabe 709. See <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110003844> (accessed Mar. 2020).

<sup>22</sup> PUA, id. 1640.

<sup>23</sup> PUA, id. 6366.

<sup>24</sup> Vajda 1957, 13–15.

Framing al-Kurūkhī's swift Mashriqī handwriting on all sides, these marginalia illustrate vividly the reception process of a classical eastern work of *ḥadīth* within the Maghribi tradition: perhaps the most important note was added in Ramaḍān 640 (22 February–23 March 1243) in Granada, during a session attended by the city's *qāḍī*. Interestingly, this manuscript was brought back to the Mashriq in the following century, as shown by one final hearing certificate on its last page, written in the Great Mosque of Damascus in 788 H/1386 CE.<sup>25</sup> It is probably in Syria that the book was rebound in a beautiful leather cover decorated with blind and gold tooling, a fitting new look for a manuscript with such an important history.<sup>26</sup>

The scribal activities of the Maghribi population of Mecca, however, were not limited to copying books. Thanks to Dominique and Janine Sourdel's edition of 147 original pilgrimage scrolls dating from the Ayyūbid period, originally stored in the Great Mosque of Damascus and now in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul, evidence has emerged of *ḥajj* and *'umra* certificates written in Maghribi scripts, possibly catering to a Maghribi clientele, the earliest of which dates from the year 596 H/1200 CE.<sup>27</sup> The symbolic weight of employing Maghribi scripts in a Mashriqī context is hinted at in the biographical dictionary of Meccan personages authored by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī al-Mālikī (775–832 H/1373–1429 CE), historian and Mālikī judge of the city, himself a descendant of Maghribi immigrants. In his biography of Ibn Masdī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 663 H/1265 CE), an Andalusī preacher and *imām* who had settled in Mecca two centuries earlier, al-Fāsī praises him by saying that he could write beautifully in both Maghribi and Mashriqī scripts ("*wa-kāna yaktub bi-l-khaṭṭ al-Maghribī wa-l-Mashriqī khaṭṭan ḥasanan*").<sup>28</sup> One is left wondering why the Meccan historian deemed it important to include such a minor detail of Ibn Masdī's curriculum in his account, if not to highlight his mastery of – and integration into – both the Maghribi and Mashriqī scholarly traditions, and possibly also his ability to copy books for his native community as well as for other Meccan circles and institutions.

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25 Vajda 1954, 371–375.

26 Guesdon/Vernay-Nouri 2001, 148, n. 108.

27 Sourdel/Sourdel-Thomine 2006, 22, n. 16, pls. V–VI.

28 PUA, id. 10808; al-Fāsī, *al-'Iqd* (1959–69), 2: 403–410, no. 493, mentioned in Juvin 2013, 155.



Fig. 3: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MS Ar. 3016, fols. 86v–87r. Last page spread and final colophon of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ma‘āfirī’s autograph work on famous women, written in Damascus in 581 H/1185-6 CE (photo by the author)

In Jerusalem, the third holiest city of Islam recaptured from the Crusaders in 583 H/1187 CE, an Andalusī expatriate had risen to unprecedented fame by the end of the 6th/12th century. The man was Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ma‘āfirī al-Mālaqī (d. 605 H/1208-9 CE), renowned for his wisdom and asceticism, whom the victorious Ṣalāh al-Dīn appointed *imām* and preacher of the prestigious Aqṣā Mosque, after restoring the site to Muslim worship. A spiritual leader to the local Maghribī community, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ma‘āfirī was revered as a saint by the time of his death, and his funeral was an event that stirred the entire city deeply, with Christians also paying their last respects to his coffin.<sup>29</sup> The Chester Beatty Library in Dublin houses a unique autograph by al-Ma‘āfirī, which he wrote in Damascus in 581 H/

<sup>29</sup> PUA id. 6675. For a complete biography of ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Ma‘āfirī and a discussion of his works, see Navarro i Ortiz 2012b.



1185-6 CE, two years before taking up his new position in Jerusalem.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript comprises a series of biographies and anecdotes relating to famous Muslim women who lived in the early Islamic period, as well as Qur'ānic figures such as Eve, Job's wife, and the Queen of Sheba.<sup>31</sup>

Interestingly, these accounts are grouped in what appears to be the draft of a work that al-Ma'āfirī never completed. Six of the eleven chapters begin with a list of transmitters from whom al-Ma'āfirī received the text and to whom he read it back, and end with a signed and dated colophon. Among these transmitters were important Damascene intellectuals – including Bahā' al-Dīn al-Qāsim, the son of the famous historian Ibn 'Asākir – who held their scholarly gatherings in the Great Umayyad Mosque.<sup>32</sup> Despite the manuscript being just a preliminary draft, its neat Maghribi script and tidy page layout reveal al-Ma'āfirī's penmanship and meticulousness, which are among the many qualities attributed to him by the sources.<sup>33</sup> Curiously, he dotted *fā'* and *qāf* according to the Mashriqi system, a sign perhaps of his high degree of acculturation. This codex is certainly remarkable because of the light it sheds on transmission practices and the compositional stages of Arabic prosopographic works; however, it also shows the breadth of interests and the intellectual vivacity of one of the most successful Andalusī emigrants in the medieval Mashriq, as well as his repeated and fertile interactions with the local scholarly elites.

### 3 Damascus: the Maghrib in the Mashriq

At the time when al-Ma'āfirī was gathering material for his book on famous women in the Great Umayyad Mosque, Damascus was already home to one of the largest and most prosperous Maghribi communities of the eastern Mediterranean, whose members played a salient role in the city's scholarly life. As recently shown by Konrad Hirschler in his study of the 7th/13th-century catalogue of the Ashrafiyya Library, books from the western Islamic world constituted a noteworthy group within the original collection, and many of them had probably been brought to Damascus by Maghribi travellers, or transcribed in Syria by Maghribi

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30 Chester Beatty MS Ar. 3016; see Arberry 1955–66, 1: 6, pl. 2.

31 Kilpatrick 2005, 57–64.

32 Navarro i Ortiz 2012b, 485.

33 Al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl* (1965), 314–316, no. 627.

expatriates.<sup>34</sup> Most of these books are now lost or dispersed, but others have survived in the libraries of the city. Among the most interesting and puzzling examples of Maghribi manuscripts in the National Library of Damascus is a corpus of parchment folios containing texts of Mālikī jurisprudence, originally copied in Kairouan between the 4th/10th century and the early 5th/11th century, and then recycled in 7th/13th-century Syria as binding material for locally-produced paper books.<sup>35</sup> These fragments, currently under study by Hirschler as part of his research project on document reuse in medieval Arabic manuscripts, seem to attest to the presence in Damascus of a group of North African refugees who had fled the destruction of Kairouan by the Banū Hilāl in 449 H/1057 CE, carrying away with them some precious parchment codices from the city's libraries.<sup>36</sup>

As already mentioned, one way of understanding the contribution made by Maghribi scholars to the written culture of the Mashriq is through the study of the notes they added in the margins and at the end of certain manuscripts, providing unique insight into the micro-history of the reading sessions they attended.<sup>37</sup> The Damascene corpus of reading and hearing certificates (*samā'āt*, sing. *samā'*) from the manuscripts of the Zāhiriyya Library, published in 1996 and mostly covering readings of *ḥadīth* works between 550 H/1155 CE and 750 H/1349 CE, includes dozens of names of Andalusī and Maghribi religious scholars.<sup>38</sup> When their task was also to write down the actual *samā'āt*, their Maghribi handwriting immediately stands out among the certificates penned by their eastern colleagues. This important corpus, however, is only part of a much greater body of evidence lying dormant in many more libraries and collections around the world, still awaiting systematic research. For example, a voluminous codex in the Escorial Library containing the whole of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, transcribed in Damascus on 28 Ramaḍān 559 (19 August 1164), presents a series of interesting reading certificates clearly belonging to the same milieu as those of the Zāhiriyya manuscripts.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Hirschler 2016, 38.

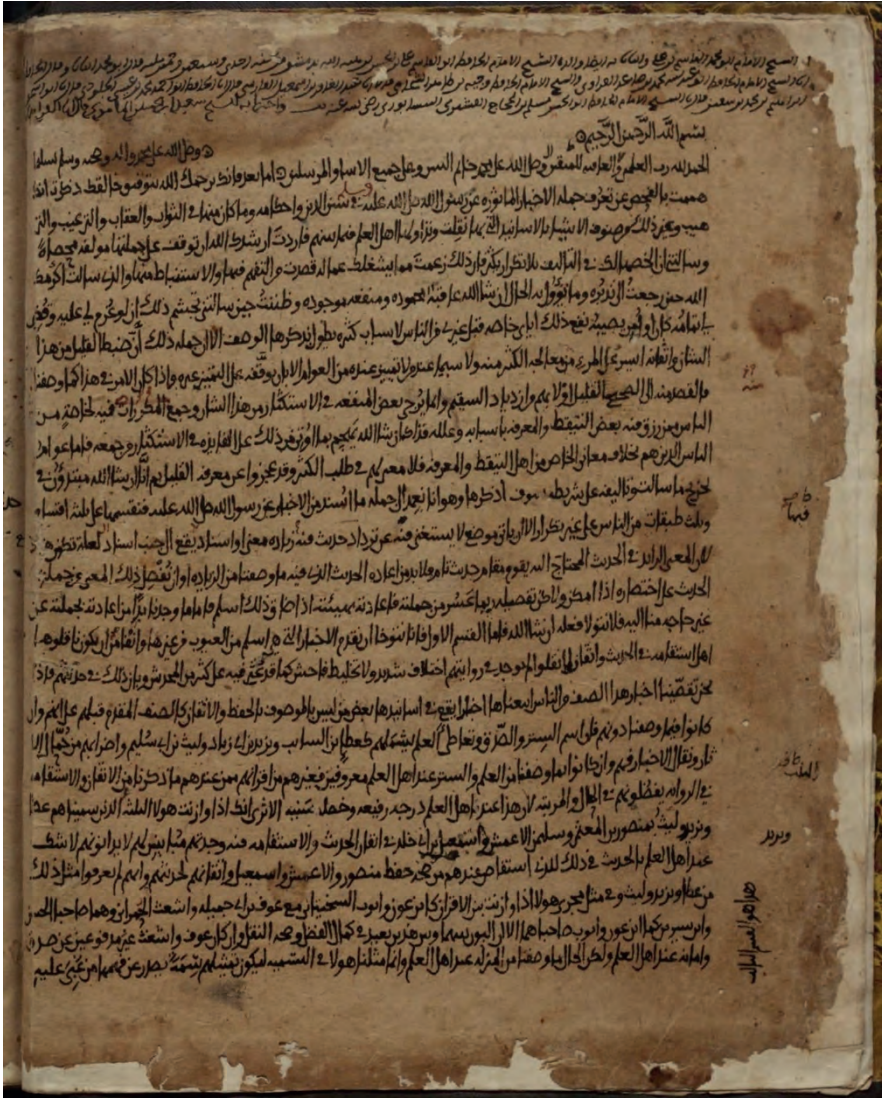
<sup>35</sup> See, for instance, MSS 3829, 3841, 3847, 3850. I would like to thank Professor Konrad Hirschler for having shared with me some images of these manuscripts (see also Hirschler [forthcoming]).

<sup>36</sup> Hirschler 2017, 37. On the fragmentary manuscripts of Mālikī *fiqh* from Kairouan found in the Qubbat al-Khazna of the Great Mosque of Damascus, see Sourdel-Thomine/Sourdel 1964, 7–8, 15–20; Sourdel-Thomine/Sourdel 1965, 79, pl. IV a.

<sup>37</sup> Hirschler 2012, 33.

<sup>38</sup> Leder *et al.* 1996–2000.

<sup>39</sup> Escorial MS D. 1007; see Vajda 1963, 76–79.



**Fig. 4:** Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial MS árabe 1007, fol. 2v. Opening page of a copy of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* written in Damascus, in 559 H/1164 CE, by 'Abd Allāh al-Murādī al-Ishbīlī (© Patrimonio Nacional).

The book was copied, in Maghribi script but with *fā'* and *qāf* dotted according to the Mashriqi system, by a certain 'Abd Allāh b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Īsā al-Murādī al-Andalusī al-Ishbīlī. The name of this scholar is not recorded in the

available biographical dictionaries, nor does it appear in any of the published Damascene *samā'āt* of the period. All we know is what this manuscript and its certificates (fol. 294r) tell us: al-Murādi read the whole volume to a *shaykh* from Badajoz – Abū 'Alī al-Anṣārī al-Baṭalyawsī – in the Great Mosque of Damascus, during a series of sessions ended on 3 Ṣafar 560 H (20 December 1164). Then, he collated it a second time during a public reading given by the famous Damascene historian and *ḥadīth* transmitter Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 H/1176 CE). It is possible to identify the copyist of this manuscript with the Sevillian *faqīh* named al-Murādi that Ibn Jubayr met in the Great Umayyad Mosque twenty years later, in 580 H/1184 CE, standing by a column to which “a special endowment is attached, a benefit that can be acquired by whoever leans against it to study and give lectures”.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, the Valencian traveller includes this passage immediately after his mention of the Mālikī sector of the mosque, abutting the western wall, where the city's Maghribi students gathered and were taught according to their special curriculum.<sup>41</sup>

In one of the most important sources for reconstructing the history and society of Islamic Syria, the monumental *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq* (“History of Damascus”) by Ibn 'Asākir, Maghribi and Andalusī expatriates occasionally feature as real protagonists. To give just one example, the North African Mālikī jurist Yūsuf b. Dūnās al-Findalāwī lived and taught in Damascus during the second quarter of the 6th/12th century, and there he became revered not only as a “zealous defender the *sunna*”, but also as a miracle-worker and a saint-like figure. Aspiring to martyrdom, he joined the warriors who fought the Crusaders outside the walls of Damascus in Rabī' I 543 (20 July–18 August 1148). Despite his old age, he could not be persuaded to desist from taking part in the battle, and “before the day was over, he attained the martyrdom which he had longed for as the greatest happiness of all”.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps less known is the fact that one of the earliest surviving manuscripts of Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rīkh* was copied by an Andalusī Damascene scholar, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Birzālī al-Ishbīlī (577–636 H/1181–1239 CE). Al-Birzālī had left his hometown of Seville in 602 H/1205-6 CE, and before settling down in Syria, he had resided for a few years in Alexandria, Cairo, Mecca, and travelled

40 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* (1964), 245.

41 Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* (1964), 245: “*li-l-Mālikīyya zāwiya li-l-tadrīs fi al-jānib al-maghribī, yujtami' fihā ṭalabat al-Maghāribā, wa-lahum ijrā' ma'lūm*”.

42 Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh* (1995–2001), 74: 234–236. See also Mourad/Lindsay 2013, 36–37.

extensively across Iran and Khorasan; he died in Hama in 636 H/1239 CE.<sup>43</sup> As one of the most highly esteemed traditionists of Greater Syria, he was appointed head professor of *ḥadīth* at the Ibn ‘Urwa *madrasa* (*Dār al-ḥadīth al-‘Urwiyya*), located just outside the eastern gate of the Great Mosque of Damascus. In the corpus of reading and hearing certificates of the Ṣāhiriyya Library, his names appear 41 times as an attendee, reader, or teacher at various scholarly gatherings held between 614 H/1217 CE and 635 H/1235 CE.<sup>44</sup> What is particularly interesting about al-Birzālī’s activity, however, is his incessant dedication to copying books for his own use and for the benefit of his colleagues and pupils in an elegant Maghribi script, a quality for which he was renowned and praised by his biographers in both the Islamic East and West.<sup>45</sup> The surviving parts of al-Birzālī’s copy of Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Ta’rīkh*, originally in 80 volumes, are now dispersed in several libraries around the world, including the Azhariyya Library in Cairo and the Khuda Bakhsh Library in Patna, India, and indeed show al-Birzālī’s superior penmanship as well as his painstaking attention to the correct transmission of the text.<sup>46</sup> The Khuda Bakhsh volumes, for instance, contain four colophons and 20 marginal notes stating that they were copied in 614 H/1217 CE and 615 H/1218 CE in the Mu‘iniyya *madrasa*, collated with a manuscript of Ibn ‘Asākir’s son Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Qāsim (d. 600 H/1203-4 CE), and read by al-Birzālī in the presence of several disciples of Ibn ‘Asākir, between 617 H/1220 CE and 619 H/1222 CE.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, al-Birzālī’s assiduous study of the original manuscript that belonged to Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Qāsim is demonstrated by the hearing certificates left by the Andalusī scholar on its folios, 70 of which are now part of the collection of the Leiden University Library.<sup>48</sup> It is also worth remembering that, thanks to al-Birzālī’s alacrity as a copyist, another important work by Ibn ‘Asākir has come down to us: entitled *Arba‘ūn ḥadīth li-l-ḥathth ‘alā al-jihād* (“Forty *Ḥadīth* for Inciting *Jihād*”), its only surviving manuscript, copied and annotated by al-Birzālī with his characteristic accuracy, is today kept in the Damascene Ṣāhiriyya Library.<sup>49</sup>

43 PUA, id. 10797. For a complete biography of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Birzālī al-Ishbili, see Navarro i Ortiz 2012a.

44 Leder *et al.* 1996–2000, 1: 575–576.

45 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmilā* (1887–89), 1: 349–350, no. 1012; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (2004), 3779–3780, no. 6006: “*wa-nasakha kathīran li-nafsihi wa-li-l-nās bi-khatt ḥalw Maghribī*”.

46 Cairo, Azhariyya Library MS 452 *ta’rīkh*; see *al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya* 1945–78, 5: 379. Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Library MSS 800 (vols. 31–32) and 801 (vols. 51–52); see *Catalogue* 1908–1970, 12: 144–148, <http://kblibrary.bih.nic.in> (accessed Mar. 2020).

47 Navarro i Ortiz 2012a, 254–255.

48 MS Or. 12644; see Witkam 2002, 602–603.

49 MS 1592/3; see Mourad/Lindsay 2013, 82–99; Leder *et al.* 1996–2000, 2: 226–233.



Fig. 5: Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Library MS 800, fols. 1v–2r. Beginning of the 31st volume of Ibn ‘Asākīr’s *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*. It was copied in Damascus by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bīrẓālī al-Ishbīlī, in 614 H/1217 CE (© Khuda Bakhsh Library)

## 4 Conclusion

It would exceed the scope of this brief overview – and tax the reader’s patience unnecessarily – to introduce yet more manuscripts copied in the Islamic East by Maghribi scholars, in Maghribi scripts, between the 6th/12th century and the 7th/13th century.<sup>50</sup> Hopefully, the few examples here presented will suffice to stimulate a reflection on the cultural and aesthetic impact that the production

**50** At least two other manuscripts could be mentioned, both copied in Damascus in 632 H/1234-5 CE: MS Şehit Ali Paşa 2499 of the Süleymaniye Library, containing a large portion of Sibawayh’s *Kitāb*, signed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Mayūrḳī (see Humbert 1995, 279–281); and MS arabe 610 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, containing a work by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sakhāwī titled *al-Wasīla ilā kashf al-‘aqīla*, transcribed by ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālīk b. Mawḥab al-Andalusī; see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004247.t.r=Arabe%20610?rk=214593;2> (accessed Mar. 2020).

and circulation of such books had on their readership. The scholarly world of medieval Islam was a place of plurality and constant encounter between different schools of religious and philosophical thought, textual traditions, literary genres, lines of transmissions, and intellectuals acting as highly mobile nodes within an incredibly interconnected network. While it is true that these men of letters were principally defined by the masters they had studied with, the travels they had made in pursuit of knowledge, the works they had transmitted, and sometimes by their engagement with *jihād* in its many forms and geopolitical manifestations, it is equally clear that their lineage and origins continued to play an important role in the way they perceived and presented themselves in such a diverse arena.

The use of Maghribi scripts was a significant aspect of the activity and academic output of expatriate scholars from the western Islamic world, being the visible expression of a cultural background shared by individuals who, through their travels and experiences, had all acquired multiple identities. Occasionally, their handwriting suggests a certain degree of acculturation: a case in point are the above-mentioned manuscripts copied by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Maʿāfirī and ʿAbd Allāh al-Murādī, where *fāʾ* and *qāf* are dotted according to the Mashriqī system, but the autographs of the famous Murcian mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638 H/1240 CE) could also be mentioned here, as they include in their script and layout a few Mashriqī features, owing to the influence of the milieu in which they were written (primarily Mecca, Damascus, and eastern Anatolia).<sup>51</sup> Still, most Maghribi scholars proudly upheld and cultivated the calligraphic norms and scribal conventions they had learned in their homeland even after leaving it, and the societies of their adoptive countries perceived them as a cohesive group also because of the distinctive appearance of the books they transcribed. In light of the evidence here discussed, it would seem worthwhile to engage with the manuscript production of these expatriate communities on a more direct and intimate level, interrogating its visual qualities and material aspects as well as its contents. Perhaps this field of research will prove a suitable testing ground for new methodological approaches to Arabic manuscripts, at the intersection between intellectual history, palaeography, and social anthropology.

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<sup>51</sup> See, for instance, the autograph manuscript of Ibn ʿArabī's *Dīwān* now in the Khalili Collection (MS 225), written in Damascus before the year 634 H/1237 CE, discussed in Hirtenstein 2006. One of the earliest dated manuscripts containing some of Ibn ʿArabī's treatises was copied by one of his pupils in Malatya in 602 H/1205 CE, in Maghribi script (*Islamic Art and Manuscripts* 1/5/2001, lot 57).

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Josef Ženka

# A Mamlūk-Andalusi Holograph Manuscript of the Former Marīnid Chancellor Muḥammad Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī (d. 788 H/1386 CE)

A large corpus of manuscripts created by Andalusis living in Mamlūk lands have survived, tracing the new lives that they built far away from their birthplaces. These documents illustrate interests, scholarly and professional activities, and, in those cases where a scholar had not attracted the attention of Mamlūk authors, also provide exceptional sources for reconstructing their fate, as well their own expression, and perception, of themselves. It is clear that the Andalusis used these manuscripts for private study, for the education of their children, as a means of transmission of their own knowledge, as well as a source of income. In some cases, the manuscripts enable readers to clearly establish the context in which they were created. How a specific volume was used over time and how its meaning changed through the generations can also often be ascertained. Thus, these manuscripts allow one to look beyond the factual depiction of the presence of the Maghrib in the Mashriq, as it was shaped by Mamlūk authors, and offer a unique opportunity to assess their author's identity and cultural acts of expression.<sup>1</sup> Biographical sketches in Western sources often end at the moment of their departure from the Maghrib, while Eastern ones start with their arrival in the East.

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1 In this paper the words Maghrib/Maghribi and West and Western are used to denote the Islamic West as a whole. For the specific regions terms such as al-Andalus, Granada, Fez, and Tunis or their dynastic equivalents are used. The terms Mashriq and the East are used to denote everything eastwards of Ḥafṣid Tripolis.

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**Note:** The work for this paper was carried out during my research stay at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg in Bonn. I would like to thank Stephan Conermann and Bethany Walker for giving me the opportunity to develop this line of research. The first version of this paper was presented in Bonn in September 2018 and a second version at the Madrid workshop, “The Maghrib in the Mashriq” in December 2018. I am grateful to Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas for inviting me. To my colleague, Pavel Sládek, I am grateful for his support. Anna Gilliland's linguistic revision made the publication of this paper possible. Without her effort, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh would have stayed buried in history. Research for this article was supported in part by the project *La Granada nazarí en el siglo xv: microhistoria de una entidad islámica en Occidente* (FFI2016-79252-P AEI/FEDER,UE), co-directed by Ana M.<sup>3</sup> Carballeira and Amalia Zomeño.

Their previously acquired identity and skills clearly helped these scholars to adapt to this new Mashriq life, and this ‘dual reality’ is worthy of exploration.

In such a context, and within the framework of this volume, this paper aims to analyze three holograph *ijāzas* (permission for transmission), with a fragment of a previously unknown *Riḥla*, given by Muḥammad Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Ṭā’i al-Wādī Āshī (712–788 H/1312–3–1386 CE), a former Marīnid chancellor, to Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī (753–841 H/1352–1438 CE), a *muḥaddith* (scholar of *ḥadīth*) from Aleppo. These *ijāzas* were given in Damascus in 784 H/1382 CE and provide evidence of how an Andalusi scholar living in Mamlūk lands created and passed on an ego-document to a local scholar, as well as how this document transformed in meaning over the next 55 years of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s life.<sup>2</sup> This change in meaning of the manuscript suggests that the understanding and reception of an ego-document depends on the “symbolic universe” current in the society at that particular moment in time, and how it can be enhanced by the presence of other scholars, in this case from the West.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, it points to the personal contacts Andalusis made between themselves in Mamlūk territory and the use of a certain Mamlūk-Andalusi manuscript among Mamlūk scholars.

Available evidence permits an analysis of the use to which this particular manuscript was put on various occasions, from its creation until the death of its owner, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī. It forms part of his extensive *Thabat* (a scholar’s study diary) that accompanied him his whole life.<sup>4</sup> The *ijāzas* were written in either the handwriting of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh or that of his and Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s friend, Abū al-Ḥasan/Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, who was also Andalusi. They are Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s expressions of his personal cultural identity and are part poetry and part travelogue. In composition they differ from the rest of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s *Thabat*, rather, reflecting the form similar to other *ijāzas* given in al-Andalus at that time. To consider them as ego-documents, and not just another sample of his wider works, we must look “at not what is represented but how this representation has been interpreted and perceived”.<sup>5</sup> As Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s texts

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<sup>2</sup> On “ego-documents” see Frenkel 2018, 29–31; on holograph manuscripts see Bauden/Franssen 2019, 1–37.

<sup>3</sup> Confino 1997, 1391.

<sup>4</sup> Kristina Richardson translates the word *thabat* as a scholarly autobiography (Richardson 2016, 31). Although *thabat* represents a type of autobiographical expression, it is not a coherent narrative of its author’s life. Thus, I opted for the term a ‘scholar’s study diary’ since that is more related to one’s everyday activities than to the expression of self. Likewise, Reynolds *et al.* translate *thabat* as a catalog of teachers, which clearly does not apply to the *Thabat* of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī. See Reynolds 2001, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Confino 1997, 1392.

can only be understood through intermediaries who interacted with them, it is their relationship to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat*, its readers and users, which is crucial for the confirmation of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s presence in Mamlūk territory after he met Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.

## 1 The *Thabat* of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī and his History with the Andalusis

The manuscript of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat* is now held in the Jafet Library of the American University of Beirut.<sup>6</sup> It is part of a large, dispersed, corpus of surviving manuscripts produced, owned, or used by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī throughout his life. Although one of many *thabats* from Aleppo, it is certainly the most famous. It comprises 722 pages, of which 721 are paginated, and 361 folios. However, it appears to be incomplete at the end.<sup>7</sup> It spans the period from 776 H/1375 CE to 810 H/1408 CE and is composed of *samā’āt* and *qirā’āt* (listening and reading certificates), *ijāzas*, excerpts of poetry, historical records, an autobiographical sketch of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, travel and study notes, the birth dates of his sons, and other information he considered worthy of recording. It was Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s constant companion on the travels he undertook in the pursuit of knowledge, journeys that took him from Aleppo to Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria and other Mamlūk cities. In addition, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī was assiduous in collecting autographs of his teachers. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s text fits into this category, although his is only one of three Andalusi/Maghribi scholars collected by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.

It was Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s previous experience and interaction with Andalusis that ultimately led to his encounter with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. During his early years in Aleppo, he studied with two close friends, Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad Ibn Mālik al-Ru‘aynī (708 or 709–779 H/1308-10–1378 CE) and Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Jābir al-Hawwārī (698–780 H/1298-9–1378 CE).<sup>8</sup> A part of what looks like a

<sup>6</sup> For Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī see Wādī‘ al-Thabīṭī 1418/1997-8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ḥajar’s biography of a *kātib* of Granada, Sahl b. Mālik (d. after 821 H/1418-9 CE), suggests that Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī continued to collect similar material well after the year 810 H/1407 CE. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma‘* (1994), 3: 119.

<sup>8</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī also noted their dates of birth and death (Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 184). Both of them are mentioned as his teachers but Ibn Mālik is more prevalent. Interestingly, they wrote together another currently lost *Rihla* produced by Mamlūk-Andalusis. Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s son Abū Dharr mentions that it was a one-volume work. See Sibṭ Ibn

*barnāmaj* of Ibn Mālik al-Ru‘aynī was even copied into his *Thabat*.<sup>9</sup> We can but speculate if their influence played any role in his future interest in meeting Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. However, we do know that another Andalusī, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī (ca. 750–792 H/ca. 1350–1389-90 CE) did play a major role in his life, and also in his *Thabat*.

In all likelihood Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī were introduced sometime in Ramaḍān 776 (February 1375), when Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī came to Aleppo to read *ḥadīth* in the *madrasa* al-Sharafiyya.<sup>10</sup> In 780 H/1378 CE they met again in Jabal Qāsiyūn next to Damascus.<sup>11</sup> From Muḥarram to Rabī‘ al-Thānī 780 (Apr.-Aug. 1378), they studied together in Damascus, and later in Cairo in 780–782 H/1379-80 CE.<sup>12</sup> Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī copied the *samā‘āt* and *qirā‘āt* certificates from Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s *Thabat* and penned some of the certificates in his own handwriting, including two *ijāzas*.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī copied some of the thoughts of Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.<sup>14</sup> After a break of several years, their paths crossed again, in Damascus in 784 H/1382 CE during an encounter with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. In 785 H/1383 CE, in Cairo, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī took some classes with Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, and he finally included him on the list of his teachers at the beginning of his *Thabat*.<sup>15</sup> They parted ways in 785 H/1383 CE, when Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī left for Mecca, and never saw each other again.<sup>16</sup>

There is no other scholar from this period with whom Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī shared his *Thabat* so extensively, nor any other with whom he interacted so

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al-‘Ajāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 473. For Ibn Mālik al-Ru‘aynī, see Navarro i Ortiz/Lirola Delgado 2012; for Ibn Jābir al-Hawwārī, Lirola Delgado/Ferrando 2009.

9 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 557–560. It consists of a long list of Mālikī works with *isnāds* copied before Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s second trip to Cairo from Ibn Mālik’s own handwritten notes.

10 Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, “*Ijāza*”, Dār al-Kutub MS majmū‘a 135, fols. 98v and 103v. There are two manuscripts that Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī created during his journey to Aleppo. One is an excerpt of al-Būnī’s work (Berlin MS Mq 123, fols. 76r–81v) and the other is his 20 page long holograph *ijāza* to transmit Qur’ānic readings on his authority (Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, “*Ijāza*”, Dār al-Kutub MS majmū‘a 135, fols. 94r–103v). The latter text I prepared for an edition with an introductory study.

11 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 189.

12 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 186, 206, 226, 246, 266, 286, 324, 404, 470.

13 See especially Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 9, 12, 212–213, 593–596.

14 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 286.

15 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Thabat*”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 40, 599–600.

16 Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī died in Yemen in 792 H/1389-90 CE. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (1933), 2: 255; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 232; al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt* (1994), 253; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rīkh* (1988), 3: 413.

closely over such a long period of time. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī was probably around the same age as Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī. They also had similar interests in reading *ḥadīth* which, no doubt, brought them closer to each other and allowed them to pursue their studies together. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī arrived in Damascus in 772 H/1370-1 CE from Tunis, after having left Granada a year earlier.<sup>17</sup> He had never met Ibn Ḥizb Allāh but on the list of his Granada teachers are found scholars who certainly had.<sup>18</sup> For about 13 years he wandered between Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo, studying and teaching *ḥadīth* and *qirā’āt*. Similarly to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, he carried with him a holograph *ijāzas*, from his Andalusi teachers, which he showed to his Mamlūk colleagues.<sup>19</sup> It would be more speculation to suggest that this might have played any role in Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s desire to have a similar holograph *ijāza* by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. However, what is more certain is that it had to have been Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī who introduced him to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in 784 H/1382 CE, when the two old friends ran into each other in Damascus.

## 2 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s meeting with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī in Damascus

Despite Ibn Ḥizb Allāh being a relatively unknown scholar, he is arguably one of the most curious Andalusis one could have encountered in Damascus.<sup>20</sup> He was a former member of the chancery of the Marīnid sultans, a veteran of one of the largest battles of the 14th century, the Battle of Tarifa (741 H/1340 CE), and he is known to have participated in the Marīnid conquest of Qusanṭīna in 758 H/1357 CE. He was probably born in Wādī Āsh (Guadix) in 712 H/1312-3 CE where his father worked as an *‘adl* (notary).<sup>21</sup> After a long period of service in al-Andalus and Maghrib, he left on pilgrimage and settled in Jerusalem for almost 30 years.

17 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (1933), 2: 29, 210

18 Namely Aḥmad Ibn Khātima, Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafiqī or Faraj Ibn Lubb.

19 It is Ibn al-Jazarī who mentioned that al-Balawī had brought the *ijāzas* of some scholars with him, such as Ibn Lubb or Ibn Qāsim al-Ghassānī. These *ijāzas* were clearly his cultural capital in the Mamlūk territory. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (1933), 1: 97; 2: 8

20 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf al-nās* (2002), 143; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta* (2001), 2: 367–370. For corrections see Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī 1979, 343–344; al-Bishtakī, “Markaz al-Iḥāta”, BnF Arabe 3347, fol. 27r–27v; al-‘Ulaymī, *al-Uns* (1999), 2: 362–363; Ibn Ḥajar, *Imbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 328; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 199–200; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb* (1990), 322; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathir al-jumān* (1987), 426; Damaj 2004, 160.

21 Espinar Moreno 2019, 87–88.



He died in Damascus in 788 H/1386 CE. History has largely forgotten him now but during the three days of Sha‘bān 784/October 1382 in Damascus he created an extraordinary document when he met Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī and Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.

The story of how these three men met can be reconstructed based on seven pages of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat* (pages 568–574) written either in the handwriting of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh or at his request by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.<sup>22</sup> The whole sojourn of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī in Damascus covers 16 pages (pages 564–579), which means that Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s text occupies half of this *juz’*. Page 564 is the front-page of his arrival in Damascus in which Ibn Ḥizb Allāh is listed as a teacher. Pages 565 to 567 contain *samā‘āt*, *qirā‘āt* and *inshādāt* from 28 Rajab 784/7 October 1382 (page 565), the end of Rajab 784/October 1382 (from pages 565–567) and the first day of Sha‘bān 784/10 October 1382 (page 567). One folio follows up with an excerpt from Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s *Rihla*, written in the handwriting of Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī (pages 568–569), confirmed at the bottom of the second page (page 569) by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh with an *ijāza* dated on 5 Sha‘bān 784/14 October 1382. The paper of this folio appears to be a bit smaller than the rest of this section of the *Thabat* and the ink and pen seems to be different from the ones used for the *ijāzas* on pages 570 to 573, granted by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh one day earlier on Sha‘bān 4, 784/October 13, 1382.<sup>23</sup> On page 574 there is a third *ijāza* given by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s friend, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Bahrām al-Ḥalabī, dated 6 Sha‘bān 784/15 October 1382. The pen used by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh differs from the one used in the main body of the text of the first *ijāza*. Page 575 is blank. The following three folios (pages 576 to 579) contain *samā‘āt* and *qirā‘āt* dated 4 Sha‘bān 784/13 October 1382 (page 576) or 6 Sha‘bān 784/15 October 1382 (pages 577–578), as well as the list of works included in this *juz’* along with two long notes.

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh informs us that he came to Damascus, most likely from Jerusalem (*nazīl Bayt al-Muqaddas*) where he lived.<sup>24</sup> In the span of three days, he met with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī at least three times. He does not mention where in Damascus the meetings occurred, nor can it be inferred from Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s sessions with other scholars in the same period. On 4 Sha‘bān Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī had

<sup>22</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568–574. For the edition see Appendix I.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ḥizb Allāh used the same pen and ink to correct the first *ijāza*.

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix I.

a session in the private house of one of his teachers in Darb al-Sharīf at the great market and on 6 Sha‘bān he is found at the *madrasa* al-Iqbāliyya.<sup>25</sup>

In the introduction to the first *ijāza* (on 4 Sha‘bān), Ibn Ḥizb Allāh discussed the reasons why he was not able to fulfill Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī’s wish to obtain some of his work written in his handwriting. He implies that he did not have his papers with him, and there was not enough time, therefore, he could not satisfy the wishes of the Aleppan scholar. Instead, he recited from memory some of his poetry included in his *Riḥla*, covering his travels from the Maghrib to Damascus. Then he asked his companion in God, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, to collect something from his writings for Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, thus revealing that there was a previous relationship of some kind between the two Andalusi scholars. In this *ijāza*, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh gave Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī permission to transmit, on his authority, his *Riḥla*.

The following day, he granted Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī another *ijāza* written at the bottom of the folio along with a chapter from Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s *Riḥla* on Cairo. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī copied it from some papers but it is unclear whether they were his own or belonging to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. He used his typical “adapted” Andalusi handwriting with *fā’* with one dot above the letter and the *qāf* with two as in the eastern scripts, and reveals its title: *al-Rawḍa al-arīḍa al-ḥizbiyya wa-l-riḥla al-gharbiyya al-ghariba wa-tatlūhā al-ḥijāziyya wa-l-shāmiyya*. The introduction is full of praise for its author and there had to be a session in which Ibn Ḥizb Allāh read some of the *Riḥla* since the author made addenda to the first *ijāza* in his own handwriting on the second day.<sup>26</sup>

After the second day, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī showed two *ijāzas*, or at least mentioned them to his Aleppan companion on this journey, one Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Bahrām al-Ḥalabī. On the following, third, day, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh granted another *ijāza* to this Abū al-Ḥasan and gave him permission to transmit the chapter in the description of Miṣr<sup>27</sup> taken from *al-Riḥla al-ḥizbiyya*. However, he was silent about reading the work with Abū al-Ḥasan or even meeting him in person.<sup>28</sup>

This chance encounter of these three men resulted in a lively interaction between Andalusi and Mamlūk scholars and led to the creation of an extraordinary historical source. Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī knew both of them and it was he who

<sup>25</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 576 (Darb al-Sharīf; for its location see Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’riḥ* [2003], 1: 105); 577 (*al-madrasa al-Iqbāliyya*; see Miura 2016, Table I-9, 40).

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix I for the emendations.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ḥizb Allāh distinguishes between al-Qāhira (Cairo) and Miṣr (the city founded by ‘Amr). He did not mention al-Qāhira in this *ijāza* (nor in his confirmation at the bottom of the chapter copied by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī).

<sup>28</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 574.

was responsible for introducing them to each other. This is clear from some addenda to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s name by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh later on the second day, demonstrating his unfamiliarity with his first name.<sup>29</sup> Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī seems to be very proud of his much older and (once) much more important compatriot. Granting Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s request for an *ijāza* provided the opportunity to pass on some Western culture to him and Ibn Ḥizb Allāh took his chance to show to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī who he once was before he had come to the East.

### 3 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh as pictured by himself and by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī

The earliest fragment of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, given to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī on 4 Sha‘bān 784/13 October 1382 should be considered above all as an ego-document in which he was given a forum to present a picture of himself to his student, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, and in front of a scholar, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, who was familiar with the environment in which he had acquired and practiced his skills. Its importance is as much visual as textual since Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī wished to have it written in Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s own handwriting. After all, he was a former Marīnid *kātib*. In this profession, the form, the expression, and the visual aspect went hand in hand. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s handwriting had already acquired great fame in the West, as attested by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his biographical sketch of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. Certainly, the Granadan polymath and *ra’īs al-kuttāb* (chief of the royal chancellery) could easily evaluate this particular skill of his friend as his familiarity with the contemporary hands of the Western chancery scribes was immense.<sup>30</sup> The introduction to the first two verses in which Ibn Ḥizb Allāh made a claim to be the *kātib al-sirr* (the personal chancellor) to the Marīnid sultan, Abū ‘Inān Fāris (r. 749–759 H/1348–1358 CE), clearly points to this group identity of the Maghribi *kātib*s.

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s self-designation as an important member of the sultan’s chancery forms one of the two main recurring themes introduced in his texts.<sup>31</sup> The second is the reason why, and how, he left this office and established himself in the East. While the former is not confirmed by any other source, he is only one of many *kātib*s of the Marīnid court, this latter point is proven by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s

<sup>29</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 570.

<sup>30</sup> I have already discussed this issue in my previous article. See Ženka 2018, 352–353. For Ibn al-Khaṭīb see Lirola Delgado *et al.* 2004.

<sup>31</sup> Megill 2007, 44–46.

life in the East, as well as by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.<sup>32</sup> In these two subjects Ibn Ḥizb Allāh defines what he was, and still is, and how it happened that he found himself where he was, using his past to describe his present by means Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī would certainly expect from a scholar of his training and experience.

Regarding the first theme, the four poems (out of a total of seven), with their introductions, tackle his intimate relationship with sultan Abū ‘Inān Fāris. The first is Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s statement about his motives in leaving the sultan’s services. He elaborates on his role at the court in the fifth, sixth, and seventh poems. The fifth poem narrates the story of Abū ‘Inān Fāris killing a lion and how other poets composed verses in praise of the sultan. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh recited his only after the sultan asked him to do so. The story in the two following is intertwined. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh starts with two verses recited by another Marīnid *kātib*, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Azafī (699–768 H/1300–1366 CE).<sup>33</sup> He describes how he told Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Azafī that the recitation of the two verses in the presence of the sultan was inappropriate and that they had omitted important topics. He was asked to recite better ones, which he did, and all who heard him, including the sultan, were pleased. By quoting conversations between the sultan and himself, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh shows the intimate nature of his relationship with the ruler and his importance at the court. Indeed, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī (712–ca. 785 H/1312–3–ca. 1383 CE) places Ibn Ḥizb Allāh among other members of the chancery who also were involved in the recitation of poetry after the conquest of Qusanṭīna, not long before Ibn Ḥizb Allāh left for the East.<sup>34</sup>

The second theme is his travel to, and establishment in, Jerusalem. In the first poem he alludes to the desire to devote his life to God as the reason why he had left. However, the introduction to the third poem is the only place where he mentions *hajj* (pilgrimage) and *ziyāra* (visit to Medina) as the excuse for leaving Maghrib. Other Marīnid and Naṣrid officials, such as Ibn Marzūq (710 or 711–781 H/1310–2–1379–80 CE),<sup>35</sup> Ibn Kumāsha (d. after 787 H/1385 CE),<sup>36</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713–776 H/1313–1374 CE),<sup>37</sup> and Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE)<sup>38</sup> used the same rationale for removing themselves from the dangers of political life in Maghribi courts. In a fragment of the *Riḥla*, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh dated his arrival in Cairo and Egypt as 15 Shawwāl 760/9 September 1359. This and his quotation of a very

<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība* (1983), 274–275.

<sup>33</sup> For Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Azafī see Rodríguez Figueroa 2012.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb* (1990), 322; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-jumān* (1987), 426.

<sup>35</sup> For Ibn Marzūq see Peláez Rovira 2006.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta* (2001), 4: 75–76.

<sup>37</sup> Calero Secall/Roser Nebot 2001, 422–423.

<sup>38</sup> Manzano Rodríguez 2004, 584–585.

specific Qur'ānic verse (12.99) in *Riḥla* provide a hint that his withdrawal from the Marīnid court and the Maghrib might have been caused by the political turbulence that followed the death of sultan Abū 'Inān Fārīs in 759 H/1358 CE.<sup>39</sup> Like Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Marzūq, he never returned.

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, however, remains silent about his situation after the murder of the sultan. Nor does he give much detail about his life in the East, his prior education or teachers. He states that he settled in Jerusalem (*nazīl Bayt al-Muqaddas*) and was only on a visit to Damascus (called here Jilliq). In the early 770s H/1370s CE, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, then exiled in Fez, knew that he lived peacefully in the Mashriq but at a distance from politics and without any connection to the ruling dynasty. This means that someone from the West had to have visited Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and brought the news back to the Marīnid court.<sup>40</sup> His relationship with Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, referred to previously, also suggests that he did maintain ties with some scholars from the West.

Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī's involvement in the *ijāzas*, as well as in selecting a specific fragment of the *Riḥla*, emphasizes the Andalusi connection, the meaning of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's texts, and demonstrates his reception of this text. By giving the full title of the work, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī confirms that the travelogue covered Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's journeys not only in the East, but also in the West. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh himself pointed this out in his first *ijāza*, saying that it ends in Damascus and contains all the fragments recited by him to Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī and is comprised of poetry, stories, and quotations of other works. Thus, its contents resemble the travelogue of his contemporary, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī<sup>41</sup>, or another younger colleague, Ibn Khaldūn, yet its literary form is closer to that of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Khaṭrat al-tayf*.<sup>42</sup> Again, the language used by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh demonstrates his excellent qualities as a *kātib* and his mastery of ornate vocabulary and rhyming prose.

In his introduction to the selected chapter of *Riḥla*, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī attributes the name Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Andalusī al-Wādī Āshī al-Ṭā'ī, in contrast to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's own self-designation as Ibn Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī al-Ṭā'ī

<sup>39</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568. Either Ibn Ḥizb Allāh or Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī corrected in the manuscript the Qur'ānic quotation from a verse 2.61 (*ihbiṭū miṣran* - Get you down to Egypt; translations follow A. J. Arberry) to 12.99 (*idkhalū miṣr* - Enter you into Egypt). I would argue that there might be some parallels between the story developed around the latter and Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's own.

<sup>40</sup> "He established himself in the Mashriq, unpledged to anyone, not bounded to the power nor tied to the ruling dynasty" (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība* [1983], 274–275).

<sup>41</sup> On Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī see Lirola Delgado/López y López 2004.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Khaṭrat al-tayf* (2016).

only.<sup>43</sup> Clearly, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī was aware that this text belonging to the Mamlūk scholar, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, would travel with him. By adding ‘al-Andalus’ he clarified for other readers that Wādī Āsh (Guadix) was in al-Andalus. The selection of the chapter on Cairo and Miṣr was also not a coincidence. Both Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī and Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami were on their way to this city and one might reasonably assume that Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī hoped that, as with his previous browsing and use of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami’s *Thabat*, other local Mamlūk scholars would benefit from it. This would also explain the use of so many honorific titles by Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī to describe Ibn Ḥizb Allāh; to help the Mamlūk audience truly appreciate his qualities as a scholar and literary figure. The request of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami can be seen as the reason why Ibn Ḥizb Allāh added his date of birth (712 H/1312-3 CE) at the end of the first *ijāza*. This type of information was often requested by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami from his teachers and, later, in some cases but not in Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s, amended with the date of their death.

In short, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī not only understood Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s past but he also connected it to the present. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh used his skills to write exclusively about his past that he saw as defining him. He created an image of himself for Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami by employing another strategy, used by many Maghribi *kātib*s, in writing history and deciding how people should be remembered and viewed. In the second half of the 8th/14th century, it was *kātib*s at different Maghribi courts who authored chronicles and biographical dictionaries. They played a key role in creating and shaping an image of their contemporaries for the future. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh grew up and worked with many of them, and clearly he was capable of doing the same.<sup>44</sup> The resulting work circulated in the Mashriq, and it was Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami who played such a major role in how Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s reception and understanding changed over the remaining part of his life.

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<sup>43</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568 and 570.

<sup>44</sup> For instance, he served with Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Juzayy (721–757 H/1321–1356 CE) who started to write a history of al-Andalus (Velázquez Basanta 2009a; Molina 2015), or with Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī who narrated the history of the Marinid conquest of North Africa during the reign of sultan Abū ‘Inān Fāris. See Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-‘ubāb* (1990).

## 4 Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's *ijāzas* in Aleppo

After a significant stay in Cairo, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī returned to Aleppo on 26 Shawwāl 786/11 December 1384.<sup>45</sup> Over the years, his *Thabat* had become very well-known. As one of the most renowned *muḥaddith* of his times, and certainly as the most pursued *ḥadīth* teacher of Aleppo, he used his manuscript constantly during his classes and allowed his students to copy its contents directly. A closer inspection of the *thabats* of four of his disciples reveals that he taught and transmitted Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's work, or parts of it, at least twice: once to Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥna (804–890 H/1402–1485 CE) in 828 H/1425 CE, and another time to Ibn al-Naṣībī's brothers, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar (823–873 H/1420–1469 CE) and Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh (824–893 H/1421–1488 CE), in 839 H/1436 CE.<sup>46</sup> The detailed information noted by his disciples in their manuscripts facilitates a reconstruction of the ways in which his work was transmitted in its horizontal context. This, consequently, enables the exploration of the changing perceptions and meanings of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's text and the possible reasons that led Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī to transmit the work at that particular moment.

The earliest recorded transmission of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's texts occurred on 24 Ramaḍān 828/9 August 1425 in the *madrassa* al-Sharafiyya of Aleppo.<sup>47</sup> The session consisted of several parts, and Ibn al-Shiḥna gives full details of the group of students meeting with Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī. Besides Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī and Ibn al-Shiḥna, there were local judges, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAjāmī (775–857 H/1373–1457 CE) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naṣībī (781–857 H/1380–1453 CE), the latter accompanied by his son, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, a certain Saʿd al-Dīn Saʿīd and a scholar from Tunis, Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAzūz al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisī al-Maghribī (d. 873 H/1468–9 CE).<sup>48</sup> In the first part, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī informed his students about Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's *Riḥla*.<sup>49</sup> In the next, he recited poetical fragments by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.<sup>50</sup> Ibn al-Shiḥna introduced the first poem with the words *anshadanā shaykhunā*, whereas the remaining ones only had *wa-bihi qāla*, making it impossible to distinguish whether Sibṭ Ibn al-

45 Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 612.

46 The other two *thabats* examined for this study belonged to Muḥammad al-Salāmī (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig MS Vollers 721) and Ibn Zurayq (Princeton Garrett MS 178B). For the latter see Richardson 2016.

47 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 87r, 88r, 88v and 89v.

48 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fol. 87r–v.

49 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 86r–87v.

50 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmiʿat al-imām MS 7235, fols. 87v–88r

‘Ajami recited everything, or just the first poem and then let Ibn al-Shiḥna copy the rest from his *Thabat*. A note in the bottom left margin (fol. 88r), right after the conclusion of this part of the session, gives the following testimony to the copying process: “I transcribed everything from the handwriting of the aforementioned Ibn Ḥizb Allāh except the part describing Miṣr. I copied it from the handwriting of al-Balawī”.<sup>51</sup> Further evidence for the process of transmission of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s text appears in the penultimate line in folio 88r when Ibn al-Shiḥna started to copy the concluding remarks of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh (*fa-sarra al-jamī‘u bi-dhālīka fa-nqaṭī‘u*) before crossing it out after writing *fa-sarra al-j* only.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, he ignored all three of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s confirmations and his introduction that described the circumstances of his meeting with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami.

Apparently only the literary texts, the fragment of *Riḥla*, and the poetry, with its introductions, had any importance for Ibn al-Shiḥna, thus changing considerably not only the length of the text but also the ego-expression of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. His access to the holograph text of this *Thabat* points to the possibility of Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami recounting to his audience details about the encounter with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh many years previously. However, in the text copied by Ibn al-Shiḥna, the Andalusī *kātib* loses the sense of being a real person with a story behind him, including that of the transmission of his work in Damascus, thus, becoming only an author of poetry and *riḥla* in rhymed prose. This was the only part valued by the students and, as might be implied, was the subject of this scholarly session.

In addition, further contents of this *majlis* (session) reveals a certain pattern in which Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami taught Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s work in conjunction with other Andalusī material. This can be confirmed by several other poetical fragments recited by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami during other parts of the same session, transmitted to him by another Andalusī scholar, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Mahdī ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad al-Fihri al-Basṭī al-Yumnāli (d. 819 H/1416-7 CE).<sup>53</sup> Six of them were composed by this scholar himself and two separate poetical fragments by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Juzayy (731–810 H/1331–1407 CE).<sup>54</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami

51 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fol. 88r.

52 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fol. 88r.

53 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fols. 88v–89v.

54 I quote the word al-Yumnāli as given by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami. See Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626 (for the name) and 627 (for Ibn Juzayy). For al-Fihri al-Basṭī see Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626-627; Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar* (1992), 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 3: 92–93; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā‘ al-ghumr* (1972), 3: 112; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw‘* (1992), 5: 283–284; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāshiriyya, “Al-Durr al-muntakhab”, BnF Arabe 2139, fols. 44b-45a; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* (1979), 2: 182. Al-Fihri al-Basṭī authored a work named *Zahrāt al-ādāb wa-tuḥfat ulā al-albāb* (Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 892.7). As far as I know, only



met al-Fihri al-Basṭi in 790 H/1388 CE and learned these verses and several others by his Andalusī teachers Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī (680–771 H/1281–2–1370 CE) and Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Jayyāb (673–749 H/1274–1349 CE).<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Shiḥna had already heard of al-Fihri al-Basṭi when on 27 Dhū al-Ḥijja 826/1 December 1423, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami recited to him a poem by the *ra’is al-kuttāb* of Granada Ibn al-Jayyāb.<sup>56</sup> The question is why Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami decided to teach and recite from Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and al-Fihri al-Basṭi in Ramaḍān 828/August 1425. The answer seems to lie in the presence of a Maghribi scholar, Abū al-Barakāt Ibn ‘Azūz al-Anṣārī al-Tūnisi.<sup>57</sup>

In a page inserted between the tenth and eleventh parts of the *Thabat* that has a sample of Ibn ‘Azūz’s handwriting, alongside a long accompanying note, Ibn al-Shiḥna demonstrated how the distinctive handwriting of a Western traveler appealed to an Aleppan scholar and how the presence of a strange guest led to intellectual exchanges between him and local scholars.<sup>58</sup> Ibn ‘Azūz clearly came to the city at the beginning of Ramaḍān to study with local scholars such as Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami and Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya (774–843 H/1372–1440 CE). Ibn al-Shiḥna narrates how they attended various sessions together and how Ibn ‘Azūz asked for some of his father’s works,<sup>59</sup> as well as other texts, to be written in Ibn al-Shiḥna’s own handwriting into his *Thabat*.<sup>60</sup> In exchange, the Tunisian scholar reciprocated with three verses by Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Daqīq al-‘Īd (625–702 H/1228–1302 CE) accompanied with *isnād* (chain of transmitters). Furthermore, Ibn al-Shiḥna supplies two important pieces to the puzzle; he records Ibn ‘Azūz’s lodging as being in the *madrasa* al-Sharafiyya and provides the date of his departure from Aleppo as 26 Ramaḍān 828/11 August 1425, two days after Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s and al-Fihri al-Basṭi’s texts/transmission were discussed in the same *madrasa*. In

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Thomas Bauer used it in one of his articles. See Bauer 2007, 303–304. See also Brockelmann 2017, 13. For Ibn Juzayy see Velázquez Basanta 2009b.

55 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626–627.

56 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fols. 25v and 26r. On Ibn al-Jayyāb see Rubiera Mata/Kalaitzidou 2009.

57 Al-Sakhāwī wrote several biographical sketches of Ibn ‘Azūz. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1992), 10: 16; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl* (1992), 2: 224; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajiz al-kalām* (1995), 2: 804.

58 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fol. 83v. Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami followed the same practice, although without including a specimen of handwriting, when al-Fihri al-Basṭi came to Aleppo. In the page with his transmission he added a long note detailing his visit to Aleppo, later wanderings, and fate in the East until the year 817 H/1414–5 CE. See Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajami, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 626–627.

59 Ibn al-Shiḥna’s father, Abū al-Walid Muḥammad (749–815 H/1348–1412 CE), was an important local scholar and author.

60 Ibn al-Shiḥna, “Thabat”, Jāmi‘at al-imām MS 7235, fol. 83v.

other words, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī presented his knowledge of some Maghribi poetry and, in a moment reminiscent of what Ibn Ḥizb Allāh did for him many years previously, passed on the work to Ibn ‘Azūz.

The argument for Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s works being used by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī when Maghribi scholars visited him in Aleppo is strengthened by the second case, the only surviving *juz’* (*al-juz’ al-thālith min masmū’ Ḥalab*) of the *Thabat* written in the handwriting of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Naṣībī, who makes the point perfectly clear.<sup>61</sup> It covers the end of Shawwāl and the month of Dhū al-Qa‘da 839/May-June 1436, when the incumbent Mālīkī chief judge of Ḥamā, Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī (806–840 H/1403–4–1437 CE),<sup>62</sup> paid a visit to Aleppo to read *ḥadīth* with Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.<sup>63</sup> Al-Ḥakamī was originally from Labasa (La Peza) in al-Andalus, a castle lying very close to the city of Wādī Āsh (Guadix), the native city of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.<sup>64</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s son, Abū Dharr Aḥmad (818–884 H/1415–1480 CE), accommodated him in his house in the *madrasa* al-Sharafiyya. Later, he authored a large biographical sketch of this Andalusī scholar, providing the necessary background material for an understanding of the third documented transmission of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s work.<sup>65</sup>

In the *Masmū’* of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Naṣībī, a poem of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh is found among other Andalusī poetry recited by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī.<sup>66</sup> He says that the Shaykh Ibrāhīm (i.e. Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī) recited a poem to him, later adding his full name above the word. He then wrote down the fifth poem of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s fragment and stated that this recitation occurred on 8 Dhū al-Qa‘da

**61** This *Thabat* was penned by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Naṣībī, but the listening and reading certificates also belonged to his brother, Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh. Both of them were sons of the judge, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naṣībī, who attended Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s session in 828 H/1424 CE where he transmitted the works of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.

**62** Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 484–486; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1992), 10: 26–27 (biography), see also 4: 205–206 and 7: 235; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dhayl* (1992), 1: 603.

**63** Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmū’ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124. The earliest *majlis* included in this *juz’* dates to the last ten days of Shawwāl 839/May 1436 (fol. 1v). Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī was the reader. The last one dates from 20 Dhū al-Qa‘da 839/5 June 1436 (fol. 12v). The listening and reading certificates are not bound by chronological order.

**64** According to Abū Dharr Aḥmad, al-Ḥakamī stayed in Aleppo from 16 Shawwāl to 17 Dhū al-Qa‘da 839/3 May–2 June 1436 (Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* [1996], 1: 484, 486). Ibn al-Naṣībī’s *Masmū’ Ḥalab*, however, situates him in Aleppo until at least the 20th of that month. See Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmū’ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 12v.

**65** Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 484–486.

**66** Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmū’ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fols. 7b–8r. See Appendix II.

839/24 May 1436.<sup>67</sup> Later, he added below this text and to the facing page some other Andalusī poems recited to him by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī with the following note:<sup>68</sup>

He recited all the poetry quoted here during his travel to Aleppo in my very presence. The motive of his mentioned travel from Hama was to study with *al-imām al-ḥāfiẓ* Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī.<sup>69</sup>

It is clear that the recitation of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s poem formed part of the poetical exchanges in which Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī and Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī were involved in the presence of their students, Ibn al-Naṣībī and Abū Dharr Aḥmad.<sup>70</sup> Secondly, the corrigenda of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s name in *Masmū‘*, where Ibn al-Naṣībī corrected it from Shams al-Dīn b. Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī by writing the missing *nasab* above the word “*al-dīn*”, indicates that the *Thabat* with the original version was present during the sessions and was at the disposal of the participants. Thirdly, by omitting the introduction to the poem, opting for a simple “*wa-anshadanā al-shaykh Ibrāhīm al-madhkūr qāla anshadanā al-shaykh Shams al-Dīn / Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥizb Allāh al-Wādī Āshī li-nafsihi*” (the mentioned *shaykh* Ibrāhīm said: Ibn Ḥizb Allāh recited us by himself), Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s ego-identity disappeared, and for Ibn al-Naṣībī he remained only a name introducing two verses of poetry. This brevity is similar to that employed by Abū Dharr Aḥmad Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī in *Kunūz al-dhahab* for the introduction to other poems recited by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī during his visit to Aleppo.<sup>71</sup>

On the other hand, for Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī the importance and identity of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh had to be perfectly clear, even at first glance. Given that he was trained in al-Andalus by the most renowned teachers of the time, he must have known that he was looking at a handwriting of a scholar trained in *dīwān al-in-shā’* with close ties to the palace. In contrast to his Mashriqī friends, Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī was the only person present in Aleppo in a position to be able to fully

67 Ibn al-Naṣībī, “*Masmū‘ Ḥalab*”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 8r.

68 Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī recited a verse attributed by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Naṣībī to Abū ‘Alī al-Tha‘labī (in fact, it was written by Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Hudhayl) and one verse of the reply by Ibn al-Qūṭīyya. There are also two verses by an unknown author (Ibn al-Naṣībī, “*Masmū‘ Ḥalab*”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 7v). Below Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s verses, Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Ibn al-Naṣībī wrote down a poetical exchange, recited to him by Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī, between a man and a judge of Loja. See Appendix II.

69 Ibn al-Naṣībī, “*Masmū‘ Ḥalab*”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 7v.

70 Ibn al-Naṣībī, “*Masmū‘ Ḥalab*”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124, fol. 7v.

71 Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, *Kunūz al-dhahab* (1996), 1: 485–486.

recognize and understand who Ibn Ḥizb Allāh was and what his life and position in Maghrib, as described in the *Thabat*, really meant. It should also not be forgotten that Muḥammad al-Ḥakamī was born in a town not far from the birthplace of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and this certainly had to have invoked curious feelings from encountering someone from his native land.<sup>72</sup>

Other Mamlūk scholars browsed the *Thabat* and studied Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's fragment but without any Andalusi or Maghribi scholars being present. One who left traces of this use was the well-known scholar, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852 H/1372–1449 CE) who stayed in Aleppo in Ramaḍān and Dhū al-Ḥijja 836 (Apr.-May and July-Aug. 1433) while accompanying sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–841 H/1422–1437 CE) on his northern campaign.<sup>73</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī allowed him to copy from his *Thabat* and the entry on Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in *al-Durar al-kāmina* is proof that Ibn Ḥajar read Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's holograph.<sup>74</sup> The biographical sketch is composed of a shortened version of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's biography, taken from Ibn al-Khaṭīb's Egyptian copy of *al-Iḥāta fī ta'rīkh Gharnāṭa*, which ends at the point Ibn Ḥizb Allāh leaves service in the Marinid chancery, and the data taken from *Thabat*.<sup>75</sup> Ibn Ḥajar's "addenda" says that Ibn Ḥizb Allāh traveled to the Mashriq, performed the pilgrimage, visited Jerusalem, and established himself there. He then adds that Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī met him and transmitted his work in verse and prose.<sup>76</sup> While in previous cases the Andalusi/Maghribi context was added by a scholar visiting Aleppo, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāta* served the same purpose and helped Ibn Ḥajar understand who Ibn Ḥizb Allāh was.

This can be corroborated by a second biographical sketch that Ibn Ḥajar included in his chronicle *Inbā' al-ghumr*. Radically differing from the first, this illustrates how a Mamlūk author could understand an Andalusi scholar without

72 In the 15th century, members of Ḥizb Allāh family still lived in Wādī Āsh (Guadix). Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Cenete, box 330, doc. 14, 15 and 16; Osuna, box 1890, doc. 3, fol. 11v.

73 See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir* (1999), 183–190. Another Mamlūk author who worked extensively with the *Thabat* was Ibn Fahd al-Makkī but he did not mention Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in any of his surviving works. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1992), 1: 140; see also Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* (1982), 48; Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Kitāb al-arba'in 'an arba'in shaykh", Damascus Asad Library MS 958, fol. 22v. In 838 H/1434-5 CE, he left a reading note in *Thabat*. See Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 2.

74 For instance, he mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 1: 127–128 that he copied a poem written in the handwriting of Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī. This is found in Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 177–178. See also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1992), 1: 143.

75 For the presence of Ibn al-Khaṭīb in the Mashriq see Castro León (in press).

76 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 200.

having access to any source produced by him, or anyone that had actual experience of Western reality. The source for this second biography was the former chief Shāfiʿī judge, Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿa (725–790 H/1324-5–1388 CE), who became acquainted with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in Damascus. Later, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh dedicated a work called *ʿArf al-ṭīb fī waṣf al-khaṭīb* to him (“A fragrant perfume about the description of the *khaṭīb*”).<sup>77</sup> Whether Ibn Ḥajar knew this work or based his own work only on notes is not clear. However, he adds a verse from a *qaṣīda* not found in any other source. It is very likely that Ibn Ḥajar accessed this information through some of the manuscripts belonging to the famous library of Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿa, which was accessible thanks to Maḥmūd al-Ustādār (d. 799 H/1396 CE), the majordomo of Sultān Barqūq, who bought and endowed it to his funerary *madrasa*.<sup>78</sup> Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿa considered Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to be an excellent *kātib* and ordinary poet who authored a number of works on the religious merits of specific individuals.<sup>79</sup> It is also striking that the only *nisba* of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh mentioned in the biography is al-Maghribī. Clearly, this points to the perception of the group’s cultural identity from a Mamlūk author’s perspective.

This third-hand understanding of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh is also attested in al-ʿUlaymī’s (860–928 H/1456–1522 CE) chronicle of Jerusalem.<sup>80</sup> He included Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in the section on the Mālikī judges of Jerusalem after he came across notary documents verified by him in Ṣafar 781/May-June 1379.<sup>81</sup> Only the word *ʿallāma* suggests that he had any idea of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s skills and knowledge as only two other Mālikīs are introduced using the same honorific title.<sup>82</sup> Unlike in the cases of other Mālikī scholars mentioned in that chapter, al-ʿUlaymī omits his Western origins (al-Maghribī) giving him another *nisba*, al-Mālikī, applied frequently to Maghribi scholars by Mamlūk authors.

Indeed, the evidence of al-ʿUlaymī and Ibn Ḥajar’s *Inbāʿ al-ghumr* indicates how difficult it was to interpret a Mamlūk-Andalusi scholar without having access to Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s holograph. On the other hand, the existence of Sibṭ Ibn

<sup>77</sup> My thanks go to Teresa Garulo for helping me to understand the correct rhyme in the title of this work.

<sup>78</sup> Behrens Abouseif 2019, 25. The story is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in the obituary of Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿa. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 355.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 328.

<sup>80</sup> Al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns* (1999), 2: 362–363.

<sup>81</sup> Little 1995, 245.

<sup>82</sup> The other two being a Mālikī chief judge of Jerusalem, Ibn ʿAwwān (763–838 H/1361–2–1434 CE) and Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (856–895 H/1451–2–1490 CE) who was of Andalusi origin and served as the Mālikī chief judge of the city (al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns* [1999], 2: 366 and 374).

al-‘Ajamī’s *Thabat* reveals not only the process of transmission, but also the further use of this material and confirms Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s intent to have it studied and copied by others in the future. One other example of this same approach is that of another Andalusi scholar, Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābiṭ (680–752 H/1281–2–1351 CE), who lived in Damascus in the first half of the 8th/14th century. This son of *kātib al-sirr* (private chancellor) to the Naṣrid sultan Muḥammad II (r. 672–702 H/1273–1302 CE) became famous in Damascus for his teaching of *Sunan al-Nasā’i* and his *ijāza* granted in 743 H/1342 CE passed into the manuscript tradition of this work.<sup>83</sup> Likewise, the holograph *samā’āt* with Ibn al-Murābiṭ’s chain of transmission to this work was circulated in the *Thabat* of Ibn al-Faṣīḥ al-Hamadhānī (d. 795 H/1392 CE), which was read by Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>84</sup> Abū al-Hasan Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī’s exceptionally long holograph *ijāza* circulated in Mamlūk territory but I have not found any evidence for it being copied or used for writing his biography by Mamlūk authors.<sup>85</sup>

## 5 Conclusions

Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s holograph *ijāzas* are not the only surviving Andalusi manuscripts created in Mamlūk territory. There are many others. However, it is the unique traceable creation and the history of use by their owner, Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, which illuminates the different levels of understanding and reception of this one particular Andalusi scholar. Ibn Ḥizb Allāh wanted to be known, and remembered, as a *kātib* with close ties to the “King of the Maghrib”, the Marīnid sultan Abū ‘Inān Fāris. His friend, a much younger Andalusi scholar, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī, helped him to adapt his image to be more comprehensible to Mamlūk scholars and, indeed, for Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī himself. However, in the absence of the direct involvement of its two creators, and their familiarity with the

<sup>83</sup> Al-Nasā’i, *Sunan al-kubrā* (1991), 1: 61; al-Nasā’i, *Sunan al-kubrā* (2001), 1: 64 and 67. Ibn al-Murābiṭ transmitted the work on the authority of Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafi. Ibn al-Zubayr and his works were well known in Damascus. At least one other Andalusi scholar, Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Sahl, brought to the city his holograph *ijāza*. See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira al-ḥuffāz* (1955), 4: 1484. Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābiṭ authored several works that circulated in holograph manuscripts in the Mashriq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 45.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 461 (biog. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Faṣīḥ). See also the biography of his son Aḥmad (d. 828 H/1424 CE). Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1972), 1: 352. Another student of Ibn al-Murābiṭ with whom Ibn Ḥajar studied was Ibn Kuwayk (737–821 H/1337–1418 CE). See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma’* (1994), 2: 477.

<sup>85</sup> Dār al-Kutub MS majmū’a 135, fol. 98v.

symbolic world of the profession of the Maghribi chancellors, this image inevitably changed with the passage of time and, as such, so, too, did the identity of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh.

Two later cases of the interpretation of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh demonstrate that after many years, in the absence of any first-hand personal contact, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's texts as an ego-document became incomprehensible to Mamlūk scholars. Exactly as Assmann pointed out, later readers were only able to reconstruct the text within their own contemporary frames of reference.<sup>86</sup> While they had the skills to evaluate literary texts, they were ignorant of the role of a Maghribi *kātib*. On the other hand, Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī used Ibn Ḥizb Allāh in the presence of other Western scholars. This distant connection between Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's literary works collected in the past and other Maghribi scholars in the present revealed how a Mamlūk scholar could use texts to link himself to them. Although these scholars might have been unfamiliar with Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, they were able to recognize his importance and his use of symbolic language at the court of Marinid sultans.

Ibn Ḥajar and al-ʿUlaymī were the only later biographers to mention Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, and were unaware of who he was. He existed only as a name in texts they came upon. In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, the reading of an Andalusī biographical dictionary and browsing the *ijāzas* given to Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī enabled him to recreate a biographical sketch of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh. However, after one studies it, it is hard to recognize in its depiction an important *kātib*. It is a very different Ibn Ḥizb Allāh who is being presented here. In this regard, the holograph manuscript illustrates how our understanding of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's presence in the Mashriq could be more elaborated, or change completely, if we use this type of material. It also shows the simplistic interpretations of his life in the East that would result if researchers based themselves only on the available material produced by Mamlūk scholars. However, no generalization should be based on one isolated case, even if it is as detailed as Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's. Other manuscripts can clarify details about those who produced them, even if very few are accompanied by details relating to their history.

Finally, Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's manuscript is one of very few texts where an Andalusī scholar mentioned his ties and contacts with other Andalusī scholars living in Mamlūk lands.<sup>87</sup> The relationship between Andalusis is, for Ibn Ḥizb Allāh, also attested to by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in Fez, who knew that his former colleague and friend was living quietly in the East. Ibn al-Khaṭīb articulated this information in his final biographical dictionary when he sought to follow a similar path, to save

<sup>86</sup> Assmann/Czaplicka 1995, 130.

<sup>87</sup> In this case, Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī.

his life by fleeing East. Could Ibn Ḥizb Allāh have set the example for future Maḡribi exiles such as Ibn Marzūq and Ibn Khaldūn, and could he have been the one to have shown them that it was possible to distance themselves from the dangerous political situations they faced and, instead, be able to live peacefully in the Mashriq? Regardless of whether a conclusive answer is possible or not, the question itself is evidence of the importance of the study of the manuscripts of Mamlūk-Andalusis.

## Appendix I: Edition of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's *ijāzas*

The current order of the three *ijāzas* in the manuscript, including the fragment of *Riḥla*, reflects Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī’s thematic approach towards the texts. I reordered them in chronological order as they were produced by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī. I have adapted the text to some modern standard Arabic orthographic conventions, adding dots, and medial and final *hamzas*, when necessary. The edition follows the use of the vocalization marks and initial *hamza* by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh and Ibn Maymūn al-Balawī as much as possible.<sup>88</sup>

### 1. *Ijāza* given by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, 4 Sha‘bān 784/13 October 1382 (Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 570–573)

[570] الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ يَقُولُ الْعَبْدُ الرَّاجِي مَغْفِرَةً مَوْلَاهُ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ حَزْبِ اللَّهِ الْوَادِي أَشِي نَزِيلِ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ زَادَهُ اللَّهُ شَرَفًا لَطْفَ اللَّهِ بِهِ.

لما حللت بجلق حرسها الله تعالى ورد عليها الفقيه الجليل المحدث الأصيل الراوية المجتهد الحسيب الرحال بزهان الدين [ابراهيم بن]<sup>89</sup> محمد بن خليل سليل الأمجاد البلغاء وملازم ذوى الاداب والذكاء سيبط بن العجمي اعزه الله تعالى فسأل مني بعض ما نظمته من المقطعات الشعرية مكتوبة بخطي فوجدتني تاركا لذلك ومعرضا عما هنالك لآكن وجه علي استعافه فيما تيسر في الوقت ولله الفضل في قبول العذر وعدم النسبة الى البخل والمقت ولو طالت اقامته لحبزت في لقائه برودا سابغة ولأجريت من تلقائه بحورا عذبة سائغة فأشرت على رقيقي في الله تعالى الفقيه الجليل المقرئ ابي عبد الله بن ميمون اعزه الله ان يجمع له من رخلتي بغض مقطعات شعرية كان الوقت سمح بها

<sup>88</sup> My thanks to Luis Molina for helping me to fully understand Ibn Ḥizb Allāh’s language and his figurative forms of expression.

<sup>89</sup> The words in brackets are inserted above the words “al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalil” and with a different, thicker, pen.



ارتجالا في كوائن شتى. منها ما قلته حين تركت ملك المغرب قدس الله روحه ابا عنان ببلاد الجريد وقررت من كتابة سره<sup>90</sup> الى الله وقد اغفات اغفاء فافقت وانا انشد:

فررت من الدنيا وحبوا بلانها فشرقت في ذات الإله وغربوا  
قأبوا للأحوال وبوت بتوبة فلم يك إلا أن ظفرت وخيبتوا

[571] ومنها ما قلته في الرخاء بغد الشدة:

إذا شدة جاءت فكُن صابراً لها ففي أثرها يأتي الأهلك بالفرج  
فكم معضل امسى على المرء فادح فاصبح بالله العظيم قد انفرج  
ومما قلته بمدينة نغطة وأنا قاصدا الحج والزياره من قصيدة:

ولم لا واني قد رحلت الى الذي به اوضح الله السبيل الى الهدى  
ويممت ذات السئر والحجب التي غدا حبيها للخلق فرضنا موكدا  
فمهمى ارى اني مقيم ببلده تأجج نارى والغرام تجددا  
ومهمى زماني منزل نحو منزل وجدث على نور السورور به هدى  
وقلت وقد ادركني الندم على ما سلف:

الا هي علمت الباب رخباً واني أسير الخطايا فالتمسنت بك الأفا  
فلا تطردني من خبائك خائبا ولا تفصحني يوم حثير الأورى غدا

وقتل ملك المغرب ابو عنان رحمه الله اسدا بارض المغرب فجاء الشعراء بهنونه بذلك ويصفون شجاعته  
[572] وكأني غفلت عن ذلك وقد حضرت المؤمن فلما انهيت الى مقعد ملكه قال لي: ما صنعت انت في الأسد؟  
فادركني الخجل وقلت: صنعت ببينين. فقال لي: كيف هي؟ فشرعت ان<sup>91</sup> أقيدها فانطقتي الوقت المستعجل بين يديه  
فقلت في الفور:

ايا ليث الملوك صرعت ليثا تصدى في طريقك للجيش  
سلاطين الانام لديك ذلت فكيف يعز سلطان الأوخوش

فشكر بها.

وفي حضرته ارتجل بعض الكتاب وهو ابو عبد الله العزفي عند الفجر اثباتا يصف انفصال الليل وأقبال النهار فقال:

كان الجو في خلل من الأزهار مؤشبية

كان الصبح مولود ربي في حجر زنجية

فأحسن في ابتكاره هذا المعنى وحسنه له الشعراء وانا ساكت فقال لي: ما لك لم تحسنه؟

فقلت: فيه عيوب منها انك انشدته في محل الملك ولم تصف المحل وانك لم تعطف الاول على الثاني بواو العطف  
وانك لم ترشح للمولود [573] بما يصح له التشبيه انه مولود وانك لم تفرق بينه وبين التي رتبته في اللون والسن  
فقال لي: فكننت اصنع اذا قصيدة فوف انت هذا المعنى في بينين فقلت ارتجالا:

حللنا برؤضات المصادي وجوها كحلة وشي طرزها رونق الغيش

فحلنا عمود الصبح طفلا بدا لنا من الترك زبته عجور من الحبش

فسر الجميع بذلك فانقطع.

فقد اجزت الفقيه الجليل ان يروي عني هذا الابيات وما يصح لديه انه من نظمي ونثري واجزت له ان يروي عني  
الرحلة بكمالها حيثما انتهت بحول الله تعالى [وقد انتهت الى دمشق المحروسة وسمع خطبتها بكمالها وسمع هذه  
الابيات من لفظي]<sup>92</sup> وبكل ما جمعت من الفوائد العلمية والاخبار النقلية وما ذكرت فيها من التوايف التي سميتها

<sup>90</sup> *Tashdid* written with a different, thicker, pen.

<sup>91</sup> After the word ان, Ibn Hizb Allāh crossed out another ان.

<sup>92</sup> Written in the right margin with a different, thicker, pen.

على شتى أنواعها واختلاف فنونها اجازة صحيحة على الشرط المعروف والمنحى المألوف والله تعالى يُوفقه ويطلع على ما يرشده بمن الله وفضله وكتب ذلك في الرابع لشهر شعبان المعظم من عام اربعة وثمانين وسبعمائة قال ذلك وكتبه محمد بن محمد بن علي بن حزب الله الطائي الوادي اشي نزيل بيت المقدس لطف الله به ومولدي سنة اثني عشر وسبعمائة [فيه ملحق وقد انتهت الى دمشق المحروسة وسمع خطبتها بكمالها وسمع هذه الابيات من لفظي فيه مصلح في الصيغة السر ان وفي التاريخ المذكور].

## 2. The Chapter on Cairo from Ibn Hizb Allāh's *Rihla* entitled *al-Rawḍa al-arīḍa al-ḥizbiyya wa-l-riḥla al-gharbiyya al-gharība wa-tatlūhā al-ḥijāziyya wa-l-shāmiyya* by Ibn Hizb Allāh with an *ijāza* dated on 5 Sha‘bān 784/14 October 1382 (Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568–569)

[568] الحمد لله<sup>93</sup>

فَصَلِّ [في ذكر القاهرة ومصر]<sup>94</sup> من كتاب الرحلة المسماة بالرؤضة الأريضة الجزيرية والرحلة الغربية الغربية وتتلوها الحجازية والشامية.

جَمَعَ الشَيْخُ الإمام العالم العلامة الحَبْرُ الفهامة فخر أهل الأَدَبِ تَرْجِمَانُ العَرَبِ جَامِعُ أَشْتَاتِ الفَضَائِلِ المُزْبِي بِانْشَاءَاتِهِ وَأَدَبِيَّاتِهِ عَلَى الْإِزَائِلِ فَرِيدُ دَهْرِهِ وَوَحِيدُ عَصْرِهِ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَزْبِ اللَّهِ الطَّائِي الأَنْدَلِسِيُّ الوَادِي أَشِي نَزِيلُ بَيْتِ المَقْدُسِ إِدَامَ اللَّهِ النِّعَمَ بِهِ وَأَبْقَى بَرَكَتَهُ بِمَنِّهِ وَكَرَمِهِ. قَالَ أَبُو اللَّهِ بَرَكَتُهُ: دَخَلْنَا القَاهِرَةَ فِي ظَهْرِ يَوْمِ الثَّلَاثَةِ الخَامِسِ عَشَرَ لِشَهْرِ شَوَّالٍ مِنْ عَامِ سِتِّينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةَ وَمِصْرَ فِي اليَوْمِ التَّالِي وَقُلْتُ:

أَيَا مِصْرَ كَمْ حَازَ الأَنَامُ بِكَ الفَخْرَ وَكَمْ حَازَ أَمْلَاكَ الزَّمَانَ بِكَ النِّصْرَا  
لَقَدْ حَزَّتْ أَمْصَارَ البِلَادِ وَفُقَّتْهَا وَمِنْ أَجْلِ ذَا سُمِّيَتْ مِنْ بَيْنِهِمْ مِصْرَا

وَمِصْرَ وَمَا أُدْرِيكَ مَا مِصْرَ المَتَوَجِّعَةِ بِالأَلَى فِي المَفْرُوقِ المُنْمَنَّةِ بِالسُّنْدُسِ فِي الخِصْرِ ° المَحْجَلَةُ الرَّجْلَيْنِ بِنَهْرِ مِنْ لَجِينِ حَيْثُ ظَهَرْتُ لِلنَّبِيَّاءِ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ الأَيَّاتُ القَاطِعَةُ ° وَتَهَرَّتِ الأَيَّاتُ السَّاطِعَةُ ° وَقَعَدَ الصَّدِيقُ عَلَى سَرِيرِ مُلْكِهِ ° وَصَارَتْ لِحِفْظِهِ وَعِلْمِهِ خَزَائِنُ الأَرْضِ فِي مُلْكِهِ ° وَأَظْهَرَ اللَّهُ لِلكَلِيمِ الأَيَّاتِ بِالقَاءِ عِصَاةً ° فَهَلَكَ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ كُلُّ مَنْ خَالَفَ وَعِصَاةً ° خَيْرَهَا يَغْمُ القَاصِي وَالدَّانُ وَقَدْ سَلِمْتُ مِنْ عِلَلِ البُلْدَانِ ° وَغَنِيْتُ عَنِ الأَنْوَاءِ وَالمَوَاطِرِ وَغَنِيْتُ بِالعُزْفِ العَاطِرِ لَيْسَتْ ذَاتُ بَحْرِ مَالِحٍ وَلَا هَوَاءٍ غَيْرِ صَالِحٍ ° قَدْ حَلَّتْ عَنْ مَوَارِدِهَا العَذْبَةُ الكَرْبُ وَالإِصْرُ وَمَلَأَتْ سَاحَتَهَا اليُمْنُ وَاليُسْرُ ° بِبِرْكَةِ قَوْلِهِ تَعَلَى أَدخَلُوا مِصْرَ<sup>95</sup> تَدَفَّقَتْ عَلَى اللُّوْلُوِّ وَالمَرْجَانِ أَمْوَاجُهَا ° وَطَوَيْتْ عَلَى الذَّهَبِ وَالفِضَّةِ ابَارُهَا وَأَسْبَاغُهَا ° وَالأَمْرُ مَا عَسَرَ عَلاجُهَا ° دَارُ كُلِّ عِلْمٍ وَعَالِمٍ ° وَحَضْرَةُ المَشَاهِدِ العُرِّ وَالمَعَالِمِ ° وَبَحْرُ الأَوْقَافِ وَالجَرَايِبِ ° وَفَخْرُ رَفْعِ الرِّايَاتِ لِأَهْلِ الإِمَارَاتِ وَالجَرَايِبِ ° رَبُّهُ الأَهْرَامِ وَالهَيْكَلِ ° وَمَرَاحِ الشَّرَابِ وَالأَكْلِ ° وَمَقَرُّ الوَاهِبِ وَالبَاذِلِ وَمَقَرُّ الوَاشِيِ وَالعَاذِلِ وَحَيْثُ [569] أَنَاخَ الأَمَانَ بِكَلْكَلِهِ ° وَحَيْثُ فَوْضَ الزَّمَانَ فِي خَلْعِ العِدَارِ لِمُوكَلِّهِ ° وَابْنَ انتَعَشَ التَّاجِرُ وَالفَلَّاحُ ° وَالقَانِصُ وَالمَلَّاحُ ° وَجَادَ السَّيِّدُ وَالمُسَوِّدُ ° وَاسْتَأَسَدَ الرِّعَاغُ وَالأَسُودُ ° وَعُرِفَ مَنْ رَفَعَ الهِمَّةَ وَخَفَضَهَا ° وَاسْتَنْطَرَفَ مَنْ لَازَمَ العِمَّةَ وَرَفَضَهَا ° دَيْسَتْ فِيهَا

93 Written above the word فَصَلِّ.

94 Inserted above the words من كتاب الرحلة.

95 Q: 12.99. The word ادخلوا is written above the word اهبطوا which was crossed out. In the word مصر the final *alif* was crossed out. The original verse was from Q: 2.61.

الْكُرْبَاتِ بِالْأَقْدَامِ ° وَنَفَقَتْ فِيهَا أَسْوَاقُ الْإِقْدَامِ ° فَاثْتَعَشَ مِنْ دَبِّ وَدَرَجٍ ° وَكَثُرَتْ الْأَفْرَاحُ وَالْفُرُجُ ° وَكَمَلَ جَمَالُهَا ° وَفَاقَ ° وَادْعَمَتْ فِي سَعَتِهَا الْجَبُوشَ وَالرَّفَاقَ وَأَمِنَتْ مِنَ الْخَلَافِ وَالنِّفَاقِ ° وَجُمِعَ فِيهَا كُلُّ مَا افْتَرَقَ فِي الْأَفَاقِ ° وَمَا مِثْلُ الْقَاهِرَةِ الَّتِي ارْغَمَتْ مُعَادِيهَا وَقَهَرَتْ ° وَبِفَسْخِهَا وَجَمَالِهَا بَهَرَتْ ° عَظُمَتْ عَنْ أَنْ تُقَاسَ بِفَطْرِ ° وَكَبُرَتْ أَنْ تُكَوْنَ كُلُّ مَدِينَةٍ عِنْدَهَا بِخَطَرٍ ° وَلَمْ لَا وَمَلِكٌ فَلَعَنَهَا الْمَلِكُ النَّاصِرَ الَّذِي مَلَكَ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ وَحَازَ الْقِبْلَتَيْنِ وَقَهَرَ الْعُجْمَ وَالْعَرَبَ ° وَمَلِكُ الشَّرْقِ وَالْعَرَبِ.<sup>96</sup>

الحمد لله ° سمعت هذا الفصل المخرج من الرحلة الحزبية في وصف مصر حرسها الله تعالى للفقير الاجل الاكمل البلوغ المحدث الرّحّال بزّهان الدين ابراهيم بن محمّد بن خليل سبط بن العمري اعزه الله تعالى من لفظه واجزت له الفصل المذكور وسائر الرحلة بكمالها الى حين انتهائها من دمشق حرسها الله تعالى اجازة صحيحة جائزة بالمناولة المعروفة المشروطة وله ان يرويها عني وما تحقق عنده اني نظمته او نثرته او آفته وكتب بذلك مؤثنها العبد الراجي مغفرة مولاه محمّد بن محمد بن علي بن حزب الله الوادي اشى نزيل بيت المقدس لطف الله به في الخامس لشهر شعبان المكرم من عام اربعة وثمانين وسبعماية.

### 3. *Ijāza* given by Ibn Ḥizb Allāh to Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Bahrām al-Ḥalabī, dated 6 Sha‘bān 784/15 October 1382 (Sibt Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 574)

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ. وَأَجَزْتُ أَيْضًا بِمِثْلِ الْاجَازَةِ الْمَكْتُوبَةِ قَبْلَ الْفَقِيهِ الْأَجَلِ الْأَعَزِّ الْأَكْمَلِ الْحُسَيْبِ الْأَصِيلِ مَجْدِ الْقَضَاةِ وَالْأَعْلَامِ الْمُحْصُوصِينَ بِالْإِجْلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ عِلَاءَ الدِّينِ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ ابْنَ قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ الْإِمَامِ الْمُقَدَّسِ الْمَرْحُومِ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ بَهْرَامِ بْنِ حُسَيْنِ الْحَلْبِيِّ وَفَقَهُ اللَّهِ لَطَاعَتَهُ وَاجْزَاهُ عَلَى مَرْضَاتِهِ عَنْهُ وَكْرَمَهُ وَاجَزْتُ لَهُ أَنْ يَرُويَ عَنِي أَيْضًا الْفَصْلَ الْمَكْتُوبَ عِنْدَهُ فِي وَصْفِ مِصْرَ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ مُسْتَخْرَجًا مِنَ الرَّحْلَةِ الْحَزْبِيَّةِ اجَازَةً صَحِيحَةً تَامَةً عَلَى الشَّرْطِ الْمَالُوفِ وَالْقِصْدِ الْمَعْرُوفِ وَلَهُ أَنْ يَرُويَ عَنِي ذَلِكَ بِمَا شَاءَ مِنْ وَجْهِ الرِّوَايَاتِ وَكَتَبَ بِذَلِكَ خَطَّ يَدِهِ الْفَاتِيَّةَ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَزْبِ اللَّهِ لَطْفَ اللَّهِ بِهِ مُسْتَعِينًا بِاللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ وَمُسْتَعْفِرًا مِنْ ذُنُوبِهِ فِي السَّادِسِ لَشَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ الْمَكْرَمِ عَامِ أَرْبَعَةٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ فِيهِ مُصْلِحٌ وَصَفٌ وَعَنِي صَحِيحٌ مِنْهُ وَفِي التَّارِيخِ.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

فضل كتاب الرحلة النبوية، بالروضة الأريضة الخبيثة، والرحلة الغريبة العجيبة  
وتتلوها الحجازية والشامية

جمع الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة الحنبلية محمد بن اهل الادب ترحم القوم جامع  
اشتهر الفضائل الزكية، نفاذته وأدبها، به على الاوائل فريدهم، ووجدت عندهم  
ابن عبد الله محمد بن يحيى بن محمد بن عبد الله الطائي الاندلسي الوادي، في زيارته المقدسة  
ادام الله النفع به، وأبقى بركته منه، وحرمه

قال ابي الله بركته، دخلنا القاهرة في شهر ربيع الثامن الحرام سنة ثمان مائة وسبع  
ومضت النجوم الثمالي، وقلنا

أيا جنتكم حاز الامام بن العوادكم، حاز اخلاق الزمان، انظر البلاد، وقبها، وتراجل  
ومضت ما ادرى ما مضى، المنوخة بالثالي، في المنقوب المنصقة بالسندريخ الجحشي  
المجتمعة الرحلين، منهم من حين، كبرت للانبياء، عليهم السلام، الايات القاطعة  
ومهم، الايات الساطعة، وقعد الصقور على سبر، وملكته، وصارت لجنحة، وملكته  
عن آين الازوية ملكته، وأخبر الله للكليم الآيات بالآيات، عطاء، فملكه بالبر الله  
كل من خالف وعطاء، حشرها بجمع القاجرة القرآن، وقد سلمت من علل القلدان  
وعنيت عن الانوار، والنواجر، وعنيت بالعرف العاجل، انيس، ان نبي صالح  
ولاهوا، غير صالح، قد جلات عن مواردها العذبة الكرى والارض، وملاش  
ساحتها الجزرة النيس، بركته قوله تعالى، اصبوا مصر، تدفقت على القلوب، والمزجان  
أمواجها، وكهوت على الذهب والفضة، ابارها وأسماها، ولا غير ما عسر علاجها  
دار كل علم وعالم، وحضر المشاهد العجمي والعالم، وتجر الاوقاف والجمرات  
وقرر رفع الزمان، لاهل الامارات والديارات، رسة الأهرام والهدايلك، ومرآح  
الشارب واللاجل، ومقر الواهب، والباذل، ومقر الواسع، والعادل، وحين

Fig. 1: Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajamī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 568



٥٧٠

لثبته يقر انتمبر الاجي مغفر موتا محمد خزين بسد النواعي الشهي من الله في يومه  
 آلهما الله به لما حملت سجون حرسه الله تعالى روح عليها الله سد الحبل الخن واصيل الله  
 المحنهد الحسب الحار زمان الذبح تليل سليل الحجاد اللغا والذوق  
 والذكا سليل العجمي اعني الله تعالى بسما مني بعض من طمته والمهملات  
 للشخرة مكتوبه مخلو بوجزي تار كالدور ومخرجا عما مالا اكني علي  
 اسعابديما شيسر في الوقت وكه لبقظ في بقول العذر وعلم النضيد الى الحلق  
 ولو كانت لفاتنه الحسنة في فبايه برود اسابغه وكثرت وتلقاه محمد اعديه  
 فاسترت علي ربي في الله تعالى الله سد الحبل المعري له عبد الله وهو اعني الله  
 ارجع له ورجلتني لغفر مقطعا نعهه كل في الوقت سمع ما ارجع انا في كوار  
 شنتي من اهل فلانة حيزت ركت حله المخرج في ربه الله حيزه البعنان  
 ببلاد الخريد وموت وكنانة شيرة الى الله وفرضت عبات اعجابا تامه والله اسعد  
 مزة من اهل دنيا ورجوا الاملا بتمت في ان ذكرا له وعجزوا  
 بلوا اسد انون في نوبه بلم نيل ان كفه وخيموا

Fig. 3: Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 570

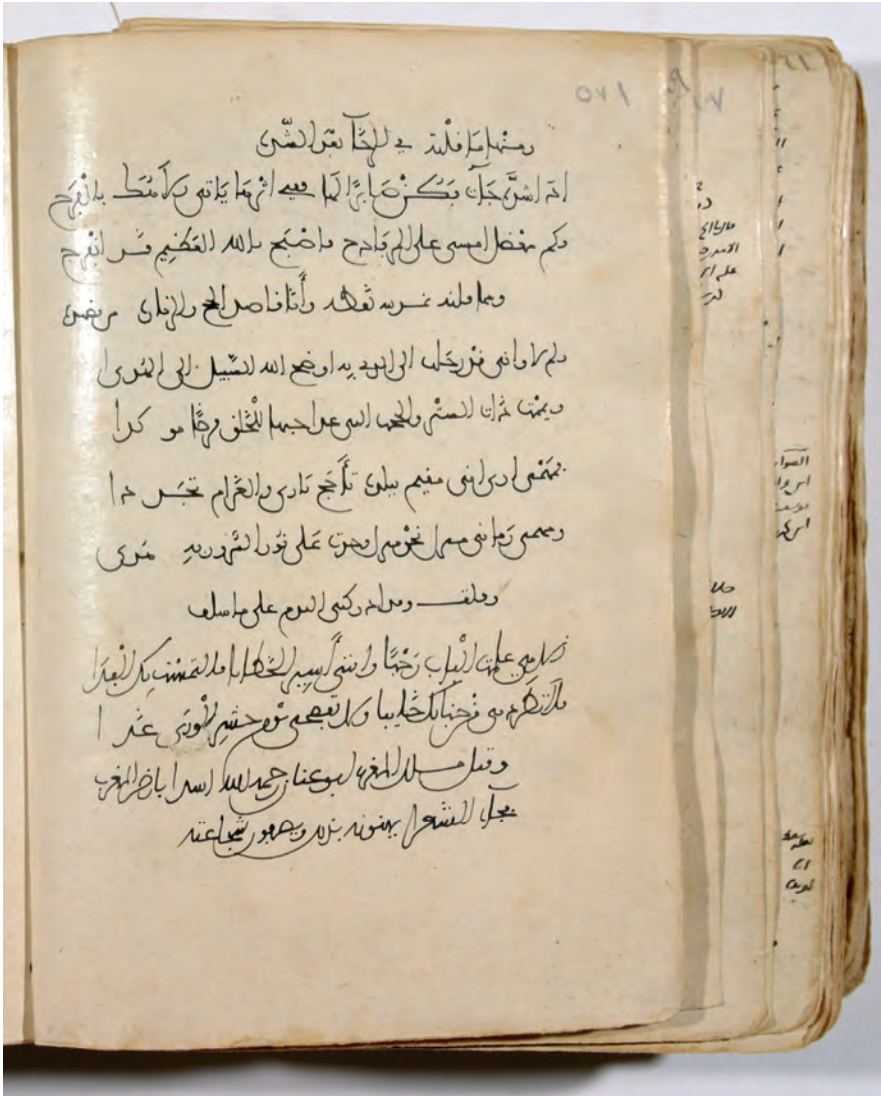


Fig. 4: Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 571

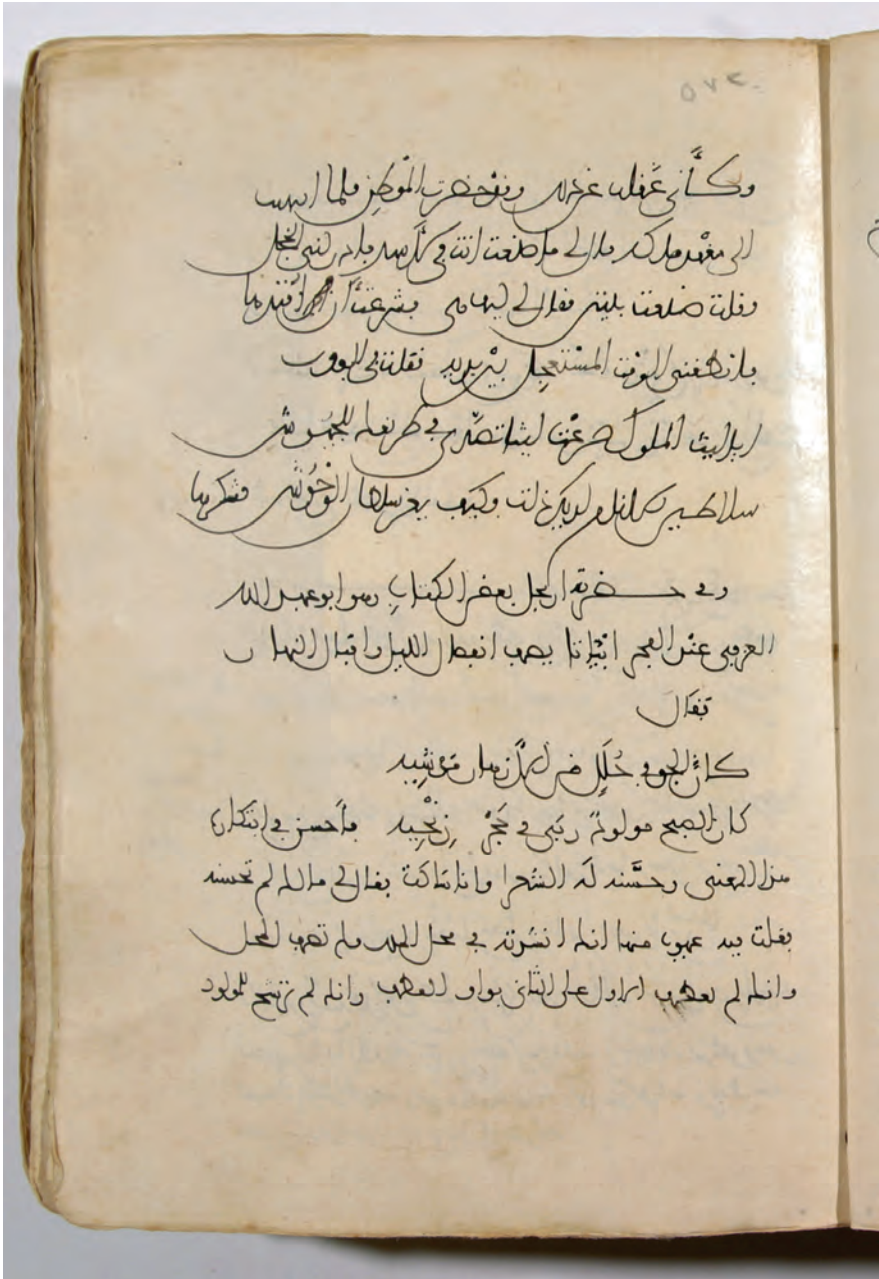


Fig. 5: Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajamī, "Thabat", AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 572



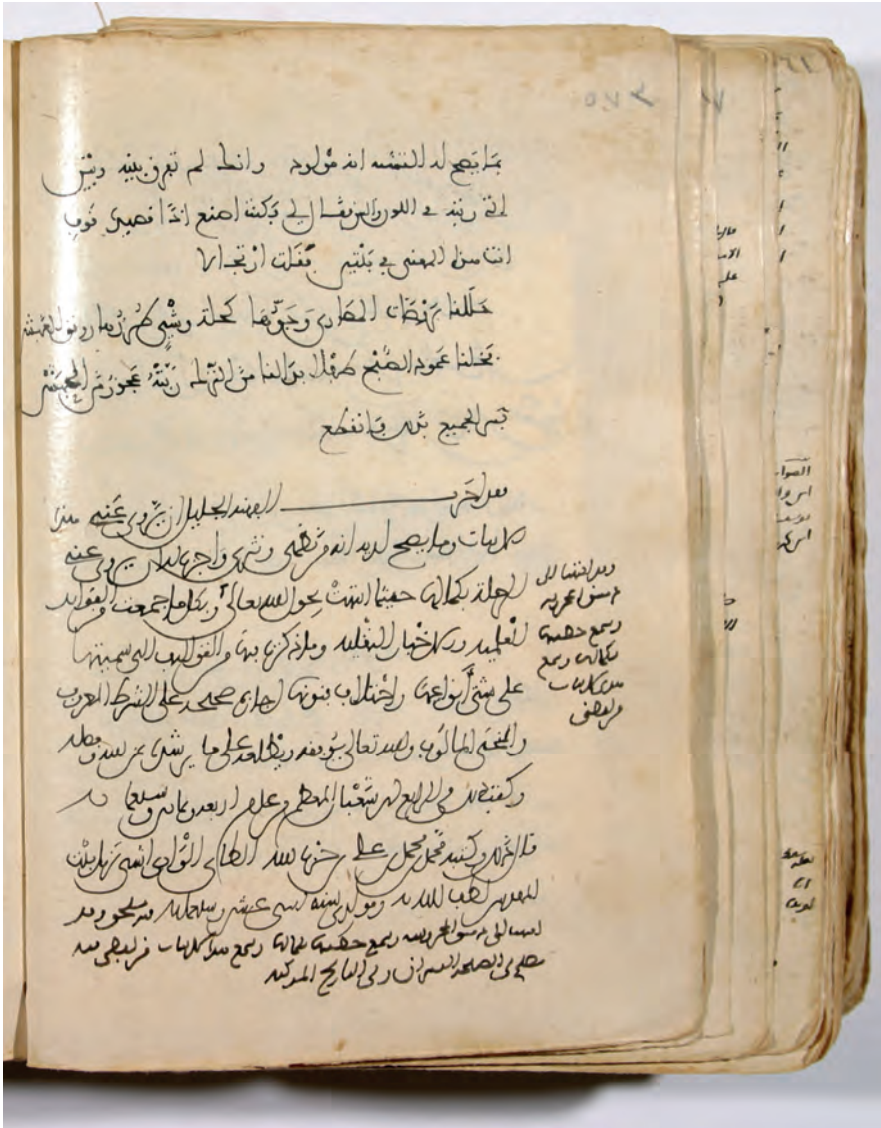


Fig. 6: Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “Thabat”, AUB MS:297.124:S941tA, 573



## Appendix II: Edition of Ibn Ḥizb Allāh's poetry

Ibn al-Naṣībī, “Masmū‘ Ḥalab”, Bibliotheca Alexandrina MS 297.124 (*olim* 2115d), fols. 7v and 8r. The poetry recited by Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī and al-Ḥakamī in Dhū al-Qa‘da 839/May-June 1436. Since Ibn al-Naṣībī always starts with the *ḥamdala*, the poems in fol. 8r precedes the ones in fol. 7v. The edition follows the use of the vocalization marks by Ibn al-Naṣībī.

8r

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى  
وانشدنا الشيخ ابراهيم المذكور قال انشدنا الشيخ شمس الدين [محمد بن محمد بن علي]<sup>97</sup> بن حزب الله الوادياشي[!]  
لنفسه:

ايا ليث الملوك صرعت ليثا تصدى في طريقك للجيش  
سلاطين الانام لديك ذلت فكيف يعز سلطان الوحوش  
وذلك يوم الجمعة ثامن شهر ذي القعدة الحرام سنة 839.  
وانشدني الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة قاضي قضاة المالكية بحماه المذكور وهو شمس الدين محمد بن شمس الدين  
محمد المالكي الغرناطي نفع الله به ما لفظه من كلام شخص هجا قاضيا وزوجته وهو الحاكم بلوشة ما لفظه:

بلوشة قاضٍ له زوجة احكامها في الوري ماضيه  
ويا ليثه لم يكن قاضيًا ولكنها كانت القاضيه  
فكتب اليه جواب البيتين:

يا شيخ سوء مزدي في شبوب عاصيه  
كلا لئن لم تنته لنسفن بالناصيه<sup>98</sup>

7v

وانشدني الشيخ شمس الدين المالكي الغرناطي من لفظه وهو لابي علي القالي يخاطب به ابن القوطية:

من اين اقبلت يا من لا نظير له ومن هو الشمس والدنيا له فلك

واجابه بن القوطيه من ساعته:

من مزلٍ يعجبُ النساك خلوته وفيه سنٌّ على الفتاك إن فتكوا.<sup>99</sup>

وجميع الاشعار المذكورة هنا في رحلته الي حلب انشدها بحضرتي وسبب رحلته من حماة المذكورة ليقرأ على  
الامام الحافظ برهان الدين ابراهيم الحلبي سبط ابن العجمي.

وجدت في بعض الكتب هذا الشعر ولكنه ليس بجيد:

من طلب الصحة في جسمه وجاوز الستين فهو الخريف  
هل تنبت الاشجار من بعدها اتي عليهن او ان الخريف

<sup>97</sup> ص 97. Inserted above the word *al-dīn*.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* (1988), 4: 294. Al-Maqqarī offers a slightly different version.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tib* (1988), 3: 74; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* (1994), 4: 369. Again, it differs from the one recited by al-Ḥakamī.

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Takao Ito

# Writing the Biography of Ibn Khaldūn

## 1 Introduction

Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) is undoubtedly one of the most important and prominent figures not only in the history of the Muslim world but also in world history. A huge number of studies have been conducted on Ibn Khaldūn so far, making it almost impossible to cover all of them, even if limited to his masterpiece, the *Muqaddima*, that is, the introduction to his history, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*.

Nevertheless, relatively little attention has been paid to his life and biography. In his recently published biography of Ibn Khaldūn, Allen James Fromherz writes that “[t]he only existing biographies are translations of Ibn Khaldun’s autobiography or cursory discussions of the outlines of his life”.<sup>1</sup> While Fromherz’s book is advertised as “the first complete, scholarly biography of Ibn Khaldun in English”,<sup>2</sup> it too has relied for the most part on Ibn Khaldūn’s autobiography, the *Taʿrīf*. This also holds true for the two more recent biographical studies of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that the *Taʿrīf* is one of the most detailed autobiographies in pre-modern Islamic literature and provides invaluable information, as Fromherz argues, about Ibn Khaldūn himself. It is the definitive primary source for the studies on Ibn Khaldūn. As pointed out by Walter Fischel, however, the *Taʿrīf* does not convey “the whole, complete, and comprehensive story of his [Ibn Khaldūn’s]

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1 Fromherz 2010, 39.

2 Fromherz 2010, back cover.

3 Alatas 2013; Irwin 2018.

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**Note:** This is based on a paper read at the following academic gatherings: 5th World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies, Seville, July 2018; 2nd German-Japanese Workshop on Mamlukology, Waseda University, Tokyo, December 2018; and lastly, International Congress “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, CSIC, Madrid, December 2018. I am grateful to the participants of these gatherings for their discussions and comments, and especially to Josef Ženka for his valuable advice and help, as well as to Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas for giving me the opportunity to participate in their congress at the “last minute” and for inviting me to contribute to this volume. The research for this study was supported by the FY2018 Asian History Research Aid of JFE 21st Century Foundation and JSPS KAKENHI (18H00719).



private life and activities”; rather, it is “a ‘selective’ account, written by Ibn Khaldūn as he wanted to be seen and judged by posterity”.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the biographies of Ibn Khaldūn by his contemporary and near-contemporary authors, which provide additional data, are no less important than the *Taʿrīf*. Nevertheless, these “external Arabic sources” – as they are called by Fischel – most of which were produced not in Ibn Khaldūn’s native region, the Maghrib, but in the Mamlūk sultanate where he spent his last years, have not yet been fully explored and evaluated. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the “external Arabic sources” on Ibn Khaldūn and their relations to each other to illumine what kind of data about Ibn Khaldūn can be learned from them. This chapter also seeks to shed light upon how their authors obtained these data. Thus, it explores how wide the intellectual networks were at the time, as well as what the relationship was between the western Arab world (the Maghrib and al-Andalus) and the eastern Arab world (the Mashriq), considering they are areas that are often treated separately.

## 2 Contemporary authors in the Maghrib and al-Andalus

The well-known vizier and historian of Granada, Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713–776 H/1313–1374-5 CE),<sup>5</sup> includes in his work on Granada, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, a biographical account covering Ibn Khaldūn’s earlier years up to about 769 H/1367 CE and citing a number of letters exchanged between them.<sup>6</sup> This account includes several unique details. For instance, the genealogy of Ibn Khaldūn mentioned by Ibn al-Khaṭīb is slightly different from that given by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Taʿrīf*.<sup>7</sup> According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khaldūn’s genealogy is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn al-Ḥaḍramī; Ibn Khaldūn, however, does not refer to Muḥammad, the grandson of Khaldūn (Ibn Khaldūn’s eponymous ancestor) and presents Ibrāhīm as Khaldūn’s grandson. As Ibn Khaldūn admits that some of his ancestors’ names

<sup>4</sup> Fischel 1967, 162; Fischel 1956, 288.

<sup>5</sup> On him, see Bosch-Vilá, “Ibn al-Khaṭīb”, *EF*; Robinson 2009; Lirola Delgado *et al.* 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1965), 3: 497–516. Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions in the last part of Ibn Khaldūn’s biography that he sent a letter to Ibn Khaldūn in Biskra (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* [1965], 516). This is presumably the letter dated 2 Jumādā I 769 H (25 December 1367 CE) that Ibn Khaldūn quotes in his autobiography (Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* [1951], 115–122).

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 1.

are left off, his genealogy as given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb is certainly more accurate. Indeed, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's version was adopted by later biographers. Ibn al-Khaṭīb also lists the early writings of Ibn Khaldūn, including a commentary on the *Burda* – the ode of the Prophet Muḥammad composed by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694–696 H/1294–1297 CE) – and a treatise on logic, an abridgement of the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 H/1209 CE), as well as a book on calculation.<sup>8</sup> None of them were mentioned by any other persons including Ibn Khaldūn himself, but his holograph manuscript of *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-dīn*, the abridgement of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal*, was discovered, edited and published in 1952. Furthermore, Ibn al-Khaṭīb provides a small but interesting piece of information on Ibn Khaldūn's private life: Ibn Khaldūn had a European concubine named Hind in Granada.<sup>9</sup>

Abū al-Walīd Ibn al-Aḥmar (ca. 725–807? H/1324–1404-5? CE) was a descendant of the Naṣrid refugees to the Marīnids.<sup>10</sup> He includes Ibn Khaldūn's *qaṣīda* poetry with a biographical note in the anthology *Nathīr al-jumān*, which was composed in 776 H/1374 CE.<sup>11</sup> In this biographical note, Ibn al-Aḥmar discusses Ibn Khaldūn's early career and praises his talents, such as his knowledge of modern and ancient history (*ma'rifa bi-l-tawārikh al-ḥadītha wa-l-qadīma*), thus indicating that Ibn Khaldūn was engaged in studying history quite early. In addition, Ibn al-Aḥmar quotes the *qaṣīda* poetry which Ibn Khaldūn had sent from prison to the Marīnid ruler Abū 'Inān (r. 749–759 H/1348–1358 CE) to ask for his pardon; Ibn Khaldūn only mentions five verses of the poetry in his autobiography.<sup>12</sup>

In his biographical dictionary of the secretaries, *Kitāb Mustawdi' al-'alāma wa-mustabdi' al-'allāma*, Ibn al-Aḥmar describes Ibn Khaldūn as jurist (jurisprudent (*faqīh*), writer of the ruler's official signature (*kātib 'alāma*) in Tunis, and chief minister (*ḥājib*) in Bijāya (Béjaïa). Moreover, whereas he admires Ibn Khaldūn's

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1965), 3: 507–508; see also Rosenthal 1967, xlv–xlv; Fischel 1956, 289–290.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (1965), 3: 501–507; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb* (1980–81), 2: 226–232; see also Grammatico 2006, 150–151.

<sup>10</sup> On him, see Manzano Rodríguez 2009; Shatzmiller 1982, 95–105.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-jumān* (1976), 297–310; Badawī 1962, 272–279. It should be noted that Badawī mistakes *Nathīr al-jumān* for Ibn al-Aḥmar's other work, *Nathīr farā'id al-jumān fī nazm fuḥūl al-zamān*, which contains no biographical account of Ibn Khaldūn.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 67. Ibn Khaldūn says that this poetry was originally about two hundred verses long, but Ibn al-Aḥmar quotes 107 verses. As Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, the editor of the *Ta'rif*, surmises, Ibn Khaldūn may have forgotten the number of the verses of his poem or Ibn al-Aḥmar may not have quoted the entire poem, but only a part of it. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 67, n. 1.

abilities on the one hand, he states on the other hand that Ibn Khaldūn was expelled due to his ambition for leadership.<sup>13</sup> In the biography of Ibn Khaldūn's brother, Yaḥyā, in the same work, Ibn al-Aḥmar also mentions that Yaḥyā's assassination was caused by Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Aḥmar composed *Mustawdi' al-'alāma* after at least 789 H/1387 CE,<sup>15</sup> that is, after Ibn Khaldūn had presented the first version of his history to the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad II (r. 772–796 H/1370–1394 CE) during 781–782 H/1379–1381 CE;<sup>16</sup> however, Ibn al-Aḥmar did not mention this work.<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Aḥmar simply may not have known of it. Otherwise, he may have been deliberately silent; he appears to have become unsympathetic to Ibn Khaldūn later, as can be inferred from *Mustawdi' al-'alāma*; this was perhaps influenced by the hostile attitude of the Tunisian jurist and rival Ibn 'Arafa (716–803 H/1316–1401 CE) toward Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>18</sup>

Still Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* was read in the Maghrib. One of his contemporaries, Ibn al-Sakkāk (d. 818 H/1415–6 CE), who assumed the post of *qāḍī al-jamā'a* (chief judge) in Fez, used Ibn Khaldūn's ideas in his works, although he did not refer to the name of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, an anecdote concerning Ibn Khaldūn is found in a biographical work on Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī (710–771 H/1310–1–1370 CE)<sup>20</sup> and his two sons, which is assumed to have been written at the

**13** Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Mustawdi' al-'alāma* (1964), 64–65.

**14** Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Mustawdi' al-'alāma* (1964), 65. In 769 H/1368 CE the Zayyānid ruler Abū Ḥammū II (r. 760–791 H/1359–1389 CE) asked Ibn Khaldūn to join his court in Tlemcen. Ibn Khaldūn instead sent Yaḥyā to Tlemcen, where Yaḥyā later offended the eldest son of Abū Ḥammū II and was murdered in 780 H/1378–9 CE. On Yaḥyā, see Bel, “Ibn Khaldūn, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā”, *EP*.

**15** While Manzano Rodríguez 2009, 56, states that this work was composed between 789 H/1387 CE and 796 H/1393 CE, Shatzmiller 1982, 49, 98, speculates that it was written in 1393–1396.

**16** Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 229–230, 233; Rosenthal 1967, lvii, cv.

**17** See also Shatzmiller 1982, 49–50.

**18** On Ibn 'Arafa, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Warḡhammī, see Idris, “Ibn 'Arafa”, *EP*; Rosenthal 1967, lvi–lvii; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 232–233; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-uqūd* (2002), 3: 223–225; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 9: 240–242. Abdesselam Cheddadi refers to the possibility that because of Ibn 'Arafa's hostility towards Ibn Khaldūn, the *Ibar* was “received with a resounding silence by the intellectual community” in Tunis (Cheddadi, “Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān”, *EP*).

**19** Benchekroun 1974, 356–357; al-Azmeh 1982, 160. On Ibn al-Sakkāk, Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib (Abī al-Barakāt) al-Miknāsī al-'Iyāḍī, see Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 238; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukti, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 481–482; Benchekroun 1974, 383–387.

**20** On him, see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 62–64; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukti, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 430–445; on him and his family, see also Bencheneb, “al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī”, *EP*.

end of the 8th/14th century.<sup>21</sup> According to this work, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Sakkāk were in the house of al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī on the day one of his sons was born in 757 H/1356 CE; al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī made the name (*ism*) of his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān after Ibn Khaldūn and the agnomen (*kunya*) Abū Yaḥyā after Ibn al-Sakkāk.<sup>22</sup> This anecdote indicates that the young Ibn Khaldūn was already so highly venerated by al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī that the latter named his son, who also became prominent, after him. The possibility cannot be excluded that the anecdote was fabricated later. Nevertheless, it is also recorded in another work written in the Maghrib.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the anecdote circulated to some degree in the Maghrib, and Ibn Khaldūn was still remembered there to be at least an outstanding scholar for some time after he went to the East.

### 3 Contemporary authors in the Mashriq

In the Mashriq, particularly in Mamlūk Cairo and Damascus, we find numerous references to Ibn Khaldūn. *Ta’rīkh al-duwal*, the chronicle of Ibn al-Furāt (735–807 H/1334–5–1405 CE), the Egyptian historian, is unfortunately only fragmentally extant, and its last part covers the years from 789 H/1387 CE to 799 H/1397 CE,<sup>24</sup> while Ibn Khaldūn arrived in Egypt in 784 H/1382 CE and died there in 808 H/1406 CE. Nevertheless, it provides some details about Ibn Khaldūn. For example, it states that Ibn Khaldūn became a Ṣūfī at al-Khānqāh al-Baybarsiyya in Cairo in 791 H/1389 CE for a single day, so as to be appointed *shaykh* of this *khānqāh*, following the stipulations of the founder.<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Furāt also states that Ibn Khaldūn was one of those with whom Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī al-Ustādār

<sup>21</sup> This work is entitled *Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* by the editor, but it is more appropriately called *Manāqib al-Sharīf Abī ‘Abd Allāh wa-waladayhi*, based on one of its manuscripts (see *Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* [2017], 34–37). The editor attributes the work to a son of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Qaysī al-Thaghri (d. 810 H/1407–8 CE) and he further infers from the agnomen (*kunya*) of al-Qaysī that the author’s name may have been ‘Abd Allāh (*Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* [2017], 38–46).

<sup>22</sup> *Manāqib al-Tilimsāniyyīn* (2017), 281–282.

<sup>23</sup> Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 252–253 (biography of Abū Yaḥyā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī), and 482 (biography of Ibn al-Sakkāk). On Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī, see below.

<sup>24</sup> On Ibn al-Furāt and his chronicle, see Massoud 2007, 34–38.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rīkh al-duwal* (1936–42), 9: 65; Fischel 1956, 293; Fischel 1967, 27–28.

(d. 799 H/1397 CE),<sup>26</sup> the majordomo of the Mamlūk sultan Barqūq (r. 784–791 H/1382–1389 CE, 792–801 H/1390–1399 CE), deposited his monies. Twenty thousand *dīnārs* were found in Ibn Khaldūn’s house when Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd was imprisoned and his properties were confiscated.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Ibn al-Furāt mentions that he learned from the Egyptian historian Ibn Duqmāq (745–809 H/1349–1407 CE) that Ibn Khaldūn told the latter that he had been informed of the ascent of the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (r. 796–837 H/1394–1434 CE) to the throne in Tunis, and the arrest of Abū Fāris’s uncle who was a rival.<sup>28</sup> Ibn Duqmāq’s chronicle *Nuzhat al-anām* was “the backbone” of Ibn al-Furāt’s *Ta’rikh al-duwal*. Since this text is also only fragmentally extant, it is difficult to ascertain how much Ibn al-Furāt owed to Ibn Duqmāq. However, at least some of Ibn al-Furāt’s accounts about Ibn Khaldūn seem to have been based on his own observations, as he was also contemporary with Ibn Khaldūn and “added his own massive material” to Ibn Duqmāq’s chronicle.<sup>29</sup>

In his chronicle, the Syrian historian Ibn Ḥijjī (751–816 H/1350–1413 CE)<sup>30</sup> leaves a brief obituary notice of Ibn Khaldūn. In it, Ibn Ḥijjī writes that Ibn Khaldūn’s birthday was 23 Dhū al-Ḥijja 732 (15 September 1332) and notes having been told by al-Tādhilī that Ibn Khaldūn was seven days older than him.<sup>31</sup> This al-Tādhilī or al-Tādilī can be identified as Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who was born on 29 Dhū al-Ḥijja 732/21 September 1332 and died on 18 Jumādā II 803/4 January 1401.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Ibn Ḥijjī must have calculated Ibn Khaldūn’s birthday, though he was off on one day – it should be 22, not 23 Dhū al-Ḥijja. In any case, the date provided by al-Tādhilī is not correct, since Ibn Khaldūn himself gives the other date, as will be seen below.

The Syro-Egyptian scholar, official, and historian al-‘Aynī (762–855 H/1361–1451 CE)<sup>33</sup> includes a relatively detailed necrology of Ibn Khaldūn in his chronicle,

26 On him, see Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh al-duwal* (1936–42), 9: 477; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 329; Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *al-Manhal* (1984–2009), 11: 213–214. For the *ustādār al-‘āliya/al-sultān* (the supreme/sultanic majordomo) in the Mamlūk sultanate, see Igarashi 2017.

27 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh al-duwal* (1936–42), 435–436; Fischel 1956, 293–294; Fischel 1967, 79–80, 164.

28 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta’rikh al-duwal* (1936–42), 9: 365. On Ibn Duqmāq and his relations to Ibn al-Furāt, see Massoud 2007, 28–38.

29 Massoud 2007, 29.

30 On him, see Massoud, “Ibn Ḥijjī”, *EP*<sup>3</sup>.

31 Ibn Ḥijjī, *Ta’rikh* (2003), 726.

32 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta’rikh* (1977–97), 195–196; see also Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 4: 246–247; *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 2: 150; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 1: 155–156.

33 On al-‘Aynī and his chronicles, see Nakamachi 2005; Marmon, “al-‘Aynī, Badr al-Dīn”, *EP*<sup>3</sup>.

*‘Iqd al-jumān*.<sup>34</sup> He mentions Ibn Khaldūn’s birth year erroneously as 733 H, not 732 H, yet he follows Ibn Khaldūn’s public career in the Maghrib, al-Andalus, and Egypt, and he does not forget to refer to Ibn Khaldūn’s history consisting of seven volumes, as well as his meeting with Timūr (d. 807 H/1405 CE) in Damascus. At the end, al-‘Aynī notes that Ibn Khaldūn was suspected of disgraceful matters (*umūr qabiḥa*), although what was meant by “disgraceful matters” is not entirely clear (see below).

Al-‘Aynī’s rival, al-Maqrīzī (ca. 766–845 H/1364–1442 CE),<sup>35</sup> provides some details about Ibn Khaldūn’s life in his chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma‘rifat duwal al-mulūk*. For instance, he tells that the Mamlūk *amīr* Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī (d. 792 H/1390 CE),<sup>36</sup> with whom Ibn Khaldūn became acquainted soon after his arrival in Cairo, played a significant role in Ibn Khaldūn’s success; but Ibn Khaldūn does not refer to his personal relationship with this *amīr*.<sup>37</sup> Al-Maqrīzī also mentions briefly Ibn Khaldūn’s meeting with Timūr and notes that some of those captured by the Timūrid army in Damascus were emancipated through Ibn Khaldūn’s mediation.<sup>38</sup> In general, however, al-Maqrīzī devotes surprisingly few words to his master in his chronicle. The necrology of Ibn Khaldūn in it is strikingly brief, occupying just two and half lines in the printed text.<sup>39</sup>

By contrast, al-Maqrīzī devotes many pages to Ibn Khaldūn in the biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-‘uqūd*.<sup>40</sup> While his main sources were Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Iḥāṭa* and Ibn Khaldūn’s *Ta‘rif*, al-Maqrīzī adds some details in his own work. For instance, he gives a more detailed account about Ibn Khaldūn’s relationship with the *amīr* Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī in *Durar al-‘uqūd* than in the *Sulūk*. According to al-Maqrīzī, the *amīr* introduced Ibn Khaldūn to the sultan Barqūq, who then appointed Ibn Khaldūn as professor at al-Madrasa al-Qamḥiyya in al-Fuṣṭāṭ.<sup>41</sup> Al-Maqrīzī also states that Ibn Khaldūn was in al-Ḥanbūshiyya in al-Fayyūm, Middle Egypt, a *waqf* (endowment) property for al-

34 Al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-jumān*, MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, fols. 81v–82r; see also Badawī 1962, 287–288.

35 On him, see Bauden 2014. On al-Maqrīzī’s relations to Ibn Khaldūn, see Irwin 2003.

36 On this *amīr*, see Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 3: 38; *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 404; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984–2009), 3: 57–61; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm* (1929–72), 12: 120.

37 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1934–73), 3: 480, 517; Fischel 1956, 297–299.

38 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1934–73), 3: 1052, 1056; see also Badawī 1962, 310.

39 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1934–73), 4: 24.

40 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd* (2002), 2: 383–410. Before Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī published the entire manuscript of *Durar al-‘uqūd* that was in his private collection, he edited the biography of Ibn Khaldūn included in his manuscript. See al-Jalīlī 1966.

41 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd* (2002), 2: 395.

Madrasa al-Qamḥiyya, when he was summoned to be appointed the Mālikī chief judge in Cairo for the second time.<sup>42</sup> In the *Taʿrīf*, Ibn Khaldūn himself recounts that he stayed in al-Fayyūm at that time to collect his harvest (*li-ḍamm zarʿi*).<sup>43</sup> Thus, he directly obtained his salary and ration for professorship at this *madrasa* from the *waqf* property, although it seems to have been uncommon; usually, the administrative members of an institution collected the harvest and distributed it among the staff. In any case, al-Maqrīzī praises Ibn Khaldūn's *Ibar*, particularly its *Muqaddima*, so highly that he describes it as “the cream of knowledge and learning” (*zubdat al-maʿārif wa-l-ʿulūm*) and “the outcome of good insight and intelligence” (*natijat al-ʿuqūl al-salīma wa-l-fuhūm*).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, he mentions approximately twenty anecdotes at the end of the biography, beginning each with the phrase “Ibn Khaldūn told us” (*ḥaddathanā* [or *akhbaranā*] *Abū Zayd*). For example, Ibn Khaldūn reported that he heard from the Naṣrid ruler Muḥammad V (r. 755–760 H/1354–1359 CE, 763–793 H/1362–1391 CE) that Pedro I of Castile (r. 1350–1369) was killed by his half-brother in their grapple during peace negotiations.<sup>45</sup> In the biography of Pedro in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*, al-Maqrīzī refers to this story of Pedro's death, while he also mentions another version, according to which Pedro was arrested and executed.<sup>46</sup> In the *Ibar*, which was al-Maqrīzī's main source for the biography of Pedro, Ibn Khaldūn wrote the latter version only.<sup>47</sup> The Egyptian encyclopedist al-Qalqashandī (756–821 H/1355–1418 CE), who often cites the *Ibar* in his work, also does not refer to this account; rather, he merely mentions that Pedro's brother defeated Pedro and killed him.<sup>48</sup> Thus, it seems that al-Maqrīzī heard most, if not all, of the anecdotes that he collected at the end of the biography of Ibn Khaldūn orally from Ibn Khaldūn. Overall, al-Maqrīzī relied heavily on Ibn Khaldūn in *Durar al-ʿuqūd*.<sup>49</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852 H/1372–1449 CE),<sup>50</sup> the Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar and jurist, wrote biographies of Ibn Khaldūn in some of his works. For

42 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 396.

43 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 347.

44 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 403.

45 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 2: 404–405.

46 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿuqūd* (2002), 1: 482–486. Mayte Penelas' paper “al-Maqrīzī and Christian Spain”, presented at the conference “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, dealt with this issue, on which she is preparing an article.

47 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar* (1956–60), 4: 377–378, 394; 7: 679–680.

48 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (1913–19), 5: 269; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar* (1956–60), 4: 394. On al-Qalqashandī, see Bosworth, “al-Qalqashandī”, *EP*; Berkel 2009.

49 See Ito 2015.

50 On him, see Rosenthal, “Ibn Ḥadījar al-ʿAsqalānī”, *EP*.

Ibn Khaldūn's necrology in his chronicle *Inbā' al-ghumr*, Ibn Ḥajar relied on al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*, for the most part.<sup>51</sup> Consequently, he repeated al-'Aynī's mistake in Ibn Khaldūn's birth year, although he obtained an *ijāza* (license) from Ibn Khaldūn, in which the latter dated his own birthday explicitly as 1 Ramaḍān 732 (27 May 1332).<sup>52</sup> Along with *'Iqd al-jumān*, Ibn Ḥajar consulted Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* but erroneously stated the name of Khaldūn's son as 'Abd al-Raḥīm, not 'Abd al-Raḥmān. On other occasions, Ibn Ḥajar gives some details about Ibn Khaldūn's life in Egypt. For example, we learn from this chronicle that Ibn Khaldūn's two sons, Muḥammad and 'Alī, survived a shipwreck in Alexandria in 786 H/1384 CE, while his five daughters drowned.<sup>53</sup> About this incident, Ibn Khaldūn merely mentions in his autobiography that he lost his family, children, and possessions while travelling from Tunis to Cairo because of a storm.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar cites the Mamlūk sultan Barqūq's comment on Timūr and the Ottomans, and adds that he heard Ibn Khaldūn saying repeatedly that "there is nothing more fearful for the ruler of Egypt than the Ottomans";<sup>55</sup> however, for this episode Ibn Ḥajar seems to have relied on al-Maqrīzī, who transmits Barqūq's comment from an *amīr*, without referring to Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>56</sup> It is not clear why Ibn Ḥajar attributed Barqūq's comment on the Ottomans to Ibn Khaldūn. As Ibn Ḥajar says, he may have heard it from Ibn Khaldūn, who told it as if it had been his own statement; or Ibn Ḥajar may have confused al-Maqrīzī with Ibn Khaldūn as his source; or he may have indicated Ibn Khaldūn's prescience here, as Robert Irwin points out.<sup>57</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar's biography of Ibn Khaldūn in the supplement to his own biographical dictionary, *Dhayl al-Durar al-kāmina*, is almost the same as the necrology in *Inbā' al-ghumr*.<sup>58</sup> However, the account in his biographical dictionary of the judges in Egypt, *Raf' al-iṣr*, is different and more detailed.<sup>59</sup> The *Raf' al-iṣr* was mainly based on the biographical dictionary of the Egyptian judges by Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Bishbīshī (762–820 H/1361–1417 CE), which appears

51 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 5: 327–332; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 2: 339–340; see also Badawī 1962, 285–287.

52 Ritter 1953, 83, plate XVII.

53 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 2: 163; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 291.

54 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 259.

55 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 3: 247–248; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 492; Irwin 2018, 106.

56 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd* (2002), 1: 445.

57 Irwin 2018, 106.

58 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar* (1992), 172–173.

59 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣr* (1998), 233–237; see also Badawī 1962, 279–285.



to have been lost.<sup>60</sup> For Ibn Khaldūn's biography, moreover, Ibn Ḥajar consulted al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd* and Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*. In this biography, Ibn Ḥajar mentions Ibn Khaldūn's genealogy as in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* and dates his birthday correctly as 1 Ramaḍān 732 H. He gives the same information as that found in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd* – for example, Ibn Khaldūn was in al-Fayyūm because of his salary for the professorship at al-Madrasa al-Qamḥiyya – as well as some unique information, based on al-Bishbīshī: for instance, Ibn Khaldūn later settled in a house by the Nile where “he delighted in the company of singing girls and young men and married a woman who had a mentally disturbed younger brother and the disgraceful things multiplied” (*tabassaṭa bi-l-sakan 'alā al-baḥr wa-akthara min samā' al-muṭribāt wa-mu'āsharat al-aḥdāth wa-tazawwaja imra'a lahā akh amrad yunsab li-l-takhlīṭ fa-kathurat al-shanā'a 'alayhi*).<sup>61</sup> What al-'Aynī meant by the similar words “disgraceful matters” (*umūr qabīḥa*) was probably the things that al-Bishbīshī and Ibn Ḥajar mentioned, as Ali Oumlil and Robert Irwin surmise.<sup>62</sup> In any case, Ibn Khaldūn's biography in *Raf' al-iṣr* includes many harsh words about him.<sup>63</sup> This is at least partly due to al-Bishbīshī's critical view of Ibn Khaldūn; however, Ibn Ḥajar himself was also critical of Ibn Khaldūn in some cases, such as the fact that he stubbornly clung to a Maghribi-style clothing instead of adopting the Egyptian-style clothing of the judges.<sup>64</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Bishbīshī worked as deputy for al-Maqrīzī when the latter was the *muḥtasib* (prefect of markets).<sup>65</sup> Al-Maqrīzī praises al-Bishbīshī's biographical dictionary of the judges and mentions that he associated with al-Bishbīshī for several years.<sup>66</sup> Thus, it is not clear why al-Bishbīshī had an almost opposite view on Ibn Khaldūn from al-Maqrīzī.

**60** On al-Bishbīshī, see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd* (2002), 2: 357–358; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 7: 287; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 3: 149; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 5: 7. On the relation of al-Bishbīshī's work to Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf' al-iṣr*, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān* (1349/1930-1), 105–106; Rosenthal 1968, 428.

**61** Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣr* (1998), 236; Irwin 2018, 106; see also Fischel 1956, 291, n. 3. The English translation is based on Robert Irwin's.

**62** Based on Oumlil 1962, 135–136, Robert Irwin mentions that al-'Aynī “implausibly accused Ibn Khaldūn of presiding over an immoral household and of being a homosexual” (Irwin 2018, 107). Oumlil's sources are Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf' al-iṣr* and al-'Aynī's *Iqd al-jumān*. Neither of them, al-'Aynī in particular, charged Ibn Khaldūn with the immorality and the homosexuality so explicitly as Oumlil and Irwin write.

**63** See Morimoto 2002, 125–130, where further accounts in Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf' al-iṣr* are cited.

**64** Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣr* (1998), 235; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 5: 332; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 2: 340; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar* (1992), 173.

**65** Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1967–76), 7: 287; *Inbā' al-ghumr* (1969–98), 3: 149.

**66** Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'uqūd* (2002), 2: 357–358.

In his *Ta'rikh*, the Syrian jurist and historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (779–851 H/1377–1448 CE)<sup>67</sup> refers to some details about Ibn Khaldūn. Quoting Ibn Duqmāq's history, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba tells the anecdote that Ibn Duqmāq met a clever boy with Ibn Khaldūn, and he notes that according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, this boy died young.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also reports Ibn Khaldūn's meeting with Timūr, citing an eyewitness account as a source.<sup>69</sup> Concerning the shipwreck involving Ibn Khaldūn's family, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's description is a little different than that of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī.<sup>70</sup> They may have quoted a same source (perhaps Ibn Duqmāq's history, although this cannot be substantiated) differently or they may have relied on different sources. Unfortunately, the published version of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's history, which is an abridged version, contains no necrology of Ibn Khaldūn; the manuscripts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's historical works require further investigation.<sup>71</sup>

In the biography of the mystic thinker Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (560–638 H/1165–1240 CE) in his biographical dictionary, *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*, Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (775–832 H/1373–1429 CE), the historian of Mecca, cites Ibn Khaldūn's opinion about Ṣūfism: Ibn Khaldūn distinguished between the early “orthodox” and later “heretical” Ṣūfism and criticized the latter, counting Ibn al-ʿArabī among the advocates of the latter.<sup>72</sup> In addition, al-Fāsī makes reference to Ibn Khaldūn's history on several occasions.<sup>73</sup>

His other biographical dictionary, *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd*, includes the biography of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>74</sup> In this work, al-Fāsī names some of Ibn Khaldūn's teachers and states that Ibn Khaldūn learned the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256 H/870 CE) from

<sup>67</sup> On him, see Darwish 1994; Reisman 1998; Massoud 2007, 81–85, 142–146, 183–189.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 1: 130–131.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 4: 182.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ta'rikh* (1977–97), 1: 138; cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1967–76), 2: 163; *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1969–98), 1: 291.

<sup>71</sup> On the state of the art of the historiographical studies on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, see Reisman 1998; Massoud 2007, esp. 81–85, 142–146, 183–189.

<sup>72</sup> Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1958–69), 2: 178–181; Knysh 1999, 191–192. Allen James Fromherz has expressed doubt about the reliability of this report (Fromherz 2010, 126–127). However, Ibn Khaldūn's opinion cited by al-Fāsī “is consistent with what is found in the *Muqaddima*”, as Robert Irwin argues (Irwin 2018, 115–117, also 195–196). In addition, Fromherz does not seem to have examined al-Fāsī and mentions him erroneously as “a scholar from Fez who claimed to have met Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt” (Fromherz 2010, 126). On al-Fāsī, see Rosenthal, “al-Fāsī”, *IEP*. Although his family stemmed from Fez (therefore, the attributive [*nisba*] “al-Fāsī”), Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī was born in Mecca and studied with Ibn Khaldūn probably in Egypt.

<sup>73</sup> Al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIqd* (1958–69), 1: 441, 443–444, 465; see also Rosenthal 1967, lxvi, n. 80.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd* (1990–97), 2: 513.

Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī (680–771 H/1281–2–1370 CE).<sup>75</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Ibn Khaldūn had great respect for al-Balafīqī.<sup>76</sup> In his autobiography, however, Ibn Khaldūn simply mentions that he learned from al-Balafīqī *al-Muwaṭṭa’* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H/796 CE), without referring to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.<sup>77</sup> Based on Ibn Khaldūn’s own writing (*bi-khaṭṭihi*), the Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar al-Sakhāwī (see below), lists the same teachers of Ibn Khaldūn as al-Fāsī does.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, it is assumed that al-Fāsī and al-Sakhāwī used a writing of Ibn Khaldūn (*ijāza?*), and not his autobiography, as their source of information. Moreover, from *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd*, we learn that Ibn Khaldūn gave an *ijāza* not only to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī but also to Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī (775–859 H/1374–1455 CE);<sup>79</sup> I could find no information about al-Marāghī’s relation to Ibn Khaldūn in the other sources I consulted.<sup>80</sup>

## 4 Later authors in the Mashriq

Many references to Ibn Khaldūn continue to be found in Egypt and Syria in the 9th–10th/15th–16th centuries. These references were based on earlier accounts.

Ibn ‘Arabshāh (791–854 H/1389–1450 CE) was born in Damascus, captured, and carried with his family to Samarqand by the Tīmūrid army.<sup>81</sup> He later returned to the Mamlūk sultanate, where he wrote his famous Arabic biography of Tīmūr. In it, Ibn ‘Arabshāh gives two accounts of Ibn Khaldūn’s meeting with Tīmūr. The source for one of them seems to have been an eyewitness account.<sup>82</sup> The other

75 On Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Balafīqī, see Puente 2012; Puente, “al-Balafīqī”, *EP*. In the edition of *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd*, his *nisba* is spelt erroneously as al-Bulqīnī; moreover, Ibn Khaldūn’s teacher of the Qur’ānic sciences was not Ibn Nizāl (?) but Ibn Burrāl (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta’rīf* [1951], 15–17, 309–310).

76 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 4: 157 (biography of al-Balafīqī). See also Rosenthal 1967, xlii.

77 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta’rīf* (1951), 305.

78 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 4: 145.

79 On Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 7: 162–165.

80 It is possible that this information was added later by the copyist of a manuscript of *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd*. See al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd* (1990–97), 2: 513, n. 4; see also the editor’s introduction to *Dhayl al-Taḥyīd* (1990–97), 1: 25–29.

81 On him, see McChesney 2006.

82 Ibn ‘Arabshāh, *‘Ajā’ib al-maḥdūr* (1986), 252–255; see also Badawī 1962, 306–308.

account was presumably based on hearsay knowledge of Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography, since Ibn 'Arabshāh recounts that he heard about Ibn Khaldūn's history but did not read it.<sup>83</sup>

In his biographical dictionary, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, the Egyptian historian Ibn Taghribirdī (ca. 812–874 H/1409–10–1470 CE) apparently relied on *Durar al-'uqūd* of his master al-Maqrīzī, as is often the case with his work.<sup>84</sup> His obituary notice of Ibn Khaldūn in his chronicle, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, was based on al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and *Durar al-'uqūd*.<sup>85</sup> On other occasions in this chronicle, Ibn Taghribirdī makes fewer references to Ibn Khaldūn than al-Maqrīzī does in the *Sulūk*.

As the Egyptian copyist, money-changer, and historian Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (819–ca. 900 H/1416–1494 CE) himself reveals, the source for the necrology of Ibn Khaldūn in his chronicle *Nuzhat al-nufūs* was al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*, on which he relied generally for the later years.<sup>86</sup> On other occasions concerning Ibn Khaldūn as well, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī seems to have borrowed from *'Iqd al-jumān*. For example, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī mentions that a robe of honor was given to Ibn Khaldūn for the confirmation of his post as chief judge at the end of the year 801 H/1399 CE, which is found only in al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*.<sup>87</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī also states that the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–808 H/1399–1405 CE, 808–815 H/1405–1412 CE) married the daughter of the *amīr* Balāṭ al-Sa'dī in 803 H/1401 CE and that Ibn Khaldūn did not attend their wedding ceremony; again, al-'Aynī is the sole reference for this incident.<sup>88</sup>

In his biographical dictionary, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, al-Sakhāwī (831–902 H/1427–8–1497 CE)<sup>89</sup> relied mainly on the works of his master Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-iṣṣ* and *Inbā' al-ghumr*.<sup>90</sup> Thus, he named Khaldūn's son erroneously as 'Abd al-Raḥīm, not 'Abd al-Raḥmān, as Ibn Ḥajar did in his *Inbā' al-ghumr* (see above), although al-Sakhāwī also consulted al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd*. Moreover, al-

<sup>83</sup> Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maḥdūr* (1986), 452–454.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal* (1984–2009), 7: 205–209; see also Badawī 1962, 288–291. On Ibn Taghribirdī, see Popper, “Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, Ḍjamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghribirdī”, *EF*. On Ibn Taghribirdī's reliance in his *Manhal* on al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd*, see Ito 2015, 321–322.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm* (1929–72), 13: 155–156.

<sup>86</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (1970–94), 2: 221. On Ibn al-Ṣayrafī and his sources, see Mas-soud 2007, 133–136, 175–176.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (1970–94), 2: 20; cf. al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jumān*, MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, fol. 26r.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (1970–94), 2: 114; cf. al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-jumān*, MS Ahmet III 2911/a19, fol. 53v.

<sup>89</sup> On him, see Petry, “al-Sakhāwī”, *EF*.

<sup>90</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 4: 145–149; see also Badawī 1962, 292–299.

Sakhāwī quoted some comments about Ibn Khaldūn by the latter's contemporaries such as Ibn 'Ammār (768–844 H/1367–1441 CE).<sup>91</sup> Further data on Ibn Khaldūn's activities and personal relations are to be found scattered in this work, as Franz Rosenthal has shown.<sup>92</sup> In the *I'lān*, his treatise on the historiography, al-Sakhāwī gives the same accounts as those found in the *Ḍaw'* concerning the *'Ibar* and the *Muqaddima*, while he mentions only in the former work that a copy of the *'Ibar* was in the Bāsiṭiyya library in Cairo.<sup>93</sup>

In his chronicle *Nayl al-amal*, the Egyptian historian 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Malaṭī (844–920 H/1440–1514 CE) seems to have derived the necrology of Ibn Khaldūn from Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ghumr* and possibly also al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān*, but he made mistakes. For example, the attributive (*nisba*) "al-Qurashī" is included in Ibn Khaldūn's genealogy; also, Ibn Khaldūn's birth year should be 733 H, according to Ibn Ḥajar and al-'Aynī, not 736 H as given by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ.<sup>94</sup>

The Egyptian jurist and polymath al-Suyūṭī (849–911 H/1445–1505 CE) presumably relied on Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ghumr* for the biography of Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>95</sup> The last Mamlūk Egyptian chronicler, Ibn Iyās (852–ca. 930 H/1448–1524 CE), borrowed the necrology of Ibn Khaldūn from al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Malaṭī's *Nayl al-amal*, and he repeated the mistakes of the latter.<sup>96</sup> The sources of the Syrian scholar and prosopographer Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (1032–1089 H/1623–1679 CE) for the biography of Ibn Khaldūn were Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-ghumr* and Ibn Taghribirdī's *Manhal*.<sup>97</sup>

91 On him, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 8: 232–234. Ibn 'Ammār studied part of the *Muqaddima* with Ibn Khaldūn (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* [1934–36], 8: 233; Rosenthal 1968, 44).

92 Rosenthal 2000.

93 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān* (1349/1930-1), 71, 94–95, 151; Rosenthal 1968, 370, 407, 497–498; see also Badawī 1962, 299–301; cf. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 4: 147. On al-Madrasa al-Bāsiṭiyya or al-Jāmi' al-Bāsiṭī and its founder Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl (784–854 H/1382–3–1451 CE), see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ* (2002–2004), 4: 351–354; *al-Khiṭaṭ* (1853), 2: 331; Igarashi 2013.

94 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl al-amal* (2002), 3: 133–134. On 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, see Massoud 2007, 67–69.

95 Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* (1967–68), 1: 462. On al-Suyūṭī, see Spevack 2009.

96 Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* (1960–75), 1/2: 754. On Ibn Iyās, see Brinner, "Ibn Iyās", *EF*; Massoud 2007, 69–76.

97 Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (1931–32), 7: 76–77. On Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, see Rosenthal, "Ibn al-'Imād", *EF*.

## 5 Later authors in the Maghrib and al-Andalus

In contrast to the Mashriq, Ibn Khaldūn was not often referred to in the Maghrib and al-Andalus in the 9th–10th/15th–16th centuries, which was also the case in the preceding century. According to Mohamed B. A. Bencheekroun, the Moroccan scholar Ya‘qūb b. Mūsā (or ‘Abd Allāh) al-Saytānī (?) criticized Ibn Khaldūn’s *Muqaddima* in his commentary of the didactic poetry of the inheritance laws (*farā’iq*).<sup>98</sup> The Andalusī judge and jurist Ibn al-Azraq (d. 896 H/1491 CE) based his treatise on politics *Badā’i‘ al-silk fi ṭabā’i‘ al-mulk* on the *Muqaddima*, which Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī (see below) pointed out.<sup>99</sup> Ibn Khaldūn’s early writing on Ṣūfism, *Shifā’ al-sā’il li-tahdhīb al-masā’il*, continued to be mentioned by the Maghribī scholar and Ṣūfī Aḥmad Zarrūq (846–899 H/1442–1494 CE) and others until the early 19th century CE.<sup>100</sup>

As for biographical notices, the Moroccan polygraph Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī (960–1025 H/1553–1616 CE)<sup>101</sup> includes Ibn Khaldūn in his biographical dictionary of the prominent persons of Fez.<sup>102</sup> It is an abridgment of Ibn Khaldūn’s biography in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Iḥāṭa*, although Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī adds that Ibn Khaldūn died in 808 H/1405-6 CE.

The West African jurist and biographer Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī (963–1036 H/1556–1627 CE)<sup>103</sup> consulted Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Iḥāṭa* and al-Sakhāwī’s *Ḍaw’*

**98** Bencheekroun 1974, 357; see also Cheddadi, “Ibn Khaldūn”, *EF*. Bencheekroun reads the *nisba* of the author as al-Sitānī and calls the title of his work *Muntahā al-bānī wa-murtaqā al-ma’ānī*. Carl Brockelmann reads the *nisba* as al-Bustānī (or al-Sabtānī) and calls the title of the work *Muntahā al-qānī wa-murtaqā al-ma’ānī* (Brockelmann 1996, S1: 666). On Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Saytānī, see further Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 558; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 621. He flourished presumably in the first half of the 9th/15th century as his disciple ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kāwānī is said to have died in 860 H/1455-6 (Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* [1973], 404).

**99** Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 561. On Ibn al-Azraq, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, and his relations to Ibn Khaldūn, see further al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 9: 20–21; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib* (1968), 2: 699–704; Isahak 2010; Delgado Pérez 2009; Bencheekroun 1974, 356–357; al-Azmeh 1982, 146, 156–158; Abdesselem 1983, 17–37; Simon 2002, 19–21; Cheddadi 2002, xl; Alatas 2013, 102–103; Irwin 2018, 162.

**100** Cheddadi 2002, xxii; Özer 2017, xxvi. On Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zarrūq al-Burnusī, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1934–36), 1: 222–223; Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 128–131; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 130–134; Brockelmann 1996, 2: 253–254; Brockelmann 1996, S2: 360–362; Kugle, “Zarrūq, Aḥmad”, *EF*.

**101** On him, see Deverdun, “Ibn al-Qāḍī”, *EF*.

**102** Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* (1973), 410–413; see also Badawī 1962, 301–303.

**103** On him, see de Moraes Farias, “Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī”, *EF*.

without specifying the latter in his biographical dictionary.<sup>104</sup> He also refers to Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography but merely mentions that Ibn Khaldūn had troubles with Ibn 'Arafa and his followers in Tunis.

Al-Maqqarī (ca. 986–1041 H/1577–1632 CE) was born in Tlemcen, was active in Morocco, and later left Fez for Egypt and Syria, where he compiled the history of al-Andalus, *Nafh al-ṭīb*.<sup>105</sup> Thus it may be not appropriate that he is counted as an author in the Maghrib. In any case, al-Maqqarī inserts the biography of Ibn Khaldūn into the *Nafh al-ṭīb*.<sup>106</sup> In this instance, his biography is largely a citation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*; however, he adds that Ibn Khaldūn was sent as envoy from Granada to Pedro I of Castile.<sup>107</sup> Concerning Ibn Khaldūn's later life in Cairo, he quotes a note by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Bā'ūnī (777–870 H/1376–1465 CE), member of a prominent Syrian family,<sup>108</sup> who had mistakenly written that Ibn Khaldūn died in 807 H, not 808 H. Al-Maqqarī also recounts that he saw the eight-volume copy of Ibn Khaldūn's history, the *Ibar*, which contained a note in Ibn Khaldūn's own hand. Indeed, al-Maqqarī often cites the *Ibar* in his *Nafh al-ṭīb*.

## 6 Concluding remarks

First, we have confirmed the importance of the external Arabic sources which Walter Fischel pointed out. They provide additional data on Ibn Khaldūn's life and activities, which are not found in his autobiography. We learn from them, for example, that he had a concubine in Granada; that he had at least two sons, Muḥammad and 'Alī, and five daughters; that he married again in Cairo; and that he sometimes went to the countryside to collect the harvest.

We can also gain knowledge from these external sources about the contemporary views on Ibn Khaldūn. On the one hand, most of his contemporaries and near-contemporaries praised his talent and ability. His *Ibar* was well known and often cited, although the real worth of it, particularly that of its *Muqaddima*, “was not fully recognised in the Muslim world until the late nineteenth century”.<sup>109</sup> Beside al-Maqrīzī, al-Fāsi, Ibn al-Azraq, and al-Maqqarī, al-Qalqashandī should be

**104** Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (1989), 250–252; see also Badawī 1962, 303–306.

**105** On him, see Lévi-Provençal/Pellat, “al-Maḥḥarī”; Fierro/Molina 2009.

**106** Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 6: 171–192; see also Badawī 1962, 253–272.

**107** Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 6: 191.

**108** On him, see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* (1934–36), 1: 26–29. On the al-Bā'ūnī family, see Frenkel, “al-Bā'ūnī”, *EP*.

**109** Cheddadi, “Ibn Khaldūn”, *EP*.

added to those who made considerable use of the *‘Ibar*.<sup>110</sup> On the other hand, some of his contemporaries criticized Ibn Khaldūn as too ambitious and stubborn, which apparently indicates an aspect of his personality.

Second, we have examined the relations between the external sources. On the whole, authors in the Maghrib and al-Andalus relied mainly on works written in the West, whereas authors in the Mashriq relied on works written in the East.

However, to what extent did this really reflect the intellectual network or communication of that time? We can assume some human, material, and informational exchanges between the West and the East. Every year, many Muslims from the West went through Egypt and Syria to Mecca for the *ḥajj*, and a number of scholars and *Šūfis* travelled over lands in search for teachers, masters, colleagues, libraries, assemblies, and jobs. As for material exchanges, Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent copies of his *Iḥāṭa* and other works to Cairo to be placed as a *waqf* (donation) at the Khānqāh Sa‘īd al-su‘adā’.<sup>111</sup> Later, the Maghribi *ḥadīth* scholar, preacher, and statesman Ibn Marzūq (d. 781 H/1379 CE) added a note to this manuscript of the *Iḥāṭa*, after he moved to Cairo.<sup>112</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s son ‘Alī also made additions to it when he visited Cairo.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, al-Maqqarī found in it the reading notes of al-Maqrīzī and al-Suyūṭī, among others.<sup>114</sup> When Ibn Marzūq’s grandson visited Cairo, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī gave him a manuscript that his grandfather had written in Cairo.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore, there were lively letter exchanges among intellectuals. Ibn Khaldūn himself had a great deal of correspondence with Ibn al-Khaṭīb.<sup>116</sup> Finally, we should not forget that the intellectual network extended across not only political but also religious boundaries. The Jewish physician and astronomer Ibn Zarzar, for example, was acquainted with Ibn Khaldūn and praised him before Pedro I of Castile when Ibn Khaldūn visited Seville for a diplomatic mission.<sup>117</sup>

Hence, should we suppose that it depends on the genre? As Ibn Khaldūn himself states,

**110** See Björgman 1928, 83.

**111** Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta‘rīf* (1951), 121; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 7: 105.

**112** Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 3: 362. On Ibn Marzūq, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, see Hadj-Sadok, “Ibn Marzūq”, *EF*; Peláez Rovira 2006.

**113** Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 7: 301–302.

**114** Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭīb* (1968), 7: 106.

**115** Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar* (1993), 3: 362.

**116** See Fromherz 2014.

**117** Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta‘rīf* (1951), 85.



Some later historians [...] showed a tendency toward greater restriction [...] They brought together the happenings of their own period and gave exhaustive historical information about their own part of the world. They restricted themselves to the history of their own dynasties and cities.<sup>118</sup>

Thus, there was certainly a gap, more or less, in the historiography of the western and eastern Arab world.<sup>119</sup> However, how deep was this gap, in comparison with the gap between the Arab world and the “Persianate societies” or the “Persianate world” stretching east and north of Iraq to include Iran, Central Asia, and India, which formed distinctive Persianate cultural traditions, particularly in the Mongol and post-Mongol periods? It seems that Ibn Khaldūn came to be known in the Persianate world only much later because premodern Persian historiography paid little attention to the regions west of Iraq.<sup>120</sup> In addition, what were the other disciplines such as jurisprudence, *ḥadīth* studies, Ṣūfism, philosophy, medicine, and astronomy like? To answer these questions, further research is required on how wide and dense an intellectual network or communication in the Islamic or Islamicate world in the post-classical period from the 12th century CE through to the early 16th century CE could have been, while taking into account the differences in genres and individuals.<sup>121</sup>

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**118** Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar* (1956–60), 1: 4; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1967), 1: 8. The English translation is Franz Rosenthal's.

**119** However, it is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-'uqūd* includes the biographies of many “foreigners”, as Joseph Drory points out. I would like to thank Professor Drory for being generous and showing me his paper “Foreign Rulers in al-Maqrīzī's Biographical Dictionary *Durar al-'Uqūd*”, which was presented in May 2013 in the 22nd International Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Eras at Ghent University, Belgium, which I did not attend. Al-Maqrīzī may have attempted to write a kind of world history, keeping in mind Ibn Khaldūn's statement quoted above. Whatever the case may be, *Durar al-'uqūd* deserves further investigation. I am preparing a paper on “Africans” in this biographical dictionary.

**120** The Timūrid Persian historiography did not refer to Timūr's meeting with Ibn Khaldūn (Fischel 1952, 4). The Urdu and the Persian translations of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* were published respectively in 1924–1932 and in 1957–1959 (Fischel 1967, 9). It should be explored when Ibn Khaldūn became first known in Iran.

**121** In this context, the concept of “Islamic (or Islamicate) republic of letters” should also be revisited. Muhsin J. al-Musawi recently provided several impressive examples that attest to this concept (al-Musawi 2015). However, was such an Islamic consciousness really as pervasive in every genre as he argues? For an overview of the cultural connections over time, see Romanov 2017.

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