

Cultural life in al-Andalus in the fourteenth century: a
study of Ibn Layūn, with a critical edition of his *Bughyat*

al-Mu'ānis

By
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Vol. 1

To my parents

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The study resulting in this thesis began when Dr A. al-Harrām drew my attention to the life and works of Ibn Layūn. For this I am in his debt.

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Abstract

This thesis is divided into two parts: an English part in one volume and an Arabic part in two volumes. The first part consists of seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the political life and social context of al-Andalus in the 8th /14th century. The second concentrates on the intellectual life of al-Andalus; in this chapter the most important intellectual and cultural activities that flourished during the 8th/14th century are discussed in some detail and examples from each of these cultural activities are given.

Chapter 3 draws on primary sources to review the development of poetry and prose in the 8th/14th century. The fourth chapter discusses the four main source materials used in this thesis and goes on to cover the life of Ibn Layūn in some detail, including his education. The eastern influences on his education are also discussed. His important students such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khātima and al-Ḥaḍramī are also mentioned in this chapter, which again relies on important primary sources written by Ibn Layūn, his students and his contemporaries.

In Chapter 5 Ibn Layūn's works (those which are extant as well as those which have not survived) are discussed in greater detail, along with his unrivalled ability to summarise other important works. After looking at some

factors which influenced his writings, this chapter examines his *rajaz* and, in particular, existing manuscripts of two of Ibn Layūn's *urjūza*: *al-Iksīr* and *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa fī Uṣūl Ṣinā'at al-Filāḥā*. Comments are made especially on the edition of the second of these *urjūza*.

The penultimate chapter in this part is a critical study of the *Bughya* and discusses in more detail its contents, sources and the methods used by the author. The work is compared to other works such as *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* and *al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḍara*. The *Bughya* draws heavily from an earlier work, the *Bahja* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. This chapter examines the extent to which Ibn Layūn depended on this and other earlier works, and describes how he turned the traditional anthology into a work of didactic and scholastic importance. An index and tables to this chapter are found at the end of the thesis.

The final chapter in part one describes in detail the extant manuscripts, and how the current edition was made from the extant manuscripts.

The second part of this thesis is a scholarly edition of Ibn Layūn's important anthology *Bughyat al-Muā'nis* relying on four important manuscripts, one of which goes back to the time of the author, together with a footnoted commentary on the *Bughya* and other relevant material on variant readings. Included also in the second part are indices, an appendix and bibliography for the edited text.

The indices cover Quranic verses, *ḥadīths*, proverbs and sayings of wisdom, poetic verses in accordance to their rhymes, poetic hemistiches, names of persons, names of tribes and clans, names of towns, cities and other places. They also cover titles of works mentioned by Ibn Layūn and titles of sources and references used in editing Ibn Layūn's work.

This thesis is the first detailed analysis of Ibn Layūn and his work.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this work has been written by me and does not represent the work of any other person

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Note on the Transliteration.

The transliteration system used in this thesis is as follows:

1. Consonants:

ء	'	ش	Sh	ن	n
ب	b	ص	Ṣ	ه	h
ت	t	ض	ḍ	و	w
ث	th	ط	ṭ	ي	y
ج	j	ظ	ẓ		
ح	ḥ	ع	'		
خ	kh	غ	gh	اَ	ā
د	d	ف	f	اِ	ī
ذ	dh	ق	q		
ر	r	ك	k	اُ	ū
ز	z	ل	l	اَو	aw
س	s	م	m	اَي	ay

2. Vowels and Diphthongs:

اَ	a	اَ	ā	اِي	ī	اِ	ā
اِ	i	اِي	ī				
اُ	u	اُو	ū				
اَو	aw						
اَي	ay						

In addition, initial *hamzas* are not shown, *tā'marbūṭa* is not indicated except in *iḍāfa*

(when it is transliterated t), and *hamzat al-waṣl* is also ignored.

Abbreviations of manuscripts and other works used in this thesis¹

A. Manuscripts of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*:

A أ *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, Ms. No. 1037D. The General Library, Rabat, Morocco.

B ب *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, Ms. No. 236K. The General Library, Rabat, Morocco.

M م *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, Ms. No. 6946. The Royal Library, Rabat, Morocco.

L ل *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, Ms. No. 4503. The Royal Library, Rabat, Morocco.

Bughya = Ibn Layūn, *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis wa-Uns al-Mujālis*.

B. Other works:

Al-A'lām, = Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām: Qāmūs Tarājim li-ashhar al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā' min al-'Arab wa-almusta'ribīn wa-al-Mustashriqīn*.

A'māl = Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl al-A'lām fī man bayi'a min mulūk al-Islām Qabl al-Iḥtilām*.

'Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn, = 'Inān, *'Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn fī al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus*.

Azhār = al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ fī Dhikr Akhbār al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ*.

Awṣāf = Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf al-Nās fī al-Tawārīkh wa-al-Ṣilāt*.

Al-Bṭa al-Andalusiyya = Shalābī, Sa'd Ismā'īl, *al-Bṭa al-Andalusiyya wa-Āthāruhā fī al-Shi'r: 'Aṣr Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*.

¹ For more information about place and date of publication see bibliographies.

- Buldān** = Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*.
- Al-Dhakhīra** = Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī *al-Dhakhīra fī Maḥāsīn Ahl al-Jazīra*.
- al-Dībāj** = Ibn Farḥūn, Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Dībāj al-Mudhhab fī Ma‘rifat A‘yān al-Madhhab*
- Dirāsāt** = al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*.
- Dirāsāt wa-Buḥūth** = al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt wa-Buḥūth fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus*.
- Durar** = Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A‘yān al-Mi‘a al-Thāmina*.
- Durrat** = Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥijāl fī Dhikr Asmā’ al-Rijāl*.
- EI¹** = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition.
- EI²** = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.
- Fihris al-Fahāris** = al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa-al-Ithbāt wa-Mu‘jam al-Ma‘ājim wa-al-Mashyakhāt wa-al-Musalsalāt*.
- Gharnāṭa** = Farahāt, *Gharnāṭa fī Zill Banī al-Aḥmar*.
- Hadiyyat** = al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Arifīn*.
- ‘Ibar** = Ibn Khaldūn, *al-‘Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada’ wa-al-Khabar*.
- Īdāḥ** = al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn fī Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*.
- Iḥāṭa** = Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa*.
- Kashf** = Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn ‘an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*.
- Al-Katība** = Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība al-Kāmina fī Shu‘arā’ al-Mi‘a al-Thāmina*.

- Lamḥ** = Ibn Layūn, *Lamḥ al-Siḥr min Rawḥ al-Shi'r*.
- Lamḥa** = Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Naṣriyya*.
- Mi'yār** = Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn, *Mi'yār al-Ikhtiyār fī Dhikr al-Ma'āhid wa-al-Diyār*.
- Al-Mughrib** = Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib fī Ḥulā al-Maghrib*.
- Nafḥ** = al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb fī Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa-Dhikr Wazīrihā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*.
- Nathīr** = Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-Jumān*.
- Nathīr Farā'id** = Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*.
- Al-Qaṣīda,** = al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusiyya Khilāl al-Qarn al-thāmin al-Hijrī; al-Zawāhir wa-al-Qaḍāyā wa-al-Abniya*.
- Shajarat** = Muḥammad b. M. Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya fī Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya*.
- Tārīkh al-Adab** = Shawqī Ḍayf, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī: 'Aṣr al-Duwal wa-al-Imārāt*.
- Al-Ta'rīf** = Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf bī Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatuh Gharban wa-Sharqan*.
- Tārīkh Madīnat** = Sālim, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Mariyya al-Islāmiyya*.
- Udabā'** = al-Bustānī, *Udabā' al-'Arab fī al-Andalus wa-'Aṣr al-Inbi'āth*.

Part one

Introduction

Among the questions which might be asked are the following. Why choose the topic of Ibn Layūn; His Life and Work? Why is the 14th century to be studied in particular? What is the status and significance of any previous studies relative to the present thesis?

My interest in this topic began to develop in 1991, when A. al-Harrāma made the suggestion that the life and work of Ibn Layūn had not received much attention, and from that time I started researching his work and collecting to collect information and copies of his existing work from the libraries of several countries, including Morocco, Tunis and Libya. Another reason for choosing to write about Ibn Layūn and his work, is that he can be taken as an example of the pattern of intellectual life which predominated in al-Andalus in the 8th/14th century, when scholars would be engaged in several different fields. As well as Ibn Layūn, this is evident from other writers such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb Ibn Khātima, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn al-Jayyāb.

During my research, copies of previously uncatalogued texts were discovered, including, *al-Nukhba* which was found in the Centre of Historical Studies in Tripoli, and a copy of *Bughya* which is in private hands in Libya. There also exist copies of his *urjūza Ibdā' al-Malāḥa* and other commentaries on this work which were not used by J. Eguaras in her 1975 edition. (*Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*, Granada, 1975).¹ The same applies to other Spanish scholars including

¹ The commentary was published in 1975 in Granada and includes a full translation into Spanish as well as comments.

Emilio Garcia Gomez in his two articles *Sober agricultura arabogo-andaluza*, in *Al-Andalus*, x (1945), p. 127 and *Los proverbios rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almeria (1283-1349)*, *Al-Andalus*, XXXVI (1972). After studying his remaining work, including his *rajaz*, his poetry and summaries, I was encouraged that a single in-depth study of the life and work of Ibn Layūn should be undertaken, especially in the absence of any other detailed work, except for a short entry in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, and a very few articles written in Spanish. In connection with modern Arab studies, a recent general work on Andalusian literature, by Shawqī Ḍayf, was published in Cairo in 1997, which includes an extremely brief chapter on the 14th century. However, in his writing, he does not refer to original sources, and does not mention Ibn Layūn at all, so this work can not be taken as a major contribution to our knowledge of the 8th/14th century in particular.

Moreover, looking at the broader area of Andalusian literature, one can say that most of the academic research has concentrated on the period of the Ta'ifi Kingdoms. After the collapse of al-Muwaḥḥidūn, one could get the impression that quantity and quality of literature in al-Andalus had diminished. In fact, with important men of letters such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Layūn, Ibn al-Jayyāb, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Zamrak and Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, it can be seen that Andalusian literature continued to flourish under the Banū al-Aḥmar dynasty. Indeed, the existing poetry and muwashshaḥāt, for example, give further evidence that the literary production during this time was as vigorous as in previous periods. Again, there are very few studies of Andalusian literature of the 8th/14th century, with more emphasis hitherto given to the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. Those few studies made

of the 8th/14th century have tended to rely on the same secondary sources, whereas this thesis, by contrast, has made efforts to refer back to all primary sources which discuss the 8th/14th century.

The initial research task of this thesis concerned itself exclusively with Ibn Layūn's life and work, but it then grew in scope to include wider elements of intellectual, social and literary life in 8th/14th century al-Andalus. Of the large amount of Ibn Layūn's work which has come down to us, only his *urjūza Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa* has been edited, in 1975, and therefore this thesis will undertake the additional task of editing and commenting on one of his important works, *Bughya*. It is this writer's hope that the extent and breadth of this study will encourage others to research a field that has until now occasioned only relatively brief investigations. To give a clear structure to such an extensive study, the thesis is divided into two main parts.

The first part is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter will deal with the political life and social context of al-Andalus in the 8th/14th century; the second will concentrate on the intellectual life of al-Andalus. In this chapter the most important intellectual and cultural activities that flourished during the 8th/14th century will be expanded upon and examples from each of these activities will be discussed. They include *Fiqh*, Exegesis and *Ḥadīth*, linguistic studies, history and travel literature, Medicine, Mathematics and Agronomy, education and the dissemination of manuscripts.

Chapter 3 will draw on primary sources to review the development of poetry and prose in the 8th/14th century. Chapter 4 will cover Ibn Layūn's life in considerable detail including his education, the large number of his teachers from both Al-Andalus and Morocco. The Eastern influences on Ibn Layūn's education will also be discussed. Likewise his important students such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khātima and al-Ḥaḍramī are also mentioned in this chapter, and again it will rely on important primary sources written by Ibn Layūn, his students and his contemporaries. Some errors in secondary sources, including the *EL*², will be noted in this chapter.

In Chapter 5, both Ibn Layūn's existing works and those which have not survived will be discussed in greater detail. His ability to summarise other important works, and in some cases to render them as a form of poetry. After considering at some factors which influenced his writings, this chapter will examine existing manuscripts of Ibn Layūn's *urjūza: Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa fī Uṣūl Ṣinā'at al-Filāḥā* and the commentary on it by Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez.

The penultimate chapter covers the relationship of the *Bughya* to earlier works. Ibn Layūn drew on a number of these, most importantly on the *Bahja* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. The contrast between these two works will be highlighted showing how by careful selection and editing Ibn Layūn transformed a work of popular entertainment into a text of literary and pedagogical merit. This transformation was one of the goals of the author, and so this chapter considers its general theme, and why and how the *Bughya* was written. Its sources and their relative importance will

also be dealt with. The work will be compared to other works such as *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* and *al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḍara*. An indexes and tables to this chapter are found at the end of the thesis.

The final chapter in this part is a critical study of the available manuscripts, and describes how these are integrated in the new edition of the *Bughya* presented in part two. The method of editing the text will be explained. A detailed critical description of the manuscripts will be provided in this chapter.

The second part of this thesis is equally important. It comprises an edited version of the *Bughya* relying on four important Mss, one of which goes back to the time of the author. The edited text will also have a footnoted commentary on the *Bughya* and other relevant material on variant readings. Finally, the second part contained the indices and appendix for the Ms which include the Qurānic verses, the *ḥadīths*, proverbs and sayings of wisdom, poetic verses in accordance to their rhymes, poetic hemistichs, names of persons, names of tribes and clans, names of towns, cities and other places, titles of works mentioned by Ibn Layūn, titles of sources and references used in verifying Ibn Layūn's work.

Chapter one:

**The political and social context of al-Andalus
during the 14th century**

This chapter deals in outline with the main political events and figures in al-Andalus during the 8th/14th century, relying on the most important sources which deal with this period, some of them written by contemporary scholars, who played significant roles in the Banū al-Aḥmar regime, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, Ibn Zamrak al-Gharnāṭī, Ibn al-Aḥmar, al-Bunāhī, al-Sharīf al-Sibtī and Ibn Khaldūn.

Al-Andalus before Banū al-Aḥmar.

After the collapse of the state of the Almohads (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*)¹ in al-

¹ The Almohads were driven out of the peninsula, although they continued to rule Morocco for about forty years after this date. For more details about the Almohad state and its history in al-Andalus and North Africa see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, (Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 753; Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Ikhtiṣār Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib*, Tuṭwān 1960, vol. 3, ed. A. Huici Miranda; Watt, W. Montgomery, *A History of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh, 1965, pp. 103-109; *El²: al-Muwaḥḥidūn* (M. Shatzmiller); Spuler, Bertold, *The Muslim World: a Historical Survey*, Leiden, 1960, vol. 1, pp. 110-111; Lane-Poole Stanley, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 46; ‘Inān, Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, *‘Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, Cairo, Maṭba‘at Lajnat al-Ta’līf wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Nashr, 1964; M. Majīd al-Sa‘īd, *al-Shi‘r fī ‘Ahd al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn bi-al-Andalus*, al-Dār al-‘Arabiyya li-al-Mawsū‘āt, Beirut, 1985, p. 24.

Andalus following the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa on 15 Şafar 609/16 July 1212,² Muḥammad Ibn Hūd,³ the ruler of Baṭalyaws (Badajoz),⁴ was able in 626/1217 to extend his sovereignty over some cities in al-Andalus such as Seville, Cordoba, Murcia and Jaen. Looking for a new protector, many people supported Ibn Hūd but, because he was weak, his reign did not last long, as the most important of his cities fell into Christian hands.⁵ Baṭalyaws fell in 628/1231⁶, Cordoba, which was the capital of al-Andalus and had been under Muslim control for 520 years, on 23 Shawwāl 633/29 June 1236⁷ after a long siege which lasted

² ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu‘jib fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. M. al-‘Aryān, Cairo, 1332, p. 181; Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 3, p. 236; Hitti, Philip K, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1940, p. 549; Nicholson, R. A., *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1969, p. 432; *EI²: al-Muwaḥḥidīn* (M. Shatzmiller); ‘Inān, Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, *Nihāyat al-Andalus wa-Tārīkh al-‘Arab al-Mutanaṣṣirīn*, Cairo, Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1987, p. 19. This battle is called in Arabic sources “*al-‘Iqāb*”. See al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu‘jib*, p. 181; Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad. b. Muḥammad, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. Ihsān ‘Abbās, (Beirut, 1968), vol. 1, 446; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 549; *EI²: al-‘Iqāb* (Hussain Monés).

³ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 1, p. 447. For further details regarding the reign of Ibn Hūd see al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 1, p. 416; ‘Inān, ‘*Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 31-55. See also ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 33- 35, pp. 389-93.

⁴ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 1, p. 447.

⁵ See ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 32-34.

⁶ See ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 20; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, London, 1958, p. 128.

⁷ Ibn Khaldūn states wrongly that Cordoba fell in 636/1239. See Ibn Khaldūn, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, *al-‘Ibar wa-dīwān al-Mubtada’ wa-al-Khabar*, (Beirut, 1956, 1961), vol. 4, p. 169.

for six months,⁸ and Valencia on 27 Şafar 636/9 October 1238.⁹ Seville was fell on 3 Ramaḍān 646/23 December 1248 also after a siege which lasted for 18 months.¹⁰

The emergence of Ibn al-Aḥmar.

During this period, a new rival appeared on the political scene in al-Andalus. This was the family of Ibn al-Aḥmar led by Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar¹¹ who was known as al-Ghālib billāh (Conqueror by the Grace of God).¹² After a strong struggle between Ibn Hūd and Ibn al-Aḥmar, a peace agreement was concluded

⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, p. 448; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ed. Al-Sayyad ‘Izzat al-‘Aṭṭār, Cairo, 1955, p. 202; ‘Atīq, *al-Adab al-‘Arabī fī al-Andalusī*, Dār al-Nahḍa al-‘Arabyya, 1972, p. 115; Salāma, ‘Alī, *al-Adab al-‘Arabī fī al-Andalus*, (Beirut, 1989), pp. 30- 1; ‘Atīq, *al-Adab al-‘Arabī fī al-Andalusī*, p. 115; ‘Inān, *‘Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 418-25; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 20-34; ‘Inān, *al-Āthār al-Andalusīyya al-Bāqīya fī Iṣbāniya wa-al-Burtughāl*, Mu’assasat al-Khānjī, Cairo, 1961, pp. 20-33; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, pp. 169-183.

⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 167; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-Siyarā’*, ed. Husayn Mones, Cairo, 1963, p. 190. See also ‘Inān, *‘Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 437- 9.

¹⁰ Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 3, p. 381; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 190; Salāma, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, *Fī Tārīkh wa-Ḥaḍārat al-Andalus*, Beirut, 1985, p. 116; ‘Inān, *‘Aṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 466-88. See also the enclosed map on page. 19.

¹¹ Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 128.

¹² Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, pp. 241-75; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn, *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Naṣriyya*, Beirut, Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1978, pp. 33- 42; *EI²: Naṣrids* (A. Fernández-Puertas); Nicholson, p. 435. For more information about Ibn al-Aḥmar, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 170; al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 1, p. 167; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn, *al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, (Cairo, 1973-77), vol. 2, pp. 59-60; *EI²: Naṣrids* (A. Fernandez-Puertas).

between them whereby Ibn al-Aḥmar submitted to Ibn Hūd.¹³ In 635/1238 Ibn Hūd proceeded to Almería to force its rebellious governor to submit to him, but the governor of Almería Muḥammad al-Ramīmī offered Ibn Hūd a great reception which soothed his anger.¹⁴ On the same night, in ambiguous circumstances, as Ibn Khaldūn says, Ibn Hūd was murdered following a plot by the governor of Almería.¹⁵

The Conquest of Granada

In 634/1237 Ibn al-Aḥmar conquered Granada and made it his capital.¹⁶ After the death of Ibn Hūd,¹⁷ Ibn al-Aḥmar brought Almería under his rule, which became, from that time, part of the kingdom of Banū al-Aḥmar.¹⁸

¹³ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 18; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, p. 422.

¹⁴ 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 34; *El²: Al-Mariyya* (J. Bosch Vila). See also Sayyid, Sālim 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Mariyya al-Islāmiyya*, (Beirut, 1969).

¹⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 169. See also Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 3, pp. 235-6; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, pp. 582-3; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 90; 'Inān, *Nihāyat*, pp. 34-5; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 12.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, pp. 33, 47; *El²: Naṣrids* (A. Fernandez-Puertas); 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 40; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 158. See also *al-Dhakhīra al-Saniyya*, by an anonymous author, Algiers, 1920, p. 60. In this latter source Ibn al-Aḥmar conquered Granada in Ramaḍān 636.

¹⁷ He died in Almería in 635/1238. For more details see Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 169; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 3, p. 235; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, p. 583; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 90; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 34-5.

¹⁸ 'Atīq, *al-Adab al-'Arabī fī al-Andalus*, p. 120; Yūsuf, Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa fī Zill Banī al-Aḥmar*, (Beirut, 1993), p. 20; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 92; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 40.

In 636/1239 the city of Malaga announced that it too was joining the state of Banū al-Aḥmar.¹⁹

In the 8th/14th century, the Banū al-Aḥmar kingdom of Granada comprised many cities and villages,²⁰ such as Almería, al-Munécar, Loja, Priego, Baza, Malaga, Ronda and Guadix.²¹ During his reign, which lasted from 635-672/238-1272, Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar, founder of the state of Banū al-Aḥmar, organised his kingdom's affairs and established a state which lasted for more than two and half centuries. One of his most important legacies was further to develop the Alhambra palace and provide it with water.²² In addition, he established schools, a big hospital, a home for the elderly and a shelter for the blind.²³ He also dug irrigation canals, some of which are still used today.²⁴ Moreover, he paid attention to the economy and in this regard he built stores for grain and provisions.²⁵

¹⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 92.

²⁰ For further details regarding Andalusian territories and cities which belonged to the kingdom of Banū al-Aḥmar see; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, pp. 28-30; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 133-55; al-Qalqashandī, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, (Cairo, 1915), vol. 5, pp. 217-21; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, pp. 148-9, 165; al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik*, ed. Abū Diyāf Aḥmad, Maṭba‘at al-Najāḥ al-Jadīda, Casablanca, 1988, p. 156; *EI*², *Naṣrids* (A. Fernandez-Puertas).

²¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 366; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, p. 447. See also the enclosed map on page. 20.

²² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 43. See also, ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 52.

²³ Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, p. 148; Farḥat, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 25.

²⁴ Farḥat, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 26.

²⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 43; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 26.

According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar held twice weekly general meetings in which he responded to peoples problems, and poets would recite their poetry to him.²⁶

Ibn al-Aḥmar's policy was pragmatic and shrewd. He always pretended to show loyalty to the kings of Morocco, enabling him to obtain military support and much financial aid which helped him to build and strengthen his kingdom.²⁷ One of the important events of his reign was a peace agreement between him and the King of Castille in 643/1246. This agreement stated that a cease-fire between both parties should hold for twenty years on condition that Ibn al-Aḥmar gave up some territories to the Christians, such as Jaen, Arjona, Priego, Porcuna, and some nearby castles.²⁸

The reign of Muḥammad II

After the death of Ibn al-Aḥmar on 29 Jumādā II 671/11 December 1272, his son Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar, who was known as al-Faqīh²⁹ (the Jurisprudent), succeeded him at the age of thirty-eight. Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar was born in

²⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 95.

²⁷ 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 52; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 158.

²⁸ Enrique, Sordo, *al-Andalus Puerta del Paraiso*, (Madrid, 1964), p. 121; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 3, p. 367; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 7, p. 190; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 36; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 65; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 43.

²⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 172; Bayḍūn, Ibrāhīm, *al-Dawla al-'Arabiyya fī Isbāniyā min al-Fatḥ Ḥattā Suqūṭ al-Khilāfa*, (Cairo, 1984), p. 396.

633/1235 and ruled Granada from 672-701/1273-1303.³⁰ During that period, there were many plots and rebellions against him.³¹ The most important of these took place in Malaga in 664/1266, but by shrewdness and thanks to help from the then governor of Malaga, ‘Umar al-Majālī he suppressed the uprising and regained the city in 677/1279.³²

Immediately before his death, he signed a peace and friendship treaty with the King of Aragon on 26th Rabī‘ II 701/31st December 1301.³³ Ibn al-Aḥmar II “had received help and support from Marīnid garrisons, and from his time, Berber volunteers (*ghuzāt*) regularly patrolled the western frontier”.³⁴

During his reign, al-Faqīh tried to consolidate his kingdom by developing and organising its offices of state. Moreover, like his father, he was a patron of literature and architecture, and appointed many poets and men of letters to positions in his kingdom,³⁵ thereby enhancing the cultural and intellectual life

³⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 566; idem, *Lamḥa*, p. 95. ‘Inān stated wrongly that al-Faqīh was born in 533ah. See *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 94.

³¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 4, p. 172.

³² Cristobal, Toress, *El-Antiguo Reino de Granada (1232-1340)*, (Granada, 1974), p. 119; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 50; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 7, p. 201.

³³ See a copy of this agreement on p. 21.

³⁴ *EL²: Naṣrids* (A. Fernandez-Puertas). See also ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 95.

³⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 557.

in al-Andalus.³⁶

The reign of Muḥammad III

After the death of Muḥammad II, al-Faqīh, on 2nd Sha'bān 701/1302, he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad III, known as al-Makhlū' ³⁷ (the Deposed), (701-708/1302-1309). During his reign, al-Makhlū' had good relations with the Merinid Sultans in Morocco.³⁸ He captured a number of castles near Jaen.³⁹ He concluded a truce with the Kings of Castille which lasted for three years.⁴⁰ But the Banū Marīn did not like this truce which led to a deterioration of relations between the Kings of Granada and those of the Banū Marīn. In 705/1306, due to provocation from the governor of Malaga, Abū Sa'īd Faraj al-Naṣrī, cousin of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Makhlū',⁴¹ the city of Ceuta joined the kingdom of Banū al-Aḥmar.

³⁶ During the whole period of Islamic rule in Spain, but especially during the Taifī Kingdoms, the rulers encouraged the development of literature, and invited the most prominent poets and scholars to enhance the stature of their court. For example, al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād of Seville brought Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn al-Labbāna, Ibn Wahbūn and Ibn 'Ammār. See Salāma, *al-Adab al-'Arabī fī al-Andalus*, pp. 24-5; Shawqī Ḍayf, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī : Aṣr al-Duwal wa-al-Imārāt al-Andalus*, (Cairo, n.d.) p. 36; 'Atīq, *al-Adab al-'Arabī fī al-Andalus*, p. 97.

³⁷ He was given the nickname of al-Makhlū' because he was removed from power in 706/1309. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 69; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 555-6.

³⁸ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 30.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Dufourcq, Ch. E, *L'Espagne Catalane et le Maghreb*, (Paris, 1966), p. 360.

⁴¹ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 31.

Because al-Makhlū‘ was weak in governing, his minister Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm, was able to take over all the important decisions of government, and as a consequence, according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, revolutionary forces developed against al-Makhlū‘ and he was forced to step down as the King of Granada in 708/1309⁴² (hence the title “al-Makhlū‘”, the Overthrown) and his minister, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm, was killed.⁴³ Thereafter al-Makhlū‘ was exiled to Almunecar where he spent five years. After that he was brought back to Granada where he died in 713/1314.⁴⁴ Some historians say that he was drowned in the palace pool on orders of his brother, Naṣr Abū al-Juyūsh. An important achievement of al-Makhlū‘ was the building the Great Mosque in the Alhambra.⁴⁵

In connection with the literary life during his reign, again according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he used to write his own poetry,⁴⁶ as well as listening to other poets and awarding prizes to them.⁴⁷

⁴² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 552-3. See also ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 12-13.

⁴³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, pp. 60-8; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 552.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 554-5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, pp. 67-8.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb quoted some of his poetry, see *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 543-6. See also *idem*, *Lamḥa*, p. 60.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 545.

The reign of Naṣr Abū al-Juyūsh

After al-Makhlū‘ stepped down, his brother, Naṣr Abū al-Juyūsh, assumed power. His reign was not much different from that of his brother. When the Castellians noticed the chaos and confusion in Granada, they launched a war on Algeciras on 21 Ṣafar 709/1309⁴⁸ under the leadership of Fernando IV, which enabled the Castellians to occupy Algeciras easily. The matter did not end there, for Fernando IV, encouraged by the weakness of the Kings of Granada, marched with his army to Gibraltar. He besieged it for several months until he forced the Muslims to surrender at the end of 709/March 1310.⁴⁹ Then Abū al-Juyūsh resorted to truce negotiations with the King of Castille whereby the former promised to pay tribute to the latter. At that crucial time, a rebellion led by the governor of Malaga, Abū Sa‘īd Faraj Ibn Ismā‘īl b. Naṣr, uncle of Abū al-Juyūsh, took place against Abū al-Juyūsh Naṣr b. Muḥammad.⁵⁰

As with other rulers, he also encouraged poets and scholars, and he brought them to work in different posts in the court, among them the famous poet, Ibn al-Jayyāb.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 62; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 546. It should be mentioned that most of the Arabic sources only give the *hijra* dates, whilst the Western sources just give the Christian dates.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 3, p. 339; idem, *Lamḥa*, p. 75.

⁵⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 75; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 3, p. 340.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 71; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 3, p. 336.

The reign of Ismā‘īl Abū al-Walīd

Forced to step down in 1314/713, Abū al-Juyūsh was succeeded by Ismā‘īl Abū al-Walīd. His reign was characterised as having stability. He defeated the armies of Castille near the town of Elbira in Rabī‘ II 718/May 1318,⁵² and after that he captured the town of Baeza.⁵³ Moreover in 725/1324, he attacked the town of Martos⁵⁴ which soon fell to him; and that was the last battle he fought because, three days after returning to Granada, he was assassinated by his cousin, Muḥammad Ibn Ismā‘īl, at the gate of his palace on 26 Rajab 725/June 1325.⁵⁵ In Ibn al-Jayyāb’s poetry, there is a long poem describing the battle, and it is possible in the absence of other historical sources, that this poem can shed some light on events of the time.⁵⁶

⁵² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 3, p. 340.

⁵³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 389; Ibn al-Jayyāb, Abū al-Ḥasan, *Dīwān Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ms. no. 2424 Adab), p. 238; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 117- 8.

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 390; idem, *Lamḥa*, p. 85; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 120; Arslān, Shakīb, *al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya fī al-Akḥbār wa-al-Āthār al-Andalusiyya*, (Beirut, Maktabat al-Ḥaya, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 330; al-‘Abbādī, Aḥmad Mukhtār, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus*, (Beirut, Mu’assasat Shabāb al-Jāmi‘a, n. d.), p. 413.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 392; idem, *Lamḥa*, p. 87; idem, *A‘māl al-A‘lām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, (Beirut, Dār al-Makshūf, 1956), vol. 2, p. 295; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 121; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 120.

⁵⁶ The full poem is in Ibn al-Jayyāb’s *dīwān*, see p. 238.

During his reign he asked for military assistance from the Banī Marīn against the Spanish, which was offered under the condition that the Banū al-Aḥmar hand over the Shaykh al-Ghuzāt (the chief of the army), ‘Uthmān b Abī al-‘Alā’. This condition was not acceptable, so no help was received from the Banī Marīn. However, in 721/1321 he signed a peace treaty for five years between Granada and Aragon,⁵⁷ and overall, Ismā‘īl Abū al-Walīd’s reign was considered one of the best and most stable in al-Andalus during the 8th/14th century.⁵⁸

The reign of Muḥammad IV

Abū al-Walīd was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad IV Abū ‘Abd Allāh.⁵⁹ During his reign, he recaptured Algeciras which later became a landing base for Moroccan armies that crossed the sea after Granada's Kings sought help from the Marinid Sultan Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Marīnī.⁶⁰ Moroccan military supplies had an important effect on recapturing Gibraltar which was recaptured in 733/1333, after it had been under the control of the Christians for 24 years.⁶¹

⁵⁷ The original of this treaty is kept in Archive de la Granada. Number 151. See a copy of this on p. 22.

⁵⁸ Among his important *Kuttāb*, was Ibn al-Jayyāb, who wrote an elegy for Ismā‘īl. See the full poem in *dīwān Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 121; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 395.

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 532; idem, *Lamḥa*, p. 90; Arslān, *al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya*, vol. 2, p. 334.

⁶⁰ Salāma, *Fī Tārīkh wa-Ḥaḍārat al-Andalus*, p. 25; Farḥāt, *Gharnātā*, p. 34; Arslān, Shakīb, *al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya*, vol. 2, p. 334.

⁶¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, pp. 92- 3; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 124.

In Jumādā II 725/May 1326 he agreed to renew the treaty between Granada and Aragon which was originally signed during his father's reign.⁶² When Muḥammad IV was about to leave the battlefield to return to Granada, he was assassinated by a group of conspirators at the instigation of Banū al-'Alā' in 733/1333.⁶³ According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, his reign was important in intellectual and literary life, and he inclined towards literature and poetry in particular.⁶⁴

The reign of Muḥammad V

Muḥammad IV was succeeded by his brother, Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf I, during whose reign the famous battle of Ṭarīf 741/1346, which is known in Spanish sources as Rio Salado,⁶⁵ took place. In that battle, the Muslims were badly defeated.⁶⁶ His reign witnessed great cultural, artistic and architectural activities including the building of a major part of the Alhambra palace.⁶⁷ The famous school known as al-

⁶² 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 121.

⁶³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 540-1; idem, *Lamḥa*, pp. 96-7; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 416; al-'Abbādī, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus*, p. 418.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 532.

⁶⁵ Al-'Abbādī, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus*, p. 418.

⁶⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 109; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 322; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭā*, p. 36; al-'Abbādī, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus*, p. 417.

⁶⁷ 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 125; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 159.

Madrasa al-Naṣriyya⁶⁸ was established in Granada in his time.⁶⁹ In addition, his reign was marked by prosperity. According to ‘Inān, he was a scholar, a poet,⁷⁰ and he was keen to encourage poetry, gathering in his court the leading poets and men of letters of his time.⁷¹ Two important figures were Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī,⁷² who occupied the position of wazīr for about 30 years, and Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who later became wazīr, succeeding his teacher, Ibn al-Jayyāb. Other notable men of letters who also occupied positions in the court included Ibn Zamrak, al-Qāḍī al-Bunāhī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī, Abū al-Barakāt al-Ballaḥī, Ibn

⁶⁸ Shabāna, M. Kamāl, *Yūsuf al-Awwal Ṣulṭān Gharnāṭā*, (Cairo, Maṭba‘at al-Risāla, 1960), p. 98; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kunāsāt al-Dukkān ba‘d Intiqāl al-Sukkān*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, (Cairo, Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, n. d.), pp. 155-6; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 128. *Al-Madrasa al-Naṣriyya* is sometimes known as *al-Madrasa al-Yūsufiyya*, but in fact the school was founded and supported by the vizier Abū al-Na‘īm Riḍwān. For more details concerning this *madrasa* see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 508, 509; idem, *Kunāsāt al-Dukkān*, pp. 155-6; idem, *Lamḥa*, p. 109; Shabāna, *Yūsuf al-Awwal Ṣulṭān Gharnāṭā*, p. 98; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 159; al-Ḥumṣī, *Ibn Zamrak al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 54; ‘Īsā, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Tārīkh al-Ta‘līm fī al-Andalus*, (Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, Beirut 1982), pp. 389- 408; al-Qalṣādī, *Riḥlat al-Qalṣādī*, p. 167; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 26, 484.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 532.

⁷⁰ ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 125; idem, *al-Āthār al-Andalusiyya al-Bāqiya*, p. 190.

⁷¹ Arié *L’Espagne Musulmane au Temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, p. 451; Salāma, *Tārīkh wa-Ḥaḍārat al-Islām fī al-Andalus*, p. 25.

⁷² Ibn al-Jayyāb wrote 34 poems, comprising 1,385 lines eulogising Ibn al-Aḥmar, and this represents 50 per cent of all Ibn al-Jayyāb’s eulogies. See *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 172.

Hudhayl, Ibn Ḥayyān, Abū Sa‘īd Faraj b. Lubb, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Fakhhār and Ismā‘īl Ibn al-Aḥmar.⁷³

Yūsuf I did not live long. He was killed on the day of ‘Īd al-Fiṭr in 755/1354, following an attack by a “madman” (ممرور) who stabbed him with a dagger while he was praying in the Great Mosque.⁷⁴ With the death of Yūsuf I, Granada lost a king who always loved literature and learning and had consistently encouraged scholars and poets.

After the death of Yūsuf I, Granada remained under the control of Banū al-Aḥmar until it was eventually surrendered by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad⁷⁵ to Ferdinand II and Isabella on 2 Rabī‘ I 897/3 January 1492.⁷⁶

⁷³ More details will be given about these poets and men of letters later in this thesis.

⁷⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 110. See also Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 159; Kennedy, Hugh, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, New York, 1996, p. 289; *EL²: Naṣrids* (EL²A. Fernandez-Puertas). In Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s words:

((رجل ممرور رمى بنفسه عليه وطعنه بخنجر ولم يستقر به إلا وقد قضى رحمه الله وأخرج ذلك الممرور للناس فمزق ثم أحرق بالنلر)).

⁷⁵ ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 257; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 65. In Spanish sources he is known as Boabdil, see Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, p. 220; *EL²: Naṣrids* (A. Fernandez-Puertas); Kennedy, Hugh, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 289.

⁷⁶ Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, p. 220. See also ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 257; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 65.

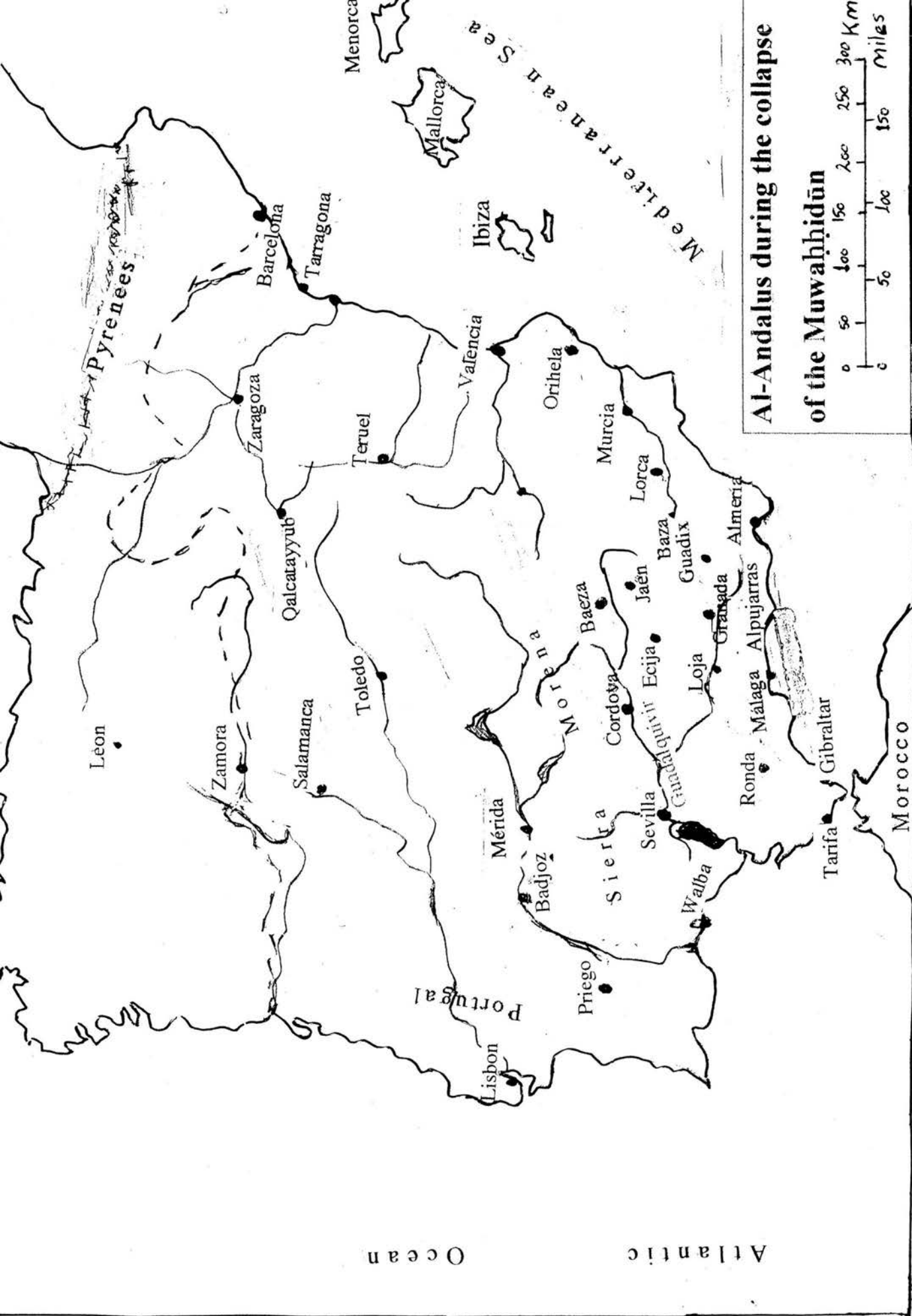
((وبسقوط... غرناطة... انتهى الوجود العربي الإسلامي وطوى التاريخ في الأندلس صفحة مليئة بالمفاخر والأعجاد وأسدل ستارة عن أعظم حضارة أندلسية قدمت كل سعادة وكل خير للبشرية جمعاء في مجالاتها المختلفة من اقتصادية واجتماعية وفكرية وأدبية))⁷⁷.

“ With the fall of Granada ... the Islamic presence came to an end, and history in al-Andalus turned a glorious page and drew a curtain over the greatest civilisation in al-Andalus which offered every happiness and good to all humanity in its diverse aspects, economical, social, intellectual and literary”.

The 8th/14th century was characterised by intense rivalry between the members of Banū al-Aḥmar. As we have seen, some of the kings were deposed, others assassinated and others forced to abdicate in favour of more powerful family members. These internal struggles affected the economy of al-Andalus and diverted attention from the confrontation with Castille. As a result, al-Andalus consistently sought to conclude peace treaties with its Christian neighbour, but because of internal conflict the Banū al-Aḥmar was always the weaker party, and ultimately this

⁷⁷ A'rāb, Aḥmad al-Ṭuraysī, *al-Nakba wa-al-Bukā' fī al-Adab al-'Arabī*, Unpublished M. A. thesis (Faculty of Letters, Fez, Morocco, 1973-1974), p. 64. See also *Isidro de la Cagicas: Los Mudejares*, (Madrid 1948), pp. 425-6; Livermore, Harold, *A History of Spain*, p. 159; Kennedy, Hugh, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p. 304.

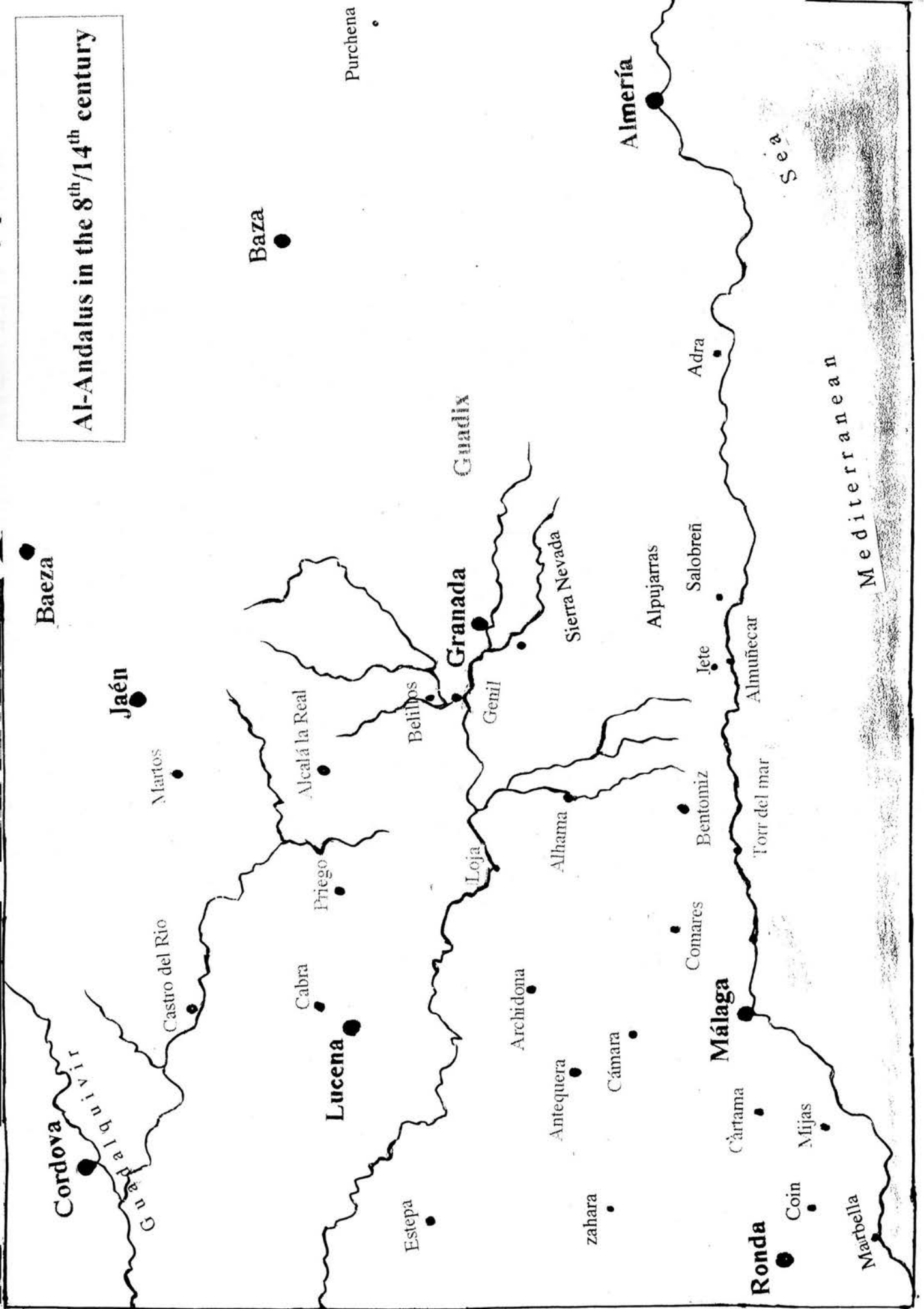
contributed to the success of the Spanish reconquest. This weakness caused the Banū al-Aḥmar many times to seek assistance from Morocco, but for internal and external reasons, and also because of the unacceptable conditions that would often accompany such help, assistance was rarely forthcoming.



Al-Andalus during the collapse of the Muwahhidun

0 50 100 150 200 250 300 Km
 0 50 100 150 Miles

Al-Andalus in the 8th/14th century



Chapter two

**The intellectual and cultural life during
the 8th/14th century in al-Andalus**

Introduction

Despite the turbulent political circumstances and events which characterised the rule of Banū al-Aḥmar, al-Andalus witnessed during the 8th/14th century a remarkable intellectual and cultural renaissance which lasted for more than two and a half centuries.¹ Most historians and writers describe the 8th/14th century as one of artistic, intellectual and cultural prosperity.² Others describe it as the golden era of the Banū al-Aḥmar.³

From their exalted position, the Banū al-Aḥmar encouraged and supported intellectual life in general. Scholars, men of letters and poets were attracted to the court in large numbers where they received great respect and were appointed to different positions of note, men such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Jayyāb, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Zamrak and Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī. In a period of dazzling brilliance in the 8th/14th century different types of excellent writing appeared concerning the various arts and

¹ Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, p. 111; *EL²: al-Andalus* (E. Lévi-Provençal); Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 435. See also 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 461; al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 58.

² Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ fī Akhbār al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ*, ed. Muṣṭafa al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and others, (Nashr al-Lajna al-Mushtaraka li-Nashr al-Turāth al-Islāmī bayn al-Maghrib wa-Dawlat al-Imārāt al-'Arabiyya, 1978), vol. 1, p. 57; Salāma, *Al-Adab al-'Arabī fī al-Andalus*, p. 58; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 435- 8; Rice, David Talbot, *Islamic Art*, London, 1965, p. 153; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 462; al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 58.

³ Al-Harrāma, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda al-Andalusīyya*, Ph. D. thesis (University of Muḥammad V, Rabat, 1994), p. 32. See also Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 142; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 462; al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 30.

sciences, some of which had not previously received much attention, for example, the works of Ibn Layūn. On the other hand, several works became very famous, including *al-Iḥāṭa*, *A'māl al-A'lām* and *al-Katība al-Kāmina* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Among the famous historians, who described this era was Ibn 'Āṣim, who in a classical text containing rhymed prose, praised and expressed his admiration for the scholars and the intellectual output of the period. Indeed, considering the renaissance of activity in all fields in the 8th/14th century, Ibn 'Āṣim almost certainly does not exaggerate.⁴

Some scholars consider that with the fall of al-Muwaḥḥidūn following the battle of al-'Iqāb (Las Navas de Tolosa on 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212),⁵ and the reconquest of some important cities, such as Cordoba and Seville, the sun set on Andalusian civilization. However, following the recapture of these cities the scholars immigrated

⁴ The following is a well-known passage in Arabic by Ibn 'Āṣim in which he describes the cultural efflorescence of al-Andalus in that century.

((فَتَقَّتِ اللَّهَى بِاللَّهَى، وَأَحَلَّتْ مِنْ مِرَاقِي الْعِزِّ فَوْقَ السُّهَى، وَأَمَكَنْتِ الْأَيْدِي مِنْ الدَّخَائِرِ وَالْأَعْلَاقِ، وَطَوَّقَتْ الْمِينَ كَالْقَلَائِدِ فِي الْأَعْنَاقِ، وَقَلَّدَتِ الرِّيَاسَةَ وَالْأَقْلَامُ أَقْلَامًا، وَتَنَّتِ الْوِزَارَةَ وَالْأَعْلَامُ أَعْلَامًا، فَبَهَّرَتْ أَنْوَاعَ الْمَحَاسِنِ، وَوَرَدَ مَعِينُ الْبَلَاغَةِ غَيْرُ الْمَطْرُوقِ وَلَا الْأَسِنِ، وَبَرَعَتْ التَّوَالِيْفُ، فِي الْفُنُونِ الْمُتَعَدِّدَةِ، وَاشْتَهَرَتِ النَّصَانِيْفُ...))

(See al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 1, p. 57).

This quotation, as mentioned by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Wādī Āshī, appears on the end papers of *al-Iḥāṭa*, which was endowed on al-Madrassa al-Yūsufiyya, in Ibn 'Āṣim's hand. (See al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 1, p. 55).

⁵ 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'jib*, (Cairo, 1332), p. 181; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, vol. 3, p. 236; Hitti, Philip K, *History of The Arabs*, p. 549; Nicholson, R. A, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 432; *El²: al-Muwaḥḥidīn* (M. Shatzmiller); 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 19. See also *El²: al-'Iqāb* (Husain. Mones).

to Granada, Almeria and the surrounding area and far from this being the end of Andalusian civilization, the concentration of scholars within Granada and Almeria contributed towards a further flourishing of intellectual activity,⁶ as will be seen later.

Furthermore, comparing the intellectual life in al-Andalus with that in the eastern Islamic lands, the former was much richer and more active in most fields. According to Husayn Raḥmūn, “Andalusian literary life was notably more developed in comparison with that of the east.”⁷ In fact, evaluating the intellectual contribution from both regions, towering figures of such stature as Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, Ibn Layūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Jayyāb, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn Zamrak cannot be found in the east.⁸

It is surprising to note that some modern researchers describe Andalusian intellectual activity as merely a reflection of eastern productions.⁹ Whilst there was undoubtedly influence in both directions, the concept that al-Andalus simply followed the east is far from the truth, particularly when no figures of equal achievement

⁶ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 4, p. 510; Al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 58.

⁷ Raḥmūn, *Zāhirat al-Tawriya fī al-Shi'r al-Maghribī wa- al-Andalusī*, Unpublished M. A. thesis (Faculty of Letters, Rabat, 1988-1989), p. 190.

⁸ Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*, p. 57. See also Raḥmūn, *Zāhirat al-Tawriya*, p. 190.

⁹ See for example Ḍayf, *al-Fann wa-Madhāhibuh*, p. 121; al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 59; Aḥmad Haykal, *al-Adab al-Andalusī min al-Fatḥ ḥattā Suqūṭ al-Khilāfa*; Ḥazim Khaḍr, *al-Nathr al-Andalusī fī 'Aṣr al-Ṭawā'if wa-al-Murābiṭīn*.

appeared during the 8th/14th century in the east. Most of the researchers who discussed this period did not make use of original sources to a great extent, therefore their conclusions about the contribution of the 8th/14th century to intellectual development cannot be relied upon. In addition, many of the original sources are still in manuscript as can be seen in the work of Ibn Layūn and Ibn Khaṭīb.

In truth it is not difficult to substantiate the intellectual achievement in al-Andalus; its obvious splendour is there for all to see. However, the important question which must be asked is, what were the true reasons behind these developments in the cultural and intellectual life in a period of such grave political change; is it possible that there is a link between literature and art and the political climate? Although political life was frequently uncertain, nevertheless, according to the sources of this period, intellectual life prospered and many scholars wanted to leave their mark in those uncertain times.¹⁰

In addition, the patronage of the Naṣrids in many ways, in establishing schools, bringing men of letters to court and encouraging them to write histories and literature, should not be underestimated. It should be emphasized here that the phenomenon of many scholars taking shelter in and around Granada made a significant contribution to

¹⁰ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, p. 57. See also Soledad Gibert, “Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī: Qāḍī Historiador y Poeta”, *al-Andalus*, 1963, vol. 28, p. 381.

the advancement of the Banū al-Aḥmar kingdom.¹¹ Without question, the 8th/14th century was extremely important, because among these scholars were Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Juzayy, Ibn Lubb, Ibn Marzūq al-Tilimsānī, Ibn al-Fakhhār, and Ibn Layūn, whose work exerted such a powerful influence on the western Islamic world including Egypt.

During this period, lived many men of letters, poets, *muwashshaḥāt* writers, philologists, historians, scientists, physicians and teachers. Depending on the various sources which describe that period, it is revealed that it was full of cultural and scientific activities.¹² All types of literature, including poetry, prose, *maqāmāt* and travel literature; medicine; agriculture; engineering; pedagogical works; architecture; ornamentation and sculpture.¹³

Following the tripartite schema set down by Ibn Khaldūn, during the reign of the Banū al-Aḥmar, al-Andalus went through three stages: a stage of consolidation, a stage

11 This process continued even after the fall of al-Andalus in 897/1492 when intellectuals emigrated to Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt and Turkey and played a major role in those countries, where even to this day Andalusian surnames appear frequently amongst the population.

12 Such as *al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa* and *al-Katība al-Kāmina fī Shu‘arā’ al-Mā’ al-Thāmina* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb; *Nathīr Farā’id al-Jumān* and *Nathīr al-Jumān* of Ibn al-Aḥmar; *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb fī Ghushn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb* and *Azhār al-Riyāḍ fī Akhbār al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* of al-Maqqarī.

13 Salāma, *al-Adab al-‘Arabī fī al-Andalus*, pp. 58-60; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 460; al-Bustānī, *Udabā’ al-‘Arab*, (Beirut, Dār al-Jīl, n.d.), p. 34. See also al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 1, p. 55.

of maturity and prosperity and a stage of decline.¹⁴ The 8th/14th century represents the second stage, namely that of maturity and prosperity. Many libraries in the world such as the Royal Library in Morocco, the General Library in Morocco, the National Library in Cairo, the Escorial Library in Spain, the British Museum in London, the National Library in Paris and the National Library in Tunis still keep a number of great works from this period representing the various types of knowledge and the arts, among them the works of Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn Khātima, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Zamrak, al-Bunāhī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn Layūn.

In this chapter the most important intellectual and cultural activities that flourished during the 8th/14th century will be discussed and examples from each of these activities will be given.

1- *Fiqh*, Exegesis and *Ḥadīth*.

These three fields received a great deal of attention, and many prominent scholars appeared during the 8th/14th century. Among the scholars in *fiqh* and exegesis (*tafsīr*), we can mention Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Juzayy al-Kalbī al-Gharnāṭī (693-741/1293-1340), who was born and spent most of his life in Granada.¹⁵ He was a *khaṭīb* in the Great Mosque in Granada as well as working as a teacher in *al-Madrasa*

¹⁴ Al-Nagrāt, ‘Alī, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 79.

¹⁵ His full biography can be found in al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 514-15; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, pp. 46-8.

al-Naṣriyya.¹⁶ Among his many books are the following: *al-Tashīl li-‘Ulūm al-Tanzīl fī al-Tafsīr*, *al-Qawānīn al-Fiqhiyya fī Talkhīṣ al-Madhhab al-Mālikī* and *Wasīlat al-Muslim fī Tahdhīb Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.¹⁷

Another scholar in *fiqh*, exegesis and *ḥadīth* who lived in this period is Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Gharnāṭī, known as al-Shāṭibī, who died in 790/1388.¹⁸ He was a great scholar who left many works including *Kitāb al-Muwāfaqāt* and *Kitāb al-Ishādāt*.¹⁹

A third scholar is Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Burṭāl (689-750/1290-1349),²⁰ who was a famous and prominent figure in *fiqh* and *tafsīr*. He held many religious posts such as *Qāḍī* of Granada, *Imām* of the Great Mosque and *Khaṭīb* of the Granada Mosque.²¹

Among the famous *qāḍīs* was Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bunāhī²² al-Mālaqī, who was born in Malaga in 713/1313.²³ He moved to Granada and became its

¹⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 46; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 514.

¹⁷ Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-Mudhhab fī Ma‘rifat A‘yān al-Madhhab*, ed. M. al-Aḥmadī Abū al-Nūr, (Cairo, Dār al-Turāth, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 276.

¹⁸ See his biography in: al-Tunbuktī, Aḥmad Bāba, *Nayl al-Ibtihāj bi-Taṭrīḥ al-Dībāj*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Harrāma, (Tripoli, 1989), p. 48.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, pp. 125-6; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 171-3.

²¹ Al-Nubāhī, Abū al-Ḥasan, *al-Marqaba al-‘Ulyā fī man yastaḥiqq al-Qaḍā’ wa-al-Futyā*, (Beirut, Dār al-Thaqāfa al-Jadīda, 1980), p. 148.

²² Referred to as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī in many sources including *EI*². The Moroccan scholar Muḥammad Ibn Sharīfa has determined that his *laqab* is al-Bunāhī

judge for many years a long period of time. He was one of the most important and active personalities in the Banū al-Aḥmar's royal court and a close friend of Ibn al-Khaṭīb who became one of his toughest enemies.²⁴ One of his famous books on jurisprudence is *al-Marqaba al-'Ulyāfīman yastaḥiqq al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Futyā'*, which surveys the history of Andalusian *qāḍīs*. It contains biographies of many judges as well as information about them and their deeds.²⁵ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bunāhī died in 792/1391.²⁶ A further scholar in *fiqh* and *qirā'āt* is Abū Sa'īd Faraj b. Lubb (701-782/1301-1380).²⁷ He was one of the most famous teachers of the *Naṣriyya* School.²⁸ He also worked as *Mufīī*. Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions that Ibn Lubb was appreciated both by the ordinary people and the educated elite.²⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb added that there was no

as stated above and Ibn Sharīfa considers al-Nubāhī as a mis-reading for al-Bunāhī.

This is a common problem with Arabic classical texts.

²³ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 5. See also, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 6, pp. 119-23; idem, *al-Katība*, pp. 146-52.

²⁴ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 139.

²⁵ This book was edited by the orientalist Lévi-Provençal.

²⁶ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 6, pp. 123; idem, *al-Katība*, pp. 146.

²⁷ See his biography in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 253; idem, *al-Katība*, p. 67; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 357; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 509; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Mudhakkirāt Ibn al-Ḥājj*, p. 74. Some of his poetry can be found in *Nafḥ*. (See *ibed.*, vol. 4, pp. 510-12).

²⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 511, al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 29; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 130. This 'Madrasa' is also known as *al-Madrasa al-Yūsufiyya*. See E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions Arabes d'Espagne*, (Leiden and Paris, 1931), pp. 158-9.

²⁹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 511.

one in his time who did not study under him.³⁰ His most prominent students were: Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī 790/1389, author of *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*,³¹ Ibn ‘Āṣim, al-Manthūrī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Ibn Lubb wrote extensively on *fiqh*, *qirā’āt* and *sharī’a*. Among his important works is *Mas’alat al-Imāma wa-al-Ajr*, *Mas’alat al-Qirā’ā bi-al-Shādd fī al-Ṣalāt*, and *al-Du‘ā ithr al-Ṣalawāt*.³²

During that period, Abū al-Qāsim b. Salmūn al-Kinānī al-Gharnāṭī held a high post in jurisdiction in *fiqh* and *Sharī’a*. Among his books is *al-‘Iqd al-Munazzam li-al-Ḥukkām fīmā yajrī bayna Aydhim min al-Wathā’iq wa-al-Aḥkām*.³³

Among those who were famous in many fields, one of which was *ḥadīth*, was Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī 627-745/1229-1344.³⁴ His works included *Malāk al-Ta’wīl fī al-Mutashābih al-Lafz fī al-Tanzīl* and *al-Burhān fī Tartīb Suwar al-Qur’ān*.³⁵

2- Linguistic Studies

Linguistic studies received their share of attention and the 8th/14th century witnessed a great boom in this field. Many great scholars in the various fields of

³⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 513.

³¹ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 130.

³² For more information about his works, see al-Manthūrī, *Fihris al-Manthūrī*, pp. 24-5; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 513-14.

³³ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 130.

³⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, vol. 1, pp. 188-89; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 188-93.

³⁵ Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, vol. 1, p. 189; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 190.

linguistic studies such as syntax, morphology and rhetoric lived during that period. The Andalusians were pre-eminent in the field of Arabic, especially grammar and morphology.

In his *Muqaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn clearly stated during his travels, he never met any scholars who were more skilled in teaching the Arabic language than those of al-Andalus.³⁶ This can be seen again in the curricula of the 8th / 14th century teachers who concentrated in their teaching on *al-Kitāb* of Sībawayh as a principal text and other highly respected texts. It is clear that this period produced a great number of works on language, especially grammar. The following are the most important scholars in this field:

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Khullānī, who was known as Ibn al-Fakhhār al-Ibīrī, and who died in 754/1353,³⁷ was a great grammarian and one of the famous teachers who taught Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Shāṭibī and Ibn Zamrak.³⁸ He was mentioned in the works of his pupil Ibn al-Khaṭīb and was described as 'the *Ṣibawayh*

³⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, pp. 435-37.

³⁷ See his full biography in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Nufāḍat al-Jirāb*, ed. Aḥmad Mukhtār al-‘Abbādī, (Cairo, n.d.), p. 66; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katīb*, pp. 70-71.

³⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 355; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 141; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 466.

of his time' because of his deep knowledge of linguistic studies.³⁹ He was also described by al-Maqqarī as an important scholar of Arabic.

Another famous grammarian was Abū Ja'far b. al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī. He was one of the great scholars in Arabic grammar and was regarded as the master of Arabic in al-Andalus.⁴⁰ In addition to the books mentioned earlier, he also wrote *Ṣilat al-Ṣīla*.⁴¹

Another famous linguist was Ibn Ḥayyān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Gharnāṭī, sometimes known as Athīr al-Dīn (654-745/1253-1344),⁴² a great grammarian and morphologist. He wrote many books, most on grammar and language. Of these we can mention *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, *al-Tadhyīl wa-al-Takmīl fī Sharḥ al-Tashīl*, *Irtishāf al-Dharab fī 'Ilm Lisān al-'Arab*, *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī 'Ilm al-'Arabiyya* and *Nuḥāt al-Andalus*.⁴³

³⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 70. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 3, pp. 182-96; idem, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 1, p. 189.

⁴¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 1, p. 190; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, vol. 1, p. 189.

⁴² Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, pp. 535-48; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, pp. 81-6; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafāyāt*, vol. 3, pp. 282-5. See also 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, pp. 464-5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Al-Sharīf al-Sabtī⁴⁴ is also considered one of the most intellectual teachers of Arabic.⁴⁵ In addition to teaching his own work such as *Raf‘ al-Ḥujub al-Mastūra* ‘An Maḥāsīn al-Maqṣūrā and *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Khazrajīya*, he also used to teach *al-Kitāb* of Sībawayh, *al-Īḍāḥ* and *al-Tashīl*.⁴⁶ Finally, Ibn Lubb was an equally influential figure in the field of language.⁴⁷ He taught the same material and wrote a well known commentary on the work *al-Jumal* by al-Zajjāj.⁴⁸

3- History and Travel Literature

The 8th/14th century was extraordinarily rich in the genre of historical and travel writing. Several historians and travellers were extremely influential and left their mark on the literature of al-Andalus. The important question which must be considered is why there was a widespread interest in history and travel literature during this period; was the political agitation in al-Andalus and North Africa a factor in this huge production of both history and travel literature.?

There is no doubt that the ebb and flow of political change in al-Andalus starting from the 7th/13th century contributed to the flourishing of literature, as can be

⁴⁴ His full biography can be found in the following sources: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 183; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, vol. 2, p. 267.

⁴⁵ al-Nubāhī, *al-Marqaba al-‘Ulyā*, p. 172.

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 181.

⁴⁷ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 253; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 357; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 509; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Mudhakkarāt Ibn al-Hājj*, p. 74.

⁴⁸ See al-Manthūrī, *Fihris al-Manthūrī*, pp. 24-5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 254.

seen in the works of Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Moreover, several historians were occupied in the Banū al-Aḥmar court, which gave them opportunity to observe decision-making at close range. This can be seen clearly in the work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, especially in his work *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Naṣriyya*. Equally, other historians had a strong desire to express the identity of Andalusian civilisation and culture, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb who specialised in writing about al-Andalus in general and Granada in particular, as we shall see later. In the following pages, some of the greatest exponents in these fields will be mentioned.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-726/1313-1374) a pre-eminent historian. Among his many books on history,⁴⁹ the most celebrated of which were *al-Iḥāta fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa*,⁵⁰ *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Naṣriyya*, *Nufāḍāt al-Jirāb wa-‘Ulālat al-Ightirāb*, and *A‘māl al-A‘lām fī man Biyyi‘a qabla al-Iḥtilām min Mulūk al-Islām*.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 567; *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vilā).

⁵⁰ Imamuddīn, S. M, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain 711-1492 AD*, (Leiden, 1965), p. 147. See also *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vilā). *Al-Iḥāta fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa* consists of four big volumes and is edited by ‘Inān, but care should be taken in using this edition which contains many errors, especially in the poetry extracts. The reader is advised to consult the original text, copies of which exist in Morocco, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms, no. 1840); (The General Library, Rabat, Mss, no. 1708D and 1578D); Tunisia and Spain. This text is currently being edited by a group of students in Morocco.

⁵¹ See al-Ṭībī, Amīn Tawfīq, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*, (Tripoli, 1992), pp. 223-57.

This last work is of great interest because it describes all the kings of Islam who ascended the throne before their majority, among them, many from al-Andalus. *A'māl* is “one of the last works written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in 774/1372 and 776/1374. This is an unfinished history of Islam, the first part of which is devoted to the east, the second to Muslim Spain, and the third to North Africa and Sicily”⁵²

Another historian was Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī (724-770/1323-1368), who wrote a book about his home town Almeria entitled *Maziyyat al-Mariyya 'alā Ghayrihā min al-Bilād al-Andalusiyya*,⁵³ which is important because it gives an accurate account of contemporary life in Almeria, in comparison with the other cities of al-Andalus.

A further famous figure in the field of history was Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bunāhī. In addition to his book on Andalusian *qāḍīs*, he wrote another book about the history of the Kingdom of the Banū al-Aḥmar entitled *Nuzhat al-Baṣā'ir wa-al-Abṣār*.⁵⁴

Another prominent historian was Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ballaḥī (680-771/1281-1369).⁵⁵ Among his works on history is *Tārīkh al-Mariyya*

⁵² *EL*²: *Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vilā).

⁵³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 247-50; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 139.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ See his biography in: al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 269. See also Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 140.

wa-Bijāna,⁵⁶ in which he describes the history of both places in detail. His method is similar to works of other writers of the period, such as Ibn al-Aḥmar. However, this book is considered as a principal source, particularly for information about Bijāna.

Another important figure was Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, known as Ibn al-Aḥmar, who died in 807/1408.⁵⁷ He was born in Granada and lived in Fez where he died. He wrote extensively on the history of Morocco and al-Andalus, and among his works are a history of the dynasty of Banū Marīn entitled *Rawḍat al-Nisrīn fī Tārīkh Dawlat Banī Marīn* and *Mustawdaʿ al-ʿAlāma wa-Mustabdaʿ al-Salāma*.⁵⁸

Ibn al-Aḥmar is a major source because, as his name indicates, he had close family connections with the ruling dynasty of Banū al-Aḥmar in al-Andalus and good relations with the Banū Marīn dynasty in Morocco, which gave him the opportunity to write with detailed knowledge about the history of both al-Andalus and Morocco. His writing about both dynasties can be considered as one of the most important and original primary sources covering this era, and this work can be relied upon for discussion of social and political life for both the Banū Marīn and the Banū al-Aḥmar.

During that period lived one of the most important figures, the historian and social philosopher ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn (732-808/1332-

⁵⁶ Soledad, Gibert, “Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafiqī Qāḍī, Historiador y Poeta”, *al-Andalus*, 1963, vol. 28, p. 381.

⁵⁷ See al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vol. 1, p. 329; ʿInān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 461.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

1406).⁵⁹ He was from Seville but he was born and brought up in Tunis. He moved from Morocco to al-Andalus where he spent some time in Granada.⁶⁰ There he contacted Ibn al-Khaṭīb with whom he had initially a strong friendship and who introduced him to the royal court of the Banū al-Aḥmar, who paid him much attention.⁶¹

Ibn Khaldūn did not stay long in al-Andalus since he left first for Bougie in Algeria and then to Morocco where he settled in Fez, then the intellectual and political capital of Morocco and the Muslim west. He taught at the Qarawiyyīn Mosque for some time and his library still exists. After leaving Fez, Ibn Khaldūn moved first to Tunis and eventually settled in Cairo, where he was appointed the *Qāḍī* of the *Mālikiyya*.⁶²

Ibn Khaldūn concentrated on history and sociology. He wrote a voluminous history entitled *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtadā' wa-al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al-*

⁵⁹ His full biography can be found in the following sources: *EI²: Ibn Khaldūn* (M. Talbi); M. A. 'Inān, *Ibn Khaldūn Ḥayātuh wa-Turāthuh al-Fikrī*, (Cairo, 1965); C. Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History*, (London, 1950); S. al-Ḥuḍarī, *Dirāsāt 'An Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, (Cairo, 1953); Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*.

⁶⁰ Hitti, Philip K, *History of the Arabs*, (London, 1948), p. 138. See also, *EI²: Ibn Khaldūn* (M. Talbi vol. 3, pp. 826); Imamuddīn, *Some Aspects Of the Socio-Economic And Cultural History Of Muslim Spain 711-1492 AD*, p. 147; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 567-8.

⁶¹ *EI²: Ibn Khaldūn* (M. Talbi).

⁶² Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 567; *EI²: Ibn Khaldūn* (M. Talbi).

'Arab wa-al-'Ajam wa-al-Barbar'.⁶³ He wrote a long introduction to that book known as *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn (Prolegomenon)*, which became so famous that it was considered a separate book. Ibn Khaldūn concluded his history with an autobiography which he called *al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatuhu Gharban wa-Sharqan*.⁶⁴

Ibn Khaldūn was different from other historians in studying and analysing historical events and social incidents. His theories in sociology still receive much attention from researchers in east and west.⁶⁵ What distinguished Ibn Khaldūn most was that he was a personality of independent thought. Like his contemporaries, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak and al-Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bunāhī, Ibn Khaldūn had strong political aspirations. Perhaps this is the reason that some historians have suggested that Ibn Khaldūn's emigration from al-Andalus at a critical time was the result of the jealousy of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, although both scholars respected each other and acknowledged the importance of their respective intellectual contributions. It seems that Ibn Khaldūn preferred to leave al-Andalus for Morocco and then the east in order to maintain good relations with Ibn al-Khaṭīb and avoid embarrassing him. In addition, Ibn Khaldūn was continually searching for a political and intellectual position.

⁶³ See Imamuddīn, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain 711-1492 AD*, p. 147; *El²: Ibn Khaldūn* (M. Talbi).

⁶⁴ This work has been edited by Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, (Cairo, 1951).

⁶⁵ Hitti, *History of The Arabs*, p. 138; Imamuddīn, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain 711-1492 AD*, p. 147.

In addition to interest in the historical field, travel literature received much attention. It seems that among the important causes of this were the extensive travels of several scholars and historians, either for purposes of learning, or on assignments from the court, as was the case of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, or to escape from al-Andalus for different reasons including political differences with the ruling dynasty, or financial reasons.

As regards travel literature, we can mention the following figures. First, Abū al-Baqā' Khālīd b. 'Īsā al-Balawī,⁶⁶ who was one of the contemporaries of the poet Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī. He travelled to North Africa, Alexandria, Cairo and Jerusalem, and then to Mecca where he met scholars and men of letters.⁶⁷ During that journey he wrote his book *Tāj al-Mafriq fī Taḥliyat 'Ulamā' al-Mashriq*⁶⁸ which is important because it presents a picture of the scholarly life in those places from the point of view of an Andalusian traveller, whereas most of the other descriptions of eastern life were written by scholars based in the east. This work also contains important material about scholars in the places he travelled, which, according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, came mainly from the works of al-'Imād, Ibn Ṣafwān and Ibn Idrīs.⁶⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb also wrote a

⁶⁶ See his biography in; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 500-502; idem, *al-Katība*, pp. 134-8; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 3, p. 285; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 173.

⁶⁷ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 141.

⁶⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 3, p. 285; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 137. See also Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, pp. 140-1. There is a copy of this manuscript in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo. His journey began in 18 Ṣafar 730.

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 502.

book entitled *Nufāḍat al-Jirāb fī 'Ulālat al-Ightirāb* in which he recorded the events and incidents which happened in Morocco during his trips into exile there.⁷⁰

Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote another interesting work which comes under the heading of travel literature, in which he compares the two cities of Málaga and Sale.⁷¹ This manuscript is still kept in the General Library in Rabat.⁷² Unusually this work is written in rhymed prose, whereas most works in this period were written in unrhymed prose. Sale is one of the most ancient cities of Morocco in which many Andalusian scholars settled. Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent several years there, where he wrote some of his works.⁷³

In comparing the cities of Malaga and Sale, Ibn al-Khaṭīb concluded that Malaga was the better of the two. In contrast a Moroccan scholar wrote a book in reply to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, also using rhymed prose, in which he argued that in his opinion, Sale was the superior city. In comparing the two writers, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's work provides more valuable information on the intellectual and social life in both Malaga and Sale.

⁷⁰ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 141; *EP²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vilá).

⁷¹ The city of Sale described in this book situated to the west of Rabat; and the two cities are separated by a river known as Abū Raqrāq.

⁷² See *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Rabat.

⁷³ See A. M. al-'Abbādī, *Mu'allafāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī al-Maghrib*, (Hespéris, XI VI, 1959), pp. 247-53.

Ibn Khaldūn, in addition to his remarkable contribution to the writing of history, also wrote an interesting work known as *al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatuh Gharban wa-Sharqan* in which he includes a great deal of travel writing; this includes his visit to Jerusalem in 802/1400.⁷⁴

The last travel writer to consider is Ibrāhīm b 'Abd Allāh al-Numayrī, known as Ibn al-Ḥājj (713-765 /1312-1364).⁷⁵ He was a writer, poet and ambassador. He worked in the Royal court of the Banū al-Aḥmar and wrote many books. The book we are interested in here is the one which he wrote during his trip to the East, and which he called *Fayḍ al-'Ubāb*.⁷⁶

4. Medicine, Mathematics and Agronomy

These branches of learning received special attention in al-Andalus. They were taught as core courses at *al-Madrassa al-Yūsufiyya*⁷⁷ during the 8th/14th century. In spite of the fact that some historians say that there was not much attention paid to these

⁷⁴ See *al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn*, p. 349.

⁷⁵ His full biography in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 260; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. , p. 342 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 7, p. 108; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 14.

⁷⁶ See the study of Ibn Shaqrūn about this book, (Beirut, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1990), p. 25.

⁷⁷ For more information about *al-Madrassa al-Yūsufiyya*, see E. Lévi-Provençal , *Inscriptions Arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden and Paris, 1931, pp. 158-9; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, pp. 134-5.

fields,⁷⁸ this is far from the truth. Several scholars who wrote on these subjects were close to the ruling family and they received a great deal of financial support and encouragement. Although the number of scholars working in science compared with those in literature and other fields was relatively low, their work had an important and lasting value.

In medicine, there was a famous figure, namely Abū Zakariyyā al-Tujībī, known as Ibn Hudhayl (d. 749/1348),⁷⁹ who taught at *al-Madrasa al-Yūsufiyya* and was also interested in mathematics. Another well-known physician was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī, known as Ibn al-Sarrāj, who was the private doctor of Muḥammad II al-Faqīh (671-701/1273-1302).⁸⁰

One more well-known figure in medicine was Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī (d. 770 / 1369), who “spent the greater part of his life in Almeria”.⁸¹ In addition to being a man of letters, he was a famous physician. Among his medical works is *Taḥṣīl al-Qāṣid fī*

⁷⁸ See for example al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 58; Dayf, *al-Fann wa-Madhāhibuh*, p. 121 ; Aḥmad Haykal, *al-Adab al-Andalusī mi al-Fatḥ ḥattā Suqūṭ al-Khilāfa*; Ḥāzīm Khaḍr, *al-Nathr al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Ṭawā’if wa-al-Murābiṭīn.*; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 461.

⁷⁹ Farḥāt, *Gharnāta*, p. 147.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *El²: Ibn al-Khātima* (S. Gibert).

Tafṣīl al-Maraḍ al-Wāfid,⁸² in which he wrote about the plague which afflicted some areas in al-Andalus, including Granada, Malaga and Almeria in 749- 750/1348- 1349 and which resulted in the death of many people, including the author himself and many of his teachers including Ibn al-Jayyāb and Ibn Layūn.⁸³

A further famous figure in medicine was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Lakhmī al-Shaqqūrī.⁸⁴ He was from Segura de la Sierra. He wrote a medical work entitled *Mujarrabāt al-Shaqqūrī*, which is still in manuscript and kept in the General Library of Rabat, Morocco.⁸⁵ As the title implies, *Mujarrabāt* means tested treatment. This book was based on al-Shaqqūrī’s own experiments, in addition to existing available sources.

In addition to these physicians, there was Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Granada's *wazīr*, a man of letters who was also learned in the field of medicine on which he wrote many books, including *Risālat Takwīn al-Janīn*, *Muqni‘at al-Sā’il ‘an al-Maraḍ al-Hā’il* and

⁸²*EI*²: *Ibn Khātima* (S. Gibert). The original manuscript is in Escorial, Madrid under the number: 1785, and I am informed by Dr. Amīn al-Ṭībī that this manuscript was edited by M. J. Mullen and published in Munich in 1863.

⁸³ ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 130; al-Ḥumṣī, *Ibn Zamrak al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 256; Imamuddīn, p. 164. See also Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 137; Shabāna, *Yūsuf al-Awwal Ibn al-Aḥmar*, p. 112; *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De la Granja).

⁸⁴ Al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 6, p. 285.

⁸⁵ The General Library, Rabat, Morocco, (*al-Khizāna al-‘Āmma*) with the number 1035D.

*‘Amal man Ṭabba li-man Ḥabb.*⁸⁶ In *Muqni‘at al-Sā‘il ‘an al-Maraḍ al-Hā‘il*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb discussed the plague which seriously affected al-Andalus, specifically Almeria and Granada, and the work contained important advice on the methods essential to prevent the further spread of the disease.

It should be mentioned here that many people would visit Ibn Layūn to seek his help on medical matters and benefit from his experiments in this field. Among his work on medicine was his *urjūza*, which will be mentioned later in the chapter dealing with his work.

In general, scholarship in mathematics and the natural sciences was not as highly developed as religious studies, literature and the humanities, but there were several scholars working in al-Andalus in the scientific arena, including Muḥammad b. al-Raqqā‘ al-Mursī (d. 715/1315),⁸⁷ who also contributed to medicine in addition to mathematics and science.⁸⁸

In engineering, we should mention Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Riḍwān al-Numayrī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 757/1356).⁸⁹ Among his works on astronomy were *al-*

⁸⁶ Al-Jarr, Khalīl, *Tārīkh al-‘Ulūm ‘ind al-‘Arab*, (Beirut, al-Maṭba‘a al-Buliṣiyya, 1973), p. 83.

⁸⁷ Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 136.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ See his biography in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 141.

Under the Arab influence, agricultural science in al-Andalus advanced considerably, and there was extensive writing on agricultural practice.⁹¹ Ibn Layūn in the 8th/14th was a prominent figure in this field. One of his most famous works is his *urjūza*, the *Kitāb Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa fī Uṣūl Ṣinā'at al-Filāḥa*, which was edited and translated into Spanish by the Spanish researcher Joaquina Enguaras Ibanez.⁹²

In *Kitāb Ibdā' al-Malāḥa* Ibn Layūn did not only rely on written sources, but also on oral sources and his own agricultural experience, and it is still a useful source of information to both scholars and agriculturalists today.⁹³ Due to his skill in summarising and choosing the right terminology, Ibn Layūn can be considered as one of the most distinguished authors in the 8th/14th century.

Education

The establishment of the new university in Granada (*al-Madrasa al-Naṣriyya*) in the middle of the 8th/14th century, during the reign of Yūsuf I, by his chamberlain Abū al-Na'īm Riḍwān al-Naṣrī opened the door to writing and helped to develop

⁹⁰ *al-Andalus*, xxx, 1965, pp. 15- 45.

⁹¹ See *El²: Filāḥa* (Irfan Habib).

⁹² See al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186. See also *El²: Filāḥa* (Irfan Habib).

⁹³ This *urjūza* will be discussed in more detail later.

intellectual life. Ibn al-Jayyāb wrote a poem praising the ruler for the establishment of the school and congratulating the students on entering the Madrasa.⁹⁴ During this time Granada became a focal point for students, scholars and poets.⁹⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb said of the school connection with the establishment: “He (Abū al-Na‘īm Riḍwān al-Naṣrī) established the Madrasa in Granada, which did not exist before this.⁹⁶ He also endowed the Madrasa with benefits and with the produce of farms and he gained distinction from this commendable work”.⁹⁷

قال عنه ابن الخطيب: " أحدث المدرسة بغرناطة، ولم تكن بها بعد، وسبب إليها الفوائد، ووقف عليها الرباع المغلة وانفرد بمنقبها".

⁹⁴ Two important figures, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Jayyāb, each wrote a poem describing the school, but Ibn al-Jayyāb died before the inauguration of the madrasa and his poem was inscribed on the main door out of respect for his contribution to teaching. The poem is as follows:

يا طالب العلم هذا بابه فتحا	فادخل تشاهد سناه لاح شمس ضحى
واشكر مجيرك من حل ومرتحل	قد قرب الله من مرمك ما نزحا
وشرفت حضرة الإسلام مدرسة	بها سبيل الهدى والعلم قد وضحا
أعمال يوسف مولانا ونيته	قد طرزت صحفا ميزانها رجحا

(Ibn al-Jayyāb, *Dīwān Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 36; al-Maqqari, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 457-8).

⁹⁵ See al-Sarrāj, *Fihris al-Sarrāj*, Ms, (The General Library, no. 1242k), p. 21; al-Manthūrī, *Fihris al-Manthūrī*, Ms, (The Royal Library, no. 12867); al-Qalṣādī, *Riḥlat al-Qalṣādī*, p. 167; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 508; idem, *Kunāsat al-Dukkān*, p. 155; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 484.

⁹⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 508. See also idem, *Kunāsat al-Dukkān*, p. 155; al-Qalṣādī, *Riḥlat al-Qalṣādī*, p. 167.

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 508. See also idem, *Kunāsat al-Dukkān*, p. 155; al-Qalṣādī, *Riḥlat al-Qalṣādī*, p. 167.

In addition, the education system used during this time covered a variety of subjects and this can be seen clearly from the curriculum and material which were taught at Granada University. The teachers were selected specifically to develop a high standard of intellectual and literary life and were therefore highly respected by their peers. Among them were al-Shāṭibī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Juzayy Ibn Lubb, Ibn Marzūq al-Tilimsānī, Ibn al-Fakhkhār, Yaḥyā b. Hudhayl, and Manṣūr al-Zawāwī.⁹⁸

Some of the key factors which contributed to the scholarly richness in the 8th/14th century were the availability of public and private libraries,⁹⁹ for example the extensive library of Ibn Layūn in Almeria, and in this connection we can mention the endowment of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's most important book *al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa* to the library of Granada University.¹⁰⁰ It seems likely that other scholars made a similar donation of their works.

Furthermore some teachers maintained their personal libraries within the University, which could then be used by other scholars and students. As evidence of this, the following passage by al-Shāṭibī is relevant: "I was walking with some friends when we met with our sheikh the master Abū Sa'īd b. Lubb near the madrasa. We

⁹⁸ For more information about the teachers of Granada and the curriculum of teaching see al-Sarrāj, *Fihris al-Sarrāj*, Ms. no. 1242k, (The General Library of Rabat); al-Mantūrī, *Fihrisat al-Mantūrī*, Ms. no. 12867, (The Royal Library, Rabat).

⁹⁹ Al-Shāṭibī, *al-Ifādāt wa-al-Inshādāt*, p. 152.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 1, pp. 55-8.

walked with him up to the door of the madrasa. Afterwards, as we were intending to leave, he invited us to come into the madrasa with him and he said: I want to show you some of my documents on legal opinions."¹⁰¹

فقد جاء في الإفادات والإنشادات للشاطبي قوله: " كنت سائرا مع بعض الأصحاب، إذ لقينا شيخنا الأستاذ المشاور أبا سعيد بن لب-أكرمه الله- بقرب المدرسة فسرنا معه إلى بابها، ثم أردنا الانصراف، فدعانا إلى الدخول معه إلى المدرسة وقال: أردت أن أطلعكم على بعض مستنداتي في الفتوى".

In Almeria similar libraries were to be found, among them was Ibn Layūn's personal library which according to sources was the biggest in Almeria in his time¹⁰² and some of his students and contemporaries benefited from using it, as can be seen clearly from their own writings.¹⁰³

The Dissemination of Manuscripts

As a result of all the intellectual activity, and the establishment of the new madrasa in 749/1348 and the huge amount of material taught in the school, the activity of the copyists increased to meet the demand. At the same time, there was a strong commercial incentive behind the huge number of manuscripts which have come down

¹⁰¹ Al-Shāṭbī, *al-Ifādāt wa-al-Inshādāt*, p. 152.

¹⁰² *Nayl*, p. 187. See also *EI² Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁰³ For instance, al-Ḥaḍramī in his work *Mashyakha* refers to the library of Ibn Layūn and its importance. See *Nayl*, p. 187. See also *EI² Ibn Luyūn* (F. De la Granja); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87.

to us from the period. According to historical sources, copyists were well rewarded for their work and this encouraged many to the profession.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, copies of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khātima, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Layūn's works can be found in libraries all over the world. The fact that the copyists received good remuneration is evidence that there was a buoyant market of readers and scholars who were keen to study these works.¹⁰⁵ This volume of work strongly suggests that scholarly life in the 8th/14th was dynamic, in contrast with some modern views mentioned above.

Conclusion

From the above survey the following conclusions may be drawn:

First, the extent of intellectual activity in the 8th/14th century was very wide, though history, literature and language studies were in the forefront and always received more attention than other branches of learning. As a result of the emphasis on language there was a huge production of work in the field of grammar, and as Ibn Khaldūn stated, al-Andalus was the centre of grammatical studies in the Islamic world.

A second point is that there was a vast output of historical writing, but special attention was paid to the history of the Banū al-Aḥmar and Marinid dynasties, as can

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. p. 3, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ Farhāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 124.

be seen in the writing of Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Walīd Ibn al-Aḥmar and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.¹⁰⁶

In addition, special attention was paid to correspondence (*al-Murāsālāt al-Ikhwāniyya*) between scholars, among them Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Further, there was a similarity in the titles of some of the works and a certain repetition in discussing the subject matter.

Then again several works concentrated on the comparison between Andalusian cities and those of Morocco, in order to prove their own important role and superiority over all other regions of the Islamic world, and to establish their unique identity. During the 8th/14th century there was intense rivalry between al-Andalus and Morocco and scholars from both sides wished to assert their higher status over the other. Moreover, *rajaz* received much attention as we can see from the work of Ibn Layūn and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and moreover the education system used this type of literature in the teaching of grammar and other fields.

A further point which has been made is that other scientific fields such as agriculture and medicine were studied in addition to the humanities; this contradicts

¹⁰⁶ In particular the two works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa* and *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī Akhbār al-Dawla al-Naṣriyya*).

the conclusions of some modern researchers who stated that the 8th/14th century was weak in these fields.¹⁰⁷

It has also been shown that during the 8th/14th century, scholars would write on a variety of subjects, not specialising in any one field, as already seen in the work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Bunāhī and Ibn Layūn. This type of writing could be characterised as encyclopaedic writing, and following my own research into intellectual life during this period I have found that this generalism was a prominent phenomenon of the time. Perhaps specialising in only one field was not considered satisfactory by the writers themselves and was viewed as inadequate as a form of scholarship. In this context, if anyone at that time was not well-versed in grammar, he was not considered a *faqīh* (scholar).

There is a final point. It is clear from *al-Iḥāṭa* and *al-Katība* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb that the production of poetry was at its zenith in the 8th/14th century; this can be seen by the fact that the number of *dīwāns* produced was at least 16, in addition to the huge volume of poetry which was included in other sources, among them the works of al-Maqqarī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Khaldūn and Abū al-Walīd Ibn

¹⁰⁷ See al-Rikābī, *Fī al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 58. See also Ḍayf, *al-Fann wa-Madhāhibuh*, p. 121; Aḥmad Haykal, *al-Adab al-Andalusī min al-Fatḥ ḥattā Suqūṭ al-Khilāfa*, p. ; Ḥazim Khaḍr, *al-Nathr al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Ṭawā’if wa-al-Murābiṭīn*; ‘Inān *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 461.

al-Aḥmar.¹⁰⁸ This is a further indication of the intense activity in the 8th/14th century.

Another positive factor was the political circumstances which encouraged intellectual activity, including the establishment of the university of Granada, and the concentration of scholarly activity in a small geographical area of Granada and its surroundings.

It should not be forgotten that intense rivalry between scholars and poets led them to attract the attention of the rulers, in order that they be brought into the Alhambra palace as ministers or to occupy other significant positions. Intellectual ability in poetry, language and literature were the keys to entering into service at the court. It is possible that most of the incumbents in ministerial positions fulfilled these conditions.

After the brief discussion above which has been a quick glimpse, the reason of which has been to present the importance of the 8th/14th century, it is certain that most of the figures mentioned above require an in-depth study, and the information in this

¹⁰⁸ Al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 32. See also Soledad Gibert, Abū al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī Qāḍī: Historiador y Poeta, *Al-Andalus*, vol. 28, 1963, p. 381.

study could provide useful guide for this further research by giving references to necessary original sources.

Chapter Three:

**The development of poetry and prose during
the 8th/14th century in al-Andalus**

Introduction

Poetry and prose in al-Andalus flourished in the 8th/14th century, with many figures leaving their traces on the map of Andalusian literature. According to sources, it is clear from the works they left behind literature especially poetry and in particular *muwashshaḥāt* that such figures had a strong influence on the literature of al-Andalus in general.¹

As evidence of this, it is worth mentioning that at least 16 complete collections of poetry were written. Some which are still in existence are, for example, the *dīwān* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the *dīwān* of Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, the *dīwān* of Ibn al-Jayyāb², the *dīwān* Ibn Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī and the *dīwān* Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī. In addition to these, there are many quotations of poetry to be found in other sources,³ such as the poetry of Ibn Layūn, the poetry of Ibrāhīm al-Sāḥilī, the

¹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, idem, *Azhār*; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, idem, *al-Katība*; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-Jumān*, idem, *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*; al-Harrāma. *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 32.

² See al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 32.

³ For example the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb such as *al-Iḥāṭa*, *al-Katība*, *A'māl* and *al-Lamḥa*; the works of al-Maqqarī including *Nafḥ* and *Azhār*; the works of Abū Walīd Ibn al-Aḥmar such as *Nathīr al-Jumān* and *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*; the works of Ibn Khaldūn such as *al-'Ibar* and the work of al-Sabtī, *Raf' al-Ḥujb al-Mastūra*; the works of al-Maqqarī such as *Nafḥ* and *Azhār al-Riyāḍ*.

poetry of Ibn Zamrak,⁴ the poetry of Ibn Shalṭabṭūr and the poetry of Ibn al-Jayyāb.⁵

Ibn al-Khaṭīb

The most notable of the men of letters in this period under investigation is Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713-776/1313-1374), known as *Dhū al-Wizāratayn*.⁶ He was a poet, man of letters, historian, composer of *muwashshaḥāt*, physician and statesman. Indeed, Ibn al-Khaṭīb is considered as one of the pioneers of Andalusian literature during the reign of the Banū al-Aḥmar if not of all time in al-Andalus.⁷ He studied in Almeria and Granada. Among the most famous of his teachers were Ibn al-Jayyāb⁸ and Ibn Layūn.⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb was prominent in many fields, especially history and literature.

⁴ Several collections of his poetry have been made, but a very good edition was published recently relying on a unique manuscript known as *al-Baqiyya wa-al-Mudrak min Shi'r Ibn Zamrak*. (*Dīwān Ibn Zamrak*, ed. M. T. al-Nayfar, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1st edition, 1997).

⁵ See for example Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, idem, *al-Katība*; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, idem, *Azhār*; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-Jumān*, idem, *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*.

⁶ *EI*²: *Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

⁷ Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 436. See also Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, pp. 136 and 155; *EI*²: *Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

⁸ Ibn 'Ajība, *Azhār al-Bustān fī Ṭabaqāt al-A'yān*, Ms. p. 95; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 458; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 605; *EI*²: *Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; idem, *Awṣāf*, p. 48.

One of his important books is *al-Iḥāṭa fī Akhbār Gharnāṭa* which, as is clear from the title, talks about everything related to Granada including its literary and social life. It also contains biographies of many men of letters, poets and scholars from al-Andalus among them Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn Juzayy.¹⁰ *Al-Iḥāṭa* contains a lot of poetry, including 520 lines by Ibn al-Jayyāb,¹¹ some of which cannot be found in his own collection.¹²

The biography of Ibn al-Jayyāb in this book is very detailed, and it was used extensively by later biographers, including al-Maqqarī in his book *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*. Although Ibn Layūn wrote four collections, it is surprising that *al-Iḥāṭa* does not contain any of his or biographical details, despite the fact that he was one of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's teachers. There are two possible reasons behind this omission. Firstly, Ibn Layūn wrote his works in Almeria and Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote *al-Iḥāṭa* in Granada, and secondly, maybe Ibn al-Khaṭīb wanted to postpone including Ibn Layūn's biography and poetry to a future work, but unfortunately when Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote *al-Katība* he had been exiled to Morocco, far from his sources, and he could only include a brief biography and a few lines of poetry. Bearing in mind that, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, as can be understood from the full title of the book, *al-Katība al-Kāmina fī shu'arā' al-*

¹⁰ Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 436.

¹¹ Al-Nagrāt, *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 50.

¹² Al-Nagrāt, *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, pp. 23- 31; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, pp. 140-42, vol. 2, p. 183 and vol. 1, p. 395.

Mi'a al-Thāmina singles out just a few notable poets, therefore Ibn Layūn must be considered one of the most distinguished figures in the 8th/14th century.¹³

Importantly and unusually, the book contains an autobiography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself in which he includes the names of his teachers and his important works as well as other valuable information related to his political and scientific life as well as that of his family.¹⁴ The significance of this autobiography stems from the information it contains about him, on the one hand, and from the fact that autobiographies were rare in classical Arabic literature, on the other.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb also wrote a book called *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya fī Tārīkh al-Dawla al-Naṣriyya* in which he gives an account of the dynasty of the Banū al-Aḥmar. Although small in size, the book is an important and essential source on Granada's political, social, religious and intellectual history.¹⁵ It also contains some of Ibn al-Jayyāb's poetry, which cannot be found anywhere else, even in his own collection.¹⁶ He traces the political events, style of government of the kings, ministers, writers and Judges. This book contains interesting and accurate

¹³ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

¹⁴ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 112; Brockelmann, *History of the Arabs*, p. 216. See also *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

¹⁵ See al-Nagrāt, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, pp. 38-9; *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

¹⁶ This is obvious from the supplement of Ibn al-Jayyāb's poetry. See *ibid.*

information which cannot be found in any other source. This is especially so because it was written by well-known figure who had an important cultural and political role during the reign of the Banū al-Aḥmar.¹⁷

In addition, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was a well known poet who wrote many types of poetry, such as eulogy, love poetry, elegy, descriptive poetry, nature poetry, Ṣūfī poetry, odes¹⁸ and *al-murāsālāt al-Ikhwāniyyah*.¹⁹ Moreover, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was also famous for his poems engraved on the walls of the Alhambra Palace, as was his teacher Ibn al-Jayyab, and his student, Ibn Zamrak. He also wrote a number of *muwashshaḥāt*. His *muwashshaḥāt* were widely known and many of them were sung.

In addition, he showed interest in *maqāmāt*, the most well-known of which is one on the art of politics, and which is included by al-Maqqarī in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*.²⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb also showed interest in *al-Murāsālāt al-Ikhwāniyyah*. He exchanged

¹⁷ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 19; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 7, p. 689; Nicolson, pp. 435- 436; *EL²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

¹⁸ See Nicolson, p. 436; al-Nagrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 231.

¹⁹ See al-Nagrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 231. Although this genre was well known and used frequently between scholars and men of letters, including Ibn al-Khaṭīb Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī and Ibn al-Jayyāb, but surprisingly, it is not mentioned in the article on Ibn al-Khaṭīb. See *EL²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

²⁰ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ* (1949), vol. 9, p. 134. See also Salāma, *al-Adab al-'Arabīfī al-Andalus*, p. 123.

many letters with the poets and men of letters of his time.²¹ He was also distinguished in the beauty of his style and the clarity of expression of his formal letters and most of his *maqāmāt* and *murāsalāt* are in the form of rhymed prose.²²

Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote works in various fields including history, literature, Sūfism, travel literature and medicine. As sources mention, he wrote more than sixty works.²³ In addition to the books mentioned above, should be mentioned the following:

*A'māl al-A'lām fī man bāyi'a min Mulūk al-Islām Qabla al-Iḥtilām.*²⁴

*Al-Siḥr wa-al-Shi'r.*²⁵

²¹ This type of correspondence was known as *al-Murāsalāt al-Ikhwāniyya* and can be described according to Shalābī, as poetry which is written by one brother poet to another to exchange news and jokes but which is written in a straightforward style devoid of exaggeration, flattery and thought for material profit. For further analysis and some examples of this poetry, see Shalābī, Sa'd Ismā'īl, *al-Bī'a al-Andalusiyya*, (Dār al-Nahḍa Li-al-Ṭībā'a wa-al-Nashr, Cairo, n.d.) p. 484; al-Nagrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, pp. 219-249. Some samples of this poetry can be also found in: *Dīwān* Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Dīwān* Ibn al-Jayyāb, *Nafḥ*, and *Nathīr al-Jumān*.

²² See for instance *Nafḥ*, (1949), vol. 9, p. 134; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 138; 134. See also Salāma, *al-Adab al-'Arabī fī al-Andalus*, p. 123.

²³ See Imamuddīn, p. 147; *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila). For more information regarding the life and works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb see Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, 'Inān, *Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb Ḥayātuh wa-Turāthuh*, (Cairo, Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1968); Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Tiṭwānī, *Ibn al-Khaṭīb min Khilāl Kutubih*, (Tuṭwān, Morocco, n.d). See also al-Warāqlī, Hasan, *Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī Āthār al-Dārisīn*, (Manshūrāt 'Ukāḍ, Rabat, 1408 AH).

²⁴ This work was edited by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-'Abbādī and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Katānī, (Dār al-Kitāb, Casablanca, 1964).

²⁵ The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 2295D.

*Mukhtaṣar min Istinzāl al-Luṭf fī Asrār al-Wujūd.*²⁶

*Nufāḍat al-Jirāb fī ‘Ulālat al-Ightirāb.*²⁷

*Al-Iḥāta fī Akhbār Gharnāta (Nuṣūṣ Jadīda).*²⁸

*Awṣāf al-Nās fī al-Tawārīkh wa-al-Ṣilāt.*²⁹

*Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb wa-Nuj‘at al-Muntāb.*³⁰

*Rawḍat al-Ta‘rīf bi-al-Ḥubb al-Sharīf.*³¹

*Jaysh al-Tawshīh.*³²

Al-Tāj al-Muḥallā fī Musājalāt al-Qadaḥ al-Mu‘allā.

*Al-Ṣayb wa-al-Jihām wa-al-Māḍī al-Kahām.*³³

*Risāla fī Takwīn al-Janīn.*³⁴

*Mi‘yār al-Ikhtiyār fī Dhikr al-Ma‘āhid wa-al-Diyār.*³⁵

*Mufradāt Ibn al-Khaṭīb.*³⁶

²⁶ Khizānat Tuṭwān, Ms, collection, no. 353.

²⁷ The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 256.

²⁸ This work was edited by ‘Abd al-Salām Shaqqūr and printed in Tuṭwān, 1988.

²⁹ Ed. by Muḥammad Kamāl Shabāna, (Manshūrāt al-Lajna al-Mushtaraka, Morocco and UAE, Maṭba‘at Fuḍāla, Rabat, n.d). See also Ms. Escorial no. 1755.

³⁰ Ed. by Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, (Cairo, 1980). See also *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

³¹ Ed. by Muḥammad al-Kattānī, (Dār al-Thaqāfa, Beirut, 1975).

³² Ed. by H. Nājī and published in Tunis, 1967. See also *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

³³ Ed. by Muḥammad al-Sharīf Qāhar, (Algiers, 1973).

³⁴ *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

³⁵ Ed. by Muḥammad Kamāl Shabāna, (Morocco and UAE, n.d).

³⁶ Ed. by ‘Abd al-‘Alī al-Widghīrī, (Manshūrāt ‘Ukāz, Rabat, 1988).

From these examples, the important of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and his role in the intellectual life of al-Andalus can clearly be seen. There are still many of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works which require further study. Until now, research has mostly concentrated on his poetry,³⁷ but many of his other works have not received attention. This broad approach to writing was not restricted to Ibn al-Khaṭīb; in fact, one of the distinguishing characteristics of this period was that scholars would write on many different subjects. This can be seen in the works of Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, Ibn Layūn and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, but ahead of these, in terms of his output, was without question Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī.

One of the most important scholars of this period is Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī (673-740/1274-1349),³⁸ the teacher of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who was well-known as a poet and men of letters.³⁹ Ibn al-Jayyāb was born in Granada in 673/1274 and died in the middle of Shawwāl 749/mid-January 1349⁴⁰ of the plague

³⁷ For example, Muḥammad al-Sharīf Qāhir, *al-Ṣayb wa-al-Jihām*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Algiers, 1973), Muḥammad Miftāḥ: *Dīwān Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Muḥammad V, Rabat, 1974).

³⁸ See his biography in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 183; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 434.

³⁹ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 183, idem *Iḥāṭā*, vol. 4, p. 128; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 434; Salām, *al-Adab al-'Arabīfī al-Andalus*, p. 59.

⁴⁰ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 104; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 147; Ḥamdān, *Ibn Zamrak*, (Ph. D 1984 Algiers), p. 6; al-Naqrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 113; *EI²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila).

which swept through Granada and some areas of al-Andalus in the middle of the 8th/14th century.⁴¹

Ibn al-Jayyāb wrote a large collection of poems (*dīwān*) which is still in manuscript form in the National Library of Egypt (*Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*) under the number 2424 *adab*.⁴² These were collected by his pupil, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, as is mentioned in *al-Iḥāṭa*.⁴³ Ibn al-Jayyāb's collection covers diverse subjects, such as *madḥ* (panegyrics), in diverse poetic forms, such as *mukhammasāt* and *mu'ashsharāt*. His *dīwān* is arranged by his student according to subjects.⁴⁴ Most collections of poems during his time were arranged in alphabetical order, in accordance with the rhyming letter of the poems. The collection consists of 4750

⁴¹ See al-Naqrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, pp. 112-13; 'Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 130, al-Ḥumṣī, *Ibn Zamrak al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 256; Shabāna, *Yūsuf al-Awwal Ibn al-Aḥmar*, p. 112.

⁴² Al-Naqrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 22. I obtained a photocopy taken from the original manuscript. This manuscript is written in good naskh script. However, there are perforations and some poems are missing. In addition there are many mistakes in the language and orthography. It is possible to supply most of the missing text and to correct the language and other mistakes by referring to the Andalusian sources which contain Ibn al-Jayyāb's poetry. The most important of these sources are *al-Iḥāṭa*, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ* and *al-Lamḥa al-Badriyya*.

⁴³ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 128. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 7, p. 107; Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī, *Dīwān Ibn al-Jayyāb*, (Ms, the National Library of Egypt (*Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*) under the number (2424 *adab*), p. 1.)

⁴⁴ In Ibn al-Khaṭīb's words:

((شعره كثير مدون، جمعته ودونته، يشتمل على الأغراض المتعددة، من المعشرات النبويات، والقصائد السلطانيات، والإخوانيات، والمقطوعات الأدبيات، والألغاز والأحجيات))
(Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 128).

verses and in addition I collected 282 verses from different sources including *Nafh*, *al-Iḥāṭa*, *al-Lamḥa*, *Azhār al-Riyāḍ* and *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*. Jesus Rubiera Mata was the first to highlight the relevance of Ibn al-Jayyāb's poetry when she edited a collection of some of his poems.⁴⁵ However, her edition contains grammatical and spelling errors; in addition she neither annotated his poetry nor provided comments. She also did not mention other important sources which contain Ibn al-Jayyāb's poetry which were referred to early on. If she had relied on these sources, she would have avoided printing errors and would have produced a more accurate edition.

As regards prose, Ibn al-Jayyāb left a number of works which were also collected by his student Ibn al-Khaṭīb under the title of *Tāfiḥ min Jamm wa-nuqṭa min Yamm*.⁴⁶ But, unfortunately, this work has not come down to us. It was most probably burnt in Granada in 773/1371, when Ibn al-Khaṭīb was accused of being a *zindīq* by some of his enemies in Granada including Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bunāhī and his

⁴⁵ Jesus Rubiera Mata *Ibn al-Yayyāb el otro poeta de la Alhambra*, (Instituto Hispano De Cultura Granada, 1982). See also idem, "Los poemas epigráficos de Ibn al-Yayyāb en la Alhambra", *Al-Andalus*, vol. xxxv, 1970, pp. 453-470.

⁴⁶ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 4, p. 147; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 445.

student Ibn Zamrak.⁴⁷ However, some of Ibn al-Jayyāb's prose has been retained in al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*.⁴⁸

Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī

Among the men of letters and poets who lived during the 8th / 14th century, is Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī (725-770/1323-1369).⁴⁹ He was one of the most famous pupils of Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī,⁵⁰ and "an intimate friend of Ibn al-Khaṭīb."⁵¹ He is considered one of the most prominent poets of Naṣrid al-Andalus. He was the foremost poet of Almeria. He left a large collection of poems which was edited by Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya.⁵² This collection contains descriptive poetry, nature poetry, love poetry and *muwashshaḥāt*. In addition to his collection of poems, he

⁴⁷ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 53; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 7, p. 709. See also Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 149.

⁴⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 458-464. Ibn al-Jayyāb played a very important role in both political and intellectual life. He was an important teacher, and worked as a kātib and vizier in Granada for about 30 years. In addition, Ibn al-Jayyāb left a large amount of poetry and prose. Despite this, there is no article about him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. It is hoped that this deficiency can be corrected in the future.

⁴⁹ For more information regarding his life see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 239-59; idem, *al-Katība*, pp. 239-45; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-Jumān*, pp. 175-86; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 40; Brockelmann, 2, p. 258.

⁵⁰ See al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La. Granja).

⁵¹ *EI*²: *Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila). See also Salāma, *al-Adab al-‘Arabī*, p. 59.

⁵² Damascus, 1978.

wrote a book entitled *Rāʾiq al-Taḥliya fī Fāʾiq al-Tawriya*.⁵³ He was a teacher at *al-Madrasa al-Yūsufiyya* in Granada.

Ibn Zamrak

It is worth mentioning here that Ibn Zamrak (733/1333) was one of the famous poets and statesman of al-Andalus.⁵⁴ He was known as the poet of Alhambra. He wrote many poems, most of which are contained in al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* and *Azhār al-Riyāḍ*. Moreover some of his poems are engraved on the walls of the Alhambra Palace.⁵⁵ Until recent times, scholars stated that his *dīwān*, known as *al-Baqiyya wa-al-Mudrik* was lost. Even the recently published Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature reflects this view by not mentioning that his *dīwān* has come down to us.⁵⁶ However, the *dīwān* does survive, and a recent edition was published in Tunis in 1997.⁵⁷

⁵³ Shawqī, Ḍayf, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī (ʿAṣr al-Duwal wa-al-Imārāt: al-Andalus)*, p. 292.

⁵⁴ For more information regarding his life see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, pp. 300-314; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 4, p. 412; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 478-480; .257; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam*, vol. 10, p. 155; Ibn Makhḷūf, *Shajarat al-Nūr*, p. 274.

⁵⁵ See E. Garsia Gomez, *Ibn Zamrak el poeta de la Alhambra*, (Madrid, 1944), pp. 169-271; al-Ḥumṣī, *Ibn Zamrak al-Gharnāṭī*, p. 24; *EL²: Ibn Zaydūn* (G. Lecomte).

⁵⁶ Vol. 1, pp. 383-4.

⁵⁷ This *dīwān* consists of 453 poems. In addition, it includes a number of *Muwashshaḥāt*. See *Dīwān Ibn Zamrak*, p. 37.

He also excelled in the art of *muwashshaḥāt*, but he never reached the status of his teacher Ibn al-Khaṭīb in this genre.⁵⁸ Ibn Zamrak studied in Granada under his teacher Ibn al-Khaṭīb and al-Sharīf al-Sabtī.⁵⁹ He also was a *wazīr* in the royal court of the Banū al-Aḥmar. Enmity began between him and his teacher, resulting in the death of the latter in Fez.⁶⁰ Many studies have been written about him.⁶¹

Al-Ḥaḍramī

Another man of letters of al-Andalus who lived during the 8th/14th century is Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī. He grew up in Almeria and then became its *qāḍī*. He was one of the most prominent pupils of Ibn Layūn.⁶² He was a well-known man of letters and an innovative writer. He lived in Almeria for a long time, where he kept the company of his teacher Ibn Layūn for 30 years, as he himself mentions.⁶³

Al-Ḥaḍramī wrote about many different topics, but he was especially known for *Mashyakha* in which he included the biographies of his teachers and other useful information about the intellectual life in al-Andalus, particularly Almeria, and

⁵⁸ See Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 152.

⁵⁹ *EI²*: *Ibn Zaydūn* (G. Lecomte).

⁶⁰ *Ibid*; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 6, p. 300; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibn Khaldūn wa-riḥlatuhu Gharban wa-Sharqan*, p. 282.

⁶¹ The most important of which is a Ph.D. thesis from the University of Algiers 1982, and others on his life and literature are *Ibn Zamrak Ḥayātuh wa-Shi‘ruh*, and *Ibn Zamrak Shā‘ir al-Ḥamrā’*.

⁶² See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁶³ See *ibid*.

Morocco. As sources mention, this work contained a thousand biographies of scholars from al-Andalus and Morocco, among them Ibn Layūn, but unfortunately *Mashyakha* has not reached us.⁶⁴

This work was the source which al-Tunbuktī and Ibn al-Qāḍī used for many of their biographies.⁶⁵ Al-Tunbuktī consistently quoted from al-Ḥaḍramī's work by saying: al-Ḥaḍramī said in his *Mashyakha* (قال الحضرمي في مشيخته)⁶⁶. It should be mentioned here that both Ibn al-Qāḍī and al-Tunbuktī quoted the biography of Ibn Layūn from the same source.⁶⁷ Had this book survived, we would have probably obtained a good deal of information about cultural life in al-Andalus and Morocco during the 8th/14th century, especially about the life of Ibn Layūn, and his contemporaries. The work may have also contained many pieces and poems from Ibn Layūn's lost collection of poems.

Ibn Shalbaṭūr

Among other men of letters of al-Andalus, was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shalbaṭūr who lived in Almeria and died in Marrākush in 755/1351.⁶⁸ He lived in

⁶⁴ See al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 169; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifm*, vol. 4, p. 210. See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁶⁵ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, p. 132.

⁶⁶ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl* p. 187.

⁶⁷ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187, Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, p. 132.

⁶⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 6, pp. 82-4; 'Inān, *Nihāyat*, p. 469; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 2, p. 360.

the time of Ibn Layūn and Ibn Khātima. Among his works is a collection of poems to be found in the General Library of Rabat (catalogue no. 2460).⁶⁹

Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī

Another poet who lived in al-Andalus in that period was Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī (601–684/1204-1285). He spent some of his life in Granada where he had contact with Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar (the founder of the Banū al-Aḥmar state who reigned 629-671/1237-1273) and worked alongside him in the court for a short time. He was known for his elegiac poetry in which he describes the fall of cities and kingdoms.⁷⁰ Poets were influenced by his writing up to the 9th/15th century.

Ibn al-Juzayy

One more poet who lived during that period is Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Juzayy (721-758/1321-1356).⁷¹ In his book *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*. Ibn al-Aḥmar praised him greatly and described him as the best poet of al-Andalus.⁷² Ibn al-Khaṭīb also described him as a shining sun in rhetoric.⁷³

⁶⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 361; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 6, p. 83. See also *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 87.

⁷⁰ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 4, p. 486. See also al-Dāya, *Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī*.

⁷¹ See Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*, p. 113; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yān al-Mi'a al-Thāmina*, Cairo, 1967, vol. 4, p. 282; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 256.

⁷² See Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*, p. 114.

⁷³ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 257.

Al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī

Another poet of that period is Abū al-Qāsim al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī (697-760/1297-1358).⁷⁴ He was a poet and a man of letters who excelled in prosody and literature. He was called the poet of both Morocco and al-Andalus. He was Ibn al-Jayyāb's pupil. He himself gathered his poetry into a collection which he called *Juhd al-Muqil*.⁷⁵ As Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (654-745/1256-1344) says, he was famous as a poet in general and as a writer of *muwashshaḥāt* in particular.⁷⁶

Ibn Layūn

Another famous literary figure who lived in the 8th/14th century is Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī (681-750/1282-1349).⁷⁷ As sources mention, he was the most prominent learned person of his time in Almeria.⁷⁸ For some time he worked as a *qāḍī* and a teacher. He spent much of his time in writing researching and teaching. He was known for summarising, editing and comparing works. He had an unusual ability in writing and his writing was always clear, succinct and concise. Of his most prominent writings is an *urjūza* on agriculture (*Ibdā' al-Malāḥa*), which was and

⁷⁴ See his biography in: al-Nubāhī, *al-Marqaba al-'Ulyā*, pp. 171-7; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Nathīr al-Jumān*, pp. 45 - 9, al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 189-98.

⁷⁵ See al-Nubāhī, *al-Marqaba al-'Ulyā*, p. 175; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 186.

⁷⁶ See Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 145.

⁷⁷ His full biography will be dealt with in the chapter discussing his life.

⁷⁸ See *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

edited by the Spanish orientalist Joaquina Eguaras.⁷⁹ In addition, two important abridgements, *al-Nukhba* and *Lamḥ* should be mentioned here.

Among his famous pupils were Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khātima who were the most famous men of letters during the 8th/14th century. He collected all kinds of works and owned the largest library in Almeria⁸⁰ but, unfortunately the fate of that rich library and its contents is unknown. Ibn Layūn wrote a lot of poetry, and according to al-Maqqarī he left four collections, none of his original collections of poetry has survived. However, thanks to al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* about 60 percent of his poetry is still in existence.⁸¹

Ibn Layūn's poetry, apart from *rajaz*, concentrated on the genre which contains proverbs and sayings of a wise and an advisory nature. This is in contrast with his contemporaries, such as Ibn Khātima and Ibn al-Jayyāb whose writing encompassed many different subject areas.⁸² The question arises; why did Ibn Layūn restrict himself to a narrow subject area? With his background as a *qāḍī* and a teacher he might have considered that these were the only subjects appropriate to his position, and through his wisdom and advice, it is evident that he was trying to play

⁷⁹ Granada, 1975.

⁸⁰ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187 - 8; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁸¹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5 pp. 543- 603.

⁸² See *Dīwān* Ibn Khātima and *Dīwān* Ibn al-Jayyāb.

the role of reformer. Another factor was that during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, Almeria was the main centre for Sufism. As has been discussed in the chapters covering his life and work, he studied several Sufi texts and summarised many of them, which might have had some influence on his writing.

Conclusion

From what has been mentioned above, it is unmistakably clear that the cultural and intellectual movement in al-Andalus was very active and prosperous during the 8th/14th century. At that time, al-Andalus was home to a great number of scholars, men of letters and poets who made an intellectual and literary impact in both east and west.

The interests of men of letters and writers during that period were not confined to a certain type of subject for most of them were men of letters, poets and historians at the same time, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khātima, and others were physicians, poets and historians, such as Ibn Khātima, while others wrote poetry and prose, such as Ibn al-Jayyāb and Ibn al-Aḥmar, the author of two books, namely *Nathīr al-Jumān* and *Nathīr Farā'id al-Jumān*.

This period was distinguished by the support of Banū al-Aḥmar (Naṣrids). According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the Banū al-Aḥmar were great patrons of the arts in

general and poetry in particular,⁸³ and in addition some of them also wrote poetry themselves such as Muḥammad III (d. 713/1314)⁸⁴ and Yūsuf I (d. 755/1354).⁸⁵ Others were well-educated in different fields, including Muḥammad II who adopted the *laqab al-Faqīh* (the Learned) on account of his wide knowledge.⁸⁶ At social celebrations, such as wedding and circumcisions, and at religious festivals, such as *‘Īd al-Fiṭr*, the Banū al-Aḥmar would invite poets to give recitations. During the 8th/14th century, the Banū al-Aḥmar brought several scholars and men of letters into the court where they occupied positions such as *wazīr* or *kātib*, and among them were Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Lakhmī, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ibn Zamrak.⁸⁷

During this period, schools and libraries were also established⁸⁸ and there was a vibrant tradition of writing books, architecture, singing and arts. Similarly, poetic correspondence was amazingly active, since most men of letters of al-Andalus often exchanged letters in the form of poetry. Among those who used to do so were Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn Khātima. Some books, such as *al-Iḥāṭa* and *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*, contain samples of such correspondence which reflects

⁸³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 95. See also idem, *Dīwān al-Ṣayb wa-al-Jihām*, p. 123; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 460.

⁸⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 555.

⁸⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 532-45; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat*, p. 125.

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 557.

⁸⁷ *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 78.

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, p. 95. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 508; idem, *Kunāsāt al-Dukkān*, p. 155.

a true social cultural image of that time. This correspondence represents a criticism of many cultural aspect as is the case in some samples by Ibn al-Jayyāb, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁸⁹ By and large, the cultural intellectual movement in al-Andalus in the 8th/14th century was one of great activity, and it represents a very significant stage in the entire history of Andalusian literature.

⁸⁹ Al-Nagrāṭ, *Ibn al-Jayyāb*, p. 220. See also Mubārak al-‘Alamī, *Abū al-Qāsim al-Sharīf al-Sabtī al-Nāqid al-Adīb*, M.A, (the University of Muḥammad V, Rabat, 1986), p. 40; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭā*, vol. 2, p. 183; Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī, *Dīwān*, Ms., no. 2424 *adab*, (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo), folios. 4,5, 50, 61 and 77.

CHAPTER FOUR:

The life of Ibn Layūn

A commentary on the biographical sources for the life of Ibn Layūn

The aim of this chapter is to discuss Ibn Layūn's life, his teachers and students and the environment in which he lived. However, before dealing with his life, it is worth mentioning the four main types of source material which have been used to research his biography.

Firstly, works written by his students especially Ibn al-Khaṭīb and al-Ḥaḍramī. This is basic source information, on which many later authors have relied, including Ibn al-Qāḍī, al-Tunbuktī, and the author of *Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya*. However, although this material is very important, it is unfortunately extremely limited. It only mentions his name, date of birth, that he was unmarried, but without giving any further explanation.¹

Secondly, the work of al-Maqqarī. In addition to very brief biographical details, al-Maqqarī in *Nafh al-Tīb* includes a large amount of Ibn Layūn's poetry which cannot be found anywhere else,² except for a few lines in the works of al-Tunbuktī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.³

¹ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187, 188; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, pp. 86, 87; idem, *Mi'yār al-Ikhtiyār*, p. 89; *Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 3928D).

² See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 543- 602.

³ See *Nayl*, p. 188; *al-Katība*, p. 87.

Thirdly, sources which discuss Ibn Layūn's teachers, students and the positions that he held. However, these sources primarily discuss other scholars, and Ibn Layūn is only mentioned briefly as an important scholar of that time. With regard to the positions he held, information is only included by Ibn al-Qāḍī and al-Ḥaḍramī.⁴

Fourthly, modern secondary sources, all of which rely on the previously mentioned primary sources such as the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Qāḍī, al-Maqqarī and al-Ḥaḍramī. In addition, most of these sources repeat the same information.⁵ It appears that most of these secondary sources have not consulted Ibn Layūn's extant work. As evidence of this, for example, Brockelmann in writing Ibn Layūn's biography,⁶ does not mention the copy of *Bughya* which is available in Morocco with catalogue number 236 K, and neither does he mention the copies available in Tunis. Similarly, J. Eguaras in editing Ibn Layūn's *urjūza Ibdā' al-Malāḥa* only used one copy which is kept in the Library of Granada, and did not

⁴ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms, no. 2189), folio. 2.

⁵ See for instance J. Eguaras, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*, (Granada, 1975), pp. 18, 19; Emilio García Gómez, "Sobre agricultura arábigo-andaluza", *Al-Andalus*, 10, 1945, p. 127; idem, Los proverbios rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almería (1283-1349), *Al-Andalus*, 37, 1972, p. 1; al-Ṭībī, Amīn, *Dirāsāt*, pp. 186, 187; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380.

⁶ See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380.

consult other copies,⁷ particularly a copy in the Faculty of Letters in Rabat. Neither did she consult commentaries on *Ibdā'* which are widely available in Morocco, as will be mentioned in the chapter that deals with Ibn Layūn's work. In discussing Ibn Layūn's biography Al-Ziriklī refers to two copies of *Bughya*, his own private copy and another copy in al-Qarawiyyīn Library, but he does not mention other copies in other Moroccan and Tunisian libraries.⁸ Above all, none of the secondary sources mentions the copy of *Bughya* in Libya. As a final example, neither Brockelmann nor al-Ziriklī mention the available copies of *al-Nukhba* in Morocco, Tunis and Libya.⁹

Further in relation to the modern secondary sources the article in *EI*² written by F. de la Granja contains some errors. It is stated that according to al-Ḥaḍramī Ibn Layūn was a mediocre poet,¹⁰ but in fact there is no such information in al-Ḥaḍramī's work.¹¹ However, Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his book *al-Katība al-Kāmina* does

⁷ See *Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*, Granada, 1975. See also Emilio García Gómez, "Sobre agricultura arábigo-andaluza", *Al-Andalus*, 10, 1945; idem, "Los proverbios rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almería (1282-1349)", *Al-Andalus*, 37, 1972.

⁸ See al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83. See also al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210.

⁹ See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83.

¹⁰ *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹¹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

criticize Ibn Layūn's poetry in such a manner, by saying "that some of his poetry was good style and was clear and lucid."¹²

(وشعره يلم بالإجادة أحيانا، فيبين المقاصد بيانا)

The implication of this description is that only some of his poetry was good, and that indeed some of his other work might have been rather mediocre. This comment by Ibn al-Khaṭīb shows that F. de la Granja's interpretation is far from the truth. The question arises as to why he became confused over this issue. In my opinion there are three possible reasons. Firstly, he might not have consulted the original sources; secondly, he might have misunderstood this material; thirdly, he might be relying on other secondary material, perhaps Spanish scholarship.¹³

Furthermore, F. de la Granja states that Ibn Layūn had only a few students and that he did not make many friends.¹⁴ This is contrary to the facts. He had many students and friends as will be shown below in this chapter. It appears that F. de la Granja might have based his conclusions on a very short phrase written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in which he describes Ibn Layūn as rather shy and not very sociable.¹⁵

"شهير الإيتار، وبعيداً عن الجمع والاستكثار"

¹² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86. See also idem, *Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb*, ii, 374.

¹³ It seems more likely that he relied on article written by Emilio García Gómez. See *Al-Andalus*, XXXVII, 1972, p. 3.

¹⁴ *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86. See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb*, ii, 374.

Al-Ḥaḍramī echoed these thoughts by suggesting that Ibn Layūn had ascetic tendencies.¹⁶

However, these characteristics, even if true, do not imply that Ibn Layūn had few students and friends; al-Ḥaḍramī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and other sources all attest to the fact that he attracted students from far and wide and he was occupied all his life in teaching, writing and preparing for his students.¹⁷ A question which might urgently be asked is: why is there a lack of information concerning Ibn Layūn's life, when he played such an important role in the intellectual life of Almeria and al-Andalus, especially when it is considered that several authors including Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Sharīf al-Sbtī, Ibn 'Āṣim, al-Nubāhī, and Ibn al-Aḥmar produced very full biographies of scholars of that period. For example Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote an extensive history of Granada and al-Andalus in which he includes material about

¹⁶ "مع زهادة ورع وشدة انقباض عن الناس وزهد فيما عندهم". Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86, idem, *Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb*, ii, 374; *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁷ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, pp. 467-470; Ibn Layūn, *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms., no. 5797), folio.1. See also al-Ṭībī, Amīn, *Dirāsāt*, pp. 186, 187; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; al-Manthūrī, *Fihris al-Manthūrī*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms., no. 1578), folio. 215.

several hundred poets, scholars and men of letters including his teachers, but surprisingly there is no information about Ibn Layūn.¹⁸

A subsequent question arises: is there a connection between the lack of information and Ibn Layūn's personality, which has been described by Ibn al-Khaṭīb and al-Ḥaḍramī, as shy and ascetic.¹⁹ If this is so, and even if Ibn Layūn's character was as described, this is not a sufficient reason for his contemporaries to provide such a limited amount of information, which does not in any way match the important role that he played in teaching and writing.

Despite the shortage of detail, and although it has not been easy to draw a complete and detailed picture of Ibn Layūn's life, nevertheless relying in the first place on the existing primary sources and Ibn Layūn's own manuscripts, and in addition on the secondary sources, a reasonably full view of Ibn Layūn's life and that of his students and teachers can be constructed.

From the above discussion, the following points can be made:

- 1- There is a lack of information in general concerning Ibn Layūn's biography;
- 2- There is no information whatsoever about his family except a few passing

¹⁸ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*. This is a very important work because it contains many biographies including those of Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, al-Sharīf al-Sabtī, Ibn Juzayy and some of their poetry.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Emilio García Gámez, *Al-Andalus*, XXXVII, 1972, p. 3; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

references to his father;

3- Al-Maqqarī concentrates on Ibn Layūn's poetry but sources other than that only quote a few lines of poetry. In other words, without al-Maqqarī's collection there would be virtually none of Ibn Layūn's poetry in existence today.²⁰

4- Although Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote a comprehensive history of al-Andalus known as *al-Iḥāṭa*, containing many biographies, he does not mention Ibn Layūn in it at all. This surprising fact may perhaps be due to the lack of information available when Ibn al-Khaṭīb was compiling his work, or it may be that Ibn al-Khaṭīb felt that he had written about Ibn Layūn elsewhere.

5- Although Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote about Ibn Layūn in other works such as *al-Katība*, *Mi'yār al-Ikhtiyār* and *Awṣāf al-Nās*, unfortunately he did not quote more than a few lines of his poetry. This raises the possibility that Ibn al-Khaṭīb considered Ibn Layūn's poetry to be only mediocre in quality, or simply that in his short work which covered several other 8th/14th century poets, there was insufficient space to quote a large amount of Ibn Layūn's poetry;

6- There are some errors in the secondary sources, including *EI*², and furthermore secondary sources tend to repeat the same information, rather than consulting and researching original material.

²⁰ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 543-602.

Ibn Layūn, his family and his background.

His full name: Ibn Layūn's full name and genealogy as given in the majority of his biographical sources²¹ is: Abū 'Uthmān Sa'd²² b. Abī Ja'far²³ b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm²⁴ b. Layūn al-Tujībī.²⁵ However, some other sources²⁶ add to his name: al-Mālikī²⁷ and al-Marī.²⁸ On the other hand, two sources, *al-Katība al-Kāmina fī*

²¹ Ibn Layūn's biography can be found in the following sources:

al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, pp. 467-470; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; idem, *Mi'yār*, p. 89; idem, *Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb*, ii, 374; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 543-602; al-Qādirī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 1897), p. 81; J. Eguaras, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*, Granada, 1975, pp. 18, 19; al-Ṭībī, Amīn, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*, pp. 186, 187; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; al-Mantūrī, *Fihris al-Manūri*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 223); Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Faḥ al-Khabār*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 2189D), the Introduction; *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj* Ms; *EP²*; *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 132 and vol. 2, pp. 212, 381, 649, 668; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; al-Kattānī; *Fihris al-Fahāris*, p. 384.

²² In *al-Katība* and *Shajarat*: Sa'īd. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, p. 86; Ibn Makhlūf, p. 214.

²³ It is not mentioned in *al-A'lām*. See al-Ziriklī, vol. 7, p. 83.

²⁴ It is not mentioned in *al-Katība*. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, p. 86.

²⁵ Sometimes spelt al-Tajībī. See Ibn Diḥyā, *al-Muṭrib*, p. 34; *al-Tāj 'alā al-Qāmūs*, vol. 1, pp. 156-194; *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, vol. 1, p. 257.

²⁶ See al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210.

²⁷ As for the *nisba* "al-Mālikī", this is because Ibn Layūn followed the school of Mālik as did the majority of Muslims in al-Andalus. For more details about the Mālikiyya in al-Andalus see: al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 218-9; *EP²: Al-Andalus* (G. S. Colin); Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol. 3, pp. 453-88.

A'yān al-Mi'a al-Thāmina and *Awṣāf al-Nās fī al-Tawārīkh wa-al-Ṣilāt* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, state that the name Sa'd is in fact Sa'īd.²⁹ However, it should be said that Ibn al-Khaṭīb has another book called *Mi'yār al-Ikhtiyār fī Dhikr al-Ma'āhid wa-al-Diyār*, which indicates that the name is (as all other sources state) Sa'd.³⁰ Hence it seems likely that the name Sa'īd which appears in *al-Katība al-Kāmina* and *Awṣāf al-Nās* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb³¹ is in fact Sa'd, taking account of the fact that it could only be a spelling mistake or a misreading made by the copyist.³²

In addition, the majority of Ibn Layūn's works which are still in manuscript form in the General Library in Rabat, the Royal Library in Rabat, the National Library in Tunis, the National Library in Cairo and the Center of Historical

²⁸ The name “*al-Marrī*” is the *nisba* of the town in which Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī was born and lived (al-Mariyya). This refers to the usual convention in the Arabic classical biographical way of relating the poet or the author to his or her own town or the place where he or she was born and brought up.

²⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

³⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Mi'yār*, p. 89.

³¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

³² This is a common mistake.

Research in Tripoli, indicate that his first name is Sa'd.³³ In Andalusian literature, Ibn Layūn is known by the name Abū 'Uthmān Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī.³⁴

However, all sources regarding his biography do not mention the origin of the name Ibn Layūn. There is indeed no mention of such a name elsewhere in Arabic history. Nevertheless, the name seems to have been derived from the Spanish León, meaning Lion,³⁵ but it should be noted here that some Arabs who were born and lived in al-Andalus used names derived from Spanish, especially those who lived in places that were adjacent to Christian territory.³⁶ It is known that the family of Ibn Layūn's descendants lived in and around Saragossa which is close to the León region of Northern Spain³⁷ and not impossible some of them

³³ For example see the Introduction to *Lamḥ al-Siḥr min Rūḥ al-Shi'r*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms, no. 1033D); and *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms, no. 368); *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā; Ibdā' al-Milāḥa wa-Inhā al-Rajāḥa fi Uṣūl Ṣinā'at al-Filāḥa*. See also *Tadhkirat al-Muḥsinīn*, Ms; *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, Ms. In general, secondary sources give the same spelling as the primary sources. For instance see al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83; Kaḥḥala, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 25.

³⁴ Al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 25; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83; Kaḥḥala, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210. See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 186; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 543.

³⁵ Emilio García Gómez, Los proverbios rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almería (1283-1349), *Al-Andalus*, XXXVII, 1972, p. 3; Simonet, *Glossario*, p. 317.

³⁶ For instance Ibn Barṭālah, Ibn Diminja, Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Lubb, Ibn Mantīn, Ibn Mandanīsh and Ibn Unāḥ.

³⁷ See the map in M 'Inān, *The End of the Moorish Empire*, Cairo, 1966, p. 16.

were near Lyon, in France, during the period of Islamic settlement (prior to 732AD).³⁸

It is also possible that لَيْوُن Layūn is originally an Arabic name like خَلْدُون Khaldūn, عَبْدُون ‘Abdūn, زَيْدُون Zaydūn, حَمْدُون Ḥamdūn, عَلْيُون ‘Alyūn, قَدْمُون Qadmūn. If so, it would be related to لَيْ layy which means softness, smoothness, and even ease. It could be read then as لَيْوُن Layūn or لَيْوُن Layyūn referring to *līm* in Arabic. This is also suggested by the fact that no Spanish source has ever indicated that this author was of Spanish origin.

However, we still have a document written by Ibn Layūn himself, kept in the Royal Library in Rabat in Morocco, in which the name is vocalized as ابن لَيْوُن Ibn Layūn, and not Ibn Liyūn or Luyūn as mentioned by Brockelmann,³⁹ F. De La Granja,⁴⁰ Emilio García Gómez⁴¹ and other Spanish sources.⁴² This supports, while obviously not proving, the view that the name is of Arabic origin.

³⁸ ‘Atīq, *al-Adab al-‘Arabīfī al-Andalus*, p. 42.

³⁹ *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, p. 380.

⁴⁰ See *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁴¹ See “Los proverbios rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almeria (1283-1349)”, *Al-Andalus*, XXXVII, 1972, p. 1.

⁴² Such as Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez in her work: *Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*.

His Genealogy and Antecedents

Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī belonged to the powerful and famous Arab family of the Banū Tujīb⁴³ of the tribe of Kinda.⁴⁴ The Tujīb family was one of the most prominent branches of Kinda⁴⁵ and they “became its most important group”.⁴⁶ The family emigrated to al-Andalus at the beginning of the *fatḥ* (conquest) and settled in Aragon, Saragossa, Qal‘at Rabāḥ, Qal‘at Ayyūb, Tarragona, Lorca, Daroca and finally Almeria.⁴⁷

The family of Banū Tujīb (Tujibids) were divided into two main branches, the Banū Hāshim and the Banū Ṣumādiḥ,⁴⁸ which ruled over two important

⁴³ Also spelt Tajīb. For further details see; Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib*, pp. 34-35; *al-Tāj ‘ala al-Qāmūs*, vol. 1, pp. 156-94; *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya*, p. 257; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 367.

⁴⁴ For more information regarding the Kinda tribe, see Riḍā, Aḥmad, *Matn al-Lughā*, (Beirut, Manshūrāt Maktabat al-Ḥaya, 1960), vol. 5, p. 108; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs* (Kuwait, Maṭba‘at Ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt, 1966), vol. 3, pp. 58-60; *EI*², :Kinda (I. Shahīd); Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, (Beirut, 1960), pp. 323, 325, 349; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, pp. 506-11, 583-7, 595-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 2, pp. 596-77.

⁴⁵ *EI*²:Kinda (I. Shahīd). The history of the Banū Tujīb has been given in detail by Dozy. See *Hist. Des Musul, d’Espagne Codera, Estudios Criticos*, (Collection de estudios árabes, vol. 7, pp. 301-322. See also Lévi-Provençal, E., “Banū Tujīb”, in *EI*¹.

⁴⁶ *EI*²:Kinda (I. Shahīd)

⁴⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 2, pp. 569-577; *EI*²:Kinda (I. Shahīd). See also *EI*¹: *Banū Tujīb* (Lévi-Provençal, E).

⁴⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vol. 2, pp. 569-577; *EI*¹: Lévi-Provençal, E (*Banū Tujīb*).

regions; Saragossa and Almeria. The Banū Hāshim ruled Saragossa, while Banū Şumādiḥ ruled over Almeria in which Ibn Layūn was born.⁴⁹

According to the most reliable information with regard to the Banū Tujīb, many people who belonged to this family had a remarkable influence in several spheres.⁵⁰ In the political sphere it should be mentioned that the era of al-Mu'taṣim b. Şumādiḥ, who ruled Almeria for a long time (444-490/1052-1091), was outstanding in almost every field such as poetry (*Muwashshaḥāt*), prose, science, architecture, and social life.⁵¹

In connection with literature, there were a good number of writers and poets who were famous in the field, for instance Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Tujībī known as

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *EI*²: Lévi-Provençal, E (*Banū Tujīb*); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, (Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, 1962), p. 429.

⁵¹ There are a number of studies written about this period. See for example: F. A. N. al-Qaisī, *Islamic Almeria, its historical background and its Arabic literature during the eleventh century*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (S O A S, London, 1991); Ṭawīl, Maryam, *Mamlakat al-Mariyya fī 'Ahd al-Mu'taṣim b. Şumādiḥ* (1051-1091 A.D, Cairo, n.d). See also Sayyid Sālim 'Aḥd al-'Azīz, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Mariyya al-Islāmiyya*, (Beirut, 1969), pp. 74-7; idem, *Algunos aspectos del florecimiento económico de Almería islámica durante el periodo de los Taifas y de los Almorávides*, Madrid, 1979; Abū al-Faḍl M. A, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Mariyya al-Andalusiyya fī al-'Aşr al-Islāmī mundhu Inshā'ihā hattā Istīlā' al-Murābiṭīna 'alayhā*, Alexandria, 1981; *EI*²: *Al-Mariyya* (J. Bosch Vila); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, p. 112. Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, vol. 3, p. 121.

Ibn al-Ḥājj was a very famous judge, among whose works were *Nawāzil al-Aḥkām*;⁵² and al-Qamimī b. Ayyūb al-Tujībī, among whose books is *al-'Aqīda fī al-Madhāhib al-Sadīda*.⁵³

Among the most illustrious members of this remarkable family was Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Shahīd al-Tujībī, who was one of the most famous poets and prose writers of Almeria in his time.⁵⁴ Another outstanding figure of this family, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Hudhayl al-Tujībī (d. 753/1352),⁵⁵ was a famous poet.⁵⁶ Abū baḥr al-Tujībī from Mursia, (561/598) was a man of letters and an important scholar. Among his works were *Zād al-Musāfir* and *Kitāb al-Riḥla*. Al-Qāsim b. Yūsuf al-Tujībī was also among the famous figures of this family. He was Raḥḥāla and wrote a book known as *Mustafād al-Riḥla w-al-Ightirāb*.⁵⁷ However, the most

⁵² See al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 210. See also Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 258.

⁵³ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, p. 25; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 827.

⁵⁴ See his full biography in: Ibn Bassām, al-Shantarīnī, *al-Dhakhīra fī Maḥāsini Ahl al-Jazīra*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, (Beirut, Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1978-79), part. 1, vol. 2, p. 670-691; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-Multamis fī Tārīkh Rijāl Ahl al-Andalus*, (Cairo, Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1967), p. 401.

⁵⁵ See his biography in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 4, p. 390; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 487.

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 4, p. 395; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 487.

See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 75; al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 51.

⁵⁷ Ed by 'Abd 'Al-Ḥafīz Maṣṣūr, (Tripoli, 1975).

important family member during the 8/14th century was Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī who is the subject of this study. It has been confirmed that Ibn Layūn's predecessors had settled for a while in Lorca before he was born, and then the family moved to Almeria during the first half of the 7th/13th century.⁵⁸ Many people similarly migrated during this period in a search for security as many cities and territories that had been ruled by the Almohad (al-Muwaḥḥidūn) dynasty had fallen into the hands of the Christians.

After the fall of key cities such as Cordoba, Seville and Saragossa, Muslim control was confined to Granada, Malaga, Almeria, Loja, Guadix and other smaller towns, and many families including the family of Ibn Layūn moved to secure territories. Moreover, Almeria, in the 8th/14th century, was an active and prosperous city, in which many people had chosen to settle including the family of Ibn Layūn. It was a commercial city,⁵⁹ and was the principal base for the Andalusian navy.⁶⁰ One of the evidence for this, is the statement of a poet from Almeria in which he shows his admiration for life in Almeria during the 8/14th century he describes it as

⁵⁸*EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also the map on p. 130. (Movement of the Tujīb family in al-Andalus.

⁵⁹ Sālim, *Tārīkh Madīnat*, pp. 155-6; al-Ṭawīl, *Mamlakat al-Mariyya*, pp. 92-102. See also Torres, Balbas, Atarazanas Hispanomusulmanas, *Al-Andalus*, vol. XI, p. 187.

⁶⁰ See al-Ṭawīl, *Mamlakat al-Mariyya*, pp. 12-19; Sālim, *Tārīkh Madīnat*, pp. 33-53; idem, *Algunos aspectos del florecimiento económico de Almería islámica durante el periodo de los Taifas y de los Almoravides*, (Madrid, 1979).

important port which attracted sailors from all over the Mediterranean and North Africa.⁶¹

Place and Date of Birth.

According to his pupil al-Ḥaḍramī in his work *al-Mashyakha*, Ibn Layūn was born in 682/1282 and brought up in Almeria,⁶² and moreover he never left it for any other place.⁶³ There is no reason whatsoever given in any source to explain why he never left the city of his birth. Several reasons could, however, be suggested. Perhaps Ibn Layūn did not have the curiosity needed to explore other regions; he certainly did not appear to have any financial incentive to travel⁶⁴ since it is recorded that he owned the biggest collections of books in Almeria at that time⁶⁵ and books were, at that time, not a cheap item. Thirdly, Almeria was an important commercial and intellectual centre; in one sense there was no need for Ibn Layūn to visit the world since some at least of the leading scholars of other areas of the Islamic world, especially Morocco were likely, in time, to visit Almeria.⁶⁶ In

⁶¹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 3, p. 571.

⁶² Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁶³ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁶⁴ By contrast Ibn Khātima had to travel to Granada to find work (as a kātib in the court there) and al Ḥaḍramī similarly travelled to Morocco and Tunis to work.

⁶⁵ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁶⁶ Al-Qādirī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 1897), folio. 81.

addition, it has already been noted that Ibn Layūn is recorded as having a shy and retiring, perhaps even ascetic, nature which would not have encouraged his travelling.

Life in Almeria offered many cultural advantages and attractions to scholars, as it was one of the most important and agreeable cities in al-Andalus during the 8th/14th century.⁶⁷ Although Almeria was a bustling port with many opportunities for travel to North Africa and the east, it appears that it was not in Ibn Layūn's character to seek adventure and travel.

What should be stated here is that there is no information extant concerning his brothers and sisters and the rest of the family, or whether he was survived by any family members. This is not unusual in Arabic biographies because biographies rarely mentioned family connections but instead concentrated on poets' or writers' works, their teachers and students, the positions they held, as well as journeys they may have made. For example, both al-Idrīsī and Ibn Khaldūn recorded their own journeys.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Sālim, *Tārīkh Madīnat*, pp. 155-6; al-Ṭawīl, *Mamlakat al-Mariyya*, pp. 92-102. See also Torres, Balbas, Atarazanas Hispanomusulmanas, *Al-Andalus*, vol. XI, p. 187.

⁶⁸ For Ibn Khaldūn, this was from Morocco to the eastern part of the Arabic world (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rīf*).

Classical Arabic literature rarely gives much detail in biographies of individual writers other than such work-related facts. Moreover, autobiographies are unusual, with notable exceptions being those of Usāma, al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ḥaḍramī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluqqīn amīr of Granada⁶⁹ and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁷⁰

According to al-Ḥaḍramī, Ibn Layūn remained in Almeria until his death in 750/1349 from the plague which swept in 749-750/1347-1348 through the south of Spain, particularly Granada and Almeria.⁷¹ He was buried in Almeria, probably in the mosque where he used to teach or in the courtyard backyard of the mosque itself. The plague had spread throughout al-Andalus in particular and was then transmitted to other places in southern Europe such as Italy. The 8th/14th century sources clearly indicate how the plague affected life in al-Andalus.⁷² Among the most prominent victims were the poet Ibn al-Jayyāb and

⁶⁹ See the *Tibyān*, ed. Amīn al-Ṭībī.

⁷⁰ See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta’rīf*; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 4.

⁷¹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; *EL*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Joaquina Eguaras, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, p. 18; Brockelmann, *SI*, p. 598; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, p. 467.

⁷² See for instance Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 4, p. 147; Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, *Taḥṣīl al-Qāṣid fī Taḥṣīl al-Maraḍ al-Wāfīd*, (Escorial, Ms., no. 1785). See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Muqni’at al-Sā’il*; ‘Inān, *Nihāyat al-Andalus*, p. 130; Farḥāt, *Gharnāta*, p. 113; al-Nagrāt, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, pp. 112-3; *EL*²: *Ibn Khātīm*; *EL*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); J. Heers, *L’Occident aux xive et xve Siecle*, Paris, 1963, p. 90.

al-Ṭanjālī.⁷³ Furthermore Ibn al-Khaṭīb relates how at Ibn Birtāl's burial more than 1, 200 victims of plague were buried on the same day.⁷⁴

Ibn Layūn: his education, teachers and students.

Introduction.

As already stated, Ibn Layūn was born in Almeria 682/1282 where he remained all his life.⁷⁵ Almeria was perhaps the second most important city in Andalus at this time, sharing a reputation as a centre of learning with Granada, Wādī 'Āsh and Malaga.⁷⁶ It was particularly well known for Sufism, and Sufi influences are apparent in the life and works of Ibn Layūn. He developed some ideas from both Ibn 'Arabī⁷⁷ and al-Shushtarī,⁷⁸ summarising and commenting on the latter's '*al-Risāla*'.⁷⁹ The available sources do not talk about Ibn Layūn's scholarly life in detail.

⁷³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 3, pp. 112 and 147. In Almeria also there are some other important figures were infected by the plague among them the famous poet Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī d.770/1369. See *EI²: Ibn Khātima* (S. Gibert).

⁷⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 3, pp. 112.

⁷⁵ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; *EI² Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁷⁶ See Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 133; al-Nagrāt, *Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī*, pp. 77-8.

⁷⁷ For more information about Ibn al-'Arabī see al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 2, p. 161-184.

⁷⁸ See his full biography in *Nafḥ*, vol. 2, p. 185; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 4, p. 205.

⁷⁹ See Ibn Layūn, *al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms, no. 1795D).

The most important source that could have shed light on his life was a biography of several teachers written by his student al-Ḥaḍramī.⁸⁰ This was called *al-Mashyakha*,⁸¹ (a contemporary scholarly biography of his own teachers), but it has unfortunately not come down to us.⁸²

There are however some other sources that do talk about Ibn Layūn's teachers and pupils, in addition to mentioning his qualities and achievements, the high scholarly position he occupied and his wide education as attested by the great number of works (totalling about a hundred) he wrote.⁸³ In the following section there will be an examination of Ibn Layūn's scholarly life and the most prominent of his teachers and students.

⁸⁰ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257.

⁸¹ This work consists of 1000 biographies from al-Andalus and Morocco. This work is the most famous work of al-Ḥaḍramī. See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p.187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210.

⁸² Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292. See also al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210.

⁸³ See *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

Early Education

Like contemporary men of letters and scholars of al-Andalus, it seems that, at an early age (perhaps when he was six or seven at most)⁸⁴ his father took Ibn Layūn to the Qur'ānic school (*Kuttāb*).⁸⁵ Although little is known about his father, there are some indications that his father was himself a great scholar and *faqīh* (jurist). Copyists of many of Ibn Layūn's works (including *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, *Lamḥ al-Siḥr* and *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*) introduced the writer by mentioning his father as a well-known scholar, and there are many other references to him in the

⁸⁴ For more information regarding education in al-Andalus see Imamuddīn, pp. 135-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, p. 538; al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, pp. 21-31; 'Īsa, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Tārīkh al-Ta'līm fī al-Andalus*, (Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, Beirut, 1982), pp. 180-6; Makdisi, *The rise of colleges*, pp. 131-6; *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, p. 343; al-Dāya, *Tārīkh al-Naqd al-Adabī fī al-Andalus*, (Mu'assasat al-Risāla, Damascus, 1981), pp. 57-66.

⁸⁵ *Al-Kuttāb* was the primary school, usually attached to a mosque. Attendance was voluntary. According to the sources, the subjects covered differed from place to place. In the east, the Qur'ān and poetry were taught. This also applied in Islamic Spain, and in addition *ḥadīth* and language were considered an important part of the curriculum. In general, this type of school was highly respected, and in North Africa this method of teaching was used until recent times. For more information see "The educational system in Middle ages", (IC, 1927), pp. 442-72; Makdisi, *The rise of colleges*, pp. 19-20; Asmā' Ḥasan Fahmī, *Mabādī al-Tarbiya al-Islāmiyya*, (Cairo, 1947), pp. 22-5; Aḥmad Shalabī, *History of Muslim education*, (Beirut, 1954), pp. 16-23. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, p. 538; *EI*²: Kuttāb (J. M. Landau).

literature.⁸⁶ It would therefore seem that his father enjoyed a high position among his contemporaries and exerted a very important influence on his son, Ibn Layūn.⁸⁷

At the Qur'ānic school, Ibn Layūn memorised the Holy Qur'ān and learned the basics of reading and writing. At this stage Ibn Layūn also learnt calligraphy, poetry in addition to some special *urjūzas*, like the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik on grammar⁸⁸ together with its commentary by Ibn 'Aqīl and in addition *urjūzas* on other subjects. The system of education in al-Andalus at this time emphasized the study of *rajaz* poetry which covered the core material of many subjects in an easily memorisable manner. Just as Ibn Layūn learned by this method, he would later teach subjects as diverse as agriculture, medicine, and *ḥadīth* by writing his own *rajaz* for teaching purposes.

⁸⁶ For example the invocation which introduces *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* reads:

((قال الشيخ الفقيه الأستاذ المقرئ العالم الصدر المتفنن الفاضل الأجد أبو عثمان ابن الشيخ الصالح الفاضل أبي جعفر بن ليون، أبقى الله بركته ووصل بمنه عزته ورفعته.))

See also Ibn Layūn, *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā* (Introduction); Joaquina, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*, p. 33; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

⁸⁷ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; *El² Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

⁸⁸ See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, p. 538. The first recorded *alfiyya* in Arabic grammar was *al-Durra al-Alfiyya fī 'Ilm al-'Arabiyya*, by the Andalusian Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād al-Mu'tī, died 628/1230. This work consisted of 1000 lines. See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, p. 431. In fact the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik is still widely used by schools and colleges all over the Arab world. See Abū Ḥayyān, *Manhaj al-Sālik commentary on the alfiyya of Ibn Mālik*, ed. Sidney Glazer, American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1947, pp. xxxviii-xxix.

There is no information now available on how many years Ibn Layūn spent in each phase of his education. It is however known that, after memorising the Holy Qur'ān, Ibn Layūn joined study circles at the mosque of Almeria where he studied Arabic philology, grammar, morphology, rhetoric and prosody ('ilm al-'arūḍ), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *ḥadīth*, *sharī'a*, literature, medicine, agriculture, mathematics and engineering.⁸⁹ He then attended the *madrasa*.⁹⁰ It is clear from the large number of *ijāzas* (formal permission to teach given by a recognised teacher to successful students) Ibn Layūn gathered that he was both diligent and broad in his studies.

Although it can not be stated with certainty which particular material Ibn Layūn studied in detail, it is probable that works from the following list were consulted since they were famous enough to form part of the curriculum for students in eighth/fourteenth century Andalusia⁹¹ (the Madrasa al-Naṣriyya in Granada, for example, used many of these books). Moreover, several of the following list were written by some of Ibn Layūn's own teachers who would have used their writings as teaching material, others were written by important scholars

⁸⁹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

⁹⁰ "Madrasa" is an elastic description but during the period of Banū al-Aḥmar was equivalent to a university. See Imamuddīn, pp. 138-140; al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1. p. 21. See also Fraḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, pp. 134-5; Makdisi, *The rise of colleges*, pp. 27-34; idem, "Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages", in *Studia Islamica*, (Memoriae J. Schacht Dedicato), xxxII, 1970, pp. 255- 64.

⁹¹ Al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1. pp. 27.

of Sufism including al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyḍ, al-Muqaddasī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.⁹² Other works on this list were later summarised and edited by Ibn Layūn himself, suggesting very strongly that he had studied and been influenced by them.⁹³ Despite our best efforts at identifying potential sources for Ibn Layūn’s work, we can of course, never be absolutely sure of what should be on the list.

Although there are important Andalusian pieces on this list, in particular writings on literature, *muwashshaḥāt*, and *ḥadīth*, most of the works are from eastern regions, reflecting the prevailing tendency to rely on scholarship from outside Andalusia (primarily from Baghdad, Syria, and Egypt). The intriguing (and unanswered) question of why Andalusian scholars placed such reliance on outside work was asked as early as nine centuries ago by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī.⁹⁴ He collected hundreds of Andalusian works in his *Al-Dhakhīra fī Maḥāsini Ahl al-Jazīra* thereby demonstrating that local scholarship had sufficient quantity and quality to serve as reference points for continuing work.⁹⁵

⁹² Ibn Layūn, *al-Ināla al-‘Ilmiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 3912). folio. 1.

⁹³ See Ibn Layūn, *al-Ināla al-‘Ilmiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms, no. 1795D), folios. 2, 35. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 595; Farḥāt, *Gharnāṭa*, p. 135; al-Harrāma, *Binā’ al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, pp. 26-31.

⁹⁴ See Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, part, 1, vol. 1, p. 2.

⁹⁵ See Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, vol. 1, pp. 2-5.

This, then, is the list of works probably consulted by Ibn Layūn during his student and teaching life.

- 1- *al-Aghānī*, by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī
- 2- *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih
- 3- *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, by Ibn Qutayba
- 4- *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, by Ibn Mālik
- 5- *al-Mughrib fī Ḥula al-Maghrib*, by Ibn Sa'īd
- 6- *Dīwān Abī al-'Alā': Saqṭ al-Zand*
- 7- *al-Dhakhīra fī Maḥāsīn Ahl al-Jazīra*, by Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī
- 8- *Adab al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn*, by al-Māwardī
- 9- *al-Aḥkām al-Ṣulṭāniyya*, by al-Māwardī
- 10- *Maqāmāt al-Hamadānī*
- 11- *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*
- 12- *al-Ḥayawān*, by al-Jāḥiẓ
- 13- *al-Bayān wa-al-Tabayīn*, by al-Jāḥiẓ
- 14- *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*
- 15- *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*
- 16- *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm wa-faḍlih*, by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī
- 17- *Dīwān Abū al-'Atāhiya*
- 18- *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya*, by Ibn al-'Arabī
- 19- *Dīwān al-Shushtarī*

- 20- *Al-Shi'r wa-al-Shu'arā'*, by Ibn Qutayba
- 21- *Ṣafwat al-Taṣawwuf*, by Abū al-Fḍl M b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī.
- 22- *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.
- 23- *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, by al-Tha'ālibī.
- 24- *al-Kāmil*, by al-Mubarrad.
- 25- *Zahr al-Ādāb*, by al-Huṣarī.
- 26- *Maḥāsīn al-Majālis*, by Ibn al-'Arīf
- 27- *Dīwān al-Ḥallāj*.

Many of these works concern linguistics, for example the works by Ibn Mālik and Ibn 'Aqīl, but there also are collections of *dīwāns* including *Dīwān* Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī and al-Mutanabbī and *ḥadīth* collections (most importantly Ibn Anas' *Al-Muwatta*) and anthologies. It can therefore be seen that Andalusian education was broad-based (the only notable exception being material produced in al-Andalus itself). It is clear from his subsequent writing that Ibn Layūn was greatly influenced by these sources, which is hardly surprising since many of them remain respected enough to still be studied across the Arab world.

The works listed above as sources possibly used by Ibn Layūn are archetypal sources preferred by scholars and students in Andalusia. It is difficult to imagine that, these being available to him, Ibn Layūn did not take recourse to them.

Ibn Layūn the Polymath

Through surveying his masters' biographies, it could be said that Ibn Layūn received a wide education over a long period of time. According to sources, he became the most important and learned person of his period.⁹⁶ According to Granja "he was one of the most learned men of his time and acquired a mastery of all branches of learning".⁹⁷ From the beginning, he showed an extraordinary ability to understand all types of available knowledge.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, a pupil would not be happy with one type of knowledge,⁹⁸ and like other Andalusian scholars at that time, Ibn Layūn did not specialise in one particular branch of learning but studied all fields of knowledge. Ibn Layūn's works give a clear picture of his various scholarly activities from literature to agriculture, medicine, Šūfism, and *fiqh* (as well as other branches of learning).⁹⁹ He was in fact learned enough in the law to serve, from time to time, as a *qādi* (judge).¹⁰⁰ He gained a reputation for solving difficult cases and for the

⁹⁶ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467. See also Brockelmann, S. II, p. 598 *EI*² *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁹⁷ *EI*² *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁹⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, p. 538.

⁹⁹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 2189D), p. 89.

justice of his judgements.¹⁰¹ It is said that he abandoned this judicial post as a result of interference in his work by the authorities, after which he devoted himself completely to writing and teaching.¹⁰²

The Teachers of Ibn Layūn.

In order to give a clear view, it is worth shedding light on Ibn Layūn's most prominent teachers and the types of knowledge he studied under them. However, before that, it should be mentioned that the main source which could have shed light on Ibn Layūn's scholarly life has been lost. This is *al-Mashyakha*, written by al-Ḥaḍramī who was a student who spent thirty years with Ibn Layūn.¹⁰³ *Al-Mashyakha* was autobiographical but also contained much information about approximately one thousand other scholars who lived in Almeria in particular and al-Andalus and Morocco in general.¹⁰⁴ Fortunately, al-Tunbuktī and Ibn al-Qāḍī quoted some very important information from *al-Mashyakha* about Ibn Layūn, although less fortunately both writers' similar selections appear to have left out a lot of important information contained in al-Ḥaḍramī's work which was later used by other scholars.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

¹⁰² Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 2189D), p. 89.

¹⁰³ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

¹⁰⁴ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 64.

Teachers from al-Andalus.

In keeping with its reputation, Almeria attracted scholars from throughout the region for short or lengthy visits. Such visitation would have partly compensated for the fact that Ibn Layūn never travelled outside of Almeria (quite why this was so may well have been mentioned in al-Ḥaḍrami's now-lost *Mashyakha*) since it seems likely that Ibn Layūn met with several of these travelling scholars. That some of them were impressed by Ibn Layūn seems certain since they subsequently gave their permission for him to teach their works ((ie gave him their *ijāza*).

It can also be stated with certainty that the following were Ibn Layūn's most important teachers:

1- The first and most prominent master Ibn Layūn studied under was Abū Ja'far b.

'Abd al-Nūr (630-702/1232-1302), whose family was known as the Banū Rāshid.¹⁰⁶

He was one of the important teachers of Almeria at that time.¹⁰⁷ Ibn Layūn studied

most of his books, such as *Rasf al-Mabānī fī Sharḥ Ḥurūf al-Ma'ānī*, and in particular

Abū Ja'far taught Ibn Layūn Arabic grammar and morphology. He had a strong

¹⁰⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 1, p. 196.

¹⁰⁷ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāta*, vol. 1, p. 196; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, p. 123.

influence on Ibn Layūn as a scholar. Later, he granted Ibn Layūn an *ijāza*¹⁰⁸ which enabled him to teach those books he had previously studied under him.¹⁰⁹

2- Ibn Layūn was also taught by Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Shu‘ayb (625-701/12271301),¹¹⁰ who was also from Almeria. Abū ‘Abd Allāh was interested in meeting masters and learning from them, and was well-known in the field of *fiqh* and *sharī‘a*. He instructed Ibn Layūn in many branches of knowledge, above all the law, and especially notary contracts, which was Ibn Layūn’s profession in Almeria for some time.¹¹¹

3- Another teacher from Almeria whom Ibn Layūn met was al-Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥājj Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Yaḥṣūbī al-Mīrī, known as al-Jayyānī, who died in 703/1303.¹¹² He was a man of letters, jurist, a poet, who had left for the East in order to advance his learning. He taught Ibn Layūn literature, Arabic and religious knowledge, especially *Sharī‘a*.

¹⁰⁸ The importance of this form of written permission is reflected by the fact that the word ‘*ijāza*’ has continued in the region and now means a bachelor’s degree from a Spanish university. See Imāmuddīn, p. 140.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Ṣuyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu‘āt*, vol. 1, p. 331.

¹¹⁰ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 64.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² See *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 345.

4- A prominent teacher of Ibn Layūn was Abū ‘Abd Allāh. ‘Alī al-‘Ayyāshī al-Hamadhānī who died in 716/1316.¹¹³ Ibn Layūn is said to have studied all his books. He was also a well-known teacher in Almeria, who was very fond of travelling to seek knowledge. He visited Sebta (Ceuta) where he met Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kattānī al-Tilimsānī, and he also visited Malaga.

5- In addition, Ibn Layūn met Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Mas‘ūd who was a *qāḍī* in Granada (d. 727/1326).¹¹⁴ He had a special interest in collecting, copying and comparing books. Ibn Layūn was greatly influenced by Abū Bakr and his writings and particularly jurisprudence.¹¹⁵

6- Another of Ibn Layūn’s teachers was al-Khāṭib Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-‘Āṣī (d. in Granada in 726/1325).¹¹⁶ He influenced Ibn Layūn in Ṣūfism.

7- One more master of Ibn Layūn was al-Qāsim b. Sahl al-Azdī, known as ‘*al-wazīr*’ (the Minister) (d. in Egypt 730/1329).¹¹⁷ He taught Ibn Layūn Arabic and jurisprudence, and granted him an *ijāza* to teach all his works.

¹¹³ See *ibid*, vol. 2, p. 65.

¹¹⁴ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 321.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁶ See Ibn al-Khāṭib, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 374; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 179.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, vol. 4, p. 296.

All these scholars taught Ibn Layūn various branches of knowledge such as jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, language, literature, Ṣūfism and rhetoric, subjects in which Ibn Layūn became an expert in his later life.

Influences from the rest of al-Andalus and Morocco.

It has already stated that some of those scholars who sojourned in Almeria granted their *ijāza* to Ibn Layūn, but there were, in addition, other scholars who gave their permission for him to teach their material without having met him. This clearly shows that Ibn Layūn had a wide reputation for careful precise scholarship, and it also strongly suggests that he was in correspondence with other scholars both within, and outside, al-Andalus. The following list gives some details of these teachers.

1- The first of these who never actually met Ibn Layūn but granted his *ijāza* nonetheless was Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Rashīd al-Fihri,¹¹⁸ who was Morocco’s most famous scholar in *ḥadīth*, and from whose books, especially those in *ḥadīth*, Ibn Layūn benefited very much.

¹¹⁸ al-Ḥaddād, *Ibn Rushd*, unpublished M.A thesis (Fez, 1981); Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

2- Another teacher who granted Ibn Layūn similar permission to use his works was Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. al-Zayyāt (649-728/1251-1327),¹¹⁹ who was distinguished in language.¹²⁰ Among his works which Ibn Layūn was free to use were *al-Dalāla fī Talkhīṣ al-Risāla*, a poem entitled *al-Maqāma al-Maḥazn fī al-Kalām al-Mawzūn* and another poem entitled *al-Mashrab al-Aṣfā fī al-Adab al-Awfā* each comprising more than a thousand lines. According to Ibn Makhlūf, Ibn Layūn used some of these works in teaching language, including *Qā‘dat al-Bayān wa-Ḍabṭ al-Lisān* and *Raṣf Naḳā‘is al-Laālī wa-waṣf ‘Arā‘is al-Ma‘ālī*.¹²¹

3- Ibn Layūn was also licensed to teach from the books of Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr al-Taqaḳfī al-Gharnāṭī (627-708/1229-1308),¹²² who taught in Granada. He taught Ibn Layūn *ḥadīth*, and among the works he licensed him to teach were: *al-Burhān fī Tartīb Suwar al-Qur’ān*¹²³ and *Sharḥ al-Ishāra*¹²⁴ and *Malak al-Ta’wīl fī al-Mutashābih fī al-Laḳḳ wa-al-Tanzīl* which Ibn Makhlūf

¹¹⁹ Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 287; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, vol. 1, p. 130.

¹²⁰ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 60.

¹²¹ Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

¹²² Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj*, p. 42; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 188; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

¹²³ In *Shajarat*; *al-Burhān fī Tanāsib al-Qur’ān*, See p. 212.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

describes in *Shajarat al-Nūr al-Zakiyya* as “a book wondrous in meaning, unique in subject.”¹²⁵

Several other scholars granted Ibn Layūn permission to use their books for teaching among

4- Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Fakhkhār al-Māliqī (630-723/1232-1323).¹²⁶

He was interested in jurisprudence, literature and *ḥadīth*.¹²⁷

5- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭanjālī (d. 724/1323),¹²⁸ who was a *khaṭīb* and *īmām* in Malaga, and was among those who accompanied Ibn al-Khaṭīb during his trip to Morocco.

6- Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ash‘arī, known as Ibn Bakkār, (674-741/1275-1340).¹²⁹ He was also in Morocco and later left for the East.

7- Judge Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Birtāl, a Moroccan scholar.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 212.

¹²⁶ See his full biography in Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 212.

¹²⁷ See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, vol. 4, p. 81; Ibn Farhūn, *al-Dībāj*, p. 303; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

¹²⁸ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, vol. 1, p. 251; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 3, p. 245; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

¹²⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, p. 176; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 385.

¹³⁰ Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 212.

8- *khaṭīb* Abū al-Sadad al-Bāhilī, a Moroccan scholar.

9- Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Shāṭ, who died in 723/1323.¹³¹ He wrote summaries on various topics and was mentioned and praised by Ibn Rashīd during his trip saying: “I did not see any scholars in Morocco except two: Ibn al-Bannā’ in Marrākush and Ibn al-Shāṭ in Sebta.”¹³²

Eastern Influences

Further evidence that Ibn Layūn was broad in his scholarly interests despite never leaving his birth-place of Almeria is given by the fact that he was not only well-versed in the scholarship of al-Andalus and Morocco but was also fully aware of the scholarly developments in the East, particularly in Egypt. He was granted permission (*ijāza*) from scholars in the East to use their works in teaching. The first one who gave him such an *ijāza* was the *qāḍī* of Egypt, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa’d b. Jamā’a al-Kinānī al-Shāfi’ī who died in 733/1323.¹³³

Another teacher who apparently influenced Ibn Layūn’s ideas on Sufism was Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Dānī, known as al-Khallāṭī, who was

¹³¹ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 270; al-Wādī Āshi, *Fihris al-Wādī Āsh*, p. 168; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

¹³² Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 270.

¹³³ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Durar*, vol. 3, p. 281.

himself a ṣūfī. Little is known about this person. However, Ibn Layūn also got permission from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (637-727 1239-1326),¹³⁴ who was a scholar in *ḥadīth*, and the *qāḍī* ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī al-Shāfi‘ī.

He was also given permission from Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Mishdālī al-Zawāwī (632-731/1234-1330),¹³⁵ who moved to the East to teach. He was famous in literature, rhetoric, ṣūfism and jurisprudence. Finally, Ibn Layūn got the permission of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Gharūn to teach some of his works.¹³⁶

From this survey, it is clear that Ibn Layūn's scholarly life was very active. He studied under a great number of masters and scholars and this explains his various specialities and his being well-acquainted with most branches of knowledge available in his time. It is noteworthy that Ibn Layūn did not go on any scholarly trips outside Almeria. He was unlike his contemporaries, most of whom used to travel to other areas of al-Andalus or to Morocco, or sometimes to the East, seeking knowledge and meeting with scholars and men of letters to learn directly from them. Travelling was very common during the 8th/14th century to the extent that al-Maqqarī dedicated part of his book *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* to discussing the phenomenon.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹³⁵ Al-Ghubrīnī, *‘Unwān al-Dirāya*, p. 229.

¹³⁶ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 232.

¹³⁷ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 5-699.

It seems that Ibn Layūn compensated for not going away on trips by continuous reading of books and sometimes meeting with scholars and teachers who visited Almeria from time to time. It is probably because of these meetings that he received such a large number of *ijāzas*. By and large, Ibn Layūn's scholarly life was a continuous series of activities during which he devoted all his time to research, writing and teaching, ultimately being described as the most prominent scholar of his time.¹³⁸ F. De La Granja stated that "He was one of the most learned men of his time and acquired a mastery of all branches of learning."¹³⁹

The Students of Ibn Layūn

Introduction

Besides the above teachers, Ibn Layūn had his own students who later became outstanding scholars in different fields such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khātima to whom we will refer later. After beginning to teach at an early age, Ibn Layūn continued teaching, either solely or concurrently with other activities such as legal work throughout his entire life. According to the majority of sources that we have, Ibn Layūn was one of the most important scholars of his time. He was very famous because he wrote in the popular fields of that time such as: *ḥadith*, *fiqh*,

¹³⁸ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; idem, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543. See also *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹³⁹ *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 294; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 467; al-Ziriklī, *al-'Alām*, vol. 3, p. 83

poetry, prose, *muwashshaḥāt*, Sūfism, *farā'id*, mathematics, engineering, and agriculture.¹⁴⁰

In addition to all that, he was very proficient in the field of summarising books¹⁴¹ which may have helped him a lot in his later profession as a teacher. Some of these summaries were widely distributed, and even today they are available for use in Morocco, Tunisia,¹⁴² Egypt, and Libya, for example, and occasionally referred to by students. According to Ibn al-Qāḍī, Ibn Layūn used to teach in the office near Abū Ishāq b. 'Alī's mosque in Almeria,¹⁴³ and other biographers

¹⁴⁰ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210.

¹⁴¹ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; *Awṣāf*, p. 48; al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa-al-Ithbāt*, p. 384; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Mi'yār*, p. 89; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 543; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 1897), p. 81.

¹⁴² His *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā* is part of the secondary schools' curriculum.

¹⁴³ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. n. 2189D), p. 2. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, (The Royal Library, Rabat), Ms.; *Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms.); al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 132, and vol. 2, pp. 212, 381, 668.

emphasise that he devoted himself completely to teaching; especially after his voluntary retirement as a judge in Almeria.¹⁴⁴

His lectures and teaching.

The students of al-Andalus were very interested in Ibn Layūn's teaching sessions. Most students travelled from all over al-Andalus to attend his lectures. They came to benefit from Ibn Layūn's knowledge and to study his works and summaries. His most devoted pupil, al-Ḥaḍramī, reports that a great number of people attend his *majlis*.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, these students were seeking his approval of their ability in teaching his works. This fact shows Ibn Layūn's status in most of the subjects and sciences he mastered and tells of his pre-eminence during his lifetime.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. n. 2189), p. 2; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, Ms.; *Ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya*, (Rabat, Ms.); al-Baghdādī, *Iḍāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 132; J. Eguaras, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, (1975), p. 19; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; al-Mantūrī, *Fihris al-Mantūrī*, (The Royal Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 223); Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no: 2189), the Introduction.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; idem, *al-Katība*, p. 86; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī*, p. 187.

F. De La Granja contradicts these references to Ibn Layūn's popularity as a teacher¹⁴⁷ but it is important to say that there is no logical reason or proof that may support De La Granja's opinion. On the contrary, the great fame that Ibn Layūn had and his different scientific interests, especially in the field of summarizing books and the great number of works he wrote, definitely proves that Ibn Layūn's knowledge was unquestionable and that it attracted a large number of students from all over al-Andalus and Morocco. For example, most sources which discussed Ibn Layūn's biography and works emphasise that he was one of the most renowned scholars of that time and probably the most intellectual scholar of all men of literature in al-Andalus during the 8th/14th century.¹⁴⁸ We know that many pupils studied under him not only from different parts of al-Andalus but from Morocco as well.¹⁴⁹

One should also note the long period of time that Ibn Layūn spent in the field of teaching in Almeria. He taught for most of his life, until his very last days,¹⁵⁰ so surely the long time he spent in his career made him famous and it must have

¹⁴⁷ "He avoided people and saw only a few friends and pupils." *EP²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁴⁸ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 187; *Awṣāf*, p. 48; al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa-al-Ithbāt*, p. 384.

¹⁴⁹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁰ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

attracted a large number of students to his lectures. This was plainly stated by one of his students, al-Ḥaḍramī, who said that “Ibn Layūn’s teaching sessions continued during his whole life and students came to him from different sectors of society; especially the nobles who were very keen to benefit from his knowledge”.¹⁵¹ It would therefore appear that Ibn Layūn devoted most of his life to teaching.

Finally, the large number of summaries that he wrote were, in my opinion, written to be scientific material or a programme for studying. For example, there are more than 15 copies of *al-Nukhba al-‘Ulyā’* still existence in Morocco alone. This large number, in contrast to the much smaller number of copies of other works, strongly suggests that Ibn Layūn’s texts were prepared as teaching for his students.¹⁵² These consisted of a variety of subjects that included nearly all of the subjects of that time such as *ḥadīth*, *farā’īḍ*, *tafsīr*, *‘arūḍ*. Furthermore, some of these summaries were written in a form of verse (*naẓm*)¹⁵³ in order to make them easier for the students to memorise and to understand. Some of these summaries are

((ولم يزل مدة حياته يقصده فضلاء الناس وختيارهم وأشرفهم للانتفاع به في الطلب والقراءة عليه))

(Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467).

¹⁵² See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; *EF*², vol. 3, p. 855; Brockelmann, S. 2, p. 380. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

¹⁵³ *EF*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; Brockelmann, S. 2, p. 380.

still available today¹⁵⁴ and have already been referred to. This will be discussed in detail later.

It seemed that Ibn Layūn loved his teaching career to the extent that he devoted his whole life to it. As evidence of this, al-Ḥaḍramī points out that he accompanied his teacher, Ibn Layūn, for thirty continuous years, proving once more that Ibn Layūn spent most of his time in teaching.¹⁵⁵ This stage in Ibn Layūn's life is distinguished by his logical approach to his study. He used to spend much of his time in reading, comparing, commenting on and correcting books.¹⁵⁶ He was keen, at this stage, to choose some important and valuable works from different fields.¹⁵⁷ Then he would summarise and amend these works in order to make them suitable for teaching or to give them to his students as material to benefit from them.¹⁵⁸ It is important to mention here that Ibn Layūn had rewritten these books totally i.e.

¹⁵⁴ Such as *al-Iksīr* and *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa*.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁶ *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 476; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83.

¹⁵⁷ *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

¹⁵⁸ The most important works that Ibn Layūn had rewritten are *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*, *Lamḥ al-Siḥr* and *al-Risāla al-'Ilmiyya*. See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; Brockelmann, S. 2, p. 380; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 453; al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87.

semantically and structurally and according to scholars, his summaries were better than the original.¹⁵⁹

The Students of Ibn Layūn.

In this section, the most famous of Ibn Layūn's students will be discussed. Among his students is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī (676-749/1277-1348).¹⁶⁰ He was brought up in Almeria, where he later became a *Qāḍī* and then a teacher.¹⁶¹ Al-Ḥaḍramī was interested in literature, history and *ḥadīth*. He wrote many books, probably the most important of which is *al-Mashyakha*, in which he wrote about his teachers, their works and their life¹⁶². He also mentioned other valuable information in his *Mashyakha* about the culture and the society of his time. It is really a great loss that this work has never been found in its complete form. However some parts of it are mentioned in the works of other writers such as Ibn al-Qāḍī,¹⁶³ al-Tunbuktī¹⁶⁴ and al-Maqqarī.¹⁶⁵ Ibn al-Qāḍī said that al-Ḥaḍramī "surpassed everyone in the science of *ḥadīth*, he narrated about

¹⁵⁹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87.

¹⁶⁰ *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁶¹ For more information about his biography see *Jadhwat al-Iqtibās*, p. 279; *Fihris al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 258; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 400; *Shajarat*, p. 220.

¹⁶² See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 400.

¹⁶³ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

¹⁶⁴ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187.

¹⁶⁵ See *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

a thousand shaykhs, whom he mentioned in his *Mashyakha*, the book that had been lost and by its loss, valuable information had been lost as well.”¹⁶⁶

((تقدم في علم الحديث وضبط رجاله، يحمل عن ألف شيخ قد حلّاهم وذكرهم في مشيخة) ضاعت من يده وذهب بضياها علم كثير)).

According to some sources al-Ḥaḍramī wrote another commentary book, which is preserved as a manuscript, in the Lorenziana library in Florence in Italy, and classified as: 88 Eastern. The title of the book is: *al-Sifr al-Thānī min Ḍāḥ al-Manhaj*. Al-Ḥaḍramī accompanied his teacher Ibn Layūn for a long time and benefited from him as well as from his books, which he read thoroughly as he himself emphasises.¹⁶⁷ In this regard al-Ḥaḍramī says in his *Mashyakha*:

((لا زمته ثلاثين سنة تباعا، وحفظت بعض منظوماته في الحديث والفرائض والطب والعروض والمساحة وغيرها، وسمعت معظمها، وتفقهت عليه في علم الحديث والفرائض وغيرها، وانتفعت بخزائمه».

“I stayed with him accompanied him (Ibn Layūn) (as a pupil) for thirty years. I learned by heart from him some of his verses on the *ḥadīth, farā’id*, medicine, prosody, surveying (mathematics) and other subjects. I heard most of these subjects.

¹⁶⁶ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 400.

¹⁶⁷ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187,188. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

I learned from him jurisprudential knowledge in the science of *ḥadīth* and the *farā'id* as well as some other things. I also benefited from his library.”¹⁶⁸

In fact, Ibn Layūn left his mark on al-Ḥaḍramī's intellectual life; especially in the fields of literature and *ḥadīth*. We are indebted, indeed, to al-Ḥaḍramī for the amount of information available about Ibn Layūn,¹⁶⁹ but in addition, Ibn Layūn is mentioned in other sources, including al-Maqqarī's, *Nafh al-Ṭīb*¹⁷⁰, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*¹⁷¹ and Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥijāl*.¹⁷²

Among Ibn Layūn's other students was the physician, historian and grammarian, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī (d 770/1369), who achieved fame as the Poet of Almeria.¹⁷³ He wrote the book *Maziyyat al-Mariyya 'alā Ghayriha min al-Bilād al-Andalusiyya*. Ibn Khātima is regarded as one of the most renowned students who accompanied Ibn Layūn for a long period.¹⁷⁴ He studied most of his teacher's

¹⁶⁸ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187, 188; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol.2, p. 4; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86. See also al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 169.

¹⁶⁹ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187-8.

¹⁷⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 543-602.

¹⁷¹ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, pp. 87-88. See also idem, *Awṣāf*, p. 48.

¹⁷² See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

¹⁷³ *EI²: Ibn Khātima* (S. Gibert); Brockelmann, S. II, p. 386. For more information regarding his biography see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, pp. 114-29; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 229; Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, *Mu'jam al-Aṭibbā'*, p. 111.

¹⁷⁴ *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also *EI²: Ibn Khātima* (S. Gibert); Brockelmann, II, 259, S. II, p. 386.

works and later on was given an *ijāza* by him to teach these works and narrate them. As sources mention, Ibn Khātima dedicated a chapter in the above-mentioned book to his teacher, Ibn Layūn.¹⁷⁵ He expounded upon his teacher's life and works, his family life and his activities in Almeria, the city that Ibn Layūn loved so dearly and which he never left.¹⁷⁶

As was the case with al-Ḥaḍramī's work *Mashyakha*, which was lost, bad fortune interfered once more and resulted in the loss of Ibn Khātima's valuable book. However, al-Maqqarī in *Azhār al-Riyāḍ*¹⁷⁷ and Ibn al-Qāḍī in *Durrat al-Ḥijāl*¹⁷⁸ quote substantial portions from Ibn Khātima.¹⁷⁹ Like al-Ḥaḍramī, Ibn Khātima gained a great deal from his teacher Ibn Layūn, and his library, and together with his contemporary and colleague, al-Ḥaḍramī, achieved fame in al-Andalus, particular in Almeria.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 303. See also *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁷⁶ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 303.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 303.

¹⁷⁸ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 124.

¹⁷⁹ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, Ms., (The Royal Library, Rabat, Morocco, no. 1897), folio. 81; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, pp. 292, 293; *El²: Ibn Khātima* (S. Gibert).

¹⁸⁰ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 114; al-Dāya, *Dīwān Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī*, The Introduction; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 176.

We can add to the list of Ibn Layūn's students, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr b. Zakariyyā.¹⁸¹ He was very famous in al-Andalus especially in the fields of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.¹⁸² He also benefited from Ibn Layūn and was authorised to teach his works.

Another renowned student of Ibn Layūn was Abū al-Na'īm Riḍwān b. 'Uthmān b. Mālīk al-Rabāḥī, who was known the *Wazīr*. He studied most of Ibn Layūn's works and profited from his extensive library. In particular he was given an *ijāza* to teach Ibn Layūn's works *Lamḥ al-Siḥr min Riḥ al-Shīr*.¹⁸³ A sample of the type of the *ijāza* that Ibn Layūn used to give to his students such as Abū al-Na'īm is found in the introduction of this book.¹⁸⁴ The following passage, which refers to the *ijāza* given to Abū al-Na'īm Riḍwān, is typical of the licences which Ibn Layūn would give to some of his pupils.

قال ابن ليون: ((الحمد لله كما يجب بحاله والصلاة التامة على سيدنا محمد وآله، سمعه من لفظي بمسجدي من سند قصبه المربة عمره الله تعالى بذكره وحرسها، كاتبه بخط يده لنفسه الفقيه الأرفع الأجل الفاضل الماجد المجتهد العدل، أبو النعيم رضوان، ابن

¹⁸¹ See al-Mantūrī, *Fihris al-Mantūrī*, M.s., (The Royal Library, Rabat Morocco, Rabat, no. 1578), folio. 215.

¹⁸² Al-Mantūrī, *Fihris al-Mantūrī* (Ms.), folio. 215 and 223.

¹⁸³ See Ibn Layūn, *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*, Ms., (The Royal Library, Rabat, Morocco, no. 5797), folio. 1. There is similar a *ijāza* written by Ibn Layūn which was given to one of his student known as Abū Muḥammad Qāsim. Ibn Layūn, *al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, Morocco, no. 3912), folio. 1.

¹⁸⁴ See *ibid*, Introduction.

الشيخ الفقيه أبي عثمان سعد بن مالك الرباحي. وله أعزه الله أن يروي عني ويرويّه. قال ذلك وكتبه بخط يده الفانية العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى سعد بن أحمد بن كَيْون التُّجَيْبِيّ أواسط صيف عام تسعة وأربعين وسبعمائة)).

In translation this reads:-

“Praise be to God ... Abū al-Na‘īm Riḍwān b. Mālik al-Riyāḥī, who wrote this book in his own hand and for his own use, heard it directly from me in my mosque in Almeria ... and he has the right to transmit and teach from it. Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad Ibn Layūn al-Tujībī said this and wrote it himself in the summer of 749/1348.”

Another student of Ibn Layūn is Rāshid al-Fihri (657-721/1259-1321).¹⁸⁵ He was one of the most important men of letters, a traveller, and his interests were in history and the commentary on the meanings of the Holy Qur’ān. He held the job of *Imām* in the great Mosque of Granada. He travelled to the East and wrote a book about his journey entitled *Mil’ al-‘Ayba fī mā Jumi’a Biṭīl al-Ghayba fī al-Riḥla ilā Makka wa-Ṭayba*, which is still in a six volume manuscript.¹⁸⁶ He also wrote some other works including: *Talkhīṣ al-Qawānīn*, *Ifādat al-Nuṣaḥ* and *Īdāḥ al-Madhāhib fī mā yuṭlaq ‘alayhi Ism al-Ṣāḥib*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 187; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 6, p. 314.

¹⁸⁶ See Brockelmann, S 2, pp. 317, 349; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 6, p. 314;

¹⁸⁷ See *ibid*.

Finally, we must mention Ibn al-Khaṭīb as one of the most important students of Ibn Layūn.¹⁸⁸ As a young man Ibn al-Khaṭīb travelled to Almeria seeking knowledge and looked forward to meeting its men of letters and scientists. Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent some time in Almeria where he met his teacher Ibn Layūn and attended his lectures in *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and literature. Unfortunately the precise period Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent with Ibn Layūn is unknown, but it is clear that he benefited a lot from the teacher's encyclopaedic knowledge, especially in literature, jurisprudence and *ḥadīth*. Ibn Layūn's interest in writing and collecting manuscripts particularly inspired Ibn al-Khaṭīb while his appreciation can be seen from the interest Ibn al-Khaṭīb showed in oral narration.¹⁸⁹ That Ibn Layūn also valued the younger man can be seen from the fact that he granted his *ijāza* to Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb was among those who wrote about Ibn Layūn. He devoted a chapter to his teacher in each of his two books: *al-Katība al-Kāmina fī Shū'arā' al-Mi'a al-Thāmīna* and *Awṣāf al-Nās fī al-Tawārīkh wa-al-Ṣilāt*. He was very effusive in his praise of his teacher, giving us a clear picture of the scientific, as well as the literary status that Ibn Layūn had achieved.¹⁹⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb is definitely Ibn Layūn's most renowned student, later becoming a famous 8th/14th century figure in

¹⁸⁸ *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87; idem, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; Joaquina Eguaras, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado de Agricultura*, p. 19; Brockelmann, S. II, pp. 317, 349.

¹⁸⁹ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

¹⁹⁰ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; idem, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

his own right, although it is clear from Ibn al-Khaṭīb's own works that he relied a great deal on Ibn Layūn's learning.

What we must highlight in this regard is that Ibn Layūn restricted his authorisation to those who really deserved to teach his works.¹⁹¹ This selectivity was regarded as rare and it distinguished Ibn Layūn from his contemporaries. Ibn Layūn had the largest library in Almeria, not to say in al-Andalus itself, and it had a huge influence on the intellectual life of Almeria and the surrounding areas. Consequently it gave his students, as well as to those who attended his lectures, a great opportunity to obtain valuable learning as it was pointed out by Ibn Layūn's most famous students: al-Ḥaḍramī,¹⁹² Ibn al-Khaṭīb¹⁹³ and Ibn Khātima.¹⁹⁴

Conclusion.

It has been shown that Almeria was an important Andalusian cultural, economic, academic and mystical centre at the time of Ibn Layūn. Consequently, it was the focus of attraction for people seeking education or looking to settle from all over al-Andalus. The fame of Ibn Layūn therefore spread far beyond Almeria to the rest of al-Andalus and Morocco. Although he did not travel beyond the city of his

¹⁹¹ See Ibn Layūn, *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*, Ms., (The Royal Library, Rabat, no. 5797), folio. 1; idem, *al-Īnāl al-ʿIlmiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, no. 3912), folio. 1.

¹⁹² See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 187-8.

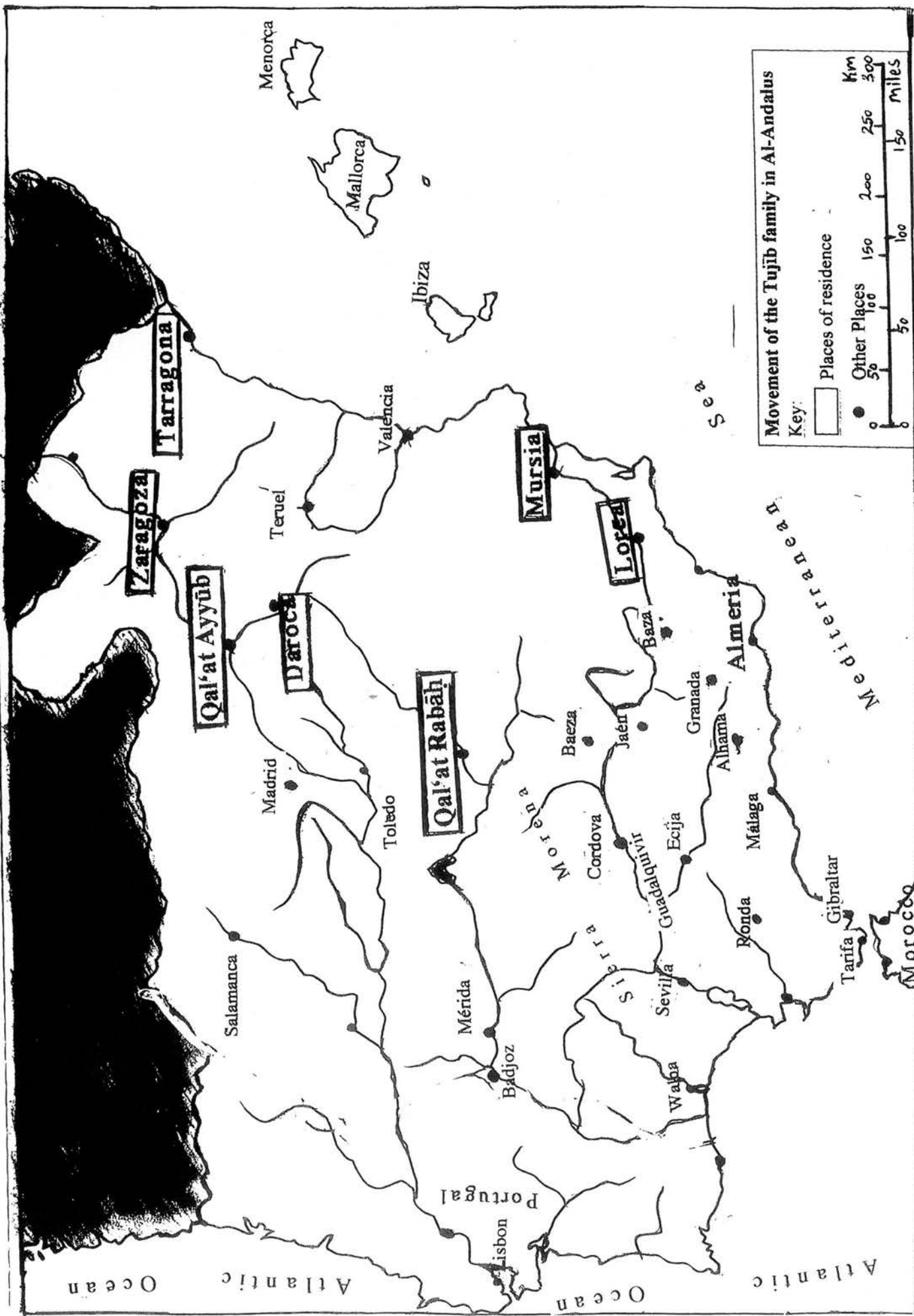
¹⁹³ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, pp. 86-7

¹⁹⁴ See al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 303; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, pp. 292-4.

birth, he was well educated across a wide range of subjects, as can be seen from his work.

What has been said about Ibn Layūn so far disproves the information mentioned by F. De La Granja in *EI*².¹⁹⁵ On the contrary, Ibn Layūn was the centre of an academic movement and his knowledge was highly appreciated by the students of al-Andalus, in general, and by the people of Almeria, in particular. Enough examples have been given in this section which prove that Granja's conclusions are far from the truth. The following chapter will focus on the subject of Ibn Layūn's culture, education and his works.

¹⁹⁵ *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).



Movement of the Tujib family in Al-Andalus

Key:

- Places of residence
- Other Places

Scale:

0 50 100 150 200 250 300

Km miles

Chapter Five: –

The Work of Ibn Layūn

This chapter will discuss Ibn Layūn's work, relying on four categories of sources. The first of these is Ibn Layūn's own work; the second is the evidence of his contemporaries, in particular Ibn Layūn's students such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb and al-Ḥaḍramī.¹ Thirdly, there is the work of al-Maqqarī which is very important since he provides almost the only reference to Ibn Layūn's poetry.² Fourthly, there are secondary sources, especially the work done by Joaquina Eguaras Ibáñez, who edited *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa fī Uṣūl Ṣinā'at al-Filāḥa* one of Ibn Layūn's works of *rajaz*.³ Ibanez was unusual amongst Spanish researchers because she relied on Ibn Layūn's own works whereas most Spanish writers referred only to secondary sources.

The factors influencing Ibn Layūn's writings

It seems clear from these references that Ibn Layūn dedicated most of his life to research, writing and teaching. There is no doubt that Ibn Layūn was one of the most important figures in Andalusian intellectual life in the 8th/14th century.⁴ Many

¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Mi'yār*, p. 89; idem, *al-Katība*, p. 86; idem, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

² Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 543-602.

³ See Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, pp. 19-20. See also Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 187.

⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

factors helped him to achieve what he achieved, and some of these must be mentioned before his literary works can be discussed. In particular two aspects of his life should be highlighted: the psychological and the socio-cultural. As regards the psychological aspect, Ibn Layūn had a solitary personality. Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes him by saying that he did not mix easily with others, but tended to distance himself from crowds of people.⁵

(وبعيداً عن الجمع والاستكثار)

Al-Ḥaḍramī similarly says of his personality that Ibn Layūn had as attributes asceticism, piety and the ability to endure the hardship and distress of being away from people, as well as renunciation of the desire for other people's possessions.⁶

((مع زهادة وورع وشدة انقباض عن الناس وزهد فيما عندهم)).

In contrast with the above view of al-Ḥaḍramī, other sources record that Ibn Layūn had his own *majlis* (group of people who met regularly in his house)⁷ so it

⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86. See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁶ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86. *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁷ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 596-597. See also, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86. Al-Maqqarī included several poems which used to be recited in his *majlis*, some of which were written by Ibn Layūn, but most were written by other *sufis* and poets, such as Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-‘Arīf, al-Ḥallāj, Ibn Khafāja, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih and Ṣafwān b. Idrīs. See some of these poems in *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 597-603.

must be assumed that he met diverse scholars and other people here. However, there might be two explanations for this paradox; he may have preferred to spend his time on serious pursuits, rather than idle gossip, or he may have been affected by reticence only during his early life, whereas later, he was more able to get close to people.

From Ibn Layūn's extant poetry, it could be possible to select examples showing both aspects of his nature. The following extracts are evidence of his retiring personality.⁸ For example,

قال⁹:

أنت بخير ما تركت الظهور^٠ والقال والقيـل وطرق الشرور^٠
 من خاض بحراً فهو لا بدّ يستل^٠ ومن يجرّ يصبه العثور^٠
 سلامة المرء اشتغال بما يهـمّ لنفسه من أمور

You are well if you do not appear [in public] and (people's) tittle-tattle and the paths of evil

He who wades into a sea must get wet, and he who runs will stumble

The safety of man is working in what are the important issues for himself

⁸ for instance see some of his poems in *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 545-557. See also, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257.

⁹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 552.

وقال¹⁰:

سَلَامَةُ الْإِنْسَانِ فِي وَحْدَتِهِ وَأَنْسُهُ فِيهَا فِي حِرْفَتِهِ
مَا بَقِيَ الْيَوْمَ صَدِيقٌ وَلَا مَنْ تَرْتَجِي النُّصْرَةَ فِي صَحْبَتِهِ
فَقَرٌّ فِي بَيْتِكَ تَسْلَمُ وَدَعُ مَنْ ابْتَلَى بِالنَّاسِ فِي مَحْنَتِهِ

The safety of man in his solitude and his enjoyment in it and in his profession

There is no friend today and no one who hopes for success in his friendship

Stay in your home, you will be safe, and leave these who are affected by people in their (time) of triad.

وقال¹¹:

بَاعِدِ النَّاسَ يَوْمَ الْوَكَا وَاعْتَزَلْ عَنْهُمْ يَهَابُوكَا
فَإِذَا مَا تَصَطَّفِيهِمْ وَقَعُوا فِيكَ وَعَابُوكَا

Be distant from people (and) they will support you and retire from them (and) they will fear you

If you choose them they will talk about you and blame you

وقال¹²:

أَعَيْتَ مَعَ النَّاسِ الْحَيْلُ وَبَارَ فِيهِمُ الْعَمَلُ
فِي أَيِّ وَجْهِ أَمَّلُوا يَخِيبُ مِنْهُمْ الْأَمَلُ
فَأَثَرَ الْعِزْلَةَ عَنْ هُمْ تَنْجُ مِنْ كُلِّ خَلَلُ

¹⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 565.

¹¹ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 568.

¹² Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 577.

So choose isolation from them (and) you will be safe from all trouble

وقال¹³:

كُنْ وَحِيدًا مَا عَشْتَ تَحِيًّا بِخَيْرٍ سَالِمًا مِنْ شُرُورِ كُلِّ الْبَرِيَّةِ
إِنْ مِنْ لَا يَخَالِطُ النَّاسَ يَبْقَى دَهْرَهُ لَا تَعْرُوهُ مِنْهُمْ أَذِيَّةٌ

Be alone during your life then you live well, and safe from the evils of all mankind

He who does not mix with people, remains unharmed by them

In the same way F. De La Granja describes him as having not many friends, shy,¹⁴ turning away from marriage and social life.¹⁵ Consequently, he did not have any social responsibilities which might have occupied his time. This contributed to the dedication he showed to writing and research. Freedom from such responsibilities allowed him to read more and to write a huge number of works which will be discussed shortly.

As for the second factor,¹⁶ namely the socio-cultural milieu in which he lived, most historical sources mention that Ibn Layūn owned the biggest library in

¹³ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 591.

¹⁴ *E I²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also, al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

¹⁵ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 542; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257.

Almeria at that time.¹⁷ He spent his time editing and correcting his many manuscripts, to make sure that they were completely accurate. His disciple, al-Ḥaḍramī, says about him:

((شيخنا الفقيه الجليل الأستاذ المصنف الطبيب...، من أجل علماء الأندلس وأبرعهم تأليفاً...، ليس في بلده في زمنه أحد أكثر منه كتباً أو أعلى أخطاراً، يتنافس في اقتنائها ويهتم بها مع الاعتناء بمقابلتها وضبطها وإجادة تصحيحها)).

“ Our honourable *sheikh, faqīh*, the master and knowledgeable author (writer) and physician, is one of the most honourable and skilled scholars of al-Andalus in composition ... Nobody in his town, in his time possessed or collected more books than he did (or was of greater importance). He used to compete in obtaining them, occupying himself with comparing carefully one with the other and meticulously correcting them”.¹⁸

¹⁷ Al-Tunbukī, *Nayl*, p. 187; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 543-544; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3 p. 292. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*, vol. 2, p. 257; Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, p. 19; Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186.

¹⁸ Al-Tunbukī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, p. 19; Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186. It should be noted that *faqīh* had a wider significance that legal expert in Andalus, since the term was also applied to those skilled in language.

According to the sources, most of his students and contemporaries benefited from his library in their studies and subsequent writings.¹⁹ It seems from various historical remarks that his library was full of valuable works in all branches of knowledge. Al-Ḥaḍramī mentions that he himself benefited greatly from his master's library, and that it was his main source of cultural information.²⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb adds: “ He was fond of writing and pursuing knowledge ”.²¹ However, nobody knows the fate of the contents of Ibn Layūn’s valuable library which was lost after the Muslims’ departure from al-Andalus, but there is continuing hope that this part of the cultural heritage of al-Andalus will yet be found.

Ibn Layūn spent most of his life in reading and editing books, and sometimes summarising some of these works for his students’ benefit. As will be seen below, this didactic purpose may be the reason behind the huge number of works which he revised and summarised. One of his students commented that Ibn Layūn was

¹⁹ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

²⁰ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Bustānī, *Dā’irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; al-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, vol. 3, p. 83.

²¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

unsurpassed in the quality of summarising texts, saying: “[Ibn Layūn] summarises [a work], and people consider that he has created the inimitable”.²²

((يلخص ويوجز ويُظنُّ أنه يعجز))

Al-Maqqarī also describes his zeal by saying: “[Ibn Layūn] delighted in summarising books”.²³

((وكان مولعًا باختصار الكتب))

There is no doubt that this creative writer was greatly affected by the environment around him in the different stages of his life. As has been mentioned above, Almeria provided one of the best cultural environments in al-Andalus in the period between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁴ It was constantly a venue for cultural activities and many writers, poets, physicians and teachers lived there.²⁵ In addition, there were in the city many schools, colleges and libraries. Almeria was in continual cultural contact with Granada, the capital of al-Andalus, and other cities, such as *Wādī Āsh* (Gedix) and Malaga.

Classical biographies and modern studies written about Almeria and its cultural, social and political history mention that in the thirteenth and fourteenth

²² *Ibid.* See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; *EL*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257.

²³ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

²⁴ See above, p. 94-5.

²⁵ For instance, Ibn Khātima and al-Ḥaḍramī.

centuries, Almeria was the destination of many students pursuing their education.²⁶ It was also the focus of attention for many scholars who taught in its schools and great mosque, which was like a university where lectures were given and which were attended by students and scholars from all over al-Andalus.²⁷ According to historical sources, there were a number of colloquia. In particular we should mention the two most important ones which were led by the scholars Ibn Khātima and Ibn Layūn.²⁸

Although study trips in Ibn Layūn's time, especially to the eastern Islamic world, were an essential and important factor in the life of the educated people of al-Andalus since they helped them to read and learn about other branches of knowledge, Ibn Layūn never left his birth place. Although the sources do not mention why he remained in Almeria, possible reasons have been suggested in a previous chapter.²⁹ However, it is clear that he tried his best to compensate for this lack of travel through his dedication to collecting and reading books and to meeting scholars who came every now and then to Almeria either to settle there or pass

²⁶ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; *E I²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Ṭawīl, *Mamlakat al-Mariyya fī 'Ahd al-Mu'taṣim Ibn Ṣumādaḥ*, p. 121; *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, *Dīwān*, pp. 10-15; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 1, p. 21; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 2, pp. 121-127.

²⁷ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 3, p. 124; al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 24.

²⁸ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, pp. 101, 187; al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 25.

²⁹ See p. 94-5.

through it, since it was a significant cultural, naval and commercial stopping place during the fourteenth century.³⁰

In my opinion, the factors mentioned above go along way to explaining the huge number of books he wrote. They help to explain why he pursued his various cultural interests. Like his contemporaries, Ibn Layūn' wrote about most branches of knowledge which were known at that time;³¹ his was an exceptionally encyclopaedic personality. Writing on a wide variety of subjects was considered a scholarly virtue, while writing on a certain restricted branch of knowledge was frowned upon.

Surveying the works written by Ibn Layūn's contemporaries, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, al-Bunāhī, Ibn al-Jayyāb al-Gharnāṭī, and al-Sharīf al-Sabṭī, it becomes clear that most of them wrote about different branches of knowledge. Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī for example wrote works on literature, history *muwashshaḥāt* and medicine. The same applies to Ibn al-Khaṭīb who wrote works on history, literature, *muwashshaḥāt*, medicine and Sufism, among other topics.³²

³⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 3, p. 124.

³¹ ضارب بسهم في كل طريقة in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's words (see *Awṣāf al-Nās*, p. 48; *E I²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

³² See *above*, p. 63-9.

Scholarly debate on the quantity of Ibn Layūn's writing

Ibn Layūn wrote books on various branches of knowledge, such as geometry, medicine, agriculture, *fiqh*, Sufism, *ḥadīth*, *far ā'id*, *muwashshaḥāt*, prosody, poetry, dream interpretation, preaching and proverbs.³³ His works fall into two categories. The first is literary works, which include poetry, proverbs, sermons, literary collections and summaries of the works of others. The second category involves religious and scientific works including *rajaz* (some of it concerning *ḥadīth*), agriculture, anatomy, *fiqh* sciences (examining *Sharī'a* and *ḥadīth*).

In this introductory section, I shall present a detailed comprehensive survey of Ibn Layūn's works, while in the following section I shall discuss, criticise and compare them in some detail.

Ibn Layūn's output.

Sources on Ibn Layūn concur that his works cover various branches of human knowledge³⁴ but there is less agreement regarding how many books he

³³ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 543-44. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); E. García Gómez, *Silla del Moro y Nuevas Escenas Andaluzas*, Madrid, 1948, III, p. 2; idem, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie arabe en su marco*, Madrid, 1965, pp. 197, 203, 405.

³⁴ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awṣāf*, p. 48; Brockelmann: S. II, p. 380; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, vol. 1, p. 59; Ibn Makhḷūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; E. García Gómez, *Silla del Moro y Nuevas Escenas Andaluzas*, p. 2; idem, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie arabe en su marco*, pp. 197, 203.

actually wrote. Most sources suggest he produced over a hundred,³⁵ most importantly al-Maqqarī in his *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*.³⁶ This is echoed by some secondary sources, such as the Spanish researcher Joaquina Eguaras Ibáñez,³⁷ al-Ziriklī,³⁸ Kaḥḥālah,³⁹ Brockelmann,⁴⁰ F. De La Granja,⁴¹ E. García Gómez,⁴² al-Bustānī.⁴³ Al-Maqqarī does not mention the source of his information regarding Ibn Layūn's output⁴⁴ saying only that he himself consulted more than twenty of his books during his stay in Morocco.⁴⁵ If, therefore, al-Maqqarī was relying on something al-Ḥaḍramī had written about two centuries earlier, it must have been either from a

³⁵ See. Brockelmann: S. I, p. 598; II, p. 380; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210; *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 543; al-Kattānī, *Shajarat*, p. 214; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467; E. Garcia Gómez, *Silla del Moro y Nuevas Escenas Andaluzas*, p. 2; idem, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie arabe en su marco*, pp. 203, 405; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, vol. 1, p. 214; al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, vol. 1, p. 591.

³⁶ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 543. See also al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, vol. 1, p. 591; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, vol. 1, p. 214.

³⁷ Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, p. 28.

³⁸ See *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83.

³⁹ See Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210.

⁴⁰ See Brockelmann: S. II, p. 380.

⁴¹ *EI*²: *Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

⁴² E. Garcia Gómez, *Silla del Moro y Nuevas Escenas Andaluzas*, p. 2, idem, *Los Proverbios Rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almeria, (1282-1349)*, p. 2.

⁴³ Al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, pp. 257.

⁴⁴ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 543.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* In al-Maqqarī's words, ((وقد وقفت منها بالمغرب على أكثر من عشرين))

“Of his [collection of works] I have personally seen more than 20 in Morocco.” al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 534.

variant copy of *al-Mashyakha* or another of al-Ḥaḍramī's works. The figure of one hundred is absent from fragments of the *Mashyakha* which clearly have survived in others' writings, such as al-Tunbuktī's *Nayl al-Ibtihāj* which gives a figure of thirty works.⁴⁶ Questions therefore remain regarding why most, but not all, sources mention that Ibn Layūn wrote more than a hundred books and what sources the various writers were relying on.

I suspect that al-Tunbuktī's figure of thirty is probably correct. This is largely, although not entirely, because he is quoting directly from one of Ibn Layūn's most prominent disciples, al-Ḥaḍramī.⁴⁷ Al-Ḥaḍramī's closeness to his teacher is well documented. He spent thirty years with Ibn Layūn⁴⁸ as a disciple and also as a researcher. He says: "I accompanied him for thirty consecutive years, memorised some of his poems on *Ḥadīth*, *Farā'id*, Medicine, Prosody ...; I also greatly benefited from his library".⁴⁹ As well as proximity, al-Ḥaḍramī was chronologically the closest to Ibn Layūn. His *al-Mashyakha* was written in the 8/14 century, either during or immediately following Ibn Layūn's lifetime. It is therefore unsurprising that most sources about Ibn Layūn, such as Ibn al-Qāḍī,⁵⁰ al-

⁴⁶ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

Maqqarī⁵¹ and al-Tunbuktī,⁵² all rely on *al-Mashyakha*, which apparently cites thirty as the number of works produced by Ibn Layūn.⁵³

Ancillary evidence to support this figure comes from sources which talk about writers who wrote more than fifty works, none of which mentions Ibn Layūn.⁵⁴ I would therefore question the common suggestion⁵⁵ of one hundred works, and suggest that if there is some validity in this higher number it lies in the inclusion of minor articles and such like. Even when al-Maqqarī mentions a figure of over a hundred it is important to note that he does not give any source for his information.⁵⁶

A list of Ibn Layūn's works

Through researching secondary sources, library catalogues, personal contact with specialists, and occasional happenstance⁵⁷ I located and examined many of Ibn Layūn's works kept in various libraries in Tunisia, Morocco, Turkey, Libya, Egypt

⁵¹ See *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

⁵² See *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁵³ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187.

⁵⁴ See for instance 'Uqūd al-Jawhar.

⁵⁵ Made for example in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (see *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, vol. 1, p. 591; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214.

⁵⁶ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

⁵⁷ The totally uncatalogued 'al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā, for example, was found in the Center of Historical Research in Tripoli, Libya, while I was searching for another work.

and Spain. As the following list shows, these works are in various branches of knowledge. They are undoubtedly enough to form a representative sample of his interests, while also indicating the most prominent features of 8/14 century Andalusia. The following list of Ibn Layūn's works is divided into two broad categories.

1. Literary works

1- *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis min Bahjat al-Majālis*.⁵⁸ This literary anthology is still available in manuscript form in a number of libraries in Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco.⁵⁹ The book reflects the respect Ibn Layūn, in common with his compatriots, had for non-Andalusian writers since around three-quarters of the works collected came from the East. The *Bughya* is important largely because it relies on some important sources which are no longer available, and also because it contains much poetry and other material which is unavailable elsewhere. This material includes both relatively unknown writers as well as lesser-known pieces by known

⁵⁸ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210.

⁵⁹ There are at least fourteen copies of the *Bughya*. There are eight in Rabat, three in Tunisia, one in Tuṭwān, one in Fez and one in private hands in Libya. There may also be copies elsewhere as well (see, for example, al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 83).

figures. For an example of the latter, some poetry by both Maḥmūd al-Warrāq and Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh which Ibn Layūn collected in the *Bughya* does not appear anywhere else, including the actual authors' own collections (al-Warrāq's *dīwān*⁶⁰ or al-Faqīh's collection respectively).⁶¹

2- *Al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā min Adab al-Dīn wa-al-Dunyā*.⁶² This literary collection was the first of Ibn Layūn's works to be published in modern times, its first (and only) printing being in Tunisia in 1351/1932. It has an unfortunate number of errors, involving text alteration, spelling, language and printing. Moreover, it lacks an introduction, footnotes, or mention of which manuscripts were consulted in detail. Despite this unacceptably large number of faults,⁶³ it was chosen by the *Zaytūna* mosque to be taught to second and third year students at the intermediate level.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See the Arabic text. 331, 333-334, 365 .

⁶¹ See the Arabic text. 382-383, 428, 540, 637-638, 722-724.

⁶² See al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Bustānī, *Dā'rat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210.

⁶³ In order to gain a reliable copy of *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā* and make it widely available, I have myself completed a revised edition of the work which is soon to be published. This is based on eight copies (one of which is from Libya) of the approximately twenty that are still extant.

⁶⁴ See *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*, p. 11.

The book contains proverbs, sayings and poetry. Compared with *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* there is less poetry but the poetry he selected comes from important poets and is of high quantity.

3- *Lamḥ al-Siḥr min Rawḥ al-Shi'r*.⁶⁵ Manuscripts of this critical study of poetry and examination of poetic terminology can be found in Cairo, Morocco and Tunisia.⁶⁶ It includes Ibn Layūn's collection of other writers' poetry, prose and literary criticism. It is considered as one of the main sources of Andalusian poetry during the 5th/12th and 6th/13th centuries and also an important source on the study of Andalusian poetry and prose fiction.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, Ms., no. 1897, (The Royal Library, Rabat), folio. 81; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 544. See also al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; E. Garcia Gómez, *Los Proverbios Rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almeria, (1282-1349)*, p. 8; Brock, Sup, I598; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). The *Lamḥ al-Siḥr min Rawḥ al-Shi'r* is also known as the *Nafh al-Siḥr fī Ikhtiṣār Rawḥ al-Shiḥr wa-rūḥ al-Shi'r*. (See *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 544).

⁶⁶ There are at least 8 manuscript copies of this work. Six copies are in Morocco at the General Library and the Royal Library. One copy can be found in Cairo at Dār al-Kutub catalogued as '82 *adab*', and a final copy is at the National Library, Tunisia, numbered 985.

4- *Al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*⁶⁷ (about Sufism), which Ibn Layūn completed at the end of Sha'bān 747/1346,⁶⁸ is still in a manuscript form and can be found in Morocco and Egypt.⁶⁹ Its ongoing importance is shown by the fact that al-Ziriklī, the influential modern biographer, owned a copy of the *al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*.⁷⁰ The *al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyyā* contains Ibn Layūn's summary of al-Shustarī's '*al-Risāla al-'Alamiyya fī Ṭarīqat al-Fuqarā' al-Mutajarrīdīn mi al-Ṣūfiyya*'⁷¹ but many commentators see this summary as superior to the source work since it contains corrections and clarifications of the original work.⁷² Al-Shushtarī is far from the only well-known Sufi referred to in the *Al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*, since Ibn Layūn refers to a great number

⁶⁷ The full title is '*al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyyā min al-Risāl al-'Alamiyya fī Ṭarīqt al-Fuqarā' al-Mutajarrīdīn min al-Ṣūfiyya*'. This work is also called by some writers "*al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya fī al-Intiṣār li-al-Ṭāifa al-Ṣūfiyya*" (Sāmī al-Nashshār, p. 13) and *al-Ināba al-'Alaiyya* (E. Garcia Gómez, *Los Proverbios Rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almeria, (1282-1349)*, p. 8). This book is not mentioned by al-Maqqarī in his biography.

⁶⁸ *Al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 3912), folio. 1.

⁶⁹ There are at least eight copies of the *Al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya*. Three are in the General Library in Rabat, and have the reference numbers 1795D, 1041D, and 3912D. Two further copies are in the Royal Library, Rabat, (numbers 738 and 3378). One copy is in Tuṭwān, Morocco (numbered 312 taṣawwuf) and a final copy in Dār al-Kutub, Cairo (number 265 taṣawwuf).

⁷⁰ See his own autobiography, al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83.

⁷¹ *Dīwān al-Shushtarī*, ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, 1960. p. 13. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, p. 185.

⁷² Al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83.

of other important scholars of Sufism including al-Faḍl al-Muqaddasī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.⁷³ The sources of the *Al-Ināla al-‘Ilmiyyā* are perhaps best summed up in Ibn Layūn’s own words:⁷⁴

((وصححت له الأكثر مما تضمنته الأحاديث النبوية وقربت له ما حوته من الآثار الصوفية، وأكثر ذلك من صفوة التصوف للإمام أبي الفضل محمد بن طاهر بن علي المقدسي ومن عوارف المعارف للإمام شهاب الدين أبي حفص عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله البكري السهر وردي بضم السين رحمه الله))

In paraphrase, Ibn Layūn mentions that after correcting most of the *ḥadīth* in *al-Ināla al-‘Ilmiyyā*, he simplified the heritage of Ṣūfism for the general reader, relying mainly on the Ṣūfī works by Abū al-Faḍl al-Maqdisī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī. Ibn Layūn’s insistence in mentioning and profiling his sources is indicative of his diligence.

4- *Andā’ al-Diyam fī al-Waṣāyā wa-al-Ḥikam*.⁷⁵ Some poems from this now-lost collection are contained in other manuscripts and published works.⁷⁶ According to al-Maqqarī, Ibn Layūn completed the *Andā’ al-Diyam* in the middle of Sha‘bān

⁷³ *Al-Ināla al-‘Ilmiyyā*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 3912), folio. 1.

⁷⁴ *Al-Ināla al-‘Ilmiyyā*, (The General Library, Rabat, Ms. no. 3912), folio. 1.

⁷⁵ The title of this work in *Shajarat al-Nūr* is *Anwā’ al-Riḥ wa-al-Mawā’id wa-al-Ḥikam*, see Ibn Makhlūf, p. 214. In *Nayl* it is *Ibrā’ al-Diyam fī al-Mawā’id wa-al-Ḥikam*, See al-Tunbuktī, p. 188.

⁷⁶ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 588-596; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 188; al-Bustānī, *Dā’irat*, vol. 2, pp. 257-263; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 7, p. 83.

731/1330⁷⁷. Al-Maqqarī also quoted forty-eight of the poems (totalling around one hundred and twenty verses⁷⁸) in the *Andā' al-Diyam*, from this book in his *Nafh*, which means the entire work has not been lost. In contrast, al-Tunbuktī quotes only five poems, comprising 12 lines in total. It should be made clear that the al-Tunbuktī biography is much more brief than al-Maqqarī's work, which could explain the lack of extensive quotation. Garcia Gomez translated some poems from al-Maqqarī's collection into Spanish and these were published in al-Andalus.⁷⁹

5- *Al-Abyāt al-Muhadhdhaba fī al-Ma'ānī al-Muqarraba*.⁸⁰ Similarly, al-Maqqarī collected around fifty-five of the poems (totalling one hundred and forty seven verses) from this now-lost book in his *Nafh al-Ṭīb*.⁸¹ Many of these poems contain wise sayings, proverbs and advice.

7- *Naṣā'ih al-Aḥbāb wa-Ṣaḥā'ih al-Adāb*. Once again what we now know of this now-lost book is only what al-Maqqarī collected in his *Nafh al-Ṭīb*.⁸² Ibn Layūn's

⁷⁷ *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 588. Ibn Makhlūf stated that Ibn Layūn completed this work in Sha'bān 736/1335. See *Shajarat*, p. 214.

⁷⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 588-596.

⁷⁹ See Garcia GÓmez, *Los Proverbios Rimados de Ben Luyūn de Almeria, (1282-1349)*.

⁸⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 544;

⁸¹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 577-588. See also al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83.

⁸² See *ibid*, pp. 544-577; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, pp. 257-262; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83.

original collection contained two hundred poems and al-Maqqarī collected one hundred and eighty eight (totally 430 verses) of these,⁸³ which means that over ninety per cent of the original work has effectively been preserved.⁸⁴ It seems apparent to this author that the reason al-Maqqarī was so comprehensive in this particular case was because of the exceptional clarity and concision of Ibn Layūn's language, complemented by his precise control of rhyme and rhythm patterns.

8- *Ikhtiyārāt min Maḥāsin al-Majālis*, (a literary and poetic anthology). Again, the original text has been lost but al-Maqqarī collected some parts of the works. Unusually, however, the twenty seven poems (totalling 97 verses) which are preserved in the *Nafh al-Ṭib*⁸⁵ include pieces by other poets, such as Ibn al-'Arīf, Ibn Khafāj, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih and al-Ḥallāj, which devotees used when attending *majlis* worship meetings at Ibn Layūn's house.⁸⁶ This gives further insight into the environment in which Ibn Layūn lived.

⁸³ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5 pp. 544.

⁸⁴ For the full text, see al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5 pp. 544-577. See also *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, pp. 259-61.

⁸⁵ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 597-603; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, pp. 257-62.

⁸⁶ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 596-597.

The *Ikhtiyārāt* is also unusual in that it was itself based on an earlier work, Ibn al-Arīf's *Maḥāsīn* which has survived. The most recent edition of the *Maḥāsīn* was published in Paris in 1933⁸⁷ but al-Maqqarī's *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* contains material from Ibn Layūn which does not appear in the *Maḥāsīn*.⁸⁸ There are two possible explanations for this. Perhaps the 1933 edition was not based on a complete version of the original manuscript; or alternatively Ibn Layūn was relying on another manuscript of the *Maḥāsīn*, which has not survived.

9-*Kamāl al-Ḥāfiẓ wa-Jamāl al-Lāfiẓ fī al-Ḥikam wa-al-Waṣāyā*. Again, this work is also no longer extant and only the name has survived (for example in the *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*).⁸⁹ Possibly al-Maqqarī did not possess a copy of the *Kamāl al-Ḥāfiẓ* or perhaps the content was too similar to other works by Ibn Layūn for specific inclusion. The final possibility is that al-Maqqarī decided that he had already written comprehensively enough (over sixty pages of text)⁹⁰ about one author when the stated topic of the *Nafḥ*, was Ibn al-Khaṭīb and his teachers.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Asin Palacios, Migue, Ibn al-'Arīf, *Maḥāsīn al-Majālis*.

⁸⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 597.

⁸⁹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 543. See also al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 262.

⁹⁰ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, pp. 543-604.

⁹¹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 1, p. 115.

2. *Rajaz* and Scientific works

1- *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa*, (on agriculture),⁹² was edited with a Spanish translation by the Spanish researcher Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez in Granada 1975, who relied on one copy which she found in the Granada Library with the number 576.⁹³ I found other copies of this work in a manuscript form in Rabat.⁹⁴

2- *Al-Iksīr fī Ṣinā'at al-Taksīr* .⁹⁵ This work still exists in manuscript form and several copies of it are available in libraries in Morocco.⁹⁶ This work was very important; this can be seen by the fact that several commentaries were written on it. Of these commentaries, the most significant is the one by Aḥmad al-Sūsī. Several copies of this work exist in manuscript form in Morocco.⁹⁷

⁹² Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Emilio García Gómez, Sobre agricultura arábigo-andaluza, in *Al-Andalus*, x, 1945, pp. 127-146. There is an error in the encyclopædia of Islam concerning the title of the *Urjūza*. (See *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). Al-Maqqarī mentioned that Ibn Layūn wrote a book on agriculture but he does not give the full title. (See *ibid*).

⁹³ Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, pp. 19-20. See also Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 187.

⁹⁴ There are two copies extant in the Faculty of Letters in Rabat and one in the Royal Library, Rabat. Full detailed description of these copies and their importance will be given in the following section.

⁹⁵ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543. al-Maqqarī does not give the full title; he says only that Ibn Layūn wrote a book on Engineering. (See *ibid*.)

⁹⁶ Three copies in the General Library and two in the Royal Library. Full detailed description of these copies and their importance will be given later on.

⁹⁷ The Royal Library, Rabat, (Ms., no. 2331).

Ibn Layūn also had other *rajaz* collections which were not available to us, either because they were lost, like his other works, or they are said to be in private libraries which we could not contact. These collections are as follows:

1- Two poems on the science of *Farā'id* and its terms, the title of which is *al-Silsāl al-Fā'id fī 'Ilm al-Farā'id*. Our only reference to this work is the attribution by Ibn al-Qāḍī and al-Baghdādī.⁹⁸

2- A *Lāmiyya* poem (on the terms and rhymes of prosody and poetic metres). This work is mentioned by Ibn al-Qāḍī and al-Baghdādī.⁹⁹ It seems likely that this work was written for his students as teaching material. It should be noted here that Ibn Layūn was an outstanding scholar in metre (*'Ilm al-'Arūḍ*) and the evidence of this is his huge output and his summaries of prose works in poetry¹⁰⁰ as shown in the table 5.1.¹⁰¹

3-A *rajaz* poem entitled *al-'Imād fī taqsīm al-Amrāḍ* (on taxonomy of diseases). The only information now available to us regarding this *urjūza* and its contents is the

⁹⁸*Durrat*, vo. 3, p. 292; *Īḍāḥ al-Maknīn*, vol. 2, p. 12.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja). See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

¹⁰¹ See p. 161.

fact that Ibn al-Qāḍī includes it in his bibliography.¹⁰² We should mentioned that in the 8/14th century many works on medicine were written, among them the works of Ibn Khātima and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

4-A *rajaz* poem on numbers, (on mathematics and its terms). Again, other than Ibn al-Qāḍī's reference,¹⁰³ there is no other information about this work and its contents. It does, however, seem likely that it was written for the instruction of his own students.

5- A third work which now exists only as a mention in Ibn al-Qāḍī's and Ibn Makhlūf bibliographies¹⁰⁴ is the *rajaz* poem on *ḥadīth* entitled *al-'Imād fī 'Ulūm al-Isnād* which also was probably for the instruction of his own students. Some verses from this work can be found in Ibn al-Qāḍī's work *Durrat al-Ḥijāl*.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, Ibn Layūn wrote other summaries. Nothing however remains of them apart from the titles mentioned by historians, such as:

¹⁰² Ibn al-Qāḍī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, Ms., no. 1897, (The Royal Library, Rabat), folio. 81. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

¹⁰³ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, Ms., no. 1897, (The Royal Library, Rabat), folio. 81. See also Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 231; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, vol. 1, p. 214.

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid*, p. 231.

1- A summary of Ṣā'ib al-Baghdādī's book *al-Fuṣūṣ*, (a literary, linguistic and history collection).¹⁰⁶ Al- Baghdādī's original work does still exist and is the subject of doctoral research.¹⁰⁷

2- A summary of the book of 'Awārif al-M'ārif of al-Suhrawardī.¹⁰⁸ E Garcia Gomez mentioned that he could not find Ibn Layūn's original title and the work is thus referred to by the title Ibn al-Qāḍī gave it¹⁰⁹

2- *Al-Marqaba al-'Ulyā fī Tafsīr al-Ru'yā*, (on the interpretation of dreams).¹¹⁰ Ibn 'Ajība noted the oddness of this book,¹¹¹ but other than this intriguing mention little is known about it.

4- A summary of al-Sijilmāsī's work *al-Manza' al-Badī' fī Tajnīs asālīb al-Badī'*¹¹² which is one of the most interesting works on literary criticism and rhetoric.

¹⁰⁶ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

¹⁰⁷ al-Baghdādī, Ṣā'id, *Kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahāb al-Tāzī Sa'ūd, Ph. D, (Faculty of Arts, Rabat, 1988-1989).

¹⁰⁸ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292. For more information about al-Sahrawardī see Ibn Khallikān, vol. 3, p. 446.

¹⁰⁹ E Garcia Gómez, *Al-Andalus*, (1972), vol. 37, p. 7.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 394; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Ibn 'Ajība, *Azhār al-Bustān*, Ms, (The General Library, Rabat, no. 417), folio. 98.

¹¹¹ Ibn 'Ajība, *Azhār al-Bustān*, Ms, (The General Library, Rabat, no. 417), folio. 98.

¹¹² Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

According to Ibn al-Qāḍī,¹¹³ Ibn Layūn's summary is better and more accurate than al-Sijilmāsī's original work (which would be consistent with Ibn Layūn's practice of correcting even as he summarised others' works) but in the absence of the summary such a claim could not be verified. The *Manza'* laid the foundations for later rhetorical and literary criticism studies and was the focus of many critics. It was edited by 'Allāl al-Ghāzī and was published in Morocco in 1982.¹¹⁴

6- A summary of *Kitāb Shu'ab al-Imān* of Ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Anṣārī al-Quṣarī.¹¹⁵

Whether this was the original title of the work, and whether any copies still exist, both remain unknown.

6- The last of Ibn Layūn's works to be mentioned specifically is *Nafā'īs al-Anīs* which is cited by Ibn al-Qāḍī and al-Qādirī but there is no further information about

¹¹³ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 2, p. 467.

¹¹⁴ Rabat, (Maṭba'at al-M'ārif, Morocco).

¹¹⁵ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 121. See also Emilio Garcia Gómez, *Al-Andalus*, (1972), vol. 37, p. 9; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 278. Gómez, relying on Brocklemann, suggested that the author of the *Kitāb Shu'ab al-Imān* was actually 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Miṣrī, although most sources do cite Ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Anṣārī al-Quṣarī, as the actual writer. For more information about al-Quṣarī, see al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 278.

the book and the original author.¹¹⁶ It is not even known whether *Nafā'īs al-Anās* is the original title of the book or the one chosen by Ibn Layūn for his summary.¹¹⁷

Some biographical sources¹¹⁸ suggest that Ibn Layūn also wrote *Muwashshaḥāt*¹¹⁹ but neither of the biographers closest to Ibn Layūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (in his *Awṣāf al-Nās* or his *al-Katība al-Kāmina*) nor al-Maqqarī made such a suggestion.¹²⁰ I have not found any of these *Muwashshaḥāt* works but consider it possible that Ibn Layūn did write such poetry since he was very interested in rhyme as a rhetorical device (over sixty of his works were fashioned into *rajaz* verse). If Ibn Layūn did write *Muwashshaḥāt* it is likely that the subject matter was confined

¹¹⁶ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj*, Ms, no. 1897, (The Royal Library, Rabat), folio. 81; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

¹¹⁷ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292; Ibn al-Qāḍī, *al-Iklīl*, folio. 81; *fihris al-Mantūrī*, Ms, no. 223, p. 32.

¹¹⁸ See, for example *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹¹⁹ *Muwashshaḥāt* refers to poetry with the rhyming pattern ABABC DEDEC etc and is differentiated from *qasīda* poetry which has a standardised rhyming pattern of AAAAA (all lines, in other words, ending with the same sound throughout the entire poem. *Muwashshaḥāt* is a distinctively Andalusian style (see Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, *Dār al-Ṭirāz fī 'Amal al-Muwashshaḥāt*, ed. Jawdat al-Rikābī, Damascus, 1949, pp. 33-38, 43. See also *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹²⁰ See *al-Katība*, p. 86; *Awṣāf*, p. 48; idem, *Mi 'yār*, p. 89; *Nafḥ*, vol. 5, p. 543. See also al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

to proverbs and moral aphorisms since these topics focussed his poetic efforts in general.¹²¹

For clarity, I am including the following two tables, the first of which shows Ibn Layūn's works, their significance and where they are available. The second table shows the works, which I could not obtain. Together, these tables indicate the cultural interests and issues that were prevalent at that time.

¹²¹ See for example some of his poetry in *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 545-569.

Table 5.1: Works of Ibn Layūn in existence

Title	Subject	Date of Completion	Existing Copies	Where Available
1- <i>Bughyat al-Mu'ānis.</i>	Anthologies of literature and poetry	737/1336	14	Libya, Tunisia, Morocco
2- <i>Al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā</i>	Anthology of literature	733/1332	20	Libya, Tunisia, Morocco
3- <i>Lamḥ al-Siḥr.</i>	Critical study of poetry and prose	739/1338	8	Tunisia, Egypt Morocco
4- <i>Al-Ināla</i>	Sufism	747/1346	8	Morocco, Egypt
5- <i>Andā' al-Diyam</i> ¹²²	Poetry	731/1330		Published, so Widely available ¹²³
6- <i>Al-Abyāt al-Muhadhdhaba</i> ¹²⁴	Poetry	-		Published, so widely available
7- <i>Naṣā'ih</i> ¹²⁵	Poetry	-		Published, so widely available.
8- <i>Ikhtiyārāt (Anāshīd)</i> ¹²⁶	Poetry (anthology)	-		<i>Nafh</i> , vol. 5, pp. 596-603.
9- <i>Ibdā' al-Malāḥa</i>	Agriculture	-	4	Spain, Morocco

¹²² As mentioned elsewhere, there are no existing copies of the *Andā' al-Diyam* but the work is cited extensively in al-Maqqarī's *Nafh*. It is this latter work which is referred to in the "Where Available" column of the above table.

¹²³ The material which is published is available in al-Maqqarī's *Nafh*. For more information see the main text. See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 188.

¹²⁴ See comments for footnote 121.

¹²⁵ See comments for footnote 121.

¹²⁶ See comments for footnote 121.

Table 5.2: Works of Ibn Layūn no longer in existence

Title	Subject	Where Mentioned ¹²⁷
10- <i>Al-Iksīr</i> .	Geometry and surveying	<i>Durrat, Nafh</i>
11- <i>Al-Silsāl</i> (Two poems)	Discussion of terminology and law regarding inheritance law (<i>al-Farā'īḍ</i>).	<i>Durrat, Iḍāḥ</i> .
12- A <i>lāmiyya</i> poem.	Metres and rhymes of prosody and poetic meters	<i>Durrat, Iḍāḥ</i> .
13- <i>Al-Imāḍ</i> (rajaz poem)	Medicine and drugs.	<i>Al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj, Durrat</i>
14- A <i>rajaz</i> poem on numbers	Mathematics and its terms.	<i>Al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj, Durrat</i> .
15- <i>Al-'Imād</i> . (A <i>rajaz</i> poem)	<i>Ḥadīth</i>	<i>Durrat, Shajarat al-Nūr</i>
16- Summary of Ṣā'd al-Baghdādī's book (<i>al-Fuṣūṣ</i>).	A literary, linguistic and historical collection	<i>Durrat al-Ḥijāl</i>
17- Summary of 'Awārif	Sufism	<i>Durrat</i>
18- <i>Al-Marqaba al-'Ulyā</i>	The interpretation of dreams	<i>Shajarat, Nafh, Dā'irat, Azhār al Bustān. Nayl</i>
19- Summary of al-Sijilmāsī's work <i>al-Manza'</i>	Literary criticism	<i>Durrat</i>
20- Summary of <i>Kitāb Shu'ab al-Imān</i> of Ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Al-Anṣārī.	Religious discussions.	<i>Durrat, Al-Andalus, Nayl</i>
21- <i>Nafā'īs</i> .	Religious discussions.	<i>Al-Iklīl, Durrat</i>
22- <i>Muwashshaḥāt</i>		<i>EI²</i>
23- <i>Kamāl al-Ḥāfiẓ</i>	Poetry	<i>Nafh</i> , vol. 5, p. 543.

¹²⁷ Major citations only mentioned: more details of each work can be found in the body of the text.

From the above tables and survey, it seems clear that Ibn Layūn left a huge number of works covering various branches of human knowledge such as literature, agriculture, medicine, *ḥadīth*, *muwashshahāt* and Sufism, as well as showing his remarkable capability to write various types of poetry. This large poetic output (four complete collections) was virtually unprecedented, and it could be that Ibn Layūn saw poetry as a way to propagate his ideals as much as his ideas. Certainly, some of his ideas would later be taken up by Spanish writers. With such a large output it is perhaps unsurprising that Ibn Layūn's scholarship was not as superlative as recognised specialists. His *rajaz*, famous and influential though they were, (those on agriculture being the best known) were not as perfected as Ibn 'Āṣim in *fiqh* or Ibn Mālik in linguistic skill although the latter fact may largely be due to Ibn Layūn's preference for efficient compression of information to literary displays. Indeed, he was distinguished among the scholars of his time for his capacity to summarise, revise and edit books.¹²⁸

Ibn Layūn summarised a large number of works either to teach them to his students or to simplify them for ordinary readers. It seems that Ibn Layūn contributed much to Arabic culture, in general and to Andalusian culture in particular, through summarising so many literary works, especially those works

¹²⁸ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 87; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

which were long and written in a complicated way. He rewrote those works in plain language and a simple style, which was understood by ordinary people. This does not imply that Ibn Layūn ignored important or complicated works; he was diligent in choosing and condensing only those works worthy of close attention. Many critics praise Ibn Layūn for his contribution because his summaries were considered more significant than their original texts.¹²⁹ Another important source for his summaries comes from the fact that many of the original texts were lost and all that remains is Ibn Layūn's summaries, such as *Lamḥ al-Siḥr Min Rawḥ al-Shi'r*.

From the above survey it can be also noticed that Ibn Layūn wrote four collections of proverbs. In the following chapters, I will discuss his works in more detail.

In conclusion, one can state the following:

firstly, the dominance of many different sciences on the Andalusian cultural map during the 8/14th century;

Secondly, Andalusian scholars were interested in *rajaz* and scientific collections.

While this had the undoubted advantage of allowing the memorisation of various

¹²⁹ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also *EI²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

types of knowledge (particularly language and *ḥadīth* studies) *rajaz* did inevitably stifle analysis and criticism.

Thirdly, Ibn Layūn's works that are available to us represent different sides of his scientific, religious, and literary production.

Fourthly, the above tables clearly show that Ibn Layūn was well-educated in many areas and specialisations and was one of the most prominent literary figures of his time in al-Andalus.

Fifthly, Andalusian scholars were interested in summarising the most important literary sources which influenced Arabic literature, in general, and Andalusian literature in particular.

As has been seen from the survey of his works, Ibn Layū's works cover numerous fields of human knowledge. It is not easy to study them all in one study; therefore, this study will cover the following points: 1. his summaries, 2. his poetry, 3. his *rajaz*.

His summaries

Ibn Layūn was famous in the field of summaries, because, at that time, there was no one in al-Andalus who excelled as much as he did in this sphere. Most sources mention his great capabilities in this field. While talking about Ibn Layūn, al-Maqqarī mentions an interesting story, which, although strange, is evidence of this

person's fame in this field. "It has been narrated that a witty man from Morocco saw a very tall one so he said: Had Ibn Layūn seen him, he would have shortened him, referring by this to the habit of Ibn Layūn in summarising books".¹³⁰

«ومما حكى عن كبراء المغرب أنه رأى رجلا طويلا فقال لمن حضره: لو رآه ابن ليون لاختصره، إشارة إلى كثرة اختصاره للكتب.»

Ibn Layūn's summaries fall into two categories. The first contains summaries whose originals still exist and whose importance lies in comparing them with their original in order to know what omissions, additions, remarks and corrections have been added by Ibn Layūn, and also to study his style, language and methodology in summarising. The second category covers summaries whose originals have been lost. This category is of great importance for many reasons, such as preserving literary and poetic texts, which would not have been available to us had it not been for his great efforts, especially as researches those texts which have come down to us in his lengthy work *Lamḥ al-Siḥr min Rīwḥ al-Shi'r wa-Rawḥ al-Shiḥr* (a literary collection). This contains a huge collection of poetry, prose, rhetoric, and a detailed discussion of the nature of poetry, its themes and criticism. It also gives us a clear picture about cultural life in the fifth/eleventh century, the period during which the original book was written. Unfortunately, this original work (*Rīwḥ al-Shi'r wa-*

¹³⁰ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543. See also *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

Rawḥ al-Shshihḥ by Ibn al-Jallāb al-Fihri)¹³¹ no longer exists, but by editing it, Ibn Layūn preserved some record of a text which would otherwise have been lost.

Scholars and men of letters used to summarise the most important literary and religious works for many reasons, such as:

1- Removing additions, which may weaken the text and affect its general form, and getting rid of any mistakes or errors.¹³²

2- For the purpose of presenting them to students. This is because during teaching, scholars and teachers often summarise some important works, so that students can gain benefit from them.

3- A book maybe very big, which may hinder its distribution. An example of this is the work of al-Māwardī called *Adab al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn*, a multi-volume manuscript, which Ibn Layūn summarised into a single volume¹³³ which became well known and often copied. It was taught as a course book by many teachers at that time and is still used nowadays, (it was recently taught in Tunisia for example as part of the secondary school curriculum)

¹³¹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 544. See also al-Ziriklī, *al-A'Lām*, vol. 3, p. 83; Kaḥḥala, *Mu'jam*, vol. 4, p. 210; al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shajarat*, p. 214; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380.

¹³² Al-Mannūnī, *Waraqāt 'an al-Ḥaḍāra al-Maghribiyya*, p. 199. See also *Salwat al-Anfās*, vol. 3, p. 273.

¹³³ See Ibn Layūn, *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*, p. 3.

Ibn Layūn is considered by many sources to be one of the most important summarisers¹³⁴ and his remaining works are a clear indication of this. In the following pages we will concentrate on four of these works. We will discuss each work in detail, and offer a comprehensive description of the copies that are left of the work including their location. In addition, we will briefly mention the themes of the books and the methodology followed by Ibn Layūn.

1-*Al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*. This received much attention from copyists. There are more than twenty copies of it in different libraries, especially in Morocco and Tunisia. In Morocco itself, there are more than twelve copies; five of which are in the Royal Library in Rabat; with four in *al-Khizāna al-'Āmma* (the General Library) in Rabat; one copy in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque Library, one further copy is in the *al-Ṣubayḥiyya* library in Sale, Fez while some other copies are in private libraries. The *Zaytūna* Library in Tunisia contains four copies of this manuscript.¹³⁵ In Libya, there is one copy only, which by chance I found in the Centre of Historical Studies and Research while searching for one of Ibn Layūn's manuscripts known as *Bughyat al-Muā'nis*.

¹³⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 187; al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 87; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543. See also *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 4.

The most important copies of *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*

Since there are many copies of this work, we will concentrate on the most important four, which are:

1- The copy in the General Library in Rabat, No. 590D. It is in 78 medium-sized pages. Each page has about 23 lines; and every line has about 15 words. This copy is distinguished by its clear Moroccan handwriting. There are no holes worn in it. Some titles are in different colours. Compared with others, this copy seems to be complete except for some orthographically and prosodic mistakes which the copyist made. When talking about Ibn Layūn's works, Brockelmann mentioned this copy, but he did not mention the other copies. The only remark concerning this copy is that neither the copyist's name nor the date of copying are mentioned. As the handwriting and the quality of paper indicate, it may have been copied between the middle of the eleventh/eighteenth century and the beginning of the twelfth/nineteenth century.

2- The Libyan copy. To the best of my knowledge, this copy has not been mentioned before. I found it accidentally while looking for a copy of Ibn Layūn's *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*. There is no evidence on how it got to Libya, but, most probably, it was owned by a Libyan scholar, and was then put into the Centre for Historical Studies. Despite the fact that the handwriting is not clear, this copy is complete, as I found

when I compared it with the copies that are in Morocco and in Tunisia. Therefore, it was considered to be one of the copies to concentrate on. In addition, this copy has only a few orthographical errors, indicating that it was copied by a scholar who was a master of Arabic.

This copy is in 43 folios in small Moroccan handwriting. Each page has 27 lines. The average number of words in every line is about 16. It was copied on 23rd Muḥarram, 1179/1765. As is stated at the end of the manuscript, the copyist was Muḥammad al-‘Ammārī, and it is clear from the remarks in the margin that it is a corrected copy.

3- *Al-Ṣubayḥiya* library copy: This copy consists of 78 folios. The handwriting is Moroccan medium-sized. Each page consists of 23 lines and the average number of words in each line is 12. As stated by its copyist, al-Ḥasan bin ‘Alī, at the end of the manuscript, this copy was made on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijja 1126/1714. It is a complete copy except for a few words which are not clear.¹³⁶

4- The Rabat Public Library copy No. 837J. This copy consists of 97 pages. The handwriting is clear and some times written in coloured ink.

¹³⁶ Due to its importance, I have decided to use this copy as a Subsidiary source.

Having talked in detail about the most important copies of this work, we should now discuss briefly its topic and contents. Its topic cannot be easily or accurately defined, because there is so much diverse literary material. As its title implies, the book discusses two major topics. The first topic is man's daily relationship with his society including conflicts, contradictions and demands, while the second one is religion. This work relies on a number of sources including Arab poets and collections from the pre-Islamic period to the author's time. Studying this book, it appears clear to us that most poems are written by Eastern poets, while there are very few written by poets from al-Andalus.

Although the work concentrates on Eastern Arabic poetry, it contains important poems written by more obscure poets who had no known collections, such as Ibn Buqayla, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥassān, al-Azdī, al-Abīwardī, Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh and Ashja' al-Sulamī. In addition, what distinguishes this book is that it contains poems that may not be found in other sources, either because they were not part of well-known collections or because their original was lost. The book does not talk about poetry only, but rather goes further to include other literary texts, such as prose and an important collection of Arabic proverbs, most of which are still used at the present time.

Rajaz Poems.

As has been mentioned above, Ibn Layūn composed a great number of *rajaz* poems¹³⁷ on different topics including *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, medicine, agriculture, geometry, prosody and *farā'id*, but, unfortunately, all of them were lost except two (poems), namely the *Iksīr fī Ṣinā'at al-Taksīr* on geometry and its terminology and *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-inhā' al-Rajāḥa fī Uṣūl Ṣinā'at al-Filāḥa* on agriculture and gardening and what is related to them.

1- *Al-Iksīr*

This *urjūza* is 196 lines long. There are five copies of it in Morocco. To the best of my knowledge, 3 are in the General Library in Rabat and 2 in the Royal Library. The following is a detailed description of these copies and their importance.

1-The first copy is part of a collection with the number 1178K. It starts from page 205 and ends on 220. It is a complete copy which is in good condition. It is written in clear Moroccan handwriting. The titles of the chapters and sections are written in colour, and the manuscript contains geometrical drawings and shapes, as explained earlier. This copy does not show the copyist's name.

¹³⁷ For more information about *rajaz* see Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *al-'Umda fī Maḥāsīn al-Shi'r wa-Ādābih*, ed. Muḥammad Qarqazān, (Dār al-Ma'rifa, Beirut, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 339- 346; *EL²: Rajaz* (W. Heinrichs, vol. 8, pp. 375-379).

2- The second copy is part of a collection which has the number 1588D. It starts from page 148 and ends on 156. It is complete, but due to the bad handwriting, it cannot be read easily. The copyist is Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī al-Aghṣāwī, and unfortunately, due to the unclear handwriting, it is difficult to tell the date when it was copied.

3- The third copy is also part of a collection with the number 1590D. This copy is incomplete, because 16 lines are missing from the beginning of the poem. In addition, it does not have the date it was copied nor the copyist's name. What is missing from this poem can be added from the two other copies. It should be mentioned here that immediately after the poem's text, comes an explanation by an unknown author. This explanation contains geometrical drawings and diagrams. It is important because it explains much of the terminology used. It is one of many such explanations, which deal with Ibn Layūn's poem.

4- The fourth copy is in the Royal Library in Rabat Morocco. It is part of a collection with the number 752. It starts from page 230 and ends at 246. This copy is distinguished by beautiful clear handwriting. Three colours of ink were used, namely black, red and blue, in order to make it look attractive.

5-The fifth copy is also in the Royal Library in Rabat, and is part of a collection with the number 4949. It starts from page 78 and ends at 82. The copyist is al-Ḥārith b. al-Faḍal; and its date of copying is 4 Rabī' II, 1201/1786. Although this copy is complete, it is badly written. As regards the content, it is much the same as the other copies. The other copies can be used in editing this one to present it in a more acceptable form.

The significance of *al-Iksīr*

This *urjūza* consists of an introduction, a body and a conclusion. In the introduction, the poet talks about his motivation for choosing the topic, and for writing the *urjūza* which is about geometry and its terminology.¹³⁸ On account of Ibn Layūn's interest in teaching, he composed many *rajaz* poems to present different branches of human knowledge to his students. It is likely that teaching was the main reason behind the large number of poems he composed.

In this *urjūza*, Ibn Layūn was concerned to present important and valuable information on geometry and related issues to the reader. Anyone who reads this poem realises that Ibn Layūn was anxious to present as much information as he

¹³⁸ The *urjūza* provides the material to make the subject accessible to students. It contains a definition of geometrical terminology and it discusses geometrical shapes in detail.

could on the theoretical and practical issues of geometry and its terminology. He also presented a great number of geometrical figures as explanation aids.

What distinguishes this poem is that Ibn Layūn was so concerned with brevity as well as preserving all the necessary material, which is a general phenomenon that can be noticed in all his works, whether poetry or prose. Contrary to his contemporaries, Ibn Layūn was always in favour of brevity.

Due to the great scientific importance of this poem, many scholars wrote books, which explain and comment on it. Among these scholars is Abū al-‘Abbās b. Abī al-‘Āfiyah, known as Ibn al-Qāḍī (died in 1025/1616). He wrote a book called *Fatḥ al-Khabīr bi-ḥusn al-Tadbīr li-fakk Rumūz al-Iksīr fī Ṣinā‘at al-Taksīr* in which he studies Ibn Layūn’s poem, comments on it and explains its terminology.

There are three copies of this manuscript in Morocco; one in the Faculty Of Arts Library in Rabat with the number 354; another in the General Library in Rabat with the number 2186D; and the third in the Royal Library in Rabat with the number 2455.

Moreover, Abū ‘Abd allāh b. Abī al-‘Āfiya, known as Ibn al-Qāḍī, (died 1040/1630) also wrote a book explaining this poem called *Sharḥ al-Iksīr*. This work

was edited by Muḥammad al-‘Arabī al-Khaṭṭābī who relied on two manuscripts in the Royal Library in Rabat which have the numbers 53 and 5296; and his work was published in a magazine called *Da‘wat al-Ḥaqq*.¹³⁹ The last writer to be mentioned is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sūsī (died in 1351/1932), who wrote a work explaining Ibn Layūn’s poem. This work is still kept in the General Library in Rabat with the number 2231D. It starts from page 95 and ends on 135. There is also another copy in the Royal Library in Rabat with the number 2860, and a third one in *al-Qarawiyyīn* in Fez with the number 1351.¹⁴⁰ It can be noted that some of the terminology in this poem is difficult, which may be the main reason behind some of the commentaries on it.

Sources of *al-Iksīr*

In composing this *urjūza*, Ibn Layūn relied on sources on geometry which were then available in al-Andalus. He mentioned some of these works in the introduction of the poem, such as works by Thābit b. Qurrah (died in 288/901),¹⁴¹ who excelled in mathematics and astronomy. Ibn Layūn relied mostly on Thābit’s

¹³⁹ Rabat, 1406/1986, August, 258, p. 77.

¹⁴⁰ *Fihris Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn*, Fez.

¹⁴¹ See Ms., no. 1590D. For more information about Thābit b. Qurrah see Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, p. 313.

work *al-Filāḥa*. Ibn Layūn himself states that he also relied on works by Muḥammad b. Faraj, known as al-Rushshāsh.¹⁴²

2-Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa

This poem consists of 1365 lines. It was composed in the *rajaz* metre, a metre suitable for this kind of poetry, since it offers the poet great freedom. The oldest copy of this poem dates back to the poet's time (i.e. one year before he died 749/1348). The Spanish researcher Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez edited and translated this poem into Spanish relying on one copy only which is kept in the University of Granada Library.¹⁴³ This copy is complete, and falls into 50 folios. According to Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, this copy includes 352 commentaries and explanations by another scholar.¹⁴⁴

In fact there is disagreement between the Spanish researcher Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez who claims that the copy is complete and other scholars such as

¹⁴² See Ms, no. p. 205. For more information about the life of Muḥammad b. Faraj al-Rushshāsh see *Bughyat al-W'āt*, vol. 1, p. 586.

¹⁴³ See Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, pp. 19-21. See also Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 187.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Dozy, Simonet and Derenbourg who argue that it is incomplete.¹⁴⁵ However, having read the poem's edited text and the manuscripts kept in the Moroccan libraries, which will be mentioned later, I can say that Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez's argument that the poem is complete is valid. The poem is in 1365 lines; we know this because Ibn Layūn himself mentions this information in the eighth line saying: "I composed it according to the *rajaz* meter, a thousand and a third".¹⁴⁶ This is Ibn Layūn's habit in most of his works. For instance, he does this in his book *Bughyat al-Lmu'ānis, al-Nukhba* and his *rajaz* poem *al-Iksīr* on geometry.

It seems that Dozy, Simonet and Derenbourg have not read the poem in detail, because the description they offer has some mistakes and errors. Consequently, their arguments are inaccurate and need to be reconsidered. In addition to the copy which the Spanish researcher relied on, there are also three copies kept in Morocco as follows: 1. A copy in the Royal Library in Rabat with the number 11872. It is copied with an Andalusian handwriting. It has no date of copying nor the name of the copyist. However, it is full of typographical errors and in addition, it is

¹⁴⁵ H. Derenbourg, *Notes critiques sur les Manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, (Zaragoza 1904), pp. 601-602; Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, pp. XXIII; Francisco Javier Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibericas y latinas entre los mozárabes*, (Madrid 1899), pp. XXI-CLIII. See also Antonio Almagro Cardenas, *Catalogo de los manuscritos arabes que se conservan, en la Universidad de Granada*, (Granada 1899), p. 9.

¹⁴⁶ Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, p. 33.

incomplete, because many lines are missing. 2. There is a copy in the Faculty of Arts in Rabat with the number 264. It was copied in 1177/1763. It falls in to 83 pages. It is copied with a beautiful Moroccan handwriting; and some of its titles are in coloured ink. Like the copy mentioned above, it has no copyist's name, and has some holes due to its old age. 3. Another copy, also in the same library with the number 406, does not have the copyist's name nor the date it was copied. It is copied with a medium-sized Andalusian handwriting.

It should be mentioned here that these copies have not been mentioned by Brockelmann,¹⁴⁷ F. De La Granja,¹⁴⁸ Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez,¹⁴⁹ al-Bustānī,¹⁵⁰ Kaḥḥāla¹⁵¹ or al-Ziriklī¹⁵² when mentioning Ibn Layūn's works. Although Ibn Layūn has written a good number of *rajaz* poems and scientific collections in various areas, such as medicine, agriculture, *ḥadīth*, geometry, prosody and *farāī' d*, his *urjūza* entitled *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa* was more famous during the fourteenth century than the others. This poem has drawn the attention of many historians and researchers, both in the past and in recent times.

¹⁴⁷ See *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, S. 2, p. 380.

¹⁴⁸ *EL²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

¹⁴⁹ Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, pp. 18-9.

¹⁵⁰ See *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257.

¹⁵¹ See *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 210.

¹⁵² See *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 83

It seems that shortly after it was composed, it became a significant reference work in agriculture and gardening within the Iberian Peninsula and abroad. Many historical references state that this poem was a main reference for farmers and gardeners; and up to the present time, many methods mentioned in the poem are still used in agriculture in both Spain and Portugal.

In this century, the *urjūza* drew the attention of many Spanish scientists, who studied and translated part of it into Spanish.¹⁵³ They were particularly interested in the part relating to garden design and its geometry. The seventh part of the poem is considered to be the most interesting and useful one. Due to the importance of this part, some orientalist have taken it to be their main source in studying the natural environment of agriculture and garden design in al-Andalus. It should be mentioned here that the first researchers to study this poem was Lerehemdi and Simonet who translated some of the sections parts related to gardening.¹⁵⁴

Moreover, the researchers Garcia Gomez¹⁵⁵ and Levi-Provençal¹⁵⁶ also benefited from this poem in most of their research. In my opinion, this poem is

¹⁵³ *Crestomatía Árábigo Espanola*. Granada: 1881.

¹⁵⁴ See *ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Emilio Garcia Gómez, *Primavera de flores arabis en reviste*, Madrid 1941, pp. 91-100; Posiblefuetes arabes de la Agricultura General, *al-Andalus*, vi, 1941, pp. 135-55; idem, Sobre Agricultural arabigo Andaluza, *al-Andalus*,vi, 1945, pp. 127-46.

¹⁵⁶ See *El Generalife despues del Inci ndio*, *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 1965, pp. 9-39.

interesting because it deals with an important topic in an unusual and novel way. Ibn Layūn shows clarity of thought and understanding, and his deep knowledge of agriculture. In addition, he took special care with agriculture terminology of agriculture some of which is still used nowadays in Spain and Morocco. In writing his poem, he relied on existing written sources on agriculture and gardening. He also relied on oral sources including professional people. This is quite a long *urjūza*, but Ibn Layūn is concise in his style. The poem well structured and scientifically accurate.

Commentary on the Spanish Work

The Spanish researcher Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, relying on one copy in the Granada Library, edited, translated the *urjūza* into Spanish and published it in Granada in 1975. There are several problems with this work.

In editing this poem, the researcher relied on one copy that was in the Granada Library, which dates back to the time before Ibn Layūn died. She could have looked for other copies in order to find the complete text, and present it in a more complete form. Although her editing has some mistakes, some of these mistakes are due to the wrong reading of the text, while others are due to the bad condition of the manuscript. However, through this work, she has been successful in presenting a shining picture of one of Ibn Layūn's varied activities, and showing the Andalusians' contribution to agriculture, irrigation and ways of caring for trees.

Contents and scientific value of the *urjūza*

The poem contains valuable information on agriculture. It focused on a number of essential issues related to agriculture and gardening, such as types of land, ways of irrigation, (both good and bad), types of water and its effect on plants, types of fertilisers and ways of using them, ploughing seasons, inoculation, diseases which affect trees and fruit and the ways of treating them. He has also included a detailed discussion of different types of land and ways of cultivating them.

The *urjūza* paid special attention to the technical methods concerning the planning of gardens. Ibn Layūn has provided a detailed discussion about plant geometry, garden, and park design. He has also concentrated on the design of gardens in the desert. The poem contains terminology related to agriculture, including names of some machines used in agriculture. In this respect, it should be mentioned that, as many orientalist state, Arabic is rich in agricultural terminology.¹⁵⁷ The author dedicated a special section to good ways of storing and drying fruit, and talked about the ways of making vinegar, wine and jam. He also presented methods and experiments that are important in fighting agricultural diseases.

The poem's sources

Ibn Layūn has relied on two types of sources, written sources and oral ones. As for the first type, Ibn Layūn has relied to a great extent on sources that have been written in the field of agriculture and its sciences, such as Ibn Baṣṣāl's book *al-*

¹⁵⁷ See *EI²: Filāḥa* (Irfan Habib).

Filāḥa,¹⁵⁸ al-Targhnari's¹⁵⁹ books *Zahrat al-Bustān* and *Nuzhat al-Adhhān* and Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī's book *al-Nabāt*.¹⁶⁰

In addition to the written sources, Ibn Layūn took a great part of his information directly from professionals and experts in the field of agriculture and gardening. "It also contains certain valuable information which the author recorded in the words of local practitioners (*mimmā shāfahahu bih ahl al-tajriba wa-al-imiḥān*)".¹⁶¹ Moreover, unlike many writers who came before him, he relied much on experiments, and this makes his *urjūza* a valuable reference on agriculture and issues related to it.¹⁶²

This type of poetry appeared on a wide scale in ancient Arabic poetry because it was easy, to the extent that it was known as *Ḥimār al-Shi'r* 'poetry's donkey'.¹⁶³ It was widely used in both the pre-Islamic period and the Islamic one.¹⁶⁴ Some of the most prominent poets who composed this type of poetry are; al-'Ajājj¹⁶⁵ (died in 97/715) and Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī (died in .130/747).

¹⁵⁸ See *El²: Filāḥa* (Irfan Habib); Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186.

¹⁵⁹ See *ibid.* The name *al-Targhnar* from the name of village now known as Tignar, (a few kilometres north of Granada).

¹⁶⁰ Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dirāsāt*, p. 186.

¹⁶¹ See the *urjūza* Ms Rabat, the Faculty of Arts Library, folio. 2. See also *El²: Filāḥa* (Irfan Habib); E. Garcia Gómez, "Sobre Agricultura Arábigoandaluza", *Al-Andalus*, x, (1945), p. 127.

¹⁶² See Ms, folio. 1-2

¹⁶³ See *Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī*, p. 54. See also *El²: Filāḥa* (Irfan Habib).

¹⁶⁴ 'Atīq, *al-Adab al-'Arabī fī al-Andalus*, pp. 329-38.

¹⁶⁵ See al-Saltī, 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, *al-'Ajjāj Ḥayātuhu wa-rajazuhu*, (Maktabat Aṭlas, Damascus, n.d).

At the beginning, *rajaz* used to cover all poetry subjects, such as praise, love and elegy, but then changed during the Abbasid period to focus on pedagogical issues only. There are many examples on this, such as Ibn Mālik's (died in 672/1673) *Alfiyyah* on grammar,¹⁶⁶ Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī who wrote *rajaz* in deferent subjects,¹⁶⁷ Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *urjūza* known as *al-Ma'lūma* in medicine¹⁶⁸ and his other poem known as *al-Urjūza al-Mu'tamada fī al-Aghdhiya al-Mufrada*.¹⁶⁹

In history, the Andalusian poet Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam al-Ghazāl (died in 250/864)¹⁷⁰ was well known,¹⁷¹ and so was Ibn al-Aḥmar,¹⁷² who composed an *urjuza* entitled *Raḡm al-Ḥulal fī Naẓm al-Duwal*.¹⁷³ Among these, Ibn Layūn is the most prominent figure, because his *rajaz* was distinguished for its strong structure, language and good ideas. Due to its importance, this type of poetry should be the subject of a separate study, in order to discuss its characteristics and more prominent poets more fully.

¹⁶⁶ See *El²: Ibn Mālik* (H. Fleisch). See also Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, pp. 151-155.

¹⁶⁷ See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 1, p. 347. Some of his *rajaz* are in *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb* of al-Maqqarī. See *Nafḥ*, vol. 6, p. 474.

¹⁶⁸ See *El²: Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (J. Bosch-Vila); al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 2, p. 118.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 2, p. 118.

¹⁷⁰ See his full biography in: al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadhwat al-Muqtabas*, pp. 351-353; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ*, vol. 1, p. 449; Ibn Daḥya, *al-Muṭrib*, p. 133; Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib fī Ḥula al-Maghrīb*, vol. 2, pp. 324, 571.

¹⁷¹ Al-Rāfi'ī, *Tārīkh Adāb al-'Arab*, vol. 3, p. 272.

¹⁷² See al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 2, p. 118.

¹⁷³ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, the Ms with the number. 112.

Chapter six

Ibn Layūn's Literary Anthology *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*

This chapter will discuss the importance of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*, its various titles as they appear in different sources, and its relation to *Bahjat al-Majālis*. This chapter will also deal with the differences between the *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* and *Bahjat al-Majālis*. Ibn Layūn based his work on *Bahja*, but used other sources as well, such as the '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*' and *Aḥāsīn al-Maḥāsīn* in compiling the *Bughya*: the evidence for these sources, as well as their identity will be discussed. Evidence detailing Ibn Layūn's distinctive accuracy and meticulousness will also be given, along with showing how these important features gave rise to the widespread use of the work for teaching. The importance of the introduction of *Bughya* will also be mentioned. This thesis includes the first modern edition of the *Bughya*, and so the final section of this chapter justifies the production of this edition in terms of the importance of Ibn Layūn's masterpiece.

Introduction

The most important of Ibn Layūn's works is the *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*. This literary anthology was based on an earlier work, the *Bahjat al-Majālis* by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, but it differs from this earlier work in a number of significant ways. It is systematically organised by topic and form, its language is clear and concise, and each chapter begins with an introduction. The *Bahja* was intended for the enjoyment and entertainment of the general reader. Ibn Layūn, by contrast, clearly intended his *Bughya* to be used as a text book which would give students an overview of Arabic

literature. This use was symptomatic of the increasing role of literary anthologies as teaching texts, a role which intensifies from the time of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. We can see this tendency in other works, such as the work of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/ AH). Ibn Layūn was far more scrupulous than those before him, and many who followed, in the content of what he wrote and the care he took in presenting it.

There is no doubt that Ibn Layūn has benefited a lot from the progress which Arabic anthologies had achieved by the 8th / 14th century. The tendency towards systematization, particularly in *tabwīb*, has become more wide-spread. The more scholastic and pedagogical nature of Ibn Layūn’s work can thus be seen as both the product of his own scholarship and the general intellectual atmosphere of his age.

A better understanding of the *Bughya* of Ibn Layūn will undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of some of the literary activity of the 8th / 14th century, this epoch, and it will also shed light on one of the lesser known, but nonetheless important authors of the time. It was the exceptional quality of this work which caused it to be used as teaching material and meant that it was widely disseminated throughout Al-Andalus, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. Ibn Layūn’s use of language and his manner of arranging the materials sets the *Bughya* apart from other similar anthologies and make it a unique contribution to the literature of this period. (this will be discussed in greater detail later in the present chapter).

The edition of the *Bughya* presented in this thesis will make the great value of the work available to modern scholars. Because the *Bughya* contains poetry that does not appear elsewhere, it will be of considerable service to those concerned with Andalusian studies in particular, and with Arabic studies in general. Many researchers and scholars would find *Bughya* an important and reliable source. Collectors and editors of poetry would also benefit from it. They would see in it one of the first examples of a text which does not have much repetition and does not use the elaborate style usually seen in similar collection. Not only does the editing of the *Bughya* makes available the material within it, but also offers access to an important medium of instruction. Above all the *Bughya* demonstrates how, by his careful sifting of sources, Ibn Layūn created a text which has held an enduring place in literary education in the western Arab world.

The importance of the *Bahja*

Ibn Layūn based his literary anthology, the *Bughya*, on an earlier work, *Bahjat al-Majālis wa-uns al-Majālis*. The *Bahja* is a medium-length anthology, bringing together poetry and prose including Qurānic verses and *ḥadīth*. It has been published in three volumes¹.

¹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Bahjat al-Majālis*, ed. M. M. al-Khūlī, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1982.

The work was compiled by Ibn ‘Abd-al-Barr in the 11th century,² but there is no mention of the exact time when the work was written or finished, or even how many years it took to gather together this large work. According to sources including Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr wrote most of his works in the town of Daniya.³ However, at the end of *Bahja*, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr states that the work was written away from some of his sources, and he apologises for any errors or mistakes.

It would appear that *Bahja* was not written in Daniya. There is no direct evidence about where *Bahja* was written; there is not even a dedication in the work which would cast light on the problem. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr visited and stayed in other places like Cordoba, Badajoz, Valencia and it is likely that *Bahja* was written in one of these.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was a *faqīh* and it is therefore unsurprising that most of his works other than the *Bahja* were concerned with legal matters (for example *al-Tamhīd* and *al-Kāfī fī al-Fiqh ‘Alā Madhhab Mālik*). He may even have written the *Bahja* to

² Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was born in Cordoba in 368 ah, but spent most of his life in Daniya, where he created most of his works. Ibn Layūn wrote at considerable length about Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr in his introduction to *Bughya*. This biography was based on sources, some of which no longer exist, and it is the most complete and detailed biography, which we have. For more details see the edited text.

³ Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 2, p. 767.

show that he was capable of extending his literary interests (Ibn Layūn, by contrast, wrote extensively about literature and language).

As can be seen from the full name of the *Bahja* (*Bahjat al-Majālis wa-uns al-Majālis*), Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s anthology was compiled for the general public to both discuss and enjoy.

The *Bahja* was an important collection of its day. In fact, Ibn Layūn’s choice of *Bahja* stems from his appreciation for the scholarly effort of his predecessor, Ibn ‘Abd al-Bar. He must have felt that *Bahja* was a valuable source of information for students and the general public, which included a considerable amount of knowledge about essential works of literature, and which had potential academic value. It is clear that *Bahja* is different from other similar anthologies such as ‘*Uyūn al-Akhhār* and *al-Iqd al-Farīd*. In *Bahja*, chapters are short, usually spanning two to four pages, while in these other works, chapters are longer, upto thirty or more pages. This may have made it easier for Ibn Layūn to isolate the works he wished to adopt for particular themes.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr wrote the *Bahja* for his own and others’ enjoyment, never intending the work to be an academic study, or that it would form part of a teaching curriculum. The material is not systematically presented nor is it free from errors. Chapters are neither linked to each other nor introduced or concluded carefully.

When quoting *ḥadīth*, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr does not specify whether they are weak or strong (*Da‘īf* or *Ṣaḥīḥ*) nor does he even always distinguish between true and false *ḥadīth*. Moreover, when quoting poetry, Ibn ‘Abd-al-Barr sometimes falsely attributed the authors of those poems he cited and the poems themselves were often only partially reproduced. Sometimes bits of a poem are scattered throughout other pieces of writing. Instances of this are mentioned below. For these reasons, Ibn Layūn had to make improvements to the work he had chosen as the basis for his own, scholastic anthology.

We have no direct evidence bearing on the popularity of the *Bahja*. However, we can infer from the number of manuscripts which survive in Morocco, Tunis and Egypt that it had wide circulation. Given its intended role as a source of entertainment, it must have succeeded to gain this kind of circulation. It may also have had particular popularity in Andalusia because of its local origin. In fact, the local origin of the work may have been a major reason for Ibn-Layūn choosing the *Bahja* as a basis for his *Bughya*. He shows a clear preference for the works of Andalusian authors. Other reasons may have contributed to his choice as well. It may have been that his students were already familiar with the *Bahja* as a popular work. Alternatively, he himself may have seen particular merit in it, and so chose to offer it in a systematised, annotated and updated form to his students.

The importance of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*

There is little doubt that the *Bughya al-Mu'ānis* the most important of Ibn Layūn's works, displaying his talent to the utmost, and it also qualifies as one of the most valuable works of the 8th/14th. This is testified by the remarks, of his contemporaries, of his students, and writers of subsequent generations. The fact that it was so widely disseminated and used for didactic purposes is sufficient evidence for the high esteem it enjoyed.⁴ *Bughya al-Mu'ānis* is of inestimable value by virtue of the fact that it contains prose and poetry which has not survived elsewhere and this includes works by both known and unknown poets. Of the former, the following examples should be mentioned: Maḥmūd al-Warrāq with 23 lines, Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh with 17 lines, Abū al-'Atāhiya with 3 lines, al-Buḥturī with 3 lines and Abū Tammām with 2 lines. (See tables in appendix d) Ibn Layūn's contribution is of great value to scholars wishing to edit collections of poems by authors whose works are already known, including Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh and Maḥmūd al-Warrāq. The work also provides a good basis for compiling collections of works by obscure poets where there are as yet no surviving collections. Examples of such poets are: 'Ammār al-Kalbī with 15 lines. Naṣr b. Aḥmad with 9 lines, Ibn Wakī' and Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān with 6 lines. The *Bughya* contains also some poetry by well-known authors such as Maḥmūd al-Warrāq, Ibn al-Rūmī, Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh, Abu Tammām which appears in very few sources but the *Bahja* is not one of them. Table 6 indicates the

⁴ Ibn al-Qāḍī, p. 122.

total number of verses by different poets, both known and unknown, which appear in the *Bughya*.⁵

Biographies of Ibn Layūn and the testimony of his students attach great importance to his intellectual life, his library, and his passion for comparing and correcting earlier works, and it must be supposed that these attributions were not arbitrary or without adequate foundation. These sources paint a picture of a man who would indeed carefully consider the *dīwāns* and other sources available to him.

During the 8th/ 14th century, a number of writers, including Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, relied on Ibn Layūn as an authority. Other, later authors such as and al-Maqqarī (11th/17th) did so as well. The evidence for this is found in *Maziyyat al-Mariyya* and *Azhār al-Riyāḍ* (which are very important sources). Al-Maqqarī wrote:
أورد المقرئ في كتابه أزهار الرياض ما قاله ابن خاتمة في كتابه مزية المرية: أثناء حديثه عن ابن خميس التلمساني أنه قال: (أنشدنا شيخنا أبو عثمان بن ليون غير مره قال: سمعت أبا عبد الله بن خميس ينشد، وكان يُحسبُ أنها له ويقال أنَّهما لابن الرومي)⁶.

Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī wrote:

قال بن خاتمة (ومن شعر ابن عبد النور ما أنشدنا له شيخنا الأستاذ المصنّف أبو عثمان بن ليون عنه)⁷.

⁵ See appendix D.

⁶ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

⁷ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 124.

Differences between the *Bughya* and the *Bahja*

Ibn Layūn felt that the *Bahja* was defective because of numerous omissions and oversights. This prompted him to make a selection (*intiqā'*) of the original work to make it more systematic, refined and accurate. His contribution therefore, lies in the refinement and systematisation of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Bahja*.

Differences in style

In contrast to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, who compiled his work for entertainment, Ibn Layūn clearly intended his *Bughya* to be used as a text book which would give students an overview of literature. Although he was not the first scholar to arrange the materials he collected for teaching purposes, Ibn Layūn was far more scrupulous than those before him in the content of what he wrote and the care he took in presenting it. Another clear difference between Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn Layūn is that the latter went directly to a topic and examined it comprehensively before moving on to the next topic. This careful arrangement of material means that, at times, Ibn Layūn re-arranged Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's writings by collecting related ideas that the earlier author had scattered throughout his *Bahja*. Moreover, Ibn Layūn continued the tendency, begun after the time of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, of presenting his ideas under a set of increasingly standardised chapter headings. Such care in the structuring of information is consistent with its use as a textbook (and helps to explain both why it is

still being using in this way at the *Zaytūna* Mosque, in Tunis and why as many as twenty five copies of the *Bughya* have survived over the centuries).⁸

There was an increasing tendency to use literary anthologies as teaching texts that intensified from the time of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. Because Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr apparently had no overall aim or plan in writing his *Bahja* beyond entertainment (as he himself states in introducing the book), he tended to follow the general practice of the time by jumbling up his topics in an unsystematic manner, which can prove confusing for the reader. He was also careless in his attribution of quotations and did not always present them in a well-structured manner. Ibn Layūn, however, was invariably accurate and systematic in his use of quotations. Such scholarly care recalls the words of Ibn Khaldūn:

((هذا العلم لا موضوع له يُنظَر في إثبات عوارضه أو نفيها وإنما المقصود منه عند أهل اللسان ثمرته وهي الإجادة في المنظوم والمنثور على أساليب العرب ومناحيهم؛ فيجمعون لذلك من كلام العرب ما عساه تحصل به الملكة من شعر عالي الطبقة))

Further evidence of differing aims of Ibn ‘Abd-al-Barr’s *Bahjat al- Majālis* can be found in his habit of using very similarly titled chapters, into which he would sometimes put inappropriate material. This again reflects his relative lack of interest in effectively collating and organising his material effectively. Examples of this are given later in the chapter, but it is again consistent with an author whose aim was less systematic scholarship than producing something for more general enjoyment.

⁸ For more information see chapter seven, pp. 253-4.

Ibn Layūn was meticulous about authenticity. He is certain about the veracity of the *ḥadīth* he quotes, for example, and will sometimes supplement material taken from the *Bahja* with various sources. Conversely, he ignores parts of the *Bahja* that he suspects are unsuitable or incorrect. This again shows how Ibn Layūn's aim differed from that of Ibn 'Abd-al-Barr's, and how he was writing primarily to facilitate his students' learning and to rectify mistakes made by previous authors. This is clearly seen, for example, in the discussion of the *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*, *al-Ināla*, *al-Nukhba* and *Bughya*.

Although the *Bughya* is concerned with literature in general, Ibn Layūn is mainly concerned with poetry (with some of his chapters containing nothing but this). But whereas Ibn 'Abd al-Barr scattered the poetry he quotes throughout his *Bahja*, Ibn Layūn arranged the poetry in *Bughya* into his own system, in keeping with his desire to organise the knowledge he had collected. Ibn Layūn also includes more Andalusian texts than Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, even though the *Bughya* is shorter than *Bahja*.

Ibn Layūn's meticulousness is shown, not just in the way he arranged the poetry he collected, but also the way he arranged most of the chapters of the *Bughya* which follow a clear structure whereby the relevant facets of the Qur'ān, then the *ḥadīth*, then literature are respectively considered. Furthermore, in contrast to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's carefree approach to acknowledging his sources – he doesn't mention any – Ibn Layūn names his in detail in his introduction. Still more evidence of the relative laxity of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's scholarship is suggested by the fact that he nowhere mentions the sources to his *Bahja*.

In writing the work Ibn Layūn seems to have tried hard to show his ability in abbreviating and shortening long works by other authors, an ability which he reveals in a number of works to such a degree that some scholars tended to prefer his shortened versions to the original longer ones.⁹ This preference may be attributed to the following:

1. His rearrangement and re-coordination of the materials in the abridged work.
2. The avoidance of repetition.
3. The emphasis is on poetical texts in particular as the basic material of the work. These also he re-arranged carefully in a new and more appropriate order.
4. The omission of obsolete or obscure words, badly constructed phrases or complicated sentences, replacing them with more intelligible and simpler ones.
5. The correction of any errors regarding the authorship of the quoted texts, whether poetry or prose.
6. The comments which he made on the texts quoted and the events or situations with which they are concerned.

The *Bughya* is written in a style notable for its simplicity, its lack of repetition, and its avoidance of obscure and obsolete words. Ibn al-Khaṭīb stated that Ibn Layūn's style is notable for its simplicity and avoidance of repetition: (One of his students commented that Ibn Layūn was unsurpassed in the quality of

⁹ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 1, p. 121. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 4, p. 543.

summarising texts, saying: “[Ibn Layūn] summarises [a work], and people consider that he has created the inimitable”.¹⁰ ((يلخص ويوجز ويظن أنه يعجز))

Many lines in the *Bahja* appear upto four times even within the same chapter. In contrast, Ibn Layūn takes care not to include redundant material. Moreover, the chapter called *Fī al-Nisā'* appears twice in the original as does the chapter *al-Ziyāra wa- al-'Iyāda* while *Fī al-Ṣulṭān* appears as a chapter heading once, and also as the title of non-chapter section elsewhere. In each of these cases, Ibn Layūn consolidates the material into a single chapter. Due to this simplicity, the *Bughya* is a work of value both to the academic student and to the general reader, covering as it does a wide range of subjects dealt with by Arabic poets from the pre-Islamic period up to the time of its writing, that is to say, a period of six centuries.

New Material in the *Bughya*

It is important to note that Ibn Layūn contributed a lot of new material when writing the *Bughya*. While some new material occurs in most chapters, the bulk of it was arranged into two chapters that did not appear in the *Bahja*, and again suggests that Ibn Layūn wanted to compile a resource that could serve as a complete, as well as comprehensible text for students. The new chapters are: *fī dhamm al-Khilāf*, *fī al-*

¹⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87. See also al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187; *Awṣāf*, p. 127; al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat*, vol. 2, p. 257.

Mushātama and *Abyāt yutamaththal bihā*. The latter alone constitutes around one third of the complete manuscript, occupying 51 pages out of a total of 149 pages. What makes this chapter particularly important is the fact that it consists entirely of poetry and forms 39 % of the total poetic content of the work. The corrections made by Ibn Layūn are of considerable value to academics and scholars, and especially to anyone wishing to re-edit *Bahja*. He renames Ibn ‘Abd Barr’s *Fī thalātha* to *Fī al-Ḥikam al-Ma’dūda* and adds to it maxims on the numbers four and five. Furthermore, he also added poetry and prose to the chapters he relied on from the original sources, redistributing and re-arranging information as he considered appropriate, thus forming a text which can be seen as new and viable in its own right.¹¹ If we compare the *Bahja* chapters *al-Zann* and chapter *al-Jidāl* with Ibn Layūn’s work on the same passage, it is evident that he has re-arranged the text. Several chapters of the *Bahja* contain material which is misplaced. Ibn Layūn re-arranges this material so that it appears in an appropriate chapter. In many cases, Ibn Layūn creates new chapters for material. An example is the material concerning *al-Mirā’ wa-al-Khuṣūma* in the *Bahja*, which Ibn Layūn puts into a chapter headed *al-Jidāl* in his work. The extent of his own contribution will be illustrated in the numerical tables to be shown later.¹²

¹¹ See the edited text.

¹² See Appendix D.

The most important and largest chapter of Ibn Layūn's work, is the one entitled 'On Commonly Quoted Verses' (أبيات يتمثل بها). It may be described as his most valuable contribution. As can be seen from the title of this chapter, it concentrates mainly on poetic wisdom and proverbs. Ibn Layūn, therefore, mainly quotes the well-known who used wisdom and proverbs. Examples are: Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Ṭarafā b. al-'Abd, Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Qaddūs and Abū al-'Atāhiya. Less-known poets, such as Ibn Haram, 'Urwa b. Watīl, 'Umar b. Abī 'Uyayna, al-Lajlāj al-Ḥārītī, Sa'īd b. hamīd and al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, Sahl al-Warrāq, are also included. Ibn Layūn made room for Andalusia poets as well, including: Yaḥya al-Ghazāl, Bakr al-Tāhirtī and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. The chapter comprises 51 pages, and contains a large number of poems.¹³

In fact, the poetry contained in this chapter alone provide sufficient material for an independent study and constitutes almost a quarter of the entire work. It covers all the ages of Arabic literature from the pre-Islamic period to the time of Ibn Layūn. It is probable, from the length and scope of this chapter, that Ibn Layūn may have originally intended it to be a separate work. The chapter may have been added to *Bughya* by Ibn Layūn himself to give an overview of Arabic literature; the other possibility is that a student or students added it. In either case, the chapter gives a clear indication of Ibn Layūn's style and cultural milieu.

¹³ See table 6.

The chapter also gives a clear picture of Ibn Layūn's literary taste and tendencies. He has concentrated on such poets as Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Abū al-'Atāhiyah, 'Alī b. al-Jahm, and Ibn 'Abd al-Qaddūs. His quotations from them are verses which can be described as proverbs and words of wisdom.¹⁴

Comparing this chapter to other works such as Bahja, '*Uyūn al-Akhhār*, *Aḥsan mā Sami't*, *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā'* and *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, we find no chapter of the same length or comprehensiveness and none which cover the whole period from before the coming of Islām to the time of the other. For example, al-Tha'ālibi's *al-Thamthīl wa-l-muḥādara* contains a chapter on this topic. It covers, however, less material than Ibn Layūn's, is not ordered systematically and is more repetitious. Again, in comparison with similar works, this chapters contains many important Andalusian texts. Whereas other works concentrate on texts from the East including those collated by Andalusian authors.

In Contrast to the epilogues of many books, the epilogue of Ibn Layūn's work contains some useful and important information about the number of verses and sayings of the Prophet quoted in it. This was of great help in the process of editing

¹⁴ See the edited text, pp. 693-739.

Bughya. As the reader will see, this information enabled us to place in the footnotes the verses which it is believed were added to the work by others such as copyists and transcribers. In addition, the epilogue of the book mentions the date 737/1336 in which Ibn Layūn finished the work.¹⁵ It is anticipated that the verification and editing of this work will enable scholars to re-examine some of the poetic pieces which have already been published, and to add to them the new ones found in the *Bughya* alone.

It is clear that Ibn Layūn has succeeded in achieving his aim in writing the book; he has managed to avoid any repetition of texts, presented the different themes that he treated in a concise and well-organized form, and followed the same method throughout the whole work. In reading the book we feel that Ibn Layūn never lost his interest in the work, in spite of its huge size.

It may be considered that Ibn Layūn's work will be indispensable to any scholar or student concerned with classical Arabic literature. This might be due to the multitude and variety of their sources, though the main reason appears to be that they were not accustomed to the modern scientific method which demands clear and full references to sources. The *Bughya* contains many verses by Maḥmūd al-Warrāq, Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh, Abū al-'Atāhiya, Yaḥya al-Ghazāl, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Abū

¹⁵ This date is found only in the manuscript no. 6946, The Royal Library: "It was finished in the middle of Sha'bān, the year 737/1336." See folio. 87 b.

Bakr al-‘Arzamī, al-Nāshī’ al-Akbar, Sahl al-Warrāq Kushājim, al-Ḥasan of Baṣrah,
al-Babaghā’ and Sa‘īd b. Ḥumayd not found in their *dīwāns* or collected poems.

Corrections made by Ibn Layūn

Amongst the problems facing modern scholars of early Arabic texts is the tendency writers then had of using unattributed, or falsely attributed, quotes throughout their works. This can be seen, for example in *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār, al-'Iqd al-Farīd* as well as the *Bahja*. Ibn Layūn was diligent in his attributions of quotes and, on several occasion, he found authors for previously unattributed poems. Note that we are not here concerned with the accuracy of Ibn Layūn's attribution, but rather the fact that he supplied them where many others did not. Some examples are as follows:

in the *Bahja*

وقال آخر: (بهمجة المجالس: 526/2)

وإنك إن حللت بدار قوم رحلت بخزية وتركت عارا

is unattributed; Ibn Layūn correctly attributes this to Jarīr. Clearly, he had access to materials other than the *Bahja* from which the correct attribution could be obtained¹⁶.

The attribution is made thus:

والجرير:

وإنك إن حللت بدار قوم، رحلت بخزية وتركت عارا

Another example is the following

وقال آخر: (بهمجة المجالس: 656/2)

كل خليل كنت خالته لا ترك الله له واضحة

كلهم أروغ من ثعلب ما أشبه الليلة بالبارحة

which is unattributed in the *Bahja*, but Ibn Layūn attributes this to Ṭarafa b. al-

'Abd.¹⁷

¹⁶ See the edited text. vol. 2, p. 527.

Another example:

قال آخر: (بمجة المجالس: 796/2)
ذكر الفتى عمره الثاني، وحاجته ما قاته، وفضول العيش أشغال

is unattributed in the *Bahja*, but Ibn Layūn attributes this to al-Mutanabbī. His claim is substantiated by the fact that the verse appears in al-Mutanabbī *Dīwān*

وللمتنبى: بغية المؤانس: 618/2

ذكر الفتى عمره الباقي وحاجته ما فاته وفضول العيش أشغال

Another example is:

قال الشاعر: (بمجة المجالس: 702/2)

إذا وترت امرءاً فأحذر عداوته من يزرع الشوك لا يحصد به عنبا
إن العدو وإن أبدى بشاشته إذا رأى منك يوماً فرصة وثبا

which is unattributed in the *Bahja*, at least in this repetition, but Ibn Layūn attributes this to Ibn ‘Abd al-Quddūs.

Another example is:

وقال آخر: بمجة المجالس: 777/2

أشد عداوة وأقل نفعا من الرجل البعيد الأقربونا

which is unattributed in the *Bahja*, but Ibn Layūn attributes this to Manṣūr al-Faqīh.

The sources used in preparing the current edition do not confirm Ibn Layūn’s attribution: however he may have had other sources available to him which are no longer available to us. Ibn al-Qāḍī recounts (quoted here on p. 221) how Ibn Layūn was embarrassed in mis-attributing a source, and thereafter was meticulous in checking

¹⁷ See the edited text, vol. 2, p. 576. See also *Bahja*, vol. 2, p. 656.

attributions. It is unlikely that Ibn Layūn would make an attribution without firm evidence. Here is the attribution:

ولمنصور الفقيه: بغية المؤانس: 611/2
أشد عداوة وأقل نفعاً من الرجل البعيد الأقربونا

Again in *Bahja*:

وقال آخر: بهجة المجالس: 279
وما أرسل الأقوام في حاجة أمضى ولا أنفع من درهم

is unattributed, whereas Ibn Layūn attributes this to al-Ḥimyarī, again, there are no current sources supporting Ibn Layūn's claim, but, once again, it is unlikely he would made an attribution without confirmation.

وللسيد الحميري: بغية المؤانس: 412
ما أرسل الأقوام في حاجة أمضى ولا أنفع من درهم

Again in *Bahja*:

وقال آخر: (بهجة المجالس: 778/2
ولا خير في قربي، لغيرك نفعها
ولا في صديق لا تزال تعاتبه
ويخونك ذو القربى مرارا، وربما
وفي لك عند الجهد من لا تناسبه

is unattributed, whereas Ibn Layūn attributes this to Ibn al-Rūmī

ولابن الرومي: بغية المؤانس: 611/1
ولا خير في قربي، لغيرك نفعها
ولا في صديق لا تزال تعاتبه
ويخونك ذو القربى مرارا، وربما
وليس عتاب الناس للحر نافعاً
وفي لك عند الكرب من لا تناسبه
إذا لم يكن للمرء لب يعاتبه

The fact that Ibn Layūn was able to add a further line to the verse beyond what was available in the *Bahja* suggests strongly that he had an alternative source, which may well have also given him the attribution to Ibn al-Rūmī.

A final example:

	وقال آخر: بهجة المجالس: 435/2
رب من صاحبه مثل الجرب	اصحب الأختيار وأرغب فيهم
وإذا شامت فاشتم ذا حسب	ودع الناس ولا تشتمهم
يبدل الصفر بأعيان الذهب	إن من سب لئىما كالذي

is unattributed in *Bahja*, whereas Ibn Layūn attributes this to al-Dārimī:

	وللدارمي: بغية المؤانس: 485/1
وإذا شامت، فاشتم ذا حسب	اصحب الأختيار، وأرغب فيهم،
يبدل الصفر بأعيان الذهب	إن من سب لئىما كالذي

Note that Ibn Layūn was not the only author to make this attribution. An earlier author, al-Tha‘ālibī also gives al-Dārimī as the author of this verse.

The following are some examples of corrections which Ibn Layūn makes regarding wrongly attributed to al-‘Alā’ b. Qarāza but Ibn Layūn attributes it to al-Farazdaq:

	وقال العلاء بن قرظة، حال الفرزدق: بهجة المجالس: 747/2
حوادثه أناخ بأخرينا	إذا ما الدهر جر على أناس
سيلقى الشامتون كما لقينا!	فقل للشامتين بنا أفيقوا
	وللفرزدق: بغية المؤانس: 602/1
حوادثه أناخ بأخرينا	إذا ما الدهر جر على أناس
سيلقى الشامتون كما لقينا!	فقل للشامتين بنا أفيقوا

It is possible that this attribution is incorrect. However, even if so, Ibn Layūn did not make it with disregard for sources available at his time, he agrees with Ibn Qutayba.

Other authors make different attributions, but none seems intrinsically more worthy than that shared by Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Layūn.

A further case is:

قال داود بن جهور، وتنسب إلى منصور، وليست له وقد رويناها لداود، والله أعلم: (بهجة المجالس: 796/2)

إذا أعجبتك طباع امرئ
فليس على الجود والمكرمات
فكنه، يكن منك ما يعجبك
حجاب إذا جئته يحجبك

attributed to Dāwud in *Bahja*, despite recognising the fact that others attribute the verse to Manṣūr al-Faqīh. In contrast to Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn Layūn sides with these other sources:

ولمنصور الفقيه: بغية المؤانس: 618/1

إذا أعجبتك خصال امرئ
فليس على المجد والمكرمات
فكنها، يكن منك ما يعجبك
إذا جئتها، حاجب يحجبك

Again:

وللحسن بن هانئ: بهجة المجالس: 379/1

خف الله وأرجوه لكل عظمة
ولا تطع النفس اللجوج فتندما

which was wrongly attributed to al-Ḥasan b. al-Hānī, is correctly attributed by Ibn Layūn to al-Shāfi‘ī. This is supported at least by Yāqūt.¹⁸

وللشافعي: بغية المؤانس: 456

خف الله وأرجوه لكل عظمة،
ولا تطع النفس اللجوج فتندما

Again:

وللحسن بن هانئ: بهجة المجالس: 379/1

¹⁸ See *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*. 17: 303.

قد كنت خفتك، ثم آمنني، من أن أخافك، خوفك الله

which was attributed to al-Ḥasan b. al-Hānī, is attributed by Ibn Layūn to al-Shāfi‘ī:

وله: بغية الموانس: 457

قد كنت خفتك ثم آمنني من أن أخافك خوفك الله

We cannot confirm this attribution from extant sources.

Another example is:

وقال يونس: بهجة المجالس: 171/1

إن الوقوف على الأبواب حرمان
ثق بالذي هو يعطي ذا ويمنع ذا
والعجز أن يرجو الإنسان إنسان
في كل يوم له في خلقه شان

which was attributed to Yūnus, is attributed by Ibn Layūn to Mu’nis:

ولمؤنس: بغية الموانس: 368

إن الوقوف على الأبواب حرمان
ثق بالذي هو يعطي ذا ويمنع ذا
والعجز أن يرجو الإنسان إنسان
في كل يوم له خلقه شان

This may not be an error by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, the Yūnus form may be a copyist’s error.

In a number of cases, poetry is attributed to two or even three poets in the *Bahja*. Ibn Layūn reduces the options and attributes the poem to two authors or only one. His judgements, in most cases, are shown to be accurate and this can be seen by comparing his judgements with his sources.¹⁹

ولبعض بني غني في قومه: بغية الموانس 520/1

هينون لينون أيسار بنو يسر
من تلق منهم، تقل لاقيت سيدهم
سواس مكرمة، أبناء أيسار
مثل النجوم التي يسري بها الساري

¹⁹ For example, see the edited text, pp. 520.

لا ينطقون عن الفحشاء إن نطقوا، ولا يمارون، إن ماروا بإكثار
 ومدح بعض بني عمرو اخوته فقال: بمحة المجالس: 505/2
 خبر ثناء بني عمرو فإنهم أولو فضول وأنفال وأخطار
 هينون لينون أيسار بنو يسر سواس مكرمة، أبناء أيسار
 من تلق منهم، تقل لاقيت سيدهم مثل النجوم التي يسري بها الساري
 لا ينطقون عن الفحشاء إن نطقوا، ولا يمارون، إن ماروا بإكثار
 وقد قيل: إن هذا الشعر لبعض بني كلاب يمدح بعض بني غني...

ولمحمود الوراق: بغية المؤانس: 465
 تعصى الإله وأنت تظهر حبه، هذا محال في القياس بديع
 لو كان حبك صادقا، لأطعته، إن المحب لمن يحب مطيع

قال محمود الوراق، وتنسب إلى الشافعي: بمحة المجالس: 395/1
 تعصى الإله وأنت تظهر حبه هذا محال في القياس بديع
 لو كان حبك صادقا لأطعته إن المحب لمن يحب مطيع

The attribution given by Ibn Layūn to Maḥmūd al-Warrāq is supported by many other sources including *al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḍara* and *Zahr al-Ādāb* (see the edition, vol. 2, p. 465).

ولرجل من بني قريع أو للمعلوط، وقيل: إنها لحاتم الطائي: بمحة المجالس: 189
 وليس الغنى والفقر من حيلة الفتى ولكن أحاط قسمت وجدود
 ولرجل من بني زيغ: بغية المؤانس: 375
 وليس الغنا والفقر من حيلة الفتى ولكن أحاط قسمت وجدود

The above are only a few examples of Ibn Layūn's skill in this regard.

In addition to the corrections he made, Ibn Layūn also made numerous modifications both to the poetic and the prose material of his sources. While it could be questioned whether the original poets and writers would themselves have welcomed such alterations to their own material, it seems that Ibn Layūn was wanting to improve works from his own perspective as both poet and scholar. He sometimes changed a single word and sometimes a phrase. Occasionally he would change the rhyming word “*Qāfiya*” either in a single line or in a group of lines and sometimes he would change the sequence of lines. Such changes were frequently for the better. We find examples where he replaces the second half of one line with the second half of another, either from the same poem or even from another poem. Sometimes he changed prose to poetry, or vice-versa. A more complete discussion of changes of this type is given in index D.

It may seem inconsistent to laud Ibn Layūn for doing precisely what Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was criticised for: making changes in the verses quoted. But there is a crucial difference. Ibn Layūn clearly modified his quotations, apparently to better fit them to his didactic purposes. The changes appearing in the verses collected by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, however, seem to be accidental.

The distinctive use of the *Bughya*

The *Bahja* is not recorded as having been used for educational purposes. As noted above, the compiler intended it for recreational use. In contrast, the *Bughya* was intended from the beginning for this role. He states this clearly in his introduction.

Ibn Layūn used the *Bughya* himself for many years in teaching his students. His students in turn also used it for the same purpose. We know this from a note written by Ibn Layūn himself, giving a student licence to teach using the *Bughya*.

قال ابن ليون: [الحمد لله كما يجب بحاله والصلاة التامة على سيدنا محمد وآله، سمعه من لفظي بمسجدي من سند قصة المرية عمره الله تعالى بذكره وحرسها، كاتبه بخط يده لنفسه الفقيه الأرفع الأجل الفاضل الماجد المجتهد العدل، أبو النعيم رضوان، ابن الشيخ الفقيه أبي عثمان سعد بن مالك الرباحي. وله أعزه الله أن يروي عني ويرويه. قال ذلك وكتبه بخط يده الفانية العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى سعد بن أحمد بن ليون التجيبي أواسط صيف عام تسعة وأربعين وسبعمائة].

The work became so admired as a pedagogical tool, that it spread to schools throughout the Maghreb. Many prominent literary figures, among them Ibn Khātima and Ibn Layūn's own student, al-Ḥaḍramī, owed much to the *Bughya*, and indeed Ibn al-Khaṭīb acknowledged his indebtedness to the work. He wrote in his book *al-Iḥāṭa*, “ I relied on his works and benefited from them a lot”²⁰. In connection with this, important sources mention that his works are of greater value than the original works that he used in his writings.²¹

²⁰ Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 87.

²¹ See Ibn al-Qāḍī, p. 122. See also *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*, Ms, no. 1897, The Royal Library, Rabat, folio. 1.

Not only Ibn Layūn's students, but other scholars admired the *Bughya* described it as much better than Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Bahja*. Ibn al-Qāḍī stated that the work of Ibn Layūn is much better than the original. This leaves us in no doubt about the value which teachers and scholars have seen in the *Bughya*.

The *Bughya* as summary and selection

In creating the *Bughya*, Ibn Layūn relied most heavily on *Bahjat al-Majālis wa-uns al-Majālis* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr. Al-Maqqarī, for example, describes the *Bughya* as an *ikhtiṣār* of the *Bahja*.²² However, the author of the *Bughya* did not state that his work was a summary of the *Bahja*. Indeed he specifically used the term "selection" (*intiqā*). This was made clear in the introduction which Ibn Layūn wrote to the work. He says: "I have selected pieces which sound well both in deliberation and memorisation and will appeal (to students) in lecturing, with the intention of facilitating the memorisation of precious literary pieces, and offering the best and most essential works of literature."²³ What is more, at the end of the text he repeats the word "selection" when he writes:²⁴

((منتقاة أبياته الشعرية)) .

This suggests that perhaps his choice of the word *intiqā*' is intended to distinguish it from being purely an *ikhtiṣār* and supports the view that *Bughya* is indeed a selection

²² See *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543.

²³ See the edited text, p. 298.

²⁴ See the edited text.

rather a summary of *Bahja*. The fact that *Bughya* contains materials which do not appear in *Bahja* would also lead us to the same conclusion. There is further evidence for this when he uses *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā* “selection” as a title of one of his works. As we have mentioned above, one of the titles, *Muntakhab al-Nafā'is*, uses the word *intikhāb*. This again leads to the conclusion that *Bughya* is a selection rather than an abridgement or a summary (*ikhtiṣār*). As a distinguished scholar and master of precision in the use of language, one can assume that he deliberately used the term “selection” as opposed to “summary”, which is used by other authors. This had the advantage that it gave him a framework which allowed him the scope he needed to add material of his own, from others, and to correct his sources. It means that he could re-arrange the sequence of his material as he thought appropriate.²⁵ The above can also be clearly seen in the following works of Ibn Layūn: *Lamḥ al-Siḥr*, *al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā*, *al-Ināla al-'Ilmiyya* and *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*. It will be demonstrated later that the *Bughya* is in fact a selection from various sources and Ibn Layūn not only used the *Bahja*, but he used other sources including *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* and *al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḍara* as well as a number of *diwāns*²⁶ which will be discussed later on.

²⁵ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, Ms, no. 2189, The General Library, Rabat, p. 122.

²⁶ *Bughya* contains poetry, for example, Maḥmūd al-Warrāq and Manṣūr al-Faqīh which appears nowhere else not even in their collections.

The question which might arise here is, do the terms *ikhtiṣār* and *intiqā'* refer to two separate genres? It does appear that this is the case, because Ibn Layūn uses *ikhtiṣār ikhtiṣār* in other works to mean a “summary” or abridgement. This is demonstrated by the fact that he uses the term *ikhtiṣār* when he really does intend to abridge. He writes in the introduction to *Lamḥ* :

(وسقته على نسقه، ليكون ذلك أبقى لجماله ورونقه)

and in the conclusion of *Lamḥ* :

((انتهى الاختصار والحمد لله حق حمده...))

Under this division of genres, it is clear that the word *intiqā'* is used because other material by other authors is being included. One has to ask where else he could have found this material except from other sources, especially the material in, for example, the following chapters: *Abyāt Yutamaththal Bihā, fī Dhamm al-Khilāf*. Again, one has to ask how Ibn Layūn could have corrected and accurately attributed a number of these texts without relying on other sources. Moreover in his introduction to *Bughya*, Ibn Layūn mentions sources which he has used such as *al-Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl, and *al-Madārik* of Ibn 'Iyād. This use of *intiqā'* is supported by its use in other 13th / 14th century works where it clearly means a selection of material from a variety of sources including the works of Ibn Sa'īd, al-Ṣafadī, Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī and *Mukhtārāt* Ibn 'Azīm al-Andalusī.²⁷ Quotation from the

²⁷ Ms Leiden, number. 30, the Introduction; al-Qādirī, *al-Iklīl wa-al-Tāj ma'a Ziyāda ilā man ilayha yaḥtāj*, Ms, no. 1897, The Royal Library, Rabat, folio. 2. See also Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 87; *Awṣāf*, p. 98.

((وهي على حالها تظهر بشكل واضح ذوق²⁸ Mukhtārāt makes the point: صاحبها الرفيع في انتقائها، وحسن تنسيقه لموادها، وتنوع شعرائها وتوازن ما اختاره من آثارهم الشعرية في كل أبوابها))

Sources of the *Bughya* other than *Bahja* and evidence for Ibn Layūn's use of sources

Evidence for his use of sources

Ibn Layūn used a variety of important sources as material for the *Bughya*.

Evidence for this is abundant and can be categorised as follows:

1. Evidence from Ibn Layūn himself. In most of the work in which he relied on earlier sources, he made it clear that he used other sources of information to enable him to correct the originals.²⁹

((وصححت له الأكثر مما تضمنته الأحاديث النبوية وقربت له ما حوته من الآثار الصوفية، وأكثر ذلك من صفوة التصوف للإمام أبي الفضل محمد بن طاهر بن علي المقدسي ومن عوارف المعارف للإمام شهاب الدين أبي حفص عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله البكري السهر وردي بضم السين رحمه الله)).³⁰

In paraphrase, Ibn Layūn mentions that after correcting most of the *ḥadīth*, he simplified the heritage of Ṣūfism for the general reader, relying mainly on the Ṣūfī works by Abū al-Faḍl al-Maqdisī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī. Ibn Layūn's insistence in mentioning and profiling his sources is indicative of his diligence, thus

²⁸ *Ibn 'Azīm al-Andalusī*, ed, A. al-Harrāma, p. 10.

²⁹ Ms. no. 3912, The General Library, Rabat, folio. 1.

³⁰ Ms, no. 3912, Rabat, folio. 1.

providing clear enough evidence of his use of sources. This does not mean that he tells us the names of all of his books. As described below, he had a large personal library, whose titles are not recorded, and his students tell us that he referred to many of the important works of his day or earlier. See further discussion below.

2. Evidence from his students that Ibn Layūn made careful use of his sources is plentiful. We will limit ourselves to mentioning two of these students, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and al-Ḥaḍramī. The first of these, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, mentioned Ibn Layūn his teacher in two of his works, and in particular he mentioned; Ibn Layūn's use of sources. He stated clearly that Ibn Layūn used his large library as a resource which enabled him to compare and to correct materials and finally to produce a work of his own.³¹

The second, al-Ḥaḍramī, provides us with even more compelling evidence (because of his long and close relationship with Ibn Layūn) in his “*Mashyakha*” when he writes of Ibn Layūn, stating:

((شيخنا الفقيه الجليل الأستاذ المصنف الطيب... من أجل علماء الأندلس وأبرعهم تأليفا... ليس في بلده في زمنه أحد أكثر منه كتباً أو أعلى أخطاراً، يتنافس في اقتنائها ويهتم بها مع الاعتناء بمقابلتها وضبطها وإجادة تصحيحها)).

“ Our honourable *sheikh, faqīh*, the master and knowledgeable author (writer) and physician, is one of the most honourable and skilled scholars of al-Andalus in composition ... Nobody in his town, in his time, possessed or collected more books than he did (or was of greater importance). He used to vie with others in obtaining

³¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība*, p. 86.

them, occupying himself with comparing carefully one with the other and meticulously correcting them”.³² Al-Ḥaḍramī, spent over 30 years with his teacher Ibn Layūn and benefited greatly from the use of Ibn Layūn’s library. It is clear that Ibn Layūn was meticulously careful in his use of sources and there can be no doubt that he was also accurate when he was compiling the *Bughya*. Another important point is that we have to rely on the *Bughya* for those items for which we have no sources. This shows also the important of the *Bughya*.

3. We should add to the evidence of the above students the statement made by Ibn al-Qāḍī in which he praised Ibn Layūn’s work, claiming that it was superior to the originals from which it derived.³³

4. The original sources for some poems quoted by Ibn Layūn in the *Bughya* have not survived. Ibn Layūn attributes some of these poem to well-known poets such as Abū al-‘Atāhiya, Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh and Maḥmūd al-Warrāq. One is inclined to accept Ibn Layūn’s attributions because other examples can be checked.

5- Additional confirmation can be found in statements of Ibn Layūn which leave us in no doubt as to his use of earlier sources. The most important can be mentioned

³² Al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187. See also al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 543; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja); Joaquina Eguaras Ibanez, *Ibn Luyūn Tratado De Agricultura*, p. 19; Amīn al-Ṭībī, *Dir ās āt*, p. 186. It should be noted that *faqīh* had a wider significance than legal expert in Andalus, since the term was also applied to those skilled in language.

³³ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, Ms, no. 2189, The General Library, Rabat;

Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Fatḥ al-Khabīr*, Ms, no. 354, The Faculty of Letters Library, Rabat.

here in his correction to the following statement in *Bahja*:

[قال ابن منبه: هكذا قرأته على البصريين بيترب بالتاء، وفتح الراء]

One might think at first sight that the editor of *Bahja* has made a mistake while copying the manuscript. However, examination of an early manuscript of *Bahja*, shows it to be identical in this example to in the printed version. If it is a copyist's error, it must have occurred very early. The editor has not made an error here; but Ibn Layūn's attribution and conclusion is more accurate. In this case, Ibn Layūn made the following correction in *Bughya*³⁴:

[قال ابن قتيبة: هكذا قرأته على البصريين بالتاء باثنين وفتح الراء]

In other cases it is not clear whether the error is by the author or by a copyist.

In fact, it is clear from looking at his work in detail that Ibn Layūn was meticulous in checking with sources before putting any thing into his selection. This can also be seen from the following account.

((قعد يوما [ابن ليون] في مجلس الخطيب أبي إسحاق بن أبي العاصي، فجرى له ذكر عتبان بن مالك من الصحابة رضي الله عنهم. فنطق به بالياء، عوض الباء بواحدة، فراجع في ذلك ابن الخطيب أبو إسحاق. قال ابن خاتمة: وكنت ممن حضر هذا المجلس، فاستمر [ابن ليون] على تصحيحه. فلما انفض المجلس راجع [ابن ليون] النظر والمطالعة فعظمت عليه السبة في ذلك لشهرة اسم هذا الصحابي. وصار [ابن ليون] من حينئذ ينظر ويشبته نظره في الضبط. ولا ينتهي إلى حد في التثبت ونفعه الله بذلك))³⁵.

³⁴ See the edited text, vol. 2, p. 514. See also Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-Akhhbār*, vol. 3, p. 147.

³⁵ Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat*, vol. 3, p. 292.

Other examples of Ibn Layūn's corrections to *Bahja* are: [لزيبا النصراني]

which corrected to become in *Bughya*:³⁶ [لزنبا النصراني]

and:³⁷ [ما أبالي أنت بالحزن تيس أم لحاني بظهر غيب لئيم]

was corrected to become in *Bughya*:

³⁸ [ما أبالي أنب بالحزن تيس أم لحاني بظهر غيب لئيم]

and: [لكنت أول من ينسى سرائره إذا كنت من نشرها يوما على خطر]

was corrected to become:

³⁹ [لكنت أول من ينسى سرائره إذا كنت من نشرها يوما على خطر]

and:

[قال سفيان الثوري: إذا أردت أن تعرف مالك عند صديقك فأغضبه، فإن أنصفك في
غضبه وإلا فاجتنبه]⁴⁰

was corrected to become in *Bughya*:

[وقال سفيان الثوري: إذا أردت أن تعرف مالك عند صديقك فأغضبه، فإن أنصفك فثق
به وإلا فاجتنبه]⁴¹

and:

³⁶ See the edited text, p. 605.

³⁷ vol. 2, p. 433.

³⁸ See the edited text, vol. 2, p. 486.

³⁹ See the edited text, vol. 2, p. 502. This is likely to be an error of the copyist.

⁴⁰ See vol. 2, p. 651.

⁴¹ See the edited text, vol. 2, p. 575.

[وتلا في قصصه قول الله عز وجل: « يتجرعه ولا يكاد يسيغه»، فقال اللهم اجعلنا ممن يتجرعه ويسيغه]⁴².

was corrected to become in *Bughya*:

[وتلا أبو كعب القاص يوما، في قصة قوله تعالى: « يتجرعه ولا يكاد يسيغه»، ثم قال: اللهم اجعلنا ممن يتجرعه ويسيغه]⁴³

After comparing the work of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr with that of Ibn Layūn it can be concluded that Ibn Layūn’s text is the more accurate. The significant point which is seen here is that Ibn Layūn used important source material.

6- Among the important evidence which can be mentioned here is the fact that he possessed the biggest library in his town in his time and there is no doubt this was of enormous benefit to him in his work. A number of his students, including Ibn Khātima al-Anṣārī, al-Ḥaḍramī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, mentioned that they had found this library useful, and it is equally certain that Ibn Layūn did too. Furthermore, according to the sources, the purpose of creating his library was to collect books which he could work on and correct, and use for his work as a teacher.⁴⁴ Examining his work, one can observe numerous such alterations and corrections

⁴² See vol. 2, p. 551.

⁴³ See the edited text, vol. 2, p. 539.

⁴⁴ See al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl*, p. 187, Ibn al-Khaṭīb; *al-Katība*, p. 87; *El²: Ibn Luyūn* (F. De La Granja).

7- Further evidence for Ibn Layūn's use of a variety of different sources is to be found in the fact that not all the material of the *Bughya* was chosen from a single source. Much of it clearly came from other sources and included poetry of different periods of Arabic literature. This will be especially clear if we look at the chapter *Abyāt*, which encompasses such a wide span of poetry and where he relies on a wide variety of sources. It is important to note that this chapter not found in *Bahja*, but the material in it clearly comes from other sources.

The sources of the book and their importance

After dealing with the contents and importance of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* it is necessary to consider the essential sources on which he relied in writing the book in order to discover the literary and cultural significance of this work. For only by studying these sources can a clear view of the culture of Ibn Layūn's age be formed, and an understanding gained about the use of literary, historical and religious sources by men of letters, in Andalusia at the time. First of all it should be made clear that in *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* Ibn Layūn does not mention his sources. In this he was not alone, but resembles many other early Arab authors. However, a careful study of the work would seem to produce the following as his main sources:

1. Religious sources such as the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*.
2. Eastern Arabic sources, particularly *al-Aghānī* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, '*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*' and *al-Shi'r wa-al-Shu'arā'* by Ibn Qutaybah, *Muḥāḍarāt al-'Udabā'*, by al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Kāmil* by al-Mubarrad, *Nihāyat al-Arab* by al-Nuwayrī, *al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḍara* and *Lubāb al-Ādāb* by al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Ṣadāqa wa-al-Ṣadiq* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Bayān wa-al-Tabayīn* and *al-Ḥayawān* by al-Jāḥiẓ.⁴⁵
3. The collected poems (*diwāns*) of such poets as Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Ṭarafā b. al-'Abd, Imru'u al-Qays, al-Nābigḥa al-Dubyānī, al-Mutanabbī, Maḥmūd al-Warrāq,

⁴⁵ See for example the edited text, pp. 716-726.

Manṣūr al-Faqīh and al-Khansā',⁴⁶

4. Andalusian sources; the most important of these is *al-Dhakhīra* by Ibn Bassām and *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.

5- The books of narratives, tales, proverbs and literary accounts such as *Nihāyat al-Arab* by al-Nuwayrī, *al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥaḍara* by al-Tha'ālibī, and *al-Mustaqṣā Fī Amthāl al-'Arab* by al-Zamakhsharī and *Majma' al-Amthāl* by al-Maydānī.⁴⁷

6- The books of history such as al-Ṭabarī's famous history and *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.

Here one could ask: Why does *Bughya* rely so heavily on these works? Were they more common and widely-used by the men of letters of his time? Or were they more reliable and important? Why does it contain so few Andalusian sources? Does this mean that the Andalusian works were fewer and less important or was it because the eastern culture was still more dominant and more attractive?

It is well known that Andalusian writers and poets remained more interested in the eastern culture and literature, and more attracted by them. Therefore they kept in contact with the works of eastern writers and poets. This was made clear by al-Shantarīnī in his work *al-Dhakhīra fī Maḥāsi Ahl al-Jazīra* (The Treasure of The Beauties of the People of the Iberian Peninsula) which he wrote in eight large

⁴⁶ See for example the edited text, pp. 693-720.

⁴⁷ See for example the edited text, pp. 326-357.

volumes as an attempt against that trend.

It is clear here that a large number of the Andalusian works relied in the first place upon eastern sources, though this can not be said about the works of Ibn Sa'īd,⁴⁸ al-Bunāhī,⁴⁹ al-Sharīf al-Sibtī,⁵⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb,⁵¹ Ismā'īl Ibn al-Aḥmar,⁵² Al-Shantarīnī and a few other writers.⁵³

It is well-known that a large number of fragments of poetic texts are found repeated in more than one work, and that most of these works repeat each other or borrow from one another without any reference to their sources. Moreover, sometimes complete chapters taken from other books or authors can be found with only slight modification. This can be seen in the footnotes which have been added to *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*.

⁴⁸ See for example *al-Mughrib fī Ḥula al-Maghrib*.

⁴⁹ See *Tārīkh Quḍāt al-Andalus*.

⁵⁰ See *Raf' al-Ḥujub al-Mastūra fī Maḥāsīn al-Maqṣūra*.

⁵¹ See *al-Iḥāta, A'māl al-A'lām* and *al-Siḥr wa-al-Shi'r*.

⁵² See *Nathīr al-Jumān* and *Nathīr Farā'ī al-Jumān*.

⁵³ See *al-Dhakhīra*.

A comparison between *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* and other works

Comparing *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* with al-Tha'ālibī's '*al-Tamthīl wa-al-Muḥāḍara*' it is apparent that al-Tha'ālibī presents us with many literary and poetic texts written by his contemporaries, a quality not found in *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*.

Comparing the texts of those chapters reveals differences. Ibn Layūn's work contains material that is not in al-Tha'ālibī's, and the latter also contains repetitions which Ibn Layūn avoided. Indeed, al-Tha'ālibī often repeated material from one chapter in another, something Ibn Layūn rarely did. Moreover, Ibn Layūn arranged the poems according to the poet and then chronologically, whereas al-Tha'ālibī did not pay much attention to chronological order.

Indeed, comparing the *Bughya* to the earlier, very similar '*Uyūn al Akbār*' (written by Ibn Qutayba), *Aḥāsīn al-Maḥāsīn* Ms (written by al-Ta'ālibī) and *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, Ibn Layūn's skills are made obvious in the comparative clarity in organisation of material, as well as the avoidance of unnecessary repetition. The *Bughya* is in fact unusual for its time in its concise style. The work has more than stylistic importance, however. Firstly, it contains many important poetic texts from different ages of Arabic literature. Secondly, Ibn Layūn followed a consistent

method throughout the work. Finally, he used simple and clear language free from rhyming (*saj'*) and obscure words.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ From the 5th and 6th century / 11th and 12th century onwards, authors began to rely heavily on earlier sources with only slight changes in the method of organising the material, and the quotations. However, comparing these works with the earlier sources, it can be seen that some chapters were expanded using other material that was available at the time of writing. Perhaps, the Andalusian writers, relied, more than others, on Eastern sources, the reason being that most of these works were written as teaching texts. This can be seen clearly in the work of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.

The Proportion of poetry from al-Andalus

The work also contains verses by Andalusian and Moroccan poets such as Yaḥya al-Ghazāl (156/773-250/864),⁵⁵ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Naṣīr al-Kātib and alTahrīṭī, some of which do not exist anywhere else. However, there are fewer Andalusian poets than eastern Arab ones. This leads one to ask why the share of Andalusian poetry was smaller in spite of the fact that *al-Bughya* was written by an Andalusian author. What was the reason behind the neglect of Andalusian poetry? What was the role of the eastern Arabic culture in this matter?.

It can be said that most of the Andalusian authors relied in their works on eastern sources such as *al-Aghānī* ‘the Book of Songs’ by al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Shi‘r wa-al-Shu‘arā’* by Ibn Quṭayba ‘Poetry and Poets’, *al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn* by al-Jāḥiẓ, and *al-Ṣādāqah wa-al-Ṣadīq* by Ibn Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. The problem was referred to and discussed by Ibn Bassām in his work *al-Dhakhra*. He writes:⁵⁶

وقد وصف ابن بسام هذه الحالة في صورة تحمل الكثير من السخرية حين قال: ((إلا أن أهل هذا الأفق، أبوا إلا متابعة أهل الشرق؛ يرجعون إلى أخبارهم المعتادة، رجوع

⁵⁵ See his biography in: al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 1, p. 449; Ibn Sa‘īd, *al-Mughrib fī Ḥula al-Maghrib*, vol. 1, p. 324; Brock. S. 1: 148; al-Ḥumaydī, *Jadwat al-Iqtibās*, p. 35.

⁵⁶ Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhra*, part.i, vol. 1, p. 2.

الحديث إلى قتادة؛ حتى لو نعق بتلك الآفاق غراب، أو طنّ بأقصى الشام والعراق ذباب،
لجثو على هذا صنما، وتلوا ذلك كتاب محكما...)).

It was probably the most important problem which led him to write his book. Andalusian literary texts were in the opinion of Ibn Bassām no less important than the eastern ones.⁵⁷

This means that the work is very important to any literary historian or critic interested in the history and development of Arabic poetry, and to any scholar interested in collecting and editing the poems of ancient Arab poets.

A scholarly edition of Ibn Layūn's work would be important for all students of Arabic poetry. For this purpose, a large number of ancient Arabic sources and collected works of ancient Arab poets have been consulted, as the footnotes in this present work will show.

⁵⁷ Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, part. 1, vol. 1, p. 9.

The importance of the introduction, its sources and its contents

No less important is his introduction to *Bughya*, where he discusses in detail (relying on important sources) Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s life, teachers and students. Ibn Layūn starts the *Bughya* by writing an important and comprehensive introduction of nearly twenty five pages. In his introduction he discusses the reasons for writing the book and he stresses the importance of simplifying the contents in order to render it suitable for teaching purposes as well as for the general reader. In *Bughya* he demonstrates a strong desire to give clear shape to the language, style and content. He goes on to give full biographical information about Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr with meticulous attention to detail and accuracy, and in doing this he relies on important sources, not all of which have survived today. For example, *Mashyakhah* Ibn Najāḥ al-Maqqarī by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s close student no longer exists. Ibn Layūn’s work is especially important because as some of these sources no longer exist, we have to rely on the information which Ibn Layūn provides. The *Bughya* is an essential source for anyone who wishes to write about Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s life or about the period in which he lived and worked.

Title of the *Bughya* Why the title differs in manuscripts

Examining the different manuscripts and secondary sources which have come down to us, we note that there are many variations in the titles. However, these differences are relatively insignificant. The first word -Ibn Layūn's- nearly always remains the same, "*Bughya*,"⁵⁸ while the remaining words vary from one manuscript to another. As to why these variations exist, it can be safely supposed that some are the result of copyists' errors and some may be intentional. These differences in title are also found in secondary sources including *Fihris al-Khizāna al-'Āma*, *Fihris Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn*, and *Fihris Khizānat Tiṭwān*.

In Brockelmann the title appears as *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis min Bahjat al-Majālis*,⁵⁹ but it seems likely that he had not himself seen the original manuscripts in Morocco, Tunisia and Libya because in discussing this work he does not mention their locations or numbers or the different titles of the Mss. Specifically, he does not mention anywhere the manuscript of *Bughya* which is written in the time of Ibn Layūn.⁶⁰ In al-Maqqarī's work the title is *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* and, as he relates

⁵⁸ To my knowledge there is only one exception to this in Ibn Layūn's works, and it is to be found in one copy of a manuscript in the library of Sale (near Rabat). Here we find *al-Tuḥfa al-'Ulyā* as the first word of the title while in all other manuscripts in Morocco, Tunisia and Libya we find *al-Nukhba al-'Ulya*. This is most likely to be confusion resulting from a mistaken reading of the word.

⁵⁹ *Geschichte der Arabischen Litterature*, Leiden, 1938, S. 2, p. 380.

⁶⁰ See p. 137.

himself, he had seen more than twenty of Ibn Layūn's works.⁶¹ In the absence of al-Ḥaḍramī's work, which has not survived, it must be supposed that al-Maqqarī's title is more likely to be the correct one, and some of the existing manuscripts of the *Bughya* would support this.

From examination of the manuscripts at first hand, we note that the titles consist of two distinct parts containing two words each, these parts being linked by the preposition "min" or the conjunction "wa". The first pair of words are always Ibn Layūn's own, while the pair of words following "min" or "wa" are the words taken from his sources. In this way he emphasises his own contribution while at the same time acknowledging the work of the original authors. Ibn Layūn consistently employs this system of providing titles for his works.

Variations in the title of *Bughya*

We must now consider the differing versions of the title of *Bughya* which appear in the manuscript copies. There are four variants to take into account. They are:

1. *Bughyat al-Mu'āni wa-'Uns al-Mujālis*
2. *Bughyat al-Mu'nis wa-'Uns al-Majlis*
3. *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis min Bahjat al-Majālis*
4. *Muntakhab al-Nafā'is wa-'Uns al-Majlis*

⁶¹ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 544.

The first of these is likely to be the most authentic title since the manuscript in which it appears can be dated to the period of the author's lifetime. Moreover, this is the title which is most frequently used in the available manuscripts. This version consists of two parts linked by "wa". The first part is the title given by Ibn Layūn himself. The second part, following "wa", is part of the title used in *Bahja*. Together they form a new title.⁶² The second version probably has the least claim to authenticity. Here the letter "Alif" is omitted in the word "al-Mu'ānis", perhaps due to a misreading by the copyist. The third version of the title follows a very similar pattern to the first, except that the preposition "min" is substituted for "wa". The fourth manuscript is found only in a single manuscript in Rabat.⁶³ The first part of the title is found only on this manuscript. It is not possible to say whether this part was given by Ibn Layūn or one of his students, or one of the copyists. No other sources support this title.

The need for a this edition of the *Bughya*

The one currently available edition of *Bahja*⁶⁴ was made using some - but not all - of the surviving manuscripts. The important Moroccan manuscripts for example, were not consulted by the previous editor (they were, however, consulted by the

⁶² This construction is used in other of Ibn Layūn's works. It seems that he follow a similar method consistently.

⁶³ This manuscript was not consulted by scholars because it was not in the General Library of Rabat's catalogue but was in a private collection.

⁶⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Bahjat al-Majālis*, ed. M. M. al-Khūlī, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1982.

present author in this study).⁶⁵ The available edition also suffers from serious defects such as language errors and mistakes in the metre of the poems. Moreover, it seems that at times the editor did not understand the peculiarities of script (when, for example, 'fā' is spelt without a dot over the letter). A more complete discussion of errors of this type is given in index D.

Another problem with the existing edition of *Bahja* is the inaccuracy of many of its references. This includes incorrect page referencing and the mentioning of poems which can not be found in the sources he mentioned in his footnotes. Even the index is not free from errors. It is therefore important that scholars should not depend on the references given in the edition of the *Bahja*. They should instead consult the original manuscripts in Morocco. There are other examples of similarly casual editing including *al-'Umda* of Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī and the *al-Iḥāṭa* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb which was edited by M. A. 'Inān. In the former case, a recent PhD by M. Qarqazān has produced an improved version, while in the latter case, an updated edition should soon be available from a group of researchers in Fez. This underlines the necessity to go back to the original sources, rather than relying solely on currently-used editions, in undertaking scholarship in this area. This is the reason why the present author, in producing the first edition of *Bughya*, has concurred with

⁶⁵ See the edited text.

al-Harrāma⁶⁶ and decided it was necessary to go back to the original sources of the *Bahja*.

Great care over accuracy has been taken in the editing of the *Bughya* which forms part two of this thesis. Such care contrasts with the edition of the *Bahja*. In this, for example, the editor only sometimes notes references to the quotes he cites while on other occasions (even when poems come from the same page) he does not. Sometimes when he does give a reference it is erroneous, or he gives one correct reference but then gives no reference for poems which appear even on the same page. This rather suggests that the editor has not always checked the original sources but has copied his reference from other edited sources.

Sometimes a few lines of a poem are correctly referenced, but the whole poem does not appear on the page/s given. Another possibility, therefore, is that the editor has relied on the indices of the sources rather than checking the references themselves. This edition has another serious problem. The correct version (*riwāya*) sometimes appears in the footnotes, while errors are quoted in the main text. A good editor ought to put corrections in the footnotes while having the correct version in the text.

⁶⁶ Al-Harrāma, *Binā' al-Qaṣīda*.

Conclusion

The *Bahja* was an important literary anthology of its day, but it was not a scholarly work. Ibn Layūn took this as the basis for a new collection, the *Bughya*, making from it a rigorous work of scholarly and educational value which has found a place in the teaching of Arabic over centuries. The tie between these two works means that this new, exacting edition of the *Bughya* is informative not only about this latter work, but may also be of use to scholars interested in its predecessor, the *Bahja*, and in the development of the literary anthology from its earlier entertainment form to its later role as an educational tool. The vital role of the *Bughya* in teaching during the final heyday of Andalusia, means that modern access to it offers an unprecedented window into the Andalusian culture of that time.

The *Bughya* gives us a clear picture of the literary taste of Ibn Layūn. One can say, from examination of his work and particularly the main chapter, that he concentrates on certain poets, such as Maḥmūd al-Warrāq, Maṣṣūr al-Faqīh Yaḥya al-Ghazāl and Abū al-‘Atāhiya. From these poets, he chooses mainly wisdom and proverbs. It is clear that he particularly likes these poets and that there are some subjects which do not interest him, such as wine. It is very probable that his life (he was a teacher, a Qāḍī and a Sufi) influenced his choice of poetry. The poems

remaining from the recitals at his *majlis* in Almeria are similar in subject matter to the ones that he concentrated on in his *Bughya*.⁶⁷ It is therefore clear what his literary tastes were. His position as a teacher limited his choice of texts: perhaps this was why he did not choose love poetry. This is seen clearly when we look at both his own poetry and his selection, neither contains a significant amount of love poetry. His selection of particular literary texts from ancient Arabic poetry and prose tells us much by implication about Arabic Andalusian literary tastes and trends at the time, which were eclectic, using poetry from the East especially. Other similar collections of the time also concentrate on wisdom and proverbs; for example, *Mukhtārāt* Ibn ‘Azīm and *al-Siḥr wa-al-Shi‘r*.

⁶⁷ See al-Maqqarī, *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp.

CHAPTER 7

A CRITICAL EDITION OF BUGHYAT AL-MU'ĀNIS

OF IBN LAYŪN

1. Introduction:

As has been mentioned above, Ibn Layūn produced almost a hundred works,¹ but up to now only two of them have been published. They are:

1. *Al-Nukhba al-'Ulyā* (The Higher Anthology), published in Tunis in 1351/1932, in 122 small pages.²
2. *Ibdā' al-Malāḥa wa-Inhā' al-Rajāḥa fī Uṣūl Šinā'at al-Filāḥa* (An Exposition of the Science of Agriculture), *urjūza* in 1365 lines published in Granada in 1975, from a single manuscript found in the library of the University of Granada. The editions of both works suffer however from numerous errors and need to be re-edited in the light of other manuscripts which exist in Morocco, Tunisia and Libya.³

In his works, Ibn Layūn usually deals with a wide range of subjects which are still relevant today but *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* (The Aim of the Sociable Companion), which Ibn Layūn finished in 737/1336,⁴ is perhaps the most important of them all. It is a large work, not as yet published, although a number of manuscripts of it exist in the libraries of Morocco, Tunisia and Libya.

¹ See above p. 147.

² See above p. 151.

³ This has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 4, which deals with Ibn Layūn's work.

⁴ This date is only found in the manuscript no. 6946, The Royal Library, Rabat: "It was finished in the middle of Sha'bān, the year 737/1336". It is not clear here whether this statement was made by Ibn Layūn himself or not. See folio. 87 b.

Its importance is due to the fact that it contains a large number of literary texts chosen carefully from ancient Arabic poetry and prose, together with proverbs, sayings of wisdom, narratives and prophetic traditions.

The general theme and contents of the work.

Bughyat al-Mu'ānis can be considered as a literary anthology which contained a large number of texts chosen from ancient Arabic poetry and prose, sayings of the Prophet, narratives, proverbs and wise utterances from different cultures including Persian and Greek. As regards poetry, the work contains no less than 1287 complete verses and many single hemistichs. We also find in it 340 sayings of the Prophet.⁵ The work is divided into 118 short chapters. The following table (table. 7.1) gives a clear picture of the themes of these chapters.

⁵ See the edited Arabic text p. 791.

Table. 7. 1 List of chapter of the *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry ⁶	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
1.	Adab al-Mujālasa	5	6	-	2/318
2.	Faḍl al-Kalām	3	7	-	2/321
3.	Fī Dhamm al-'Iyy	6	-	-	2/324
4.	Fī al-Laḥn	5	-	-	2/326
5.	Fī al-Balāgha	-	-	-	2/328
6.	Fī man Urtija 'alayh	-	-	1	2/329
7.	Fī al-Samṭ	8	10	1	2/331
8.	Fī Muzdawaj al-Kalām	-	-	-	2/336
9.	Fī al-Ajwiba al-Muskita	6	-	3	2/338
10.	Fī al-Adab	7	1	1	2/345
11.	Fī al-Tarwīḥ 'ala al-Qulūb	-	1	-	2/347
12.	Fī Ṭīb al-'Aysh	10	2	1	2/348
13.	Fī Khayr al-Māl	-	2	-	2/353
14.	Fī al-Tijārah	1	6	-	2/354
15.	Fī al-Rizq	7	4	-	2/356
16.	Fī al-Ḥirṣ	10	1	-	2/359

⁶ This table does not include single *ashṭār* (hemistichs), but only full *abyāt* (whole lines).

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
17.	Fī al-Ṭama'	4	1	-	2/362
18.	Fī Dḥamm al-Su'āl	17	7	-	2/364
19.	Fī Intizār al-Faraj	16	1	-	2/370
20.	Fī al-Jidd	13	1	-	2/373
21.	Fī Ḥamd al-Māl wa-Dhammih	11	5	-	2/377
22.	Fī al-Ghinā' wa-al-Faqr	9	3	-	2/382
23.	Fī al-Dayn	1	2	-	2/385
24.	Fī al-Iqtisād wa-al-Rifq	9	6	1	2/386
25.	Fī al-Safar wa-al-Ightriāb	14	6	-	2/388
26.	Fī al-Taḥawwul 'an Mawāṭin al-Dhull	11	1	-	2/393
27.	Fī al-Tawdī'	13	-	-	2/396
28.	Fī al-Ziyārah	6	6	-	2/399
29.	Fī al-Ḥijāb	12	2	-	2/402
30.	Fī al-Muṣāfaḥah	4	4	-	2/407
31.	Fī al-Rasūl	10	2	-	2/410
32.	Fī al-Hadiyyah	8	6	-	2/413
33.	Fī al-Jār	6	3	-	2/416

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
34.	Fī al-Ḍayf	9	3	-	2/420
35.	Fī al-Ma'rūf	10	5	-	2/423
36.	Fī al-Shukr	10	5	1	2/427
37.	Fī Ṭalab al-Ḥājāt	11	3	-	2/431
38.	Fī al-Şūltān	13	5	-	2/435
39.	Fī al-Kitābah	2	4	1	2/443
40.	Fī al-Ẓulm	12	1	1	2/446
41.	Fī al-'Afw	7	3	-	2/451
42.	Fi al-Ghaḍab	1	2	-	2/454
43.	Fī al-Rajā'	7	1	-	2/456
44.	Fī al-'Āfiyah	4	4	-	2/459
45.	Fī al-Dā' wa-al-Dawā'	6	3	-	2/462
46.	Fi al-Ṭā'a	2	3	3	2/464
47.	Fī al-Ghībah wa-al-Namīma	10	8	1	2/466
48.	Fī al-Baghī wa-al-Ḥasad	24	6	3	2/471
49.	Fī al-Ẓann	9	3	1	2/479
50.	Fī al-Jidāl	3	1	-	2/483
51.	Fī al-Mushātama	8	2	-	2/485

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
52.	Fī al-Kibr	6	3	1	2/488
53.	Fī al-Tawāḍu'	3	5	-	2/491
54.	Fī al-Mashūra	7	6	1	2/494
55.	Fī Kitmān al-Sirr	22	1	-	2/498
56.	Fī al-Shajā'ā	13	1	-	2/504
57.	Fī al-I'tidhār	17	1	-	2/509
58.	Fī al-Mawā'id	10	-	1	2/513
59.	Fī al-Madh	25	3	-	2/517
60.	Fī al-Damm	19	1	-	2/526
61.	Fī al-'Aql	10	2	2	2/532
62.	Fī Ajwibat al-Ḥamqā	-	-	-	2/538
63.	Fī al-Mulaḥ	14	-	1	2/540
64.	Fī al-Mizāḥ	10	2	-	2/546
65.	Fī al-Ṣidq wa-al-Amāna	6	5	-	2/549
66.	Fī al-Ḥaqq	4	3	-	2/552
67.	Fī al-Ḥayā'	8	5	1	2/554
68.	Fī Ḥusn al-Khuluq	5	4	1	2/557
69.	Fī Makārim al-Akhlāq	3	4	-	2/559

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
70.	Fī al-Ḥilm	22	1	-	2/562
71.	Fī al-Jūd	15	4	-	2/568
72.	Fī al-Murū'a	6	2	-	2/572
73.	Fī Imtiḥān al-Akhlāq	21	3	-	2/574
74.	Fī al-Tawaddud	11	7	-	2/579
75.	Fī al-'Uzla	22	1	-	2/582
76.	Fī al-Ṣadiq	26	-	-	2/587
77.	Fī al-Ikhwān	10	3	-	2/593
78.	Fī al-'Itāb	11	-	-	2/596
79.	Fī al-Tthuqalā'	4	-	-	2/599
80.	Fī al-Shamāta	9	2	-	2/601
81.	Fī al-Muwākhāt	4	-	-	2/604
82.	Fī al-Wālid wa-al-Walad	14	9	-	2/606
83.	Fī al-Aqārib	14	3	-	2/611
84.	Fī al-Mamālīk	3	1	-	2/615
85.	Fī al-Thana'	5	1	-	2/617
86.	Fī Mādī al-Ikhwān	10	1	-	2/620
87.	Fī al-Hawā	5	1	-	2/623

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
88.	Fī al-'Ishq	4	1	-	3/625
89.	Fī al-Nisā'	17	1	-	3/628
90.	Fī al-Wajh al-Ḥasan	22	3	2	3/633
91.	Fī al-Tazwīj	31	9	-	3/640
92.	Fī al-Libās	5	11	-	3/652
93.	Fī al-Markūb	4	3	-	3/655
94.	Fī al-Ṭa'ām	7	6	-	3/657
95.	Fī al-Nawm	6	-	-	3/661
96.	Fī al-Ḥammām	3	1	-	3/663
97.	Fī al-Barāghīth	3	1	-	3/665
98.	Fī al-Sijn	13	1	-	3/666
99.	Fī al-'Āda	3	-	-	3/670
100.	Fī Dhamm al-Khilāf	5	-	-	3/672
101.	Fī al-Munajjimīn	14	2	-	3/673
102.	Fī al-Ḥikam al-Ma'dūda	5	2	-	3/676
103.	Fī al-Ru'yā	-	2	1	3/682
104.	Fī Nawādir Khabariyya	3	1	-	3/684
105.	Fī Ḥikam Manthūra	1	-	-	3/690

	Title of chapter	No. of verses from poetry	No. of <i>Hadīth</i>	No. of Qurā'nic verses.	Page Nos. in the edited Ms.
106.	Fī Abyāt Yutamaththal bihā	184	-	-	3/693
107.	Fī Nawādir al-Falāsifa	-	-	-	3/740
108.	Fī al-Riyā'	11	5	1	3/742
109.	Fī al-Shayb	16	1	-	3/744
110.	Fī al-Kibar	28	-	1	3/748
111.	Fī al-Waṣāyā	21	7	-	3/754
112.	Fī al-Du'ā'	4	3	1	3/760
113.	Fī al-Dunyā	17	10	-	3/763
114.	Fī al-Zuhd	15	7	1	3/769
115.	Fī al-Mawā'iz	26	7	-	3/773
116.	Fī al-'Amal	6	3	-	3/779
117.	Fī al-Ta'āzī	29	5	-	3/781
118.	Fī Kalām al-Muḥtaḍarīn	9	-	-	3/788

This table shows clearly that Ibn Layūn's work with regard to both themes and contents can be placed within the category of literary anthology, a literary genre which was well established in Arabic literature from early days. Because of its inclusiveness and wide range of subjects, it can also be considered a thesaurus of quotations from ancient Arabic poetry and prose, the Qur'ān, the Prophet's sayings, proverbs and narratives. It is one of the most important works of Ibn Layūn, if not the most important.

The reasons for the neglect of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* by scholars

In spite of the importance of Ibn Layūn's work and the existence of numerous manuscripts of it, it has been neglected by scholars for two reasons. Firstly, there is the abundance and variety of its subject matter. It contained more than 1287 complete verses, plus many single hemistichs, 340 sayings by the Prophet, numerous quotations from the Qur'ān, a large number of proverbs, words of wisdom, narratives, tales and rare historical or literary accounts.⁷ To verify all this material will naturally require a great deal of work and time, and the availability of a large number of sources, particularly the collected poems of the poets concerned. Secondly, the very existence of a large number of manuscripts of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* makes its verification a difficult task, because each manuscript requires a

⁷ See the edited text, vol. 3, pp. 793-930.

close study and a careful comparison with all the others, before any of them can be selected as a base.

Method of editing the *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis*

Descriptions of the various manuscripts

The large number of the manuscripts of *Bughya* which are found in Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and other Arab countries suggests that the work was well-received and studied by students and scholars in the western part of the Arab world including Andalusia at the time. There are more than ten manuscripts of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* in Morocco, three in Tunisia and one in Libya owned privately by the family of Ibn Manī'. Al-Ziriklī also owned another manuscript of the work. So Ibn Layūn's work must have been found to be highly informative and instructive for a long time by those who were interested in Arab Islamic culture and literary heritage. Furthermore, because Ibn Layūn used to teach his own material, a large number of copies would have been made by his own students.

The Moroccan Manuscripts

So far as I know there are more than ten manuscripts of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* in Morocco: A-four in the General Library. One of 157 pages dated 1344 under number 236k; a second numbered 1037; a third numbered 606j and a fourth under number 121.

B- Four in the Royal Library under the numbers: 7305, 4503, 6946 and 2860.

C- One in the Qurawiyyīn Library in Fez under the number 1294. It is of a small square size, written in a clear Moroccan script, without date and the name of the transcriber, but it was acquired in 1315/1898. The papers of the manuscript are 114/17/19/15.⁸

D- One which is known as the Tiṭwān manuscript.

E- Three in Tunisia, the Library of al-Zaytūna Mosque under the numbers: 6725, 4677 and 6176.⁹

F- One in Libya owned by the family of Banī Manī‘ as mentioned above.

A detailed critical description of the manuscripts

After studying all these manuscripts with the exception of the one in Libya, I decided to use only four of them as a base for the verification and editing of Ibn Layūn’s work. They are:

1- The Ms. 236k which is in 157 pages of large size with twenty lines a page and an average of 14 words in a line. It was written in an Andalusian form of script, clear, beautiful and well-inflected. Though it has no date and no name of transcriber, it seems to have been copied not long after the time of Ibn Layūn as indicated by its preface. The upper part of the first page bears the seal of the General Library at

⁸ See the catalogue of the Qurawiyyīn Library, vol. 3, pp. 343-344.

⁹ See *Fihris Maktabat al-Aḥmadiyya*, Tunis, p. 28.

Rabat. In view of all these qualities I have decided to use it as the first version and refer to it by the letter A.

It is a complete copy, free from any damage and suffers only from very few errors and many words were provided with vowel points. Among the few errors is (لثلاثة حيلة) rather than (لثلاث حيلة)¹⁰ as it should have been. Nevertheless, the version contains some words which the transcriber seems to have found unclear in the original copy he used and which he therefore wrote down as they appeared to him and marked them by placing above each of them the sign .;. to indicate their obscurity.¹¹

After studying this copy and its preface very carefully and examining its type of writing and papers, I felt almost certain that it is a manuscript copied from Ibn Layūn's own version or a copy made by one of his students. In modern times the manuscript seems to have suffered from some disorder in binding after page 42 but this disorder was easy to identify and resolve by comparing the version with version B. At first I thought that a substantial part of the version was missing, but after examining the whole manuscript I found the missing part placed somewhere else by the binder.

¹⁰ See the edited Arabic text.

¹¹ See for example Ms A, folios. 28a, 68a, 91a and 130a

1. The manuscript 1037D. This version was made by an unknown copyist in Rajab 1202/April 1788. It is kept in the General Library in Rabat within a collection of manuscripts numbered 1037D.¹² It consists of 60 folios. Each page contains an average of 26 lines with an average of 14 words in a line. It is written clearly in a Moroccan script of a medium size, but the titles of both the parts and the chapters are written in a large form.

It also contains some additions and comments written on the margins,¹³ and some of the verses quoted by Ibn Layūn seem to have been ascribed to their poets by the transcriber who probably compared the version which he copied with another one.¹⁴ It is a complete version in spite of the areas of damage which it seems to have suffered, and contains very few errors.¹⁵

The manuscript began on folio 1b with: "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلّي على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلّم تسليمًا. قال الشيخ الفقيه الأستاذ المقرئ العالم الصدر المتفنن الفاضل الأجد أبو عثمان ابن الشيخ الصالح الفاضل أبي جعفر بن ليون، أبقى الله بركته ووصل بمنّه عزّته ورفعته. الحمد لله الذي جعل الأدب حلية أولي الألباب وعمدة ذوي الأخطار والأحساب، والصلاة التامة على سيدنا ومولانا محمد المبعوث بجوامع الكلم لتتميم مكارم الأخلاق، وتكميل الآداب، والرّضى عن أصحابه الذين خصّهم الله من هدايته بأوضح المسالك وأنجح الأسباب، وسلّم كثيرًا "

¹² This copy is also mentioned by Brockelmann, see Brockelmann: S. II, p. 380.

See also *fihris al-Khizāna al-‘Āmma*, Rabat, p. 6.

¹³ See for instance folios. 41a, 118b and 117a.

¹⁴ See for example folios. 41, 81, 117.

¹⁵ See folios. 42-51.

The manuscript ends on folio 60a with:

(وهذا آخر ما أثبتته يد الانتقاء والانتخاب ... مستوفاة أحاديثه النبوية، منتقاة أبياته الشعرية وجملة الأحاديث مائة وأربعين حديثاً وجملة الأبيات الشعرية ألف ومائتان وستون بيتاً¹⁶ دون الأعجاز التي تركت صدورها وبالله تعالى التوفيق لا رب غيره ولا معبود سواه... وكان الفراغ منه شهر رجب الفرد عام اثنين ومائتين وألف).¹⁷

The above manuscript will be presented as version B.

2. This manuscript is kept in the Royal Library in Rabat as No. 6946. I have obtained a microfilm copy of it and referred to it by the letter M. The manuscript contains (consists of) 87 small folios with 16 lines in each page. The average of words in each line is 12 words. This manuscript is appears to have been written around 9/15 century and written in black ink in a medium-sized Maghribi script. The titles of chapters and names of poets are written in big handwriting. In the top right-hand corner, there appears the stamp of the Royal Library.

The "M" Manuscript suffers from many lacunae which could have been a result of an incomplete though otherwise accurate original text from which it was copied. In total, there are four blank pages, which are 56a, 61b, 62a and 88a, but the

¹⁶ In actual fact, the number of *abyāts* cited by Ibn Layūn in his whole work is 1287, rather than 1260. The extra twenty seven may well have been added by later copyists.

¹⁷ See folio 60a.

other missing parts of the text amount to a great deal more.¹⁸ However after comparing this manuscript with the other ones mentioned above, including the versions A and B, I found it reasonably accurate and free from many of the errors which appear in all of them. It seems that it was written with extreme care as can be seen from the correction in the margin of the Ms.

As a result of this I find myself inclined to think that it was copied from a very accurate original, although an incomplete version made at or around the time of Ibn Layūn, or at least it was compared with such a version. Therefore, as the reader will observe from the footnotes in my edition, I have relied heavily upon it in verifying the text and correcting some of the errors, which occurred in other versions of it.¹⁹ However because of its incompleteness it has been placed after the Mss A and B under number 3.

During the process of verifying the text of *Bughyat al-Mu'ānis* I have checked carefully all the verses quoted in it which amount to 1260 as numbered by Ibn Layūn himself.²⁰ The many half verses or hemistichs have been checked and every attempt has been made to find their other halves and the poets who composed

¹⁸ See for example the edition, pp. 324, 326, 328, 339, 341, 446, 449 and 452.

¹⁹ See the edition, pp. 339, 341, 345-346, 364 and 383.

²⁰ See the edition, p. 791.

them. At the close of his work Ibn Layūn has stated: “the total number of the verses is one thousand two hundred and sixty, not counting the first hemistichs whose second ones were left out”.²¹

A general observation concerning the manuscripts used in editing the text

A general remark about the manuscripts used.

The fact that both versions A and B share many characteristics indicates that they were both copied from a single manuscript older than both, or else that B was copied from A. It must also be mentioned here that the four manuscripts which have been used in verifying Ibn Layūn’s work contain a number of spelling, grammatical and prosodical errors. However, any reference to them has been avoided because it is believed that they were made by the copyist of the manuscripts.²²

²¹ See the edition, p. 791.

²² It is well-known that in the 8th/14th century both Andalusia and Morocco witnessed a great advancement in the making of papers and editing works. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, vol. 3, p. 27. See also al-Harrāma, *Binā’ al-Qaṣīda*, vol. 1, p. 25.

By comparing the four manuscripts one with another some differences were also found between them, but not so many with regard to the size of the work. This seems to suggest that the four manuscripts were copied from some older manuscripts which were close to each other. These differences have been referred to in the footnotes, and corrected the text as far as possible in the light of the language and style of Ibn Layūn.²³

The Method of Editing the Moroccan Mss²⁴

By checking the quotations used by Ibn Layūn in the old sources it has been possible to correct errors found in the manuscripts and they have been referred to in the footnotes.²⁵ It is believed that the errors were committed by the copyists and were not inherent in Ibn Layūn's original text. Many of the obscure or obsolete words used by Ibn Layūn have been explained by consulting old Arabic dictionaries such as *al-Lisān* and *Matn al-Lughā*. Furthermore, some necessary but brief information concerning poets, narrators, authors and other persons mentioned in the

²³ See for example the edited text, pp. 305, 306, 318, 320 and 472.

²⁴ I have benefited greatly from the article *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣūṣ* of 'Allāl al-Ghāzī. However I have not found it necessary to follow his policy of separating his footnotes into those which indicate manuscripts' variations and those which deal with more general comments and information such as bibliographic, linguistic and personality details. See *Majallat Kulliyat al-Adāb*, Rabat. See also Hārūn, 'Abd al-Salām, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣūṣ wa-Nashruhā*, Cairo, Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub, 1969.

²⁵ See for example the edited text, pp. 768-769 and 771.

text has been provided and the sources of this information are referred to in the edited footnotes.²⁶ In addition, the errors found in the poetry quoted by Ibn Layūn have been corrected by checking them against the collected works of other poets, highly-reputed ancient anthologies and other literary sources, all of which have been referred to in the footnotes.

Some critical remarks regarding a number of sources which were consulted have also been made. The spellings and pronunciations of the names of the persons and places mentioned in Ibn Layūn's work have been determined, and the literary, historical and geographical sources that were used in this respect are referenced. No changes in any word, phrase, or quotation have been made in Ibn Layūn's work without first having been checked carefully in the old sources available, and these sources have been referred to in the footnotes.

Square brackets [] have been used when referring to the differences between the manuscripts used in editing the present text, and the earlier collections of poems and well-known anthologies. Occasionally some names have been added in an Attempt to remove ambiguities and they have been placed between parentheses ().²⁷

²⁶ See for example the edited text, pp. 389-394.

²⁷ See for example the edited text, pp. 345, 365, 390 and 395.

The technical, linguistic and literary terms used by Ibn Layūn have been explained briefly, after checking them in old dictionaries and other specialized sources. The meter of every verse quoted by Ibn Layūn has been identified and named.

In order to make this edition of more value to both the academic and general reader, a number of indexes have been created, which cover Quranic verses, *ḥadīths*, proverbs and sayings of wisdom, poetic verses in accordance to their rhymes, a pleonasm, names of persons, names of tribes and clans, names of towns, cities and other places, titles of works mentioned by Ibn Layūn, titles of sources and references used in verifying Ibn Layūn's work and the contents of the manuscript.

The time which Ibn Layūn spent in writing the *Bughya*

Nowhere in the work does Ibn Layūn mention when he wrote the *Bughya* or how long he spent in writing it. But the large size of the work and the amount and type of materials which it contains suggest that he spent a long time collating contents and writing the various chapters.

The work contains 1262 complete poetic verses and 520 hemistichs quoted from ancient poets. The metre of each verse has been identified and then arranged in tables which show the number of times each particular metre has been used, something which may indicate the poetic or rhythmical taste of Ibn Layūn

Table 7. 2 List of the metres (*buḥūr*) in the *Bughyat al-Mu'āss*

Metre	Number of lines			Percentage of total	
<i>Al-ṭawīl</i>	3	7	5	29.14%	
<i>Al-baṣīṭ</i>	2	1	8	1	7%
<i>Al-kāmil</i>	182			14.15%	
<i>Al-wāfir</i>	161			12.50%	
<i>Al-khafīf</i>	87			6.76%	
<i>Al-sarī'</i>	77			6%	
<i>Al-ramal</i>	62			4.82%	
<i>Al-mutaqārib</i>	60			4.7%	
<i>Al-munsariḥ</i>	22			1.7%	
<i>Al-rajaz</i>	18			1.40%	
<i>Al-mujtathth</i>	10			0.78%	
<i>Al-madīd</i>	7			0.54%	
<i>Al-hazaj</i>	5			0.89%	
<i>Al-muqtaḍab</i>	3			0.23%	
<i>Al-muḍāri'</i>	-				
<i>Al-mutadārik</i>	-				

This shows that *al-ṭawīl* is the most common meter used in poetic quotations of Ibn Layūn, something which agrees with the prominent place of *al-ṭawīl* in ancient Arabic poetry.²⁸ Next comes *al-baṣīṭ*, then *al-kāmil* and *al-wāfir*. The least common metres which appear in quotations are: *al-madīd* and *al-Hazaj*. On the other hand, the metres which do not appear in these quotations are: *al-Muḍāri'* and *al-Mutadārik*.

²⁸ Ibrāhīm Anīs, *Musīqa al-Shi'r al-'Arabī*, Dar al-Qalam li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, Beirut, n.d, p. 13; Safā' Khullūṣī, *Fann al-Taqtī' al-Shi'rī wa-al-Qāfiya*, Manshūrāt Maktabat al-Muthannā, Baghdad, 1977, p. 43. See also 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib, *al-Murshid ilā Fahm Ash'ār al-'Arab*, Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 2nd edition, 1970, vol. 1, p. 362; Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī, *Minhāj al-Bulaghā'*, ed. M. al-Ḥabīb Ibn al-Khūja, Dār al-Kustub al-Sharqiyya, Tunis, 1966, p. 269.

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