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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

2 The life and career of al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ

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

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

³ Hermosilla 1978–79.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12 For the similar figures of his contemporaries, see Fierro 1994.

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

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

15 Shawwāt 1999, 239–244; Jallāb 2009, 32–34.

3 Biographies of ‘Iyāḍ

3.1 Maghribi and Andalusī sources¹⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20 In the introduction, Muḥammad explained the reason behind compiling the book: his master (in the text, “*sayyidī*”, meaning ‘my master’) – who is mentioned as a sublime *faqīh*, perfect *ḥāfiẓ*, diligent Qurʾān reciter, though we have no specific information about him – asked him about his father, ʿIyāḍ, so he wrote it.

21 Two poems and a portion of the information originated from Muḥammad’s companions, and his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh, among others.

22 Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), lām. This information is based on that of al-Bunnāhī, which will be mentioned later.

23 Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), kāf. See Gómez-Rivas 2013, 327–328.

24 Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), 3. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, Muḥammad took the position of *qāḍī* of Dénia before 570 H/1174-5 CE and then became the *qāḍī* of Granada (Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, *al-Dhayl* [2012], 5: 242). Moreover, Muḥammad mentions *Qalāʾid al-iqyān* by al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān in his work; therefore, the former was composed after the latter was completed. See Muḥammad b. ʿIyāḍ, *al-Taʿrīf* (2009), 97.

Another author who wrote about 'Iyāḍ was Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578 H/1183 CE) in his celebrated biographical dictionary of Andalusī 'ulamā', *al-Ṣila* ("The Continuation").²⁵ Ibn Bashkuwāl was from Córdoba and studied first in his native town and then in Seville. After completing his studies, he was appointed *qāḍī* of a district in the region of Seville, and later became involved in teaching and writing. *Al-Ṣila* includes nearly 1,600 biographical entries, including those of various women 'ulamā', and in it Ibn Bashkuwāl gives various pieces of information about 'Iyāḍ, such as his name and origins. He differentiates between Andalusis and "the foreigners" (*min al-ghurabā'*) and describes 'Iyāḍ as the latter, and records the reasons for 'Iyāḍ's move to al-Andalus (from Ceuta): to study. He also details in which cities in al-Andalus 'Iyāḍ received his education and the teachers responsible for educating him, and gives information about his personality and his time in office as *qāḍī*. He mentions his own relationship with 'Iyāḍ – 'Iyāḍ was the teacher and Ibn Bashkuwāl the student, although it seems that the former taught the latter only a little²⁶ – and, finally, the dates of his birth and death. The source of this information was 'Iyāḍ himself, as Ibn Bashkuwāl records. The length of the description of his teacher – which is only 22 lines long in the Beirut edition, and therefore neither very short nor very long – is not much different compared to other entries in his dictionary. However, this concise and rather dull portrait is typical of biographical literature; thus, the information Ibn Bashkuwāl conveyed about 'Iyāḍ was included in later biographies, not only in al-Andalus and the Maghrib but also in the Mashriq, as I will argue below.

A little later, Abū Ja'far al-Ḍabbī (d. 599 H/1203 CE), a traditionist and a writer from Lorca, conveyed 'Iyāḍ's biography in his dictionary, *Bughyat al-multamis fi tārikh rijāl ahl al-Andalus* ("The Wish of the One Who Searches for the History of the Men of al-Andalus").²⁷ This work, which contains around 1,600 biographies, was intended to be a continuation (*dhayl*) of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī's (d. 488 H/1095 CE) *Jadhwat al-muqtabis fi dhikr wulāt al-Andalus* ("The Torch for the One

²⁵ On Ibn Bashkuwāl, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu'jam* (2011), 115–117; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 1: 459–462. See also Ávila, "Ibn Bashkuwāl", *EP*. On 'Iyāḍ's biography, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* (1989), 2: 660–661. According to the end of part one of this work, Ibn Bashkuwāl finished the compilation on 1 Jumādā I 534 H/24 December 1139 CE. However, since some dates in the text appear after this date, it is believed that he continued writing after that (cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* [1989], 1: 15–17).

²⁶ Ibn Bashkuwāl would rather get information about 'ulamā' from 'Iyāḍ and compiled his biographical dictionary. See Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 1: 461.

²⁷ On al-Ḍabbī, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 1: 188–189. On 'Iyāḍ's biography, see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (1997), 383–384.

Who Lights the Story of the Governors of al-Andalus”).²⁸ Al-Ḍabbī spent most of his life in Murcia although he also traveled to numerous other places, including various towns in the North Africa and Mecca, for the *ḥajj*. He was taught by many teachers in the town in which he stayed, among whom were Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. late 6th/12th century?) and Ibn Bashkuwāl. The former made al-Ḍabbī listen to *ḥadīth* in Ceuta, and the latter gave him authorization (*ijāza*) for something – although there is no specific description for what. In view of this situation, it is likely that his information on ‘Iyāḍ originated with some of al-Ḍabbī’s teachers. Al-Ḍabbī’s text focuses on enumerating the scholars who had taught ‘Iyāḍ *ḥadīth*; as a result, the list of ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers given by al-Ḍabbī is longer than that provided by Ibn Bashkuwāl. Al-Ḍabbī describes ‘Iyāḍ as an expert (*‘ārif*) and a man of letters (*adīb*), in addition to being a jurist and a *ḥadīth* scholar. He mentions the title of ‘Iyāḍ’s work on the terminology of *ḥadīth* as being *al-Ilmā’ ilā ma’rifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taqyīd al-samā’* (“The Allusion to the Knowledge of the Principles of the Transmission and the Fixing of Audition”), which is new information compared to the entry in Ibn Bashkuwāl. He received information regarding this book from one Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh; it is likely that this person and his similarly-named teacher are one and the same person. Thus, his information on ‘Iyāḍ is more detailed than that provided by Ibn Bashkuwāl, probably as result of his journey to Ceuta – ‘Iyāḍ’s native town – where he was taught.

Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658 H/1260 CE), a well-known historian, traditionist, littérateur, and poet from Valencia, also wrote a biography of ‘Iyāḍ. After extensive study under many scholars including a Mālikī jurist, historian, orator and poet from Murcia, Ibn Sālim al-Kalā’ī (d. 634 H/1237 CE),²⁹ Ibn al-Abbār was employed as a secretary by the Almohad governors of Valencia. When the city was conquered by James I of Aragon (r. 1213–1276) in 1238, Ibn al-Abbār left for Tunis, where he was appointed to the chief chancellery of the Ḥafṣids, who ruled Ifrīqiya from 627 H/1229 CE to 982 H/1574 CE.³⁰

Ibn al-Abbār is perhaps most famous as the author of *al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila* (“The Supplement of *al-Ṣila*”), a sequel to Ibn Bashkuwāl’s biographical dictionary *al-Ṣila* that his teacher, Ibn Sālim al-Kalā’ī, had persuaded him to write. However, Ibn al-Abbār did not include an entry on ‘Iyāḍ in it, because the latter has a notice in *al-Ṣila*, as mentioned above. Instead, Ibn al-Abbār recorded ‘Iyāḍ

²⁸ Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* (1997), 11. Regarding the *dhayl* in the historiography of al-Andalus, see Farah 1968, 16.

²⁹ Pellat, “al-Kalā’ī”, *EF*.

³⁰ Ávila, “Ibn al-Abbār”, *EF*. His life was full of ups and downs; finally he was killed in Tunis, and his corpse, books, poetry, and diplomas all were burned together.

in another biographical dictionary, one dedicated to the students of the celebrated traditionist Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī and entitled *al-Mu‘jam fī aṣḥāb al-qāḍī al-imām Abī ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī* (“The Dictionary of the Companions of the qāḍī and imām Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī”).³¹ The article on ‘Iyāḍ includes his family’s origin, his teachers in Córdoba, and details of his meetings with al-Ṣadafī, in addition to the many works ‘Iyāḍ studied under him. There is further information on ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers and his education, along with Ibn al-Abbār’s praise for him, his works, and his career, as well as the dates of his birth and death, and his poem. The biography ends with a “*ḥadīth musalsal*”, which was transmitted via al-Ṣadafī and ‘Iyāḍ to Ibn al-Abbār (the author).³² Ibn al-Abbār would have been well aware of the works of both ‘Iyāḍ and Ibn Bashkuwāl; thus, his detailed information – which is much longer than that provided by Ibn Bashkuwāl – seems to depend upon ‘Iyāḍ’s *al-Ghunya* and/or Muḥammad’s *al-Ta‘rīf*, and *al-Ṣila*, judging from the wording, although Ibn al-Abbār does not mention them directly. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that Ibn al-Abbār mentions another work by ‘Iyāḍ relating to *gharīb al-ḥadīth* (a tradition from only one Companion, or from a single man), known as *Mashāriq al-anwār ‘alā ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār* (“The Shining Lights on the Correct Prophetic Traditions”), along with a poem by Abū ‘Amr b. al-Ṣalāḥ,³³ in praise of it. Ibn al-Abbār also includes a poem by ‘Iyāḍ, which is almost identical to those employed in al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān’s *Qalā‘id al-iqyān*, but this one was conveyed to Ibn al-Abbār through ‘Iyāḍ’s student Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Zarqūn and the author’s own teacher, Ibn Sālim al-Kalā‘ī.

Incidentally, a number of hagiographies were compiled in the Maghrib around this time. However, as Halima Ferhat has indicated, none of the hagiographers, not even Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādili (d. 627 H/1229-30 CE or 628 H/1230-1 CE) – who would have been most likely to record ‘Iyāḍ in his hagiography – mention

31 Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu‘jam* (2011), 366–370. We have no information about when he finished this work. Ibn al-Abbār compiled it when he knew that ‘Iyāḍ wrote the biographical dictionary of the teachers of ‘Iyāḍ’s teacher al-Ṣadafī. Then, he decided to compile this biographical dictionary of al-Ṣadafī’s students (Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu‘jam* [2011], 21).

32 *Ḥadīth musalsal* is applied when the transmitters in an *isnād* have a similar situation. For example, they use the same words, or are of the same type, or come from the same place. See Robson, “*Ḥadīth*”, *EP*.

33 Abū ‘Amr b. al-Ṣalāḥ, also known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643 H/1245 CE), was a Shāfi‘ī jurist and traditionist from a village in the Irbil district (Robson, “Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ”, *EP*). According to Ibn al-Abbār’s another work, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ read this book and use it constantly. Cf. Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Muqtaḍab* (1989), 86.

‘Iyāḍ. Al-Tādili only mentions the latter’s name when he records a poem by al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204 H/820 CE) that ‘Iyāḍ had conveyed.³⁴

After Ibn al-Abbār, the next writer to provide details about ‘Iyāḍ was a polymath, historian, and vizier of Naṣrid Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 H/1374-5 CE, probably 1374), in his compendium on that town entitled *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* (“The All-embracing Work on Reports about Granada”).³⁵ In this work, Ibn al-Khaṭīb relates the history of Granada and provides around 500 biographies of various famous people who had some sort of relationship with the town; these include kings, *amīrs*, viziers, *qāḍīs*, ‘*ulamā*’, and Sūfis. Compared to earlier examples, Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s biography of ‘Iyāḍ is much more detailed, but his information consists almost entirely of citations and extracts from Muḥammad’s *al-Ta’rīf*,³⁶ along with a poem conveyed by al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān and others (*ghayrhu*). However, Ibn al-Khaṭīb essentially ignored the political events in which ‘Iyāḍ had taken part, unlike Muḥammad, who wrote about them a certain amount of detail.

Subsequently, a *qāḍī* of Naṣrid Granada from Málaga, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bunnāhī (formerly known as al-Nubāhī, d. the end of the 8th/14th century) included ‘Iyāḍ in his biographical dictionary of the *qāḍīs* of al-Andalus, *al-Marqaba al-‘ulyā fī man yastahiqq al-qāḍā’ wa-l-fatyā* (“The Supreme Watchtower about Those Who Deserve the Judgeship and Issuing Legal Opinions [Muftiship]”).³⁷ In his description of ‘Iyāḍ, he cites Ibn Bashkuwāl almost verbatim, although he also conveys the new information that ‘Iyāḍ lived in Málaga for a while and had property there. Al-Bunnāhī states that this information was mentioned by ‘Iyāḍ’s descendant (*ḥafīd*) in the section which the latter compiled in “the introduction” (*al-ta’rīf*) to ‘Iyāḍ and his works, information, and sermons.³⁸ This “introduction” probably refers to *al-Ta’rīf* by Muḥammad – although technically he was his son rather than just a descendant – and it is likely that al-Bunnāhī could access this information because he was from Málaga.

As such, from the above it can be stated that all the various biographies of ‘Iyāḍ that were composed in al-Andalus and the Maghrib were based primarily

34 Al-Tādili, *al-Tashawwuf* (2010), 92–93. See also Ferhat 2014, 123–124.

35 Vidal-Castro, “Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn”, *EP*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (2003), 4: 188–194.

36 On citing Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he said “*min kitāb waladihi fī ma’āthirihī, wa-huwa kunnāsh nabih*” (from his son’s book on his exploits, and it is an outstanding booklet) and “*qāla waladuhu fī ta’līfihī al-nabīl*” (his son said in his noble work). Thus, he was familiar with *al-Ta’rīf*, although he did not mention the title. See also Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ta’rīf* (2009), lām.

37 Carmona, “al-Nubāhī”, *EP*.

38 Al-Bunnāhī, *al-Marqaba* (1995), 132–133. Muḥammad also mentioned this property; Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ta’rīf* (2009), 98.

on three originals: those by Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, Ibn Bashkuwāl, and al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.

Tab. 1: Maghribi and Andalusī sources

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the source	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā’</i>
al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān (529 H/1134 CE)	Jaén or Seville	<i>Qalā’id al-iqyān</i> (2010), 683–691	‘Iyāḍ	○	
Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ (575 H/1179–80 CE)	Ceuta	<i>al-Ta’rīf</i> (2009)	‘Iyāḍ and the others ³⁹	○	○
Ibn Bashkuwāl (578 H/1183 CE)	Córdoba	<i>al-Ṣila</i> (1989), 2: 660–661	‘Iyāḍ		
al-Ḍabbī (599 H/1203 CE)	Lorca	<i>Bughyat al-multamis</i> (1997), 383–384	His teacher		
Ibn al-Abbār (658 H/1260 CE)	Valencia	<i>al-Mu’jam</i> (2011), 366–370	Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ? or ‘Iyāḍ? Ibn Bashkuwāl?	○	
Ibn al-Khaṭīb (776 H/1374–5 CE)	Granada	<i>al-Iḥāṭa</i> (2003), 4: 188–194	Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān	○	○
al-Bunnāhī (end of 8th/14th century)	Málaga	<i>al-Marqaba</i> (1995), 132–133	Ibn Bashkuwāl		

3.2 ‘Iyāḍ in the Mashriqī sources⁴⁰

Of the Mashriqī sources that relate the biography of ‘Iyāḍ, the earliest is ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. 597 H/1201 CE) *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat al-‘aṣr* (“The Pearl-like Virgin of the Castle and the Register of the People of the Age”), which was completed in 573 H/1178 CE.⁴¹ ‘Imād al-Dīn was a *kātib* – chancery official

³⁹ See also footnote 21.

⁴⁰ For further information on the sources and authors examined here, see Guo 2010, 448–453.

⁴¹ Richter-Bernburg 2014, 29–51. He was known to have received favors from the Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī (r. 541–569 H/1146–1174 CE) and the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb (r. 569–589 H/1174–1193 CE).

and court poet – and historian who originated from Isfahan, and his aforementioned text is a vast anthology of the works of various 6th/12th-century poets that was inspired by the prolific author Abū al-Manşūr al-Tha‘alibī’s (d. 429 H/1038 CE) *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-‘aṣr* (“The Matchless Pearl of Time on the Beautiful Achievements of the People of the Age”). The poets included in *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* all lived in the Islamic world. In compiling his list of Maghribi and Andalusī poets, ‘Imād al-Dīn mainly referenced and cited those found in al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān’s *Qalā’id al-iqyān*.⁴² Such is the case in the entry on ‘Iyāḍ, although he made a significant error in both the date and place of ‘Iyāḍ’s death, stating that it was “at Fez in AH 543”.⁴³ ‘Imād al-Dīn’s words are almost identical to those of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān with changing the order of the text, although he excludes some letters (*rasā’il*) that are found in the entry on ‘Iyāḍ in *Qalā’id al-iqyān*. As such, because they were ignored in ‘Imād al-Dīn’s source, *Qalā’id al-iqyān*, ‘Iyāḍ’s education and subsequent career are also not described in *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*. It is worth noting that the anthology of poetry and works was the first text from the Mashriq to refer to ‘Iyāḍ as well as the Islamic West, and that it was composed only thirty years after his death.

After ‘Imād al-Dīn, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Qifṭī – also known as Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646 H/1248 CE) – a historian from Qifṭ, in Upper Egypt, included ‘Iyāḍ in *Inbāh al-ruwāt ‘alā anbāh al-nuḥāt* (“The Awakening of the Transmitters on the Illustriousness of Grammarians”), a biographical dictionary of members of the literati.⁴⁴ Although al-Qifṭī does not detail his sources, the wording indicates that he employed Ibn Bashkuwāl, albeit with some alterations; for example, he omits the names of ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers, which are mentioned by Ibn Bashkuwāl. He describes ‘Iyāḍ as an *‘ālim* who gathered many *ḥadīths* and a *qāḍī*, in addition to recording ‘Iyāḍ’s works, such as *Sharḥ khabar Umm Zar’* (“Commentary on Tradition of Umm Zar’”), *Mashāriq al-anwār*, and *Tamām al-mu‘lim fī sharḥ kitāb*

⁴² ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1966–72), 1: kāfbā’.

⁴³ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (1966–72), 3: 501–505.

⁴⁴ Dietrich, “Ibn al-Qifṭī”, *EP*. His father was a deputy to the chancellor (*al-qāḍī al-fāḍil*) of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Al-Qifṭī himself was in charge of the *dīwān* of the finances of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s son, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (r. 589–613 H/1193–1216 CE) and of his successor, and then finally appointed vizier. According to the editor of *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, although there is no information about the beginning or completion of writing, the work must have been started by 626 H/1228–9 CE and the copy of this edition finished in 638 H/1240–1 CE. See al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* (1986), 1: 27. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* (1986), 2: 363–364.

Muslim (“Completeness of *The Teacher*. Commentary on the Book by Muslim”).⁴⁵ As such, al-Qiftī’s work can be considered as the first of the Mashriqī sources to contain a “proper” biography of ‘Iyāḍ.

The next text to refer to ‘Iyāḍ was al-Nawawī’s biographical dictionary of famous men.⁴⁶ Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE) was a Shāfi‘ī jurist from Nawā, south of Damascus, and in his *Tahdhīb al-asmā’ wa-l-lughāt* (“An Account of Names and the Languages”) the description of ‘Iyāḍ copies that of Ibn Bashkuwāl almost verbatim and openly states it was the source. Although neither he nor al-Qiftī mention ‘Iyāḍ’s teachers, he does say that ‘Iyāḍ was highly skilled in *ḥadīth* scholarship, jurisprudence, and Arabic. Before compiling his biographical dictionary, al-Nawawī had compiled a work on the positive laws (*furū’ al-fiqh*) of the Shāfi‘ī school, entitled *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn wa-‘umdat al-muftīn* (“Students’ Garden and Muftis’ Support”), and he referred to ‘Iyāḍ’s *al-Shifā’* in the “Kitāb al-ridda” (“The Book of Apostasy”) of *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn*.⁴⁷ Thus, it is clear that *al-Shifā’*, the most well-known of all ‘Iyāḍ’s works, must have been brought to the Mashriq before 669 H/1270 CE – that is, the date when al-Nawawī was said to be finished compiling his work – even though he did not mention any of ‘Iyāḍ’s works in his biography.

The next text to relate the life of ‘Iyāḍ was Ibn Khallikān’s (d. 681 H/1282 CE) famous biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-a’yān wa-anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān* (“Biographies of Deceased Notable People and History of the Sons of the Epoch”).⁴⁸ He compiled this dictionary in 672 H/1273-4 CE, and it contains details of ‘Iyāḍ’s names, education, and works, a partial citation from Ibn Bashkuwāl – although it omits his teachers’ names – some poems, an outline of a description from Ibn al-Abbār, dates of his birth and death, and an explanation of proper nouns included in this biography. He mentions ‘Iyāḍ’s works, including *Ikmal al-mu’lim*,

45 *Sharḥ khabar* and *Tamām al-mu’lim* refer to ‘Iyāḍ’s *Bughyat al-rā’id li-mā fi ḥadīth Umm Zar’* and *Ikmal al-mu’lim fi sharḥ Muslim* respectively. For his works and their outlines, see Serrano Ruano 2009, 417–433.

46 Heffening, “al-Nawawī”, *EF*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā’* (n.d.), sec. 1, part 2, 43–44.

47 Al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn* (1985), 10: 70. On the date of compilation of this work, see al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-ṭālibīn* (1985), 12: 316.

48 Ibn Khallikān was from Irbil, in Iraq, and after studying in Aleppo and Damascus he was appointed as deputy to the chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Egypt. After that, he himself was appointed chief *qāḍī* of Damascus by two Mamlūk sultans, Baybars I (r. 658–676 H/1260–1277 CE) and Qalāwūn (r. 678–689 H/1279–1290 CE). See Wedel, “Ibn al-Khallikān”, *EF*. For ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* (1977–78), 3: 483–485.

Mashāriq al-anwār, and *al-Tanbīhāt* (“The Admonition”),⁴⁹ along with his poems that were conveyed by his son and ‘Imād al-Dīn and which had not been cited by the Mashriqī biographers previously (with the exception of ‘Imād al-Dīn, of course). Moreover, Ibn Khallikān states that ‘Iyāḍ composed “good poetry” (*shi‘r ḥasan*), a statement that had never, as far as we know, been made before. The description of ‘Iyāḍ by Ibn Khallikān was synthetic, as the previously separate components – the biographical description from Ibn Bashkuwāl and the poems from the anthologies and the monograph – were combined.

Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) – a widely respected historian, *ḥadīth* expert, and biographer from early Mamlūk Damascus – added to these descriptions.⁵⁰ Al-Dhahabī mentioned ‘Iyāḍ in a number of his works, such as *Tārīkh al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a‘lām* (“The History of Islam and Deaths of the Famous People and Signs”) and its abridgements, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (“Memorial of the Qur’ān Masters”) and *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* (“The Lives of Noble Figures”), and others.⁵¹ His information on ‘Iyāḍ, in which he cites Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Khallikān, and Ibn Ḥamāda al-Sabtī, among others, is much more detailed than the preceding biographies, although some of the sources he employed are not named. Even so, the information he cites from Ibn Ḥamāda, who is believed to have been a student of ‘Iyāḍ in Ceuta, is very important because we have hardly any information from Ibn Ḥamāda, not even from the Maghribi nor Andalusī sources, nor personal information about him.⁵² Al-Dhahabī also gives the names of ‘Iyāḍ’s five students; this information is the most detailed of all his biographies.⁵³ Furthermore, because al-Dhahabī is fulsome in his praise of *al-Shifā’*, calling it ‘Iyāḍ’s most significant and illustrious work, it is very likely that it was widely circulated and highly regarded in the Mashriq at that time. With al-Dhahabī’s work, what may be termed the “Mashriqī biography” of ‘Iyāḍ may

49 The full title of *al-Tanbīhāt* is *al-Tanbīhāt al-mustanbiṭa ‘alā kutub al-Mudawwana wa-l-Mukhtalifa* (“Discovered admonitions on books of *al-Mudawwana* and *al-Mukhtalifa*”). According to the footnote, another manuscript of *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* adds *al-Shifā’* to these titles, although it was omitted in this edition. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* (1977–78), 3: 483, n. 3.

50 Bori, “al-Dhahabī”, *EP*.

51 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1994–2000), 37: 198–201; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1956–58), 2: 1304–1307; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–88), 20: 212–218. For others, see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1994–2000), 37: 198, n. 4.

52 He was known as Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamāda al-Sabtī (c. the first half of the 6th/12th century), who wrote a *mukhtaṣar* (compendium) of ‘Iyāḍ’s biographical dictionary, *Tartīb al-madārik*. This work has been published partially as an appendix at the end of the Mohammedia edition of *Tartīb al-madārik*. On Ibn Ḥamāda, see “Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamāda” (anonymous).

53 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām* (1994–2000), 37: 201; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1956–58), 2: 1306; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–88), 20: 216.

be considered essentially cemented from around the middle of the 8th/14th century.

Two other scholars who wrote 'Iyāḍ's biography are Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (d. 749 H/1349 CE) and Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764 H/1363 CE). Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, a famous author and administrator for the Mamlūk state from Damascus, included 'Iyāḍ in his encyclopedic work *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* ("Routes toward Insight into the Capital Empires").⁵⁴ He describes 'Iyāḍ and praises him, possibly because he had a high opinion of 'Iyāḍ as the author of *al-Shifā'*. Al-'Umārī devoted a paragraph to a description of that book, in addition to recording the personality and biography of 'Iyāḍ, including citations from the descriptions of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, Ibn Bashkuwāl, and 'Imād al-Dīn. On the other hand, al-Ṣafadī – a philologist, littérateur, biographer from Ṣafad who was friends with al-'Umārī – included 'Iyāḍ in his huge biographical dictionary *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* ("Complete Collection of Biographies of the Deceased"). Within it are recorded 'Iyāḍ's dates of birth and death, his career as a *qāḍī* in Ceuta and Granada – this description seems to depend upon that of Ibn Bashkuwāl – a poem in praise of 'Iyāḍ by the jurist Abū al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn al-Mālaqī, a list of his works, and his poetry.⁵⁵ What is particularly significant is that al-Ṣafadī wrote that he studied *al-Shifā'* under his teacher Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734 H/1334 CE) in Cairo in Ramaḍān 729 (June-July 1329). Moreover, he lists the transmitters of this book (*isnād*), going back to 'Iyāḍ himself, which demonstrates the work's dissemination.⁵⁶

54 Salibi, "Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī", *EP*. On 'Iyāḍ's biography, see al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (2010), part 5 in vol. 3: 349–352.

55 Rosenthal, "al-Ṣafadī", *EP*. On 'Iyāḍ's biography, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (2008–10), 23: 428–431. On Ibn Hārūn al-Mālaqī, see Ibn 'Askar/Ibn Khamīs, *A'lām Mālaqa* (1999), 307–309.

56 Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (2008–10), 23: 430–431. According to al-Ṣafadī's *isnād*, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās reported it from Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. 'Atīq b. Rashīq in Cairo in 677 H/1278–9 CE, and the latter reported it from Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr who reported it from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Tamīmī. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was a biographer of the Prophet, traditionist, Shāfi'i jurisprudent from Cairo, although he was descended from a distinguished scholarly family in Seville (Pavlovitch, "Ibn Sayyid al-Nās", *EP*). Ibn Rashīq (d. 680 H/1281–2 CE) was known as 'Ilm al-Dīn, a Mālikī *qāḍī* of Alexandria (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* [2005], 2: 255–256; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* [2008–10], 3: 16). Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr is probably the famous Andalusī traveler and writer Ibn Jubayr (d. 614 H/1217 CE), although correctly, his *kunya* is not Abū 'Abd Allāh, but Abū al-Ḥusayn. According to Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Ibn Rashīq reported it from Ibn Jubayr in 609 H/1212–3 CE (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-athar* [1993], 2: 417). Furthermore, Ibn Jubayr's teacher, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, is a grandson of aforementioned 'Iyāḍ's teacher Muḥammad b. 'Īsā (Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* [2011], 2: 303, 379).

In that period, various historians – such as Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732 H /1331 CE), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 H/1349 CE), al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768 H/1367 CE), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 H/1373 CE) – also included 'Iyāḍ in the obituaries contained within their chronicles.⁵⁷ Although they add nothing new, it must be pointed out that they tend to describe 'Iyāḍ as a traditionist and man of letters who composed good poetry. Moreover, three of the historians mention the following works by 'Iyāḍ: *Mashāriq al-anwār*, *Ikmāl al-mu'lim*, and *al-Shifā'*. The fourth, Abū al-Fidā', only mentions *Mashāriq al-anwār* and *Ikmāl al-mu'lim*.

The final writer to be examined is Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE), who also compiled a biographical dictionary.⁵⁸ He was from an Arab family that traced its origins to the Quraysh and which had settled in al-Andalus but later returned to Medina, via Tunisia. His *al-Dibāj al-mudhahhab fī ma'rifat a'yān 'ulamā' al-madhhab* ("The Gilded Brocade about Knowledge of Notable 'ulamā' of the [Mālikī]

⁵⁷ Abū al-Fidā' was a prince of Ayyūbids of Ḥamā, historian, geographer. His universal history, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* ("The Concise History of Humanity"), covers the pre-Islamic period up to 729 H/1329 CE (Talmon-Heller, "Abū l-Fidā'", *EP*). He wrote about 'Iyāḍ's name, birth, qualities as an 'ālim such as *imām*, *ḥāfiẓ*, and *faqīh*, etc., and his works *Ikmāl al-mu'lim* (although he mistakenly refers to it as *al-Ijmāl*, something that could have been a mistake by a copyist) and *Mashāriq al-anwār* (Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar* [1998–99], 3: 32). Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī was a Shāfi'ī jurist, philologist, man of letters, historian and poet from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. His work, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* ("Completion of the Concise History of Humanity"), was also known as *Tārīkh Ibn al-Wardī* ("The History of Ibn al-Wardī") (Ben Cheneb, "Ibn al-Wardī", *EP*). In this work, Ibn al-Wardī abridged the above-mentioned chronicle of Abū al-Fidā' and continued it from 729 H/1329 CE to 749 H/1349 CE. Subsequently, his information about 'Iyāḍ almost copies that of Abū al-Fidā'. He also mentions the latter's career as *qāḍī* of Ceuta and Granada, and his poem (Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* [1969], 2: 71). Al-Yāfi'ī was an intellectual and a Ṣūfi from Yemen. He composed a historical book, *Mir'āt al-jinān wa-ibrat al-yaqẓān fī ma'rifat mā yu'tabar min ḥawādith al-zamān* ("Mirrors of the Soul and the Observant One's Tears about Knowledge of What is Learned from the Events of the Time"), drawn from Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 H/1233 CE), Ibn Khallikān, and al-Dhahabī (Geoffroy, "al-Yāfi'ī", *EP*). He recorded 'Iyāḍ as one of the most distinguished *ḥuffāẓ* and wrote about his teachers, his career as *qāḍī* of Ceuta and Granada, his works, and his qualities as an 'ālim. He finished the description of 'Iyāḍ by citing one of his poems (al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-jinān* [1970], 3: 282–283). Finally, Ibn Kathīr, one of the best-known historians and traditionists of the Bahri dynasty in Syria, includes 'Iyāḍ in his great history of Islam, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* ("The Beginning and the End") (Mirza, "Ibn Kathīr", *EP*). Ibn Kathīr describes 'Iyāḍ as a *qāḍī* and *faqīh*, mentions 'Iyāḍ's works and states "he composed good poetry", although he does not cite any poems specifically (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya* [1966], 12: 225).

⁵⁸ After studying in Medina, Ibn Farḥūn travelled to Egypt and Syria, before being appointed a Mālikī *qāḍī* in Medina. See Fadel, "Ibn Farḥūn", *EP*. Cf. Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (2004), 1: 15–17. For 'Iyāḍ's biography, see Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (2005), 2: 36–41.

School”) is a biographical dictionary of Mālikī jurists, containing around 630 entries, that was inspired by *Tartīb al-madārik*, a similar dictionary written by ‘Iyāḍ himself.⁵⁹ Ibn Farḥūn also studied *al-Shifā’*, under al-Zubayr b. ‘Alī al-Uswānī (d. 748 H/1347 CE), a Qur’ān reciter.⁶⁰ Thus, his description of ‘Iyāḍ is comparatively long. In order to produce ‘Iyāḍ’s biography, he gathered all the descriptions found in the various relevant Andalusī and Maghribī sources, and probably the Mashriqī ones as well. While he often used his own words – that is, he did not literally copy the preceding biographer’s wording – his account is heavily dependent on Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in particular. Thus, Ibn Farḥūn has known Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s text *al-Iḥāṭa*, which was compiled around the same time, and used it for his description.⁶¹

Tab. 2: Mashriqī sources

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā’</i>
‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (597 H/1201 CE)	Isfahan	<i>Kharīdat al-qaṣr</i> (1966–72), 3: 501–505	al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān	○
al-Qiftī (646 H/1248 CE)	Qift (Upper Egypt)	<i>Inbāh al-ruwāt</i> (1986), 2: 363– 364	Ibn Bashkuwāl?	
al-Nawawī (676 H/1277 CE)	Nawā (Damascus)	<i>Tahdhīb al-asmā’</i> (n.d.), sec. 1, part 2, 43–44	Ibn Bashkuwāl	(○)

⁵⁹ Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (2005), 1: 21–23.

⁶⁰ Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (2004), 1: 16. Cf. Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (2005), 1: 7.

⁶¹ According to the introduction to *al-Iḥāṭa* by the editor, Ibn al-Khaṭīb took time to compile his work. It is thought that he started to gather information in 761 H/1358–9 CE, before his exile to the Maghrib, resumed it after his return in 763 H/1362 CE, and continued to add to and revise it. It seems that he finished it in 772 H/1370–1 CE, that is, before crossing over to the Maghrib for the second time. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* (2003), 1: 4. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqqarī saw part of a copy of this book in Cairo; according to him, this copy was donated to a *khānqā* as a *waqf* on 22 Muḥarram 768 (28 September 1366). It is thought that the book was introduced to Cairo around this time (al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ al-ṭib* [2012], 7: 102–108). Meanwhile, Ibn Farḥūn noted the day of the compilation of this dictionary in Sha‘bān 761 (June–July 1360) (Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* [2005], 2: 302); it precedes Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s. Thus, it is reasonable to think that Ibn Farḥūn also took time to compile his work and consulted to a just-completed description by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the source	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā'</i>
Ibn Khallikān (681 H/1282 CE)	Irbil (No. Iraq)	<i>Wafayāt al-a'yān</i> (1977–78), 3: 483–485	Ibn Bashkuwāl, Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, ‘Imād al-Dīn al- Iṣfahānī, Ibn al-Abbār	○	
al-Dhahabī (748 H/1348 CE)	Damascus	<i>Tārīkh al-islām</i> (1994–2000), 37: 198–201; <i>Tadhkirat al- ḥuffāz</i> (1956–58), 2: 1304–1307; <i>Sīyar</i> (1982–88), 20: 212–218	Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Ḥamāda, Ibn Khallikān, Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ	○	○
al-‘Umarī (749 H/1349 CE)	Damascus	<i>Masālik al-abṣār</i> (2010), part 5 in vol. 3: 349–352	al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, Ibn Bashkuwāl, ‘Imād al-Dīn al- Iṣfahānī	○	○
al-Ṣafadī (764 H/1363 CE)	Ṣafad (No. Palestine)	<i>al-Wāfi</i> (2008– 10), 23: 428–431	Ibn Bashkuwāl?, his teacher	○	○
Abū al-Fidā’ (732 H/1331 CE)	Damascus	<i>al-Mukhtaṣar</i> (1998–99), 3: 32			
Ibn al-Wardī (749 H/1349 CE)	Ma‘arrat al- Nu‘mān (W. Syria)	<i>Tārīkh</i> (1969), 2: 71		○	○
al-Yāfi‘ī (768 H/1367 CE)	Yemen	<i>Mir‘āt al-jinān</i> (1970), 3: 282– 283		○	○
Ibn Kathīr (774 H/1373 CE)	Bosra (So. Iraq)	<i>al-Bidāya</i> (1966), 12: 225			○

Author (year of death)	Birthplace	Source	Reference for the source	Poem	Mention of <i>al-Shifā'</i>
Ibn Farḥūn (799 H/1397 CE)	Medina	<i>al-Dībāj</i> (2005), 2: 36–41	Muḥammad b. 'Iyāḍ, Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khallikān or/and al-Dha- habī?	○	○

4 The communication of biographical information: A comparison of the Maghribi-Andalusi and Mashriqi sources

I would now like to summarize how biographical information on 'Iyāḍ was communicated within and between the regions. As mentioned, 'Iyāḍ never undertook a *riḥla* to the Mashriq nor went on the *ḥajj*, and there is little evidence that he had any Mashriqi students; consequently, it could be expected that he would have had little intellectual influence in the Mashriq at that time. Nevertheless, a number of biographies of 'Iyāḍ were compiled in the Mashriq quite soon after his death, the result of writers believing that his biography was worthy of inclusion in their dictionaries. Yet, which points about his life did they wish to emphasize? To elucidate the main features of their descriptions of 'Iyāḍ, I will highlight two main points: the first is concerned with his poems, or ability as a man of letters, while the second is their focus on his written works, especially *al-Shifā'*.

The most oft-employed description of 'Iyāḍ was that by Ibn Bashkuwāl, something that was common to both the Maghribi and the Mashriqi biographies. It is perhaps natural that the brief and clear biography written by Ibn Bashkuwāl, a student of 'Iyāḍ, became widely utilized. On the other hand, despite 'Iyāḍ's poetry also being often referenced, it is cited primarily by biographers from the Mashriq, in stark contrast with those from the Maghrib who mostly ignored it. As stated above, the first source to contain 'Iyāḍ's poems in the West was al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān's anthology *Qalā'id al-iqyān* and the first of the Mashriqi sources was also the anthology, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, by 'Imād al-Dīn, in which all the poems found in *Qalā'id al-iqyān* are included. Moreover, it appears that this situation came about primarily through citations in Ibn Khallikān's famous biographical dictionary,

where the flattering phase “[he composed] good poetry” is to be found.⁶² As far as Ibn Khallikān is concerned, his information about ‘Iyāḍ’s son Muḥammad – that he was the “*qāḍī* of Dénia” – probably came from Ibn Diḥya’s (d. 633 H/1235 CE) anthology *al-Muṭrib min ash’ār ahl al-Maghrib* (“The Delightfulness from the Poetry of the People of the Maghrib”) rather than from *Qalā’id al-iqyān* or *Kharidat al-qasr*, though he did not mention the former.⁶³ Ibn Khallikān may have considered ‘Iyāḍ to be a good poet not only because of the quality of the poetry itself but also because it was frequently cited by famous anthologists.⁶⁴ Subsequent biographical sketches also quote the same poem(s), and this resulted in repeated emphasis being placed on ‘Iyāḍ’s ability to compose good poetry or as a man of letters in the Mashriq. While in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, ‘Iyāḍ’s son Muḥammad, Ibn al-Abbār, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb all made use of his poetry, it never became part of his biographical tradition, where he was instead described primarily as a traditionist and jurist.

Secondly, as far as the sources – that were examined in this paper – are concerned, knowledge and appreciation of ‘Iyāḍ’s most famous work, *al-Shifā’*, can be attested earlier in the Mashriq than in the Maghrib and al-Andalus. At the time of al-Nawawī – that is, around 669 H/1270 CE – this text was already in circulation, and it was to become even more highly regarded around the time of al-Dhahabī, that is, the middle of the 8th/14th century. Moreover, Ibn Farḥūn stated that “copies of this work spread eastward and westward” (*tārat nusakhuhu sharqan wa-gharban*), while, more than 150 years later, one of the most prolific Cairene writers of the Middle Ages, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H/1505 CE), wrote abstracts of the *ḥadīths* contained within *al-Shifā’*, in a work entitled *Manāhil al-ṣafā’ fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-shifā’* (“The Pure Fountain about Extract of *Ḥadīths* from *al-Shifā’*”).⁶⁵

As such, was *al-Shifā’* ignored in the Maghrib and al-Andalus? The answer is, of course, no. While the evidence in the biographical dictionaries is scarce – with

⁶² Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a’yān* (1977–78), 3: 484.

⁶³ Ibn Diḥya al-Kalbī was a poet, philologist, and traditionist, probably from Valencia. He traveled within al-Andalus, and to the Maghrib, North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Persia. After his return to Egypt, he enjoyed the Ayyūbid ruler’s favor. His celebrated work, *al-Muṭrib*, is a vast anthology of the poets of the Islamic West, which was compiled in Egypt and dedicated to his royal patron, al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 615–635 H/1218–1238 CE). Thus, it is likely that Ibn Khallikān had access to this work. See Granja, “Ibn Diḥya”, *EF*. On ‘Iyāḍ’s poetry, which was conveyed by his son, see Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib* (1955), 87.

⁶⁴ Hermosilla refers to one of his poems cited by Ibn Khallikān and highlights that it shows ‘Iyāḍ’s talent in *belles-lettres* (Hermosilla 1978–79, 161).

⁶⁵ Serrano Ruano 2009, 426.

the exception of those by Muḥammad and Ibn al-Khaṭīb –, in order to get a better understanding of the situation it will be useful to shift focus from the topic of biography to that of the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad. In the Islamic West, the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad as an ideal figure had been steadily increasing from the 6th/12th century.⁶⁶ The origin of this veneration is attributable to Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī, who played a significant role in the development of this movement, as he brought from the East a collection of *ḥadīths*, al-Tirmidhī’s (d. 279 H/892 CE) *al-Shamā’il al-Muḥammadiyya* (“The Appearance of Muḥammad”), and taught it to his many students.⁶⁷

‘Iyāḍ was taught this work by al-Ṣadafī directly,⁶⁸ and so his *al-Shifā’*, based as it is upon the sciences of *ḥadīth*, can be seen as a product of this movement. Moreover, Ibn Bashkuwāl who was a student not only of ‘Iyāḍ but also of al-Ṣadafī, also wrote a similar work, entitled *Kitāb al-Qurba ilā Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (“The Approach to Lord of Worlds”), and it has been pointed out that this closely resembles part of *al-Shifā’*.⁶⁹ Therefore, the influence of *al-Shifā’* can be confirmed in the movement of the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad immediately after his compilation. This tradition of composing works venerating the Prophet was continued by Ibn Diḥya. On the other hand, as Muḥammad al-Hāṭī has shown, a large number of commentaries (*sharḥ*) on *al-Shifā’* were produced in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, the first of which was composed by a Qur’ānic exegete from Marrakesh, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrālī (d. 637 H/1239-40 CE or 638 H/1240-1 CE).⁷⁰ Thus, *al-Shifā’* was widely read by the people of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, including Ṣūfis.⁷¹ However, it is rather odd that al-Bunnāhī, the biographer of ‘Iyāḍ, makes no mention of this work even though, according to the later biographer Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036 H/1627 CE), he studied it.⁷² Furthermore, the well-known Maghribi biographer Ibn al-Qāḍī al-Miknāsī (d. 1025 H/1616 CE) is silent about *al-Shifā’*.⁷³

⁶⁶ Sato 2005, 28–33; Sato 2006, 7.

⁶⁷ We can understand this situation from many descriptions in Ibn al-Abbār’s *Mu’jam*.

⁶⁸ ‘Iyāḍ, *al-Ghunya* (1979), 196.

⁶⁹ Sato 2005, 28–33.

⁷⁰ Al-Hāṭī 2015. On al-Ḥarrālī, see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila* (2011), 3: 415; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1982–88), 23: 47.

⁷¹ Sato 2005, 29–30.

⁷² Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihāj* (2004), 1: 370–371.

⁷³ Ibn al-Qāḍī barely conveys that a famous *khaṭīb* from Tlemcen, Ibn Marzūq (d. 781 H/1379 CE) wrote an unfinished commentary on *al-Shifā’*, although the former does not mention the author’s name of this book (Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās* [1973–74], 1: 227).

Fig. 1: Communication of biographical information

5 Conclusion

Biographies of 'Iyād started to be written soon after his death and continued to be composed for centuries after, not only in the Maghrib and al-Andalus but also in the Mashriq. Significantly, the biographies of 'Iyād written in the Maghrib and al-Andalus are no more detailed than those compiled in the Mashriq. Moreover, the Mashriqī authors took advantage of these biographies soon after they were written. The descriptions of 'Iyād reflect the biographer's interests and the approach to historical compilation followed in each region.

Generally, it seems possible to construct a plausible figure of an *'ālim* such as 'Iyād through examining and comparing two or more biographies but, at the same time, it is important to consider how and why the information regarding that figure was conveyed. This is because the way in which information is conveyed differs according to the values and ideas of both the individual biographers and the society in which it was composed. The extent to which this one case-study of 'Iyād reflects a wider trend is a question that can only be answered via further, future studies.

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