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***Isnād* of Ibn Khaldūn: Maghribi Tradition of Knowledge in Mamlūk Cairo**

1 Introduction

In Muḥarram 791 H/January 1389 CE, Ibn Khaldūn (732–808 H/1332–1406 CE) was appointed as a professor of *ḥadīth* at the Ṣarghitmish *madrassa* in Cairo. He chose to lecture on *al-Muwattaʿa*, the famous *ḥadīth* collection compiled by Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179 H/795 CE). His first lecture, before starting on the body of the text, focused on his *isnād* and the brief introduction of the author and book. For his autobiography, Ibn Khaldūn reproduced the full text of his first lecture, including his *isnād* that traces back to the author Mālik.¹ Figure 1 is the reconstructed *isnād* of Ibn Khaldūn based on his lecture text.²

One of the remarkable things in this figure is that it shows only Maghribi³ scholars' names, and none of Mashriqi scholars', except the author Mālik. It is true that Ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis and lived in various cities and towns in al-Maghrib, such as Fez, Granada, and others, until he finally migrated to Cairo around the age of 50. Given that he learned from Maghribi scholars in the early stages of his life and inherited the Maghribi tradition of knowledge, it does not seem so surprising that his *isnād* does not include any Mashriqi scholars' names.

1 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 293–310. For his appointment, see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1986), 2: 347–348; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* (1939–73), 3: 589–590.

2 Identification of transmitters in the Figures 1 and 2 is based on Lirola Delgado/Puerta Vílchez 2004–12 as well as medieval biographical dictionaries cited in the bibliography. I, however, have not specified sources of the identification for each transmitter.

3 In this article, the term al-Maghrib refers to the Muslim West as a whole, including al-Andalus.

Fig. 1: *Isnād* of Ibn Khaldūn

In the Maghribi context, however, knowledge comes from the east. There indeed was a disparity between the west and the east in terms of the authority of knowledge. Since the early Islamic period, many Maghribi scholars travelled to the east and studied there. However, travel and learning in the opposite direction was rare.⁴ Knowledge brought back from the east was deemed authoritative in the west and Maghribi scholars who returned from the east were highly respected.

One such scholar is Ibn Rushayd (657–721 H/1259–1321 CE), called *al-raḥḥāla* or the great traveller. He was born in Ceuta and travelled to the east in the 680s

4 In the case of al-Andalus, we have a quantitative analysis relevant to this point. The *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, a monumental 'Data Base' of Andalusí authors, includes entries of 2,465 authors who were born in al-Andalus or came from other places and left their mark in al-Andalus. Of the 2,294 authors born in al-Andalus, 383 (i.e. 16.7%) travelled to al-Mashriq. On the other hand, only 40 Mashriqi-born authors were found on the intellectual scene of al-Andalus. See Lirola Delgado 2013, 22–32, 54–60.

H/1280s CE. After returning to the west with abundant knowledge which he had acquired from many Mashriqī scholars, he became a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar in Granada and Fez. In fact, the name of Ibn Rushayd appears in Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād*, but in his lecture in Cairo, he told that Ibn Rushayd transmitted *al-Muwaṭṭa'* from the scholars of Ceuta and al-Andalus, omitting their names, saying, "They are not in my memory at present".⁵

Thus, in Cairo, Ibn Khaldūn presented himself as a scholar based exclusively on the Maghribi tradition of knowledge. This might reflect his enduring attachment to al-Maghrib; in Cairo Ibn Khaldūn continued to dress in the Maghribi style and maintained contact with Maghribi rulers and scholars.⁶ However, my objective here is not to examine this *isnād* from the viewpoint of his personality. Rather, my question is: What was the advantage of his Maghribi *isnād*? Was it accepted in Cairo, and, if accepted, how and to what degree?

2 Advantages of Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād*

Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād* has two advantages that could attract students. One is the fact that it goes back to Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā al-Laythī (152?–234 H/769?–849 CE), an influential scholar in 3rd/9th-century Córdoba. He travelled from al-Andalus to the east, learned directly from Mālik ibn Anas in Medina, and brought back his teachings to his homeland. It is said that there were 15 transmitted versions (*riwāyas*) of *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, as the author Mālik himself did not leave a definitive text and his work was transmitted by several of his disciples, including Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā. Of the 15 versions, Yaḥyā's was the most widespread, being one of the two surviving versions in their entirety in our days.⁷ In his lecture, Ibn Khaldūn said that once Yaḥyā had introduced *al-Muwaṭṭa'* to the west, people were satisfied only with his version and abandoned the others, until everyone learned the Yaḥyā version in both the east and the west in Ibn Khaldūn's time.⁸ It seems that the case was not so different in Cairo either. When enumerating various versions of *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, al-Suyūṭī (849–911 H/1445–1505 CE), a prolific scholar in 9th/15th-century Cairo, placed the Yaḥyā version above the others and gave the

⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 310.

⁶ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (1998), 235; Fischel 1967, 23–25.

⁷ Schacht, "Mālik b. Anas", *EF*, 6: 264.

⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ta'rif* (1951), 304–305.

most detailed accounts.⁹ As Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā transmitted his version to his disciples in Córdoba, its *isnād* would naturally consist of the names of Maghribi scholars, especially Cordoban ones. To learn the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*, one needed to rely on the Maghribi tradition.

The second advantage lies in the line from Aḥmad Ibn Baqī (537–625 H/1143–1228 CE) to Ibn Hārūn al-Ṭāʿī (603–702 H/1207–1303 CE) among the many other lines in Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād*. This line leads to Ibn Khaldūn by way of his four teachers: al-Wādī Āshī (673–749 H/1274–1348 CE), al-Ābīlī (681–757 H/1282–1356 CE), Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (676–749 H/1277–8–1348 CE), and al-Balafīqī (680–771 H/1281–2–1370 CE). Ibn Khaldūn himself does not detail its advantage;¹⁰ however, there are other Maghribi scholars who learned *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* with the same line of *isnād* and emphasized its value and excellence. For example, a scholar of Ceuta, al-Qāsim al-Tujībī (ca. 670–730 H/ca. 1271–1329–30 CE) recorded his *isnād* of the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*.¹¹ He learned it in Tunis from the elderly teacher Ibn Hārūn al-Ṭāʿī, who was probably more than 70 years old at the time judging from the birth years of the two. Ibn Hārūn, in his turn, had learned it from his teacher Ibn Baqī, again quite old. Al-Tujībī considers this line as a great and lofty one (*isnād jalīl ʿālin*) because Ibn Hārūn was the last disciple of his teacher Ibn Baqī. Moreover, Ibn Baqī was the last disciple of his teacher Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Khazrajī (d. ca. 560 H/1164–5 CE), and al-Khazrajī and all the transmitters of earlier generations were also the last disciples of their respective teachers.¹² As is well known, the transmission of knowledge from an aged teacher is highly esteemed, especially in *ḥadīth* transmission, because it reduces the number of transmitters, thus drawing the disciple closer to the authority of the author or the Prophet Muḥammad.

In addition, the location where Ibn Hārūn learned from Ibn Baqī was also important. Al-Tujībī says that Ibn Baqī transmitted *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* to Ibn Hārūn between 617 H/1220–1 CE and 620 H/1223–4 CE “in the room of his ancestor Baqī ibn Makhḥad – May God give him mercy – in Córdoba – May God restore it – (*bi-ghurfat jaddi-hi Baqī ibn Makhḥad, raḥīma-hu Allāh taʿālā, bi-Qurṭuba, aʿāda-hā Allāh taʿālā*)”.¹³ Baqī ibn Makhḥad (201–276 H/817–889 CE) was a distinguished scholar in 3rd/9th-century Córdoba and his residence apparently remained in his

⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Tazyīn al-mamālik* (2010), 113.

¹⁰ He only describes this line as “lofty paths (*ṭuruq ʿāliya*)” in explanation of his learning from Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʿrīf* (1951), 19.

¹¹ Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 53–54.

¹² Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 54–55.

¹³ Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 53.

descendants' hands even in the 7th/13th century. Al-Tujībī also says that this *isnād* connected scholars to Mālik through native Cordobans (*al-Qurṭubīyyīn al-baladiyyīn*) because all the transmitters from Ibn Hārūn to Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā were Cordobans, and that the *isnād* is rare and precious (*nādir mustaṭraf*).¹⁴ The Islamic city of Córdoba was conquered by the Christian king of Castile, Fernando III, in 633 H/1236 CE, only a dozen years after the transmission from Ibn Baqī to Ibn Hārūn. Therefore, Ibn Hārūn belonged to the last generation that could learn in Islamic Córdoba. Most likely the critical situation in his native town was why he emigrated from Córdoba to Tunis, though we do not know the details of his emigration. This line of *isnād* from Ibn Hārūn to Ibn Baqī must have brought back memories of the lost Islamic city of Córdoba for Muslim scholars.

Al-Tujībī is not the only scholar who exalted this *isnād*. Al-Wādī Āshī, one of Ibn Khaldūn's teachers, also said that he did not know at the time any *isnād* on earth loftier than this one (*mā a'lamu al-āna 'alā wajh al-arḍ a'lā min hādihā al-sanad*).¹⁵ This *isnād* was highly appreciated and diffused in al-Maghrib, especially among those scholars who learned in Tunis where Ibn Hārūn emigrated to, taught, and died. Many Maghribi scholars shared the same *isnād* with Ibn Khaldūn.¹⁶

3 Acceptance of the Maghribi tradition in Cairo

Ibn Khaldūn's *isnād* was of particular advantage, at least in al-Maghrib. The question then arises whether this advantage was accepted as such in Cairo as well. Unfortunately, I could not identify any specific scholar who attended his lecture at the Ṣarghitmish *madrasa*. It is true that some scholars of Cairo, including the famous historian al-Maqrīzī (766–845 H/1364–1442 CE) and prominent *ḥadīth* scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773–852 H/1372–1449 CE), studied with Ibn Khaldūn in Cairo, especially his book on history. Also, Ibn Khaldūn's entry appears in the record of Ibn Ḥajar's learning, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas*.¹⁷ According to that, Ibn Khaldūn wrote an *ijāza* for Ibn Ḥajar, mentioning *al-Muwaṭṭa'* transmitted from

¹⁴ Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 57.

¹⁵ Al-Wādī Āshī, *Barnāmaj* (1980), 188.

¹⁶ For example, see Ibn Rushayd, *Mil' al-'ayba* (1981), 144–145; al-Balawī, *Tāj al-mafriq* (n.d.), 177–178.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma' al-mu'assas* (1992–94), 3: 159. This work is an adaptation of his record *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras*; the former is arranged by teachers from whom he learned while the latter by books that he studied.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām but without further details or *isnād*. It seems that Ibn Ḥajar did not really attend any lecture of *ḥadīth* by Ibn Khaldūn, just received the *ijāza*.¹⁸

Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥajar learned the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa’* from another teacher with an *isnād* similar to that of Ibn Khaldūn. He shows his *isnād* in detail in the record of his learning, *al-Mu’jam al-mufahras* and *al-Majma’ al-mu’assas* (Fig. 2).¹⁹ According to that, he learned the Yaḥyā version from scholars both in Cairo and Damascus. One of his teachers in Cairo, Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī (709–800 H/1309–10–1398 CE), in turn, learned it from al-Wādī Āshī, i.e. one of Ibn Khaldūn’s teachers in Tunis.²⁰ The *isnād* continues to al-Wādī Āshī’s teacher, Ibn Hārūn, and then to the Cordoban Ibn Baqī. Although Ibn Ḥajar did not include Ibn Khaldūn among his teachers of *al-Muwaṭṭa’*, he definitely shared the *isnād* with Ibn Khaldūn.

Ibn Ḥajar also recognized the advantage of this *isnād*. He cites a remark by al-Wādī Āshī, which was transmitted from his teacher Ibn al-Kharrāṭ: “There are two advantages (*mazīyyatān*) in the *isnād* of Ibn Hārūn. One of them is that all the men in the *isnād* are Cordobans (*Qurṭubiyyūn*) until Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā. The other is that there is no *ijāza* in it”. He also cites a similar remark by Abū Ḥayyān, which was transmitted by another teacher of his, al-Tanūkhī.²¹ Ibn Ḥajar and his teachers in Cairo well understood the advantage of the *isnād* as the Cordoban tradition.

¹⁸ Al-Sakhāwī records names of some other scholars who learned from Ibn Khaldūn. One of them, Ibn al-Shammā’ (791–863 H/1389–1459 CE), learned *ḥadīth* from him, but al-Sakhāwī does not detail it. There were others who received an *ijāza* from Ibn Khaldūn. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’* (1353–55 H), 9: 142. See also Rosenthal 2000.

¹⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Mu’jam al-mufahras* (1998), 36–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majma’ al-mu’assas* (1992–94), 1: 106–108; 2: 540–542.

²⁰ When al-Sakhāwī described Ibn Ḥajar’s learning of the Yaḥyā version, he mentioned only al-Tanūkhī as a transmitter. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir* (1999), 1: 245. This is probably due to the significance of al-Tanūkhī among the other teachers of Ibn Ḥajar.

²¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Mu’jam al-mufahras* (1998), 37.

Fig. 2: Isnād of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī

If scholars in Cairo accepted the Maghribi *isnād* of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* as worth learning, how did they learn it? Some Mashriqi scholars might have travelled all the way to the west and learned it directly from Maghribi scholars. For example, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī (725–806 H/1325–1403 CE), who was born in Cairo to a man of Iraqi origin, travelled to many cities of Egypt, Syria, and Hejaz to learn *ḥadīth* from various transmitters. He was very eager to travel even to Tunis so that he could learn the Yahyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* from a *khaṭīb* at the Zaytūna mosque in Tunis, although he could not fulfil his wish.²²

However, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī's attempt to travel to Tunis was probably exceptional. Most scholars in Cairo did not intend to make a long journey to the west, nor did they need to. Rather, they could learn the Maghribi tradition of knowledge in the east, because many Maghribi scholars came from the west. As mentioned above, one of Ibn Ḥajar's teachers, Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī, learned the

²² Ibn Fahd al-Makkī, *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ* (n.d.), 225. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (1986), 5: 171; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Dawʾ* (1353–55 H), 4: 171.

Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* from a Maghribi scholar, al-Wādī Āshī. The latter was born in Tunis and probably learned the Yaḥyā version in his native town from two Andalusī scholars, Ibn al-Ghammāz and Ibn Hārūn. Afterwards, he travelled to the east twice; hence, he was called *ṣāhib al-riḥlatayn*, or man of two travels.²³ During these travels, he learned from many Mashriqī scholars and brought back a lot of knowledge to the west as is the usual case with Maghribi scholars, and he also taught and transmitted the Maghribi tradition of knowledge to Mashriqī scholars. He transmitted the Yaḥyā version to Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī on the occasion of his second travel, which begins in 734 H/1333-4 CE.²⁴ The other teacher of al-Tanūkhī, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (654–745 H/1256–1344 CE), was a scholar from the west, too. He is primarily famous as a grammarian but also acquired knowledge from many other fields, including *ḥadīth*. Born in Granada, he left al-Andalus around 679 H/1280 CE and travelled to the east. On his way, he stopped in Tunis, where he learned the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* from the Cordoban immigrant Ibn Hārūn. After the pilgrimage to Mecca, he settled in Cairo, where, seemingly, al-Tanūkhī learned from him.

Of course, these two teachers of al-Tanūkhī were not the first to travel from the west to the east. Maghribi scholars had come to al-Mashriq in much earlier periods and transmitted the Maghribi tradition of knowledge. Again, according to Ibn Ḥajar, his teacher al-Tanūkhī transmitted the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* to him with a line of *isnād* which goes back to a 5th/11th-century Andalusī scholar, al-Ḥumaydī (420–488 H/1029–1095 CE).²⁵ Born in the Majorca island, he travelled to the east for the pilgrimage in 440 H/1048-9 CE. After visiting Cairo, Damascus, and other cities, he finally settled in Baghdad. There, he transmitted the Yaḥyā version to his disciples. Another teacher of Ibn Ḥajar, Najm al-Dīn al-Bālisī (730–804 H/1329-30–1401 CE) had an *isnād* that went back to Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (451–520 H/1059?–1126 CE). This prolific Andalusī scholar travelled to the east in 476 H/1083 CE and established himself in Alexandria. He transmitted the Yaḥyā version to his pupil Abū Ṭāhir Ibn ʿAwf (485–581 H/1092-3–1185-6 CE), who was from a famous intellectual family in Alexandria and was related to him by marriage.²⁶

²³ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʾrīf* (1951), 18.

²⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* (n.d.), 4: 34. Al-Wādī Āshī also left his traits in other Mashriqī cities besides Cairo. For example, he visited Hejaz and transmitted the Yaḥyā version to Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799 H/1397 CE) in Medina in 746 H/1345-6 CE. See Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1996), 401.

²⁵ See Adang's article included in this volume.

²⁶ Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1996), 155–157.

When the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* was transmitted to the east, a Mashriqī pupil needed to meet a Maghribi teacher. Such an encounter, however, always happened in the east, in Alexandria, Medina, Baghdad, and above all in Cairo. Maghribi scholars had much reason to travel to the east, either for the pilgrimage or the learning. Therefore, Mashriqī pupils could only expect that their future instructors would come to their country and bring them the Maghribi tradition of knowledge so that they do not need to take pains to travel to the west. Ibn Khaldūn was just one of those Maghribi scholars who travelled from the west to the east.

Finally, to what degree was the Maghribi tradition of knowledge valuable in Cairo? Ibn Khaldūn often compared knowledge to commodities (*baḍāʾiʾ*).²⁷ Following his comparison, we may say that the Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* was a speciality of al-Maghrib, which was not produced in al-Mashriq. Therefore, scholars of Cairo were eager to acquire it and Maghribi scholars could teach it or, we may say, “sell” it as a Maghribi speciality. When Ibn Khaldūn chose the Yaḥyā version for his lecture at the Ṣarghitmish *madrasa*, he probably took this point into consideration. He knew what students in Cairo expected from a Maghribi teacher.²⁸

In Cairo, however, scholars could easily acquire specialities from other regions. Ibn Ḥajar learned six more versions of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* besides the Maghribi Yaḥyā version. One of them, *riwāya* of Abū Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī (150–242 H/767–8–857 CE), was transmitted to him by Badr al-Dīn al-Bālīsī (721–803 H/1321–1401 CE) in Ṣālihiyya quarter of Damascus’s suburbs. Abū Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī was a disciple of Mālik ibn Anas, like Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, but unlike Yaḥyā, he was a scholar of Medina; hence, as a matter of course, Maghribi transmitters’ names do not appear in its *isnād* to the Damascene Badr al-Dīn al-Bālīsī.²⁹ Ibn Ḥajar did not need any

²⁷ For example, he described the prosperity of Egypt during the reign of Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, saying: “Holders of the commodities (*al-baḍāʾiʾ*), including intellectuals and merchants, travelled to Egypt”. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Taʾrīf* (1951), 319.

²⁸ Actually, Mashriqī scholars did not lack interest in Maghribi tradition. They included some entries of Andalusi traditionists in their biographical works, though the percentage of Andalusis fluctuates according to the works or the ages. Around one third of the 6th–7th/12th–13th-century traditionists recorded in *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* by al-Dhahabī are Andalusis, while their percentage is extremely low in the same compiler’s *Mizān al-iʿtidāl*. See Fierro/Zanón 1988; Vizcaíno 1990.

²⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras* (1998), 37–38.

Maghribi tradition of knowledge for this version although it was transmitted even in the West, as documented by Ibn ‘Aṭīyya (d. 541 H/1147 CE) in his *Fihris*.³⁰

In this regard, Ibn Khaldūn’s predecessor at Ṣarghitmish *madrasa*, Naṣr Allāh al-Baghdādī (733–812 H/1332–3–1409 CE), might be relevant. He was born in Baghdad, almost a contemporary to Ibn Khaldūn. He studied in his hometown and became famous particularly for his knowledge of *ḥadīth*. He was even appointed as a professor of *ḥadīth* at the prestigious Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa* of Baghdad. Immediately after he emigrated to Cairo in 790 H/1388 CE over fears of Timur’s invasion, he was successively appointed as a professor of *ḥadīth* and Ḥanbalī law at several *madrasas*, including Ṣarghitmish *madrasa*.³¹

Ṣarghitmish *madrasa* was founded in 757 H/1356 CE by Mamlūk *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, who was inclined to the Ḥanafī school of law and non-Arab foreigners (*‘ajam*). Its endowment deeds (*waqfiyya*) stipulated clauses fostering the teachings of Ḥanafī school to foreign students. According to Leonor Fernandes, such learning institutions were founded by sultans and *amīrs* to attract prominent scholars from other countries so that Cairo would be the centre of the Muslim world.³² At present, I am not aware whether such an intention was the case with the appointments of Ibn Khaldūn and Naṣr Allāh al-Baghdādī, as both taught *ḥadīth* not Ḥanafī law and were never *‘ajam*. Nonetheless, both were foreigners in Cairo and brought specialities of their own countries. Naṣr Allāh al-Baghdādī could likely have transmitted the Iraqi tradition of knowledge, just as Ibn Khaldūn transmitted the Maghribi tradition of knowledge.

Cairo was certainly an intellectual centre with an extensive array of traditions of knowledge, which attracted many scholars from various countries. They could enjoy a wide variety of knowledge there. In turn, they further enriched the intellectual milieu of the Mamlūk capital by carrying with them knowledges that had been transmitted to them in their own countries. In such a city, the valuable Yaḥyā version of *al-Muwaṭṭa’*, even with the memories of the lost Islamic city of Córdoba, would be just another speciality.

³⁰ See Fórneas 1992. The transmission of Abū Muṣ‘ab’s version in al-Andalus can be found in Maribel Fierro, dir., *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores de al-Andalus (HATA)* at <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/>. I am much obliged to Maribel Fierro for information on the *riwāya* of Abū Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhri.

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-ghumr* (1986), 6: 196–197; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd* (2002), 5: 503; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* (1353–55 H), 10: 198.

³² Fernandes 1987, 98.

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