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## Local scholars in a global work: Andalusī biographical dictionaries in Ḥajjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-zunūn*<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** As part of a project to assess why, how and when works from the Islamic West (al-Andalus and the Maghrib, understood here as covering the whole of North Africa west of Egypt) found a way out of their place of origin and arose interest in other regions of the Islamic world, in this paper I focus on the *ṭabaqāt* genre. The spread of works belonging to this genre outside the area for which they were written implies an interest for the world of scholarship that produced them. In this article I establish which Andalusī biographical dictionaries were included in one of the most famous Islamic bibliographical repertoires, Kātib Ḥebebī's (d. 1067/1657) *Kashf al-zunūn* with the aim of shedding light not only on the specific Western Islamic case but also in order to discuss more generally 'local/global' dynamics of knowledge transfer in the pre-modern Islamic world.

**Keywords:** *Kashf al-zunūn*; al-Andalus, *ṭabaqāt*; biographical dictionaries; Islamic West; Kātib Ḥebebī.

### [es] Eruditos locales en una obra global: diccionarios biográficos andalusíes en *Kašf al-zunūn* de Ḥayyī Jalīfa

**Resumen.** Este artículo se centra en el análisis del género literario de las *ṭabaqāt* como parte de un proyecto que pretende analizar por qué, cómo y cuándo las obras compuestas en el Occidente islámico (al-Andalus y el Magreb, entendido aquí como la región geográfica situada al oeste de Egipto) encontraron un espacio fuera del lugar donde fueron redactadas, creciendo su interés por ellas en otras regiones el mundo islámico. La difusión de obras de este género fuera del área geográfica para la cual habían sido escritas implica la existencia de un interés dentro el mundo académico que las componía. En este artículo analizaré qué diccionarios biográficos andalusíes fueron incluidos en uno de los repertorios bibliográficos más famosos del mundo islámico, *Kašf al-zunūn*, escrito por Kātib Ḥebebī (m. 1067/1657), con el fin de arrojar luz no solo al caso particular del Occidente islámico, sino también de forma más general a la discusión acerca de las dinámicas locales/globales de transferencia de conocimiento de la época pre-moderna en el mundo islámico.

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**Palabras clave:** *Kašf al-zunūn*; al-Andalus, *ṭabaqāt*; diccionarios biográficos; Occidente Islámico; Kātib Çelebī.

**Sumario.** Introduction. The structure of Ḥajjī Khalīfa’s bibliographical dictionary. The Andalusī biographical dictionaries mentioned in *Kašf al-zunūn*. Manuscripts of Andalusī biographical dictionaries in Turkish libraries. Concluding remarks.

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## Introduction

*Kašf al-zunūn* ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn<sup>3</sup> (“The Unconverging of Ideas: On the Titles of Books and the Names of Sciences” or “The Removal of Doubt from the Names of Books and the Sciences”) was, and still is, one of the most important bibliographical works originating in the Islamic world, part of a rich literary tradition (fahāris, barāmij, etc.) documenting the books that were written and transmitted by Muslim authors in different periods and regions. Written by Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abd Allāh, better known as Ḥajjī Khalīfa or Kātib Çelebī (1017/-1609/1057-1657)<sup>4</sup> during at least half of his life,<sup>5</sup> it provides information about 15.000 Arabic, Turkish and Persian works of various disciplines.<sup>6</sup>

In his 1997 study of *Kašf al-zunūn* and *Sullam al-wuṣūl ilā ṭabaqāt al-fuṣūl* (“*The Ladder leading to the Biographies of Great Men*”), Eleazar Birnbaum states that this information was compiled by Kātib Çelebi from other sources, especially from historical works and biographical dictionaries, and also by reading and examining directly different manuscripts and works that he could consult in the libraries of Istanbul and other towns, as he travelled frequently throughout the Ottoman Empire thanks to his position in the army. Also, coming from a family with means, at least on his mother’s side, he could afford to acquire himself the books he needed. This can be deduced from the preface of this work<sup>7</sup> and more widely from his *Mizān al-Ḥaqq*:

<sup>3</sup> For this paper, I have used the edition of Flügel, Gustav, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto nomine Haji Khalfa*, London 1835-1858.

<sup>4</sup> About Ḥajjī Khalīfa’s life and works see Şaik Gökyay, Orhan, “Kātib Çelebi”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, vol. IV, 760-762; Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *The Balance of Truth*, trad. Geoffrey L. Lewis, London 1957; Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Leiden 1943-49, vol. II, 427-429; Adnan, Abdūlhak, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris, 1939; Karlīga, Bekir, “The horizon of Katip Celebi’s Thought”, in *Muslim heritage. Discover the golden age of Muslim civilization*, [Online] <<http://muslimheritage.com/article/horizon-katip-celebi%E2%80%99s-thought>>, [accessed January 25, 2015] and the section related to his biography and works that we can find in VVAA, (2009) “Celebrating an Ottoman Intellectual: 2009 Year of Kātib Çelebi”, *Muslim heritage. Discover the golden age of Muslim civilization* [Online] <<http://www.muslimheritage.com/article/celebrating-ottoman-intellectual-2009-year-k%C3%A2tip-%C3%A7elebi>> [accessed January 25, 2015].

<sup>5</sup> As reflected Eleazar Birnbaum in “Kātib Çelebi (1609-1657) and alphabetization: a methodological investigation of the autographs of his *Kašf al-zunūn* and *Sullam al-Wuṣūl*”, in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, François Déroche et Francis Richard (eds.) (1997) Paris, 235-263, specially 241. In his work *Mizān al-Ḥaqq*, Ḥajjī Khalīfa mentioned that he had made a copy of *Kašf al-zunūn* in 1063/1653. Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Mizān al-Ḥaqq*, Istanbul 1306/1888-1889, 142.

<sup>6</sup> Birnbaum points out that he also mentioned some Greek and “Frankish” works that he knew by its Arabic translations. Birnbaum, “Kātib Çelebi (1609-1657) and alphabetization”, 237.

<sup>7</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto nomine Haji Khalfa*, ed. Gustav Flügel, London 1835-1858, vol. I, 3.

The bibliographical material which I had so far collected from histories and biographical dictionaries, I set it in proper order, and moreover the names of many thousands of volumes in the libraries I had personally examined, and the books which for twenty years the booksellers had been bringing to me in a steady stream –all were recorded in their appropriate place... and I added over three hundred articles on the various branches of knowledge, taken from the textbooks on the axioms of the science, all in alphabetical order (...).<sup>8</sup>

In *Kashf al-zunūn* Ḥajjī Khalīfa strove to provide each entry with as much information as possible, giving the title of the work, the author and his death date (if he knew it), the date of the work's completion and the language in case it was not written in Arabic. Thanks to the *nisbas* present in the onomastic chains of the authors, it is almost always possible to determine the geographical provenance of the authors. Thanks to this fact, it has been possible to identify the Andalusī and Maghrebi authors mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa. Such identification was carried out within the project *HATA* (= History of Authors and Transmitters of al-Andalus).<sup>9</sup> One of its aims is to map which works produced in the pre-modern Islamic West were known in other regions of the Islamic world, which influence – if any – they had in the development of global Islamic intellectual trends and to what extent they became part of the general curriculum for students living outside the Maghreb and al-Andalus.

I will focus on this article on the biographical dictionaries written in the pre-modern Islamic West that are quoted by Ḥajjī Khalīfa. By biographical dictionaries I intend works that record biographical and bibliographical data about different types of persons, works that in Arabic are often called *ṭabaqāt* because of the chronological structure by generations they often had but which can bear also other titles and the information contained in them can also be structured in other ways.<sup>10</sup> The type of persons usually included in such dictionaries were predominantly scholars dealing with different types of intellectual disciplines but most usually related to religious knowledge (*‘ilm*). A sub-genre is autobiographical works of which we shall see an example.

These works were fundamental pieces in the dynamics of knowledge transfer<sup>11</sup> as they provided data on ‘who was who’ and therefore allowed to identify

<sup>8</sup> Translation from Turkish by Birnbaum, “Kātib Chelebi (1609-1657) and alphabetization”, 241; Kātib Çelebi, *Mizān al-Ḥaqq*, 142.

<sup>9</sup> History of the Authors and Transmitters of al-Andalus (HATA) is a data basis elaborated by a team directed by Maribel Fierro (CCHS-CSIC) in the context of her ERC project “KOHEPOCU”, that is accessible online: <<http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/>>

<sup>10</sup> Rodríguez Paniagua, Luis Roger, “Acerca del origen de las *ṭabaqāt*”, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 20-21 (2002-2003) 230, fn. 2. On this genre and its origins see also Abiad, Malak, “Origine et développement des dictionnaires biographiques arabes”, in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 31 (1979) 7-15; Ávila, María Luisa and Molina, Luis, *Biografías y género biográfico en el occidente islámico*, serie Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.), Madrid 1997, vol. VIII; Gibb, Hamilton A.R., “Islamic biographical literature”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, Bernard Lewis and H. Holt (eds) Oxford 1962, 54- 58; Hafsi, Ibrahim, “Recherches sur le genre *ṭabaqāt* dans la littérature arabe I”, in *Arabica*, 23/3 (1976) 8-265; Hafsi, Ibrahim, “Recherches sur le genre *ṭabaqāt* dans la littérature arabe II”, in *Arabica* 24/1 (1977) 1-41,150-186; Gilliot, Cl. “Ṭabaqāt”, in *IEF*, vol. X, 7-10.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding this topic see Zanon, Jesús, “Formas de la transmisión del saber islámico a través de la *Takmila* de Ibn Abbār de Valencia (época almohade)”, in *Sharq al-Andalus* 9 (1992) 129-149 (doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.14198/ShAnd.1992.9.08>>)

individual scholars and to know their reputation and relative standing in the world of scholarship. In other words, they provided a sort of ‘identity card’ for scholars and therefore were crucial in allowing scholars living – for example – in Transoxiana to get an idea of who the important authors in Ifrīqiya and al-Andalus were, and viceversa. Andalusi local biographical dictionaries such as for example Ibn Bashkuwāl’s (d. 578/1183) *Kitāb al-ṣila* would not normally travel to Transoxiana (although it is well represented in Turkish libraries as we shall see), but part of the information they contained would be incorporated by authors of ‘generalist’ biographical dictionaries such as those by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), the *Wafayāt al-a’yān*, or al-Dhahabī (d. 784/1348 or 753/1352-3) and his *Siyar al-nubalā*.<sup>12</sup> This in any case means that such ‘generalist’ authors knew of the existence of such local biographical dictionaries and thus they looked for them in order to extract the information contained in them. Ḥajjī Khalīfa’s bibliographical compilation allows us to establish which biographical dictionaries produced in the Islamic West were known to exist in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

### The structure of Ḥajjī Khalīfa’s bibliographical dictionary

In order to arrange all the information compiled from other sources, Kātib Ḥabībī followed a strictly alphabetical order (*rattabtu-hu ‘alā l-ḥurūfi al-mu‘jamati*)<sup>13</sup> so as to avoid any repetition or ambiguity. Despite that, there are some works that are mentioned in two different parts, such as *Akhbār al-Qurṭubiyīn*, mentioned in volumes I and II, or *al-Tabyīn ‘an manāqib man ‘urifa bi-Qurṭuba min al-tābi‘īn wa l-ulamā’ al-ṣāliḥīn*, mentioned in volume I once, and in volume II in two different pages.

As he affirms in the preface, this order was made by taking into account the first four letters of the title of the works (*wa rā ‘aytu fī ḥurūf al-asmā’ ilā al-thālith wa l-rābi‘ tartībān*)<sup>14</sup>. Thus, *Kitāb tartīb al-madārik* appears in the section devoted to the letter *tā’*, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāta* in the chapter of the letter *alif*, or *al-Sirr al-maṣūn fī ma ukrima bi-hi al-mukhlisūn* in the chapter of the letter *sīn*.

In most cases, each work has a principal entry, which is distinguished, in Flügel’s edition of the *Kashf al-zunūn*, by a number. As mentioned in the introduction, in these entries Ḥajjī Khalīfa included information about the author, the date of the composition and every detail he knew that had relation with the work, as the titles of the commentaries and glosses and their authors. It is also frequent that one work is mentioned in a secondary way, that is to say, it appears within the entry devoted to another work that has some relation with it. This is the case of Ibn Bashkuwāl’s *Al-Ṣila fī akhbār a’immat al-Andalus* that is mentioned in the entry devoted to *Ta’rīkh al-Andalus* by Abū l-Walīd ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad, Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013) given the fact that Ibn Bashkuwāl’s work complements

<sup>12</sup> Aguilar, Victoria, "Fuentes de Ibn Jallikān en las biografías de personajes andalusíes de las *Wafayāt al-a’yān*", in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, María Luisa Ávila (ed.) Granada 1989, vol. II, 247-264; Ávila, María Luisa, "Andalusíes en *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*", in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, Luis Molina (ed.), Granada 1990, vol. IV, 159-214.

<sup>13</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 3

<sup>14</sup> *Opus cit.*

that by Ibn al-Faraḍī, or *Kitāb takmilat al-ṣila* and *Ṣilat al-ṣila* which are mentioned in the entry of Ibn Bashkuwāl's biographical dictionary, *Kitāb al-ṣila*, as they complement it in their turn.

Ḥajjī Khalīfa devoted a large part of the preface<sup>15</sup> of his work to explain the meaning of the word 'ilm and its divisions according to the definition and classifications proposed by classical Arabic authors such as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209). Ḥajjī Khalīfa introduced reference to the 'ulūm in his *Kashf al-zunūn* interspersing it with the titles of specific works, with an arrangement that took into consideration the alphabetical order of the name of the science dealt with. Thus, 'ilm al-fiqh is classified within the chapter of the letter fā', 'ilm al-ta'dīl in the letter tā' and so on. Under the rubric in question, Ḥajjī Khalīfa provides a brief explanation of the respective science followed by a list of related works.

The title of a work frequently summarized its content, as is the case of *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus* or *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, and this helped to identify the discipline they belonged to. Thus, the first work mentioned above is placed after the entry of 'ilm al-ta'rīkh. In the last case, its mention appears after the entry of 'ilm al-ṭabaqāt. In fact, of the thirty-three Andalusī biographical works that are mentioned in *Kashf al-zunūn*, twenty (that is, 61%) could be arranged within a disciplinary classification, with 'ilm al-ṭabaqāt as the science in which more works are listed, followed by 'ilm al-ta'rīkh.

### The Andalusī biographical dictionaries mentioned in *Kashf al-zunūn*

Ḥajjī Khalīfa provides information about fifty-three *ṭabaqāts* in the entries that are placed immediately after the entry devoted to 'ilm al-ṭabaqāt. Ten of them were written in the Islamic West and more specifically in al-Andalus. They are:

1. *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā' [min al-ṣahāba wa-l-tābi'īn]* by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Qurṭubī (d. 238/853),<sup>16</sup>
2. *Kitāb fī ṭabaqāt al-kuttāb bi-l-Andalus* by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Aqushṭīn (d. 309/919),<sup>17</sup>
3. *Kitāb fī ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā' bi-l-Andalus*<sup>18</sup> written by 'Uthmān b. Rabī'a al-Andalusī (d. ca. 310/922),
4. *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn*, also known as *Ta'rīkh fī-l-rijāl, al-Ṣila li-l-ta'rīkh al-kabīr li-l-Bukhārī* or *al-Dhayl 'alā ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Qurṭubī al-Zayyāt (d. 353/964),<sup>19</sup>
5. *Ṭabaqāt al-lughawīyyīn wa-l-nuḥāt* by Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989),<sup>20</sup> also known as *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyyīn wa-l-lughawīyyīn bi-l-Mashriq wa-l-*

<sup>15</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 6-139

<sup>16</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 149 (7912).

<sup>17</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 150 (7916)

<sup>18</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 146 (7902).

<sup>19</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 151-2 (7923). On this author, see Fierro, Maribel, "Bātinism in al-Andalus. Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353-964), author of the *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm (Picatrix)*", in *Studia Islamica* 2 (1996) 87-112 (doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1595996>>)

<sup>20</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 150 (7917), 153 (7929).

*Andalus, Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-lughawīyyīn bi-l-Mashriq wa-l-Andalus* or *Akhbār al-nuḥāt*,

6. *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* [*wa-l-ḥukamā' wa-l-falāsifa al-qudamā' wa-l-islāmiyyīn*] by Ibn Juljul (d. 384/994),<sup>21</sup>
7. *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'* [*wa-l-muqri'tn min al-ṣaḥāba wa-l-tābi'in*] by Abū 'Amr al-Dānī (d. 444/1053),<sup>22</sup>
8. *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* or *al-Ta'rīf bi-ṭabaqāt al-umam* by Ibn Ṣā'id al-Ṭulayṭulī (d. 462/1070),<sup>23</sup>
9. *Ṣiwān al-ḥikam fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥukamā'*<sup>24</sup> by Ibn Ṣā'id al-Ṭulayṭulī (d. 462/1070). Considered to be a work different from the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* mentioned above, it also deals with the 'sciences of the ancients'
10. and *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt [al-Andalus]* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344).<sup>25</sup>

Most of them, in particular the first six, were written during the first centuries after the conquest of al-Andalus, that is to say, during the Umayyad period (756-1031) and more specifically all of them but one were written during the Cordoban Umayyad caliphate (fourth/tenth century) which was precisely the period when Arabic literature boomed in al-Andalus under the patronage of al-Ḥakam II both as a prince and as caliph. Among other modern scholars, the Egyptian expert on al-Andalus and its history, Maḥmūd 'A. Makkī, pointed out in his study dealing with the Eastern background in the development of Andalusī culture (*Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana y su influencia en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe*<sup>26</sup>) that the Cordoban Umayyads fostered the emulation of the intellectual trends that were being developed in the East by the Abbasids, and this included recording the achievements of the Andalusī scholars both for internal consumption and in order to make propaganda outside by suggesting that Cordoba could rival Baghdad in terms of its intellectual production.

The seventh and eighth *ṭabaqāt* in the above list were composed during the First Taifa Period (1031-1074). The last author, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, belongs to the group of Andalusīs who emigrated to the Islamic East after the fall of most Andalusī towns in the hands of the Christians in the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century and in fact he wrote such work in Egypt to make it known there the rich grammatical tradition in which he had been formed.<sup>27</sup>

Ḥajjī Khalīfa seems to have chosen in this section of his work to reflect the variety of disciplines included in the *ṭabaqāt* works written in al-Andalus: jurists, secretaries, traditionists, grammarians, doctors, poets, Koran reciters, scholars

<sup>21</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 133 (7883).

<sup>22</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 150 (7915).

<sup>23</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 318 (3091), 636 (4246); vol. III, 465 (6460); vol. IV, 133 (7884).

<sup>24</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 111 (7800), 134 (7893).

<sup>25</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. IV, 153 (7929).

<sup>26</sup> 'Alī Makkī, Maḥmūd, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana y su influencia en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe*, Madrid 1968.

<sup>27</sup> About al-Gharnāṭī's life, see: Glazer, Sidney, "Abū Ḥayyān Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Gharnāṭī", in *EP*, vol. I, 129-30; A'rab, S. "Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī", in *al-Baḥth al-'Ilmī* 3 (1964) 241-7; Puerta Vilchez, José Manuel, "al-Garnāṭī, Abū Ḥayyān", in *DAOA*, vol. I, 181-217, n° 100; Puerta Vilchez, José Manuel, "al-Garnāṭī, Abū Ḥayyān", in *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 361-96, n° 120.

involved in the study of the ‘sciences of the ancients’ (Ṣā’id al-Ṭulayṭulī’s *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*), and grammarians again. Just by this selection, Ḥajjī Khalīfa is portraying al-Andalus as a land that could boast of having enjoyed a world of scholarship varied and complex.

But he did not limit himself to providing this information. He cited a great number of biographical dictionaries in other parts of his *Kashf al-zunūn*. In addition to these ten biographical dictionaries, twenty-three more are quoted with thus a total of thirty-three

Out of the section devoted to *ṭabaqāt* works, we can find seven biographical dictionaries concentrating mostly on scholars devoted to the study of Islamic law (jurists or *fuqahā*).<sup>28</sup> These works are:

11. Akhbār al-fuqahā’ al-muta’akhhirīn min ahl Qurṭuba by Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989).<sup>29</sup>
12. Ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus,<sup>30</sup> also known as Ta’rīkh al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-ruwāt li-l-‘ilm bi-l-Andalus, written by Abū l-Walīd b. al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013) in which the author offers information about fuqahā’, ‘ulamā’ and muḥaddithūn.
13. Kitāb al-iḥtīfāl fī ta’rīkh a’lām al-rijāl fī akhbār al-khulafā’ wa-l-quḍāt wa-l-fuqahā’,<sup>31</sup> a lost work which Abū Bakr al-Qubbashī (d. before 430/1038) devoted to rulers, cadis and jurists.
14. Kitāb jadhwat al-muqtabis fī ta’rīkh al-Andalus, or fī akhbār ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus<sup>32</sup> by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095)<sup>33</sup> who biographed rulers, ‘ulamā’ and poets of al-Andalus.
15. Akhbār al-qurṭubiyyīn<sup>34</sup> by Qāḍī ‘Iyād (d. 544/1149).
16. Kitāb tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik bi-ma’rifat a’lām madhhab Mālik<sup>35</sup> by Qāḍī ‘Iyād (d. 544/1149) which offers 1569 biographies of followers of Māliki doctrine.
17. Al-Ṣila fī akhbār a’immat al-Andalus<sup>36</sup> by Abū l-Qāsim b. Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183), which is a “collection of biographies of ‘ulamā’ classified in alphabetical order according to their names and, inside each name, by following a chronological order”.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Martos Quesada, Juan, “Los diccionarios biográficos como fuente para el conocimiento del mundo jurídico en al-Andalus: características y reflexiones”, in *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* IX (1998) 45-63.

<sup>29</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 188 (212); vol. II, 140 (2275).

<sup>30</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 115 (2165). See also Marín, Manuela and Ávila, María Luisa, “Le *Tarīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus* d’Ibn al-Faraḍī: étude et informatisation”, in *Cahiers d’Onomastique Arabe* (1985-1987), (1989) 41-60.

<sup>31</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 188 (212); vol. II, 140 (2275).

<sup>32</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 588 (4000); vol. VI, 66 (12730), where is presented as a *Mukhtasar* of *Muqtabis*.

<sup>33</sup> Regarding this author, see El Hour, Rachid, “Al-Ḥumaydī”, in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A biographical History, Volume 3 (1050-1200)*, David Thomas and Alex Mallett (eds) Leiden 2011, 117-120.

<sup>34</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 188 (215); vol. II, 140 (2275). On this work, see Fierro, Maribel, “Una fuente perdida sobre los ulemas de al-Andalus: el manuscrito del Museo Jalduní de Túnez”, in *Al-Qanṭara* XII (1991) 273-6.

<sup>35</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 274 (2889); vol. IV, 151 (7921).

<sup>36</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 115 (2165).

<sup>37</sup> De la Puente, Cristina, “Ibn Bashkuwāl, Abū-l-Qāsim”, in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 2, 559.

18. Akhbār quḍāt Qurṭuba,<sup>38</sup> written by the author above.

In the case of these eight works, the chronology is more varied than in the other sample: four works were compiled in the Umayyad period; four belong to the Almoravid period (al-Ḥumaydī's work was compiled in fact in Baghdad from memory and personal notes, again as a way to establish his credentials as a scholar outside al-Andalus; he settled in Iraq and never returned to the Iberian Peninsula), and the last two was composed between the Almoravid and Almohad period.

Apart from those works just mentioned, there are biographical dictionaries which follow an alphabetical or chronological structure and deal with scholars in general. This group includes works that count among the most important biographical works compiled in al-Andalus such as

19. Kitāb takmilat al-ṣila or Kitāb al-takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila li-Ibn Bashkuwāl,<sup>39</sup> by Ibn al-‘Abbār (d. 658/1260) and
20. Ṣilat al-ṣila, also known as Ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus or Dhayl al-ṣila li-Ibn Bashkuwāl<sup>40</sup> by Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308),

These two works were written in order to complete and complement Ibn Bashkuwāl's (d. 578/1183) biographical dictionary. Wadad al-Qādī already pointed out the fact that Andalusī biographical dictionaries such as these were compiled in order to document an uninterrupted scholarly chain and thus an uninterrupted pedagogical process, thus establishing a closely knitted scholarly continuity with almost no parallel elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> To this group it could be added two biographical dictionaries focused on the scholars of specific towns:

21. *A'lām Mālaqa*,<sup>42</sup> written by Abū ‘Abd Allāh, Ibn ‘Askar (d. 636/1239) and devoted to the scholars of Malaga and
22. *Al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Gharnāta*<sup>43</sup> written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. It includes both a history of the town of Granada and biographies of different types of persons who lived there from the early period to the times of the author:

I have mentioned the kings (*al-mulūk*) and the emirs (*al-umarā'*); then [I have mentioned] the urban notables (*al-a'yān*) and the powerful (*al-kubarā'*); then, the distinguished men (*fuḍalā'*); then, the cadis and, after them, the Koran reciters (*muqri'īn*) and the religious scholars ('*ulamā'*); then, the traditionists (*al-muḥadithhīn*) and the jurists (*al-fuqahā'*), and the rest of the distinguished scholars (*wa-sā'ir al-ṭalaba al-nujabā'*); then [I have mentioned] the secretaries (*al-kuttāb*) and poets (*al-shu'arā'*); later, the governors (*al-'ummāl*) ...; then, the

<sup>38</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 189-190 (221).

<sup>39</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 115 (2165).

<sup>40</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 115 (2165).

<sup>41</sup> al-Qādī, Wadad, "Biographical dictionaries: inner structure and cultural significance", in *The Book in the Islamic world. The written word and communication in the Middle East*, George N. Atiyeh (ed.) New York 1995, 93-122.

<sup>42</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 143 (2294).

<sup>43</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 164 (116).



ascetics (*al-zuhhād*) and the pious (*al-ṣulahā*), ṣūfis (*al-ṣūfiyya*) and the disciples of the Sufi way (*fuqarā*).<sup>44</sup>

The *Kashf al-zunūn* pays also attention to *ṭabaqāt* devoted to those dealing with *adab* and poetry. Apart from the already mentioned work by ‘Uthmān b. Rabī‘a al-Andalusī, the following can be added

23. *Majānī al-ḥaṣr/al-‘aṣr fī ādāb wa-tawārīkh li ahl al-‘aṣr*<sup>45</sup> by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāfī (d. 745/ 1344) is an incomplete and disappear work that deals with poets.
24. *Haddār al-kināyāt fī tarājīm al-‘udabā’ bi-l-Maghrib*<sup>46</sup> by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374) is a peculiar case because we know of its existence only through the mention in *Kashf al-zunūn*, where it is included in the chapter of letter *hā’* (*bāb al-hā*).<sup>47</sup> The fact that this work is not included in any other biographical source can suggest that Ḥajjī Khalīfa could have read a copy.

Two other works should be mentioned:

25. (*Ṭabaqāt*) *khāṣṣat al-shu‘arā’ bi-l-Andalus*, also known as *Kitāb fī akhbār shu‘arā’ al-Andalus* by Abū l-Walīd b. al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013),<sup>48</sup> has its principal entry in the chapter devoted to the letter *shīn* but also appears in a secondary way mentioned in the list of works that follow the entries of *‘ilm al-ta’rīkh* and *‘ilm al-ṭabaqāt*.
26. *al-Nuḍār/al-Niḍār fī l-maslāth ‘an Nuḍār*<sup>49</sup> by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāfī (d.745/1344). This work, which is lost, is an autobiographical work, as referred by al-Suyūṭī, in which the author related his first experiences as a disciple in al-Andalus to his beloved daughter, Nuḍār, who died young. In addition to autobiographical information, the author provides data on his teachers.

Another type of biographical dictionaries that appear in *Kashf al-zunūn* is the hagiographical dictionaries or *manāqib*<sup>50</sup>. The three hagiographical works

<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ‘Inān, 2<sup>a</sup> ed., al-Qāhira, 1973-1977, vol. I, 87.

<sup>45</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. V, 382 (11394), 417 (11515).

<sup>46</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. VI, 472 (14343).

<sup>47</sup> Pons Boigues gather it up in his *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe españoles*, Madrid 1898, 345 (294).

<sup>48</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 115; vol. III, 217 (5003, where the author is called Ibn al-‘Urdī instead of Ibn al-Faraḍī); vol. IV, 145 (7901, where the author is called Ibn al-Qurtubī); vol. V, 104 (10226).

<sup>49</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. VI, 353 (13839).

<sup>50</sup> Mojaddedi, Jawid A., *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism. The ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmi*, Richmond 2001. This genre –including hagiographical works devoted to a single person and those that document a number of *awliyā’* from different periods and regions- has been studied for the Islamic West by Ferhat, Halima and Triki, Hamid, “Hagiographie et religion au Maroc médiéval”, in *Hespéris Tamuda*, XXIV/1 (1986) 17-52 and Sánchez Sandoval, Juan José, “La literatura hagiográfica en el Magreb occidental (siglos XII-XIV)”, in *al-Andalus-Magreb*, 8-9 (2001-2002) 11-35. We can find the section devoted to *manāqib* in Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. V, 141-157, and in it not a single work from the Maghreb or al-Andalus is mentioned.

mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa within the list of works that follow the entry of *‘ilm al-ṭabaqāt* were written in the East:

- *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā*’ by Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī
- *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā*’ by Sirāj al-dīn b. al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401)
- and *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* by Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥman Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Sulamī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 412/1021).

When mentioning the latter, Kātib Çelebi added those by Abū Sa‘īd al-Naqqāsh, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bisawī (d. 396/1005), Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 255/868) and Ibn al-Mulaqqin. He also mentioned other hagiographical works like *Sunan al-ṣūfiyya* by al-Nīsābūrī, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*’ by ‘Aṭṭār, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, *Lawāqih al-anwār*, *Majmū‘at al-akhbār* and *al-Kawākib al-durriyya (fī tarājim al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya)*, by ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Munawī (d. 1031/1621), which is devoted to *ṣūfi* women.

It is in sections other than that devoted to *manāqib* where works written by Andalusī authors are mentioned:

27. *Al-Sirr al-maṣūn fī mā ukrima bi-hi al-mukhlisūn*<sup>51</sup> is considered one of the first hagiographical sources providing information about saints that its author met in the Maghreb, Egypt and Ḥijāz. Although it was written between 552/1157 and 572/1177 in the East, the author, Ṭāhir al-Ṣadafī - called by Ḥajjī Khalīfa Ṣāḥir al-Sūfī -, was Andalusī.
28. Another hagiographical dictionary is *al-Ifṣāḥ fī-man ‘urifa bi-l-Andalus bi-l-ṣalāḥ*, also known as *al-Ifṣāḥ fī man dhukira bi-l-Andalus bi-l-ṣalāḥ*,<sup>52</sup> which was written by Abū l-Barakāt al-Balafīqī (d. 771/1370). This work – which is lost - is generally held to be a hagiographic dictionary according to what it is stated in the title.
29. The last work of this type is *al-Ṭabyīn ‘an manāqib man ‘urifa bi-Qurṭuba min al-tābi‘īn wa-l-ulamā’ al-ṣāliḥīn*,<sup>53</sup> written by Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (d. 642/1244), a work on the Successors to the Prophet and the pious and devout Andalusīs who lived in Cordoba.
30. A lost work could also be considered to belong to the same genre: *Kitāb al-naḥḥa al-quḍsiyya (fī-l-akhbār al-sāḥiliyya)*<sup>54</sup> written by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāḥilī, al-Mu‘ammam (d. 754/1353). As V. Martínez Enamorado and M. Rida have proposed, this work “must have dealt with matters related to the

<sup>51</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. III, 596 (7150); Al-Ṣadafī, *Al-Sirr al-maṣūn*, ed. Halima Ferhat, Beirut 1998. Meier, Fritz, “Ṭāhir aṣ-Ṣadafīs vergessene Schrift ueber westliche heilige des 6/12 jahrhunderts”, in *Der Islam* 61 (1984) 14-90 (English trad. Meier, Fritz, “Ṭāhir al-Ṣadafī’s forgotten work on Western saints of the 6th/12th century”, in *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism*, J. O’Kane y Bernd Radtke (eds.) Leiden 1999, 115-189); Ferhat, Halima, “*As-Sirr al-Maṣūn* de Ṭāhir aṣ-Ṣadafī: un itinéraire mystique au XIIe siècle”, in *al-Qanṭara* XVI (1995) 273-288; Cherif, Mohammed, *Nuṣūṣ jadida wa-dirāsāt fī ta’rīkh al-garb al-islāmī*, Tetuán 1996, 29-48; Cherif, Mohammed, “Quelques aspects de la vie quotidienne des soufis andalous d’ après un texte hagiographique inédite du XIIe siècle”, in *al-Andalus-Magreb* 4 (1996) 63-79.

<sup>52</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 507 (1552).

<sup>53</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 187 (205); vol. II, 140 (2275), 188 (2416).

<sup>54</sup> This work appears in *Kashf al-zunūn as al-Naḥḥa al-‘abbasiyya*. Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. VI, 368 (13929).

local Sufi brotherhood *al-ṭarīqa al-sāhiliyya*”,<sup>55</sup> and it may have included information about its members.

Finally, Andalusis were also active writing works devoted to ḥadīth criticism focusing on the transmitters (*‘ilm al-rijāl*) such as:

31. *Taqyīd al-muhmal wa-tamyīz al-mushkil (fī rijāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn)*<sup>56</sup> devoted to the traditionists mentioned in both *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and written by Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī (d. 498/1105).
32. *Kitāb al-ta’dīl wa-l-tajrīḥ li-man kharraja la-hu l-Bukhārī fī-l-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*,<sup>57</sup> a work about the hadith transmitters mentioned in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* written by Abū-l-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 474/1081).
33. *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī fī Muṣannafti-hi*,<sup>58</sup> dealing with the teachers of Abū Dā’ūd al-Sijistānī, was written by Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī or al-Jayyānī (d. 498/ 1105).

The Andalusī contribution to this science (*‘ilm al-rijāl*, *‘ilm al-ta’dīl*) included some works that enjoyed certain popularity; these and other works not mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa indicate that also in al-Andalus – in spite of the late development of ḥadīth criticism- there were scholars concerned with the need to assess the credibility of the *isnads*.<sup>59</sup>

## Manuscripts of Andalusī biographical dictionaries in Turkish libraries

Kātib Çelebī, as noted at the beginning of this paper, obtained his information on the one hand by consulting directly some books and noting down the data that he needed (what can be considered ‘direct sources of information’) and, on the other hand, by reading books in which information concerning other books could be found such as biographical dictionaries (what can be considered ‘indirect sources of information’). Is there any way to know which books of those he mentioned existed as physical objects during his times if not in his library? We can only suggest the possibility of such presence by looking at the mss. of Andalusī biographical dictionaries preserved in Turkish libraries<sup>60</sup>.

Only five of the biographical dictionaries here reviewed are nowadays found in manuscript form in Turkish libraries. The work with the highest number of

<sup>55</sup> On this *ṭarīqa*, see al-Sāhīlī, *Bugyat al-sālik fī ashraf al-masālik*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-‘Alamī, Morocco 2003; Muṣṭafā, Rachid, *Edición y estudio de la Bugyat de al-Sāhīlī, santo sufi malagueño del siglo VII H/XIV J.C.*, Tetuán 2004; Vázquez Hernández, Virginia, “Una reflexión acerca de la literatura hagiográfica andalusí en época nazari. El caso de *Bugyat al-sālik fī ashraf al-masālik* de al-Sāhīlī, ss.XIII-XIV”, in *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca*, Ana Agud et al (eds.) Salamanca 2012, 331-342.

<sup>56</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 397 (3508), 545 (3909).

<sup>57</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. II, 316 (3081).

<sup>58</sup> Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Lexicon bibliographicum*, vol. I, 289 (696).

<sup>59</sup> Fierro, Maribel, “Local and global in *hadith* literature: the case of al-Andalus”, in *Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam: Essays in Honour of Harald Motzki*, Nicolet Boekhoff-van der Voort, Kees Versteegh, Joas Wagemakers (eds.) Leiden 2011, 63-89.

<sup>60</sup> On the manuscripts of Andalusī works preserved in Turkish libraries, see Fierro, Maribel, “Manuscritos de obras andalusíes en bibliotecas de Estambul”, in *al-Qanṭara*, 9/1 (1989) 199-208.

manuscripts is *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* by Ṣā‘id al-Ṭulayṭulī (d. 462/1070), of which three copies are preserved (Ms. ‘Asir Efendi, Estambul, 668; Köprülü, Estambul, 1105 and Ms. Topkapi, A. 2846), a striking high number that suggests a sustained interest in the sciences of the ancients under the Ottomans. It is followed by *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* by Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī (d. 498/1105) which counts with two manuscripts (Ms. Beyazit, 1211/1 and Ms. Umumi, 1211) and by *al-Şila fī akhbār a‘immat al-Andalus* by Abū l-Qāsim b. Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183) with another two copies (Ms. Ah. III, Estambul and Ms. Feizullah, Estambul, 1471). Finally, there is one copy of *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Abī Dāwūd* (Ms. Laleli, 2089).

### Concluding remarks

At the present stage it is difficult to assess if the number of Andalusī biographical dictionaries mentioned in *Kashf al-zunūn* is low or high compared to other regions of the Islamic world, as to my knowledge there are not similar studies undertaken for such other regions and with which a comparison could be carried out. However, given the rich biographical tradition that existed in al-Andalus and that was singled out by Wadad al-Qāḍī as being remarkable it perhaps could be advanced that the number of Andalusī *ṭabaqāt* is high (to note that of 53 *ṭabaqāt* mentioned in the work, ten are Andalusī, a high percentage).

Regarding the biographical dictionaries that focused on scholars devoted to the study of Islamic sciences (law, ḥadīth, Koran and so on), Ḥajjī Khalīfa was aware of those that are considered to be the most important ones: Ibn al-Faraḍī, al-Ḥumaydī, Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. However, with the exception of al-Ḥumaydī’s and Ibn Bashkuwāl’s works which can be proved to have circulated in the Ottoman Empire, the rest he probably knew only by name. Ṣā‘id al-Ṭulayṭulī’s popularity – both in references and in mss. – is to be linked to the highly specific character of his biographical works that concentrated on the ‘sciences of the ancients’: most probably Ḥajjī Khalīfa had a copy in his hands. Finally he may have had access also to some of the Andalusī hagiographical works, given how widespread the Andalusī Sufī tradition was in Ottoman lands (Ibn Barraḡān, Muḥyī l-dīn Ibn ‘Arabī) which surely awoke the interest in knowing more about the mystics and saints of the land where they came from.

## Appendix 1

Table with the Andalusí biographical works that appears in *Kashf al-zunūn* arranged in a chronological order according to their period of composition.

Name	Author	Period of composition
Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'	'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Qurṭubī (d. 238/853).	Ummayyad Emirate
Ṭabaqāt al-kuttāb	Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Aqushṭīn (d. 307/919)	Ummayyad Emirate
Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā' bi-l-Andalus	'Uthmān b. Rabī'a al-Andalusī (d. ca. 310/922)	Ummayyad Emirate
Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn	Abū l-Qāsim al-Qurṭubī al-Zayyāt (d. 353/964)]	Ummayyad Caliphate
Akhbār al-fuqahā' al-muta'akhhirīn min ahl Qurṭuba	Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989)	Umayyad Caliphate
Ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāt/ Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt	Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989)	Umayyad Caliphate
Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'	Ibn Juljul (d. 384/994)	Umayyad Caliphate
Kitāb fī akhbār shu'arā' al-Andalus	Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013)	Ummayyad Caliphate
Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus	Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013)	Ummayyad Caliphate
Kitāb al-iḥṭifāl fī ta'rīkh a'lām al-rijāl fī akhbār al-khulafā' wa-l-quḍāt wa-l-fuqahā'	Abū Bakr al-Qubbashī (d. before 430/1038)	Ummayyad Caliphate
Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'	Abū 'Amr al-Dānī (d. 444/1053)	First Taifa <sup>61</sup>
Ṣiwān al-ḥikam fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥukamā'	Ibn Ṣā'id al-Ṭulayṭulī (d. 462/1070)	First Taifa

<sup>61</sup> As First Taifa I refer to the Taifa period before the establishment of the Almoravids in the Iberian Peninsula.

Ṭabaqāt al-umam/al-Ta'rif bi-ṭabaqāt al-umam	Ibn Šā'id al-Ṭulayṭulī (d. 462/1070)	First Taifa
Kitāb al-ta'dīl wa-l-tajrīh li-man kharraja la-hu l-Bukhārī fi-l-Jāmi' al-Šaḥīh	Abū-l- Walīd al-Bājī (d. 474/1081)	First Taifa
Jadhwat al-muqtabis	Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095)	Almoravids
Taqyīd al-muhmal wa-tamyīz al-mushkil (fi rijāl al-Šaḥīhayn)	Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī (d. 498/1105)	Almoravids
Tasmiyat shuyūkh Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī fi Mušannafi-hi	Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī (d. 498/1105)	Almoravids
Akhbār al-qurtubiyyīn	Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149)	Almoravids
Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik li-ma'rifat a'lām madhhab Mālik	Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149)	Almoravids
al-Šila fi akhbār a'immat al-Andalus	Abū l-Qāsim b. Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183)	Almoravids-Almohads
Akhbār quḍāt Qurṭuba	Abū l-Qāsim b. Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183)	Almohads
al-Sirr al-mašūn fi mā ukrima bi-hi al-mukhlīšūn	Ṭāhir al-Šadafi (still alive between 552/1157-572/1177)	Almohads
Kitāb Takmilat al-šila	Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260)	Almohads
A'lām Mālaqa	Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Askar (d. 636/1239)	Almohads-Naṣrī Kingdom
al-Tabyīn 'an manāqib man 'urifa bi-Qurṭuba min al-tābi'in/ Akhbār ṣulahā' al-Andalus	Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (d. 642/1244)	Almohads-Naṣrī Kingdom
Šilat al-šila	Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308)	Naṣrī Kingdom
Majānī al-ḥaṣr/al-'aṣr fi ādāb wa-tawārīkh li-ahl al-'aṣr	Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344)	Naṣrī Kingdom-Mamluks

al-Nuḍār/al-Niḍār fi l-maslāth ‘an Nuḍār	Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344)	Naṣrī Kingdom- Mamluks
Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt	Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344)	Naṣrī Kingdom- Mamluks
Haddar al-kināyāt fi tarājim al-‘udabā’ bi-l-Maghrib	Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374).	Naṣrī Kingdom
al-Iḥāṭa fi akhbār Gharnāṭa	Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374).	Naṣrī Kingdom
Al-Ifṣāḥ fi-man ‘urifa bi-l-Andalus bi- l-ṣalāḥ	Abū l-Barakāt al-Balafīqī (d. 771/1370)	Naṣrī Kingdom
Kitāb al-nafḥa al-qudsiyya (fi-l-akhbār al-sāḥiliyya)	Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāḥilī (d. 754/ 1353)	Naṣrī Kingdom