

Pre-print version



BRILL

INTELLECTUAL HISTORY
OF THE ISLAMICATE WORLD 5 (2017) 85–116Intellectual
History
of the
Islamicate
World

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A Milestone in the History of Andalusī Bāṭinism: Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī's *Riḥla* in the East*

■ shortened title used in running headline, please check

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Abstract

Virtually unknown two decades ago, Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353/964) is today acknowledged as the genuine author of both the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm/Picatrix* and, in all likelihood, as the man by whom the encyclopaedic corpus of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* was introduced into al-Andalus. In the early 30s of the tenth century, Maslama al-Qurṭubī travelled extensively through the Middle East and pursued there his education under a great number of reputed masters. Through a thorough investigation of the sources at hand, the present paper seeks to reconstrue the various steps of this *riḥla* by establishing a comprehensive list of the scholars Maslama met with in the Orient. Among the main novelties of this investigation, one points out Maslama's meeting with Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān, who is commonly regarded by the historians of Arabic science as the author of the first treatise of astronomy ever compiled in al-Andalus.

* This article benefited from the support of our research Project in Louvain 'Speculum Arabicum: Objectifying the contribution of the Arab-Muslim world to the history of sciences and ideas: the sources and resources of medieval encyclopaedism' (Actions de recherche concertées [ARC] de la Direction générale de l'Enseignement non obligatoire et de la Recherche scientifique—Direction de la Recherche scientifique—Communauté française de Belgique et octroyées par l'Académie universitaire 'Louvain'). Our thanks to Maribel Fierro, Sabine Schmidtke and Sarah Stroumsa, the three convenors of the Madrid conference on 'Histories of Books in the Islamicate World', as well as to Josep Casulleras and Giuseppe Mandalà for various suggestions to improve the form and the content of the present contribution.

Keywords

alchemy – magic – *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* – *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm* – *Picatrix* – Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī – Qāsim b. Muṭarrif – al-Andalus – Riḥla – journey – Ḥadīṭ

A Brief *status quaestionis* on Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī

Until twenty years ago, Abū l-Qāsim Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī, sometimes nicknamed al-Zayyāt (“the oilman”), remained a figure almost unknown to modern scholarship, barely mentioned in earlier works. On the occasion of his pioneering but now largely outdated essay on Ibn Masarra, Miguel Asín Palacios briefly dealt with this Andalusī traditionist,¹ and Maḥmūd ‘Alī Makkī mentioned him, but only in passing, in his *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana*.² And yet both of these scholars pointed out Maslama’s esoteric aspirations, Makki even referring to him in one place as to the “Cordoban alchemist”—an expression that today looks strikingly premonitory. In her monograph on heterodox movements under the Umayyads, published in 1987, Maribel Fierro collected various interesting elements of Maslama’s biography.³ From the testimonies of Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013), Ibn Ḥayr (d. 575/1179), and Ibn Ḥaḡar (d. 862/1449), among various other historiographic sources, it appears that Maslama earned himself the reputation of being “an expert in charms and talismans” (*ṣāhib ruqan wa-ṭilasmāt*), that he was regarded by some as “a liar” (*kaḍḍāb*) or, worse still, as “belonging to those who had gone astray” (*qawm min al-ḍullāl*), in just about the same way as Ibn Masarra had been described. It also appears from these sources that Maslama travelled extensively through the Middle East and met there a great number of masters before moving back to his birthplace in al-Andalus, where he died in 353/964. Another important indication found in the medieval sources is that Maslama brought back from this journey in the East a work by the ninth-century Egyptian mystic Ḍū l-Nūn.

In 1996 an article appeared that was to revive the whole issue. Turning her attention to the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* (“The Rank of the Sage”) and the *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm* (“The Aim of the Sage”), Maribel Fierro now wondered whether this Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī, with all that his biography includes in terms

¹ Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, p. 23, n. 3.

² Makkī, *Ensayo*, p. 160.

³ Fierro, *La heterodoxia*, pp. 129–131.

of “unusual data”, could not be the true author of the famous twin treatises on the occult.⁴ In view of the long and renowned tradition of “Warburgian” scholars so deeply involved in the study of these works, this surely was a most daring hypothesis. Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner, editors of the *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm*, and David Pingree, the editor of the Latin *Picatrix*, all had attributed the authorship of the *Rutba* and the *Ġāya* to an otherwise unknown Andalusī author believed to have lived in the eleventh century. They had chosen to refer to this author as the Pseudo-Mağrīṭī, and they had done so in order to distinguish him from Maslama al-Mağrīṭī (d. in 395/1004 or shortly after), the illustrious mathematician and astronomer credited in medieval sources with the authorship of both treatises. Going against a tide of scholarship of this magnitude could clearly not be done irresponsibly, but Fierro managed to show that the arguments to date the composition of the *Rutba* and the *Ġāya* to the eleventh century were in fact fragile, and that they inadequately matched the testimony of the manuscript tradition. This is not the place to go again into the detail of this painstaking argumentation, but we might perhaps just recall Ritter and Plessner’s avowed perplexity regarding the indications of dates found in the manuscripts of the two works: “The manuscripts of the *Rutba* give in their majority the years 432–442 [= 1048–1051AD], with some of them having 339–342 instead [= 950–953AD], which is in plain contradiction with the reference to the Spanish Civil War [sic!]. The known manuscripts of the *Ġāya* all give the impossible years 343–348 [= 954–959AD] [our emphasis].”⁵ Another merit of Fierro’s argument was to show that the attribution of the two works to the scientist Maslama al-Mağrīṭī was most probably the result of the confusion of his name with that of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī, who was active in al-Andalus about half a century earlier.

Not long ago, in an article for *Al-Qanṭara* that was focused on the introduction of the *Rasā’il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā’* into al-Andalus, we revisited the issue of chronology and authorship of the three works, namely the *Rasā’il Iḥwān al-Ṣafā’*, the *Rutba*, and the *Ġāya*, and came to exactly the same conclusions as Fierro.⁶ In that study we provided additional evidence for the confusion, presumably almost from the beginning, between the two Maslamas, that is, our *bāṭinī* traditionist on the one hand and the famous mathematician and astronomer on the other. Traces of this amalgamation are perceptible in various manuscript copies of the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, as for instance in MS Paris BNF ar.

4 Fierro, “Bāṭinism”.

5 Pseudo-Mağrīṭī [Maslama ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī], *Picatrix*, trans. Ritter and Plessner, p. xxii.

6 Callatay, “Magia en al-Andalus”.

2613, where the authorship of the work is attributed to “Abū l-Qāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥātim b. al-Qurṭubī al-Andalusī al-Mağrībī”, a list that in fact mixes up elements from the respective *nasabs* of the two authors. The reason for this confusion is evidently to be found in the great similarity of their names, since they both include the following components: “Abū l-Qāsim” + “Maslama” + “al-Qurṭubī” + “al-Andalusī”. This means that whenever a briefer formulation of the name is given, containing only one of these elements or even a combination of them, it becomes impossible to distinguish between the two authors. As for the reason why medieval sources such as Ġildakī and Ibn Ḥaldūn erroneously credited the scientist Maslama al-Mağrībī with the authorship of the *Rutba* and the *Ġāya*, that also appears quite clear: only the rich get credit, and the astronomer was certainly much richer in this respect than the traditionist.

In another, more recent article, also published in *Al-Qanṭara*, we go one step further in the exploration of these issues.⁷ It is not unwittingly that we use the word “step” here, since this study is precisely concerned with the motif of a ladder, in this case a philosophical ladder. In fact, judging from the way Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī refers to the *Rasā’il* in the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, it appears that he considered the *Rasā’il* not only as one of his work’s principal sources—something that was already emphatically demonstrated by Ritter and Plessner in the annotation to their translation of the *Ġāya*—but also as *the* ideal model for an introduction to philosophy and, indeed, as *the* prerequisite to his own two works, on alchemy and celestial magic respectively. Consequently, what Maslama invites his suitably qualified readers to do is to progress along a philosophical staircase whose steps correspond to: 1) the Iḥwānīan corpus, presumably with its four sections themselves to be conceived of as corresponding to as many steps; 2) the *Rutba*; and 3) the *Ġāya*. It is in that sense, we think, that we have to understand that Maslama refers to his own two works as the “two conclusions” (*natīġatān*) of philosophy.

Now the problem with the passages from the *Rutba* in which Maslama refers to the *Rasā’il* is that he uses there a form of expression that seems to have been deliberately chosen to suggest that he was also the author of the *Rasā’il* themselves. Actually, it was one of the purposes of our study to demonstrate that this ambiguity in Maslama’s language was the fundamental reason why so many scholars, medieval and modern alike, believed a single man to be the author of the three works, namely the *Rasā’il*, the *Rutba*, and the *Ġāya*.

⁷ Callataÿ and Moureau, “Again on Maslama Ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī”.

The amusing thing to observe is that this man was believed to be the scientist Maslama al-Mağrīṭī, who was in reality responsible for none of them.⁸

All in all, as we can see, the last twenty years of scholarship have considerably modified our perception of the role played by Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī in the history of Islamic thought. He used to be considered a rather obscure traditionist with an occasional esoteric bias. He must now be regarded as the author of two of the most important treatises on the occult ever compiled in the Iberian Peninsula. And he is now also to be regarded, in all likelihood, as the genuine first transmitter of the *Rasāʾil Iḥwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, with all that this implies in terms of impact on the development of Andalusī speculative thought.

Maslama's Journey in the Sources

Our investigation into the sources that touch on Maslama's journey in the East was greatly facilitated by the use of three modern tools. The first is HATA (*Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes*), a digital database provided by Maribel Fierro and her team as part of the КОНЕРОСУ (*Knowledge, Heresy and Political Culture in the Islamic West*) project and which offers access to a very substantial amount of data about Andalusī authors and *muḥaddithūn*.⁹ The second tool, also in the field of Andalusī studies, and available free online as well, is PUA (*Prosopografía de ulemas de al-Andalus*), a database conceived of by María Luisa Ávila, Luis Molina, and their colleagues. This database provides extensive information about 11,600 Andalusī scholars.¹⁰ The third tool is Qawl, a program conceived of by Sébastien Moureau. This program provides one with a library of around 2,000 Arabic texts at the present time (but it should

8 Our study also includes the edition, translation, and commentary of two valuable biographical notes found on the title pages of two of the oldest extant manuscripts of the *Rutba*, namely MSS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ragıp Paşa 965 (dated to the eighth/fourteenth century) and Ragıp Paşa 963 (dated to the ninth/fifteenth century). The former of these notes is mostly taken from Sāʿid al-Andalusī's well-known passage on the alleged introduction of the Iḥwānīan corpus into al-Andalus by al-Kirmānī, the disciple of Maslama al-Mağrīṭī in the eleventh century, but Sāʿid's citation is here complemented with a few lines, presumably composed by the copyist himself, in which several theories about the attribution of the Iḥwānīan corpus to Maslama al-Mağrīṭī are recalled. As for the other biographical note, it also includes interesting and in some respects unique information about the various issues under consideration here.

9 See <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/>.

10 See <http://www.eea.csic.es/pua/>.

significantly expand in the forthcoming years), containing a great part of the classical Arabic literature, as well as three research algorithms. The first two of these algorithms allow one to search for a word or a sequence of words through the whole library (simple and multiple search). The third algorithm enables one to compare a given text with the entire library and to find any parallel passage. Qawl is also freely available online.¹¹

Of the numerous sources on Maslama's life and deeds, six offer particularly important and original information regarding his journey across the East.¹² They are:

1. Ibn al-Faraḍī (351–403/962–1013), *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā' al-Andalus* (= IF);¹³
2. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (368–463/978–1070), *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb* (= IST);¹⁴
3. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd li-mā fī l-Muwatta' min al-ma'ānī wa-l-asānīd* (= TAM);¹⁵
4. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Ġāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍlihi* (ĠĀM);¹⁶
5. Ibn Ḥayr (502–575/1108–1179), *Fahrassa* (= FIK);¹⁷
6. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449), *Lisān al-mīzān* (= LM).¹⁸

Maslama b. Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥātim al-Qurṭubī was born in 293/905–906 and died on Monday 22 Ġumādā I 353/6 June 964 at the age of sixty.¹⁹ According to Ibn al-Faraḍī, Maslama travelled to the East “before twenty” (*wa-raḡala ilā l-maṣriq qabla al-'iṣrīn*). This sentence can be understood in two ways: either Maslama went before “the age of twenty”, namely, before 313/925–926, or before the year “twenty [of the century]”, namely 320/932–933 (thus, at the age of 27), which seems to be a more usual reading in this

¹¹ See <http://www.uclouvain.be/qawl/>.

¹² For an overall list of sources on Maslama's life, see Fierro, “Bāṭinism,” p. 87, n. 2, and Fierro, “HATA,” 2015. For the purposes of this presentation we have discarded the sources that are not genuinely original on this topic, such as Dahabī's works.

¹³ Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1421, and Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'riḥ 'ulamā' al-Andalus*, no. 1423, mentioned in HATA.

¹⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. al-Baḡāwī, *passim*.

¹⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, ed. al-'Alawī et al., *passim*.

¹⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Ġāmi'*, ed. al-Zuhayrī, *passim*.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥayr al-Iṣbīlī, *Fahrassa*, pp. 20, 95, 102, 108, 266, 274.

¹⁸ Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 6, pp. 35 f. (no. 141), the article dedicated to Maslama, quoted in HATA. In addition to this, Maslama is also quoted more than a hundred times in this book.

¹⁹ The date of Maslama's death is given by Ibn al-Faraḍī. The date of his birth is inferred from Ibn al-Faraḍī's statement that Maslama was sixty when he died.

context.²⁰ However, among the scholars whom Maslama met during his travels, we may note that Muḥammad b. Zabān al-Ḥaḍramī, who taught Maslama in Old Cairo, died in Ġumādā I or Ġumādā II 317/December 929–January 930. The first interpretation seems therefore probable, although the Arabic expression to render it may appear slightly unusual.²¹ Whichever way one understands it, the only certain *terminus ante quem* for Maslama's departure is 317/929–930. Maslama must have come back to al-Andalus no sooner than Dū l-Qa'da 325/September–October 937, since we know that he was in Basra at that time,²² and no later than 339/951, when his pupil 'Abd Allāh, son of the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, was beheaded for conspiracy.²³ Maslama lost an eye on his way back to al-Andalus and became blind after his return, as reported in the *Lisān al-mizān*.²⁴

Before describing Maslama's journey, Ibn al-Faraḍī mentions nine *muḥaddithūn* who taught Maslama in al-Andalus; they are: 1) Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Lubāba (226–314/841–926),²⁵ 2) Abū Ḥafṣ b. Abī Tammām (d. 317/929),²⁶ 3) Aḥmad b. Ḥālid (i.e. Ibn al-Ġabbāb, 246–322/860–934),²⁷ 4) Muḥammad b. Qāsim (in all likelihood 263–327/877–939),²⁸ 5) Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qāsim (d. 312/924),²⁹ 6) 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf,³⁰ 7) Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' (d. 322/934),³¹ 8) Qāsim b. Aṣbaḡ (244–340/859–951),³² 9) Sayyid Abīhi b. al-'Āṣī al-Murādī al-Iṣbīlī (d. 325/936).³³

20 Ibn Haḡar, in his *Lisān al-mizān* (vol. 4, p. 35), understood the expression this way.

21 Another possibility would be that Ibn al-Faraḍī's date is wrong.

22 See p. 103.

23 Fierro, "Bāṭinism," p. 88.

24 Cf. p. 105.

25 Corresponding to the entry id 10149 in the PUA database. A first identification is provided by Maribel Fierro in Fierro, "Bāṭinism," p. 110, but at the time of that writing, the PUA database was not available (some identifications are therefore lacking).

26 PUA id 6988.

27 PUA id 934.

28 PUA id 10284. The name is quite common (see also PUA id 10296), but in the case of possible confusion between two or more scholars, the tendency amongst authors of such biographical dictionaries was to reserve the abbreviated forms of names for the most famous scholars.

29 PUA id 9640, but could also be PUA id 9641.

30 The name is quite common; the person could be PUA id 5683, 5659, 5637, 5643, 12375, 5649, 5654, 5658, 5660, or 5638.

31 PUA id 8981 and 8977.

32 PUA id 7567.

33 PUA id 3893.

We infer from the sources that, on the occasion of his long trip outside al-Andalus, Maslama met at least forty-eight scholars who may be localised with certainty. In addition there are eight scholars whom Maslama met at unspecified places, making it impossible to determine with absolute indisputability whether he met them in the East or in al-Andalus, although the first option is much likelier for most of them. The following pages offer a survey of Maslama's entire journey through the East and all the scholars with whom he met. There are in the *Fahrassa* some chronological indications that compel us to modify in part the sequence of stages proposed by Ibn al-Faraḍī. Consequently, the order of stages remains partly conjectural. For each scholar, the name is followed by an abbreviated form for the source in which the information is found. We have underlined and put in bold characters the dates that appear particularly significant for reconstructing the chronology of Maslama's trip.

Kairouan (3 Scholars)

1) *Aḥmad b. Mūsā, known as Ibn al-Tammār*

IF 1421

No date.

Maribel Fierro identifies him as the *muḥaddiṭ* Abū Dāwūd Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ġarīr al-ʿAṭṭār al-Ifriqī (d. 274/887–888),³⁴ whose name is linked to Qayrawān. However, the date does not tally well, and the names match only vaguely. The name Aḥmad b. Mūsā is very common, but we have found no Ibn al-Tammār who could have lived in this period. In his *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*,³⁵ Ḍahabī mentions a certain Abū Ġaʿfar Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Tūnisī al-Tammār who was a *faqīh*, the pupil of a Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr al-Farrān. However, no date is given in this passage.

2) *ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Fuṭays*

IF 1421

No date.

Probably the son of the better known *muḥaddiṭ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Fuṭays b. Wāṣil al-Ġāfiqī al-Ilbīrī (d. 319/931).³⁶ ʿAbd Allāh is also mentioned as

34 Fierro, "Bāṭinism," p. 110, pointing to Marín, "Los ulemas de al-Andalus," no. 105.

35 Ḍahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, p. 188 (no. 273).

36 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīḥ ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1203.

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Fuṭays in Kairouan by Ibn al-Faraḍī, in a passage dealing with the journey of Hāšim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥaḡḡāḡ al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 385/995–996).³⁷

3) *‘Abd Allāh b. Masrūr*

IF 1421

No certain date.

Maribel Fierro identifies him as the *muḥaddiṭ* Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Hāšim b. Masrūr al-Tuḡībī al-Ifriqī (d. 346/957–958),³⁸ which is a possibility.

‘Abd Allāh b. Masrūr is mentioned in two other places by Ibn al-Faraḍī, in both cases as a master of *ḥadīṭ* in Kairouan.³⁹ He seems to appear in Ibn al-Abbār’s *Takmila* under the name ‘Abd Allāh b. Masrūr b. al-Dabbāḡ (“the tanner”), also from Kairouan.⁴⁰

Tripoli (1 Scholar)

4) *Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Kūfī*

IF 1421

Date: d. 321/933.

He is the *muḥaddiṭ* known as Abū Muslim Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Šāliḥ b. Muslim al-‘Iḡlī al-Kūfī of Tripoli, quoted twice in Ḍahabī’s *Ta’rīḥ*.⁴¹ He wrote a book titled *al-Ġarḥ wa-l-Ta’dīl*, a work on *ḥadīṭ* as the title suggests.

37 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1539.

38 Fierro, “Bāṭinism,” p. 110, referring to Marín, “Los ulemas de al-Andalus,” no. 10 (p. 264).

39 In the notes on ‘Ubayd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qaysī (d. 392/1001) and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Mišbāḥ b. ‘Īsā *al-mu’addīn* (d. 381/991), respectively in Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, nos. 1002 and 1362.

40 Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ed. Codera, no. 1243.

41 Ḍahabī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, p. 107 (no. 81, entry on him), and vol. 26, p. 98 (entry on Maslama b. Qāsim).

Crete (2 Scholars)

5) *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥalaf*

IF 1421

No date.

We have found no mention of him other than the one by Ibn al-Faraḍī.

6) *Yaḥyā b. Uṭmān al-Andalusī*

IF 1421

No date.

We have found only two mentions of this *muḥaddiṭ*, both in Ibn al-Faraḍī. The first is found in the entry on Maslama, and the second in an entry on Yaḥyā himself, which merely informs us that he lived in Crete and that he was Maslama's teacher.⁴²

Alexandria (1 Scholar)

7) *Ibn Abī Maṭar*

IF 1421

Date: d. 339/950.

A *muḥaddiṭ* mentioned in several *riḡāl* works. He was a master to various disciples in Alexandria.

Old Cairo (Miṣr) (7 Scholars)

8) *Muḥammad b. Zabbān al-Ḥaḍramī*IF 1421; TAM 12/48, 14/209, 19/238, 22/96⁴³Date: 225–~~317~~/839 or 840–929 or 930.

■ keep bold and/or underlining?

⁴² Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīḥ ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1586 (vol. 2, p. 54).

⁴³ In the *Tamhīd*, the name appears under various forms: Muḥammad b. Abbān, Muḥammad b. Zayyān, Muḥammad b. Rayyān, Muḥammad b. Zabbān.

A famed Egyptian *muḥaddiṭ*, whose full name is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zabbān b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Dāwūd al-Ḥaḍramī. He was born in 225/839–840 and died in Ġumādā I or Ġumādā II 317/December 929 – January 930.⁴⁴

9) *Abū Ġa‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī*

IF 1421; LM 6/35

Date: b. between 229/844 and 239/853; d. 321/933.

A well-known *muḥaddiṭ* and *faqīh*.⁴⁵

10) *Abū Ṭāhir al-‘Allāf*

IF 1421

No date.

An Egyptian *muḥaddiṭ*, whose complete name is Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ġa‘far b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Allāf,⁴⁶ not to be confused with the more famous Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-‘Allāf al-Baġdādī.⁴⁷

11) *Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bahrānī*

IF 1421; FIK 1/108 (twice)

Date: d. Ramaḍān 385/995.

A Cordoban *muḥaddiṭ* (full name: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Bahrānī al-Mu‘addib) who was actually the disciple, not the master, of Maslama as reported elsewhere in Ibn al-Faraḍī’s *Ta’rīḥ*⁴⁸ and Ibn Ḥayr’s *Fahrassa*.⁴⁹

44 Cf. Ḍahabī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 23, p. 547 (no. 328), and Ḍahabī, *Sīyar*, no. 290 (vol. 14, p. 519).

45 On him, cf. N. Calder, “al-Ṭaḥāwī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 10, pp. 101 f.

46 Cf. Ibn al-Ġazarī, *Ġāyat al-nihāya*, no. 2887 (vol. 2, p. 97).

47 Cf. Ḍahabī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 38, p. 313 (no. 357).

48 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1368 (vol. 2, p. 391).

49 Ibn Ḥayr al-Iṣbīlī, *Fahrassa*, p. 108.

- 12) *Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Raṣḡdayn b. Saʿd al-Mahrī al-Miṣrī*

LM 3/403

Date: d. Muḥarram 326/November–December 937.

A *muḥaddiṭ*, who died in Cairo in Muḥarram 326/937.⁵⁰

- 13) *Abū ʿUṭmān ʿAbd al-Ḥakam b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salām mawlā al-Ṣadaḡī al-Miṣrī*

LM 3/393

Date: 229-Ḍū l-Ḥiḡḡa 318/843 or 844–December 930 or January 931

In the *Lisān al-mizān*, Maslama is quoted as saying that he met this scholar in Miṣr but did not follow him because he considered him a “weak” *muḥaddiṭ*.⁵¹

- 14) *Usāma b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd known as Ibn ʿAlīyyaka (or ʿUlayka)*

ĠĀM 1/213, 750

A *muḥaddiṭ*, whose full name is Abū Rāfiʿ Ibn Abī l-Ḥasan Usāma b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. Baṣīr b. Mihrān al-Rāzī. He was born in Rāyy but lived in *Miṣr*,⁵² where he must have met Maslama.

Qulzum (Suez) (4 Scholars)

- 15) *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qāḡī*

IF 1421

No date.

The name is far too common for this scholar to be identified.

50 Dahabī, *Taʾrīḡ al-Islām*, vol. 24, p. 194 (no. 291), and Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 3, p. 403 (no. 1592).

51 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 3, p. 393 (no. 1557).

52 Ṣafaḡī, *Wāḡī*, vol. 8, no. 3816 (p. 377).

16) *Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-ʿAbdī, known as Ġassān or Ġassān b. Abī Ġassān*

IF 1421; LM 5/218

No date.

A *muḥaddiṭ* and *qāḍī* in Qulzum. According to Ibn al-Faraḍī,⁵³ he was *ṣāḥib al-ṣalāt* in Qulzum. In the *Lisān al-mizān*, he is explicitly described as a Šīʿite (*mutaṣayyiʿ*).

17) *Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qunqul al-Qulzumī*

IF 1421

No date.

Apart from Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Taʾrīḥ*, we have found but one mention of this *muḥaddiṭ*, in Ibn al-Aṭīr's *Lubāb fī taḍhīb al-ansāb*,⁵⁴ where he is given the *kunya* Abū ʿAlī.

18) *Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Daws al-Mālikī*

IF 1421

No date.

We have found no mention of him other than in Ibn al-Faraḍī's account.

Jeddah (1 Scholar)

19) *ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamawayh (var. Maḥmawayh) al-Ġannābī*

IF 1421

No date.

We have not found any mention of this figure other than in Ibn al-Faraḍī's list.

53 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīḥ ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1390 (vol. 1, p. 400).

54 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Lubāb*, vol. 3, p. 61.

Mecca (8 Scholars)

20) *Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Daybulī*

IF 1421

Date: d. Ġumādā I 322/October–November 934.

A famed *muḥaddiṭ*, whose full name is Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Faḍl al-Daybulī.⁵⁵ He is better known as Abū Ġaʿfar al-Daybulī, who lived in the neighbourhood of Mecca.

21) *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muqriʿ*

IF 1421

No date.

The name is too common to allow one to identify this scholar.

22) *Abū Ġaʿfar al-ʿUqaylī*

IF 1421; FIK 1/95

Date: d. 322/933–934.

A famous *muḥaddiṭ*, whose full name is Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Mūsā b. Ḥammād b. Šāʿid al-ʿUqaylī. In the *Taḍkirat al-ḥuffāz*,⁵⁶ Ḍahabī reports a statement from Maslama concerning ʿUqaylī. This quotation is probably taken from Maslama's *Šila* (see below).

23) *Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī*

IF 1421; TAM 21/63, 24/144; ĠĀM 1/428

Date: 246–340/860–952.

A very famous *muḥaddiṭ*, ascetic, and mystic.⁵⁷

55 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḍarāt al-ḍahab*, vol. 4, p. 116.

56 Ḍahabī, *Taḍkirat al-ḥuffāz*, pp. 833f.

57 Marīn, “Abū Saʿīd Ibn al-Aʿrābī”.

24) *Muḥammad b. al-Muʿammal al-ʿAdawī*

IF 1421

Date: d. 319/931–932.
■keep bold and/or underlining?

A famed *muḥaddiṭ* and grammarian, whose full name is Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Muʿammal b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārīt al-Quraṣī al-ʿAdawī.⁵⁸

25) *Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zuhrī al-Ḥurāsānī*

LM 4/9

Date: d. after 330/941–942.

In the *Lisān al-mīzān*, in the entry on this scholar, we find a quotation from Maslama in which he explains that, although ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zuhrī was a weak (*ḍaʿīf*) *muḥaddiṭ*, he took very good *aḥādīṭ* from him, as also did many other *muḥaddiṭūn*. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zuhrī wrote a book on the history of the Qarmatians, and he was a Šīʿite (*mutaṣayyiʿ*).

26) *ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Raǧāʾ al-Zayyāt*

ǦĀM 1/500

We have found no mention of this scholar other than that in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr’s *Ǧāmiʿ*.

27) *Abū l-Aṣbaǧ ʿAbd al-Salām b. Yazīd b. Ġiyāt al-Iṣbīlī*

ǦĀM 2/1017

No date.

A Sevillian *muḥaddiṭ* who travelled extensively across the East.⁵⁹ Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr reports a quotation from Maslama saying that he had with this companion of his (*rafīqī*) a talk about a poem while they were together in al-Masǧid al-Ḥarām.

⁵⁸ Dahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 23, p. 592 (no. 437), and Suyūṭī, *Buǧya*, vol. 1, p. 253 (no. 469).

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Faraǧī, *Taʾrīḥ ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 850 (vol. 1, pp. 238f.).

Şan‘ā’ (2 Scholars)

28) *Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Kulayb, qāḍī of Şan‘ā’*

IF 1421

No date.

The only other mention found of this *muḥaddit* is in Ḍahabī’s *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*.⁶⁰

29) *‘Abd al-Aʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bawsī, ḥaṭīb of Şan‘ā’*

IF 1421

No date.

A *muḥaddit* who was also *qāḍī* of Şan‘ā’, according to the *Fahrassa*.⁶¹ His full name is Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Aʿlā b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Aʿlā b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bawsī. He should not be confused with his better known son, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Aʿlā al-Bawsī.⁶²

‘Alqān, Yemen (1 Scholar)

30) *Hārūn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Alqānī*

IF 1421; LM 6/177

No date.

We have found no other mention of this scholar. ‘Alqān is a village between Şan‘ā’ and ‘Adan.

Yemen, without Further Specificity, or Mişr (1 Scholar)

31) *Abū Sulaymān Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān, ṣāḥib ṣalāt al-ḡund*

IF 1421; LM 2/445

Date: fl. 330/941–942.

60 Ḍahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, no. 9565 (vol. 4, p. 391).

61 Ibn Ḥayr al-Isbīlī, *Fahrassa*, p. 128.

62 Ḍahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 21, p. 153 (no. 209).

According to Ibn al-Faraḍī's testimony, Maslama met this *muḥaddiṭ* in Yemen. In the *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥaḡar mentions that Rabīʿ was *ṣāhib ṣalāt al-ḡund* in Miṣr after 330. This means that Maslama must have been in Yemen before Rabīʿ' s move in 330.

Baghdad (5 Scholars)

32) *al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Qāḍī al-Maḥāmīlī*

IF 1421

Date: 235-Rabīʿ II 330/849-January 942.

A famous *muḥaddiṭ* and *qāḍī* of Baghdad.⁶³

33) *Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ġahm al-Qāḍī al-Mālikī*

IF 1421

Date: d. 329/940–941 or 330/941–942.

A *muḥaddiṭ* from Merv who settled in Baghdad. His full name is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ġahm b. Ḥubayš, better known as Ibn al-Warrāq al-Marwazī.⁶⁴ According to Ibn Farḡūn, he wrote a famous book on the Mālikī school, among other works on *aḥādīṭ* and *fiqh*.

34) *ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Naysābūrī*

IF 1421

Date: 238-Rabīʿ II 324/852 or 853-March 936.

A famous *muḥaddiṭ* and *faqīh*, whose full name is Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. Wāṣil b. Maymūn.⁶⁵

35) *Abū Bakr al-Šiblī*

Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, vol. 2, pp. 159–161⁶⁶

Date: 247–334/861–945.

63 Ḍahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, pp. 281f.

64 Ibn Farḡūn, *Dībāj*, vol. 2, p. 186 (no. 22). ^{■ 1 period removed, ok?} Ibn Farḡūn says that some people wrongly call him Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

65 Ḍahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, pp. 150–152 (no. 175).

66 Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, vol. 2, pp. 159–161 (no. 194).

A very famous mystic and *muḥaddiṭ*.⁶⁷ In the *Riṭyād al-nufūs*, Mālikī relates a meeting in Baghdad between al-Šiblī and a certain “Abū l-Qāsim al-Andalusī”, who could be Maslama, but the identification is not entirely certain.

36) *Abū Darr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ādam*

FIK 1/266

No date.

We have found no mention other than the one in the *Fahrāsa*. There, Ibn Ḥayr explains that Maslama met this *muḥaddiṭ* in Baghdad in Rabī‘ I 324/January–February 936. ■ keep bold and/or underlining?

Madā’in (1 Scholar)

37) *Sahl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Qāḍī*

IF 1421

No certain date.

In Ibn al-Farāḍī’s *Ta’rīḥ*,⁶⁸ we find a scholar named Abū l-Qāsim Sahl b. Ibrāhīm b. Sahl b. Nūḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥammār of Ēcija, better known as Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār (299–387/911 or 912–997). He travelled to Elvira, but there is no mention of a journey to the East. In addition, the dates do not fit easily with Maslama’s travels, so the person in question here must be another *muḥaddiṭ*.

Wāsiṭ (1 Scholar)

38) *‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mubaššir*

IF 1421

Date: d. 324/935–936 or Ġumādā I 325/March–April 937. ■ keep bold and/or underlining?

A famous *muḥaddiṭ*, better known as Ibn Mubaššir.⁶⁹

67 Sobieroj, “al-Shiblī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 9, pp. 432 f.

68 Ibn al-Farāḍī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 576 (vol. 1, p. 162).

69 Ḍahabī, *Ta’rīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, p. 158 (no. 184) and p. 175 (no. 238), and Ḍahabī, *Sīyar*, no. 13 (vol. 15, p. 25).

Ramla (1 Scholar)

39) *Yaḥyā b. Mūsā*

IF 1421

No Date.

We have found no mention of him other than the one in Ibn al-Faraḍī's text.

Basra (5 Scholars)

40) *Abū Rawq al-Hazzānī*IF 1421; TAM 24/382⁷⁰

Date: d. after Ša'bān 332/March–April 944.

A famous *muḥaddith*, whose full name is Abū Rawq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Hazzānī, who lived in Basra.⁷¹

41) *Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Lu'lu'*

IF 1421; FIK 1/108 (3 times)

Date: d. 333/944–945.

A famous *muḥaddith* who lived in Basra.⁷² In the *Fahrāsa*, Ibn Ḥayr mentions that Maslama met Abū 'Alī al-Lu'lu'ī in Basra in Dū l-Qa'da 325/September–October 937.⁷³ ■ keep bold and/or underlining?

42) *Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Za'farānī*

IF 1421

No date.

A *muḥaddith*,⁷³ not to be confused with the famous Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Za'farānī (d. 260/873–874).

⁷⁰ In the *Tamhīd*, the name of this *muḥaddith* is given as Abū Rizq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Bahzānī al-Baṣrī.

⁷¹ Ḍahabī, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, vol. 25, pp. 49 f. (no. 2).

⁷² Ḍahabī, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, vol. 25, pp. 92 f. (no. 107), and Ḍahabī, *Siyar*, no. 147 (vol. 15, pp. 307 f.).

⁷³ Ḍahabī, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, vol. 23, p. 645 (no. 570).

43) *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Tustarī*

IF 1421

Date: d. between 350/961 and 360/971.

A very famous *muḥaddiṭ* and mystic,⁷⁴ and the leader of the Sālīmiyya school in Basra (named after a disciple of the Šūfī mystic Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896)), not to be confused with his father, Muḥammad b. Sālim.

44) *Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kinānī al-Zāhid al-Miṣrī*

FIK 1/274–275

No date.

A *muḥaddiṭ* and ascetic, whose full name is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kinānī.⁷⁵ In the *Fahrassa*, Ibn Ḥayr explains that Muḥammad al-Kinānī transmitted the *Su‘āl Dī l-Nūn al-Miṣrī ba‘ḍ al-zāhid ‘an ṣifat al-mu‘min* (see below) to Maslama, and that they met near the tomb of Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayda in Basra.

Sīrāf (1 Scholar)

45) *Ġa‘far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī*

IF 1421; IST 3/1166 and 3/1423; TAM 2/299, 6/266, 15/234, 16/304 and 351, 19/69, 20/169 and 248, 22/283, 23/409, 24/101; ĠĀM 1/589

No date.

A *muḥaddiṭ* who settled in Sīrāf.⁷⁶

Ayla, Close to ‘Aqaba (No Scholar Mentioned)

LM 6/35

74 E.S. Ohlander, “Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. THREE.

75 Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 395 (vol. 1, p. 114).

76 Dahabī, *Ta‘rīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 25, p. 201 (no. 341).

Jerusalem (No Scholar Mentioned)

LM 6/35

In the *Lisān al-mizān*, Ibn Ḥaġar tells that, while in Jerusalem, Maslama had a strange dream. As he was sleeping inside the *bayt al-muqaddas*, he woke up during the night and saw a huge and frightening lion in front of him. An interpreter told him he was about to become blind. According to Ibn Ḥaġar's report, the validity of this interpretation was later confirmed by the fact that Maslama lost one eye during his travel back to the West, and the other when he arrived in al-Andalus.

ʿAsqalān (3 Scholars)

46) *Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq b. Ḥaġar al-ʿAsqalānī*

IF 1421; FIK 1/20; LM 6/304; Ibn Ḥaġar, *Tabṣīr* 1/414,⁷⁷ ĞĀM 1/33, 37, 193, 195–196, 228, 232

Date: d. after 320/932–933.

A *muḥaddiṭ*, whose full name is Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Ḥaġar al-ʿAsqalānī.⁷⁸ In the entry on Yaʿqūb from his *Tabṣīr*, Ibn Ḥaġar quotes from Maslama's *Ṣīla* (cf. below) on Yaʿqūb.

47) *Ibn Abī Qarṣāfa*

IF 1421

No date.

A *muḥaddiṭ*, whose full name is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Qarṣāfa al-ʿAsqalānī.

48) *Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Burayh*

IST 1/229

Aside from a few *asānīd* in which his name appears, we have not found any other mention of this scholar.

⁷⁷ Ibn Ḥaġar, *Tabṣīr*, vol. 1, p. 414.

⁷⁸ Dahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, no. 9804 (vol. 4, p. 449).

Undefined Locations

49) *‘Alī b. Ġa‘far b. Sāfin al-Tinnīsī*

LM 4/208

No date.

In the *Lisān al-mizān*, this *muḥaddiṭ* is said to have been a master to Maslama. According to Ḍahabī's *Ta'riḥ*,⁷⁹ the name of this *muḥaddiṭ* is 'Alī b. Ġa'far b. Musāfir al-Tinnīsī. 'Alī b. Ġa'far was from Tinnīs (Egypt), but Maslama might have met him somewhere else as well.

50) *Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥsin b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Fihri*

LM 5/127

No date.

We have found no mention other than the one in the *Lisān al-mizān*.

51) *Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan ‘Allān*

TAM 12/48; ĠĀM 1/24

Date: d. 355/966.

There seems to be confusion here between this scholar and Ibn ‘Allān. Indeed, ‘Allān, whose full name is Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muġīra al-Maḥzūmī al-Miṣrī,⁸⁰ died in Ša'bān 272/January–February 886, which makes impossible for him to have met with Maslama. For his part, Ibn ‘Allān, whose full name is Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Allān al-Ḥarrānī,⁸¹ died in Dū l-Ḥiġġa 355/November 966. As he was living in Ḥarrān, Maslama may have met him in that city, although this is a mere hypothesis, since Ibn ‘Allān also made a *riḥla*.

52) *Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Isā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ašāma b. Faraġ al-Kindī al-Layṭī al-Šūfī al-Muqrī’, known as Ibn al-Waššā’ al-Tinnīsī*

LM 1/242–243; TAM 23/404; ĠĀM 2/1014, 1028, 1106

Date: d. 338/949–950 or 344/955–956.

79 Ḍahabī, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, p. 195 (no. 295).

80 Ḍahabī, *Sīyar*, no. 71 (vol. 13, pp. 141f.).

81 Ḍahabī, *Sīyar a’*, no. 7 (vol. 16, pp. 20f.); Ḍahabī, *Ta'riḥ al-Islām*, vol. 26, p. 123; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Šaḍarāt al-ḍahab*, vol. 4, p. 289.

A *muḥaddiṭ* from Tinnīs, in Egypt. In the *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥaġar quotes from Maslama's *Ṣila* about him. This scholar settled in Baṣra, but travelled to al-Andalus around 340/951–952 (as Ibn Ḥaġar explains, this implies that the date of his death cannot be 338, as some people have reported). It is not possible to determine whether Maslama met him in Egypt, in Basra, or in al-Andalus.

53) *Muḥammad b. Ḥālid b. Yazīd al-Barḍaʿī*

ĠĀM 1/222

Date: d. 317/929–930.

A *muḥaddiṭ* who was in Mecca in 300/912–913⁸² and who, according to Ḍahabī,⁸³ was killed in the Holy City by Qarmatians in 317/929–o. The text of the *Ġāmiʿ* is unclear, since Maslama b. Qāsim is called only “Maslama” here. The identification is made very probable however, since “Maslama” is often used in this book to refer to Maslama b. Qāsim.

54) *Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamdānī (or al-Hamadānī)*

ĠĀM 1/818

No date.

A *muḥaddiṭ* who travelled intensively through Egypt, Syria, the Ḥiġāz, and Iraq.⁸⁴

55) *ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Rabīʿa b. Zabīr al-Qāḍī*

LM 3/253

Date: 255–329/868 or 869–940 or 941.

In the *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥaġar quotes from Maslama on ʿAbd Allāh b. Zabīr. It is reported that Maslama met him yet did not follow him, on the assumption that he was not a good scholar. We are also informed that Maslama finally followed him to some extent through one of his disciples.

82 Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Tamhīd*, vol. 1, p. 128.

83 Ḍahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 23, p. 547 (no. 327).

84 Ḍahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, no. 7415 (vol. 3, p. 522), and Ḍahabī, *Taʾrīḥ al-Islām*, vol. 24, pp. 314 f. (no. 575).

56) *Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Ṭulayṭulī*

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Date: 10th c.

Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭulayṭulī al-Qurṭubī al-Qaṭṭān was a Cordoban *muḥaddith* and *muqri*.⁸⁵ More significantly, he is also the probable author of a *Kitāb al-Hay’a* (*Book on Cosmology*), which would make him the first Andalusī astronomer.⁸⁶ According to the *Lisān al-mizān*,⁸⁷ he came to Qulzum, but he could have met Maslama in other places as well, and perhaps even in al-Andalus. This important figure is discussed further below.

Conclusions and New Perspectives

The above survey of Maslama’s *riḥla* leads us to make a certain number of observations, and to draw some provisional conclusions.

First, and even if there still remain various grey areas in our reconstruction, we are now in a better position to determine where and when Maslama was during his journey. Maslama departed from Cordoba before Ġumādā I or Ġumādā II 317/December 929–January 930, since we know that he was in Old Cairo before that time. We know for certain that he visited Mecca before 319/931–932, that he was in Baghdad in Rabī‘ I 324/January–February 936, that he passed through Wāsiṭ before Ġumādā I 325/March–April 937, and that he found himself in Basra in Dū l-Qa‘da 325/September–October 937. These dates are in contradiction with the order of Maslama’s journey as proposed by Ibn al-Faraḍī.⁸⁸ The map that follows shows what appears to be the most likely route in accordance with these elements, some of which were previously unknown. Maslama’s peregrination through Yemen remains largely conjectural, however.

85 See IF 1072, where various names of his masters in those fields are provided.

86 Comes, “Qāsim ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān”; idem, “Ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān, Qāsim”; Casulleras, “The Contents of Qāsim ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān’s ‘Kitāb al-hay’a’”; idem, “El contenido del *Kitāb al-Hay’a*,”; Sezgin, *GA*, vol. 6, pp. 197 f. Cf. also Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1072 (vol. 1, p. 300).

87 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 4, p. 466 (no. 1467).

88 Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1421: Kairouan, Tripoli, Crete, Alexandria, Old Cairo, Qulzum, Jeddah, Mecca, Basra, Wāsiṭ, Ramla, Baghdad, Sīrāf, Ma-dā’in, Yemen, Syria.

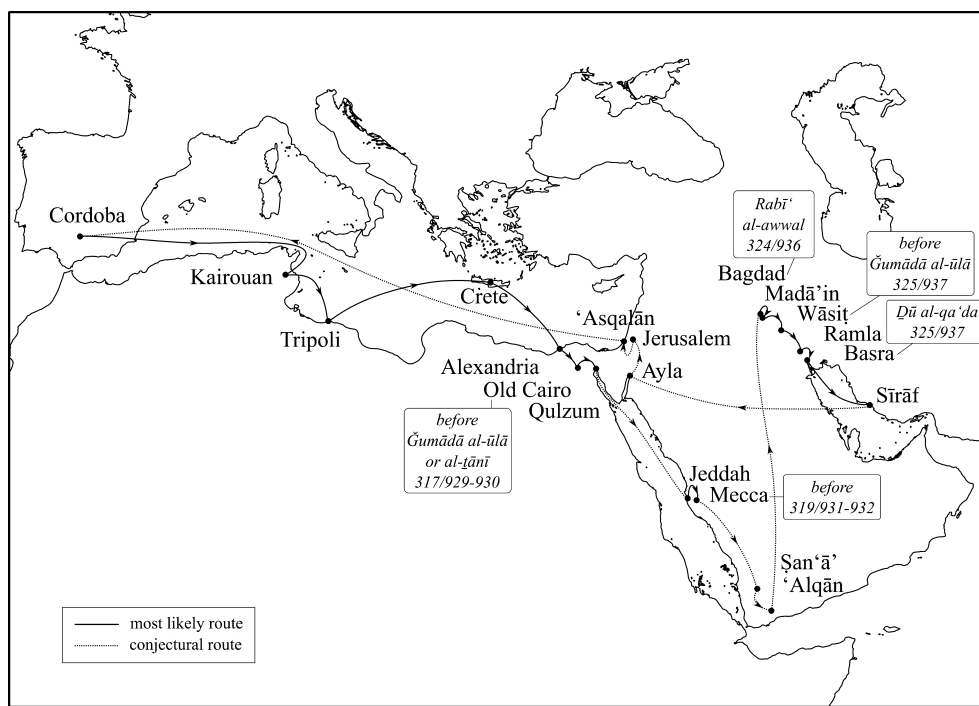


FIGURE 1 *Reconstruction of Maslama's journey to the East (base layer from OpenStreetMap offered on <http://openstreetmapdata.com/>, © OpenStreetMap contributors)*

The same holds true for the part of his trip around Sīrāf, Ayla, Jerusalem, and 'Asqalān. Our map suggests that he visited these four cities in that order, but we might just as well conjecture that he passed through Ayla on his way from Qulzum to Jeddah. The only thing we know for sure is that Jerusalem was one of Maslama's last stages in the East, since it is there that he had his famous dream and that he took the decision to go back to al-Andalus.

Secondly, this list of now 56 different scholars met by Maslama, at least 48 of them outside al-Andalus, confirms, if such confirmation is necessary, that he played an active role in a dynamic and widespread network of intellectual relations between the East and the West of the Dār al-Islām. Surely, his case is not an exceptional one. Accomplishing the *riḥla* through the East was a nearly compulsory step in the career of any ambitious *muḥaddith* from al-Andalus.⁸⁹ Still, it appears that Maslama's position in this respect was particularly prominent. In addition to the fact that he encountered and listened to most of the

89 Ávila, "The Search for Knowledge".

greatest traditionists of his time, the survey also makes it clear that he was himself an influential *muḥaddiṭ* and that his *Ṣila* (cf. below) was regarded as very authoritative.⁹⁰

What our study also reveals with great clarity is that there seems to have existed in medieval Islamic historiography a strict compartmentalization between two aspects of Maslama's personality, interests, and writings. Taking up again the "unusual data" which Fierro collected from Maslama's biography, we find that the literature on Maslama's travels through the East is, by and large, overwhelmingly silent on his bias for the occult. While the abundant literature on *muḥaddiṭūn* regularly stresses the importance of Maslama's *riḡāl* works, of which incidentally none has survived, our knowledge of Maslama's contacts with bāṭinism remains almost exclusively dependent on his own extant esoteric works, namely, the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and the *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm*.

This same compartmentalization may be observed in the case of Maslama's sources and works. Maslama was the compiler and the transmitter of many works, several of which are known from *riḡāl* books, and others from his own *bāṭinī* texts.⁹¹ In the category of *muḥaddiṭūn* literature, we know of five works ascribed to Maslama. They are: 1) a *Ṣila li-ta'rīḥ al-kabīr li-l-Buḥārī* (also called *Ta'rīḥ fī l-riḡāl* / *al-Ḍayl alā ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddiṭīn* / *al-Ta'rīḥ al-kabīr*), a work on 'ilm al-riḡāl quite famous in the field;⁹² 2) a *Kitāb al-Nisā'* (*Book of women*);⁹³ 3) a book titled *al-Zāhir* (*The Shining*), which Ibn Ḥaḡar identifies as a work by Maslama, whose *Ṣila* comes as a supplement;⁹⁴ 4) a *Mā Rawā al-Kibār 'an al-Ṣiḡār* (*What the Great [muḥaddiṭūn] tell from the Little Ones*),⁹⁵ another *riḡāl* work; 5) *al-Ḥilya* (*The Ornament*), about which we know nothing but the title; 6) and a *Kitāb fī l-ḥaṭṭ fī l-turāb ḍarb al-qur'a* (*Book on the writing in the sand to cast lots*).⁹⁶ The latter could be a work on geomancy (various terms from the discipline are used, such as 'ilm al-raml, ḍarb al-raml, ḥaṭṭ al-raml, and ḥuṭūṭ),⁹⁷ but it must be recorded here that geomancy was not considered an "esoteric" science in the Islamic Middle Ages, since this kind of divination had been legitimized by a *ḥadīṭ* as well as by the interpretation

90 Cf. for instance, Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Lisān al-mīzān*, where Maslama is abundantly quoted.

91 Maslama's works are listed in the various entries on him in Fierro, "HATA".

92 The work is very often quoted, for instance, in Ibn Ḥaḡar's *Lisān al-mīzān*.

93 Ibn Baṣṣuwwāl, *Kitāb al-Ṣila*, no. 1411.

94 Fierro, "Bāṭinism," p. 89, n. 14.

95 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 6, p. 36.

96 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 6, p. 36.

97 Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 197 f.

of some exegetes of Qurʾān 46:4.⁹⁸ As a transmitter, Maslama is presented in *riḡāl* literature as having contributed to the diffusion of the following works: 1) a *Kitāb al-Marāsīl* by Abū Dāwūd, a small collection of *ḥadīṭ mursāl*; 2) a treatise attributed to Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī entitled *Suʾāl baʿḍ al-zuhhād ʿan ṣīfat al-muʾmin* (*Question [raised] by some ascetics about the characteristics of the believer*); 3) a *Kitāb ʿIbārat al-ruʾyā*, about oniromancy,⁹⁹ written by a certain al-Kirmānī; 4) and a book titled *al-Muskita*, written by Maslama's pupil ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and which appears to be a eulogy on the famous traditionist Baqī b. Maḥlad (d. 276/889). This latter book should evidently not be counted amongst the works that Maslama brought back from the East.

Moving to Maslama's *bāṭinī* compositions, which are known only through the *Rutba* and the *Ġāya*, we may establish the following provisional list of works, pending the full completion of our study of the *Rutba*: 1) the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*; 2) the *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm*; 3) a *Risālat al-maʿādīn* (*Epistle on the minerals*), which could be a genuine composition, although it is more probably a reference to the epistle with the same name by the Iḥwān al-Ṣafāʾ;¹⁰⁰ 4) a treatise titled *Taʾrīḥ falāsifat al-ʿarab* (*History of the philosophers of the Arabs*), presenting a history of the Arabic philosophers;¹⁰¹ 5) a *Risāla allatī fī l-bunyānāt wa-l-nawāmīs*, which is mentioned as such in the *Rutba*, although this might well be another, corrupt reference to a part of the *Rasāʾil*, the fourth section of which being precisely devoted to the *Ṣiyāsāt wa-l-nawāmīs*.¹⁰² As mentioned above, it has become increasingly evident over recent years of scholarship that Maslama's role in the transmission of *bāṭinī* literature to al-Andalus was considerable. In addition to the *Rasāʾil Iḥwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, it is reasonable to conjecture that he could as well have brought back various other works he explicitly says he used as sources for his own extant treatises on the occult, such as parts of the Ḡābirian corpus, the *Sirr al-asrār* (*The Secret of Secrets*) ascribed to the Pseudo-Aristotle, the *Filāḥa nabaṭiyya* (*Nabatean Agriculture*), and a work by Fārābī.¹⁰³ It is hoped that future research will contribute to clarify these issues.

98 On this, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, pp. 198–200.

99 Oniromancy was not considered a *bāṭinī* science but was very widespread in medieval Islam, since it is legitimized by the Qurʾān; see Lory, “L'interprétation des rêves”.

100 Callatay and Moureau, “Again on Maslama Ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī”.

101 Callatay and Moureau, “Again on Maslama Ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī”.

102 Dozy and Goeje, “Nouveaux documents,” p. 289; Kacimi, “Estudio,” p. 33.

103 Pseudo-Maḡrīṭī [Maslama ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭubī], *Picatrix*, pp. 433–435; Ramón Guerrero, “Textos de al-Fārābī”.

This said, and notwithstanding the above-mentioned division between *muḥaddithūn* and *bāṭinī* scholars, there are in the list of scholars met by Maslama a few individuals who would seem to deserve some further attention, since they clearly were not merely traditionists. In her pioneering study, Fierro has already stressed the special importance of Abū Saʿīd Ibn al-Aʿrābī in Mecca (no. 23), Abū Bakr al-Šiblī in Baghdad (no. 35), and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Tustarī in Basra (no. 43), all three of whom were not only important *muḥaddiths*, but also renowned and influential mystics at the same time.¹⁰⁴ Yet, it would seem that nothing really conclusive can be inferred from this here, since not a single source we have consulted suggests that any one of them was involved with alchemy, magic, or any other *bāṭinī* discipline that was of interest to Maslama. From this point of view, we might perhaps also briefly consider the case of Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Zuhri al-Ḥurāsānī (no. 25). This *muḥaddith*, whom Maslama encountered in Mecca, is explicitly described as a Šīʿite as well as the author of a book on the Qarmatians. But is this sufficient information to allow us to surmise that this scholar exerted a profound influence on Maslama's esoteric aspirations? We would obviously need more data to be able to answer this question in the affirmative.

All things considered, it might well be that the most interesting figure for our purpose is the very last one of our list, namely Abū Muḥammad Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Ṭulayṭulī (no. 56). As has already been mentioned, what makes this *muḥaddith* an outstanding personality on our list is that he is most commonly regarded by the historians of Arabic science as the author of the first treatise on astronomy ever compiled in al-Andalus.¹⁰⁵ The *Kitāb al-Hayʾa* (*Book on Cosmology*), which is preserved in a single Istanbul manuscript (Ms Süleymaniye, Carullah 1279, fols 315^r–333^r), presents itself as a non-specialized introduction to astronomy, which borrows most of its elements from scientific works stemming from the Orient. The passage from the *Lisān al-mizān* in which Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī is linked to Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān reads:

¹⁰⁴ Fierro, "Plants," p. 128.

¹⁰⁵ Comes, "Ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān, Qāsim"; idem, "Qāsim ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān"; Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos en al-Andalus*, pp. 76f. On the treatise, see Casulleras, "The Contents of Qāsim ibn Muṭarrif al-Qaṭṭān's 'Kitāb al-Hayʾa,'" of which a Spanish version is also available Casulleras, "El contenido del *Kitāb al-Hayʾa*"; cf. also Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 6, pp. 197f.

Qāsim b. Muṭarrif al-Ṭulayṭulī, Abū Muḥammad. He came to [*nazala*, which could mean just stopped in, came to visit, or settled in] Qulzum. He was a *ḥāfiẓ*. Maslama b. Qāsim says: “I wrote from him [*katabtu ‘anhu*], and I have been told that he transmitted [*aḥādīṭ*] from Ḥayr b. ‘Arafa. This Qāsim was, according to me, a liar.”¹⁰⁶

The meaning of the expression *katabtu ‘anhu* in the *Lisān al-mizān* is not absolutely clear. Most usually, when quoting from Maslama, Ibn Ḥaḡar uses it to mean that Maslama met a given scholar and used that scholar as a source for his own *aḥādīṭ*.¹⁰⁷ Maslama could have met Qāsim in Qulzum, as the text may suggest, but he could as well have met him somewhere else, as, for instance, in Cordoba, where both spent many years. It is quite remarkable to discover that Maslama and Qāsim, respectively the “probable first Andalusī alchemist” and the “probable first Andalusī astronomer”, were both *muḥaddiṭūn*, and that in *riḡāl* works they are both described only as such, although we know that they were interested in many other things as well.¹⁰⁸ We plan to devote a separate study to this issue in the very near future.

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- 106 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 4, p. 466 (no. 1467): *قاسم بن مطرف الطليطلي أبو محمد. نزل القلزم. وقال مسلمة بن قاسم كتبت عنه وقيل لي انه روى عن خير بن عرفة وكان قاسم هذا عندي كذابا*.
- 107 Cf., e.g. Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 2, p. 445, vol. 5, p. 218 (no. 762), or, as is clearer in vol. 6, p. 177, where Ibn Ḥaḡar quotes Maslama as saying “*katabtu ‘anhu bi-l-Yaman bi-qariya yuqālu lahā ‘Al’ān* [mistaken for ‘Alqān]”.
- 108 The *Kitāb al-Hay’a* and Qāsim’s interest in astronomy are indeed not mentioned in the entries on him; cf. Ibn al-Faraḡī, *Ta’rīḥ ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, no. 1072 (vol. 1, p. 300), and Ibn Ḥaḡar, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 4, p. 466 (no. 1467).

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