

Ibn al-Khaṭīb and His Mamluk Reception

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1 Ibn al-Khaṭīb and His Context*

Every scholar working on the history of the Islamic West is familiar with the life and works of the Granadian polymath Ibn al-Khaṭīb (714–76/1313–74), while maybe that is not the case with those working on other regions, mainly the Islamic East. For this reason, it is important to briefly introduce this famous Western scholar. He was born in Loja (Granada) in November 714/1313. Educated in all the subjects and knowledge of his time, he became the famous secretary and head of the chancellery and a powerful vizier of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada during the period of its greatest splendor: the reigns of Sultan Yūsuf I (r. 733–54/1333–54) and his son Muḥammad V (754–60/1354–9, 763–93/1362–91). In the year 772/1371, tired of the courtly work and worn out by a lifetime full of power, ambitions, conspiracies, intrigues, and personal misfortunes, he decided to escape from the kingdom of Granada toward the Merinid kingdom of Fez of the Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (r. 768–74/1366–72). Ibn al-Khaṭīb spent the last years of his life under the latter’s protection, and subsequently under that of his minor son Muḥammad al-Sa‘īd IV (r. 774–6/1372–4) and his powerful vizier Ibn Gāzī, while he was accused in Granada of treason, disloyalty, and heresy. In the year 776/1374, a series of adverse events finally led his adversaries from Granada, and also from the Maghreb, to get Ibn al-Khaṭīb imprisoned and murdered in prison.

From a historical point of view, Ibn al-Khaṭīb¹ is the most important Naṣrid polymath, the author of many books on different topics (Sufism, law, poetry,

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1 There are many studies in relation to the life and work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. For a general perspective, see Lirola Delgado, Ibn al-Jaṭīb; Robinson, Lisān al-Dīn; Vidal Castro, Ibn al-Khaṭīb; Ballan, Scribe.

history, medicine, astronomy, and geography), and a man who also played a crucial political role in the development of the Naṣrid kingdom. In his time and after his death, his fame went beyond the Maghreb, and he became renowned, especially in Mamluk Egypt, for reasons that I will try to explain in this paper.

In a general context,² it is important to have in mind the situation of al-Andalus, especially after 608/1212, with the defeat of the Almohads in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and consequently the unstoppable advance of the Christian conquest of the Andalusian territory. So, the 13th-century progressive territorial Muslim loss in the Iberian Peninsula increased the wave of Andalusī emigration to North Africa and the East. This had already begun in previous centuries, but now those who emigrated not only went in search of knowledge or pilgrimage but also a new life. The diplomatic and political relationships between al-Andalus and North Africa with the Islamic states of the East also increased. The feeling of loss and the end of Western Islam caused a growing concern among the Andalusī emigrants about the preservation of their culture, which explains not only the diffusion of Maghrebi works in the East but also the increase in the composition of anthologies of every kind in order to gather all this intellectual Andalusī heritage. This regret was maintained until after the expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain (1019/1611),³ as attested by the scholar Tlemcen al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), who composed his famous anthology *Nafh al-ṭīb* in memory of al-Andalus's past and at the request of the Damascus 'ulamā' desiring to know the glories of al-Andalus.⁴

At the same time, in this period of territorial regression and ideological exaltation of Islam that took place in the Western Muslim kingdoms, caused in part by the Christian threat, authors of written works had become increasingly concerned about issues of authorship, plagiarism, and fame. This was the case with the Granadian historian Ibn al-Khaṭīb but also with other authors, like Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Marzūq, Ibn Khaldūn, and many others. This involved not just Westerners, but also Easterners, including Mamluk scholars such as al-Suyūṭī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Sakhāwī, some of whom were accused of plagiarism (we know that al-Suyūṭī wrote a small treatise criticizing plagiarism entitled *al-Fāriq bayna al-muṣannif wa-l-sāriq*).⁵

Ibn al-Khaṭīb can be said to have been "obsessed" with the ambition to make his works known to an audience beyond al-Andalus and the Maghreb.

2 For a general view of the Naṣrid kingdom, see Viguera Molíns, *El reino*.

3 Velázquez Basanta, *Relación*, 481–554.

4 Elger, *Adab*, 289–306.

5 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Fāriq*, 27–9; Bauden, *Should*, 159–232.

His privileged position in the court as secretary and vizier of the Naṣrid kingdom, especially with Sultan Muḥammad v, allowed him to establish an extended network of personal and diplomatic relationships that contributed to the spread of his work. Recent studies⁶ have shown the importance of the network of “intellectual kinship” that united scholars across the political divisions of the Islamic world. This cultural network—established mainly through the teaching method of the *ijāzas*—was fundamental in the intellectual, cultural, and political development of the Islamic world, especially in the 14th and 15th centuries.⁷ In this study, I will try to situate Ibn al-Khaṭīb in such a network by putting together hitherto scattered or ignored data in order to recover the ways in which he succeeded in making some of his works travel beyond the limits of the Maghreb, especially in Mamluk Egypt. For this purpose, we will focus mainly on two Maghrebi personalities from Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s network who settled in Cairo. One is well known for his relationship with the Granadian vizier, the Tunisian Ibn Khaldūn. On the other hand, hardly anything is known about the Tlemecene Ibn Abī Ḥajala’s relationship with Ibn al-Khaṭīb and his fundamental role in the dissemination of his works. For the study of this triple relationship, we will present testimonies that show us how this network took place and the reception and use of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s works by these two authors in Mamluk Cairo. Finally, we will mention other Mamluk authors who knew and used the works of the Granadian polymath, with special reference to the Tlemecene author of the 17th century, al-Maqqarī.

In a general way, we can say that Ibn al-Khaṭīb employed some means at his disposal to make his works known. We are aware that he participated in many diplomatic embassies to the Maghreb and North Africa,⁸ sent letters to Mamluk sultans and Medina and Mecca amirs,⁹ and also had an attorney in Egypt, Abū ‘Amr b. al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī, who was his trusted person in those territories.¹⁰

6 See Fromherz, Ibn Khaldūn, 288–305; Binbas, *Intellectual*, 1–75.

7 In the case of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the diffusion through the *ijāzas* was very important, but Lisan’s contemporaries, such as Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numayrī, Ibn Ḥizb Allah, and some others spread across the Maghreb and with them their works. See Ženka, 306–39.

8 Jreis Navarro, *El extraño*, 81–100.

9 Ibn al-Khaṭīb recognizes in one of his works that due to the great pressure of the Christian kingdoms, it was important to do everything possible to get the help of the Muslim kingdoms of the East, especially once relations with the North African kingdoms got colder at the end of the reign of Muḥammad v. In this sense, we can also understand the diffusion of his works from a political point of view. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitāb* i, 320.

10 In relation to his famous brother, the poet of the Naṣrid court; see Lirola Delgado and López, Ibn al-Ḥāyṣ iii, 642–3.

2 Ibn Abī Ḥajala's Role

Ibn Abī Ḥajala (1325–75),¹¹ a scholar from Tlemcen who settled in Egypt¹² and who was always aware of the situation in the Maghreb and al-Andalus, maintained a fluid correspondence with Ibn al-Khaṭīb and was the main recipient of his work in Cairo. It all started when Ibn Abī Ḥajala sent Sultan Muḥammad v in Granada a copy of his celebrated work *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, approximately around 767/1365. The book was well received and much talked about, leading to Ibn al-Khaṭīb being challenged to reply with another work.¹³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb accepted the challenge and composed his work *Rawḍat al-ta'rīf*, based on divine love in opposition to the carnal and passionate love of the *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself explains in the prologue of his *Rawḍa*:¹⁴

أما بعد، فإنه لما ورد على هذه البلاد الاندلسية ... ديوان الصبابة، وهو الموضوع الذي اشتمل من أبطال العشاق على الكثير، واستوعب من اقوالهم الحديثه والقديمة كل نظم ونثر ... و سما به الجدد صعدا إلى المجلس السلطاني ... نخصته عين استحسانه - ابقاه الله - بلحظة لحظ ... و صدرت إليّ منه الإشارة الكريمة بإملاء في فنّه، والمنادمة على بنت دنة ... ومتى قورن المثرى بالمترب، او وزن المشرق بالمغرب؟ شتان بين من تُجلى الشمس منة فوق منصتها، وبين من يشره أفقه المغربي لإبتلاع قرصتها ... عن لي أن أذهب بهذا الحب المذهب المتأدي إلى البقاء، الموصل إلى ذروة السعادة في معارج الإرتقاء ... حب الله الموصل إلى قربه.

When he came to al-Andalus ... the *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, which is a work that collects a lot of prominent men who felt a passionate love, and includes [in it] his modern and ancient words, both in verse and in prose ... [the *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*] was discussed in the *majlis* of the sultan [Muḥammad v] ... who paid attention to it—May God keep him—and found it good ... and he suggested me to compose [a similar work] on [passionate love] and wine ... but, how could the earth touch the sky, or compare East with

11 For the biography of Ibn Abī Ḥajala, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ* i, 107–10; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt* vi, 444–5; Gruendler, *Ibn Abī Ḥajala (1325–75)*, 118–26.

12 For a general perspective of the political events of this Mamluk period, see Irwin, *Middle*, 125–51; Van Steenberg, *Order*.

13 As we shall see, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in his introduction to his work *al-Rawḍat al-ta'rīf*, 80–7, tells us that he was encouraged to write this work by Sultan Muḥammad v, while in a letter sent to Ibn Khaldūn in the year 768/1367, he tells us that it was his friends and colleagues who encouraged him to this task.

14 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rawḍa*, 80–3.

the West? What a difference there is between an Oriental and a Western! ... [I]t occurred to me to take this love along the path that leads to eternity, the one that leads to the summit of happiness through the ascension stairs ... [that is] the love of God, the one that takes [you] near him.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb repeats this idea in some verses he dedicated to Ibn Abī Ḥajala:¹⁵

وجعلتُ الإملاء على حمل مؤازرته ... وقلتُ أخطب مؤلف كتاب الصبابة:
يا من أدار من الصبابة بيننا قدحاً ينمُّ المسكُ من رياه
وأنى يريحان الحديث فكهما سمح النديم براحه حياه
أنا لا أهتم بذكر من قتل الهوى لكن أهتم بذكر من أحياه

I started writing to answer [*Dīwān al-ṣabāba*] ... and I said when I wrote to its author:

- 1) Oh who with his [*Dīwān*] *al-ṣabāba* made the cups circulate between us,
while the fragrance of his musk expands.
- 2) He brought the myrtle (*al-rayḥān*) of the conversation, and each time
allows the diner to rest, vivifies it.
- 3) I am not willing to mention those whom passion killed,
But I want to remember those who [the passion] resurrected.

As soon as Ibn al-Khaṭīb completed his *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf*, he sent a letter dated December 25, 1367 to Ibn Khaldūn, who was at that time in Tlemcen, in which he informed his friend that he had sent a copy of the *Rawḍat* to the Sufi Khanqah of Saʿīd al-Suʿadā¹⁶ in Cairo that was led by Ibn Abī Ḥajala. He actually explained that he had sent it together with a copy of another of his works, his biographical dictionary of famous Granadian notables and scholars (*al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*) as well as with other works of his, the titles of which remain unspecified.¹⁷ According to the letter, Ibn al-Khaṭīb already knew that his works were having some impact:

¹⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rawḍa*, 86.

¹⁶ About this hermitage, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ* 282–5.

¹⁷ The letter was preserved by Ibn al-Khaldūn, *Riḥlat* 111–2.

وأما ما يرجع إلى ما يتشوف إليه ذلك الكمال من شغل الوقت، فصدرت تقايد وتصانيف ... منها: أنّ كتاباً رفع إلى السلطان في المحبة، من تصنيف ابن أبي بجلة من المشاركة، أشار الأصحاب بمعارضته، فعارضته. وجعلت الموضوع أشرف، وهو محبة الله، بجاء كتاباً ادعى الأصحاب غرابته. وقد وجه إلى إلى المشرق صحبة كتاب تاريخ غرناطة وغيره من تأليفي، و تعرفت تحببته بخانقاه سعيد السعداء من مصر. واثال الناس عليه وهو في لطافة الأغراض يتكلف أغراض المشاركة ... والله يزرق الإعانة في انتساخه وتوجيهه.

And as regards what you [perfection] would like [to know] about my occupations during my [free] time: some notes and works have arrived ... among them: a book about love has been sent to the sultan [Muḥammad v], composed of Ibn Abī Ḥajala, an oriental. Some colleagues have suggested that I give him a reply and that's what I did. I made the subject nobler, the love of God. It is a work that colleagues have considered strange. It has been sent to the East together with the [*Kitāb*] *Tāriḫ Gharnāṭa* and other of my works. When it became known that [those books] were available as an endowment in the Khanqah of Sa'īd al-Su'adā' in Egypt, the people have gone in great numbers [to consult it], since [it contains] subtleties that resemble those of the Orientals ... may God help me to make a copy and send [it to you].

The availability of such works in the Khanqah¹⁸ was decisive for their diffusion among Mamluk scholars. Ibn Abī Ḥajala, moreover, had been very positive in his reception of the *Rawḍat al-ta'rif*, especially because he found in that work strong criticism of a group of Sufis who professed the doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), such as al-Shushtarī, Ibn Sab'īn, Ibn Hūd, Ibn Aḥlā, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and Ibn 'Arabī—all of whom Ibn Abī Ḥajala considered to be heretics.¹⁹ Thus, Ibn Abī Ḥajala mentions Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his work *Ṣarā'ih al-naṣā'ih*,²⁰ a compendium of accusatory *fatwās* that formed the final part of his *Dīwān Ghayth al-'arīḍ fī mu'araḍat Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, specifically in the advice n° 14 where he says:

18 See, for the Khānqāh institution in the Mamluk Period, Homerin, Saving 59–83; Fernandes, *Evolution* 96–113; Fernandes, Mamluk 87–98; Hofer, Popularization.

19 In relation to this orthodox criticism in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works and its use by Ibn Abī Ḥajala, see Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi* 172–84.

20 Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Ṣarā'ih* 41.

قال الشيخ العلامة المفتن ذو الوزارتين لسان الدين أبو عبد الله محمد بن الخطيب ... في كتابه "روضة التعريف بالحب الشريف" الذي عارض به كتابي "لما وصل إليه إلى الغرب وأرسله إليّ من مدينة غرناطة المحروسة".

The shaykh, the imam, the erudite, the ingenious, and the possessor of the double vizierate, Lisān al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Khaṭīb ... said in his work *Rawḍat al-ta’rīf bi-l-ḥubb al-sharīf*, with which he gave a reply to my work *al-Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, when it came to the West and then he sent me [his work] from the protected city of Granada.

And later on in the same work,²¹ Ibn Abī Ḥajala says in relation to Ibn Sab’īn:

وقد تقدّم في كلام لسان الدين أبي عبد الله بن الخطيب في رأي أهل الوحدة المطلقة من المتوغلين أنّ ابن سبعين كبيرهم الذي علمهم السحر، و حكى عنه أيضاً في كتابه "الإحاطة بتاريخ غرناطة" الذي أرسله إليّ من الاندلس.

And we have already mentioned the words of Lisān al-Dīn Abī ‘Abdallāh b. al-Khaṭīb about his opinion of those who have entered into the doctrine of absolute unity, [and that is] that Ibn Sab’īn is the worst of them, the one who taught them magic, and spoke of him [Ibn al-Khaṭīb] also in his book *al-Iḥāṭa bi-ta’rīkh Gharnāṭa*, which he sent me from al-Andalus.

From this testimony, it seems that Ibn al-Khaṭīb possibly sent a personal copy of his works to Ibn Abī Ḥajala, in addition to those he sent as a pious legacy to Sa’īd al-Su’adā’, but we still do not have proof of this.

When Ibn Abī Ḥajala received the work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, it is likely, as suggested by Emil Homerin, that he composed some verses in gratitude and praise of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s work in response to the verses that his Granadian colleague had included in the *Rawḍa*: “I sincerely love every Sufi, / and I am attuned to every lover / Yet I knew no station in love /until Instruction on noble Love (*al-Ta’rīf bi-l-ḥubb al-sharīf*) arrived.”²²

21 Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Ṣarā’ih al-naṣā’ih* 72.

22 See the complete translation in Homerin, Ibn Abī Ḥaḡalah 25–6; Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Dīwān* 188.

Similarly, in the *Dīwān* of Ibn Abī Ḥajala, another poem is collected in honor of Ibn al-Khaṭīb.²³

Another important work of Ibn Abī Ḥajala that testifies to this relationship between the two scholars is his *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*,²⁴ in which Ibn Abī Ḥajala quotes Ibn al-Khaṭīb several times. In one of the *maqāmas* (*al-Maqāma al-Kutubīyya*), recently studied by Maurice A. Pomerantz,²⁵ Ibn Abī Ḥajala laments the decline of the Cairo book market and how this problem needed to be solved. According to him, important books such as *Kunāsāt al-dukkān* or *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fī-l-dawla al-naṣriyya*, both by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, were necessary for an adequate intellectual formation.²⁶

In the same work,²⁷ Ibn Abī Ḥajala describes his own work *Ṣarāʾiḥ al-naṣāʾiḥ*, commenting that after the 19 advices, it ends with the biography of nine characters who “spread corruption through Earth and were not virtuous.” He is referring among them to al-Shushtarī, a disciple of Ibn Sabʿīn, whom Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in the words of Ibn Abī Ḥajala, biographed without any reprehensible comment in the *Iḥāta* while criticizing him more openly in the *Rawḍat*:

ثم ختمت التسعة عشر نصيحة المشار إليها، بتسعة رهط ... منهم الششتري المنسوب إلى ششتري
المعتدي الأكبر، أنحس من شيخه ابن سبعين وأكثر ... والعجب كل العجب من لسان
الدين، كيف كفّ عنه لسانه، وثنى عن الإشارة بنانه، حيث ترجمه في كتابه “الإحاطة”، و
عذره الجري على عادته في السترة على المجرم، وسلامة الباطن التي هي من صفات المسلم، على
أنه عرّض في “روضة التعريف” بآثامه وسوء اعتقاده.

And then I concluded the 19 referred advices with the [reference] to nine characters [“that spread corruption through Earth and were not virtuous”], among them was al-Shushtarī, originally from Shushtar, the greatest of the transgressors, most fatal and more apostate than his master Ibn Sabʿīn ... and the most surprising thing about Lisān al-Dīn [Ibn al-Khaṭīb], is how he avoided speaking bad of him and did not point him with the finger when he presented his biography in his work *al-Iḥāta*, and his fault, according to his custom, is the fact to cover up the criminal and

23 Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Dīwān* 74–5.

24 This work has recently been edited by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Mashhadānī.

25 Pomerantz, *Maqāmah* 179–207.

26 Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Manṭiq* 264.

27 Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Manṭiq* 302. The letter is also collected by professor Hayat Qara on page 4 of her edition of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's work entitled *Muqniʿa al-sāʾil ʿan al-maraḍ al-hāʾil*.

preserve the esoteric, which is one of the characteristics of the Muslim; however, he criticized him in his [work] *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf* due to his unicity and his wrong judgment.

As we have seen, despite the admiration that the Tlemecene felt for Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Abī Ḥajala did not hesitate to criticize him for his permissive and condescending attitude toward some of these heterodox Sufis in his famous work *al-Iḥāta bi-akhbār Gharnāta*.

Finally, in *Mantiq al-ṭayr*, Ibn Abī Ḥajala inserted an important fragment of a letter sent to Ibn al-Khaṭīb:²⁸

ومن رسالة إلى الوزير أبي عبد الله بن الخطيب وزير صاحب الاندلس: ووصل قرينه ما تصدق به من الذهب الذي لاح كالشمس في الميزان، وجمع بين خفة الروح وثقالة الجثمان، فاستغنى بصوته عن المطرب، و كاد يُفتن بطلوع شمس من المغرب، فحلّ من داره محلّ الشمس من دائرة الحمل، وطاب به الوقت واعتدل، ودخل جنة إحسانه على ما كان من عمل، وحسن رياشه ولا ينكر حسن الرياش للحجل.

From a letter sent to the vizier Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Khaṭīb, vizier of the lord of al-Andalus: And has reached to his partner the gold that justify [his fame], which shines like the sun when it is in the constellation of Libra and which gather sympathy and seriousness. He has to resign himself to dispense with the charm of his voice and is about to get excited when his sun rises in the west. He occupies in his country the same place that occupies the sun of the constellation of Aries. With him the time has been good and righteous, he entered the garden of goodness for his works, and he enjoyed a comfortable life [in the same way that] one cannot deny the beauty of the feathers of the partridge (*ḥajala*).

There was reciprocity in the admiration between these two scholars. In the first part of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's work, entitled *Kitāb Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, dedicated to the Muslim dynasties of the East, the Granadian scholar used various works by Mamluk authors as sources of information, especially from the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods. Besides mentioning the works of Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, and Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*—we do not yet know if Ibn al-

28 Ibn Abī Ḥajala, *Mantiq* 341.

Khaṭīb handled these sources directly—the most mentioned work is *Sukkar-dān al-sultān* by Ibn Abī Ḥajala, which Ibn al-Khaṭīb considered the best source from the Mamluk period, especially during the three reigns of the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir.²⁹ It seems that Ibn al-Khaṭīb received his copy of the *Sukkar-dān al-sultān* directly from Ibn Abī Ḥajala because when he mentions the reign of the first Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh, he says:³⁰

كذا نسبه أبو العباس بن أبي حجلة فيما كتب إليّ به

And thus was recorded his nasab by Abū l-‘Abbās b. Abī Ḥajala according to what he wrote to me.

3 Taking Advantage of Diplomatic Relations

In the first part of *Kitāb A‘māl al-a‘lām*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb informs us of another important channel for the spread of his works: In addition to the direct delivery of his works to fellow scholars such as Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), Ibn Riḍwān (d. 781/1380 or 783/1382), Ibn Khātima (d. 770/1369), and al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 770/1369 or 771/1370), Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent copies of his works to Muslim rulers, regents, and viziers due to his intense diplomatic activity. This we know through four letters in which the sending of such books is mentioned:

1. One letter, undated, was sent to Yalbulghā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 767/1366),³¹ regent of the Mamluk sultan minor Sha‘bān b. Ḥusayn (r. 764–78/1363–76)³² in which the Granadian author refers to the sending of some of his works without specifying which ones.
2. Another letter,³³ undated, was sent to the supreme *qāḍī* of Egypt, Abū l-Baqā’ al-Subkī, which specifies that the Andalusī vizier sent some of his works to the Mamluk sultan. Ibn al-Khaṭīb included the response letter³⁴

29 The explicit references to the work of Ibn Abī Ḥajala are a total of 16. See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A‘māl* 96, 203, 228, 239, 259, 279, 283, 288, 290, 291, 292, 296, 309, 311, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319.

30 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A‘māl* 259.

31 In relation to this Mamluk political figure, see Van Steenberg, Brink 117–52; Van Steenberg, Amir 423–43.

32 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A‘māl* 321; *Rayḥānat* i, 587; Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ* i, 64–7.

33 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A‘māl* 323; *Rayḥānat* ii, 164–7.

34 This letter was written by the secretary (*kātib*) Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Amawī on Muḥarram 23, 768/September 29, 1366. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A‘māl* 326.

in which the *qāḍī* refers to the fact that the sultan read Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Kitāb al-Iḥāṭa fī tārikh Gharnāṭa* and:

ووقف المملوك أيضاً من تصانيفه الشريفة على "كتاب الإحاطة في تاريخ غرناطة"، فوجدة المملوك تصنيفاً ليس له مثال، وتاريخاً لم ينسج له على منوال.

The humble servant (*mamlūk*) read from his noble works the *Kitāb al-Iḥāṭa fī tārikh Gharnāṭa*, and found it a work without equal and an inimitable chronicle.

3. A letter sent to the amir of Mecca.³⁵
4. A letter sent to the amir of Medina³⁶ in which Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that he has sent to this amir, in addition to the letter, a treatise (*risāla*) and a *qasīda* in honor of the tomb of the Prophet.

4 The Impact of the Availability of a Copy: The Manuscript of the *Iḥāṭa* in Cairo

As we have said, Ibn al-Khaṭīb also sent in his life a copy of his biographical dictionary *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* to the Khanqah Sa'īd al-Su'adā'. This copy was used by many Mamluk scholars as well as Maghrebis who traveled to the East.

The manuscript was described by 'Abdallāh 'Inān in his introduction to his edition of the *Iḥāṭa*,³⁷ where he tells us:

ويجد بمكتبة رواق المغاربة بالأزهار، مجموعة خطية، من اوراق متناثرة من كتاب الإحاطة، تتكون من مائة وسبعين ورقة من القطع المتوسط، ومكتوبة بخط مغربي قديم، وبهامشها تعليقات واستدراكات بخط المقرئ وتوقيعه، وإلى جانب التوقيع سنة 1029هـ. والمظنون أن هذه الاوراق إنما هي بقايا النسخة التي أرسلها ابن الخطيب إلى خانقاه سعيد السعداء بالقاهرة وفقاً على طلبه العلم.

35 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl* 343; *Rayḥānat* i, 206–12; al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ* vii, 47–53.

36 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl*, 344; *Rayḥānat* i, 213–5.

37 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa* i, 15–6.

In the Library of the *Riwāq al-Maghāribā* (The Gallery of the Maghreb), in the Al-Azhar Mosque, there is a collection of scattered and handwritten sheets of the *Iḥāṭa*: There are 170 medium-sized folios written in an ancient Maghrebi handwriting, on whose margins are notes and signed comments by al-Maqqarī dated in 1029/1620. It is thought that these sheets are the remains of the manuscript copy that Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent to the hermitage of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ in Cairo as a pious endowment for the students.

To date, we do not know the whereabouts of this copy. We only have information that the Library of the *Riwāq al-Maghāribā* holds a recent copy of the *Iḥāṭa* (manuscript n° 36146, date 1314/1898) from the 19th century that was made directly from the handwritten copy of Ibn al-Khaṭīb in order to preserve the original manuscript from further deterioration.

Although authors like Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhawī, and al-Suyuṭī used this copy extensively,³⁸ the famous scholar of Tlemecen, al-Maqqarī, is the main figure to know this manuscript and the use made by the contemporary and later Mamluk authors of Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

Al-Maqqarī (984–1041/1577–1632) records³⁹ that the eldest son of Ibn al-Khaṭīb handled this copy in Cairo:⁴⁰

أما علي بن لسان الدين ... وقد رحل رحمه الله تعالى إلى مصر، ولم يحضرنني الآن من احواله بعد دخوله مصر ما أعول عليه، وقد كان وقف بالقاهرة على نسخة الأحاطة التي وجهها أبوه إلى مصر ووقفها بخانقاه سعيد السعداء كما أشرنا إليه فيما مر، فكتب بالحواشي كتابات مفيدة.

ʿAlī b. Lisān al-Dīn ... traveled—God the highest have mercy on him—to Egypt, and I do not find now accurate information about his situation after entering Egypt. He handled and read in Cairo the copy of the *Iḥāṭa* that his father had sent to Egypt as an endowment (*waqf*) in the Khanqah of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ, as we have indicated above. He wrote useful annotations in its margins.

38 See Rosenthal, *History* 472.

39 Some of the passages that we will see below have been studied by Velázquez Basanta, *Nota* 264–85.

40 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh* vii, 301.

Previously he had explained that:⁴¹

و كان لسان الدين ابن الخطيب - رحمه الله تعالى - أرسل في حياته نسخة من الأحاطة إلى مصر، و وقفها على أهل العلم، و جعل مقرها بخانقاه سعيد السعداء، وقد رأيتُ منها المجلد الرابع ... و وقف الفقير إلى رحمة الله تعالى الشيخ ابو عمرو ابن عبد الله بن الحاج (القميري) الاندلسي جميع هذا الكتاب تاريخ غرناطة، و هو ثمانية أجزاء ... و قفاً شرعياً على جميع المسلمين ينتفعون به قراءةً و نسخاً و مطالعةً، و جعل مقره بالخانقاه الصالحية سعيد السعداء ... و جعل النظر في ذلك للشيخ العلامة شهاب الدين ابي العباس أحمد بن حجة.

Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb-God the highest have mercy on him-sent a copy of the *Ihāṭa* to Egypt in life to be deposited as pious endowment for the people of science, at the Khanqah of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ, and I have seen the fourth volume ... and this pious endowment was established by the Shaykh who asks for the mercy of God the highest, Abū ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥājj (al-Numayrī) al-Andalusī of all this book [entitled] *History of Granada* which has eight parts ... as a legal pious endowment for all Muslims to take advantage of it for reading, copying or studying, and deposited it in the pious Khanqah of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ ... and gave its supervision to the wise Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ḥajala.

Ibn Khaldūn,⁴² who had settled in Cairo in the year 784/1382, made ample use of this copy and was also influential in making Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works known. Through the correspondence between the two, we know that Ibn al-Khaṭīb had sent several copies of his works to the Tunisian when the latter was in the Maghreb.⁴³ Ibn Khaldūn seems to have taken them with him to Cairo and used them in his teachings in this city where he had among his students al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar.⁴⁴ Al-Maqqarī furthermore records that al-Baʿūnī (d. 868/1464), a Syrian disciple of Ibn Khaldūn, studied with him the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb:⁴⁵

41 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh* vii, 105–6.

42 For a general approach to the life and works of Ibn Khaldūn, see Manzano Rodríguez, Ibn Jaldūn 578–97; Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn*; Talbi, *Ibn Ḥaldūn* 6–25.

43 See Ibn Khaldūn, *Riḥla* 111–2, 116–8.

44 Despite the numerous studies dedicated to the personal and professional relationship between Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Khaldūn, a deeper analysis of the possible influence of the work of the Granada vizier in the *Kitāb al-ʿibar* of the Tunisian author is still pending.

45 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafh* vi, 192.

لقد رأيت بخط العالم الشهير الشيخ ابراهيم الباعوني الشامي فيما يتعلق بابن خلدون ... في سنة 803 عند قدومه إلى الشام صحبة الملك الناصر فرج ابن الملك الظاهر برقوق في فتنة تمرلنك ... و اكرمه تمرلنك غاية الإكرام، و اعاده إلى الديار المصرية، و كنت أكثر الأتباع به بالقاهرة المحروسة للمودة الحاصلة بيني و بينه، و كان يكثر من ذكر لسان الدين ابن الخطيب، و يورد من نظمه و نثره ما يشنف به الأسماع و ينعقد على استحسانه الأجماع.

And I saw (al-Maqqarī is speaking) written by the hand of the famous and wise Syrian Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ba‘ūnī, in relation to Ibn Khaldūn ... in the year 803/1400, when he arrived in Syria accompanied by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faraj b. al-Malik al-Zāhir Barqūq during the troubles of Timur Lank ... Timur Lank greatly honored [Ibn Khaldūn] and allowed him to return to Egypt. Then I used to meet him in the protected city of Cairo thanks to the great affection that existed between us two. He often mentioned Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (in his classes), and quoted from his poetry and his prose what ecstatic the ears and everyone likes about it.

Among many of the Mamluk scholars who made use of the copy of the *Iḥāṭa* available in Cairo, Badr al-Dīn al-Bishtakī⁴⁶ (d. 830/1426–7), a student of Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Ḥajar, and Ibn Abī Ḥajala, made a compendium entitled *Markaz al-Iḥāṭa bi-udabā’ Gharnāṭa*, of which there are currently five manuscripts: Berlin, Paris, Manchester, Leipzig, and Cambridge.⁴⁷ Al-Maqqarī knew of this compendium⁴⁸ and told us about it:

أما كتاب الأحاطة فهو الطائر الصيت بالمشرق والمغرب، والمشاركة أشد إعجاباً به من المغاربة، وأكثر لهجاً بذكره، مع قلته في هذه البلاد المشرقة، وقد اعتنى باختصاره الأديب الشهير البدر البشتكي، و سماه مركز الإحاطة في أدباء غرناطة و هو في مجلدين بخطه، رأيت الاخير منهما بمصر، و قال في آخيره ما نصه: هذا آخر ما أردت إرادته، و فوّت أبراده، من كل طرفة و تحفة و فائدة أدبية و نادرة تاريخية، في كتاب الإحاطة بتاريخ غرناطة، و لما كان المعول عليه، و الباعث الداعي إليه، ذكر أدبائه، و ما أثر علمائه، سمّيته مركز الإحاطة بأدباء غرناطة ...

46 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’* iii, 392–3; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt* ix, 282–3; Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’* v, 277–9.

47 See Bourhalla, *El Markaz* 17–25.

48 Al-Maqqarī, *Naḥḥ* vi, 88.

وقد جعل كل أربعة أجزاء من الأصل في مجلد، إذ هو في مجلدين كما سبق، ونسخة الأصل في ثمانية مجلدات، فنقص من الأصل ثلاثة أرباع أو أكثر.

As regards the book of the *Iḥāṭa*, it is the bird whose fame is known in both the East and the West, and the Orientals admire it more than Westerners, and cite it to a greater extent, despite the scarcity [of information it contains] about the East. And the famous literary man al-Badr al-Bishtakī summarized it and called it *Markaz al-Iḥāṭa bi-udabā' Gharnāṭa*, in two volumes in his own handwriting, the second of which I have seen in Egypt, and he said at the end of the same: This is the end of what I wanted to record, listing their robes with every novelty, gift and literary usefulness, [with every] historical anecdote that exists in the book *al-Iḥāṭa bi-ta'riḫh Gharnāṭa*, and since its purpose and main intention is the mention of its literari and the deeds of its sages, I have called it *Markaz al-Iḥāṭa bi udabā' Gharnāṭa ...*

And he made one volume out of the four volumes of the original, and it consists of two volumes, as has been said, since the original copy was eight volumes, thus reducing the original in three quarters or more.

The manuscript of the *Markaz* that exists in Paris (Arabe 3347) includes part of the *ijāza* that Ibn al-Khaldūn granted to al-Bishtakī and in which the transmission of a celebrated epistle of Ibn al-Khaṭīb entitled *Iftirās al-iṣāba ilā iftirāsh al-ināba*⁴⁹ addressed to the Hafsid sultan of Tunisia is mentioned:⁵⁰

باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه ثقتي، سمعتُ هذا الكتاب من لفظ الأمام المهمام الأروع الاعلم قاضي المسلمين أبي زيد عبد الرحمن بن خلدون بمنزله بالقاهرة رابع شهر رجب سنة 793 قال: قرأني هذا الكتاب منشييه الإمام أبو عبد الله لسان الدين بن الخطيب وزير ابن الأحمر بغرناطة و كتب به إلى السلطان جواباً عن كتاب وهدية.

In the name of God, Compasive and Merciful, my trust is placed in him, I heard this letter from the magnanimous splendid and wise Imam, the *qāḍī* of the Muslims Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khaldūn in his house in Cairo on the fourth day of the month of *rajab* in the year 793/1390 and said: This letter was read to me by its author, the Imam Abu 'Abdallāh

49 See Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Rayḥānat* i, 179–202; *al-Iḥāṭa* iv, 561–88; Ibn Khaldūn, *Riḥla* 135–74; Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥī* vi, 536–58.

50 The text is at the end of the manuscript, on sheet 276.

Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, vizier of Ibn al-Aḥmar in Granada and wrote it to the sultan [of Tunisia], in response to a letter from him and a gift [previous].

On his part, al-Maqqarī used the copy of the *Iḥāṭa* available in Cairo to write his works *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* and *Azhār al-riyād*. He also made additions and commentaries to the manuscript,⁵¹ as those who had handled it before had also done, among them ‘Alī b. al-Khaṭīb and the Maghrebi Ibn Marzūq. Ibn Marzūq made additions to his own biography included in the *Iḥāṭa*, additions that were collected by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī⁵² and al-Sakhawī⁵³ in their respective biographies dedicated to Ibn Marzūq.

Finally, al-Maqqarī informs us⁵⁴ of the handling of this work by several Mamluk and Western authors who traveled to Cairo, some of whom left their signature on the manuscript when they consulted it in the hermitage of Sa‘īd al-Su‘adā’:⁵⁵

وقد رأيت بظهر أول ورقة من هذه النسخة خطوط جماعة من العلماء، فمن ذلك ما كتبه الحافظ المقرئ المورخ، ونصه: انتقى منه داعياً لمؤلفه أحمد ابن علي المقرئ في شهر ربيع سنة ثمان وثمانمائة.

وما رقه السيوطي ونصه: الحمد لله وحده، وطالعت على طبقات النحاة وللغويين، وكتبه عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر السيوطي سنة ثمان وستين وثمانمائة. وبعد هذين ما صورته: انتقى منه داعياً لمؤلفه محمد بن محمد القوصوني سنة أربع وخمسين تسعمائة.

وبعد ما صورته: أنهاه نظراً وانتقاء علي الحموي الحنفي، لطف الله به. وبخط مولانا العارف الرباني علامة الزمان وبركة الالوان سيدي الشيخ محمد البكري الصديقي ما نصه: طالعت مبهجاً رياضته الموثقة، وازهار معانيه المشرقة، مرتقياً في درج كلماته العذاب سماء الاقباس، مقتنياً من لطائفه درراً وجواهر بل أحاشيا بذلك القياس، كتبه محمد الصديقي غفر الله له؛ إنتهى.

51 The study of all these additions and annotations is being analyzed in my current research carried out within the AMOI project (Local contexts and global dynamics: al-Andalus and the Maghreb in the East), directed by Maribel Fierro and Mayte Penelas.

52 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* v, 93–7.

53 Al-Sakhawī, *al-Tuḥfa* iii, 506.

54 Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ* vii, 106.

55 Velázquez, Basanta, Nota 279–80.

And I have seen on the back of the first page of this copy, the texts of a group of scholars, such as what the *hāfiẓ* and historian al-Maqrīzī wrote, whose text is: he selected from it, asking [from God] by its author, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī in the month of *rabīʿ* of the year 808/August 27 to October 24, 1405.

And what the *hāfiẓ* al-Suyūṭī wrote, whose text is: Praise be to God, the One! I read the categories of grammarians and philologists, and it was written by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, the year 868/1463–4. End.

And after these two, there comes something that would be: He selected from it, begging [God] for his author, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qawṣūnī, the year 954/1547–8.

And then, something that would be: He finished the examination and selection of it ‘Alī al-Ḥamawī al-Ḥanafī, God’s goodness be with him!

And from the hand of our lord, the wise master of the era and blessing of time, my lord Shaykh Muhammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣadiqī, whose text is: I read it excited for its elegant gardens and flowers of bright meanings, ascending by the steps of his sweet words to the sky of the literary loan and acquiring of his kindness pearls and precious stones that he cannot avoid imitating. Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīqī wrote it, God forgive him! End.

Al-Maqqarī also mentioned that he saw:

ورأيت بهامش هذه النسخة كتابة جماعة من أهل المشرق والمغرب كابن دقاق والحافظ ابن حجر وغيرهما من أهل مصر، ومن المغاربة ابن المؤلف أبي الحسن علي بن الخطيب، والخطيب الكبير سيدي أبي عبد الله ابن مرزوق، والعلامة أبي الفضل ابن الإمام التلمساني، والنحوي الراعي، والشيخ الفهامة الشهير يحيى العجيسي شارح ألفية وصاحب التأليف، وغير هؤلاء ممن يطول تعدادهم، رحم الله تعالى جميعهم.

And I have seen in a note on the margin of this copy the signature of a group of Orientals and Westerners, such as Ibn Duqmāq; the *hāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar, and others of the people of Egypt; and among Westerners, the author’s son, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Khaṭīb, the great preacher and my lord Abū ‘Abdallāh b. Marzūq; the sage Abū l-Faḍl Ibn al-Imam al-Tilimsānī; the grammarian [Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad] al-Rāʿī, the famous and smart Shaykh Yaḥya al-‘Ayīsī, commentator of the *Alfiyya* and author of [other] works, as well as others that would be lengthy to tell, mercy on them all!

In the absence of a more in-depth study of the exact use that Mamluk authors gave to the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, not only the *Iḥāṭa*, we can see in the following list a general overview of the Mamluk authors who directly handled the copy of the Cairo *Iḥāṭa* by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (and in some cases also two other works, the *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb* and the *Rawḍat al-ta'rif*):

1. Ibn Abī Ḥajala (d. 776/1375): *Manṭiq al-tayr* and *Ṣarā'ih al-naṣā'ih*⁵⁶
2. Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397): *Dībāj al-mudhab*⁵⁷
3. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449): *al-Durar al-Kāmina*,⁵⁸ *Inbāʿ al-Ghumr*,⁵⁹ and *al-Majmaʿ al-muʿassis*⁶⁰
4. Ibn Duqmāq⁶¹ (d. 809/1407): ?
5. Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434): *Jizānat al-adab*,⁶² *Thamarāt al-awraq*,⁶³ *Qahwat al-inshāʿ*,⁶⁴ and *Kashf al-lithām*⁶⁵
6. al-Qalqashandī (d. 820/1418): *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*⁶⁶
7. al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442): *al-Muqaffā l-kabīr*,⁶⁷ *Durar al-ʿuqūd*,⁶⁸ and *al-Sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*⁶⁹
8. Badr al-Dīn al-Bishtakī (d. 829/1426–7): *Markaz al-Iḥāṭa bi udabāʾ Ghar-nāṭa*⁷⁰
9. Ibn Tagrībirdī (d. 874/1470): *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*⁷¹
10. al-Baʿūnī⁷² (d. 868/1464): ?
11. al-Sakhawī (d. 901/1496): *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, and *Wajīz al-kalām fī dhayl ʿalā duwal al-islām*⁷³

56 We can see the use of the Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works by this author in the texts quoted above.

57 See Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībāj* i, 187, 188, 398; ii, 57, 71, 111, 119, 121, 264.

58 See, for instance, Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar* i, 94–5; v, 219.

59 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʿ* i, 91–3, 206–7.

60 See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Majmaʿ* ii, 436, 628, 636–7; iii, 160, 310.

61 We know, as we have seen thanks to al-Maqqarī, that this author used the manuscript of the *Iḥāṭa* located in Cairo in his works, but we still do not know in which of them he made this use. Probably it was in his, now lost, history.

62 See Ibn Ḥijja, *Jizānat* i, 33, 35, 81, 112; ii, 241.

63 See Ibn Ḥijja, *Thamarāt* ii, 127, 130.

64 See Ibn Ḥijja, *Qahwat* 347–8, 406–8.

65 See Ibn Ḥijja, *Kashf* 153.

66 See, for instance, al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ* i, 129; vi, 458, 535; vii, 50, 61, 64, 67, 70, 74.

67 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā* ii, 66.

68 See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* iii, 443–8.

69 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* iv, 264; vi, 280.

70 See what we have said above about al-Bishtakī's work, a resume of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *al-Iḥāṭa*.

71 Ibn Tagrībirdī, *al-Manhal* iv, 10; v, 336–7.

72 Like Ibn Duqmāq we do not yet know in which work/s he made use of the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

73 See the use of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's works by al-Sakhawī in Rosenthal, *History* 457–501.

12. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448): *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba*⁷⁴
13. al-Suyūṭī (d. 910/1505): *Bughyat al-wu'āt*⁷⁵
14. ¿Ibn Shāhīn (d. 919/1514): ¿*Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal*?⁷⁶

5 Conclusion

In view of the above, we can extract two main ideas. The first is that the ambition and concern of the Granada vizier to make his works known in the East had the success that his author wanted. In my opinion, he had more success than he was aware of in his life because after his death in 776/1374, the diffusion of his works increased until the second half of the 18th century. This need of Ibn al-Khaṭīb to “internationalize” his intellectual production in those eastern territories was not accidental. To his personal and intellectual concerns to achieve this goal, two very important factors were added. The first was the high position he reached in the Naṣrid court, first as secretary of Sultan Yūsuf I and his son Muḥammad v, and then reaching full power as grand vizier of the latter. This circumstance evidently facilitated his international relations and contributed greatly to the sending of his works to the East. The second factor, closely linked to the first, is related to the political situation of the Naṣrid kingdom. During the first century of the life of the Granada kingdom (from the second half of the 12th century until the first half of the 13th century), the latter had its sights set on the Western kingdoms, both Christian and North African, in such a way that one can speak in cultural terms of a “Westernization.” However, from the second half of the 14th century until the end of the Islamic presence in the peninsula, which happened in 897/1492 with the delivery of the city of Granada, the growing and unstoppable Christian threat caused a withdrawal of the Naṣrid amirate, which from that time put its sights on the East as a point of reference on which to rely. This led to a process of “Orientalization” and rejecting any Western influence, although in practice it could not avoid it completely.⁷⁷ So, this preference for the Islamic kingdoms of the East, which were seen both politically and economically safer and more powerful, inevitably favored the spread of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s works to those eastern territories.

74 See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh* ii, 178, 439, 497–8, 701–3.

75 See in the text above al-Suyūṭī’s signature in the *al-Iḥāṭa* copy of Cairo.

76 The use of the work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb by this author requires further analysis. For this reason it appears between question marks.

77 See the recent study about the relationship of the kingdom of Granada with the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt, coordinated by Calvo Capilla, *Las artes*.

What I have presented here is part of a work in progress in which my aim is to document all the channels through which Ibn al-Khaṭīb's work became known in the East. This is part of a larger project, of which I am a member, that studies how knowledge about the Maghreb became integrated into historical and other works by Mashriqī scholars (AMO1). Obviously, this is a very complex issue that requires the study and analysis of other ways of diffusion of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's work, such as the transmission through his numerous disciples, both in al-Andalus and in the Maghreb, who, when emigrating to the East, either to make the pilgrimage or because of their desire to settle there, took with them their *iyāzas* and fragments of the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. An example of this is the wise Meccan Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429) who made use in his *Iḍāḥ bughyat alh al-baṣāra fī dhayl al-Ishāra*⁷⁸ of the texts brought to the East by a disciple of Ibn al-Khaṭīb named al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Fāsī al-Tinmālī (743–811/1342–1408),⁷⁹ who was born in Malaga.

In the specific case that I have presented here, Cairo and the presence of two Maghrebis—Ibn Abī Hajala and Ibn Khaldūn—who had settled there played a decisive role in constructing Ibn al-Khaṭīb's fame. Their training and their interests made them continue to look to the West. They corresponded with Maghrebis, including Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself, and wanted to be kept informed of what was going on in the lands they had left. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's role was nevertheless decisive: He took care of sending copies to Egypt through different channels and was undoubtedly aware that his works would provide scholars in the Mashriq with information that was needed on the history of al-Andalus. But he was also convinced of the high quality of his own production, an appraisal that appears to have been shared by those who read him.

Finally, we can say that the case of Ibn al-Khaṭīb is not an isolated one. The information provided by the Granadian vizier and many other Western authors about the history of the Western territories, through the diffusion of their works in the East, mainly during the 14th and 15th centuries, contributed to the molding of the imagination of the Western history produced by Eastern, mainly Mamluk, authors, who obtained their information by consulting all these Western works. A significant example is the aforementioned al-Maqqarī who supplied a Syrian audience, eager for news about the past of the West,

78 Al-Fāsī, *Iḍāḥ* 352, 353, 399, 425. I want to highlight here that Professor J. Zenka will soon publish a study about this scholar.

79 I am currently carrying out a study on the diffusion in the East of the work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb through his disciples whose results I hope to publish soon.

with all the Andalusian and Maghrebi legacy that he could carry with him on his trip to Egypt and Syria. The extent of this contribution is still difficult to measure. In the case of our author Ibn al-Khaṭīb, it is necessary to know what texts from his works were adopted by the eastern authors who used his works as sources. This is a very interesting issue that will be the focus of our future research.

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