

Abu Hayyan Al-Andalusi: An Andalusian Arab Linguist in the Mamluks

Sümeyye Doğru

PhD, International Institute of Islamic Civilisation and Malay World (ISTAC), International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Kuala Lumpur/Malaysia

sumeyyeyagan@gmail.com

M. Emin Doğru

PhD, Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science (IRKHS), International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Kuala Lumpur/Malaysia

memincandogru@gmail.com

Arrival date: 10-07-2019 Acceptance date: 28-08-2019

Abstract

Despite numerous centres of Islamic sciences, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo have reached the peak for centuries after the appearance and the expansion of Islam, and many connoisseur scholars raised in these regions, likewise, immense resources were composed there. In this context, Mamluks, who carried the madrasas developed by the Seljuk period to the summit with the inheritance they took over from the Ayyubids, became the Golden Age of this period. Further to that, identified *lost paradise*, Andalusia was the unique centre of the Islamic world in West due to its geo-cultural position and exclusive features in social and educational life and played a decisive role in changing and reconstruction the dark ages of West world. This article on the life history of Abu Hayyan, an essential Middle age figure, focuses particularly on the impress that the Arabic language had, by analysing the role of different regions within the framework of the religious training, and moreover, adverts the educational policies of Andalusia and Mamluks. The main object of the study is to reveal the major stages of the author's life cycle in some aspects through the eyes of the Islamic biographical literature's specialists. This essay similarly intends to demonstrate Abu Hayyan's position, who had an observable effect on various Islamic sciences and gained his fame in syntax, in a real sense by including the author's scholars and works. Starting from the significance of Abu Hayyan, who guided a great number of authors through length of life, the article concludes with the influence of both mentioned regions on him.

Keywords: Abu Hayyan, Mamluks, Andalusia, Arabic language.

Memlüklüler Devrinde Endülüs'ü Bir Arap Dilbilimcisi: Ebu Hayyan el-Endelusi

Sümeyye Doğru

Dr., Uluslararası İslam Medeniyeti Enstitüsü (ISTAC), Malezya Uluslararası İslam Üniversitesi (IIUM), Kuala Lumpur/Malezya
sumeyyeyagan@gmail.com

M. Emin Doğru

Dr., İslami İlimler ve İnsan Bilimleri (IRKHS), Malezya Uluslararası İslam Üniversitesi (IIUM), Kuala Lumpur/Malezya
memincandogru@gmail.com

Geliş Tarihi: 10-07-2019 Kabul Tarihi: 28-08-2019

Öz

İslam tarihinde Bağdat, Şam ve Kahire ilmi çalışmaların yapıldığı yerler arasında zirveye ulaşmıştır. Ayrıca bu bölgelerde sayısız alim yetişmiş ve muazzam eserler ortaya konmuştur. Bu noktada, Selçuklularda önemli müesseseler olan medreseleri Eyyübilerden devralan Memlüklüler, bu kurumlarla birlikte İslami ilimlerin altın çağını yaşamıştır. Diğer yandan, kayıp cennet olarak bilinen Endülüs gerek jeolojik ve kültürel yönden gerekse de sosyo-eğitim alanındaki kendine has özelliklerinden dolayı İslam dünyasının Batı'daki yegane merkezi haline gelmiş ve Batı'nın karanlık çağının değişmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu iki bölge arasında yetişen meşhur İslam alimi ve Arap dili uzmanı Ebu Hayyan el-Endelusi'nin hayatı hakkında malumatların yer alacağı bu makalede, konu çeşitli bölgelerde aldığı dini eğitimlerin müellife etkisi çerçevesinde işlenecektir. Bu çalışmanın ana gayesi ise, Ebu Hayyan'ın hayatındaki evreleri tabakat eserlerinde yer alan bilgiler doğrultusunda ortaya koymaktır. Ayrıca çeşitli İslami ilimlerde özellikle de nahiv alanında katkılar sunan yazarın bu alandaki hocalarını ve eserlerini ortaya koymak bu makalenin bir diğer amacıdır. Hayatı boyunca önde gelen pek çok alimi yetiştiren müellifin öneminin vurgulandığı yazı, Mısır'ın ve Endülüs'ün Ebu Hayyan'a etkisiyle nihayete erecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ebu Hayyan, Memlük, Endülüs, Arap dili.

Introduction

Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi, who gained fame in his time in the field of Qiraat studies, Quran exegesis (tafsir) and especially Arabic philology and who left his mark on the seventh century of hijra era, was assumed to be an authority by making a distinguished name for himself in the following centuries. Born and raised in Granada, the author completed his primary education there and having such an environment of cultural wealth, he travelled to the neighbouring provinces and North Africa where he met many professors with different perspectives. As an intellectual, Abu Hayyan devoted his life to studying without stopping, and ultimately, arrived in Egypt, the centre of science under the Mamluks in that century and became an expert in the field of Islamic sciences under the auspices of many famous scholars of the age. All the concatenated occasions had

enabled him to approach the issues from a scientific perspective in different dimensions, indeed, to have a voice in the definite scientific fields, most of all in the Arabic language.

The main purpose of this present study forms a historical framework to demonstrate an outline of the life of the above-mentioned author in general terms. With this context, initially, information about the life of this scholar introduced above will be given. Later, as much as possible after acquiring general information about the first phase of his life, the basic Islamic education period in Granada, his hometown, his journeys for education in the pathway of being accomplished and his teachers there who pioneered for this sacred aim, the rings he participated in will all be mentioned. The other aim of exhibiting this information is to reveal how rich and comprehensive the author's gains in his long-time voyage to obtain Islamic

sciences are. In this study, where the family will also be specified under a title, another to be dealt with is the precious works, some of which are booklets and some of them are works of volume. In order to comprehend the background of Abu Hayyan scientific thought and perspective on life, some aspects of the socio-cultural and educational life of Andalusia and Egypt-Mamluks during the certain period will be discussed here in a very general sense. Last but not least, it should be accentuated that some of Abu Hayyan's studies on the Arabic language, which evaluated the works of Ibn Malik and Ibn Usfur by the author, will be scrutinised in the next study by presenting the reasons.

Life History of Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi

a. Earlier Life of Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi

The full name of the author titled Abu Hayyan is Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn 'Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Hayyan. In addition to being known as Al-Andalusi, the author's other notable attributed names are as follows; al-Gharnati, al-Jayyani¹, al-Misri, al-Cairi, en-Nifzi², al-Jubbi, al-Maghribi, al-Shafi'i, al-Maliki, al-Zahiri, al-Nahwi, and al-Athari. Besides, the professor's nickname is Athir al-Din³ a name in which he became famous in Egypt and Damascus. A member of a Berber family, Abu Hayyan mentioned the place and the date of his birth on the certificate of permission (ijazah) which he gave to his student al-Safadi. Accordingly, the author was born in Mataksharash⁴, a small

settlement in the city of Granada in 654H/1256AD towards the end of Shawwal (November). Granada⁵ was notable for a place where multiple cultural structures and societies from different religions live together in days of yore. Apart from the residence of the author, there is neither detailed information about his childhood years nor information about his father and mother. However, there are various journeys starting from the place where he lived, with whom he studied, which sciences and where he was situated to receive training were discovered. It is also known that he had participated in scientific councils since he was a child.⁶

b. His Educational Background

The basic declared information about Abu Hayyan is he initially started to study Quranic sciences in Granada⁷. Facts provided by sources indicates that the author takes education from prominent scholars of his period in the basics of Islamic beliefs and practices and subsequently in the fields of Qur'an, hadith, Arabic language specifically morphology (sarf) and syntax (nahv); moreover, he joined hadith rings as well. The author even memorized the Diwan of famous Arab poets (Muallaqat al-Sab'a or 'Asharah) such as Ibn al-Qays, 'Alqamah, al-Nabighah, Zuhair, from an early age. Hayyan not only continued to take Arabic lessons from lecturers but at the same time began teaching Arabic.⁸ Besides, after Granada, he set out to travel around the neighbouring provinces of Andalusia, such as Malaga (it is an Andalusian

¹ The reason for the author's mentioning with al-Jayan's proportions is due to the rumour that his father was originally Jean. This settlement, which is connected to Andalusia, is located to the east of the city of Cordoba, where many towns are connected. See also al-Hamawi, Shihab al-Din Abu 'Abdullah al-Rumi al-Baghdadi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1397H/1993AD, II, 195.

² Nifz is a city name in the Maghreb and is also the name of one of the Barbar tribes. See also al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, V, 296.

³ Al-Kutubi, Salah al-Din Muhammad Shakir al-Darani, *Fawat al-Wafayat*, ed. Ikhsan Abbas, Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1974, IV, 71.

⁴ It is also acknowledged that Matashsharash is a small town of Granada. See al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aibaq, *Ayan al-Asr wa A'wan al-Nasr*, ed. 'Ali Abu Zayd, Nabil Abu Amsa, Muhammad Maw'ed, Mahmoud Salem Muhammad, Beirut, Dar al-Fikr, 1418H/1998AD, V, 328. As a city, see al-Subki, Taj al-Din Abu Nasr Abd al-Wahab, *Tabaqat Shafi'iyyah al-Kubra*, ed. Mahmud ibn Muhammad al-Tanahi, Abd al-Fattah Muhammad al-

Khulw, Qahira: Faisal 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1383H/1964AD, IX, 277.

⁵ Al-Hamawi, Shihab al-Din Abu 'Abdullah al-Rumi al-Baghdadi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1397H/1993AD, IV, 195; See also Mercedes, <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-islam-3/granada>, 05/07/2019.

⁶ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib- The History of the Muhammedan Dynasties in Spain*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos, London: The Oriental Translation Fund, MDCCCXL/1840, I, 424; al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 325.

⁷ Ibn al-Jazari, Shams al-Din Abu al-Khair Muhammad, *Ghayah al-Nihayah fi Taabaqat al-Qurra*, publisher Gotthelf Bergstraesser, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1427H/2006AD, II, 285; Ibn Qadi Shukhbah, Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad Taqiyy al-Din al-Dimashqi, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah*, corrector 'Abd al-Alim Khan, Hyderabad: Dairah Maarif Othmaniyyah, 1399H/1979AD, III, 89, 90.

⁸ Ibn al-'Imad, Shihab al-Din Abu al-Falah Abd al-Hayy al-Hanbali al-Dimashqi, *Shazarat al-Zahab fi Akhbar man Zahab*, ed. Abd al-Qadir Arnaud, Mahmud Arnaud, Beirut: Dar Ibn Kathir, 1413H/1992AD, VIII, 251.

port city on the Mediterranean coast next to Almeria, developed, with a navy base, and where many scientists grew up. It remained under Islamic rule for eight centuries.)⁹, Almeria (it was one of the important port cities of Andalusia and it was one of the most frequented cities of merchants with valuable fabrics)¹⁰, etc.¹¹, and had education in the Qur'an and hadith from the scholars there. Furthermore, it is known that during this journey, Abu Hayyan read recitation of the Quran (qiraat) from Ibn Abu Ahwas, one of the leading teachers of the period in Malaga.¹² Likewise, his other qiraat teachers during his time in Andalusia were; Abd al-Haq ibn 'Ali al-Ansari (670H/1270AD), Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Tabba' (680H/1281AD) and Abu Ja'far al-Zubair (708H/1308AD)¹³. His Arabic language lecturers, on the other hand, were; Abu al-Hasan al-Ubbazi, al-Ishbili Ibn al-Dhai' (680/1281).¹⁴ It should be concisely noted here that later he defended Ibn Dhai's views on the shreds of evidence of Arabic language (istishhad). Abu Hayyan's wandering the provinces resulted in efforts to collect knowledge in every field. In this context, the author had taken the hadith education from the experts in their fields such as Abu al-Izz al-Harrani (788H/1386AD), Abu Zayd Abd al-Rahman al-Tunisi, Muhammad ibn Tarjam (692H/1293AD), Ibn al-Zubair, Abu 'Ali ibn Abu al-Ahmar and Abu Ja'far ibn Bashir (675H/1276AD) and furthermore participated in the hadith circle of Muhammad ibn Abbas al-Qurtubi.¹⁵

The reason for the departure of Abu Hayyan from Andalusia was mentioned in differently in

the sources. In this context, although different dates are given¹⁶, it is known that the author left Andalusia in 677H/1278AD¹⁷. Moreover, he mentioned in his book about the reason for his departure. According to the author, one of the probable reasons was the opportunity to be in the list of successful students to be raised by the scholars and life opportunities of the period such as high salary, food and drink supply for the students in this list were provided in a very comfortable way. Abu Hayyan was concerned that, not accepting this offer may create other obligations and difficulties.¹⁸ Another reason mentioned in addition to the above statement is; when Abu Hayyan was a teenager, he frequently objected to his scholar Abu Ja'far ibn al-Tabba and even wrote a book about his scholar in an attempt to criticize, which was called *al-Īlma fi ifsad ijazah Ibn al-Tabbâ*, this is because he was complained to the authorities by his scholar, and therefore, it was judged by the ruler that Abu Hayyan would be punished. Thus, this led the author to secretly leave Granada as soon as he learned of the decision taken.¹⁹

After Andalusia, Abu Hayyan was in Morocco²⁰ for a few moments and later stayed in various parts of North Africa, followed by Ceuta²¹, and then to Bougie²². Within this period, the author has been in the circles of hadith for a time. Following that he entered awhile into the circles of hadith science in Tunisia and had taken fiqh training from the acknowledged experts there. Some of his scholars in the field of hadith were as follows: Abu Abdullah al-Kanani (699H/1300AD) -Bougie-, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Harun and Abu Yakub Yousuf ibn Ibrahim -Tunisia-. In the fiqh area, he took

⁹ Al-Hamawi, *op. cit.*, V, 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 119.

¹¹ *The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, London: A. Spottiswoode, I, 192.

¹² Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib min Ghushn al-Andalus al-Ratib*, ed. Ikhsan 'Abbas, Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, 1388H/1968AD, II, 540.

¹³ Ibn al-Jazari, *Ghayah al-Nihayah*, II, 249.

¹⁴ For more opinion, see also Ibn al-'Imad, *Shazarat al-Zahab*, VIII, 251, 52.

¹⁵ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 560.

¹⁶ According to al-Maqrizi, the date when Abu Hayyan left Andalusia was 678H/1279AD, however, to al-Makkari, the exact date was 679H/1280AD. For further opinion, see al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 563.

¹⁷ Al-Dimashqi, Shams al-Din Abu al-Mahasin Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Husayni, *Zayl Tazkirah -Huffadh li al-Zahabi*, Beirut: Dar Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1956, p. 23, 24.

¹⁸ Al-Suyuti, Jalal al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman, *Bughyat al-Wuah fi Tabaqat al-Lughawiyun wa al-Nuhat*, ed. Muhammad Abu al-Fadhl Ibrahim, Qahira: 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1384H/1964AD, I, 281.

¹⁹ Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-Kaminah fi Ayan al-Miah al-Thaminah*, Beirut: Dar Ikhya al-Turath al-'Arabi, n.d., IV, 304; al-Dawudi, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Ali, *Tabaqat al-Mufassirin*, Beirut: Dar Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1403H/1983AD, II, 289.

²⁰ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 584.

²¹ It was one of the important port cities of the place called the Moorish region. See also Al-Hamawi, *Mujam al-Buldan*, III, 182.

²² The city was a small port when it had been established, then gradually, the city became an outstanding settlement. *Ibid.*, I, 339.

lessons from Abu al-Abbas al-Ishbili (699H/1300AD). Then, he undertook a journey and arrived in Egypt under the Mamluks and stayed for a while in Alexandria, where he studied the hadith and the Qur'an, soon after settled in Cairo, where he lived for the rest of his life 679H/ 1279AD²³.

After inhabiting in Egypt, he read syntax (nahv) from Abu Nasr ibn al-Nahhas (d. 698H/1299AD), one of the greatest and remarkable grammar scholars of Egypt in the Arabic philology and a significant figure in the field of literature.²⁴ Apart from al-Nahhas, with regard to sources, his preliminary experts in the field of qiraat was 'Ali ibn Yahya al-Hamadani al-Marbuti (680/1281) followed by Abu Tahir al-Maliji (681H/1282AD)²⁵. In the field of hadith, he participated in the lessons of Abd al-Wahhab ibn Hasan ibn al-Furat (687H/1288AD) and Abu Muhammad al-Dimyati (705H/1305AD).²⁶ Additionally, the author took advantage of Shams al-Din al-Isfahani in the field of the scientific principles of Islamic jurisprudence (ilm al-usul).²⁷ However, the issue discussed in the sources did not mention the exact date that the author settled in Egypt even though there was a date given above. He took courses on Arabic literature, and in line with the scientific demands of the author, Abu Hayyan continued to study procedural science, hadith and Qur'an lessons from various scholars. Another significant matter that should be underlined here is the progress of time Abu Hayyan completely adopted the views of the Basra school in the field of syntax (nahv) and became a strong advocate of Sibawayh, one of the pioneers of this school. As expected, he travelled to Hijaz, Baghdad, and Damascus in view of acquiring education before settling in Egypt. During Hijaz, the first stop of the journey, he performed the pilgrimage, as well as given the opportunity to travel to the cities such

as Mecca, Madinah, Menah, Jeddah, Ayzab²⁸, Qana²⁹, Ayla³⁰, Yanbu³¹, to meet and be educated by the scholars there.³²

As a result, the author was educated by prominent scientists in syntax (nahv). According to the author's expression, he has received education from about four hundred and fifty scholars; furthermore, it is noted that he had more than a thousand permission certificates -*ijazah*-³³ and had training purely through *sama'* and *qira'a'*³⁴ from many of his scholars in different settlements.³⁵ In this context, Abu Hayyan, who is a respected expert in Arabic grammar and has a say in the science of syntax (nahv), highlighted his lecturers especially in Arabic language both in Andalusia and Egypt to demonstrate his competence. Hereunder, some adverted linguists are as follows: Abu Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Qatami al-Ishbili Ibn Dhay' (680H/1281AD), Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Halabi Ibn al-Nahhas (698H/1299AD), Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Hushani al-Ubbazi (680H/1281AD), Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Zubair ibn Muhammad ibn al-Zubair al-Thaqafi (708H/1308AD), Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Abu Hajjaj ibn Yousuf al-Fihri al-Labli'dir (691H/1292AD).³⁶ Abu Hayyan also transferred from the Arab linguists by the way of *kitab*. In addition, the author learned hadith in the circle of about four hundred hadith scholars.

It is known that following the journey of Abu Hayyan, Hijaz, he settled in Egypt and after the death of his long-time teacher Ibn Nahhas, he started to teach in his scholar's position and place. Later, he taught morphology (sarf) syntax (nahv), qiraat, hadith and tafsir in certain huge madrasahs under the administration of Mamluks. While in Egypt, he also taught in

²³ Al-Dimashqi, *Zayl Tazkirah*, 24, 25.

²⁴ Al-Kutubi, Salah al-Din Muhammad Shakir al-Darani, *Fawat al-Wafayat*, ed. Ikhsan Abbas, Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1974, IV, 72.

²⁵ Al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 330.

²⁶ Ibn al-Jazari, Ghayah al-Nihayah, II, 249.

²⁷ Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar al-Kaminah*, IV, 45.

²⁸ It was a coastal town in the Red Sea. See al-Hamawi, *Mujam al-Buldan*, IV, 171.

²⁹ It settled in Yemen. See also *ibid.*, IV, 399.

³⁰ Recognised as a coastal city is located between Hijaz and Damascus. See *ibid.*, I, 292.

³¹ Located between the Red Sea and Medina. See *ibid.*, V, 450.

³² Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 560.

³³ Al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 346.

³⁴ Except for those mentioned, he had also received authorization through *munawala* and *ijazah khassah* and *ijazah 'ammah*. See al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 548, 49.

³⁵ Al-Safadi, *op. cit.*, V, 343.

³⁶ Emphasized scholars mainly were relevant to the field of syntax. See; al-Maqrizi, Taqiyy al-Din, *Kitab al-Muqaffa al-Kabir*, ed. Muhammad al-Yalawi, Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1411H/1991AD, VII, 504; al-Dimashqi, *Zayl Tazkirah*, p. 24.

outstanding scientific councils such as al-Jami 'al-Aqmar and Madrasah al-Mansuriyya. It is worth noting that the relationship with the rulers and sultans living in his time was quite good.

Abu Hayyan read an instructive book *al-Muharrar fi Furu' al-Shafi'iyyah*³⁷ and Nawawi's *Muhtasar al-Minhaj* from, a virtuous intellectual, al-Iraqi (704H/1304AD). In addition to this, he gave lessons with the books Sibawayh's *al-Kitab*, which is the main text in terms of the Arabic language, and Ibn Malik's *al-Tashil*, and he recommended them to be read and instructed by his students as well.³⁸ Besides, Abu Hayyan read the books *al-Isharat* of al-Baji (474H/1081AD) and *al-Mustasfa* of al-Ghazali on the fiqh method from his scholar Abu Ja'far al-Zubayr, and al-Amidi's *al-Irshad* on the science of logic from Badr al-Din al-Baghdadi.³⁹ Another noteworthy matter is that the author taught to the great scholars of that time such as Taqiyy al-Din al-Subqi and his son Taj al-Din al-Subqi, al-Ithnavi, Salah al-Din al-Safadi, Ibn Aqil and al-Bulqini.

In the light of all given information above, one of his closest students, al-Safadi touched one's sentiments about the scientific personality of Abu Hayyan and on the following; "*The most hard-working of my scholars were Abu Hayyan. He was always engaged in science, and he set aside all of his time for students or wrote articles.*"⁴⁰ Moreover, he even stressed that no one other than Abu Hayyan was commemorated in the fields of syntax and morphology during those times.⁴¹ Ruaini, another student remained loyal to him, stated that the author was a virtuous, gracious, pleasant oral person and emphasized that he had never seen one like him before.⁴² Consequently, Abu Hayyan left his mark on the centuries with his proficiency in Quran recitation (qiraat) and was also one of the leading scholars in the fields of exegesis of Quran. As a matter of fact, it is known that the author was regarded as one of the significant masters of that era in the field of Arabic

philology; in this respect, he was assumed the titles of "*Sibawayh of the century*"⁴³, "*Master of in the field of syntax-Amir al-muminin fi an-nahv*" and "*Lisan al-Arab*".⁴⁴ In addition, it was obvious that Abu Hayyan was also fluent in Turkish, Persian and Ethiopic; he was known for his expertise in Arabic yet the author had written works in these languages in an effort to indicate his capability in related areas as well.⁴⁵

His Legal School-Madhab-, Creed-Aqedah-and Death

Instead of the thought of the Mu'tazilah and Mujassimah (Anthropomorphism), Abu Hayyan adopted the view of Sunni creed (Aqedah) of Islam which is known as *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. He invariably avoided the unpopular philosophy and logic among the students in Andalusia. Furthermore, he criticized the people who were involved in these sciences and approached about this issue in his works. As such, the author was astonished when he faced those who embraced and tempted to study philosophy in Egypt, which was quite popular among them.⁴⁶

Abu Hayyan was a member of the Maliki sect (madhab) in the early stages of his life under the influence of the place where he was born. Then, while he had not yet embarked on a journey of science to other neighbouring provinces, he entered the Zahiriyah sect, which was the most common and acceptable in Andalusia. Within that time period, Abu al-Abbas al-Ishbili al-Zahid (699H/1300AD) and Abu al-Fadl al-Fihri al-Shantamari became his lecturers in this sect (madhab).⁴⁷ After leaving Andalusia and settling in Egypt, he became a follower of the Shafi'i sect, predominantly the most common sect in that region. Nevertheless, it was underlined that he occasionally advocated the views of Zahiriyah sect.⁴⁸

As for his death, according to general acceptance, Abu Hayyan passed away on Saturday, Safar 28, 745H (10 July 1344) in Cairo, and was buried in Maqbarah al-

³⁷ The work's author is Abu Qasim al-Rafi'i (623H/1226AD).

³⁸ Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 541, 542.

³⁹ Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 547.

⁴⁰ Al-Safadi, *Kitab al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*, ed. Muhammad ibn Mahmud and Ibrahim ibn Sulaiman, Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-'Arabi, 1420H/2000AD, V, 175.

⁴¹ Furthermore, al-Safadi gives detail about the appearance of Abu Hayyan. See idem, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 331, 32.

⁴² Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 565.

⁴³ Al-Subqi, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah al-Kubra*, IX, 276.

⁴⁴ For more information, see al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 325.

⁴⁵ Al-Suyuti, *Bughyat al-Wuah*, I, 282, 283; Glazer, Sidney, "Abu Hayyan al-Gharnati", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 1979, I, p. 126.

⁴⁶ For further information, see, al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 542.

⁴⁷ Al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 343, 345.

⁴⁸ Al-Safadi, *Kitab al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*, V, 176.

Sufiyyah.⁴⁹ Later, in the same year in Rabi' al-Thani, the funeral prayer in absentia was performed in the Damascus Umayyad Mosque. However, there are different opinions regarding the year and date. The western authors stated that Abu Hayyan died in 743H⁵⁰, in addition, the 8th, 18th, and 27th of Safar were mentioned as days in different sources.⁵¹

His Family and Moral Structure

As is known, Abu Hayyan was married and had two children. His wife's name was Zumrud binti Abrak (d. 722H/1322AD), and she was entitled Ummu Hayyan. According to the sources, as an educated woman, she taught in the field of hadith.⁵² As for his children, Abu Hayyan had a son named Hayyan (d. 763H/1363AD) and a daughter named Nudar (d. 730H/1330AD). Hayyan not only received a certificate of permission from both his father and other teachers but also, he was an expert in hadith. In the relevant sources, it is stated that Abu Hayyan loved his daughter very much. Furthermore, Nudar studied the hadith, qiraat, and Arabic language, and she received permission certificate in these fields. al-Zubayr, al-Barzali, and al-Dimyati are some of Nudar's well-known teachers.⁵³ Besides, Abu Hayyan asked for permission from the Mamluk Sultan Sayf al-Din Arghun al-Nasir to bury his daughter Nudar, who passed away at a young age, in the garden of his mansion. In addition, it is noted that the author wrote the work *al-Nudar fi al-Mas'alah 'an Nudar* after his daughter's death, and likewise, some of Abu Hayyan's remarkable stylish poems were for his wife Zumrud and his daughter Nudar.⁵⁴

Abu Hayyan was not the only one who assumed to be a virtuous scholar by his disciples but also was known among people as mild-mannered and genial. Besides, he was a person whose heart is exhilarated with the recitation of the Holy Quran.⁵⁵ According to the statements of Kamal al-Din, while Abu Hayyan was touched by heroic and love poems, poetry about generosity did not affect him at all. Instead of boasting generosity, the author praised himself

for being a frugal person. His student, al-Safadi, attributed the reason for this attitude to Abu Hayyan's distress on his journey of science and to the fact that he had travelled many lands.⁵⁶

Abu Hayyan himself did not like to be talked much about in religious matters, and he disapproved of articulating and discussing the essence and attributes of Allah, the status of prophets, the events that took place between companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the opposition to sectarian imams and the condemnation of undisguised believers. As a result, the statements of the author in his bequest are remarkable in order to give an idea about the moral structure of the author. As a matter of fact, he recommended in this letter that no one can oppress other people except in self-defence, and it should not be underestimated, not to be humiliated, not to be arrogant; moreover, he advised to look after the poverty-stricken people. He also never welcomed the need to joke unnecessarily, to laugh very much or to interfere in people's lives.⁵⁷

Abu Hayyan stayed away from the discussions in kalam and adopted Ibn Taymiyyah's views in the early periods. But after reading *Kitab al-Ashr*, he abandoned to acknowledge him due to the idea that Ibn Taymiyyah was connected to the mujassimah.⁵⁸

Lecturers and Disciples of Abu Hayyan

a. His Lecturers

As mentioned above, Abu Hayyan, who devoted his whole life to science, stated that he had received knowledge from approximately 450 scholars, some of them were women. However, according to his other student al-Ruaini, the author, who has been to Andalusia, Egypt, North Africa, Iraq and Damascus, received education from about five hundred scholars.⁵⁹ In this regard, he mentioned these lecturers as follows; Qadi Abu 'Ali Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Azeez ibn Abi Ahvas al-Qurashi (697H/1298AD), Abu Bakr ibn 'Abbas ibn Yahya ibn Ghareb al-Baghdadi, Wajeh al-Din

⁴⁹ Al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 327.

⁵⁰ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 559.

⁵¹ Ibn 'Imad, *Shazarat al-Zahab*, VIII, 254.

⁵² Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, II, 116. Abu Hayyan wrote some odes to his wife. For more information, see also Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 569.

⁵³ Ibn Hajar, *al-Durar*, IV, 395.

⁵⁴ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 559, 60.

⁵⁵ Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 543.

⁵⁶ Al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 334.

⁵⁷ Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 565, 66.

⁵⁸ Al-Maqqari, *op. cit.*, II, 542.

⁵⁹ Al-Safadi, *al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*, V, 184.

ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad ibn al-Azdi ibn al-Dahhan, ‘Abd al-‘Azeez ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aliyy al-Masri al-Soukkary, Najeeb al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Moayyed el-Hamadani (687H/1288AD), Muhammad ibn Abd al-Mouneem ibn Muhammad ibn Yousuf al-Ansari ibn al-Haymi (685H/1286AD), ‘Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn Harun ibn Abd al-Azeez al-Tai al-Qurtubi, Makki ibn Muhammad ibn Abu al-Qasim ibn Hamid al-Asbahani al-Saffar (680H/1281AD), Safi al-Din al-Husain ibn Abu Mansour ibn al-Khazraji, Ishaq ibn ‘Abd al-Raheem ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Dirbas, ‘Abd al-Azeez ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir ibn Ismail al-Salehi al-Kattani, ‘Abd Allah ibn Nasrullah ibn Ahmad ibn Raslan ibn Fetyan ibn Kamil al-Huzami, al-Fadl ibn ‘Ali ibn Nasr ibn ‘Abdullah ibn al-Husain ibn Rawahah al-Khazraji, Muhammad ibn al-Husain ibn al-Hasan ibn Ibrahim el-Dariy ibn al-Khalili, Yousuf ibn Ishaq ibn Abu Bakr al-Tabari al-Makki, al-Muqri Abu Ja’far Ahmad ibn Saeed ibn Ahmad ibn Basheer al-Ansari, Qutb al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qastallani (686H/1287AD), Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Tarjeem ibn Hazem al-Mazini, ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn Faris al-Tamimi (684H/1285AD), Zayn al-Din Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Anmati (684H/1285AD), ‘Ali ibn Salih ibn Abu ‘Ali ibn Yahya ibn Ismail ibn al-Husayn al-Bahnasi al-Mujawir (683H/1284AD), ‘Abd al-Muti ibn ‘Abd al-Qareem ibn Abu al-Makarim ibn Manjah al-Khazraji, ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Yousuf ibn Yahya ibn Yousuf ibn Khatib al-Mizzi (687H/1288AD), Abu al-Husayn Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Rabi ibn al-Ash’ari (717/1317), Muhammad ibn ‘Umar Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Sadi al-Darir ibn al-Farid (689H/1290AD), Radi al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Yousuf al-Ansari al-Shatibi al-Lughawi (684H/1285AD), Muhammad ibn ‘Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Umar el-‘Ansi, ‘Abd al-Aziz ibn ‘Abd al-Munim ibn ‘Ali ibn Nasr ibn al-Saykal al-Harrani (686H/1287AD), Ghazi ibn Abu al-Fadhl ibn Abd al-Wahhab al-Halawi (690H/1290AD), al-Yusr ibn Abdullah

ibn Muhammad ibn Khalaf ibn al-Yusr al-Qurashi.

Likewise, Abu Hayyan mentioned significant female scholars of the period in which he was educated, in the permission certificate he gave to his student, al-Safadi. He had training from these lecturers through sama’ and qira’a. These are respectively as follows: Munisa bint al-Malik al-Adil ibn Abu Bakr ibn Ayyub ibn Shadi, Shamiyya bint al-Hafiz Abu ‘Ali al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Taymiyyah al-Bakri (685H/1286AD), Zaynab bint ‘Abd al-Latif ibn Yousuf ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Baghdadi.⁶⁰

Beyond that, some of the famous scholars from whom Abu Hayyan studied science through *kitabāt* are as follows; Abu al-Hakam Malik ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Ali ibn al-Faraj al-Malaki ibn al-Murahhal (699H/1300AD), Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr ibn Yahya ibn ‘Abdullah Houzali al-Tulayli, Abu Hafis ‘Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Abu ‘Ali al-Hasan el-Masri al-Warraaq (695H/1296AD), Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Abu al-Fath Nasrullah el-Qahiri, Abu al-Hasan Hazem ibn Muhammad ibn Hazem al-Ansari al-Qurtubi al-Qartajani, Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad ibn ‘Umer ibn Jubayr al-Aqqi al-Malaki, Abu al-Husayn Yahya ibn Abd al-Azim ibn Yahya al-Ansari al-Jazzar (679H/1280AD), Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Abd al-Munim al-Azzazi, Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Zannun al-Malaki, Abu Amr Usman ibn Saed ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn Tulu al-Qurashi, Abu al-Rabi’ Sulaiman ibn ‘Ali ibn Abdullah ibn Yasin al-Qumi al-Tilimsani (690H/1291AD), Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad ibn Saeed Hammad ibn Muhsin al-Sanhaji el-Busiri.⁶¹

b. His Disciples

It is a known fact that while Abu Hayyan was still alive, his students gained fame. Furthermore, many of the scholars who were known as the leading figures of the period were mentioned among the students of the author.⁶² In this regard, some of the students who collected knowledge in several fields are as follows; Taqiyy al-Din Abu al-Fath Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Latif ibn Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn ‘Ali al-Subqi, Taj al-Din Abu al-Nasr Abd al-Wahhab ibn ‘Ali ibn Abd al-Qafi al-Suqki

⁶⁰ For more opinion, see al-Safadi, *al-Wafī bi al-Wafayāt*, V, 183; al-Subqi, *Tabaqat al-Shafi’iyyah*, IX, 278; al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 550.

⁶¹ Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 551.

⁶² Al-Suyuti, *Bughyat al-Wuuh*, I, 281.

(771H/1370AD), Abu al-Baqa Baha al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Barr ibn Yahya ibn 'Ali ibn Tammam ibn Yousuf ibn al-Subqi (777H/1375AD), al-Jamal al-Din Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahim ibn al-Hasan al-Isnawi (772H/1370AD), Baha al-Din 'Abdullah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Aqil al-Hamadani (Ibn 'Aqil) (769H/1367AD), Badr al-Din Hasan ibn Qasim ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Ali al-Muradi al-Masri (Ibn Umm al-Qasim) (749H/1348AD), Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Yousuf ibn 'Abd Daim ibn Muhammad al-Halabi al-Samin, Ahmad ibn Abd al-Qadir ibn Ahmad ibn Maktum al-Qaisi al-Nahvi (Ibn Maktum) (749H/1348AD), Nazer al-Jaish Muhib al-Din Muhammad ibn Yousuf ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Daim al-Halabi (778H/1347AD), Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abu al-Qasim al-Qaisi (al-Safaqusi) (742H/1342AD), Khalaiq, Abu al-Safa Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aibaq al-Safadi (764H/1363AD), Abu al-Fadhl Kamal al-Din Ja'far ibn Sa'lab ibn Ja'far al-Udfuvi (748H/1347AD).⁶³

In addition, it is noted that some of Abu Hayyan's students read from him merely through qira'a, and these are as follows; Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Nahla al-Dimashqi, Abu al-Feth Muhammad ibn Abd al-Latif ibn Muhammad al-Subqi, Abu Bakr ibn Aydouhdi al-Shamshi, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad ibn 'Isa ibn al-Hashab al-Qadi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn al-Labban, Ahmad ibn Abd al-Qadir ibn Ahmad ibn Maktum, Salih ibn Muhammad al-Khaimari, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Waheed al-Shami, Hayyan ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn 'Ali (son of Abu Hayyan), Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Ghamhari, Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr ibn Khalil al-Makki, al-Sheikh Ahmad ibn Bayad al-Hanbali Sheikh Amid, Ahmad ibn Yousuf ibn Muhammad ibn Mas'ud al-Halabi, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-'Inabi, Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Shakouri al-

Gharnati, Muhammad ibn Yakub al-Maqdisi and Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad (Ibn Sukkar).⁶⁴

The Scholarly Works of Abu Hayyan

Abu Hayyan started to write books from a young age and wrote important works that made their name known for centuries especially in Arabic language science, qiraat and commentary fields. In addition, he collected works in the fields of stratification and hadith. The author also drew attention to his knowledge in Turkish (Kipchak Turkish), Abyssinian and Persian languages; moreover, he also produced works in this direction. Abu Hayyan was regarded as the Sibawayh of his time especially due to his contentful works in the field of syntax (nahv). Another known fact is, although Abu Hayyan wrote most of his works in prose, he wrote works in verse genre as well.⁶⁵ There is different information about the number of the works he had accomplished since some of them are single copies in writing and some cannot be reached today. In this, Abu Hayyan mentioned he had forty-six completed and seven incomplete books and treatises in the permission certificate of his student al-Safadi.⁶⁶ However, al-Kutubi stated that this number was forty-four.⁶⁷ It is also stated that the author has more than fifty works of various sizes. Khadijah al-Hadithi, who was famous for her expert knowledge of Abu Hayyan and his works on the language, emphasised that the works of the author are about sixty-five.⁶⁸ In light of all the information obtained from the mentioned sources, it is possible to list Abu Hayyan's works as below.

a. Works on the Exegesis of Quran

Undoubtedly, the most famous and notable commentary (tafsir) of the author is *al-Bahr al-Muhit*⁶⁹. The work is rich in literary aspects, syntax (nahv), rhetoric and shows itself predominantly in qiraat. In the dirayah type exegesis, it has been quite meticulous in terms of israiliyat and non-authentic hadiths. The

⁶³ Al-Suyuti, *Bughyat al-Wuah*, I, 280; Ibn al-'Imad, *Shazarat al-Zahab*, VIII, 252.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Jazari, *Ghahah al-Nihayah*, II, 249, 50.

⁶⁵ Some of the poems written by the author are related to his family members and some are scholars. For more opinion, see Al-Safadi, *al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*, V, 269; Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 563-78.

⁶⁶ For Abu Hayyan's works, see al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 346, 347; al-Suyuti, *Bughyat al-Wuah*, I, 282; Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, II, 552, 553.

⁶⁷ al-Kutubi, *Fawat al-Wafayat*, IV, 72, 73.

⁶⁸ Khadijah al-Hadithi listed in her book *Abu Hayyan al-Nahwi* the classification of all the works of Abu Hayyan with giving detailed information. See *ibid.*, p. 102- 261.

⁶⁹ Edit of the work was made by the authors Mawir Habush, 'Ammar Adnan Raykhavi, Fadhi al-Maghribi, Muhammad Anas Musdhafa Khan and so on. (Damaskus: Dar al-Risalat al-'Alamiyyah, 1436H/2015AD)

author later summarised this commentary. *al-Bahr al-Muhit* was also abstracted by his student Ibn Maktum and some other students. The other work of the author is *al-Nahr al-Mad min al-Bahr*⁷⁰. The work is the summary of *al-Bahr*, and it has been compiled in an easy-to-understand manner, without any discussion of language. *Ithaf al-Arib bi ma fi al-Qur'an al-Gharib*⁷¹ is a concise work written on the extraordinary vocabulary of the Qur'an (Gharib al-Qur'an).

Additionally, the works of the author towards the science of Quran recitation (qiraat) are as follows; *al-Mudhn al-'Amir fi Qiraat Ibn 'Amir*, *al-Athir fi Qiraat Ibn Kathir*, *al-Nafi fi Qiraat al-Nafi*, *Taqrib al-Nai fi Qiraat al-Kisa'i*, *al-Ramz fi Qiraat Hamzah*, *al-Rawd al-Basim fi Qiraat Asim*, *al-Nayyir al-Jaliyy fi Qiraat Zayd ibn 'Ali*, *Ghayah al-Matlub fi Qiraat Yakub*, *Iqd al-Laali fi Qiraat al-Sab' al-'Awali*, *al-Hulal al-Haliyah fi Athanid al-Qiraah al-Aliyah* and *al-Mawrid al-Ghamr fi Qiraat Abu 'Amr*.⁷²

b. Works on the Arabic Philology and Other Languages

Abu Hayyan, who is assumed a linguistic authority as well as an expert of the other fields, has written many works on this science. In this context, it is a known fact that the books he wrote with regard to Ibn Usfur's and Ibn Malik's works about Arabic are his masterworks in linguistic. The author, who has a unique approach, framed the assessments in a completely extensive dimension by using prime sources. From this point, some of his works consist of summaries, and some are annotations in accordance with his appreciation. Consequently, it would be more appropriate to mention his work on Ibn Usfur's works and later on those of Ibn Malik.

As a beginning, the first work that Abu Hayyan wrote on the works of the relevant linguist is

*Taqrib al-Muqarrab*⁷³. In this book, the book *al-Muqarrab fi al-Nahw* written by Ibn Usfur (669/1270) on syntax (nahv), is both classified and summarized. Then to the work titled *al-Tadrib fi Tamthil al-Taqrib*⁷⁴, a summary, has been elaborated and, in some chapters, there has been objected to the rules that Ibn 'Usfur had put forward in his works. As for the third work, named *al-Mubdi' al-Mulakhkhas min al-Mumdh*⁷⁵, is a summary of Ibn 'Usfur's work entitled *al-Mumti fi al-Tasris* about morphology (sarf). Lastly, *al-Mawfur min Sharh Ibn Usfur*⁷⁶, herein Ibn al-Usfur's great works in the field of syntax (nahv) denominated as *al-Sharh al-Kabir* are summarized.

Another is a voluminous work named *al-Tadhyil wa al-Takmil fi Sharh al-Tashil*⁷⁷, and its references are *al-Tashil* and *al-Takmil* belonging to Ibn al-Malik. It should be noted here that *al-Tashil* was written for morphology (sarf) and syntax (nahiv), and *al-Takmil* is the annotation of the first book. Both were critically classified and utilized by Abu Hayyan. With the exception of mentioned comprehensive work, another book written by the author is *Manhaj al-Salik fi al-Kalam ala Alfyyah Ibn Malik*⁷⁸. It is the commentary of Ibn Malik's book *al-Khulasa* known as *al-Alfyyah*. Another work consisting of Ibn Malik's work is *Irtishaf al-Darab min Lisan al-Arab*⁷⁹. It is a summary of the work from *al-Tazyil wa al-Takmil*, mentioned above. In relation to the others, these are respectively; *Sharh Tukhfah al-Mawdud*, *al-Tanhil al-Mulakhkhas fi Sharh al-Tashil*, *al-Irtida fi al-Farq bayna al-Da wa al-Tha*⁸⁰.

Apart from all these, some of Abu Hayyan's other works on the Arabic language are as follows; *Ghayat al-Ihsan fi 'Ilm al-Lisan*⁸¹, a small volume work, and is a concise book written as an introduction to syntax (the science of nahv), *al-Nuket al-Hisan fi Sharh Ghayat al-*

⁷⁰ As six-volume work was edited by Omar al-Assad. (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1416H/1995AD)

⁷¹ The work was edited by Samir Taha al-Majzub. (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-Islami, 1983)

⁷² See al-Safadi, al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, V, 280, 281.

⁷³ The work was edited by 'Afif Abd al-Rahman. (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Masirah, 1402/1982)

⁷⁴ It is in Bashir Agha Library in Istanbul as a manuscript.

⁷⁵ The work was edited by Abd al-Hamid al-Sayyid (Kuwait: Dar al-Aruba, 1982)

⁷⁶ It is in Dar al-Kutub in Cairo as a manuscript written by Abu Hayyan.

⁷⁷ Although the work is edited by Hasan Hindawi, it has not been completed yet.

⁷⁸ This work is Ibn Malik's *Alfyyah* -an incomplete-commentary and was edited by Sidney Glazer in the United States in 1947. (New Haven: American Oriental Society)

⁷⁹ The work was published by Med. Mustafa Ahmad al-Nahas. (Cairo: Matbaah al-Madani, 1984)

⁸⁰ Edited by Muhammad Hasan Ali Yasin. (Baghdad: Matbaah al-Maarif, 1380H/1961AD)

⁸¹ The work was edited by Samir al-Majzub. (Beirut: Dar al-Tibyan, 1434H/2013AD)

*Ihsan*⁸² which is an annotated book of the work *al-Ghayat*, while the others are; *al-Lamhat al-Badriyya fi Ilm al-Arabiyya*⁸³, *Tazkirat al-Nuhat*⁸⁴, *al-Takmil li al-Sharh al-Tashih*, *al-Tajrid li Ahkam Sibawayh*⁸⁵, *al-Shaza fi Ahkam Kaza*, *al-Qawl al-Fasl fi Ahkam al-Fasl*, *al-Shazra*, *al-Asfar al-Mulakhkhas min Kitab al-Saffar* and *Nihayat al-Ighrab fi ilm al-Tasrif wa al-I'rab* (incomplete work).

Furthermore, Abu Hayyan is recognized to produce poetic works as well as prose works. In this regard, the exclusively of the work known as *Divan Abu Hayyan*⁸⁶, is where the author compiles his own poems, and it is possible to list his literary, poetic and rhetoric works as follows; *Naqd al-Sha'r*, *Khulasa al-Tibyan fi 'Ilm al-Badi' wa al-Bayan*, *al-Abyat al-Wafiyah fi 'Ilm al-Kafiyah*, *Nasr al-Zahr and Nazm Al-Zuhr*, *Nawafis al-Sihr fi Damais al-Sha'r*, *al-Mawrid al-Athb Muaradati Qasidah Ka'b*.⁸⁷

Inevitably, the reasons such as the importance gained by the Turkish language during the Mamluks period and the fact that the dynasty language was Turkish encouraged Abu Hayyan to learn this language. The author also wrote works in the Turkish language, moreover, included the Turkish dialects in these books. The author had also written Persian and Abyssinian works. These works are respectively; *al-Af'al fi Lisan al-Atrak*, *Kitab al-Idrak li Lisan al-Atrak*⁸⁸, *Zahw al-Mulk fi Nahw al-Turk*, *Nafkhah al-Misk fi Sirah al-Turk*, *Nour al-Ghabash fi Lisan al-Habash*, *Mantiq al-Khurs fi Lisan al-Furs*, and *al-Mahmour fi Lisan al-Yahmur*.

c. His Works on History, Hadith and Fiqh

Abu Hayyan, a versatile scholar, has written works in the fields of history, tabaqat (the major classes), hadith and fiqh as well as writing

works in the mentioned areas. In this respect, some of the relevant works on history are *Tukhfah al-Nadus fi Nuhat Andalus*, *Majan al-Hasr fa adâbi wa tarawih Ahl al-'Asr*, *al-Nudar fi Maslati an Nudar*, *Mashyahat Ibn Abu Mansur*, *al-Bayan fi Shuyuh Abu Hayyan wa Tarikh al-Andalus*. As for his works related to hadith and fiqh, these are; *Juz' fi al-Hadith*, *al-Tus'ayyat*, *al-Wahhaj fi Ikhtisar al-Minhaj*, *al-A'lam bi Arkan al-Islam*, *Masaik al-Rushd fi Tajred Mathail Nihayah Ibn Rushd*, *al-Anwar al-Ajla fi Ikhtisar al-Mukhalla*.

The Environment of the Author

As stated before, Abu Hayyan was born and raised in Andalusia and started to receive an education there. He then settled in Egypt after several regions in his path of studying various religious sciences. Given the regions' strategic importance in terms of state structure, the social forms and the high levels of educational development, these places will be briefly indicated to shape a clearer opinion. In these regions, which have a homogeneous structure, both Andalusia and especially Egypt, the political structures have been shaped around the battles against the outside⁸⁹ while the power struggles continue on the one hand and this was because it has witnessed the active days. In another aspect, the two regions have spread from east to west all branches of science, such as history, philosophy, law, religion, and literature, and have made great progress in artistic terms. Therefore, it would be appropriate, to begin with evaluating the general outline of Andalusia where Abu Hayyan was born and raised.

It is proverbial that Andalusia⁹⁰, which was one of the major intellectual centres during a certain

⁸² The work was edited by Abd al-Husayn. (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, 1988) The limited version of the book is in Dar al-Kutub in Cairo.

⁸³ The copy of the related manuscript is in Dar al-Kutub in Cairo.

⁸⁴ The work was edited by 'Afif Abd al-Rahman. (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, 1986)

⁸⁵ Al-Safadi, *Ayan al-Asr*, V, 346.

⁸⁶ The book, as a manuscript, is in the Rabat Library of Morocco. In addition, the work was critically edited by Ahmad Matlub and Khadijah al-Hadithi (Baghdad: Matbaah al-'Ani, 1969). For further information, see also Khadijah al-Hadithi, *Abu Hayyan an-Nahwi*, p. 259.

⁸⁷ al-Safadi, *al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*, V, 281.

⁸⁸ The editions and translations were made by Ahmet Caferoglu. (Istanbul: Evkaf Matbaası -Foundations Press-, 1931) This work was also studied by Robert Ermers in detail. For more opinion, see also *Arabic Grammars of Turkic*, Boston: Brill, 1999. Moreover, it is known that other works Abu Hayyan wrote in Turkish have not reached today.

⁸⁹ William J. Duiker, Jackson J. Spielvogel, *World History*, Boston: Wadsworth Cengage, 2010, p. 203.

⁹⁰ Aaron Hughes, "Andalus", *Encyclopaedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. R. C. Martin, USA: Thomson Gace, n.d., Pp. 46-49; G. S. Colin, "Al-Andalus", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 1979, I, Pp. 486-533.

period of the Muslim world⁹¹, played an essential role during its existing time; and for this reason, to give Andalusia credit for development in scientific aspects. However, looking at the seventh and eighth centuries, the fact that two states were established in Andalusia only in these two centuries is an explanation itself to demonstrate the state of internal disturbance. These are the Almohads (al-Muwahhidun) (540-630H / 1146-1233AD), and Nasrid dynasty (Banu Akhmar) (635-897H / 1238-1492AD).

Some prior knowledge about these two states is required to draw a general framework of the pertinent progress. For this intention, it is more appropriate to preface with Almohad. Although not yet certain, this state came into existence in the fifth century of hijra era, by one of Muhammad ibn Tumar's followers, 'Abd al-Mumin ibn 'Ali al-Kumi, where during this time many rulers came to power. The first years of the state were under a stable government, but in the following years, during the internal conflicts against the Castilla of Alfonso VIII and the Iqab -the punishment- war took place. It was accentuated that this war sounded the death knell of the state of Almohad.⁹² With regards to Nasid Dynasty, the state founded by Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Nasr first indicated its presence in Jean. Then, Granada was seized to be created as a safe zone for Muslims. However, after some time when Granada was surrounded by Spanish king of Castilla Fernando III (1217-1252 AD), the state of Nasrid Dynasty was taxed at about more than 100,000 in gold. Muhammad II, known as *faqih*, then came to the throne and it was during this period that relations with Marinids became good but sometimes distressed. However, together with the period of Muhammad III, known as *makhlu*, these relations were completely disrupted. Between Yusuf I and

Muhammad V periods, efforts were made to improve the relations, but the enterprise failed. Throughout this state, Muhammad Ghani bi'llah was the last ruler to be considered successful, and then the state went completely into a decline. Although Mamluks were asked for help, their situation was not much different. At that time, the only powerful Islamic state was the Ottoman Empire. However, as their conquest was in the east, and at that moment it was rather inconvenient to reach Andalusia at that time.⁹³

Despite all, the most obvious feature of the people of this period is undoubtedly their devotion to science and education. So much so that they would spend all their money for this purpose until the last amount left. However, since there were no madrasahs, education was given in the masjids. History, mathematics and many other positive sciences were taught from school age. People who were an illiterate went down like a lead balloon by others. Besides, training philosophy was accepted as a wicked practice. Qiraat al-Sab' (the various of Quran recitation) and transmission of reports (riwayah al-hadith) were very valuable, and syntax (Ilm al-Nahv) was regarded as a top-level science in the sight of the public. As for a sect, Maliki was only the committed sect and was acknowledged by them. In Andalusia, where poetry gained great importance, special assemblies were established by administrators for this aim, and another important element of the people in Andalusia was cleanliness.⁹⁴ The fact that between three hundred and six hundred baths were in Cordoba only reveals Andalusia's devotion to hygiene.⁹⁵ Arabs, and especially Berbers, were high level among the Muslim population in this region, where communities from different religions also lived together. Under the rule of Andalusia, Christians and Jews were not demanded to convert to Islam in

⁹¹ Anwar Chejne, "The Role of al-Andalus in the Movement of Ideas Between Islam and the West", *Islam and the Medieval West Aspects of Intercultural Relations*, ed. Khalil I. Semaan, Albany: State University of New York Press, p. 114.

⁹² For more information about the pertinent period, see Chejne, "The Role of al-Andalus in the Movement of Ideas Between Islam and the West", Pp. 111-127; S. M. Imamuddin, *A Political History of Muslim Spain*, New Delhi: Affiliated East-West Press, 1960, p. 265-281; Mahmoud Makki, "The Political History of al-Andalus", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden: Brill, 2000, I, Pp. 68-77; Ahmad Thomson, *Blood on the Cross: Islam in*

Spain the Light of Christian Persecution the Ages, London: TaHa Publishers Ltd., 1410H/1989AD, p. 201-8.

⁹³ For more reading, see Mahmoud Makki, "The Political History of al-Andalus", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, I, Pp. 77-84; W. Montgomery Watt, *A history of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1992, Pp. 147-64. Moreover, especially for more opinion about the rise of Nasrid dynasty (Banu Akhmar), see L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 125 to 1500*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990, Pp. 20-40.

⁹⁴ Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, I, 220, 221.

⁹⁵ Edwyn Hole, *Andalus: Spain Under the Muslim*, London: R. Hale, 1958, p. 59.

an attempt to become Muslim, and the state administration granted them the right to live their religion, culture, and customs at will.⁹⁶ Thus, the administrators gained over non-Muslims' hearts as being merciful, sympathetic and fair. At this point, Andalusia, which made great progress in the art sense, also advocated the artists financially⁹⁷, and certainly the others of different branches.⁹⁸ In this context, although the acceptance of Islam as a religion in the West at that time was not yet in question, the interest in Andalusian Muslim culture has enabled the interaction of both philosophy, science, and art.

Another truth matter to discourse is that Andalusian women were involved in society in every field. In this, women, known as specialists in the field of literature, had also taken an active role in hadith, kalam, history, arithmetic and other areas.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the cities of Toledo, Sevilla, known as *Arus bilad al-Andalus- bride of Andalusia*, and Cordoba¹⁰⁰ and Granada were respected not only as Muslim cities in the religious sense of the word but also as cities of prosperity¹⁰¹, elegance and great cultural interaction and alteration. In this context, Granada was one of the most significant arts and culture centres. Toledo was the translation centre, Sevilla was the architectural centre and Cordoba was an innovation and cosmopolitan centre.¹⁰² Andalusia did not give preference to being isolated from both the West and the Islamic East, this is because the rich sociocultural environment had a profound impact both on the perspectives of the people who grew up in the region and even in the following centuries.

As for Mamluks, Cairo and Damascus, few of the most essential centres of science since the Rashid Caliphs have been the principal of science of the entire Islamic world during this dynasty, which had been standing for about two and a half centuries. Founded by the Abbasid Caliphate after being formerly the centre of science Baghdad and Cairo become the political headquarters of the Islamic world.¹⁰³ For this reason, a multitude of scholars of good reputation went to Egypt and not only from the Eastern Islamic countries, but also the North African countries, even after the invasion of some cities of Andalusia that suffered a great crisis and the Almohad state destroyed by Christians. For this reason, Cairo became almost the centre of the gathering of lecturers. All these developments enabled the Mamluks' science movement to be built on a solid and rich foundation. The support of the Mamluk sultans in this respect also gained momentum. It would be also proper to briefly point out that in the Mamluks, the principle of succession was not accepted as a rule in the sultanate system nor generally applied. Besides, a significant portion of the powerful sultans came from the commanders who grew up in the guards.¹⁰⁴

After the Ayyubids overthrew the Fatimid Caliphate, the dynasty of Mamluks was founded in 1250AD and is divided into two periods. Accordingly, Bakhri Mamluks or Turkish Mamluks ruled between 648-792H / 1250-1390AD and Burji Mamluks continued to rule between 784-922H / 1382-1517AD.¹⁰⁵ Shortly after its establishment, the Mamluk State, which defeated the Mongols at Ain Jalut, Palestine, in

⁹⁶ S. M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D. A Social Study*, London: E. J. Brill, 1981, II, 26.

⁹⁷ For more opinion about the fiscal system, accounting procedures, basic data, Agricultural product and economic growth of Andalusia, see Pedro Chalmeta, "An Approximate Picture of the Economy of al-Andalus", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, II, Pp. 45-52.

⁹⁸ For more opinion, see Duiker- Spielvogel, *op.cit.*, p. 203, 204.

⁹⁹ Also see Maria J. Viguera, "Asluhu li'l-ma'ali: On the Social Status of Andalusi Women", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Pp. 716-19; Hole, *op. cit.*, p. 31. About women poetry of Andalusia, see Wessam Elmeligi, *The Poetry of Arab Women from the Pre-Islamic Age to Andalusia*, New York: Routledge Focus, 2019.

¹⁰⁰ See also Robert Hillenbrand, "The Ornament of the World" Medieval Cordoba as a Cultural Centre", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, I, Pp. 113-136.

¹⁰¹ For more opinion, see James Dickie (Yaqub Zaki) "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Pp. 88-111.

¹⁰² Anwar, *op. cit.*, Pp. 110-133.

¹⁰³ Especially for general info about the formation of Mamluks, see Amalia, Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995, Pp. 5-27.

¹⁰⁴ To get more info, see Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Mansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)*, Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1998.

¹⁰⁵ Some sources attributed this division on the differences in the ethnicity of the worthies of Mamluks. During the first period, the plurality of the sultans was from the Kipchak Turks, and as expected, during the second period, most of the sultans were mainly from Cherkeses. See Warren Schultz, "Mamluk", *Encyclopaedia of Islam and*

658H/1260AD, gained a reputation in the Islamic world and at the same time undertook the hegemony of the Hejaz region. Under the early rulers, the most salient Baibars (1260–1277AD) and Kalawun (1279–1290AD), the Mamluks completely eliminated the danger of Crusader states and achieved to keep the Mongols out of the region. The proxies of the Sultans were very influential in the administration of the state. The Mamluk dynasty remained a major Islamic regional power till the state was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517AD.¹⁰⁶

The madrasahs which were established in Baghdad since the Abbasid and Seljuk period in Syria, and in Egypt since the Zanghids and Ayyubids, undertook a vital task to strengthen a correct understanding and the progress of the *Ahl al-Sunnah* by further strengthening it during the Mamluks period. In this respect, the four sects -madhhabs- (Shafi, Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali), founded different madrasahs and even some madrasahs were taught in company with two, three or four different sects -madhhabs-. In addition, for specialization, Dar al-Quran and Dar al-Hadith were established. Thus, more than seventy madrasahs were actively managed at that time and that even included very rich libraries.¹⁰⁷

In this respect, besides the sciences of fiqh, hadith, tafsir, and qiraat, it included a wide range of content such as Kalam, Sufism, Arabic language, Arabic poetry, history and geography, philosophy, medicine and veterinary sciences, mathematics, and astronomy. It is acknowledged that the era of Mamluks was the golden ages of fiqh, hadith, and Sufism; it was even crucial for the Arabic language. In terms of interest in this study, it should be noted that the prominent names of the period in the Arabic language, especially in the field of syntax -nahv- were Ibn Malik

(672H/1273AD), Ibn Manzur (711H/1311AD), Ibn Nahhas, Ibn Hisham (761H/1359AD), Ibn Nubatah, Ibn Aqil (769H/1367AD), and many others. However, Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi had a very particular significance in this connection due to the knowledge of Turkish, Persian and even Ethiopian languages and as well as known as Amir al-Nahv, not to ignore disputes with Ibn Malik in the field of nahv. Besides, Ibn Taymiyyah (622H/1225AD), Qurtubi (671H/1273AD), Dhahabi (748H/1348AD), Safadi (764H/1363AD), Ibn Jamaa (733H/1333AD), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah (751H/1350AD) and al-Mizzi al-Karaki (750H/1349AD) were some of the reputed scholars.

Interestingly, in this period, where women hadiths were raised, the predominantly used language was Turkish. In addition to all these given samples, the existence of many hospitals in Cairo, Damascus and other major cities, and works in art¹⁰⁸ indicates how advanced level the Mamluks are in science. As an illustration, one of the most hospitals was Kalawun Hospital and was branched as internal medicine, surgery, ophthalmology and orthopaedics. At this point, many discoveries were made in the field of medicine as well. The Mamluks' literal texts consisted of Arabic and Turkish until the Circassian times. Turkish works written up to this period were Kipchak, Oghuz or a mixture of two.¹⁰⁹ There is no doubt that scholars played an essential role in the bureaucratic order and social life of the Mamluks.¹¹⁰ With respect to the relationship ruler-scholar in the Mamluks' political system, it is obvious that the matter based the exertion of scholars as intermediaries between the Mamluks and the public.¹¹¹ All in all, it is noteworthy that there were many esteemed scholars in the period when both regions struggled with internal turmoil.

the Muslim World, ed. Richard C. Martin, USA: Thomson Gale, 2004, II, p. 662.

¹⁰⁶ For more opinion about the early time of relevant period, see P. M. Holt, "Mamluk", *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, VI, Leiden: Brill, 1991, Pp. 314-330; Yigit, Ismail, "Memlûkluler",

<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/memlûkler#1>; M. Sobernheim, "Mamluks", *International Encyclopaedia of Islamic History*, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2010, VIII, Pp. 2164-2170.

¹⁰⁷ Donald P. Little, Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs, <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1Q23XC8>, Pp. 9-20.

¹⁰⁸ The mosque of Baybars, the mosque of Nasir Muhammad, Zahiriyah Madrasah, Kulliyah of Kalawun, Kulliyah of Barkuk, Kulliyah of Qayitbay were some unique buildings of Mamluks. For further information, see Atil, Esin, *Art of the Mamluks: Renaissance of Islam*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

¹⁰⁹ For more about Mamluks' literal works, see R. Irwin, "Mamluk Literature", *Mamluk Studies Review*, Chicago: Ashgate, 2003, Pp. 1-29.

¹¹⁰ See also Yakoov Lew, <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1PG1PW5>, Pp. 10-20.

¹¹¹ Northrup, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

As a result, it is enunciable to predicate that the information given on the Andalusian and Egypt-Mamluks is indicative of why the author is so fond of Islamic science in the early of his life and the reason for his journeys. In addition, the importance given by the administrations to science and education in both regions is a portrait of this era. The term of Abu Hayyan's life coincides with the beginning of scientific exodus, especially from Andalusia and North Africa, which explains the existence of other Andalusian scholars who were already coetaneous.

Conclusion

Abu Hayyan, one of the cornerstones in the Islamic Golden Age, each of which is regarded as an authority in various branches, was stated as to have a significant place among the Mamluks' scholars in terms of the historical period. In other words, on the one hand, the author grew up in the hands of the Andalusian authority and on the other hand, he matured in the Egyptian school. For this reason, from the information given above, in particular, the environmental section, is rather explanatory. In this respect, the accurate assessment of this case should be as two different angles, one of them is the life where Abu Hayyan comes from is multicultural and extremely fond of education, consequently, the science popularity at this point is highest and people put their best endeavour. This statement clearly demonstrates why he has attempted to achieve much with a small amount of opportunity, and he was so fond of the Arabic language. In Egypt, where he spent the rest of his life, the Mamluks' vast perspective on scientific activities provided Abu Hayyan with a great opportunity to continue his scientific activities and became a professional in many outstanding fields. In addition, his works in Kipchak Turkish, the language of the place where he lived show that he was under the influence of his environment. As a matter of fact, unlike many of his contemporaries, he was able to become competent in different languages. As a result, it is possible to indicate that all pertinent inference which originated in the working of the author was primarily as a mediator between the Andalusian education system and the Mamluks madrasa system, both of which were centres of sciences.

References

- [1]. Al-Dawudi, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Ali. *Tabaqat al-Mufasssirin*. Beirut: Dar Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1403H/1983AD.
- [2]. Al-Dimashqi, Shams al-Din Abu al-Mahasin Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Husayni. *Zayl Tazkirah -Huffadh li al-Zahabi*. Beirut: Dar Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1956.
- [3]. Al-Hadithi, Khadijah. *Abu Hayyan al-Nahwi*. Baghdad: Maktabah al-Nakhda, 1385H/1966AD.
- [4]. Al-Hamawi, Shihab al-Din Abu 'Abdullah al-Rumi al-Baghdadi. *Mu'jam al-Buldan*. Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1397H/1993AD.
- [5]. Al-Kutubi, Salah al-Din Muhammad Shakir al-Darani. *Fawat al-Wafayat*. Ed. Ikhsan Abbas. Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1974.
- [6]. —. *Fawat al-Wafayat*. Ed. Ikhsan Abbas. Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1974.
- [7]. Al-Maqqari. *Nafh al-Tib (The History of the Muhammedan Dynasties in Spain)*. Trans. Pascual de Gayangos. London: The Oriental Translation Fund, MDCCCXL-1840.
- [8]. —. *Nafh al-Tib min Ghushn al-Andalus al-Ratib*. Ed. Ikhsan 'Abbas. Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, 1388H/1968AD.
- [9]. Al-Maqrizi, Taqiyy al-Din. *Kitab al-Muqaffa al-Kabir*. Ed. Muhammad al-Yalawi. Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1411H/1991AD.
- [10]. Al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aibaq. *Ayan al-Asr wa A'wan al-Nasr*. Ed. Nabil Abu Amsa, Muhammad Maw'ed, Mahmoud Salem Muhammad 'Ali Abu Zayd. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1418H/1998AD.
- [11]. —. *Kitab al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat*. Ed. Muhammad ibn Mahmud and Ibrahim ibn Sulaiman. Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-'Arabi, 1420H/2000AD.
- [12]. Al-Subki, Taj al-Din Abu Nasr Abd al-Wahab. *Tabaqat Shafi'iyah al-Kubra*. Ed. Abd al-Fattah Muhammad al-Khulw Mahmud ibn Muhammad al-Tanahi. Qahira(Cairo): Faisal 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1383H/1964AD.
- [13]. Al-Suyuti, Jalal al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman. *Bughyat al-Wuah fi Tabaqat al-*

- Lughawiyyun wa al-Nuhat*. Ed. Muhammad Abu al-Fadhl Ibrahim. Qahira (Cairo): 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1384H/1964AD.
- [14]. Amalia, Levanoni. *A Turning Point in Mamluk History*. Ed. Ulrich Haarmann. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- [15]. Atil, Esin. *Art of the Mamluks: Renaissance of Islam*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.
- [16]. Chalmeta, Pedro. "An Approximate Picture of the Economy of al-Andalus." Jayyusi, Salma Khadra. *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 2000. 741-758.
- [17]. Cheijne, Anwar. "The Role of al-Andalus in the Movement of Ideas Between Islam and the West." *Islam and the Medieval West Aspects of Intercultural Relations*. Ed. Khalil I. Semaan. Albany : State University of New York Press, n.d. 110-133.
- [18]. Colin, G. S. "Al-Andalus." *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 1979. 486-533.
- [19]. Donald P. Little, Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs., <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1Q23XC8>. 4 7, 2019.
- [20]. Duiker, William J. and Jackson J. Spielvogel. *World History*. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage, 2010.
- [21]. Elmeligi, Wessam. *The Poetry of Arab Women from the Pre-Islamic Age to Andalusia*. New York: Routledge Focus, 2019.
- [22]. Ermers, Robert. *Arabic Grammars of Turkic*. Boston: Brill, 1999.
- [23]. Glazer, Sidney. "Abu Hayyan al-Gharnati." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. A. R. Gibb, et al. Vol. I. Leiden: Brill, n.d. 126.
- [24]. Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain 125 to 1500*. Chicago and London:: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- [25]. Hillenbrand, Robert. "The Ornament of the World" Medieval Cordoba as a Cultural Centre." *The Legacy of Muslim Spain, I, Pp. 113-136*. Ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi. Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2000. 113-136.
- [26]. Hole, Edwyn. *Andalus: Spain Under the Muslim*. London: R. Hale, 1958.
- [27]. Holt, P. M. "Mamluk." *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Ed. C. E. Bosworth, et al. Leiden: Brill, 1991. 314-331.
- [28]. Hughes, Aaron. "Andalus." *Encyclopaedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. Ed. R. C. Martin. USA: Thomson Gace, n.d.
- [29]. Ibn al-'Imad, Shihab al-Din Abu al-Falah Abd al-Hayy al-Hanbali al-Dimashqi. *Shazarat al-Zahab fi Akhbar man Zahab*. Ed. Mahmud Arnaud 'Abd al-Qadir Arnaud. Beirut: Dar Ibn Kathir, 1413H/1992AD.
- [30]. Ibn al-Jazari, Shams al-Din Abu al-Khair Muhammad. *Ghayah al-Nihayah fi Taabaqat al-Qurra*. Ed. Gotthelf Bergstraesser. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1427H/2006AD.
- [31]. Ibn Hajar, Abu al-Fadhl Shihab al-Din al-Asghalani. *al-Durar al-Kaminah fi Ayan al-Miah al-Thaminah*. Beirut: Dar Ikhya al-Turath al-'Arabi, n.d.
- [32]. Ibn Qadi Shukhbah, Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad Taqiyy al-Din al-Dimashqi. *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah*. Ed. 'Abd al-Alim Khan. Hyderabad: Dairah Maarif Othmaniyyah, 1399H/1979AD.
- [33]. Imamuddin, S. M. *A Political History of Muslim Spain*. New Delhi: Affiliated East-West Press, 1960.
- [34]. —. *Muslim Spain 711-1492 A.D. A Social Study*. London: E. J. Brill, 1981.
- [35]. Irwin, Robert. "Mamluk Literature." *Mamluk Studies Review*. Chicago: Ashgate, 2003.
- [36]. —, The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London: A. Spottiswoode, n.d.
- [37]. Lew, Yakoov. <https://doi.org/10.6082/M1PG1PW5>. 01 7, 2019.
- [38]. Makki, Mahmoud. "The Political History of al-Andalus." *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Ed. Salmaa Khadra Jayyusi. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

- [39]. Mercedes.
<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/granada>.
05/07/2019.
- [40]. Northrup, Linda S. *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Mansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1998.
- [41]. Schultz, Warren. "Mamluk." *Encyclopaedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. Ed. Richard C. Martin. USA: Thomson Gale, 2004.
- [42]. Sobernheim, M. *Mamluks*. Ed. Subodh Kapoor. Vol. VIII. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2010.
- [43]. Thomson, Ahmad. *Blood on the Cross: Islam in Spain the Light of Christian Persecution the Ages*. London: TaHa Publishers Ltd., 1410H/1989AD.
- [44]. Viguera, Maria J. "Asluhu li'l-ma'ali: On the Social Status of Andalusí Women." Jallusi, Salma Khadra. *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- [45]. Watt, W. Montgomery. *A history of Islamic Spain*. Edinburgh: University Press, 1992.
- [46]. Yigit, Ismail.
<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/memlukler>
#1. 01 7, 2019.
- [47]. Zaki, James Dickie (Yaqub. "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain." *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Vol. I. Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2000. I-II, 88-111.