

## **The Lost Historical and Geographical Sources Cited by al-Mas‘ūdī in His Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems**

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### **Abstract:**

Islamic civilization witnessed considerable flourishing in many fields, particularly in classification and authorship, where books and compilations addressing the various branches of knowledge and the sciences current in the medieval period became widely circulated. However, much of this heritage was lost because of the wars and calamities to which the Islamic lands were subjected, including the burning and destruction of libraries and books over the passage of time and the succession of ages. Fortunately, however, much of this lost heritage was mentioned in the sources that have reached us, as many authors transmitted texts from books about which we know nothing except through these quotations. Among the sources that mention many lost books is *Meadows of Gold* by ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī. In the introduction to his book, the author listed a long catalog of the sources he relied on in composing it. He also referred, within the body of his work, to numerous sources from which he quoted and which have become lost down to the present day. In this study, we have sought to encompass the lost sources mentioned by al-Mas‘ūdī in his book *Meadows of Gold*.

**Keywords:** al-Mas‘ūdī; *Meadows of Gold*; lost sources; Islamic heritage.

### **Introduction:**

*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* is among al-Mas‘ūdī’s most prominent works. It is a historical and geographical work that deals with the history of nations, prophets, and kings, as well as the conditions of peoples and their places of habitation. In it, he relied on diverse religious, philosophical, historical, and geographical sources, many of which are now lost, making his book an important reference for reconstructing historical heritage and for understanding the methodologies of those sources.

Who, then, was al-Mas‘ūdī? What is the importance of his book, *Meadows of Gold*? And what are the most important lost sources that he mentioned in *Meadows of Gold*? These are the questions that this paper will attempt to answer.

### **Biographical Notice on al-Mas‘ūdī:**

He is Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī. There has been disagreement concerning the origin of this nisba. The well-known view is that it refers to the Companion ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd, may God be pleased with him, since he was one of his descendants, and it has

also been said to refer to Mas'ūda, a quarter in Baghdad beyond al-Ma'mūniyya or within the property of the Nizāmiyya madrasa.<sup>1</sup> As for the date of his birth, some scholars place it in 287 AH/900 CE. It appears, however, that he was born before this date, as is evident from the chronology of his journeys. In 300 AH/913 CE, he began a long journey that took him through Persia as far as Sind and India, continuing until 304 AH/917 CE.<sup>2</sup> Some researchers hold that he began his journey in 303 AH/916 CE. In any case, it is unreasonable to suppose that al-Mas'ūdī would have faced dangers and perils at sea while not yet exceeding sixteen years of age, if his birth is dated to 287 AH/900 CE.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī was born in Baghdad and grew up there. In speaking of Dār al-Salām, he says: "It grieves us, given the separation to which we have been driven, to part from this city in which we were born and in which we were raised. The days have distanced us from it, and our journeys have carried us far away from it, so that the abode has become distant and the place of visitation remote."<sup>4</sup> As for what Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned when he said, "This man is from the people of the Maghrib,"<sup>5</sup> This is only because he resided for a long time in Egypt, which, for Baghdadis at that time, was counted among the lands of the Maghrib.<sup>6</sup> Yāqūt said: "The statement of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Nadīm, that he was from the people of the Maghrib is incorrect."<sup>7</sup> Despite the hardship he endured through extensive travel, al-Mas'ūdī was a prolific author and a man of broad learning. He was therefore able to encompass diverse subjects and write on them.<sup>8</sup> His journeys and travels enabled him to observe directly and helped him develop the faculty of criticism, observation, and comprehensive vision; thus, his observations were critical and sound.<sup>9</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī apologized to his readers for not being able to devote himself entirely to study and writing because of the frequency of his travels. He says in the introduction to *Meadows of Gold*: "Nevertheless, we apologize for any deficiency that may exist and absolve ourselves of any omission that may have occurred, owing to

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1. al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Hādī al-'Alawī, "Kitāb Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya li-l-Mas'ūdī am li-l-Shalmaghānī?," *Majallat al-Khizāna*, al-'Ataba al-'Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa, Markaz Ihyā' al-Turāth, Baghdad, no. 7, year 4, Sha'bān 1441 AH/March 2020 CE, 67-172, 71.

2. Ṣā'ib 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 'Ilm al-Tārīkh wa-Manāhij al-Mu'arrikhīn fī 'Ilm al-Tārīkh: Nash'atan wa-Tadwīnan wa-Naqdan wa-Falsafatan, wa-Manāhij Kibār Mu'arrikhī al-Islām, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Markaz al-Ghadīr li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī', 2008), 191.

3. al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Hādī al-'Alawī, "Kitāb Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya li-l-Mas'ūdī am li-l-Shalmaghānī?," previously cited article, 72.

4. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf, corrected and reviewed by 'Abd Allāh Ismā'īl al-Ṣādiq (Cairo: Dār al-Fatāwā li-l-Ṭab' wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Ta'līf, 1938), 38.

5. Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, previously cited source, 219.

6. 'Abd al-Razzāq Abū al-Ṣabr, Tārīkh al-'Arab al-Islāmī min Khilāl Jughrāfiyyāt Mashriqiyya Mu'allafa Qabla Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Khāmis li-l-Hijra, vol. 1, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2013), 225.

7. Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), 1705.

8. 'Alī Adham, Ba'd Mu'arrikhī al-Islām (Cairo: Maktabat Nahdat Miṣr bi-l-Fajjāla, n.d.), 57.

9. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Ḥasan Abū Shubayka, Khilāfat Banī Umayya 'inda 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, 41-132 AH/661-749 CE, master's thesis, Faculty of Arts, Department of History and Archaeology, Islamic University, Gaza, 1427 AH/2007 CE, 20.

what has disturbed our thoughts and overwhelmed our hearts through the vicissitudes of travel and the crossing of deserts...”<sup>10</sup>

Thus, al-Mas‘ūdī is considered an encyclopedic scholar, as well as both a historian and a geographer. He views matters with the eye of the historian while, at the same time, contemplating them through the observations of the geographer. This quality confirms the resemblance between him and Herodotus.<sup>11</sup> For this reason, the Orientalist von Kremer, in his book *The History of Culture in the East*, called him the Herodotus of the Arabs,<sup>12</sup> and Kratchkovsky regarded him as the most original of the geographical writers of the tenth century.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Al-Mas‘ūdī’s Doctrinal Affiliation

Historians have differed regarding al-Mas‘ūdī’s doctrinal affiliation. Al-Subkī held that he was a Shāfi‘ī, and therefore included a biographical entry on him in *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya*. However, he adds: “It was said that he was Mu‘tazilī in doctrine.”<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, meanwhile, held that al-Mas‘ūdī was a Shī‘ī Mu‘tazilī, stating: “His books are replete with indications that he was a Shī‘ī Mu‘tazilī.”<sup>15</sup>

Al-Najāshī also included a biographical entry on him in *Kitāb al-Rijāl*.<sup>16</sup> Several critics have stated that, when al-Najāshī includes a person in his book, he is to be judged a Twelver Shī‘ī unless al-Najāshī explicitly states otherwise.<sup>17</sup> This is the view favored by Ṣā‘ib ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, on account of al-Mas‘ūdī’s many writings relating to the Imamate, including *al-Ṣafwa fī al-Imāma*, *Risālat al-Tabyān* on the names of the Imams, and *Rāḥat al-Azhār fī Akhbār Āl Muḥammad*, may God bless him and grant him peace, and their dispersion throughout the lands.<sup>18</sup> Among these is *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya li-l-Imām ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, which al-Najāshī attributed to al-Mas‘ūdī.<sup>19</sup> Fu‘ād Sezgin likewise did so, stating that it was printed in Najaf in 1375 AH/1955 CE.<sup>20</sup>

10. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, previously cited source, 10.

11. ‘Alī Adham, *Ba‘d Mu‘arrikhī al-Islām*, previously cited reference, 52.

12. Nabīh ‘Āqil, “al-Mu‘arrikhī al-‘Arabī Ṣāhib Murūj al-Dhahab, al-Mas‘ūdī,” *Majallat al-‘Arabī* 8, no. 48 (Kuwait, 1382 AH): 112-15, 113; Iffat Muḥammad al-Sharqāwī, *Adab al-Tārīkh ‘inda al-‘Arab: Fikrat al-Tārīkh*, Nash‘ atuhā wa-Taṭawwuruhā (Beirut: Dār al-‘Awda, n.d.), 281.

13. Ignatii Iulianovich Kratchkovsky, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfī al-‘Arabī*, trans. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ‘Uthmān Hāshim, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Lajnat al-Ta‘līf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Nashr, 1963), 177.

14. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn ‘Alī al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya*, vol. 3, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī (Dār Iḥyā’ al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya, 1971), 456.

15. Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vol. 5, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā‘ir al-Islāmiyya, 2002), 532.

16. Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Najāshī, *Kitāb al-Rijāl*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Sharikat al-‘Alamī li-l-Maṭbū‘āt, 2010), 243.

17. al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Hādī al-‘Alawī, “*Kitāb Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya li-l-Mas‘ūdī am li-l-Shalmaghānī?*,” previously cited article, 73.

18. Ṣā‘ib ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, *‘Ilm al-Tārīkh wa-Manāḥij al-Mu‘arrikhīn*, previously cited reference, 193.

19. Al-Najāshī, *al-Rijāl*, previously cited source, 243.

20. Fu‘ād Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-‘Arabī*, vol. 1, part 2, previously cited reference, 183.

### 3. Introduction to *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*

Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems is regarded as one link in the chain of historical works composed by the author, admirably combining history and geography.<sup>21</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī composed a large book entitled *Akhbār al-Zamān wa-Man Abādahu al-Ḥadathān min al-Umam al-Mādiya wa-l-Ajyāl wa-l-Mamālik al-Dāthira*. He then abridged it and entitled the abridgment *al-Awsaṭ*. Thereafter, he wished to summarise what he had treated at length and to abridge what he had rendered in intermediate form in this book. He stated: "We shall deposit in it selected portions of what those two books contained, together with other kinds of knowledge and reports concerning nations."<sup>22</sup> He named it *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, saying he gave it this title because of the preciousness of its contents.<sup>23</sup>

There is disagreement concerning the year in which al-Mas'ūdī composed this book. Some hold that he wrote *Meadows of Gold* in Basra in 332 AH/943 CE,<sup>24</sup> whereas others maintain that he completed its composition in 336 AH/947 CE in Fustāt, Egypt.<sup>25</sup>

*Meadows of Gold* is regarded as a scholarly encyclopedia, bringing together historical, geographical, and urban information concerning the East in the ninth century CE. It is also considered a universal history that encompasses accounts of all the known kingdoms across the three divisions of the world at that time.<sup>26</sup>

In this book, al-Mas'ūdī was influenced by al-Ya'qūbī's writing. He adopted from him the method of historical arrangement by topic, making nations, prophets, kings, dynasties, and caliphs the axes of his study.<sup>27</sup> He organized his history by subject, such as the history of the Indians, Persians, Byzantines, Jews, Chinese, Arabs, and Turks in ancient times, and distinguished between histories arranged by states and rulers.<sup>28</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdī divided *Meadows of Gold* into two principal sections: the first devoted to pre-Islamic history, and the second to events from the prophetic mission to the year 336 AH/947 CE. The first section of *Meadows of Gold* deals with accounts of creation and the prophets, then presents the history of ancient nations and civilizations, their kings, and their religions, such as India, Persia, Greece, Byzantium, Egypt, the Arabs, and others, while also addressing the conditions, customs, and religious and geographical landmarks of peoples.<sup>29</sup> The second section deals with the history of

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21. Muḥammad Aḥmad Tarḥīnī, *al-Mu'arrikhūn wa-l-Tārīkh 'inda al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 147.

22. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 10.

23. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 15; Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, ed. Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltqāyā and Rif'at Bilka al-Kilīsī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.), 1659.

24. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥusayn al-'Azzāwī, *al-Mas'ūdī Mu'arrikhān* (Baghdad: Manshūrāt Ittiḥād al-Mu'arrikhīn al-'Arab, 1982), 43.

25. Ayman Fu'ād al-Sayyid, *al-Kitāba al-Tārīkhiyya wa-Manāhij al-Naqd al-Tārīkhī 'inda al-Mu'arrikhīn al-Muslimīn*, 1st ed. (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 2017), 70.

26. Eduard Van Dyck, *Iktifā' al-Qunū' bimā Huwa Maṭbū'*, corrected by al-Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī al-Biblāwī (Egypt: Maṭba'at al-Ta'lif, al-Hilāl, 1896), 56.

27. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣā'ib, *Ilm al-Tārīkh wa-Manāhij al-Mu'arrikhīn*, previously cited reference, 196.

28. al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Sālim, *al-Tārīkh wa-l-Mu'arrikhūn al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1967), 93.

29. 'Alī Adham, *Ba'ḍ Mu'arrikhī al-'Arab*, previously cited reference, 58.

the Islamic state from the mission of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, to the early days of the Abbasid caliph al-Muṭṭī li-llāh in 336 AH/947 CE.

Thus, *Meadows of Gold* is an important reference on the customs and ethnic groups of peoples, sects, and their doctrines, philosophy, astronomy, zoology, and other matters. Nevertheless, historical information, biographies, genealogies, and countries occupy a substantial place in this work.<sup>30</sup> Al-Masʿūdī revised his book twice during his stay in Egypt: the first time in 336 AH/947 CE, and the second around 345 AH/956 CE.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Lost Sources of al-Masʿūdī Mentioned in *Meadows of Gold***

In *Meadows of Gold*, al-Masʿūdī relied on diverse sources, including written works, documents, oral reports, and personal observations. He drew upon a large number of historical and geographical sources, including more than eighty known works.<sup>32</sup> Al-Masʿūdī was keen to present his sources, analyze them, assess their objective value, highlight the merits of their authors, and clarify their scholarly standing.<sup>33</sup> In addition, al-Masʿūdī used sources that remain lost and have not been uncovered by investigators down to the present day. Therefore, al-Masʿūdī's recourse to them and his recording of certain passages from them are of great importance.<sup>34</sup> This is in addition to the many sources he did not mention in his introduction, but which he explicitly stated he quoted in the body of his book. At times, he would refer to a source's title without mentioning its author. This may have been due to the book's fame in his time. Among such books, for example, are *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Ard wa-mā ʿAlayhā min al-Abniya al-Muʿazzama wa-l-Hayākil al-Mushayyada*,<sup>35</sup> *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*,<sup>36</sup> and *Kitāb Akhbār al-Tabābiʿa*.<sup>37</sup> We also find that al-Masʿūdī sometimes leaves some of his sources unspecified by using general expressions such as “and several akhbārīs and authors of sīra works have mentioned.”<sup>38</sup>

#### **A. Al-Masʿūdī's Lost Works**

In *Meadows of Gold*, al-Masʿūdī relied on his own works, most of which have been lost, some of which remain in manuscript form, and only a few of which have been printed. Jawād ʿAlī stated that they exceed thirty works.<sup>39</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned five of his books,<sup>40</sup> While al-Najāshī listed thirteen works by him.<sup>41</sup> As for Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, he mentioned twenty-nine books.<sup>42</sup>

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30. Raʿd ʿAwda ʿAbtān al-Khuraysha, al-Mawārid al-Tārīkhiyya li-l-Masʿūdī fī Kitābihi “Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar” li-l-Fatra al-Umawiyya, master's thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Jordan, 2009, 64.

31. Ayman Fuʿād al-Sayyid, al-Kitāba al-Tārīkhiyya, previously cited reference, 71.

32. Ṣāʿib ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ʿIlm al-Tārīkh wa-Manāhij al-Muʿarrikhīn, previously cited reference, 196.

33. Ibid., 184.

34. Jawād ʿAlī, “Mawārid Tārīkh al-Masʿūdī,” *Sumer*, Directorate General of Antiquities, Iraq, 20, parts 1 and 2 (1964): 1-48, 25.

35. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 237.

36. Ibid., vol. 1, 102.

37. Ibid., vol. 2, 60.

38. Ibid., vol. 3, 61.

39. Jawād ʿAlī, “Mawārid Tārīkh al-Masʿūdī,” previously cited article, 2.

40. Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, previously cited source, 219, 220.

41. Al-Najāshī, al-Rijāl, previously cited source, 243.

What concerns us here is his lost works to which he referred in *Meadows of Gold*, among which are the following:

*Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān wa-Man Abādahu al-Ḥadathān min al-Umam al-Mādiya wa-l-Ajyāl wa-l-Mamālik al-Dāthira*.<sup>43</sup> He mentioned it in his introduction.<sup>44</sup> It is said that this book consisted of thirty volumes.<sup>45</sup> Its first part was printed.<sup>46</sup> It is the most important of al-Mas'ūdī's works, and he relied on it in the rest of his writings. This book is mentioned in *Meadows of Gold* more than 140 times.<sup>47</sup>

*Al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ*. He also mentioned it in his introduction.<sup>48</sup> Like *Akhbār al-Zamān*, it is an encyclopedia of universal history. It is an intermediate abridgment between *Akhbār al-Zamān* and *Meadows of Gold*, in which al-Mas'ūdī abridged what had been treated in detail in *Akhbār al-Zamān* and added new matters that had not appeared in the first book.<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, it is larger in size than *Meadows of Gold*. A manuscript section of it is preserved in Hagia Sophia,<sup>50</sup> And one volume is also preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>51</sup>

### **B. Lost Historical Sources**

In *Meadows of Gold*, al-Mas'ūdī mentioned several historical works on which he relied and from which he quoted, but which have since become lost. Among these works are the following:

***Kitāb al-Mabda'*** by Wahb ibn Munabbih, d. 114 AH/732 CE.<sup>52</sup> This is a book on the beginning of creation and the history of the heavenly messages, and it is lost.<sup>53</sup> The title *al-Mabda'* denotes the beginning of creation and represents the first Arab attempt to write the history of the revealed messages.<sup>54</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī referred to it in several places, including his statement: "This is found in *Kitāb al-Mabda' wa-l-Siyar* by Wahb ibn Munabbih and others."<sup>55</sup>

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42. Ismā'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifin: Asmā' al-Mu'allifin wa-Āthār al-Muṣannifin*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Ārabī, n.d.), 679.

43. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-I'lān bi-l-Tawbīkh li-Man Dhamma al-Tārīkh*, ed. Franz Rosenthal, trans. Šāliḥ Aḥmad al-'Alī, 1st ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1986), 302.

44. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, previously cited source, 9.

45. Fu'ād Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-Ārabī*, vol. 1, part 2, previously cited reference, 180.

46. Printed under the title *Akhbār al-Zamān wa-Man Abādahu al-Ḥadathān wa-'Ajā'ib al-Buldān wa-l-Ghāmīr bi-l-Mā' wa-l-'Umrān*, reviewed and corrected by 'Abd Allāh al-Šawī, 1st ed. (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad Ḥanafī, 1938). Jawād 'Alī holds that this printed part is another book and not al-Mas'ūdī's work, for reasons he mentions. See Jawād 'Alī, "Mawārid Tārīkh al-Mas'ūdī," previously cited article, 6, 7.

47. Ra'd 'Awda 'Abṭān al-Khuraysha, *al-Mawārid al-Tārīkhīya li-l-Mas'ūdī*, previously cited reference, 27.

48. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, previously cited source, 9.

49. Jawād 'Alī, "Mawārid Tārīkh al-Mas'ūdī," previously cited article, 10.

50. Fu'ād Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-Ārabī*, vol. 1, part 2, previously cited reference, 181.

51. Nabīh 'Āqil, "al-Mu'arrikh al-Ārabī Šāḥib Murūj al-Dhahab, al-Mas'ūdī," previously cited article, 14.

52. He is Abū 'Abd Allāh Wahb ibn Munabbih al-Yamanī. He died in Šan'ā' in the year 110 AH, though it has also been said that he died in 114 AH or 116 AH, at the age of ninety. 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, 4th ed. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1981), 459; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār Šādir, n.d.), 35, 36.

53. Al-Suwaykit, *Manhaj al-Mas'ūdī fī Kitābat al-Tārīkh*, previously cited reference, 206.

54. Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz Sālim, *al-Tārīkh wa-l-Mu'arrikhūn al-Ārab*, previously cited reference, 47.

55. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 53.

**Kitāb al-Maghāzī**, *Kitāb al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, and *Kitāb Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Madanī, d. 151 AH/768 CE.<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ishāq was a deeply learned scholar of campaigns and biographies. He authored several works, the most famous of which are *Kitāb al-Mabda'*, *Kitāb al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya*, and *Kitāb al-Khulafā'*.<sup>57</sup> These constitute a single work by Ibn Ishāq composed of three parts: pre-Islamic history, the prophetic biography and campaigns, and accounts of the caliphs. Al-Mas'ūdī relied on it in *Meadows of Gold*, transmitted some reports from it, and preferred it over other sources.<sup>58</sup>

**Kitāb Şifīn** by Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdī, d. 157 AH/774 CE.<sup>59</sup> Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā composed several works and compilations, including *Kitāb al-Ridda*, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Shām*, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-ʿIrāq*, *Kitāb al-Jamal*, *Kitāb Şifīn*, *Kitāb Ahl al-Nahrawān wa-l-Khawārij*, and others.<sup>60</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī mentioned him in his introduction and transmitted reports from him concerning Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the Battle of Şifīn.<sup>61</sup> He explicitly stated that he quoted from him in several places, including his statement: "Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā and other akhbārīs mentioned that, when authority passed to Mu'āwiya..."<sup>62</sup>

**Kitāb Akhbār al-Umawiyyīn** by 'Alī ibn Mujāhid, d. 182 AH/798 CE. He is Abū Mujāhid 'Alī ibn Mujāhid al-Kābulī. He was born in al-Rayy in 100 AH/718 CE and later came to Baghdad. He was a historian and traditionist, although his transmission is not regarded as entirely reliable. He had several works, including *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*.<sup>63</sup> and *Kitāb Akhbār al-Umawiyyīn*, which al-Mas'ūdī mentioned and on which he relied in *Meadows of Gold*.<sup>64</sup>

**Kitāb Mulūk al-Yaman** by Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, d. 204 AH/819 CE. Hishām al-Kalbī was a scholar of genealogy, the reports of the Arabs, their battle-days, their defects, and their military events. He received knowledge from his father and from a group of transmitters. He had several works, said to have reached 150 compositions.<sup>65</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned some of them in *al-Fihrist*,<sup>66</sup> including *Kitāb Mulūk al-Yaman*, which Ibn al-Nadīm listed under the title *Kitāb al-Yaman wa-Amr Sayf*.<sup>67</sup> Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī also mentioned it in his

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56. He is Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yasār ibn Khiyār, the erudite scholar, traditionist, and akhbārī. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 9; Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, 1st ed. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001), 323, 324; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, previously cited source, 491, 492.

57. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 136.

58. Al-Suwaykit, *Manhaj al-Mas'ūdī fī Kitābat al-Tārīkh*, previously cited reference, 208.

59. He is Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Kūfī, known as Abū Mikhnaf, a historian and akhbārī. However, he is considered weak in transmission by several scholars, including Yaḥyā ibn Ma'in, Abū Ḥātim, and al-Dāraqutnī. Vol. 7, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt et al., 1st ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1982), 301, 302.

60. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 136.

61. Ra'd 'Awda 'Abtān al-Khuraysha, *al-Mawārid al-Tārīkhiyya li-l-Mas'ūdī*, previously cited reference, 94, 95.

62. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, 21.

63. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām wa-Akhbār Muḥaddithihā wa-Dhikr Quttānihā min al-'Ulamā' min Ghayr Ahlihā wa-Wāridihā*, vol. 13, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 592; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, vol. 1, part 2, previously cited reference, 135.

64. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 12.

65. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 10, previously cited source, 102.

66. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 140-43.

67. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 141.

book *al-Bad' wa-l-Tārīkh* under the title *Tārīkh al-Yaman*.<sup>68</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī drew on it in his discussion of the genealogies of Yemen and the dispersion of al-Azd throughout the lands, explicitly stating that he quoted Hishām al-Kalbī.<sup>69</sup>

**Kitāb al-Akhbār** by al-Nawfalī, who was alive before 204 AH/819 CE.<sup>70</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī counted him among those who became famous for their writings and mentioned him in his introduction. He also referred to his book *al-Akhbār*, from which he quoted, in several places in *Meadows of Gold*, literary and historical information about the Umayyads and those who came after them. This book has not reached us except through quotations by al-Mas'ūdī, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Iṣfahānī in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.<sup>71</sup>

The two books *Tārīkh al-'Ajam wa-Banī Umayya* and *Khawātīm al-Khulafā'* by al-Haytham ibn 'Adī al-Ṭā'ī, d. 206 AH/821 CE. Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned these two books in *al-Fihrist*.<sup>72</sup> In the introduction to his book, al-Mas'ūdī praised al-Haytham ibn 'Adī and counted him among the authors of well-known compilations.

**Kitāb Futūḥ al-Amṣār** by al-Wāqidī, d. 207 AH/822 CE. Al-Wāqidī was a scholar of biographies, campaigns, conquests, and people's differences concerning hadith, jurisprudence, legal rulings, and reports. He had many works, having composed books on campaigns, biographies, conquests, and classes of transmitters.<sup>73</sup>

**Kitāb Akhbār al-Furs** by Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, d. 210 AH/825 CE. Al-Mas'ūdī benefited from it regarding the history of the Persians.<sup>74</sup> He stated that Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā al-Taymī had a book on Persian history, saying: "Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā al-Taymī mentioned, concerning the lifespan of Kisrā, in a book of his on the history of the Persians..."<sup>75</sup> Perhaps it is the same book as *Faḍā'il al-Furs*, which Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned.<sup>76</sup>

**Kitāb Akhbār al-Khulafā' al-Kabīr** by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, d. 225 AH/838 CE. Al-Madā'inī had many works, which Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned in *al-Fihrist*. Among them is *Tārīkh al-Khulafā' al-Kabīr*, which begins with reports on the caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ends with reports on the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'taṣim.<sup>77</sup>

**Kitāb al-Majālis** by Abū 'Isā Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Warrāq, d. 247 AH/861 CE. He was from Baghdad and was one of the Mu'tazilī scholars. He had several writings, including *al-Maqālāt fī al-*

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68. Abū Ṭāhir al-Muṭahharī *al-Maqdisī, al-Bad' wa-l-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, ed. Clément Huart, introduced and reviewed by Ben Mazyān Ben Sharqī, 1st ed. (Algiers: Ibn al-Nadīm li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī'; Beirut: Dār al-Rawāfid al-Thaqāfiyya, 2015), 367.

69. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 146.

70. He is Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, a transmitter and historian. He is counted among the sources of al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, and Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. He authored *Kitāb al-Akhbār* on the history of the Umayyads and Abbasids, vol. 1, 1st ed. (Qom: Mu'assasat Dār Ma'ārif al-Fiqh al-Islāmī, 2004), 626.

71. Fu'ād Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, vol. 1, part 2, previously cited reference, 136.

72. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 145, 146.

73. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, previously cited source, 518; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 144.

74. Al-Suwaykit, *Manhaj al-Mas'ūdī fī Kitābat al-Tārīkh*, previously cited reference, 211.

75. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 179.

76. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 80.

77. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 149.

Imāma and Kitāb al-Majālis,<sup>78</sup> from which al-Mas'ūdī quoted in Meadows of Gold a debate that took place between Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd.<sup>79</sup>

**Kitāb Akhbār Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī** by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn al-Dāya, d. 260 AH/874 CE. He is Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kātib. He was in the service of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī and served as his secretary. He was the son of the nurse to Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī and, for this reason, became known as Ibn al-Dāya.<sup>80</sup>

**Kitāb Abyāt al-'Arab** by Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī, d. 275 AH/888 CE. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī was a scholar of language, genealogy, and the battle days of the Arabs. He became known for collecting poetry and literature, and he had numerous works on language, literature, natural history, and Arab reports.<sup>81</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī quoted in Meadows of Gold from his book *Abyāt al-'Arab*.<sup>82</sup>

**Kitāb al-Ḥalā'ib wa-l-Jalā'ib** by 'Īsā ibn Lahī'a al-Miṣrī, d. 275 AH/888 CE.<sup>83</sup> In his introduction, al-Mas'ūdī counted 'Īsā ibn Lahī'a al-Miṣrī among the sources on which he relied.<sup>84</sup> In 2021 CE, the Jawād al-'Arabī Center, Bayt al-'Arab, in Kuwait, published a book by Yaḥyā 'Abd Allāh al-Kindī, in which he collected texts from this lost book and titled it *Qabas min Kitāb al-Ḥalā'ib wa-l-Jalā'ib li-l-Muḥaddith al-Akhbārī Abī Muḥammad 'Īsā ibn Lahī'a al-Miṣrī*.

**Kitāb al-Mu'allifin** by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir ibn Ṭayfūr, d. 280 AH/893 CE. He is Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir ibn Ṭayfūr al-Khurāsānī, a historian and one of the eloquent poets and transmitters. He was born in Baghdad in 204 AH/819 CE. He was highly esteemed for his transmission, and one can scarcely find a major work composed after his time that does not quote from his books.<sup>85</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī mentioned him in his introduction and referred to his writings.<sup>86</sup> He had several works, the most important of which are *Tārīkh Baghdād* and *Balāghāt al-Nisā'*.<sup>87</sup>

**Kitāb al-Tabyān** by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Barqī, d. 280 AH/893 CE. He is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd al-Barqī, a Shī'ī jurist. He was originally from Kufa and settled in Qom. He was one of the transmitters of language and poetry. He authored works in accordance with the

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78. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, previously cited source, 86; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, previously cited reference, 127.

79. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 86.

80. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, vol. 2, previously cited source, 557-60.

81. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 117; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āt fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyyīn wa-l-Nuḥāt*, vol. 1, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 1st ed. (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-Shurakā'uh, 1965), 502.

82. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 12.

83. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 176.

84. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 11.

85. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Dār al-Salām*, vol. 5, previously cited source, 345; Fu'ād Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, vol. 1, part 2, previously cited reference, 215; Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *Kunūz al-Ajdād* (Damascus: Maṭba'at al-Raqī, 1950), 97.

86. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, previously cited source, 12.

87. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 209; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, vol. 1, 282; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, 15th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li-l-Malāyīn, 2002), 141.

Imāmī doctrine, and his writings numbered over 100, including *Kitāb al-Ihtijāj*, *Kitāb al-Safar*, and *Kitāb al-Buldān*.<sup>88</sup>

**Kitāb al-Ajwād** by Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Ghallābī, d. 290 AH/902 CE. He is Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā ibn Dīnār, from Basra. He was known for transmitting reports, biographies, and campaigns, and was accused of Shī‘ī inclination. He wrote numerous historical works, including *Akhbār Fāṭima*, *Maqṭal al-Ḥusayn*, *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn wa-l-Jamal*, and *Kitāb al-Ḥarra*.<sup>89</sup> as well as *Kitāb al-Ajwād*,<sup>90</sup> from which al-Mas‘ūdī quoted in *Meadows of Gold*.<sup>91</sup>

**Tārīkh Ibn Khurdādhbih** by Abū al-Qāsim ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Khurdādhbih, d. ca. 300 AH/912 CE. Al-Mas‘ūdī mentioned him in his introduction and praised him as an imam in authorship and as one who excelled in the elegance of composition. He described his history as one of the most comprehensive books ever written.<sup>92</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī benefited from Ibn Khurdādhbih’s book, while directing some criticisms at it. His book is regarded as one of the lost historical sources, and in it, he dealt with the history of nations before Islam.<sup>93</sup>

**Kitāb Siyar al-Khulafā’** by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, d. 313 AH/925 CE. Al-Rāzī is considered one of the encyclopedic scholars who wrote in various fields. He worked in medicine, chemistry, and philosophy, and was the leading physician of his time. He composed *al-Ḥawī* in thirty volumes and the famous abridged work *al-Manṣūrī*.<sup>94</sup> He also had numerous writings mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a.<sup>95</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī benefited from some of his books, such as the book he wrote on the Ḥarrānians and their doctrines, and *Kitāb Siyar al-Khulafā’*, to which al-Mas‘ūdī referred in his introduction.<sup>96</sup>

**Kitāb Akhbār al-Muqtadir** by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī, d. 331 AH/942 CE. He was one of the epistolary secretaries and report transmitters. He authored *Kitāb al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-Kuttāb* and *Kitāb Mīzān al-Shi‘r wa-l-Ishtimāl ‘alā Anwā’ al-‘Arūd*.<sup>97</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī referred to *Kitāb Akhbār al-Muqtadir* and stated that it amounted to one thousand folios, and that he had obtained only small portions of it.<sup>98</sup>

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88. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 310; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), 389, 390.

89. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā ibn Dīnār al-Ghallābī, *Waq‘at al-Jamal*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn (Baghdad: Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif, 1970).

90. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 157; Nāyif ibn Ṣalāh ibn ‘Alī al-Manṣūrī, *Irshād al-Qāṣī wa-l-Dānī ilā Tarājim Shuyūkh al-Ṭabarānī*, 1st ed. (Riyadh: Dār al-Kiyān, 2006), 551, 552.

91. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 12.

92. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 12.

93. Kratchkovsky, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfi al-‘Arabī*, previously cited reference, 156; Aḥmad ‘Uwaydī al-‘Abbādī, *al-Irtibāṭ bayna al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyya wa-l-Jughrāfiyya fī Turāth al-Mas‘ūdī*, 1st ed. (Amman: Dār Jarīr li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī‘, 2010), 119.

94. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, vol. 5, previously cited source, 157, 158.

95. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 416; Muwaffaq al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*, ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, n.d.), 421-27.

96. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 13.

97. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 184; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, vol. 6, previously cited source, 2568.

98. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 4, 233.

**Kitāb al-Ārā' wa-l-Diyānāt** by al-Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī, d. 402 AH/1011 CE. He is Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn Nawbakht, a theologian and philosopher. The Mu'tazila claimed him, and the Shī'a likewise claimed him, but he was closer to the Shī'ī camp. He was a book collector and copied many works in his own hand. He had several writings mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Baghdādī,<sup>99</sup> among them *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa-l-Diyānāt*, which he did not complete.<sup>100</sup> Al-Najāshī described it as a large and fine book containing many sciences.<sup>101</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī relied on it in his discussion of the doctrines of the people of India and explicitly stated that he quoted from it.<sup>102</sup>

#### **D. Sources of Geography and Astronomy**

Al-Mas'ūdī is regarded as a traveler and geographer. He opened his book with a geographical introduction in which he addressed topics such as the earth, mountains, seas and rivers, the seven climes, tides, the celestial spheres, stars, elements, the seasons of the year, and winds. In doing so, he relied on various geographical and astronomical sources, many of which are now lost. Among these lost sources are the following:

The translation of *Kitāb al-Sindhind* by al-Fazārī, d. 189 AH/815 CE. He is Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, one of the earliest Muslim scholars to work in astrology and the configurations of the celestial spheres, and the first to make an astrolabe in Islam.<sup>103</sup> The Abbasid caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr commissioned him in 156 AH/772 CE to translate *Kitāb al-Sindhind* into Arabic. The book was written in the Indian language.<sup>104</sup>

*Kitāb al-Muntakhab min Kitāb al-Ulūf* by Ibn al-Bāziyār, d. 245 AH/859 CE. He is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Bāziyār. He was a learned man and a leading figure in the science of astrology.<sup>105</sup> He studied under Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, the astrologer, d. 272 AH/886 CE.<sup>106</sup>

He was the author of *Kitāb al-Ulūf*.<sup>107</sup> He composed *Kitāb al-Muntakhab min Kitāb al-Ulūf*, which he selected from *Kitāb al-Ulūf wa-l-Adwār* by his teacher Abū Ma'shar. Al-Mas'ūdī relied on *Kitāb al-Muntakhab* and explicitly stated that he quoted from it.<sup>108</sup>

*Kitāb al-Zīj fī al-Nujūm* by Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥusayn al-Munajjim, fourth century AH/tenth century CE.<sup>109</sup> He was a prominent astronomer and astrologer, with contributions to astronomy and meteorological

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99. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 251; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 1, previously cited source, 274.

100. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 251.

101. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 63.

102. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 63.

103. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 381.

104. Aḥmad 'Uwaydī al-'Abbādī, *al-Irtibāṭ bayna al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyya wa-l-Jughrāfiyya fī Turāth al-Mas'ūdī*, previously cited reference, 114.

105. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, previously cited source, 384.

106. He is Abū Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhī, one of the most prominent astrologers of his age and a leading authority in astrology. He was renowned for his knowledge of the reports of the Persians and ancient nations and for his sound understanding. He wrote on astronomy, including works on astronomical tables, nativities, conjunctions, and the natures of countries. He died in 272 AH/886 CE.

107. Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 2, previously cited source, 14.

108. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, 202.

observations. Among his works are *Ākām al-Marjān* and *al-Zīj fī al-Nujūm*. Al-Mas‘ūdī relied on his book when discussing the earth, its diameter, and its degrees, and explicitly stated that he quoted from it in several places.<sup>110</sup>

*Al-Risāla al-Kubrā fī al-Madd wa-l-Jazr* by al-Kindī, d. 260 AH/874 CE. He is Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, a scholar of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and geography. He was proficient in Persian, Indian, and Greek, which enabled him to access intellectual sources. Al-Mas‘ūdī benefited from al-Kindī’s study of tides, and he transmitted al-Kindī’s theory from Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī.<sup>111</sup>

*Risālat Ibn Faḍlān*, fourth century AH/tenth century CE.<sup>112</sup> He is Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, a member of an Abbasid mission to the Bulgars in 309 AH/921 CE. He recorded his observations upon his return, and his writings became an important source for descriptions of those lands, the Rus’, and trade among them.<sup>113</sup>

## Conclusion

In *Meadows of Gold*, al-Mas‘ūdī relied on diverse sources, including written works, documents, oral reports, and personal observations. In his introduction, he provided a critical and analytical presentation of more than eighty historical and geographical sources, indicating their scholarly value and the standing of their authors. He also relied on sources now lost, which gives his work considerable importance in reconstructing Islamic historical heritage based on what other historians transmitted from him.

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109. The plural of zīj is zījāt or azyāj. Ibn Khaldūn devoted a heading to the science of astronomical tables in his discussion of astronomy, treating it as an appendix to astronomy and indicating that it is a branch of astronomy. He described it as a computational craft based on numerical rules governing each planet and its path of motion, by which the positions of the planets in their spheres may be known at any given time, and set out in the form of astronomical tables. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, previously cited source, 526.

110. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 70.

111. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 1, 91.

112. He is Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, the head of a delegation sent by the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir bi-llāh to the king of the Ṣāqāliba to teach them the Islamic religion. During his journey, he documented the customs, traditions, and social life of the regions through which he passed, described rulers and common people with precision, and recorded his observations and conversations, making his journey an important source for describing that period. Niqūlā Ziyāda, *al-Jughrāfiyya wa-l-Rihlāt ‘inda al-‘Arab* (Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī; Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī, 1987), 196.

113. Niqūlā Ziyāda, *al-Rahḥāla al-‘Arab*, previously cited reference, 46; al-‘Abbādī, *al-Irtibāṭ bayna al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhiyya wa-l-Jughrāfiyya*, previously cited reference, 135.

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām wa-Akḥbār Muḥaddithihā wa-Dhikr Quṭṭānihā min al-'Ulamā' min Ghayr Ahlihā wa-Wāridihā*. Vol. 13. Edited by Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001.

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