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# The Impact of Maghribi *Ḥadīth* Commentaries on the Mashriq

## 1 Introduction

Within twenty years of the prophet Muḥammad's death, Islam fanned out westward,<sup>1</sup> beginning with Ifriqiya<sup>2</sup> until reaching the Iberian Peninsula in 92 H/711 CE.<sup>3</sup> From Kairouan to Fez and on to Córdoba, these lands were to remain strongly interconnected, despite the changes of dynasties and the historical events that would push the two shores of the western Mediterranean to confront one another<sup>4</sup> and at times to each consider the other part as the enemy.<sup>5</sup> *Al-Maghrib al-ifriqī* and *al-Maghrib al-andalusī*<sup>6</sup> formed a nucleus of a geographical, social, cultural and religious convergence. The conquest was not only a territorial and political expansion, but also a specifically religious and ideological one, and so the spread of Islam brought with it the development and flourishing of the Islamic sciences, including *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and in particular the genre of *ḥadīth* commentaries.

In this context, the present contribution intends to shed light on how *ḥadīth* collections were introduced into the Islamic West, how they were received, how Maghribi scholars dealt with them, and, accordingly, how the Maghrib came to be considered as *dār ḥadīth*. In addition, I will dedicate a section to the leadership of the Maghrib *vis-à-vis* the *ḥadīth* literature dealing with commentaries. As indicated in the title, the central purpose of this study is to highlight the importance of Maghribi *ḥadīth* commentaries and their impact on the Mashriq. I will take the

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1 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ* (1964), 28–29.

2 Present-day Tunisia, western Libya and eastern Algeria.

3 Lévi-Provençal 1938, 14; Chalmeta 1994, 133. A detailed study on the date of the conquest is available on Sánchez Albornoz 1945, 52–105.

4 Marín 1985, 45.

5 They were explicitly called *al-jāratayn al-ʿaduwwatayn* (“the enemy neighbors”). See Nūr al-Dīn 1989, 104.

6 See below.

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**Note:** This paper was presented at the international conference “The Maghrib in the Mashriq”, which took place on 20–21 December 2018.

*Ṣaḥīḥ* of Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Asākir al-Dīn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261 H/875 CE) as a case study, and will attempt to demonstrate its importance through subsequent Maghribi works that were based on it. As for the impact of Maghribi *ḥadīth* commentaries on Mashriqī scholars, I will focus on two commentaries: *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim fi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE) and *al-Mufhim li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ kitāb Muslim* by Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī (d. 656 H/1258 CE).

## 2 Contextualization

### 2.1 The Maghrib and the Mashriq

Geographers and historians differed about the definition of the term *al-Maghrib*, ascribing to it diverse geographical dimensions.<sup>7</sup> Literally, *al-Maghrib* (the West) is the opposite of *al-Mashriq* (the East). From its original meaning indicating the place where the sun sets,<sup>8</sup> it came to designate, during the period of *al-fitna al-kubrā* (35–41 H/656–661 CE), the western part of the Islamic world, which at that time comprised Egypt, its surroundings and the Levant.<sup>9</sup> As the Islamic Empire continued to expand westward and consolidate its hold on North Africa, the Islamic West, now regarded as extending from Barqa in present-day Libya through to the Atlantic, came to be considered as a homogeneous cultural entity. There was, however, the ongoing question of whether or not al-Andalus was a part of the Maghrib or not. Al-Idrīsī (d. ca. 560 H/1164-5 CE), for example, describes al-Andalus as being very close to the Maghrib, and representing a natural extension of it that influences and is influenced by the events happening there.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī’s (d. 626 H/1229 CE) *Mu‘jam al-buldān*,<sup>11</sup> the Maghrib is taken to comprise al-Andalus and the territories between Milyāna<sup>12</sup> and the Sūs mountains.<sup>13</sup> In *al-Miqbās fi akhbār al-Maghrib wa-Fās* – attributed to Abū

<sup>7</sup> See the studies by Giovanna Calasso and by Víctor de Castro included in this same volume.

<sup>8</sup> Sa‘dūn 1988, 19.

<sup>9</sup> Mu‘nis 2003, 24; Laqbāl 1951, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq* (1989), 2: 525.

<sup>11</sup> Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (1988), 5: 161.

<sup>12</sup> A town in north-western Algeria, considered as the border of Ifrīqiya.

<sup>13</sup> It is located in the Sūs, which is a region in mid-southern Morocco, bordered by the Grand Atlas Mountains to the north, by the Anti-Atlas to the east and south, and by the Atlantic Ocean to the west.

Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik b. Mūsā al-Warrāq (alive in 555 H/1160 CE)<sup>14</sup> – it includes all the lands from the banks of the Nile in Alexandria up to Salé.<sup>15</sup> However, despite these differing views, the majority of geographers and historians reached the general consensus that *al-Maghrib* referred to “the Islamic lands [that] extended from western Egypt until the Atlantic Ocean, including al-Andalus. Considering the existence of *al-Maghrib al-ifriqī* and *al-Maghrib al-andalusī*, the term *Maghrib* or *Maghāriba* includes, indeed, al-Andalus and its inhabitants”.<sup>16</sup>

As for *al-Mashriq*, it begins in Egypt and extends through the Levant (*bilād al-shām*), the Arabian peninsula (*al-jazīra al-‘arabiyya*), upper Mesopotamia (*al-jazīra al-furātiyya*), Iraq, Khorasan, Transoxiana (*bilād mā warā’ a al-nahr*), Persia (*bilād Fāris*), *iqīm al-Jibāl*,<sup>17</sup> Sindh, Sistan (*Sijistān*) and Daylam (*bilād al-daylam*).<sup>18</sup> Although Egypt is situated in the middle – thus playing the role of a connecting boundary, and sharing cultural, political, historical and ethnic characteristics with both parts – it is generally considered to belong to the Mashriq.

## 2.2 The introduction of *ḥadīth* literature in the Maghrib

The 2nd/8th century is held to mark the spread of Mālikism out of its original birthplace in Medina, where its eponymous founder Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 H/795 CE) lived and taught, and Egypt was the first province outside the Arabian Peninsula to receive this doctrine.<sup>19</sup> By the end of the century, the Mālikī legal school in Alexandria was established,<sup>20</sup> which made a significant contribution to the spread of Mālikism into the West. Alexandria was the principal gateway to

<sup>14</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān* (2013), 1: 26.

<sup>15</sup> A town in north-western Morocco.

<sup>16</sup> Al-‘Abbādi 1978, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (1992), 304.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Jabrānī 2016, 42.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Jaydī 1987, 19.

<sup>20</sup> Due to its strategic location as a nexus between the Maghrib and the Mashriq. See Ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh, *al-Ḥikam* (1984), 5. In addition, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Khālid b. Yazīd al-Jumaḥī (d. 163 H/780 CE) – who was the first to introduce the “issues” (*masā’il*) of Mālik’s *madhhab* into Egypt – was from Alexandria, as were Zayn b. Shu‘ayb b. Kurayb al-Ma‘āfirī (d. 184 H/801 CE) and Ṭulayb b. Kāmil al-Lakhmī (d. 173 H/790 CE). Likewise, Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191 H/807 CE), Ashhab (d. 203 H/819 CE) and ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214 H/830 CE) taught there before travelling to Medina to meet Mālik in order to certify what they had learned or to obtain the honour of *isnād* superiority (*nayl sharaf ‘ulūw al-isnād*); e.g. Ibn al-Qāsim asserts that he knew all there was to know about Mālik and his *madhhab* before meeting him (*mā kharajtu li-Mālik illā wa-anā ‘ālim bi-qawlihi*). See Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1983), 3: 56, 54–61.

Ifriqiya and would afterward become the base for Maghribi scholars during their *riḥla fi ṭalab al-ʿilm*, or journey in search of knowledge, which was often carried out in combination with the *hajj*.<sup>21</sup> After Medina and Alexandria, Kairouan constituted the third major Mālikī hub. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Mālikism had become the main *madhhab* in the Maghrib, together with Ḥanafism.<sup>22</sup> ‘Alī b. Ziyād al-Tūnisi (d. 183 H/799 CE)<sup>23</sup> introduced the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* of Mālik in Ifriqiya<sup>24</sup> before 161 H/777 CE<sup>25</sup> and al-Ghāzī b. Qays (d. 199 H/815 CE) later brought it to Córdoba.<sup>26</sup> Being the second seminal book introduced in the Maghrib after the Qurʾān, the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* contributed substantially to the development and establishment of Mālikī law in the region. The process of reception was accompanied by that of reflection and adaptation; in Ben ‘Ashūr’s words:

Exegesis, thematization, the definitive choice between the solutions proposed and the shift from proposed doctrine to declarations of uniform law, the establishment of mechanisms for memorization and automated thought – all of this belongs to the Maghrib.<sup>27</sup>

Some scholars started to combine their interest in the study of Mālikī *furūʿ* legal treatises such as the *Mudawwana* with that of *ḥadīth*, as did Muḥammad Ibn Waḍḍāḥ (d. 287 H/897 CE). His contemporary Baqī b. Makhlad (d. 276 H/889 CE) went as a step further, as he did not follow the Mālikī legal school. After some thirty-five years of long journeys in search of knowledge, Baqī b. Makhlad introduced the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235 H/850 CE) in al-Andalus.<sup>28</sup> His *ḥadīth*-oriented outlook elicited the strong opposition of some Mālikī jurists,<sup>29</sup> but

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<sup>21</sup> The journey in search of knowledge was a requirement for everyone who aspired to strengthen and widen their skills, to meet great authorities and learn from them. Traditionally, the *riḥla* was an eastward journey because it was associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>22</sup> Two schools of thought preceded the Mālikī *madhhab* in the Maghrib, those of al-Thawrī (d. 161 H/777 CE) and al-Awzāʿī (d. 157 H/774 CE), but they quickly disappeared, making way for the consolidation of Mālikism.

<sup>23</sup> Also known as al-Imām al-Ṭarābulusī. He was a companion of Mālik and the teacher of Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 213 H/828 CE) and Imām Saḥnūn (d. 240 H/854 CE).

<sup>24</sup> Specifically in Kairouan. See al-Sharīf 1999, 34.

<sup>25</sup> Ghraḥ 1992, 170–171.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Ḥamīdī 2008, 313, maintains that Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī (d. 193 H/809 CE), known as Shabṭūn, was the first to introduce the Mālikī school of law in al-Andalus and accordingly the dissemination of the doctrine is attributed to him. More details on this topic can be found in Idris 1967, 397–414; Fierro 1989, 68–93; Carmona 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Ben ‘Ashūr 1992, 85.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʿrīkh* (2008), 1: 145.

<sup>29</sup> Aṣḥab b. Khalīl (d. 273 H/988 CE) prevented Qāsim b. Aṣḥab from listening to Baqī b. Makhlad and had forbidden the disciples from being taught by *ahl al-ḥadīth*. He went so far as to assert

Baqī b. Makhlad was able to survive persecution and had many students who attended his lessons. Thanks to him and to Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, al-Andalus came to be considered *dār ḥadīth*.

Gradually, the collections of *ḥadīth* spread across the Maghrib. The *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275 H/888 CE) occupied the first place and captured the attention of the Cordoban jurists.<sup>30</sup> As regards al-Andalus, the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275 H/888 CE) was introduced by, among others, Aḥmad b. Duḥaym b. Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Ḥarb al-Qurṭubī (278–338 H/891–949 CE).<sup>31</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 358 H/971 CE), known as Ibn al-Aḥmar, introduced the *Sunan* of al-Nasā‘ī (d. 303 H/915 CE) into al-Andalus around 350 H/963 CE.<sup>32</sup> The *Jāmi‘* of al-Tirmidhī (d. 279 H/892 CE) came next,<sup>33</sup> gaining more popularity in al-Andalus than in Ifrīqiya, where it was replaced by Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It was followed by al-Dāraquṭnī’s (d. 385 H/995 CE) *Sunan* and the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 H/855 CE), while Ibn Māja’s (d. 273 H/886 CE) *Sunan* did not attract scholarly attention in the Maghrib.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the 4th/10th century marks the beginning of the heyday of *‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* in al-Andalus, where scholars became increasingly well-versed in this discipline as “the opposition between *ahl al-ra’y* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* diminished”.<sup>35</sup>

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that he would rather be buried with a pig’s head than with the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 13: 202. See also Talīdī 1995, 24.

30 Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa* (1998), 91.

31 Robson 1952, 584.

32 He set out on his *riḥla* in 295 H/907 CE, and saw al-Nasā‘ī in 297 H/909 CE in Fustat. From there he went on to Baghdad, Basra and India. When he came back to al-Andalus, he brought with him the *Sunan* and taught it to Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabī‘ b. Bannūsh al-Tamīmī (d. 415 H/1027 CE). See Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa* (1998), 91; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 16: 68.

33 Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 H/1348 CE) maintains in *Siyar a ‘lām al-nubalā’* that *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī* entered al-Andalus only after the death of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 H/1064 CE) and in *Mizān al-i’tidāl* he states that the *Jāmi‘* was unknown to Ibn Ḥazm (*innahu majhūl*) and that he had never heard about its existence nor its *‘ilal*. See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i’tidāl* (1963), 3: 678; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 18: 202. Indeed, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463 H/1071 CE), who was a teacher and close companion of Ibn Ḥazm, taught the *Jāmi‘* to his disciples and heard it from Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (d. 498 H/1105 CE). In addition, as we know that he never left al-Andalus, *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī* must have been brought there at least sixty years before the death of Ibn Ḥazm. This is an indication, partial but pertinent, that Ibn Ḥazm may have heard about al-Tirmidhī and his *Jāmi‘*; however, if this were the case, it is not clear why he would have failed to ever mention it. See Ibn ‘Atiyya, *Fahrāsa* (1983), 70; Robson 1954, 259. In spite of what al-Dhahabī reported, it is recorded in Ibn ‘Atiyya’s *Fihrist* that Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Jayyānī (d. 390 H/1000 CE) introduced al-Tirmidhī’s *Jāmi‘* into al-Andalus, as Robson 1954, 259 already pointed out.

34 See more in Brown 2011.

35 Fierro 2011, 76.

The *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* reached Kairouan in the year 357 H/967 CE thanks to Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Qābisī (d. 403 H/1012 CE), a prominent Qayrawānī jurist and traditionist.<sup>36</sup> ‘Abd Allāh al-Aṣīlī (d. 392 H/1001 CE), one of al-Qābisī’s students who had accompanied him on his *riḥla*, entered al-Andalus during the final days of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir’s rule, in 366 H/976 CE, and brought with him the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>37</sup> As regards the introduction of Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* into the Maghrib, Cordoban *imām* and *muḥaddith* Qāsim b. Aṣbagh (d. 340 H/951 CE) is said to have written a compilation of *ḥadīth* based on Muslim’s work: *Kitāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ ‘alā hay’at Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.<sup>38</sup> The aforementioned Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Jayyānī (d. 390 H/1000 CE)<sup>39</sup> is explicitly mentioned as having introduced this work into al-Andalus.<sup>40</sup>

To summarize, although initially in the Maghrib Mālikī jurists paid little attention to the reception of *aḥādīth* and *‘ilm al-ḥadīth*, from the 4th/10th century onwards, after the introduction of most of the so-called six canonical collections, the circulation of *ḥadīth* increased, as did its study and its development as a genre. From then on, many Maghribi scholars devoted their lives to studying the prophetic tradition in all its aspects. They scrutinized the materials, commented on them, wrote glosses (*ḥāshiyāt*), summaries (*talākhīṣ*) and abridged versions (*mukhtaṣarāt*), and commented on the *mutūn* and *asānīd*. Moreover, they looked into its problems (*mushkilāt*) and terms (*alfāz*), added epilogues (*takmilāt*), researched the biographies of the traditionists (*tarājim*), determined and identified its authorities (*rijāl*), composed prefaces (*iftitāḥiyyāt*) and conclusions (*khatamāt*), etc. The high proficiency that Maghribi scholars attained in *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* allowed them to make specific contributions in this field, which we will now examine.

### 2.3 The development of *ḥadīth* commentaries in the Maghrib

A significant corpus of *ḥadīth* and legal literature was produced in the Maghribi milieu; as stated by Blecher,

Beginning in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, largely but not exclusively among Maliki hadith scholars in southern Spain and North Africa, the hadith collections themselves came

<sup>36</sup> Al-Qābisī, *al-Risāla* (1986), 9.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’riḥ* (2008), 1: 335.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* (1971), 2: 49.

<sup>39</sup> See footnote 33.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’riḥ* (2008), 2: 244; Makki 1968, 203.

to be understood as worthy of systematic commentary. These commentaries took the form of live lessons, oral glosses during a recitation of hadith commentary, and multivolume written works for use as reference during devotional study, recitation, legal instruction, and legal practice.<sup>41</sup>

Before this development took place, Maghribi scholars had already written commentaries, starting with *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā* by Qayrawānī jurist al-Imām Ṣaḥnūn (d. 240 H/854 CE), a work that, to quote Nicole Cottart, is “à l’origine de toute littérature de commentaires”.<sup>42</sup>

Based on *al-Asadiyya*,<sup>43</sup> Ṣaḥnūn developed the legal basis established by Mālik in the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* through his dialogue with Mālik’s direct disciple, the Egyptian jurist Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191 H/806 CE). Although Ṣaḥnūn’s own opinions are sparse, he wrote down all that he had heard, and then sifted through the material, classifying and systematizing it.<sup>44</sup> One of al-Ghāzī b. Qays’s disciples, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238 H/854 CE), composed the first commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, entitled *Tafsīr gharīb al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*.<sup>45</sup>

As for the first commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, it is generally assumed that it was written by al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388 H/988 CE), with the title *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.<sup>46</sup> Around the same time, the Maghribi scholar Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Dāwūdī al-Tilimsānī (d. 402 H/1011 CE) wrote a commentary known as *al-Naṣīḥa fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*.<sup>47</sup> Al-Khaṭṭābī, an Easterner – whose work is preserved and can be found in modern editions – died fourteen years earlier than al-Dāwūdī, whose work has since been lost. Al-Khaṭṭābī declares in his commentary’s preface that after the insistence of his disciples in Balkh<sup>48</sup> he decided to dictate his *sharḥ* there.<sup>49</sup> Al-Dāwūdī, on the other hand, wrote his commentary

41 Blecher 2016, 1.

42 Cottart, “Mālikiyya”, *EF*, 6: 263.

43 The legal work by Asad b. al-Furāt, who composed it in Egypt after discussing 36,000 juristic themes (*masāʾil fiqhiyya*) with Ibn al-Qāsim. See Zirikli 2002, 298.

44 Puente 1995, 311.

45 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1992), 12: 103; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tafsīr* (2001), 1: 151–154; Muranyi 1997, 88.

46 Al-Dimashqī 1988, 623. It is possible that al-Khaṭṭābī’s commentary could either be in *Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn* in Fez among the non-catalogued list of manuscripts, or could have been lent out and unfortunately not been returned. See al-Kattānī, *Madrasa* (n.d.), 2: 569, 580–581.

47 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1983), 7: 103; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj* (1972), 1: 166. Al-Dāwūdī also wrote a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʿ* titled *al-Nāmi fī sharḥ Muwaṭṭaʿ al-Imām Mālik*. To my knowledge the work is not preserved, so we do not know exactly what kind of commentary it was.

48 In the north of Afghanistan.

49 Al-Khaṭṭābī, *Aʿlām al-ḥadīth* (1988), 1: 101.

in Tlemcen, far in the West.<sup>50</sup> There is, moreover, no indication that the two ever met. Al-Dāwūdī's commentary was the first commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī written in the Maghrib; although it has not been preserved, it is described as having been extensive and precise.<sup>51</sup> As we can gather based on al-Dāwūdī's date of death, his commentary was written at roughly the same time as that of al-Khaṭṭābī, which is usually given precedence without taking into account this Western counterpart.

During Ramaḍān of the year 499 H/1106 CE, in the great mosque of al-Mahdiyya, al-Imām al-Māzarī (d. 536 H/1141 CE) dedicated his lessons to the study of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. At the end of the month<sup>52</sup> his disciples gave him their notes of his dictations. He added and removed passages, rearranged it, and named it *al-Mu'lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*.<sup>53</sup> All the commentaries composed before *al-Mu'lim* were either unfinished works or belonged to the genre of *sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth*, which focused on explaining difficult, unusual and obscure words.<sup>54</sup> Therefore,

50 Mawsū'at al-'ulamā' (2013), 2: 10; Nwīḥīq 1980, 140.

51 Al-'Aynī, 'Umdat al-qāri' (n.d.), 2: 277, 8: 40, 16: 202; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Faṭḥ al-bārī* (1960), 3: 99; al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī* (1905), 1: 42.

52 Ramaḍān 499 fell in June 1106, which implies more hours of daylight, and thus longer sessions or lectures. This strengthens the hypothesis of al-Nayfar, who asserted that the whole work was dictated during the month of Ramaḍān, despite descriptions of how careful and slow al-Māzarī's dictations were. See al-Māzarī, *al-Mu'lim* (1988), 1: 193.

53 In the majority of biographical books (*kutub al-tarājim*) the work is entitled *al-Mu'lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*, as Ibn Khalqān, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn 'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, Ibn 'Aṭīyya and others maintained. However, Qāḍī 'Iyāq, for instance, in the biographical work dedicated to his teachers, *al-Ghunya*, specifies that he received by licence from al-Māzarī his work *al-Mu'lim fi sharḥ Muslim*. See Qāḍī 'Iyāq, *Tartīb al-madārik* (1982), 65; al-Māzarī, *al-Mu'lim* (1988), 1: 190–192.

54 While *al-Mufhim fi sharḥ gharīb Muslim* composed by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā'īl al-Fārisī (d. 529 H/1135 CE) paid attention to difficult and unclear terms (*gharīb al-ḥadīth*) (see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* [1978], 3: 225), Ibn al-Ḥājjī's (d. 529 H/1135 CE) *al-Ijāz wa-l-bayān li-sharḥ khuṭbat kitāb Muslim ma'a kitāb al-Imān* had been limited to the commentary of the first chapter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and remained unfinished at the time of the author's death (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa* [1998], 165). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Isā al-Shaybānī al-Andalusī (d. 530 H/1136 CE) likewise passed away before finishing his commentary, entitled *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣila* [2010], 1: 385). Another commentary appeared in the same period as *al-Mu'lim*, namely *al-Irshād* by Ibn Barraḡān (d. 536 H/1141 CE). However, he limited his commentary only to the traditions containing Qur'ānic verses (see al-Kattānī al-Fāsī, *Niẓām al-ḥukūma* [n.d.], 2: 141). Finally, Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī (d. 530 H/1136 CE) took the helm after the death of his son, who had passed away while working on his commentary to the two *Ṣaḥīḥayn* (see Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn* [1941], 2: 558).



al-Māzarī's is considered to be the first comprehensive commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and an important pillar upon which most later commentaries were built.<sup>55</sup>

The Sevillian jurist Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī al-Ishbili's (d. 543 H/1148 CE) commentary, entitled *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī fī sharḥ al-Tirmidhī*, was the first Maghribi commentary on al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmiʿ*.<sup>56</sup> Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571 H/1176 CE), in his account of the life of Ibn al-ʿArabī, asserts that after returning to al-Andalus after his long *riḥla* in 495 H/1100 CE, he devoted a *sharḥ* to *Jāmiʿ Abī ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī*.<sup>57</sup> In the chapter "Abwāb al-qirāʾāt", Ibn al-ʿArabī states that he dictated it in 533 H/1138 CE (*amlaynāhu sanat thalāth wa-thalāthīn bi-jamīʿi wujūhihā*). Likewise, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Zuhri, one of Ibn al-ʿArabī's disciples, says that he heard him dictate *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī* in 540 H/1145 CE,<sup>58</sup> just three years before his death and after having written his works *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*<sup>59</sup> and *al-Qabas*.<sup>60</sup> Thus, he wrote this commentary during a period of intellectual maturity and after having abandoned his position as judge, at a time when he was able to devote all his energies to writing (*taṣnīf*), dictation (*imlāʿ*) and teaching (*tadrīs*).<sup>61</sup>

In the Islamic West, the genre of *ḥadīth* commentaries was nurtured by the increase and diversification of the *shurūḥ* produced there. Many of these commentaries, e.g. *al-Muʿlim* and *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī*, were influential sources of inspiration for later works.<sup>62</sup> We might ask, then, in what ways this Maghribi influence shows up in works by Mashriqi scholars.

55 Sezgin 1967, 1: 136, 137.

56 Brockelmann and Sezgin mention the presence of a manuscript of a *sharḥ* in the Maḥmūdiyya Library in Medina (only the last part according to Spies 1936) attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Baghawī (d. 510 H/1117 CE). See Brockelmann 1977, 3: 190; Sezgin 1967, 1: 155. Nevertheless, none of the biographical dictionaries mentions this, and in the introduction to his commentary, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī denies the existence of other commentaries before *ʿĀriḍat al-aḥwadhī*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Qūt al-mughṭadhī* (2013), 1: 18.

57 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh* (1997), 54: 24.

58 Aʿrāb 1987, 111.

59 He finished it in 530 H/1135-6 CE. See Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (2003), 7: 151.

60 He dictated it in 532 H/1137-8 CE. See Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Qabas* (1992), 66.

61 Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣīla* (2010), 2: 228.

62 Both the title and content influenced later commentaries: *Ikmal al-Muʿlim fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *Ikmal li-l-Qāḍī ʿIyād*, *Ikmal al-Ikmal*, *Ikmal Ikmal al-Muʿlim*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥwadhī sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*.

### 3 The *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* as a case study

#### 3.1 Maghribi commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*

Once it was introduced into the Maghrib, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* drew the attention of the scholars who encountered it, as reflected in the diversity and the number of works they composed on it. The Eastern authors Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643 H/1245 CE)<sup>63</sup> and al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE),<sup>64</sup> as well as the Maghribi al-Tujībī (d. 730 H/1329 CE)<sup>65</sup> and other scholars claimed that *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* was preferred over *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the western Islamic lands.<sup>66</sup> Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 H/1406 CE) confirms this:

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim has been given much attention by Maghribi scholars. They applied themselves to it and agreed that it was superior to the work of al-Bukhārī. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ said: "It is considered superior [by Maghribis and other scholars] to the work of al-Bukhārī, because it is free from admixtures of material that is not sound and that al-Bukhārī wrote down disregarding his own conditions [of soundness], mostly in connection with the chapter headings".<sup>67</sup>

From what I have found in the biographical books (*kutub al-tarājim*), together with *kutub al-barāmij* and *al-fahāris*, that I have consulted,<sup>68</sup> I have provisionally concluded that commentaries (*shurūḥ*) comprised the lion's share as compared to the other genres within *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*. As mentioned above, the *Muʿlim* of al-Māzarī is considered the first and oldest complete commentary on Muslim's compilation. In this table, I have placed the Maghribi commentaries in ascending order according to the scholars' date of death.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyāna* (1984), 70.

<sup>64</sup> Al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj* (2000), 21.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Tujībī, *Barnāmaj* (1981), 93.

<sup>66</sup> For more details about the preference for *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* over *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, see Trad (in press), 5–6.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1958), 2: 459.

<sup>68</sup> *Kutub al-barāmij wa-l-fahāris wa-l-maʿājim wa-l-athbāt* are bibliographical dictionaries that focus on the transmission of works in different disciplines. For a detailed review on this topic, see ʿAmad 1993, 11–15.

**Tab. 1:** Maghribi commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*

| Scholars   | Works  |
|--|--|
| al-Māzarī (d. 536 H/1141 CE)                               | <i>al-Muʿlim bi-fawāʿid Muslim</i>   |
| Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544 H/1149 CE)                              | <i>Ikmāl al-Muʿlim fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>                               |
| Ibn Mawjūwāl al-Balansī (d. 566 H/1170 CE)                 | <i>Sharḥ fī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>   |
| Ibn Qurqūl (d. 569 H/1173 CE)                              | <i>Maṭāliʿ al-anwār ʿalā Ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār</i>                                |
| Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍabbī (d. 599 H/1202 CE)                 | <i>Maṭāliʿ al-anwār li-Ṣiḥāḥ al-āthār</i>                                  |
| Ibn Abī Jamra, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 599 H/1202 CE)        | <i>Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>  |
| Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Dhahabī al-Balansī (d. 601 H/1204 CE)  | <i>Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>  |
| ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī al-Wādī Āshī (d. 609 H/1212 CE)  | <i>Iqtibās al-sirāj fī sharḥ Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj</i>                      |
| Ibn al-Mawwāq (d. 642 H/1244 CE)                           | <i>Sharḥ Muqqadimat Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>                                       |
| Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī (d. 646 H/1248 CE)          | <i>al-Muḥṣiḥ al-muḥḥim wa-l-muwaḍḍaḥ al-mul-him li-maʿānī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i> |
| Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Qurṭubī (d. 656 H/1258 CE)                | <i>al-Muḥḥim li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ Kitāb Muslim</i>                    |
| Ibn Abī al-Aḥwaṣ (d. 679 H/1280 CE)                        | <i>al-Muʿrib al-muḥḥim fī sharḥ Muslim</i>                                 |
| Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī al-Andalusī (d. 707 H/1307 CE)    | <i>Ikmāl li-l-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ</i>   |
| Muḥammad b. Juzayy al-Kalbī al-Gharnaṭī (d. 741 H/1340 CE) | <i>Wasīlat al-muslim fī tahdhīb Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>                           |
| Abū al-Faraj ʿĪsā b. Masʿūd al-Zawāwī (d. 744 H/1343 CE)   | <i>Sharḥ Muslim</i>  |
| al-Sharīf al-Sallāwī al-Idrīsī (d. 780 H/1378 CE)          | <i>Ikmāl al-Ikmāl</i>  |
| Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ubbī al-Tūnisī (d. 827 H/1423 CE)        | <i>Ikmāl Ikmāl al-Muʿlim</i>   |
| Ibn al-Shāṭ (d. 890 H/1485 CE)                             | <i>Taʿlīq ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>  |
| Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanūsī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 895 H/1489 CE)     | <i>Mukammal Ikmāl al-Ikmāl</i>   |
| Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Marrākushī (d. 1348 H/1929 CE)     | <i>Bughyat kull muslim min Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>                                |

The analysis of the Maghribi commentaries that follows below – in this case, two have been selected – will allow us to gain a better understanding of the importance and reception of these works in the East, and will shed some light on the Maghrib's impact on the Mashriq.

### 3.1.1 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s commentary

As the title *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim fī sharḥ Muslim* indicates (*ikmāl* meaning “completion”), the commentary of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ sought to rearrange and further develop a pre-existing work elaborated by al-Māzarī, *al-Mu‘lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*.<sup>69</sup> In addition, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* was based on the book *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* by Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī (d. 498 H/1105 CE).<sup>70</sup> In the introduction, ‘Iyāḍ pays tribute to the high status of both works and to their important contribution to the genre. However, he also asserts that the authors overlooked certain problematic traditions, unclear terms and other other sources of confusion. With this in mind, and with the continued insistence of his disciples, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ decided to take the helm from his teachers and write a complete, comprehensive and detailed commentary.<sup>71</sup> *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* was the first link in the chain of consecutive commentaries based on *al-Mu‘lim*, i.e. *Ikmāl li-l-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Laythī al-Andalusī (d. 707 H/1307 CE), *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl* by al-Sharīf al-Sallāwī al-Idrīsī (d. 780 H/1378 CE), *Ikmāl Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ubbī al-Tūnisī (d. 827 H/1424 CE) and *Mukammal Ikmāl al-Ikmāl* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sanūsī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 895 H/1490 CE).

### 3.1.2 Al-Qurṭubī’s (578–656 H/1182–1258 CE) commentary

To assess the real value of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s contribution and his continuators, previous and later commentaries on *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* need to be taken into account, together with the intellectual atmosphere in which they arose. Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī lived in the period where “the study of *aḥādīth* became widespread”.<sup>72</sup> His commentary to Muslim’s work, entitled *al-Mufḥim fī sharḥ kitāb Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, is preserved in many manuscripts, of which there are a number of modern editions. Although a sizeable number of *ḥadīth* commentaries had already been circulating in both the Maghrib and the Mashriq, the *Mufḥim* managed to reach a sizeable audience because of its crucial role as an interface between, on the one

<sup>69</sup> Al-Māzarī was Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s teacher by correspondence, as Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s *riḥla* was only to al-Andalus. Al-Māzarī gave him the license to transmit his work *al-Mu‘lim* (*ajāza lahu bihi*).

<sup>70</sup> *Taqyīd al-muḥmal wa-tamyiz al-mushkil fī rijāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* is a compilation of the authorities in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. It accurately verifies their names (*asmā’*), agnomens (*kunā*) and lineages (*ansāb*); highlights and corrects mistakes; and presents these authorities’ origins and tribal affiliations. See al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* (2000), 93; Serrano Ruano 2013, 299.

<sup>71</sup> Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* (1998), 1: 71–72.

<sup>72</sup> Fierro 2011, 77. On al-Qurṭubī see Kaddouri 2005, 160–207.

hand, al-Māzarī and Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, and, on the other, al-Ubbī and al-Sanūsī.<sup>73</sup> In addition, this commentary is distinguished by offering a readily comprehensible synthesis, coupled with an inimitable simplicity (*al-sahil al-mumtana’*),<sup>74</sup> as indicated in the title, where *mufhim* means “that which makes intelligible”.

As for the date and place where *al-Mufhim* was written, they are not mentioned in the book. However, al-Qurṭubī does make reference to his own previous works, and explicitly discusses his trip to the East, after which he settled in Alexandria.<sup>75</sup> Thus, this commentary must have been composed for the most part in Egypt, and more specifically in Alexandria, between 619 H/1222 CE and 656 H/1258 CE.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.2 The impact of *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* and *al-Mufhim* on later Eastern commentaries

What sort of influence did Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī’s commentaries have on the Mashriq? This can be ascertained on two levels: form and content.

As for form, the chapter division (*tabwīb*) of Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* is attributed to Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676 H/1277 CE).<sup>77</sup> Muslim, in fact, did not divide his book into chapters (*kutub*) and subchapters (*abwāb*),<sup>78</sup> but rather arranged the traditions following a logic-based and juristic order (*tartīb fiqhī*),<sup>79</sup> possibly in order to save space and avoid redundancy. While the oldest copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* – e.g. the copy of Abū Ishāq al-Ṣirīfaynī (d. 641 H/1242 CE) – do not contain the *abwāb*,<sup>80</sup> the later ones are arranged differently, and these differences vary from place to place and according to the schools of law.<sup>81</sup> Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H/1505 CE)

<sup>73</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufhim* (1996), 1: 17.

<sup>74</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufhim* (1996), 1: 17.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufhim* (1996), 6: 25–26.

<sup>76</sup> For the dates of al-Qurṭubī’s return from his pilgrimage to Alexandria and his death, see Kad-douri 2005, 192.

<sup>77</sup> Al-Mundhirī, *Mukhtaṣar* (1987), 9.

<sup>78</sup> In fact, the *kutub* form part of the process of *tabwīb*, since the *kitāb* is actually a large *bāb* with internal ramifications or subchapters.

<sup>79</sup> Āl Ḥumayyid 1999, 40.

<sup>80</sup> Salmān 1994, 175.

<sup>81</sup> There is, of course, still some ambiguity concerning Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s assertion that some copies of Muslim were divided into chapters similarly to al-Bukhārī (*wa-qaḍ waqa’a li-Muslim fi ba’d tarājimihi min ba’d al-riwāyāt mithla tarjamat al-Bukhārī ‘alā hādihā al-ḥadīth, wa-naṣṣuhu: bāb*

agrees that Muslim did not divide his book in this way, and that the division was undertaken by those who came after him.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, al-Māzarī arranged his commentary into forty-one chapters, two subchapters entitled “bāb al-qasāma” and “bāb al-shi’r”, and one independent part called “al-luqaṭa”. Later on, in *Ikmāl al-Mu’lim*, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ eliminated eight chapters<sup>83</sup> from the previous commentary, added twenty new ones,<sup>84</sup> and divided each chapter into subchapters.

Al-Nawawī essentially followed Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s divisions, excluding five *kutub*<sup>85</sup> and reintegrating “kitāb qatḥ al-ḥayyāt wa-ghayrihā”, from al-Māzarī’s commentary. The example in Table 2 shows the development from al-Māzarī’s arrangement to the work carried out by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and its reception by al-Nawawī.

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*al-taṭayyub ba’d al-ghusl min al-janāba*). See Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu’lim* (1998), 2: 160. In addition, the eminent traditionist of Córdoba and teacher of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, Abū ‘Alī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, mentions in his *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* one of the *abwāb* of Muslim: *wa-akhraja Muslim fī bāb tasmiyat al-Mawlūd* (al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, *Taqyīd al-muḥmal* [2000], 905). The fact that the teacher and his disciple referred to the *abwāb* of Muslim is a strong indication that they were both using the same copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which employed this structure. In the case of the Maghrib, the most well known copy circulating there was that of Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mughira b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qalānīsī (date of death unknown). On the other hand, the version of Ibn Sufyān (d. 308 H/920 CE) was at the same time gaining ground and had been used by the majority of scholars. Therefore, regardless of whether Muslim arranged his book into *kutub* and *abwāb* or not, the role of the Maghrib is crucial here, because it was there that this concept of *tabwīb* first appeared, whether in al-Qalānīsī’s version or in a Maghribi *ḥadīth* commentary. For further information about al-Qalānīsī’s copy see Trad (in press).

**82** See Appendix.

**83** “Kitāb al-taflis”, “kitāb al-shuf’a”, “kitāb al-sariqa”, “kitāb al-qaḍā’ wa-l-shahādāt”, “kitāb al-aṭ’ima”, “kitāb al-ṭibb”, “kitāb al-ṭā’ūn”, and “kitāb al-manāqīb”.

**84** “Kitāb al-ḥayḍ”, “kitāb al-masājid wa-mawāḍi’ al-ṣalāt”, “kitāb ṣalāt al-musāfirīn”, “kitāb al-jum’a”, “kitāb ṣalāt al-’idayn”, “kitāb ṣalāt al-istisqā’”, “kitāb al-kusūf”, “kitāb al-i’tikāf”, “kitāb al-li’ān”, “kitāb al-hibāt”, “kitāb al-waṣiyya”, “kitāb al-ḥudūd”, “kitāb al-aqḍiya”, “kitāb al-salām”, “kitāb al-alfāz min al-adab”, “kitāb al-faḍā’il”, “kitāb faḍā’il al-ṣaḥāba”, “kitāb al-’ilm”, “kitāb al-tawba”, and “kitāb al-janna wa-ṣifat na’imihā wa-ahlihā”.

**85** “Kitāb al-ṣiyām”, “kitāb al-riḍā’”, “kitāb al-’itq”, “kitāb al-musāqāt”, and “kitāb al-nadhr”.

**Tab. 2:** The arrangement of “kitāb al-qadar” in al-Māzarī, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ and al-Nawawī’s commentaries on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim

| “Kitāb al-qadar” in <i>al-Mu‘lim</i> by al-Māzarī  | “Kitāb al-qadar” in <i>Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim</i> by Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ   | “Kitāb al-qadar” in <i>al-Minhāj</i> by al-Nawawī  |
|--|--|--|
| Taḥrīr al-Māzarī li-qawlihi: mā min nafs manfūsa illā wa-qad kataba Allāh makānahā fī al-janna wa-l-nār...   | Bāb kayfiyyat khalq al-ādamī fī baṭn ummihi wa-kitābat rizqīhi wa-ajalihi wa-‘amalihi wa-shaqāwatihi wa-sa‘ādatihi | Bāb kayfiyyat khalq al-ādamī fī baṭn ummihi wa-kitābat rizqīhi wa-ajalihi wa-‘amalihi wa-shaqāwatihi wa-sa‘ādatihi |
| Ḥadīth ihtijāj Ādam wa-Mūsā ‘alayhimā al-salām wa-izālat mā yarid fī hādihā al-maqām                         | Bāb ḥijāj Ādam wa-Mūsā ‘alayhimā al-salām  | Bāb ḥijāj Ādam wa-Mūsā ‘alayhimā al-salām  |
| Ḥadīth “latarkabanna sunana man qablakum”  |  |  |
| Qawluhu: inna qulūba banī Ādam bayn işba‘ayn min aşābi‘ Allāh  | Bāb taṣrīf Allāh ta‘ālā al-qulūb kayfa shā‘a   | Bāb taṣrīf Allāh ta‘ālā al-qulūb kayfa shā‘a   |
|  | Bāb kullu shay‘ bi-qadar   | Bāb kullu shay‘ bi-qadar   |
|  | Bāb quddira ‘alā Ibn Ādam ḥaḍḍuhu min al-zinā wa-ghayruhu  | Bāb quddira ‘alā Ibn Ādam ḥaḍḍuhu min al-zinā wa-ghayruhu  |
| Ḥadīth “mā min mawlūd illā yūladu ‘alā al-fiṭra fa-abawāhu yuhawwidānihi wa-yunaṣṣirānihi wa-yumaj-jisānihi” | Bāb ma‘nā kull mawlūd yūladu ‘alā al-fiṭra wa-ḥukm mawt aṭfāl al-kuffār wa-aṭfāl al-muslimīn                       | Bāb ma‘nā kull mawlūd yūladu ‘alā al-fiṭra wa-ḥukm mawt aṭfāl al-kuffār wa-aṭfāl al-muslimīn                       |
| Ikhtilāf al-nās fī al-mutashābah   |  |  |
|  | Bāb bayān anna al-ājāl wa-l-arzāq wa-ghayruhā lā tazīd wa-lā tanquṣu ‘ammā sabaqa bihi al-qadar                    | Bāb bayān anna al-ājāl wa-l-arzāq wa-ghayruhā lā tazīd wa-lā tanquṣu ‘ammā sabaqa bihi al-qadar                    |
|  | Bāb fī al-amr bi-l-quwwa wa-tark al-‘ajz wa-l-isti‘āna bi-Llāh wa-tafwīḍ al-maqādīr li-Llāh                        | Bāb fī al-amr bi-l-quwwa wa-tark al-‘ajz wa-l-isti‘āna bi-Llāh wa-tafwīḍ al-maqādīr li-Llāh                        |

Given this example, the assertion that it was al-Nawawī who arranged the *Ṣaḥīḥ* should be called into question,<sup>86</sup> because this was *a fortiori* a task that had already

<sup>86</sup> Admittedly, it could still have been argued until 1988 or 1998, the dates when *al-Mu‘lim* and then *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* were published, thereby making it possible to refute this attribution.

been carried out by previous Maghribi traditionists, the results of which were afterwards adopted in the Mashriq.

Turning now to the level of content, here the impact of Maghribi commentaries on Mashriqī works is immediately perceptible. The analysis I have carried out of al-Nawawī's commentary has shown that the roots of his *sharḥ* are to be found in the *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim*. This can be clearly ascertained in al-Nawawī's own words in the "kitāb al-īmān", where he discusses the *ḥadīth* "man māta wa-huwa ya'lamu anna lā ilāha illā Allāh dakhala al-janna". Al-Nawawī asserts that Qāḍī 'Iyād's painstaking explanation of this *ḥadīth* was highly valuable (*jama'a fihī nafā'is*) and that he will be quoting from and abridging Qāḍī 'Iyād's words (*fa-anā anqulu kalāmahu mukhtaṣaran*), followed by his own additions.<sup>87</sup>

Maghribi commentaries' impact on the East was not limited to works addressing Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*; it also extended to the *shurūḥ* of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Abū al-'Abbās al-Qurṭubī's *al-Mufḥim* inspired many scholars dealing with al-Bukhārī's work. This was especially true with Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 H/1449 CE) in his *Fath al-bārī*, Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (d. 855 H/1451 CE) in '*Umdat al-qārī*', and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qaṣṭalānī (d. 923 H/1517 CE) in *Irshād al-sārī*. *Al-Mufḥim* was of great help in explaining the meanings of ambiguous terms in the titles of the chapters and subchapters. Thus, in *Fath al-bārī*, in "kitāb al-ḥajj", "bāb faḍl al-ḥajj al-mabrūr", Ibn Ḥajar quotes al-Qurṭubī's commentary.<sup>88</sup> It was also a reference concerning the explanation of the ambiguous and less readily understood terms (*sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth*),<sup>89</sup> the verification and rectification of the main text of the report (*ḍabṭ al-matn*),<sup>90</sup> the declension of some terms (*i'rāb al-alfāz*),<sup>91</sup> the assemblage of traditions (*al-jam' bayn al-aḥādīth*),<sup>92</sup> etc. The *Mufḥim* also served as a source for correcting issues related to the Mālikī school of law and certain Mālikī rituals, such as raising the hands during prayer.<sup>93</sup>

Within this context, I will provide an example showing how an idea that appeared first in the Maghrib started to circulate outside this region and was later introduced implicitly in the Mashriqī commentaries.<sup>94</sup> In "kitāb al-ḥayḍ" and "kitāb al-qadar", in *Ikmāl al-Mu'lim*, Qāḍī 'Iyād, when dealing with the morphogenesis of the embryo, maintains that it is formed thanks to the "water" of the

87 Al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj* (2000), 105.

88 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 3: 382.

89 Al-'Aynī, '*Umdat al-qārī*' (n.d.), 6: 269.

90 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 4: 316.

91 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 5: 366.

92 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 4: 134.

93 Al-Qaṣṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī* (1905), 2: 73.

94 I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Thomas Eich bringing this example to my attention.



woman and also the “water” of the man. In order to clarify his opinion, he compares male sperm to rennet and its ability to curdle milk.<sup>95</sup> The commentary is as follows:

And in it, there is an indication that the child is made of both waters, and this is an answer to those who thought that it is only of the water of the woman, and that the water of the man only has the function of curdling, as with rennet and milk.<sup>96</sup>

Later, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ states:

It contains a rejection to the anatomists (*ahl al-tashrīḥ*), doctors (*wa-[ahl] al-tibb*) and philosophers/naturalists (*wa-l-ṭabā‘i ‘iyyīn*) and those who believe in what they say, that is, that the child comes instead from the menstrual blood, and that the semen has nothing to do with its creation, but merely coagulates it (*‘aqdihī*), as with rennet and milk, which the book of God and the authentic *aḥādīth* contradict.<sup>97</sup>

One century later, the same comparison appears in the commentary of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qurṭubī, in “*kitāb al-ṭahāra*”:

And these *aḥādīth* indicate (...) that the child is made of the water of man and woman, unlike those who thought that the child was made of the woman’s water and that the water of the man was the cause of the fermentation like rennet for the milk. And God knows best.<sup>98</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī reproduces the exact same idea with minor differences in word choice:

Many of the anatomists (*ahl al-tashrīḥ*) claim that the sperm (*manī‘*) of the man has no influence on the child (*walad*), leaving no trace but his coagulation (*‘aqd*). It arises from the menstrual blood. The *aḥādīth* of the chapter nullify this, and what was first mentioned corresponds more closely with the *ḥadīth*. And God knows best.<sup>99</sup>

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95 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ was not the first to make this comparison; it has its roots in the Hellenistic period, descending from Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates. It also appears in the Hebrew Bible: “Did you not pour me out like milk and curdle me like cheese” (Job 10.10). Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ was, however, the first commentator to incorporate this idea into a *ḥadīth* commentary. Knowing that Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ travelled many times to al-Andalus, a question that could be raised is whether he heard this information from one of the eminent Andalusī Jewish scholars. For further information about the history of embryology, see Needham 1959.

96 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* (1998), 2: 151.

97 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim* (1998), 8: 125.

98 Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mufḥim* (1996), 1: 572.

99 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī* (1960), 11: 480.

It resurfaces in *Sharḥ al-arbaʿin al-nawawiyya* by ʿAbd al-Raʿūf al-Manāwī (d. 1031 H/1621 CE) under the following form:

And many of the anatomists (*ahl al-tashrīḥ*) claim that the sperm (*manīʾ*) of the man has no influence on the child except in his coagulation (*ʿaqd*), and that instead it arises from the menstrual blood. And the *aḥādīth* of the chapter nullify this.<sup>100</sup>

There are two key facts at play here. First, we know that after receiving a sound, well-rounded education, al-Qurṭubī set out on his *riḥla* from al-Andalus to the East and that he settled in Egypt,<sup>101</sup> where he lived until his death in 656 H/1258 CE. Second, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Manāwī were themselves from Egypt. Therefore, I suggest the following interpretation: al-Qurṭubī constituted the link between the Maghrib and the Mashriq, transmitting the knowledge he acquired in Córdoba and al-Mahdiyya to his disciples during his lessons (*ḥalaqāt taḍrīs*).<sup>102</sup> If this is the case, we can see how the *riḥla* could in some instances be bidirectional, helping the travelling scholar to widen his knowledge, while at the same time spreading knowledge stemming from his own intellectual and regional/local background.

## 4 Conclusion

In this article I have summarized in diachronic order the chief stages in the introduction of the *ḥadīth* collections to the Maghrib, and have then discussed how this region shaped the genre of *ḥadīth* commentary by concentrating on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and its commentaries, due to its fame and superiority in the Islamic west. It was here that commentary writing reached its apogee, providing solid foundations on which later works from across the Islamic world would build. Nevertheless, Mashriqī scholars mainly focused on Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, claiming that “if it were not for [Qāḍī] ʿIyāḍ, the Maghrib would not have been known” (*law lā ʿIyāḍ, la-mā ʿurifa al-Maghrib*),<sup>103</sup> thereby overshadowing other eminent Maghribi scholars like al-Ghāzī b. Qays, Baqī b. Makhlad, Qāsim b. Aṣḥab, Abū Jaʿfar b. Naṣr al-Dāwūdī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī al-Jayyānī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514 H/1126 CE), al-Māzarī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qābisī, and Abū al-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh (d.

<sup>100</sup> Berlin, National Library MS 461–1500, fol. 66r.

<sup>101</sup> In Alexandria.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj* (1972), 1: 131.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn Tāwīt 1982, 59.

1014 H/1622 CE), whose library boasted more than one thousand copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

## Appendix

### **Al-Suyūṭī, *Qūt al-muḡtadhī* (2013), 1: 33**

(وإذا) قال راو: حدثنا، وقال اخر: أخبرنا، ولم يخلط معها شيئاً من أقوال الصحابة ومن بعدهم، حتى ولا الأبواب والتراجم، كل ذلك حرصاً على أن لا يدخل في الحديث غيرُهُ. فليس فيه بعد المقدمة إلا الحديث السرد، وما يوجد في نسخة من الأبواب مترجمةً فليس من صنع المؤلف وإنما صنعه جماعة بعده – كما قال النووي (21/1) – ومنها الجيد وغيره.

قلت: وكأنهم أرادوا به التقريب على من يكشف منه، وكان الصواب ترك ذلك (ق4/2) ولهذا تجد النسخ القديمة ليس فيها أبواب البتة، نسخة بخط الحافظ أبي إسحاق الصريفي كذلك لا أبواب فيها أصلاً.

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