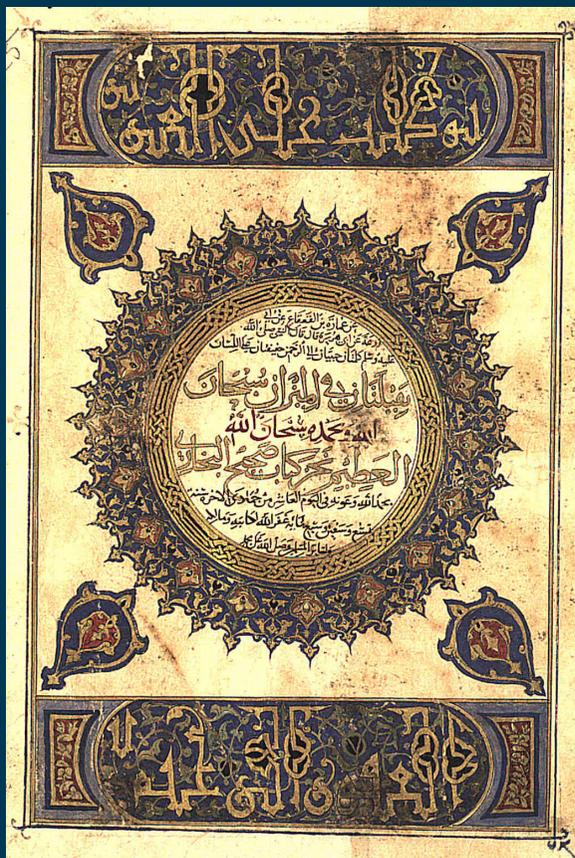


From Khurasan to al-Andalus

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī in the Maghreb in Light of Two Early Manuscripts

Studies in Hadith Sciences (2)



Muntasir Zaman

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HADITH  NOTES

2021

From Khurasan to al-Andalus: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the Maghreb in Light of Two Early Manuscripts. A title in our *Studies in Hadith Sciences* series, Number: 2
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Cover design and typesetting by scholarlytype.com

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



Map: Principal cities of al-Andalus ca. 1030/420.

Introduction

Students of hadith are well aware that many Maghrebi scholars preferred *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* over *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* for aesthetic and structural reasons.¹ This preference, however, should not detract from their laudable efforts in studying, explicating, and transmitting the latter. Despite being geographically distant from the hadith networks of “the long fourth century AH,”² Maghrebi scholars from the fifth century onwards were responsible for some of the most important recensions (e.g., al-Aṣīlī’s), manuscripts (e.g., Ibn Manzūr’s),³ commentaries (e.g., Ibn Baṭṭāl’s), abridgments (e.g., al-Muhallab’s *al-Mukhtaṣar al-naṣīḥ*), and supplementary works (e.g., al-Jayyānī’s *Taqyīd al-muhmal*) on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁴ In the tenth century, the Wattasid Sultan Abū al-‘Abbās (d. 960 AH) endowed a chair in the prestigious al-Qarawīyyīn to teach the *Ṣaḥīḥ* alongside its most prominent commentary.⁵

- 1 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ma‘rifat anwā‘ ilm al-ḥadīth* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1986), 19; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī fi sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawāwī* (Jeddah: Dār al-Minhāj, 2016), 2:296–313.
- 2 The most intense period of study on the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* occurred in the late third to the early fifth century (“the long fourth century”) in the lands of Khurasan, Eastern Iran, and eventually Baghdad by transmission-based Shāfi‘ī scholars. See Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim* (Leiden, Brill, 2007), 100–103.
- 3 Maghrebi scholars penned several authoritative manuscripts of some of the other Six Books, such as Abū al-Qāsim al-Amawī’s (d. ca. 580 AH) manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (often attributed to its editor, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbili), al-Jayyānī’s manuscript of *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī’s (d. 460 AH) manuscript of *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī*, and Abū Muḥammad al-Ṭulayṭī’s manuscript of al-Nasā’ī’s *al-Sunan al-kubrā*. See Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥumaydī, “al-Uṣūl al-khaṭṭīyya al-ḥadīthīyya bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus,” *Majallat al-Turāth al-Nabawī* 3, no. 1 (2018): 140–150.
- 4 For a detailed exposé of the Maghrebi recensions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see Muḥammad al-Manūnī, “Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī fi al-dirāsāt al-maghribīyya min khilāl ruwāṭihī al-awalīn wa-uṣūlihī,” in *Qabas min ‘atā’ al-makḥṭūṭ al-Maghribī* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1999), 79ff.
- 5 Muḥammad Ḥajjī, *al-Ḥaraka al-fikriyya bi-l-Maghrib fi ‘ahd al-Sa‘dīyyīn* (Rabat: Dār al-Maghrib li-l-tālif, 1976), 1:119; cf. Muḥammad b. ‘Azzūz, *Kursī Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī bi-Jāmi‘ al-Qarawīyyīn bi-madīnat Fās* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2010), 19–20. This chair was endowed in 939 AH, and the lecturer was instructed to read from *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. For this purpose, the sultan had procured a manuscript of *Fatḥ al-Bārī* that Muḥammad al-Tanasī (d. 899 AH) transcribed directly from Ibn Ḥajar’s autograph. This manuscript is

The ripple effects of this rigorous scholarship were felt throughout the Muslim lands,⁶ albeit with some hurdles along the way.⁷

Recent scholarship has shed light on the history of hadith studies in the Maghreb with particular reference to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁸ This paper hopes to contribute to the ongoing discussion by providing a cursory analysis of two exceptionally early manuscripts of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* transcribed in al-Andalus. One of these manuscripts was studied by the Moroccan hadith expert ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (d. 1962) in the early twentieth century. The other was discovered recently and deserves the attention of the scholarly community, for it is likely the earliest complete manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* available today. The tale of these Andalusian manuscripts begins with a fifth century scholar from Khurasan whose recension of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* proved instrumental in the spread of the work in the Islamic West.⁹

.....
 currently housed in the al-Qarawiyyīn library. See the entry for *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* in Muḥammad al-‘Ābid’s *Fihris makhṭūṭāt khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn*.

- 6 The commentary genre in particular is heavily indebted to Maghrebi scholarship. A cursory glance at renowned commentaries like Ibn Ḥajar’s *Faṭḥ al-Bārī* and al-Nawawī’s *al-Minhāj* demonstrates their extensive reliance on the scholarship of Ibn Baṭṭāl, al-Muḥallab, al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, and others. On the effects of Maghrebi commentarial literature on hadith scholarship, see Muḥammad Rustum, “al-Madrasa al-Andalusiyya fi sharḥ al-Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ,” *Majallat Jāmi’at Umm al-Qurā* 15, no. 27 (1424 AH): 35–37.
- 7 Scholars from the Islamic East occasionally erred in their evaluation of Maghrebi transmitters. These discrepancies were caused by a misunderstanding stemming from such a vast geographic distance, an unfamiliarity with Maghrebi script, and the deterioration of manuscripts due to their delayed arrival in Eastern lands. Ibrāhīm al-Ghumārī examines this phenomenon via five case studies in *Namādhij min awḥām al-nuqqād al-mashāriqa fi al-ruwāḥ al-maghāriba* (Cairo: Dār al-Muṣṭafā, 1996), 25–53.
- 8 Works on the subject include Muḥammad al-Manūnī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī fi al-dirāsāt al-maghribiyya min khilāl ruwāṭihī al-awwalīn wa-uṣūlihi*, Yūsuf al-Kattānī’s *Madrasat al-Imām al-Bukhārī fi al-Maghrib*, and Muḥammad Rustum’s numerous articles and books. For a survey of Western academic research on the subject, see Maribel Fierro, “Local and Global in Ḥadīth Literature: The Case of al-Andalus,” in *The Transmission and Dynamics of the Textual Sources of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 63–70. Fierro also provides a useful history of hadith literature in al-Andalus that is divided into five periods. See Fierro, 75–78.
- 9 *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was already transmitted in the Maghreb before Abū Dharr’s recension reached there. ‘Abd Allāh al-Aṣīlī (d. 392 AH) studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (d. 371 AH) in Mecca and then transmitted it in his hometown. His travel companion, the blind hadith scholar, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qābisī (d. 403 AH), was the first to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Córdoba. Abū Ja‘far al-Dāwūdī (d. 402 AH) of Tripoli is

Transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

Thousands of people are said to have attended auditions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under al-Bukhārī,¹⁰ but only a handful of them played an active role in its transmission, such as Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Farabrī (d. 320 AH), Ibrāhīm b. Ma‘qil (d. 295 AH), and Ḥammād b. Shākir (d. 311 AH). Due to a myriad of factors, al-Farabrī ultimately became the most crucial heir to al-Bukhārī’s magnum opus.¹¹ Al-Farabrī studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with al-Bukhārī three times during the final years of his life.¹² Not only was he able to verify his manuscript by studying the work with the compiler multiple times, but he was also well-informed of its final form, thus making his recension the most complete and accurate. That he had access to al-Bukhārī’s holograph added to the exactness of his own manuscript.¹³ He continued to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ* for sixty-four years after his teacher’s demise; he outlived many of

-
- considered the first to write a systematic commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. See al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrib al-masālik li-ma‘rifat a‘lām madhhab Mālik* (Morocco: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1985), 7:135–137; Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003), 1:145, 662; al-Ḥasanī, *Ithāf al-qārī bi-ma‘rifat juhūd wa-a‘māl al-‘ulamā’ ‘alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Damascus: al-Yamāma, 1987), 98.
- 10 Al-Farabrī states that ninety thousand people *heard* the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Bukhārī but “I am the only remaining transmitter.” See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1985), 12:398. Al-Dhahabī does not accept al-Farabrī’s statement quoted here. Muḥammad ‘Awwāma explains that his critique is unwarranted whereas Ṣalāḥ Fathī explains that al-Dhahabī used the words *wa-lam yaṣīḥḥ* (it is inaccurate), which is not a criticism of the chain of transmission; rather, al-Dhahabī disagrees that al-Farabrī was the last to transmit the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. See ‘Awwāma, annotation on *Tadrib al-Rāwī*, 2:365–66; Ṣalāḥ Fathī, “Nuskhat Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī al-aṣliyya wa-ashhar riwāyātihi,” *Majallat al-Turāth al-Nabawī* 3, no. 1 (2018): 77.
- 11 There is no reason to doubt al-Farabrī’s standing as a transmitter. Ibn ‘Adī (d. 365 AH) implicitly deemed him reliable, al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385 AH) acknowledged him as the transmitter of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and al-Bājī (d. 474 AH) said that he was “reliable, prominent (*thiqa mashhūr*).” On the status of al-Farabrī, see Muntasir Zaman, “Translator’s Appendix I,” in al-A‘zamī, *An Introduction to Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (London: Turath Publishing, 2020), 91–93; also see al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Mu‘talif wa-l-mukhtalif* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986), 4:1897.
- 12 Ibn Nuqṭa, *al-Taḥyid li-ma‘rifat ruwāt al-sunan wa-l-masānīd* (Qatar: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 2014), 1:291–292.
- 13 Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, *al-Ta‘dīl wa-l-tajrīḥ li-man kharraja lahu al-Bukhārī fī al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Riyadh: Dār al-Liwā’, 1986), 1:310–311; Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat al-naṣiḥ fī al-ta‘rīf bi-sanad al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya, 1973), 18.

his peers and became the most renowned authority from whom to learn the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.¹⁴ Be that as it may, narrations from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* via his peers have not gone extinct as they are partially preserved in secondary sources.¹⁵

Modern readers may find it difficult to fathom how a text that enjoyed such acclaim was transmitted by only a few or even one of the compiler's immediate students. There are a few points to bear in mind. Simply because thousands of people attended an audition of a text, not every attendee necessarily brought a copy of the work,¹⁶ which was imperative for anyone interested in transmitting it later on.¹⁷ Moreover, only a fraction of those

14 Sāmiḥ Mutawallī, *Ziyādāt al-Imām Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar al-Farabrī 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Medina: Dār al-Awqāf al-Thaqāfiyya, 2017), 24–29; Shifā' 'Alī al-Faqīh, *Riwāyāt al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ li-l-Imām al-Bukhārī: Riwāyat Abī Dharr namūdhajan* (Amman: Dār al-Māmūn, 2013), 61–66.

15 See, for instance, al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003), 1:47 and 7:142. Ibrāhīm b. Ma'qil's recension is preserved in al-Khattābī's (d. 388 AH) *A'lām al-ḥadīth*, the earliest extant commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, as the author himself explains in the introduction. While commentating, however, al-Khattābī generally does not cite hadith in their entirety. See Muḥammad Āl Sa'ūd, "Introduction," in *A'lām al-ḥadīth*, 1:76. The claim that Ibn Ma'qil's recension lacks 300 hadith, which are found in al-Farabrī's recension, is an exaggeration. Shifā' al-Faqīh estimates that the number is 46 hadith. See Shifā', *Riwāyāt al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 62–65.

16 It was common for people of all walks of life to attend hadith auditions, some with intentions beyond studying hadith. From the five thousand people that would attend the hadith lectures of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH), less than a tenth of them took notes while the vast majority came to observe Ibn Ḥanbal's demeanor. See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-'ilal wa-ma'rīfat al-rijāl* (Riyadh: Dār al-Ḳhānī, 2001), 58. These sessions were by no means attended by scholars alone. The eight-year audition of *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* under its author was attended by over a thousand people, among whom were ordinary craftsmen and military personnel. See Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 32ff. This phenomenon was common in the post-canonical period, as demonstrated by Garrett Davidson in *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadīth Transmission across a Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 162–166.

17 Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Ḥanafī (d. 544 AH) refused to transmit *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to his students because he could not locate the copy he used when studying the book with al-Dāwūdī (d. 467). He would tell his students, "I definitely heard it, but I will not transmit it until I find the copy I used during its audition." See al-Sam'ānī, *al-Muntakhab min muḥjam shuyūkh al-Sam'ānī* (Riyadh: Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1417 AH), 144–146; also see Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 62–63.

who had personal copies would become bona fide transmitters of the text;¹⁸ it was a specialization and lifelong commitment that not everyone was willing to make.¹⁹ Once a transmitter like al-Farabī became a prime destination to hear the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, for reasons outlined above, it was natural that anyone interested in hearing the work would go to him instead of other less known transmitters; this gradually led to the disappearance of the other recensions.²⁰ As such, it was not only possible but completely normal that only a single student became the source for a book. If one were to take skepticism towards single strand transmissions to its logical conclusion, Harald Motzki astutely points out, “virtually all the Islamic sources we use” would be historically untenable. Prominent books like al-Shāfiʿī’s (d. 204 AH) *Kitāb al-Umm*, Ibn Saʿd’s *al-Ṭabaqāt*, and Aḥmad’s (d. 241 AH) *Musnad* were conveyed via single strands over several generations before they ultimately fanned out.²¹

18 Harald Motzki employs a similar argument in his response to Juynboll’s skepticism towards single strand transmissions of hadith. Motzki mentions that a hadith transmitter may have had numerous students who heard the hadith, but only one took on the role of a teacher and transmitted it to others. The mention of only one student in a collection does not preclude the possibility that many others existed at some point. See Motzki, “Whither Ḥadīth Studies?,” in *Analyzing Muslim Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 58; Jonathan Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad’s Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (London: Oneworld, 2018), 262.

19 Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Karūkhī (d. 548 AH) dedicated his life to transmitting *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī* and became the main reference for the work in the sixth century onwards. He was so committed to teaching and transmitting the text that his source of livelihood was closely tied to it. He would transcribe copies of the text and live off the meager proceeds. Despite his difficult financial situation, he would not accept payment for teaching hadith. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 273–275.

20 A manuscript of a hadith collection would only be considered an authoritative copy (*aṣl*) when (1) its scribe/transmitter was a stellar auditor of the text; (2) it was thoroughly edited; (3) it gained renown among the experts; and (4) it was used to edit other texts. See Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥumaydī, “al-Uṣūl al-khaṭṭiyya al-ḥadithiyya bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus,” 131–132.

21 Motzki, “Whither Ḥadīth Studies?,” 60–61. Also see his discussion on the ascription of the *Muṣannaḥ* to ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211 AH) in idem, “The Author and His Works in the Islamic Literature of the First Centuries,” *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam* 28 (2003): 176–197. I would like to thank Mawlānā Haroon Anis and Dr. Jonathan Brown for discussing this topic with me.

In turn, al-Farabrī had a wide range of students, nearly twenty of whom are documented,²² such as Abū ‘Alī b. al-Sakan (d. 353 AH), Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (d. 371 AH), and Abū ‘Alī al-Kushānī (d. 391 AH). For our purposes, three of these transmitters were key: Abū Ishāq al-Mustamlī (d. 376 AH), Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥammuwayh al-Sarakhsī (d. 381 AH), and Abū al-Haytham al-Kushmīhanī (d. 389 AH). One particular student studied with these three and later conveyed a critically acclaimed recension of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*: the Mālikī hadith scholar of Khurasan, Abū Dharr al-Harawī.²³

The Recension of Abū Dharr

Abū Dharr ‘Abd b. Aḥmad was born in Herat—present day Afghanistan—in ca. 335 AH. He travelled extensively to pursue knowledge, starting in his hometown then to neighboring cities and beyond, such as Merv, Basra, Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo. His teachers include the likes of al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385 AH), al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405 AH), and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403 AH). A chance encounter with al-Bāqillānī eventually led Abū Dharr to espouse Ash‘arī theology and adhere to the Mālikī legal school.²⁴ His study of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* began in his hometown Herat with al-Sarakhsī in 373 AH, then in Balkh with al-Mustamlī in 374 AH, and then in Kushmihan with

22 Drawing on the work of Ibn Rushayd and others, Muṣṭafā al-A‘zamī mentions nineteen transmitters from al-Farabrī. Some of these, however, are contested or mistaken, such as Aḥmad b. Ḥājjib al-Kushānī and Zurāra. See al-al-A‘zamī, *An Introduction to Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 49–55.

23 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fathī al-Bārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifā, 1960), 1:5–7; Jumu‘a Fathī ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Riwayāt al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ wa-nusakhuhu* (Qatar: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 2013), 1:125, 206.

24 Abū Dharr relates his first meeting with al-Bāqillānī, an Ash‘arī and Mālikī scholar, and his subsequent adoption of the Mālikī school. While strolling the streets of Baghdad with the hadith expert al-Dāraquṭnī, they encountered al-Bāqillānī. Al-Dāraquṭnī stopped in his tracks and went over to al-Bāqillānī, embracing him and reverently kissing his forehead. Surprised at what he had just witnessed, Abū Dharr asked his mentor, “Who is this person you treat in this manner while you are the authority of your time?” Al-Dāraquṭnī replied, “He is the leader of the Muslims and the defender of the faith: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib.” This encounter left an indelible impression on Abū Dharr to the point that he began frequenting al-Bāqillānī’s study circle with his father. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 17:558.

al-Kushmīhanī in 389 AH.²⁵ Upon completing his educational journey, he married and settled in Mecca where he passed away in 434 AH.²⁶

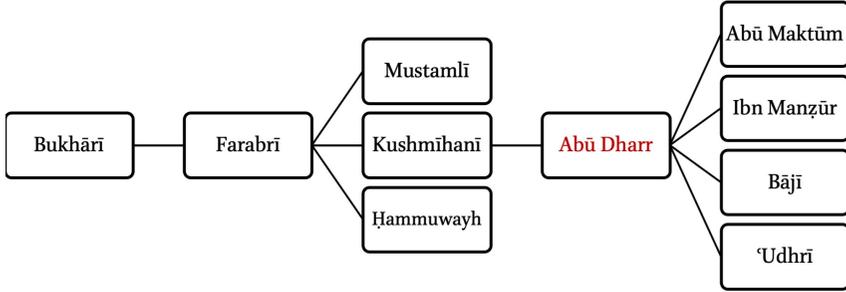


Figure 1: Abū Dharr’s intellectual pedigree vis-à-vis *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

For a third of a century, Abū Dharr taught hadith in the sacred precincts of Mecca. His lectures were attended by many an eager pilgrim, thus affording him regionally diverse students from all the major cities of the Muslim empire: from Khurasan to Iraq to al-Andalus. After his demise, his son Abū Maktūm ʿĪsā al-Harawī (d. 497 AH) took over his teaching responsibilities and became the linchpin for his recension in the Eastern lands while Ibn Manẓūr al-Ishbīlī (d. 459 AH), Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 474 AH),²⁷ and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿUdhri (d. 478 AH) passed his recension on to their native North Africans in the West.²⁸ Interestingly, Abū Dharr’s Andalusian students were

25 Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat al-naṣīḥ*, 41–42.

26 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 17:554ff.

27 In the mid to late fifth century, al-Bājī played a pivotal role in explicating hadith in the Maghreb for both public and private audiences. It was during one such public session that he voiced a dissenting interpretation of a hadith, resulting in an uproar among the locals of Dénia that eventually became a global controversy. See Joel Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God: Hadith Commentary Across a Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), 21–29.

28 Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat al-naṣīḥ*, 44–45; al-Faqīh, *Riwāyāt al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ li-l-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 89–93. Other students who conveyed Abū Dharr’s recension to the Maghreb include Aḥmad al-Ṭarṭūshī, Ismāʿīl al-Saraqusṭī (d. 476 AH), and Muḥammad al-Ruʿaynī (d. 476 AH). See Rustum, “al-Madrasa al-Andalusiyya fi sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ,” 9.

also responsible for the spread of didactic theology in the Maghreb, prior to which it was not studied with particular interest.²⁹

Abū Dharr's recension of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* flourished in the Maghreb. In fact, his personal copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was sold for a handsome sum of gold to the Almoravid emir Maymūn al-Ṣinhājī (d. 530 AH) who attended Abū Maktūm's audition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in Mecca and refused to return to Almería without it.³⁰ The widespread acceptance of his recension may have been facilitated by his legal affiliation.³¹ Abū Dharr followed the Mālikī school, the dominant legal school in the Maghreb.³² Prior to the arrival of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, other canonical hadith texts like al-Nasā'ī's and Abū Dāwūd's respective *Sunan* collections were already in vogue in the Maghreb possibly due to, *inter alia*, their relatively greater accommodation of Mālikī law.³³ Al-Tirmidhī's *Jāmi'* was introduced in the Maghreb by the late third

29 Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 17:557.

30 Al-Silafī, *Kitāb al-wajīz fī-dhikr al-mujāz wa-l-mujīz* (Medina: Maktabat Dār al-Īmān, 1994), 85; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 17:561. On the life and academic activities of Maymūn al-Ṣinhājī, see Muḥammad Binsharīfā's *al-Amīr al-Murābiṭī Maymūn b. Yāsīn: Hayātuhu wa-ḥajjuhu*. A misreading of a pronoun in a report about Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī's manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* has led several researchers to incorrectly assume that Abū Dharr's manuscript, which al-Ṣinhājī purchased, fell into the possession of Ibn Khayr. See al-Ḥumaydī, al-Uṣūl al-ḥadīthiyya bi-l-Maghrib al-Islāmī, in <https://bit.ly/3r1dxso>.

31 'Arāfāt Aydin, "Nuskha qadīma li-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī bi-l-khaṭṭ al-Maghribī bi-riwāyat Abī Dharr fī Turkiyā," in *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ al-musnad al-mukhtaṣar min ḥadīth Rasūl Allāh (ṣ): Ṭibā'a ṭibq al-aṣl 'an nuskhat maktabat Murād Mullā Istānbūl* (Istanbul: ISAM, 2018), 56.

32 Even Mundhir b. Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī (d. 355 AH), a judge in Córdoba, applied Mālikī law in his legal practice despite his adherence to the Zāhirī school in his personal life. See Ignaz Goldziher, *The Zāhirīs: Their Doctrine and Their History* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 107–108. The fourth and fifth centuries saw a rise in hadith studies in al-Andalus that at times caused tension with the dominant Mālikī opinions. Joel Blecher analyzes three hadith in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* on the limits of discretionary punishments (*ta'zīr*) and how Mālikī commentators from al-Andalus like Ibn Baṭṭāl and al-Muhallab resolved their apparent conflict with the Mālikī position. See Blecher, *Said the Prophet of God*, 32–46.

33 Rustum, "al-Madrasa al-Andalusiyya fī sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ," 6. On the reception of *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* in the Maghreb, see Muḥammad Rustum, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Imām Muslim fī al-Andalus riwāyatan wa-dirāyatan*, *al-Hikma* 29, 265–327.

century but only gained traction much later.³⁴ Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, on the other hand, was hardly known.³⁵

Abū Dharr's recension of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was distinguished by its precision as well as its inclusion of manuscript variants. There was no shortage of recensions upon which Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 AH) could have based his commentary, *Fath al-Bārī*, yet he chose Abū Dharr's recension, because it was "the most precise recension."³⁶ He was also impressed by Abū Dharr's method of collating variants—a practice later adopted by al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650 AH) and al-Yūnīnī (d. 701 AH).³⁷ Abū Dharr used a set of symbols to indicate variants from each of his three teachers: *ḥā'* for al-Ḥammuwayh,

34 In the fourth century, the Cordovan Abū Zakariyyā b. al-Jayyānī (d. 390 AH) travelled to the East and studied *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī* with the Meccan scholar Abū Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaydalānī. The exact date of his return to the Maghreb and his subsequent transmission of the *Jāmiʿ* is unknown, but we can place the arrival of the text before 390 AH. In the early fifth century, it was transmitted by other Maghrebi scholars, like Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437 AH), Abū ʿAmr al-Ṣafāqūsī (d. 444 AH), and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hawzanī (d. 460 AH). The first systematic commentary on the *Jāmiʿ* in that region was written by Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543 AH) in the sixth century. Ibn Ḥazm is said to have deemed al-Tirmidhī as unknown. This is odd since he had read Ibn al-Faraḍī's (d. 403 AH) book on transmitters which praises al-Tirmidhī. Al-Dhahabī proffers an excuse for him by saying that the *Jāmiʿ* may have only been introduced in al-Andalus after Ibn Ḥazm's death, which is problematic given what we know about its transmission in the region for decades prior. See Muḥammad al-Ṣaqlī, *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī fī al-dirāsāt al-maghribiyya* (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣumayʿī, 2008), 29–34, 64–65; Fierro, "Local and Global in Ḥadīth Literature," 72–73.

35 Based on an analysis of Ibn al-Abbār's *al-Takmila li-kitāb al-Ṣīla*, J. Zanón writes that from the 150 citations of the Six Books, 49% refer to *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 24.5% to *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 19.2% to *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*, 5.3% to *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, and 2% to *Sunan al-Nasāʿī*. There was no reference to *Sunan Ibn Mājah* throughout the entire work. See Fierro, "Local and Global in Ḥadīth Literature," 72–73. Al-Quḍāʿī's (d. 454 AH) *al-Shihāb* was the most popular non-canonical hadith collection throughout the history of al-Andalus. See Fierro, 73.

36 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:25. Keeping this in mind helps to make sense of many confusing passages found in modern editions of *Fath al-Bārī* (e.g., al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya). These editions incorporated the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* into the commentary based on an amalgamation of multiple recensions whereas Ibn Ḥajar's work is based on Abū Dharr's recension. Even ʿAbd al-Qādir Shayba's edition that was based on a manuscript per Abū Dharr's recension falls short in several places. See al-Faqīh, *Riwayāt al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 85, note 2.

37 For his manuscript, al-Yūnīnī also used symbols which were partially taken from Abū Dharr. See ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Riwayāt al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ wa-nusakhuḥu*, 339–340.

sīn for al-Mustamlī, *hā'* for al-Kushmīhānī, and *ṣād/ḥā'* to show the accuracy of a particular variant.³⁸

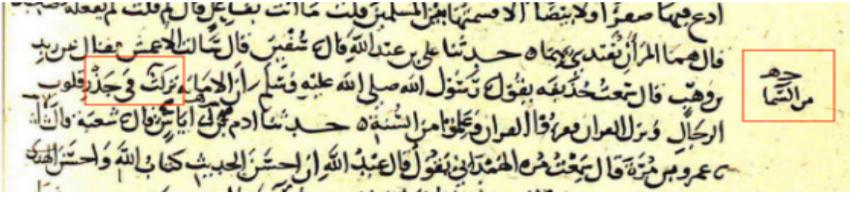


Figure 2: Abū Dharr pointing out a manuscript variant for his teachers al-Ḥammuwayh and al-Kushmīhānī (MS Thānāʾ Allāh Zāhidī ca. seventh century, via Abū Maktūm from Abū Dharr).

Recensions of any work were prone to the vagaries of manuscript transmission during the pre-print world, resulting in permutations as they were copied and transmitted overtime.³⁹ Disagreement among scribes, copyist errors, and interpretive license were expected during the process of transmission, and they were not specific to Islamic texts, let alone hadith literature.⁴⁰ A comparison of the extant recensions of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* reveals that the vast majority of the differences between them are not substantive.⁴¹

38 Ibn Rushayd relates that the symbols were *ḥā'*/*hamza* for al-Ḥammuwayh, *hamza/sīn* for al-Mustamlī, and *hā'*/*alif* for al-Kushmīhānī. See Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat al-naṣīḥ*, 45. However, the extant manuscripts of his recension only contain individual letters.

39 Even our understanding of “authorship” and “books” should not be anachronistically projected onto writers in the formative period of Islamic history. While in the present day we understand an author as someone who wrote an original and finalized text, early hadith compilers worked with previous material and they often delivered their work in the form of lectures; the transmitters of these collections were at liberty to rearrange or even add to their contents. See Motzki, “The Author and His Works in the Islamic Literature of the First Centuries,” 173–176.

40 Abraham Lincoln’s 1863 Gettysburg address is a good example of how discrepancies of this sort can also be found in the modern period. There are four drafts of the speech written by Lincoln himself, yet they differ in their details; it is not known which one he read. Even the journalists who published their accounts of what they heard differ in substantial ways. Many schoolchildren memorize this speech verbatim without realizing that there is no agreed-upon version of the address. See Jonathan Brown, “Did the Prophet Say It or Not? The Literal, Historical and Effective Truth of Hadiths in Sunni Islam,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, no. 2 (2009): 264.

41 By no stretch of the imagination do these variations suggest that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was an incomplete and fluid text after the author’s demise. See Brown, *The Canonization of*

They relate to minor issues on the transmitters (e.g., the inclusion/exclusion of a patronym or honorific), the vowelization of a word, explanatory notes from al-Bukhārī, and the arrangement of hadith, with the lion's share going to the chapter headings.⁴² Anyone with the faintest familiarity with paleography would hardly consider this a matter of concern. While Abū Dharr's recension contains variations of this sort, it is exceptionally precise in its documentation of them as acknowledged by Ibn Ḥajar.⁴³ There is only one hadith that is found in the present editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* but not found in his recension;⁴⁴ even that is narrated in his recension elsewhere as a suspended (*mu'allaq*) hadith.⁴⁵

Despite its acceptance in scholarly circles for centuries, in the modern period Abū Dharr's recension has not received the same recognition that it once enjoyed. This is understandable given that few complete manuscripts of his recension have survived the ravages of time.⁴⁶ Moreover, the spot-

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al-Bukhārī and Muslim, 384–386. For a detailed appraisal of al-Mustamlī's and al-Bājī's comments that the original manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was incomplete and that certain sub-chapters lacked hadith and vice versa, see al-Faqīh, *Riwayāt al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ li-l-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 385–400.

- 42 'Abd al-Qādir Jalāl and 'Alī al-'Imrān, *I'lā' al-Bukhārī: Tathbīt makānat al-Imām al-Bukhārī wa-ṣaḥīḥihi min khilāl radd al-shubuhāt ḥawlahumā* (Riyadh: Dār Salaf, 1439 AH), 65–71.
- 43 This conclusion is supported by Shifā' al-Faqīh's comparative analysis, in which she carried out an extensive comparison of Abū Dharr's recension with other recensions (e.g., al-Sijzī, Karīma, and al-Aṣīlī). She categorized the differences into six areas: chapter headings, the chains of transmission, modes of transmission, wording, post-prophetic reports, and the arrangement of hadith. She concluded that none of these are serious differences. For instance, not a single variation concerning the transmitters affects its grading. Her study establishes that Abū Dharr was exact in his documentation of variants from his three teachers. See al-Faqīh, *Riwayāt al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ li-l-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 143–271.
- 44 To be clear, there are about six hadith that are repeated in the present editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that are only mentioned once in Abū Dharr's recension. See Aydin, "Nuskha qadīma," 78–80.
- 45 This finding is based on the Murād Mullā manuscript that will be discussed below. The hadith in reference is found in *kitāb al-tafsīr* hadith no. 4555, which is a continuation of the previous hadith on Abū Ṭalḥa giving his orchard in charity. Abū Dharr's recension includes this as a suspended hadith in *kitāb al-waṣāyā*. See Aydin, "Nuskha qadīma," 80.
- 46 For a list of extant manuscripts of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* via Abū Dharr's recension, see al-Faqīh, *Riwayāt al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 109–117; Abū Hāshim al-'Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr wa-huwa*

light has been on the Yūnīniyya manuscript, which is based on Abū al-Waqt al-Sijzī's (d. 553 AH) recension.⁴⁷ In the nineteenth century, the publication of the Sulṭāniyya edition of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* bolstered the prominence of the Yūnīniyya. It relied on a secondary manuscript of the Yūnīniyya and later went on to become the basis for practically all subsequent printed editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.⁴⁸ There are two important Maghrebi manuscripts that have not only preserved Abū Dharr's recension but are exemplary in their accuracy, orthographic history, and usage by hadith experts. At the nexus of these manuscripts is the Sa'āda family of Valencia, Spain.

The Sa'āda Family

Several households in al-Andalus were recognized for their intellectual standing and academic output, such as the households of Baqī b. Makhḷad (d. 276 AH) and Ibn 'Aṭīyya (d. 542 AH). In the fifth and sixth centuries, the Sa'āda family was particularly recognized for its hadith activities. It would not be an exaggeration to state that their interest in hadith was almost entirely influenced by one hadith scholar: Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn al-Ṣadafī (d. 514 AH). Hailing from Zaragoza, al-Ṣadafī studied under the senior hadith scholars of al-Andalus, like al-Bājī and al-'Udhri, connecting him to the *Ṣaḥīḥ* via Abū Dharr's recension. He then spent nearly a decade traveling the Eastern lands, from Mecca to Baghdad to Basra to Egypt. While returning from his Eastern voyage, his ship sank and he almost drowned. After this nearly fatal experience, he made his way to Dénia where he was warmly greeted by the Sa'āda family, who displayed a great deal of generosity and

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al-tārīkh al-mukhtaṣar li-l-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ al-musnad al-mukhtaṣar (Cairo: Dār al-Tā'ṣīl, 2018), 261–276.

- 47 Al-Yūnīnī attended the audition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under al-Ḥusayn al-Zabīdī in the citadel of Damascus in 630 AH. Al-Zabīdī transmits the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Abū al-Waqt from al-Dāwūdī from al-Ḥammūwayh from al-Farabrī from al-Bukhārī. See al-'Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr*, 68, 122, 163 and 401; cf. Jumu'a, *Riwāyāt*, 678.
- 48 Ṣalāḥ Fathī Halal summarizes the various opinions on whether the editors of the Sulṭāniyya edition used the original Yūnīniyya or a secondary copy. Based on a detailed examination of the Sulṭāniyya with various manuscripts, Halal concludes that they definitely did not use the original Yūnīniyya; rather, they used important secondary copies like 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's manuscript. See Ṣalāḥ Fathī Halal, *Taḥrīr al-aṣl al-mu'tamad fi al-ṭab'a al-Sulṭāniyya* (Cairo: Ma'had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya, 2018), 52–53.

zeal. Impressed by their acts of kindness, al-Ṣadafī married the daughter of Abū 'Imrān b. Sa'ada.⁴⁹ This new relationship kindled within the Sa'ada family a passion to study hadith and eventually led them to dedicate their lives to teaching *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, for which they are best known to this day.⁵⁰ Two members of the Sa'ada family concern our present study: Abū 'Imrān and Abū 'Abd Allāh.

Abū 'Imrān Mūsā b. Sa'ada (d. ca. 522 AH) was a hadith scholar from Valencia, Spain. After the Castilian warlord El Cid laid siege to his hometown, he migrated to Dénia and later settled in Murcia. His primary teacher of hadith was his son-in-law, Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī. Abū 'Imrān audited the reading of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* under al-Ṣadafī about sixty times,⁵¹ and he studied the *Muwatta'* and other hadith texts with local scholars. He was also recognized for his interest in Arabic grammar and belles-lettres. Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658 AH) writes that nothing is known about Abū 'Imrān's whereabouts after the year 522 AH. He probably passed away shortly thereafter.⁵²

Abū 'Imrān's nephew, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'ada (d. 565 AH),⁵³ was also a close pupil of al-Ṣadafī. Born in 496 AH, Abū 'Abd Allāh

49 Ibn al-Abbār, *Muḥjam aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2000), 189.

50 Muḥammad Rustum, *Banū Sa'ada al-Mursiyūn wa-riyādatuhum fī khidmat al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ li-l-Imām al-Bukhārī fī al-Andalus*, (Rabat: al-Rābiṭa al-Muḥammadiyya li-l-'Ulamā', 2017), 19–21.

51 It can be hard to believe that Abū 'Imrān heard a text as large as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from al-Ṣadafī sixty times. However, when one considers that this happened over eleven years and that the nature of their relationship allowed them to have private classes at any time of the day, it becomes clearer how this was possible. Abū 'Imrān had dedicated most of his time to attending hadith auditions, so he naturally dedicated considerable time to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. To reach this number, Ibn Sa'ada would have had to audit the text about six times a year. The practice of speed reading had already gained traction in the fifth century. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī (d. 463 AH), for instance, read the entire *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ismā'īl al-Ḥirī (d. 430 AH) in just three days. Therefore, a completion of the text sixty times over eleven years is hardly impossible. See Rustum, *Banū Sa'ada al-Mursiyūn*, 32–33; Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 75–79.

52 Ibn al-Abbār, *Muḥjam aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī*, 188–190; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *al-Tanwīh wa-l-ishāda bi-maqām riwāyat Ibn Sa'ada* (Cairo: Dār Najībawayh, 2008), 48–52.

53 He should not be confused with the two seventh century Qur'an experts, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'ada and his uncle with the same name and patronym. See

was raised in Murcia where he would become a judge later in his life. He travelled to Córdoba and studied with Ibn Rushd ‘the Grandfather’ (d. 520 AH), Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī (d. 543 AH), and others. In 520 AH, he set out to perform ḥajj. He sojourned en route in Alexandria and studied with the local scholars there. In Mecca, he received authorization of hadith from Razīn b. Mu‘āwiya (d. 553 AH) and Abū Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqa (d. 524 AH), a direct student of Karīma al-Marwaziyya (d. 463 AH), the renowned transmitter of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁵⁴ Due to his close relationship with al-Ṣadafī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh inherited his rare manuscripts and hadith collections. The extant sources do not ascribe a manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* to him, but an editorial note appended to the second manuscript discussed below suggests that he had a personal copy that was significant enough to serve as a basis for other manuscripts. He also had an impressive grasp of Qur’anic exegesis, theology, law, and grammar, and he took interest in Sufism. He passed away in Shāṭiba in 565 AH.⁵⁵

Abū ‘Imrān’s Manuscript

For centuries, the Yūnīniyya has been championed as the *de facto* manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in the Islamic East,⁵⁶ while Abū ‘Imrān b. Sa‘āda’s manuscript played that role in the Islamic West,⁵⁷ with some arguing that it far exceeded the former.⁵⁸ Abū ‘Imrān transcribed his manuscript of

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al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a‘lām* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 13:417, 420–421.

54 On the life and works of Karīma al-Marwaziyya, see Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, 169–174. Other Maghrebi scholars to transmit directly from Karīma include Abū Bakr al-Ṭulayṭilī (d. 466 AH). Abū ‘Alī al-Jayyānī transmits the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from her via written authorization (*mukātaba*). See Rustum, “al-Madrasa al-Andalusīyya fi sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ,” 11.

55 Ibn al-Abbār, *Mu‘jam*, 176–177; al-Tilimsānī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1997), 2:158–160.

56 On the reception of the Yūnīniyya, see my previous article *A Timeless Tale of Erudition: al-Yūnīni and his Proverbial Manuscript of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

57 Al-Kattānī, *al-Tanwīh wa-l-ishāda*, 47.

58 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Nāṣirī (d. 1823) went a step further and argued that the Sa‘ādiyya eclipses the Yūnīniyya because it was unanimously accepted and utilized by the scholars of the Maghreb. See al-Nāṣirī, *al-Mazāyā fi-mā uḥditha min al-bida‘*

the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in 492 AH and divided it into five volumes. There is an audition notice from al-Ṣadafī that in 493 AH, Ibn Sa'āda used that manuscript while studying the text with him. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī credits several factors for the success of Abū 'Imrān's manuscript:

- * Abū 'Imrān copied it from the manuscript of al-Ṣadafī, who expended considerable time and energy in refining his manuscript and comparing it in prestigious hadith circles throughout the Muslim world. Even Ibn Ḥajar relied on al-Ṣadafī's manuscript for *Fath al-Bārī*.⁵⁹
- * Abū 'Imrān had gone to great lengths to ensure the accuracy of his manuscript. He used it in al-Ṣadafī's auditions of the text around sixty times, not to mention the other scholars under whom he audited the text.
- * After Abū 'Imrān's demise, his manuscript served as *the* reference point for countless secondary and tertiary manuscripts and commentaries in the Maghreb. An eleventh century copy of his manuscript was dubbed 'the Shaykha' in Fes due to the preponderance of manuscripts that were copied from it.⁶⁰

The fifth and final volume of the manuscript ends with a scribal notice, followed by al-Ḥammuwayh's numbering of hadith in each chapter. Then there are several miscellaneous reports via Abū Dharr, viz. an anecdote about al-Bukhārī regaining his sight after being born blind and the death dates of al-Farabrī and al-Mustamlī. It then concludes with a supplication that al-Kushmīhānī would recite upon the completion of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

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bi-umm al-zawāyā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003), 90. His other comments about the Yūnīniyya cannot be taken seriously as they are riddled with errors.

59 Al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt wa-muġjam al-ma'ājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-l-musalsalāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982), 2:707.

60 Al-Kattānī, *al-Tanwīh wa-l-ishāda*, 53–66.

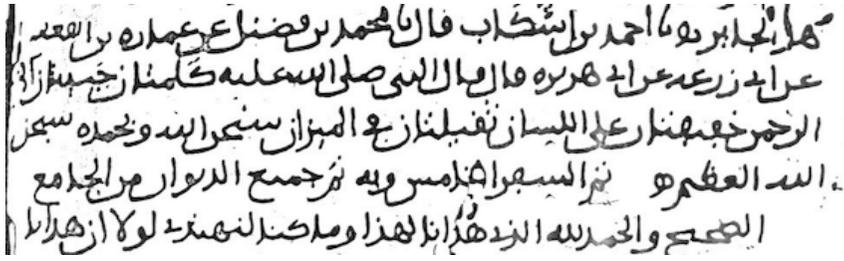


Figure 3: The final hadith in Abū 'Imrān b. Sa'āda's manuscript (the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, item no. dāl/1333).

After Abū 'Imrān's passing, the manuscript fell into the possession of his nephew Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'āda. Its whereabouts for the next three centuries are unknown. From the ninth century, it was listed as part of the endowment of the al-Qarawiyyīn library in Fes. Since the manuscript is missing the first volume, which likely contains vital information about its ownership and auditions, it cannot be stated with any certainty what happened during the interim period and how it made its way to Fes. From the eleventh century, it was actively utilized by scholars, and even sultans would borrow it with hopes of attaining blessings. In 1928, the French Orientalist Évariste Lévi-Provençal (d. 1956) produced a facsimile edition of the second volume, for which al-Kattānī wrote an introduction, separately published as *al-Tanwīh wa-l-ishāda bi-maqām riwāyat Ibn Sa'āda*. Lévi-Provençal had borrowed the third volume, but it got lost after he died. To date, only three of the five volumes are available, which are housed in the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, item no. *dāl/1333*.⁶¹

The Murād Mullā Manuscript

While indexing the manuscript collection of the Murād Mullā library, 'Abd al-'Azīz Anjāqār chanced upon a manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* that was described by the Syrian hadith expert Muḥīr al-Khaṭīb as an "Andalusian treasure unearthed in Istanbul." In addition to its exceptionally early transcription date, it is hardly paralleled in terms of its exactness and editorial

61 Ibid., 80–88; al-Manūnī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī fi al-dirāsāt al-maghribiyya*, 106; 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Riwāyāt al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ wa-nusakhuhu*, 2:752; Rustum, *Banū Sa'āda al-Mursiyūn*, 46.

history. It was transcribed in al-Andalus in Sha‘bān 3, 550 AH. The name of the scribe is not explicitly mentioned, but a study of the appended reading certificate suggests that it was transcribed by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Murādī.⁶²

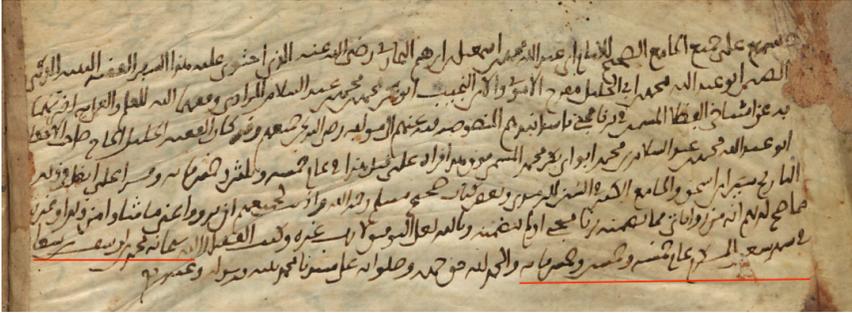


Figure 4: An audition certificate written by Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘āda that this manuscript was read to him in Sha‘bān 555 AH.

Several features make this a highly valuable manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. It is currently the earliest *complete* manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The word “complete” is key here because there are several partial manuscripts that predate it, such as Abū ‘Imrān’s manuscript and the Taroudant manuscript transcribed in 490 AH.⁶³ This manuscript was utilized in an audition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* under Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘āda in 555 AH, whose signature attests to its importance. It is based on Abū Dharr’s recension and was compared with several key manuscripts by the scribe and later owners. The concluding scribal notice states that it was compared against:

- * Al-Ṣadafi’s manuscript;⁶⁴

62 Mujīr al-Khaṭīb, “Kanz Andalusī zahara fi Istanbūl: Nuskha farīda min riwāyat Abī Dharr al-Harawī li-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,” in *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ al-musnad al-mukhtaṣar min ḥadīth Rasūl Allāh (ṣ): Ṭibā‘a ṭibq al-aṣl ‘an nuskhat maktabat Murād Mullā Istanbūl* (Istanbul: ISAM, 2018), 38. For other possibilities on the identity of the scribe, see Aydin, “Nuskha qadīma,” 71–72.

63 On the Taroudant manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, see <https://bit.ly/39WVBI2>.

64 Al-Manūnī notes that al-Ṣadafi had written a second manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd’s exemplar. See al-Manūnī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī fi al-dirāsāt al-maghribiyya*, 95–96. Mujīr al-Khaṭīb argues that al-Ṣadafi had only one manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. See al-Khaṭīb, “Kanz Andalusī,” 32; cf. Aydin, “Nuskha qadīma,” 66.

- * Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘āda’s manuscript [twice from the chapter on sales to the end of the book];
- * Ibn al-Dabbāgh’s (d. 546 AH) manuscript [thrice from the beginning to the chapter on sales],⁶⁵ and
- * a secondary copy of al-Bājī’s manuscript [twice cover to cover].

An audition note penned in 649 AH indicates that it was later compared with a secondary copy of Abū Dharr’s own exemplar in the presence of Ibn Quṭrāl (d. 651 AH).⁶⁶

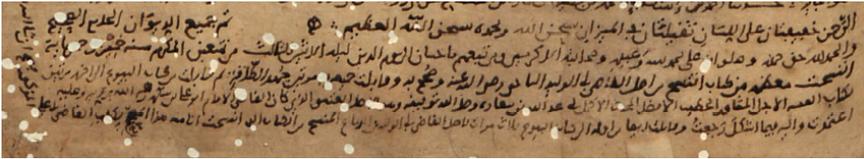


Figure 5: A scribal note detailing the manuscripts that were used by the scribe for comparison.

The entire manuscript is in one codex and contains 269 folios.⁶⁷ Each folio is 27x22 cm with 49 lines. The last folio shares the same information as Abū ‘Imrān’s manuscript: an anecdote about al-Bukhārī, the death dates of al-Farabrī and al-Mustamlī, and al-Kushmīhanī’s supplication. In the seventh century, it was relocated to Fes, and then in the eighth century, it made its way to Cairo. It was read and audited by multiple scholars in each of these regions. In the ninth century, it was endowed to the library of the Sahn-ı Seman Medrese in Istanbul.⁶⁸ It is currently housed in

65 The manuscript of Ibn al-Dabbāgh, the Andalusian hadith scholar and student of al-Ṣadafi, was a valuable addition because it contained manuscript variants from other transmitters of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* besides Abū Dharr, like al-Qābisī, al-Aṣīlī, Ibn al-Sakan, and others. See Aydin, “Nuskha qadīma,” 69.

66 Aydin, “Nuskha qadīma,” 72.

67 The first eight folios contain part of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bukhārī’s (d. 730 AH) commentary on Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Akhsikātī’s (d. 644 AH) manual on Ḥanafī legal theory, which was likely added due to a confusion with the affiliation ‘al-Bukhārī.’

68 Al-Khaṭīb, “Kanz Andalūsī,” 38–40; Aydin, “Nuskha qadīma,” 72. For a study on how a manuscript of al-Quḍā’ī’s *Musnad al-Shihāb* traveled across several regions, see al-Ḥumaydī, “al-Uṣūl al-khaṭṭīyya al-ḥadīthīyya bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus,” 152–156; also see Aḥmad El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2020), 1–2.

the Süleymanye Yazma Eser Library under the Murād Mullā collection—named after Muḥammad Murād Mullā (d. 1778 CE)—item no. 577.⁶⁹ It goes without saying that both manuscripts were written in Maghrebi script. Accordingly, the letter *fā'* was written with one dot beneath it and *qāf* with a dot above it, among other idiosyncrasies of the script.⁷⁰



Figure 6: The opening paragraph of the Murād Mullā manuscript.

In 2018, ISAM published a facsimile edition of this manuscript with a foreword by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the President of Turkey, and two informative introductions by Mujir al-Khatib and ‘Arafāt Aydin. In 2019, the Bukhārī-pedia team (*Mawsū‘at Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*) announced that they cross-referenced Abū ‘Imrān’s manuscript and the Murād Mullā manuscript to provide the most reliable version of Abū Dharr’s recension. This project was completed over three years as part of their editorial work on Ibn Ḥajar’s *Fath al-Bārī*.⁷¹

Conclusion

During the Battle of the Three Kings, the ailing Moroccan Sultan ‘Abd al-Malik al-Sa’dī (d. 986 AH) delivered a humiliating defeat to the invading Portuguese Crusader Sebastian I and his allies. Strategic planning and military clout were obvious factors in this historic victory. Chroniclers, however, note a rare episode preceding the battle that tipped the scales in their favor. As the Sultan’s brother Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1012 AH) sounded

69 Aydin, “Nuskha qadīma,” 73–77.

70 On the nature of Maghrebi script, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 147–150; Muntasir Zaman, *A Beginner’s Companions to Arabic manuscripts* (Dallas: Qalam Institute, 2020), 15.

71 See <https://bit.ly/2Y5goUy>.

the battle cry and hoisted his banner, the pious and learned locals of Marrakesh convened a vigil to recite the Qurʾān and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* to attract divine assistance. The rest is history.⁷² The *Ṣaḥīḥ* is etched in the annals of North African history. From caliphs to servants, the learned to the laymen, the Islamic West has maintained an intimate connection with this canonical hadith text.⁷³

This paper touched on two Andalusian manuscripts of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* that are arguably the most important at our disposal. The Murād Mullā manuscript is notable in terms of its transcription date and editorial history, while Abū ‘Imrān’s manuscript has been a prized possession of the Maghreb and forms the bedrock of many activities surrounding the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in that region. With the influx of newly unearthed manuscripts, one is hopeful that the best is yet to come. Perhaps al-Bukhārī’s own manuscript will at some point resurface. That being said, one should not overstate the role of a manuscript’s early provenance vis-à-vis its textual integrity.⁷⁴ The absence of an

72 Muḥammad al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akḥbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī* (Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāḥ al-Jadīda, 1998), 137.

73 In the Islamic West, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* would be recited during the commencement of religious festivities, women would request rare copies of it as their dowry payment, families would be named after the author, and rulers would engage with it academically. See Yūsuf al-Kattānī, *Madrasat al-Imām al-Bukhārī fi al-Maghrib* (Beirut: Dār Lisān al-‘Arab, 1985), 544–552. For examples of a similar phenomenon in other regions, see Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 335–359.

74 In his 1993 study on Islamic jurisprudence, Norman Calder had dismissed the ascription of several early works to their purported compilers. These collections, Calder claimed, were the result of systematic pseudepigraphy, redaction, and organic growth. The written corpora of scholars like Mālik, al-Shaybānī, al-Shāfi‘ī, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and al-Ṭaḥāwī reached their final form much later than their alleged date of authorship. See Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 36, 39, 84, 194–195, 229. At the heart of Calder’s contentions are the absence of the autographs of these works and supposed discrepancies in their composition. His revisionist claims were disproven by subsequent studies. On the authorship of Mālik’s *Muwattaʿ*, see ‘Umar F. ‘Abd-Allāh, *Mālik and Medina: Islamic Legal Reasoning in the Formative Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 52–57, which incorporates Miklós Murányi’s research on the subject; Yasin Dutton, “Review of Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence by Norman Calder,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, no. 1 (1994): 102–108. On al-Shaybānī’s works, see Behnam Sadeghi, *The Logic of Law Making in Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 177–199. On al-Shāfi‘ī’s works, see Ahmed El Shamsy, “Al-Shāfi‘ī’s Written Corpus: A Source-Critical Study,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132, no. 2 (2012): 199–220. On ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*,

author's holograph does not, *ipso facto*, negate the fact that later manuscripts are potentially accurate representations of the work.⁷⁵ The notion that “the contents of manuscripts cannot be validly deemed older than the parchment or paper upon which they are written” is highly problematic. A myriad of factors determines the reliability of a manuscript, such as a comparative analysis of its content, its chain of transmission, and a close examination of its colophon and scribal comments.⁷⁶ Undercutting the claim that the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was left as an unfinished draft, the Cairene commentator Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 923 AH) reminds his readers that the oral transmission of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* is the ultimate arbiter, not a manuscript.⁷⁷

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see Motzki, “The Author and His Works in the Islamic Literature of the First Centuries,” 171–193. On the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, see Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 384–386. Although Christopher Melchert cedes Calder's contentions regarding the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he proves the ascription of *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* to al-Bukhārī in “Bukhārī and Early Hadith Criticism,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 7 : (2001) 1–19. On al-Ṭaḥāwī's works, see Carolyn Anne Brunelle, *From Text to Law: Islamic Legal Theory and the Practical Hermeneutics of Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Ṭaḥāwī* (PhD diss., the University of Pennsylvania, 2016), 45–51.

75 That the form of these manuscripts (e.g., the arrangement of the hadith and chapters) may have been finalized in part by transmitters subsequent to the authors is not sufficient evidence that they are falsely ascribing material. As Jonathan Brockopp explains, “A late finalization of form does not necessarily mean late finalization of content.” See Brockopp, “Literary Genealogies from the Mosque-Library of Kairouan,” *Islamic Law and Society* 6, no. 3 (1999): 400.

76 ‘Abd-Allāh, *Mālik and Medīna*, 56. On the absence of al-Bukhārī's holograph, see Jalāl and al-‘Imrān, *Iʿlāʾ al-Bukhārī*, 59–64.

77 Al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī ilā sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīriyya, 1323 AH), 1:24.

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Despite being geographically distant from the hadith networks of “the long fourth century AH,” Maghrebi scholars from the fifth century onwards were responsible for some of the most important recensions, manuscripts, commentaries, abridgments, and supplementary works on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Recent scholarship has shed light on the history of hadith studies in the Maghreb with particular reference to the Ṣaḥīḥ. This paper hopes to contribute to the ongoing discussion by providing a cursory analysis of two exceptionally early manuscripts of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* transcribed in al-Andalus. One of these manuscripts was studied by the Moroccan hadith expert ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (d. 1962) in the early twentieth century. The other was discovered recently and deserves the attention of the scholarly community, for it is likely the earliest complete manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* available today. The tale of these Andalusian manuscripts begins with Abū Dharr al-Harawī (d. 434 AH), a fifth century scholar from Khurasan whose recension of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* proved instrumental in the spread of the work in the Islamic West.