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Prophetic Veneration in the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada through the Creation and Transmission of *Ḥadīth Musalsal* Works (7th-9th H./13th-15th C.E.)

Veneración profética en el Reino Nazarí de Granada a través de la creación y la transmisión de obras de hadiz *musalsal* (VII-IX/XIII-XV)

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Abstract:

This article focuses on some aspects of the prophetic veneration through a very specific sub-genre of *ḥadīth* literature, the so-called *ḥadīth musalsal* or chained prophetic transmission. *Musalsal* is the name given to the *ḥadīth* that in each of the links in the chain of transmission repeat identical expressions or sayings. Often, these expressions refer to a certain ritual or gesture that goes together with the delivery of the saying to the prophet. This article therefore deals with a ritualized transmission in which the fundamental point is how that *ḥadīth* is transmitted and who transmits it.

The chronological framework I have chosen is that of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, even though this study must be a continuation of other works on prophetic veneration during the Almoravid and Almohad periods, the time of the introduction and consolidation of this genre in the Iberian Peninsula and the North Africa. I have collected the authors and transmitters of *musalsalāt* in al-Andalus from the end of the 7th/13th century until the conquest of Granada, and I have shown that their interest in these *ḥadīth*-s is related to a general interest in the literature of prophetic veneration and the *jihād* literature.

Finally, I have shown that this ritualization process becomes an identity question among the pious Andalusian ulama, which contributes to increasing their pre stige and integrating them into a privileged group of experts.

Key words: prophetic veneration; prophet Muḥammad; *ḥadīth* literature; *musalsalāt*; traditionists; al-Andalus; *jihād*; Nasrid Kingdom of Granada.

Resumen:

Este artículo analiza algunos aspectos de la veneración profética a través de un subgénero muy específico de la literatura de hadiz, el llamado *musalsal* o tradición profética encadenada. Este es el nombre que se le da al hadiz que el que en cada uno de los eslabones de su cadena de transmisión se repiten idénticas expresiones o dichos. A menudo, estas expresiones se refieren a cierto ritual o gesto que se lleva a cabo en el momento de transmitir la tradición profética. Por tanto, se estudian transmisiones altamente ritualizadas, en las que la cuestión fundamental es cómo se transmiten estos hadices y quién los transmite.

El marco cronológico elegido es el del Reino Nazarí de Granada, aunque este estudio es una continuación de otros trabajos sobre la veneración profética durante los periodos almorávide y almohade, época de la introducción y consolidación de este género en la Península Ibérica y el Norte de África. He compilado los autores y transmisores de *musalsalāt* en al-Andalus desde finales del siglo VII/XIII hasta la conquista de Granada, y he demostrado que el interés de estos autores por los hadices encadenados está relacionado con su interés general por la literatura de veneración profética y por la literatura de *yihād*.

Por último, he demostrado que el proceso de ritualización de la transmisión de hadices encadenados se convierte en una cuestión identitaria entre distintos grupos de ulemas andalusíes caracterizados por su piedad, y contribuye a incrementar su prestigio e integrarlos en una elite privilegiada de expertos.

Palabras clave: veneración profética; profeta Muḥammad; literatura de hadiz; *musalsalāt*; tradicionistas; al-Andalus; *yihād*; Reino Nazarí de Granada.

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1. The Literature of Prophetic Veneration and the *Musalsalāt*¹

Due to political events that have shaken the West in recent years, the subject of the veneration of the prophet Muhammad has gone from being a marginal issue about which few scholarly studies were written, to being now, sadly, a hot issue.² The academic world is not free from prejudice and fashion tendencies and, during the nineties, those of us who are dedicated to the study of works on prophetic veneration that are written and transmitted by *ḥadīth* experts — the traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) —, often heard that our research lacked the interest of other studies on more central issues.³ At that time, almost no one cared about how and why the vision that the Islamic world had of Muhammad had evolved from the time of his death onwards and undergone a significant transformation, starting in the 4th/10th century, first in the East and later in the West, a change that had acquired great relevance both in the way the religion is practiced by many Muslims as well as in the creation of religious literature.

Despite this belated interest and decades long disregard on the part of the academic world, only mended in part by some exceptional but very highly qualified studies,⁴ it can be said that the literature about the prophet Muḥammad is one of the most interesting forms of devotion of the Muslim religion for various reasons: the

significant number of works that have been produced throughout the Islamic world to this day; the rather large number of literary variants or subgenres to which it has given rise; and, the relevance it acquires in identifying the faith of the believer who devotes his attention to this literature, becoming an evident sign of the way someone practices the religion as opposed to other ways. It is also of great interest because it has been controversial since the beginning; even today Muslims argue among themselves regarding the different ways of approaching devotion to Muḥammad, while adhering to very different positions, sometimes radically opposed, ranging from the Sufis, devout practitioners of the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* (the path that follows the steps of the prophet),⁵ to the position of some Islamist groups that emphasize the humanity of the prophet and harshly persecute any religious expression that goes beyond the mere admiration of a virtuous human being. Just like there is no one single Islam, a single perception of the prophet does not and has never existed in the Islamic community.

On the other hand, this heterogeneity of criteria does not prevent us from stating emphatically that the perception that the Muslims have of Muḥammad has been undergoing a diachronic change and that a phenomenon of growing admiration took place which even led to the veneration of his personality. From his death onwards, his figure was idealized but not venerated. Veneration began centuries later, and then, not by the entire Islamic community. Despite the Qur'an's insistence on the humanity of the prophet Muhammad, it can be affirmed that the idealization of his figure and of the period of time he lived in is almost an inherent part of the Muslim religion. There was a consensus among the believers from the beginning to accept the belief that there had been a golden age during which the community of the faithful had been governed by the precepts of Islam and that those who had had the good luck to have known the prophet or to have lived at a time close to the time he lived in — *ahl al-nabī* (his family), *ṣaḥāba* (companions), *salaf* (close descendants) — had the privilege of having the knowledge of the true interpretation of the Revelation. Although the turbulent historical events of the period, which include the murder of three of the four

¹ The present work has been carried out through the Research Project “In the footsteps of Abu ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī: tradition and devotion in al-Andalus and North Africa (11th to 13th centuries)” (FFI2013-43172-P) and the research project (CSIC_201810E19).

² Since September 2005 when the Danish newspaper Jyllands Posten published cartoons of the prophet Muhammad, one of which showed him with a turban shaped like a bomb, there have been several violent events related to what Islamist groups consider a grave offense towards the figure of the prophet Muhammad. On the representation of prophet, see Grabar and Natif, “The story of the portraits”.

³ See the review by Dominique Urvoy on the book Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*, in *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques*, 14 (1998), pp. 39-40.

⁴ Among these, see Andrae, *Die Person Muḥammads*; Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*; Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad*; Nagel, *Allahs Liebling*; and two special issues dedicated to the devotion to the prophet: Amri, Chih, and Gril (eds.), “La dévotion au Prophète de l’Islam, une histoire qui reste à faire”; Chiabotti and Vimercati Sanseverino (eds.), “Der Prophet des Islam im Blickwechsel”. Some of these works deals also with the prophetic veneration among Muslim mystics, a topic that is beyond the scope of this article.

⁵ Hoffman, “Annihilation in the Messenger of God”, pp. 352-354.

orthodox caliphs, belie this idyllic portrayal, it has been a sentimental issue that has not only influenced the beliefs of the Muslims from the beginning, but it also had, and still has, an enormous influence on the composition and compilation of Islamic religious and legal texts.⁶ Since very early, the sayings and deeds of Muḥammad — *sunna* — became the main source of Islamic jurisprudence;⁷ the ulema, however, took a little longer to focus their interest on his charismatic and exemplary personality and to direct attention in their works to his life and his role as teacher and example for the community, sometimes even above, the content of his transmissions.

The success and repercussion in al-Andalus and in the North of Africa of the religious literature of prophetic veneration have not yet been studied in depth except in very specific periods and aspects. This is the case even though they have had enormous consequences in Muslim religious observation over the centuries.⁸ There are biographies of the prophet — *sīra* —, works dedicated to his military exploits — *maghāzī* —, to the features of his prophecy or the prodigies he performed — *shamā'il al-nabī and dalā'il al-nubuwwa* —, to the miracles he performed — *mu'jizāt* —, to his ascent to heaven — *mi'rāj* — to praying for the prophet — *al-ṣalāt 'alā l-nabī* —, to the commemoration of his birth — *mawlid al-nabī* —, there are works on the visions the prophet had in dreams — *kutūb ru'yat al-nabī* — etc.⁹ We must bear in mind that these texts have a varied content and that, even though they require separate specialized studies, they must always be viewed within their literary and religious context. We are faced with religious phenomena that must be addressed as a whole, interrelating the works and their authors and carrying out exhaustive studies of the net-

works used for their transmission, always within the framework of the use made in the Islamic Sunni world of teaching and prophetic traditions. Between subgenres the themes overlap, they bear relation to each other and are sometimes repeated. Besides that, very rarely do the authors or transmitters of these works devote their attention to a single subgenre; they are interested in several subgenres at the same time and tend to be prolific transmitters of works of *hadīth* in general, because, with the passage of time, the idea spread among the ulema that the transmission of the *sunna* is in itself an obvious form of great respect towards the prophet. All these authors are traditionists — *muḥaddithūn* — although sometimes they combine this task with others. Along with the variety and extent of subgenres of prophetic veneration, the scholar dedicated to its study has the advantage of dealing with one of the forms of Muslim devotion whose 'construction' is easier to track since it is very well documented. This is mainly due to the fact that it is a late religious manifestation and also, as has been pointed out, to the controversy that has surrounded many of its facets from its very origin.

Consequently, it would be necessary to address future studies on the veneration of the prophet Muḥammad from two fundamental perspectives: on the one hand, the creation and transmission of works belonging to different genres but which have as a common denominator their being dedicated to the exaltation of the figure of Muḥammad; and on the other hand, the study of religious observation in different periods and societies through the knowledge of the devotional practices obtained from the Arabic sources. Likewise, it is just as important that, alongside with the study of the content of the works, scholars become familiar with the authors and transmitters. The veneration of the prophet is a form of devotion that is not exclusive to mystics or to the Sufis, although in some periods it was so prominent among them that the tendency was to think that it was so.¹⁰ The creation of these texts was common, it started in the East in the 4th/10th century and in the West

⁶ On the transformation of the figure of the prophet in the eyes of Muslims after his death, see Nagel, *Mohammed*, pp. 719-737 (6. Legenden und Geschichte).

⁷ Nagel, *Allahs Liebling*, pp. 59-84 ("Zur Herkunft des ḥadīṭ").

⁸ An extensive study on prophetic veneration in al-Andalus in Almoravid and Almohad times can be seen in Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*, De la Puente (study), pp. 35-175.

⁹ Regarding the introduction of these genres in al-Andalus and the production of the first Andalusian works, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, in *Kitāb al-qurba*, De la Puente (study), pp. 77-86. On the celebration of the *mawlid* in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, see also De la Granja, "Fiestas cristianas en al-Andalus; Ferhat, "Le culte du Prophète au Maroc au XIIIe siècle"; and Boloix Gallardo, "Las primeras celebraciones del *mawlid* en al-Andalus y Ceuta".

¹⁰ Addas, "Entre *musalsal* et *silsila*", p. 19, where the author shows her surprise that the transmitters of *musalsal* are not mostly full-time mystics. On the transmission of texts about the prophet Muḥammad among the Andalusian '*ulamā*' see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *K. al-qurba*, De la Puente (study) pp. 113-128, and De la Puente, "La transmisión del ḥadīṭ", pp. 269-275.

in the 5th/11th and belongs, without any doubt, to Sunni Islam, where they were promoted by the most prestigious ulema, considered “official” or “central”, in the political, cultural and intellectual strata. Some of the authors of these works were Sufis or Sufi sympathizers, but they were not the majority, and their number cannot even be considered significant. Arabic philology is behind other philologies, for example Classical studies in which a large majority of the extant texts have already been edited, whereas in some Arabic genres such as *ḥadīth* literature, basic studies have still not been carried out. Work progresses at the pace marked by philological studies that bring to light and project the importance of the writings of the past. This does not take place in a systematic, or even orderly, way which can sometimes cast a distorted view of the encompassing reality of a literary genre during a given period. The well-deserved attention that some Sufi mystics and brotherhoods have received has made us forget that the roots of some themes have to be sought among *ḥadīth* transmitters, whether they had mystical inclinations or not; they were the first guardians of the word of the prophet and they have evolved as a group over the centuries, both in their writings and in the way they receive and teach their transmissions.

Finally, to the interest placed on the contents of the works and their authors and transmitters, a third aspect must be added, the study of the way in which the transmissions and teachings take place. As I have repeatedly stated in previous works, the transmission of some forms of prophetic traditions and the veneration of Muḥammad, both with respect to the content of these texts and to the rites that accompany the traditions, are a distinctive feature of certain traditionalist circles, who consciously, through their dedication and work, want to set themselves apart from other groups of ulema and other forms of contemporary religious practice.¹¹ We are not merely dealing with the capricious construction of new religious and literary genres or a common erudite interest on the part of the ulema that has arisen spontaneously, but the construction of the identity of a religious group that acquires, as opposed to others, distinctive forms of enormous ascetic, social and political meaning. They are indeed authors of religious works, but they also consider themselves to be partici-

pating in structuring a new way of life, in which the figure of Muḥammad becomes an example for believers to follow and a model for specific ways of behaving, for example the conservation and transmission of the prophet’s relics or the imitation of his tastes in questions of hygiene or food.¹² Among these forms of behavior, it may be worth mentioning a Muslim’s willingness to go to war for the faith or *jihād*, as shown, for the first time, by Maher Jarrar in his interesting and exhaustive study of Muḥammad’s biography in al-Andalus.¹³ As Jarrar demonstrates, the success and diffusion of these texts, the adoption of the way of life they encourage, has to be explained as being the result not only of religious concerns, but taking into consideration political and social reasons as well, in which al-Andalus’ military weakness against the Christians, among other factors, played a transcendental role. It can be affirmed without any doubt that in the West the success of these genres is linked to the increase in the authors’ feelings of being under threat, who see their territories progressively endangered, and as a result their religion too. They felt under the siege of the infidels just as the prophet had felt in his days.

The research on specific themes cited above shows how we are still lacking global studies regarding both the East and the West. There can be many reasons for this and they all belong to the field of speculation. I can think of several, and they would certainly not be the only ones: the first is the lack of partial studies that would allow for other more encompassing studies. Although with some important exceptions,¹⁴ academics in the Islamic world have devoted little attention to topics such as asceticism or prophetic veneration among sunni ulema in recent decades, which contrasts with the amount of works of these genres sold in the street stalls of the Arab world where they are very popular; furthermore, a phenomenon that may have produced a distortion in recent historiography has been the fact that the success, or greater diffusion, of one of the works belonging to the genre of prophetic veneration has made whoever approaches the subject forget the circumstances in which that work was produced, meaning, the wider context of religious and literary production that condi-

¹¹ De la Puente, “The Prayer upon the Prophet”, pp. 121-129; Abid, “La veneration du Prophète”, pp. 151-176.

¹² El-Hibry, “The Abbasids and the Relics of the Prophet”, pp. 62-96.

¹³ Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie*; De la Puente, “Guerra y religión en al-Andalus”.

¹⁴ See above note 4.

tioned its creation and to which it owed much of its form and content. Thus, in the case of the Maghreb, the unquestionable and enormous centuries-long success of Qāḍī 'Iyād's *Kitāb al-Shifā'*¹⁵ has caused scholars to be fundamentally and exclusively interested in the work itself and to forget that it was a complex and transcendental religious event which should be considered in a wider context, like a puzzle, in which each of the pieces needs the others to complete the picture. Additionally, this work has been translated into English, which permits people who do not have access to other similar sources that have not yet been translated to work with it, thus widening its readership. *Al-Shifā'* is a magnificent synthesis of the literature that circulated in the North of Africa and al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, the high-point of these writings if you wish, and hence its enormous success, however, it does not represent the genesis of prophetic veneration in the West nor is it an intellectual or literary island, which can be approached individually.

This article will focus on some of the aspects described above through a very specific sub-genre of *ḥadīth* literature that is, in turn, a subgenre of the works on prophetic veneration, the so-called *ḥadīth musalsal* or chained prophetic transmission.¹⁶ That is the name given to the *ḥadīth*-s that in each of the links in the chain of transmission repeat identical expressions or sayings.¹⁷ Often, these expressions refer to a certain ritual or gesture that goes together with the delivery of the saying to the prophet. We are therefore dealing with a ritualized transmission in which the fundamental point is how that *ḥadīth* is transmitted and who transmits it. We even find cases where the chain of transmission is mentioned together with the process through which it is carried out but the *ḥadīth* transmitted is not mentioned.¹⁸ We likewise find frequent-

ly among the *musalsalāt* transmissions whose chains of transmission go back to the archangel Gabriel or to God Himself, which makes them also *qudsī*, the term used for this type of transmissions.¹⁹

The chronological framework I have chosen is that of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, even though this study must be a continuation of the work on prophetic veneration during the Almoravid and Almohad periods, the time of the introduction and consolidation of this genre in the Iberian Peninsula and the N. Africa.²⁰ In essence, we want to study what happened with this literary sub-genre in the following centuries, to examine how some of the texts and writings that circulated in the Peninsula during the 6th/12th century passed on to Nasrid Granada during the 7th/13th century, who were its transmitters and authors, and what other works of prophetic veneration were created and transmitted by these traditionists interested in the *ḥadīth musalsal*. This work will begin in 642/1244, the date of the death of an author who lived during the last decades of the Almohad period in al-Andalus, al-Qāsim b. Muhammad Ibn al-Ṭaylasān,²¹ whose works were amply transmitted and disseminated later on, and will end with the Christian conquest of the Kingdom. The initial chronological cut-off date is necessary, but it inevitably leaves out, in addition to the aforementioned Ibn al-Ṭaylasān, other very interesting authors who lived in the last years of the Almohad period and whose texts would have been of enormous interest for the present work because of their chronological proximity.²²

The results of the research have been collected in a table (Table 1) where we have registered the names of the ulema, the dates of their birth and death, whether they were transmitters of *ḥadīth musalsal* or if they composed a work

¹⁵ Serrano Ruano, "Iyād, Abū l-Faḍl", vol. 6, pp. 404-434 (no. 1479); about this work pp. 425-430 (no. 23). See also Vimercati Sanseverino, "Transmission, Ethos and Authority in Hadīth Scholarship", pp. 35-80, an interesting reflection on the *Shifā'* in the context of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, although the author omits important previous secondary literature on the subject.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ma'rifat anwā' 'ilm al-ḥadīth*, pp. 378-380; and al-Ayyubī, *Manāhil*, p. 182. Addas, "Entre *musalsal* et *silsila*" deals with two types of chained *ḥadīth*-s, called *muṣāfaha* (transmission with a handshake) and *mushābaka* (transmission with the interlocking of fingers). On *muṣāfaha* see also Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁷ Al-Ṣāliḥ, 'Ulūm al-ḥadīth, p. 249.

¹⁸ See an example in al-Marrākushī, Dhayl, pp. 4, 87.

¹⁹ See two examples in Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*, Arabic text, pp. 16-17, nos. 11 and 12.

²⁰ Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*, De la Puente (study), pp. 62-66.

²¹ Ávila, "Ibn al-Ṭaylasān, al-Qāsim", *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 5, pp. 491-496.

²² For example, key predecessors of what will be seen in this study are Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī (d. 634/1236), an important author of the *maghāzī* genre, or Muḥammad b. 'Atīq al-Lāridī (d. 637/1239), who wrote two works on the virtues of the Prophet, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*, De la Puente (study) pp. 106-107; or the aforementioned al-Qāsim b. Muhammad Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (d. 642/1244), Cordovan author and transmitter of works of veneration, see Ramos, "Materials", p. 38.

of this genre and, finally, whether they were authors or transmitters of other works of prophetic veneration. The conclusions arrived at are extremely interesting and will be the main subject of this article, although some important issues have been excluded for reasons of space that have made it impossible to address them on this occasion; they will however lead to future work for example, a detailed study, based on the analysis of their content, of the chained *ḥadīth*-s from this period that have come down to us.²³

The compilation of Table 1, in which we wanted to be as thorough as possible, has been carried out mainly through the information obtained from some biographical dictionaries and bibliographic manuals (*fahāris/barāmiḥ*),²⁴ as well as travel books, that refer to this historical period; these are mainly the works by al-ʿAbdarī (d. after 668/1289), Ibn Rushayd (d. 721/1321), al-Tujībī (d. 730/1329-30), Ibn Jābir al-Wādī Āshī (d. 749-1348-9), Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374), Al-Raṣṣāʿ (m 894/1489), Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919/1513), al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) and al-Rawdānī (d. 1094/1683).

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that Arab authors do not distinguish a general genre of works dedicated to the prophet and that, therefore, the works described are classified in different sections, for example either among the works of prophetic traditions (*kutub al-ḥadīth*), among the ascetic texts (*zuhd*) and, even, among the mystic writings (*taṣawwuf*). Vizcaíno had already draw attention to the fact that in bibliographic books some works were classified under different genres and even repeated in a number of sections.²⁵

2. Introduction and Transmission of *Ḥadīth Musalsal* in Al-Andalus. Brief Mention of the Almoravid and Almohad Periods

As I have said, the subgenre, transmission of *ḥadīth musalsal* is part of a tradition of writings dedicated to the exaltation of the prophet. This tradition came to al-Andalus

from the East in the last decades of the 5th/11th century and has since then been very popular among Sunni ulema, ascetics and Sufis.²⁶ This transmission is neither a new phenomenon nor is it characteristic of the Nasrid period and its origin has to be looked for in the previous centuries. It can be affirmed that in al-Andalus from the 5th/11th century until the Christian conquest in 897/1492 the creation and transmission of these prophetic traditions, and works on the worship of Muḥammad in general, goes on uninterruptedly; its content is also widely present in many different religious texts written in the midst of the Muslim population of Spain.²⁷ Among its transmitters we find highly considered ulema who were important authors of works dedicated above all to the biographical and bibliographic genres. The authors of the sources that provide information on these *ḥadīth*-s are, at the same time, the transmitters of the *ḥadīth*-s; the presence of these authors is easily documented in the chains of transmission of the *musalsalāt*. This is logical, since the writing of *ṭabaqāt*, *fahāris* or *barāmiḥ* has as its objective prolonging in time the influence of the experts in religious sciences and that of their works and teachings, recording the documentation of their intellectual production, as well as noting the relations that existed between them through the learning institutions or kinship. Briefly stated, these authors are ulema interested not only in the perpetuation of the Andalusian religious intellectual heritage, but also in prolonging in time the importance to their society of those who, like them, had dedicated their lives to religious texts.

Broadly speaking, since the main subject of this paper is the Nasrid period,²⁸ it should be noted that the *ḥadīth musalsal* was intro-

²³ In this article we will only study the transmitters and their treaties, but unfortunately there is no space to make a detailed study of the different kinds of *musalsalāt*, which is left for a future work. Readers can find an excellent example of the different chained *ḥadīth*-s in the work of the Egyptian scholar al-Suyūfī, *Jiyād al-musalsalāt*, index pp. 327-328, which is contemporary with some of the Nasrid authors mentioned.

²⁴ Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition*, pp. 209-220.

²⁵ Vizcaíno, “Las obras de *zuhd*”, pp. 417-418.

²⁶ At present, I will only outline some general features that serve as an introduction to the study of the *musalsalāt* during the Nasrid period, which is the true subject of this study; on the prophetic veneration and religious observation in the 6th/12th century, in addition to the aforementioned study of Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*, see De la Puente, “La transmisión de hadiz”.

²⁷ For example, Consuelo López Morillas (trans. And study), *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida de Mahoma: el Profeta de los Moriscos*, Madrid, CSIC (Fuentes Árabe-Hispanas 16), 1994.

²⁸ An article on the transmission and creation of *ḥadīth musalsal* works in this period is currently being written. Here I will outline only the main features that make it possible to understand production during the Nasrid era which is the main objective of this work,

duced to al-Andalus by authors who died in the last quarter of the 5th/11th century, such as Abū Marwān al-Ṭubnī (d. 457/1065)²⁹ or Abū l-‘Abbās al-‘Udhri (d. 478/1085).³⁰ The first oriental work transmitted into the Peninsula was al-‘Azīz b. Bundār al-Shīrāzī’s³¹ *al-Aḥādith al-Musalsalāt* and the first Andalusian author of a specific work belonging to this genre was the traditionist Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120),³² who wrote a book titled *al-Musalsalāt*,³³ which continued to be transmitted through the following centuries without interruption. This central figure is key to understanding not only the way the religion is practiced in al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, but also that of the following centuries. Although he did not write many books, he was known for the transmission of texts that he himself had studied and brought from the East to al-Andalus and for the large number of disciples who benefited from his teaching. Three specific books were devoted to the compilation of the biographies of the teachers and disciples of Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī. Only one of the three is extant, but the prestige of the authors and his influence on the literature of prophetic veneration during later centuries allows us to measure the great impact that his personality and teachings had in the West.³⁴ The first of the two works that have unfortunately been lost was written by Qādī ‘Iyād, who in 508/1114 went to Murcia to study with Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī. According to an existing description of the book, it seems to have been a biographical dictionary of his teachers entitled *Mashyakhāt Abī ‘Alī*. The second was written by Ibn al-Dabbāgh of Onda (d. 546/1151), another one of his disciples, who also compiled the biographies of his teachers and their trans-

missions.³⁵ Both texts would have been very useful for us to get to know, at first hand and in a complete and orderly manner, which were the oriental texts that were introduced by him into the Peninsula. The third book is *Mu‘jam fī aṣḥāb al-qādī al-imām al-Ṣadafī* by Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260), a biographical dictionary that contains more than a hundred biographies of Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī’s disciples. This author is the primary source to obtain information, among other things, about the transmission of *ḥadīth musalsal* in Almoravid and Almohad times, both through the work cited above and through his well-known biographical dictionary *Takmila*. Ibn al-Abbār himself was the author of a lost book, entitled *al-Mawrid al-salsal fī ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal*³⁶ and was the transmitter of a work in this genre.³⁷ I have intentionally started the count of authors and transmitters of the Nasrid period with Ibn al-Abbār because I consider that his figure and work represent, in a very graphic way, the transition between the two historical periods. Ibn al-Abbār lived through a turbulent period, one of political discord and armed conflicts, yet his work is a magnificent contribution to the intellectual continuity that took place between the Almohad Caliphate and the Nasrid Kingdom. On another matter, it is worth mentioning that Ibn al-Abbār was forced to emigrate to Tunisia where he suffered a dramatic death. Ulema migration, as will be seen later, was a very frequent event during the Nasrid Kingdom and, besides testifying to the instability of the period, promoted the extensive spread of the Andalusian teachings through the North of Africa, where they enjoyed great prestige.

To conclude this brief reference to the transmitters and authors of *ḥadīth musalsal* in the 6th/12th century, I have to mention two more authors because of the great influence they had later on: Al-Fihri al-Shāṭibī (d. 530/1135)³⁸ and the reputed traditionist Abū

²⁹ Navarro i Ortiz and Lirola Delgado, “Al-Ṭubnī, Abū Marwān”, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 474-476.

³⁰ Lirola Delgado, “al-‘Udhri, Abū l-‘Abbās”, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 559-570.

³¹ Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, p. 176.

³² De la Puente, “La transmisión de hadiz”, p. 123; “Vivre et mourir pour Dieu, œuvre et héritage d’Abū ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī”, pp. 77-102; and “Obras transmitidas en al-Andalus por Abu ‘Alī al-Ṣadafī”, pp. 195-200. Addas mentions that Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī was the first transmitter of *al-muṣāfaha* in the West (“Entre *musalsal* et *silsila*”, p. 21), but other categories of *musalsalāt* are documented one century before.

³³ Ibn al-Abbār, *Mu‘jam*, p. 151; De la Puente, “Al-Ṣadafī, Abū ‘Alī”, *Biblioteca del al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 231-238 (no. 4).

³⁴ De la Puente, “Vivre et mourir”, pp. 78-79.

³⁵ *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 3, pp. 40-42 (no. 422) [Consejo de Redacción]. This author also transmitted *ḥadīth musalsal*, according to Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Codera (ed.), p. 159 (no. 558); Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, al-Ḥusaynī (ed.), p. 425 (no. 1209).

³⁶ Lirola Delgado, “Ibn al-Abbār, Abū ‘Abd Allāh”, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol 1, p. 551 (no. 21).

³⁷ *Al-musalsalāt Abī Bakr b. al-‘Arabī* (Ibn Rushayd, *Mil’*, vol. 2, p. 186).

³⁸ Uzquiza and Lucini, *Las ciencias islámicas en Xàtiva*, p. 55; De la Puente, “La transmisión de hadiz”, p. 234.

Bakr b. al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148).³⁹ Both appear repeatedly in the chains of transmission of these *ḥadīth*-s. The first is a prolific transmitter specialized in this genre and the second is the author of a *Kitāb al-musalsalāt*, which will continue to be transmitted in the Peninsula until the 8th/14th century.

As for the content of the transmissions, it is possible to affirm that the last quarter of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th are the period of gestation of a type of religious observation that will continue to be practiced for quite some time. There is continuity in the transmission of works by certain authors, as mentioned above, but also in the *ḥadīth*-s chosen to be taught and transmitted. Without any doubt, the most successful one during this period among the *musalsalāt* is one called *Aḥādīth al-musalsal bi-akhdh bi-l-yad* (a chained *ḥadīth* about shaking hands), which will also be transmitted in Nasrid times. Sometimes the sources also call it *Ḥadīth al-Barā’ al-musalsal bi-akhdh bi-l-yad* because it was al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib, the prophet’s companion, the one who learned it from him.⁴⁰ It is a transmission in which at each link of the chain a ulema shakes the hand of the next ulema while he teaches him the text of the prophetic tradition. In addition to repeating this ritual along all each one of the links in the chain, the content of this tradition has the additional benefit of explaining the religious motive for shaking hands.

I arrived to where the Messenger of God was, may He bless and save him, he welcomed me and took my hand (in his); then he said: “Do you know, Barā’ why I took your hand?”. I answered: “Out of kindness, O Prophet of God?”. He replied: “A Muslim does not meet another Muslim, acts friendly towards him, greets him and takes his hand (in his), without the sins of both of them dying just like the leaves of a dry tree die.”⁴¹

Likewise, and as has been mentioned above, it is during the Almoravid period that the composition of *musalsalāt* works begins; these are compilations of these traditions

which will be transmitted together with loose traditions gathered from other related genres. For the authors, these last ones merited a reference in the biographical dictionaries and bibliographic manuals due to their religious relevance, although there could be an additional reason which is that said reference indicated the type religious observation practiced by the transmitter, and consequently, to what type of traditionist ulema group he belonged to.⁴² It is possible to imagine that the readers of these works, as happens today, became familiar quickly with the names of the traditionists who had wanted to stand out for their devotion to the prophet and the conservation of his teachings as well as for their religious practice. In addition, the authors of these treatises often complete their reference with the complete transcription of the *ḥadīth*, leaving a record of its chain of transmission and of the corpus of the prophetic tradition (*isnād + matn*), thus becoming our source of information about many of these *ḥadīth*-s since most *musalsalāt* collections have not reached our days. Research, therefore, has to be based on bibliographic manuals, biographical dictionaries and works on prophetic veneration of a more general nature where some of these transmissions appear, sometimes in isolation, among others that are not “chained”.

Another question that arises is what could have been the reason for collecting these traditions and turning them into small treatises. First, we must bear in mind that this custom is part of a general predisposition to compose small religious works, mostly collections on prophetic traditions dedicated to one specific theme of devotion and religious practice. The *musalsalāt* therefore belong to a more general genre of pious works (*zuhd*). It should be noted that the compilation of *musalsalāt*, sometimes in the very widespread form of treatises composed of forty *ḥadīth*-s, must have been due to their use as easy-to-copy and transport prayer books. In this case it was the form of the transmission what forged the unity of the collection while in others it was the theme of the transmissions: the goodness of the month of Ramadan, prayer for the prophet, etc. The predilection for these types of treatises, as can

³⁹ Cano, Ávila, García Sanjuán and Tawfiq, “Ibn al-‘Arabī, Abū Bakr”, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 2, pp. 129-158; De la Puente, “La transmisión de hadiz”, pp. 232, 242, 272.

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Codera (ed.), p. 573.

⁴¹ Qādī ‘Iyād, *Ghunya*, pp. 124-125, n. 46; Ibn Basḥuāl, *Kitāb al-qurba*; De la Puente (study), p. 63.

⁴² Thibon has traced the evolution of the Muhammadan model, in Sufism which goes hand in hand with that of the place occupied by the transmission of *ḥadīth*, see “Transmission du hadith”, pp. 71-87.

be seen in Table 1, goes together in almost all cases by a broad interest in other religious and pious texts, whose common denominator is the ubiquitous presence of the prophet Muḥammad.

3. *Musalsalāt* in the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada

Even though, as has been pointed out repeatedly, there is a continuity in the transmission of these *ḥadīth*-s from the 6th/13th to the 7th/13th centuries, this does not mean, that the *musalsalāt* did not evolve through time and that they enjoyed their own characteristics in the last centuries of the history of al-Andalus.⁴³

In the first place, it should be noted that the references to *musalsalāt* between the 7th/13th and 9th/15th centuries, although numerous, are fewer than those found during the Almoravid and Almohad periods. The ulema who devoted their attention to this genre during these periods doubled in number those who did so during the Nasrid era, even though the period of time was shorter. It should also be noted that in this article the Nasrid Kingdom has been considered mainly from a chronological point of view because most of the authors or transmitters emigrated, taught and lived out their lives outside the Iberian Peninsula. Of the 28 ulema listed in Table 1, almost two thirds (16) belong to this group, Tunisia being the place where the majority settled and died - that being the case for 9 out of the 16. However, almost all of them were born in al-Andalus, lived the first years of their life, studied and acquired their theological formation there and considered themselves Andalusian ulema. We know that they used to introduce themselves as such to their counterparts.

On another matter, it is interesting to observe how the sources that allow us to trace the transmission of these religious treatises are not outside or foreign to the transmission process itself. As can be seen in the table (Table 1), the ulema of this period who provide information regarding their own works on the transmission of *musalsalāt* in their biobibliographies were themselves in turn traditionists — experts dedicated to the prophetic tradition (*sunna*) — they are all counted among the transmitters of chained traditions, for example Ibn al-Abbār, al-Wādī Āshī, al-Tujībī or Ibn Rushayd transmitted a number

of works; some even arranged compilations. As we have seen in relation to the previous period, the narrators are interested in recording both, what others and what they themselves have written, because they are keen on ensuring that their own traditions are perpetuated. These authors want to record in their manuals and dictionaries what the religious science of their time is, but, above all, what “their own” science is, the one they know and the one to which they contribute with their writing and teaching.

Along with the objectives stated above, there is another obvious purpose to their writing, to increase their own social and religious prestige. We must bear in mind that prestige gives access to spaces that are closed to those who do not have it and places them within a group of people who consider themselves to have been chosen due to their abilities, a merit recognized by the rest of society. Additionally, in politically convulsive times, such as those lived in during the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, religious prestige can function as life insurance, since the persecution or violent death of an ulema could have turned into social scandal. Who would ever dare attack those who safeguard the word of the prophet, those, who through their knowledge and actions are closest to him in the scale of pious human beings? The *ḥadīth*-s that they transmit repeat endlessly that whoever prays for the prophet, whoever performs the rituals correctly, those that the prophet himself taught, will be achieve salvation and obtain divine forgiveness. Sometimes under the form of a prophetic tradition, others by means of an oneiric vision, frequently through a brief story or anecdote — *khbar* — the reader of these prayer books is made aware of the concept that God clears the sins of those who pay devout attention to his prophet. The sins committed during a lifetime do not matter if that life is dedicated to the imitation of the exemplary conduct of Muḥammad and, especially, to spreading publicly word of his extraordinary merits. This turns the authors of works of prophetic veneration, according to their own words, into beings that can receive divine favor either during their lifetime or on the Day of Judgment. They did not state it as such, but this became an implicit threat against those who dared confront them.⁴⁴

⁴³ All the information is systematized in Table 1; in the text, only the most important conclusions will be drawn and the reader is asked to refer to the Table for further questions.

⁴⁴ Addas emphasizes that the *musalsal hadith* itself becomes the object of veneration because its transmitters are considered to have a closer relationship with the prophet, “Entre *musalsal* et *silsila*”, p. 22.

3.1. The creation of *musalsalāt* works

An important characteristic of the period under analysis is that relative to the number of *musalsalāt* works being transmitted, few are composed, even though the few creations are successful and are in turn transmitted throughout the period. During two and a half centuries there were seven (or eight) new compositions and none of them is extant. They belong to six different authors, all of them important ulema in their time; all of these authors wrote other works and were either transmitters or authors of other works of prophetic veneration (Table 1: Nos. 1, 5, 6, 11, 21, 27). One of these authors, Ibn Abī l-Aḥwāṣ (no. 5) composed 2 or 3 works dedicated to this subject, but we cannot be sure of their number based on their titles alone, since the collection of forty *ḥadīth*-s, mentioned by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, could be the same as the work known under the generic title of *musalsalāt*. We have evidence that Ibn Abī l-Aḥwāṣ's work is transmitted during the Nasrid period (nos. 20, 24, 26). Regarding the rest of authors, the evidence is that they composed only one chained transmission each.

Despite the above, if we take into account that the first four creators of treatises of *musalsalāt* belong to the 7th/13th century, a period of transition, and that the last two make very generic works, we can state that the production of new texts of this kind in the central period of the Nasrid Kingdom is poor.

Other composers of treatises during the 7th/13th century, in addition to the aforementioned Ibn Abī l-Aḥwāṣ, are Ibn al-Abbār, whose text is transmitted later (nos. 3, 15) and Ibn Masdī, author of a *Fawā'id*, later transmitted by the third author of this genre during this century, al-Khilāsī al-Balansī.

In the 8th/14th century I have found only two authors. The first one is, Ibn Jābir al-Wādī Āshī who composed a work that, judging by its title, must have been a collection of chained *ḥadīth*-s that he drew from the work of the Egyptian judge 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Sa'dī, who was the teacher of the famous Shāfi'ī scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370). Attention should be drawn to the fact that it is al-Wādī Āshī himself who records this work in his *Barnāmaj* and also that he does so by saying that he composes the work with the transmission chains — *ma'a asānid* —. He gives due importance to the texts being preceded by the *muḥaddithūn* who

carry out the ritual, since they are the transmitters of the *ḥadīth*-s. What really interests him is the procedure that they follow: people who from one generation to the next, over centuries, repeat the same gesture or the same expression, — or at least so the author believes —, and that is how *musalsalāt* taught time and time again, following the same ritual.

The second author from the 8th/14th century is al-Muntawrī, who composed a *Kitāb al-musalsalāt* and was interested in other subgenres of prophetic veneration. It must be kept in mind that he wrote also a *Barnāmaj*, which remains unedited.⁴⁵ This book would provide new rich information about these *ḥadīth*-s, as it happens with the other biographical manuals mentioned above.

3.2. The transmission of *musalsalāt*

Transmission is much more abundant than creation, which is logical since we are dealing with a *ḥadīth* subgenre; these works are created precisely to be taught and recited aloud. The details can be seen in Table 1, but I will point out the main features.

A significant number of the traditionists listed in Table 1 — 11 out of the 28 — transmit more than one work of *musalsalāt*, although in some cases they do this in a fragmentary way since they use many fragments, known as *juz'*, which are part of a well-known work. Sometimes the origin of the fragment is stated clearly (nos. 10, 13, 15) while in others only a very general mention of the existence of a source is made, for example, that it is taken from “a great treatise of *aḥādīth musalsala*” (no. 2).

Transmissions of *musalsalāt* works can be divided into three types: first, there are the traditions of oriental authors; second, the traditions compiled by Andalusian authors, among them those of some important traditionists from the Almoravid and Almohad periods; and, finally, the works in which the name of the author is not given but mention is made of the name by which the *musalsalāt* was commonly known.

In the Kingdom of Granada works of this type written by oriental authors were also transmitted, but they are not many in number and all the references found belong to the first period; since I have not found any references from the

⁴⁵ Lirola Delgado and Navarro Ortiz, “Al-Muntawrī, Abū 'Abd Allāh”, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 6, especially p. 571 (no. 2), and p. 573 (no. 12).

second half of the 8th/14th century: Ibn Rushayd mentions in the 7th/13th century the transmission of the *Musalsalāt* of Ibn Tāmtayyit (nos. 9,11) and a fragment of a work by Abū l-Ḥajjāj Ḥajjāj⁴⁶ (no. 11); also, at the end of that century, al-Tujībī cites the transmission of a fragment from another oriental author, *Juz' fī-hi aḥādīth musalsala* by al-Mu'ayyad b. Muḥammad. al-Ṭūsī (no. 15).⁴⁷ Finally, al-Tujībī himself transmits some oriental works of *musalsalāt*: a text by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ,⁴⁸ three chained *ḥadīth*-s by al-Sakhāwī,⁴⁹ and a collection of forty chained *ḥadīth*-s by 'Alī b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Maqdisī,⁵⁰ *Kitāb al-arba'īna al-musalsala al-musnada al-muṭṭasila* (nos. 13, 16). This work was transmitted twice, but the transmitter lived during two centuries: the 7th/13th century and the 8th/14th, so it cannot be considered a late work. It can be affirmed that during the last two centuries no new *musalsalāt* works from the East or the North of Africa are introduced, and that the transmission of those that had enjoyed success in earlier times did not continue either.

In this article it has already been mentioned that some *musalsalāt* works composed in Granada continued to be transmitted in later periods. In addition to those, the transmission of texts belonging to the three most relevant authors of this genre during the Almoravid and Almohad periods continues: Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī (nos. 3, 15); Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī (nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 12, 13, 16); and the traditionist from Cordova Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (nos. 10, 13, 22), whose work *Kitāb jawāhir al-mufassalāt fī taṣnīf al-aḥādīth al-musalsalāt* (The pearls set with the chained *ḥadīth*-s) was also transmitted extensively.

⁴⁶ It is possible that it refers to Abū 'Imrān al-Fasī's grandfather, but it is not sure. For his biography see Pellat, Ch., "Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 14 January 2021 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8256>. First published online: 2012. First print edition: ISBN: 9789004161214, 1960-2007.

⁴⁷ Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 545.

⁴⁸ Shāfi'ī Kurdish traditionist (d. 643/1245), Robson, J., "Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 14 January 2021 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3353>. First published online: 2012. First print edition: ISBN: 9789004161214, 1960-2007.

⁴⁹ The Egyptian traditionist 'Alam al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 634/1245), see <<https://viaf.org/viaf/90042691/>>.

⁵⁰ An Egyptian author from the 6th/12th century, Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, p. 545.

Finally, it is worth highlighting among the transmissions the chained *ḥadīth*-s that do not come from one specific work, but that are mentioned either generically, or due to their content. Regarding the first group, we have absolutely no knowledge about the texts they refer to. As to the second group, their significance does not lie in the teachings found in a specific book, but in that we are dealing mostly with loose *ḥadīth*-s that were enormously successful. The bio-bibliographical manuals consider them to be of such importance within the intellectual production of an author, that they mention them together with the transmission of more extensive or relevant works, even though, in most cases, they are very short texts, some even consisting of only a single *ḥadīth*.

Whereas during the Almoravid period the most widespread *ḥadīth musalsal* was the one in which the traditionists take hands (*al-akhdh bi-l-yad*), in the Nasrid period I have only found two references to it (N. 16, 18), made by two transmitters who died in the first years of the 8th/14th century. On the other hand, even though it is not mentioned as a transmission linked to an individual author, one can find the full text of *ḥadīth*-s similar to it in this period, for example, a chained *ḥadīth* in which hands are shaken (*ḥadīth musalsal bi-l-tashbīk*).⁵¹ The transmission of the *ḥadīth al-muṣāfaha* can be found in all periods, from Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī onwards.⁵² Although *ḥadīth al-akhdh bi-l-yad* and *al-muṣāfaha* appear to be different transmissions, it is necessary to do a thorough study of the different categories of chained *ḥadīth*-s.

The most popular *ḥadīth* from this period is the so-called "Ḥadīth on Mercy" (*al-raḥma*), whose text plays with words that have the root r-ḥ-m, resulting in a very pleasant sound to the ears of a pious Muslim, besides its being very beautiful (*al-Rāḥimūn yarḥamu-hum al-Raḥmān (tabāarak wa-ta'ālā) irḥamū man fī l-arḍ yarḥamu-kum man fī l-samā'*); it can be translated as follows:

To those who show mercy, the Merciful will show Mercy.

Show mercy to those on earth, then (the Angels) in heaven will show mercy to you.

It is also known as the *ḥadīth* "of the first ones" because a tradition says that it is the first *ḥadīth* that is taught to a disciple which is pre-

⁵¹ Ibn Ghāzī, *Fihris*, pp. 146-147.

⁵² Addas, "Entre *musalsal* et *silsila*", p. 21.

cisely what is repeated in its chain of transmission. Each time a name is mentioned along the chain, it is said that that *ḥadīth* was the first thing that he learned from the traditionist that preceded him in the chain, hence it is also considered a chained *ḥadīth* (nos. 3, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 28).⁵³ The success of this tradition can be considered even greater when we take into account that the writings of the oriental Ibn Ṣalāḥ (no. 18) and of the Andalusian Ibn al-Abbār (nos. 3, 15) both mentioned above, which were also taught, dealt with it. The *Ḥadīth* on Mercy continues to be transmitted up to today in the same way and it is not difficult to find videos and explanations of it online.⁵⁴

Besides the *Ḥadīth* on Mercy, it is necessary to refer to two more chained traditions, which show clearly the process of ritualization. In the first place, *Al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-su'āl 'an al-ism wa-tawābi'i-hi* (nos. 13, 25), in which each member of the chain asks for the name of the next transmitter until they reach the prophet who then indicates that this has been the correct way of proceeding. The name is asked for, the *kunya* and *nisba*, which are all the parts that make up an Arabic name; the objective of this detailed description of the name is possibly aimed at recording as accurately as possible who were the traditionists who carried out this ritual so as to keep their memory alive.⁵⁵ In second place, the ritualization process is observed in the tradition in which the traditionists place their hand on the head of the receiver of the *ḥadīth* while reciting the end of chapter number 59 of the Koran (*Sūrat al-ḥaṣhr*) (no.15), *Ḥadīth waḍ' al-yad 'alā l-rā's 'inda qirā'āt khātimat sūrat al-ḥaṣhr*.⁵⁶

3.3. Knowledge of *ḥadīth musalsal* as a subgenre within the general genre of works of prophetic veneration

Practically all the authors listed in Table 1 worked on other subgenres of prophetic veneration. I make this statement because regarding

only 2 of the 26 authors do we not find data to the contrary (nos. 2, 16, 22). We can therefore not separate the ritualized transmission of *ḥadīth*-s from the global genre of works dedicated to Muḥammad. Besides, 11 of the 28 traditionists about who we have established their dedication to the prophet do not limit their teaching to that ritualized transmission, but rather write specific texts related to the prophet (nos. 3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28).

It is also necessary to point out that chronologically, during the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, the creation of these works is continuous; we find authors that complement their interest in *musalsalāt* and create works in other subgenres during all the Kingdom's different periods.

Most of these texts have been lost and we are therefore forced to deduce from their titles both the subject matter they dealt with and their form. There are references about some of them being in verse (nos. 3, 7, 8, 20, 26) and about others being commentaries on previously existing texts (nos. 8, 24, 28). One of these commentaries was dedicated to *Shifā'*, mentioned repeatedly (no. 24), for that reason I have included in Table 1 the authorship of a biography of al-Qādī 'Iyād (no. 21) since it could well have been written due to the interest that this author generated due to this book, although the lack of data turns this into mere speculation.

Within these books we find some typical themes, which had already been worked on during the Almoravid and Almohad periods: the virtue of visiting the prophet's tomb (no. 6); the benefits of Muḥammad's Holy Mantle, (*burda*) (nos. 7, 28); the benefits of the relic of the Blessed Sandals (no. 13); the observance of the birthday of the prophet (*mawlid*) (nos. 8, 24, 26); the virtues obtained from seeing him in dreams (no. 27); or the titles of praise or epithets by which he is referred to (no. 28). Others are texts about which the only thing said is that they were dedicated to praising Muḥammad (nos. 7, 20). And, of course, we also find writings whose subject is to exalt his feats as a warrior (*maghāzī*) and turn him into a model for the believer (nos. 3, 8).⁵⁷

When it comes to the transmissions we find a large variety of themes. There are both oriental and Andalusian works registered. Among the first group of these we find classical treatises dedicated to the prophet that had a wide readership in the Iberian Peninsula, such as the *Kitāb al-shamā'il*

⁵³ Ibn Ghāzī, *Fihris*, p. 149.

⁵⁴ See for example: <<http://damas.nur.nu/7140/pages/islamic-sciences/hadith/special-hadith/hadith-al-rahma>>. On this *ḥadīth* see also Brown, *Hadith. Muhammad's Legacy*, p. 46; Addas, "Entre *musalsal* et *silsila*", p. 20.

⁵⁵ Ibn Ghāzī, *Fihris*, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁶ Al-Raṣṣā', *Fihrist*, p. 90, only mentioned, the full text is not included. It can be seen some complete *musalsalāt* in Ibn Rushayd, *Mil'*, pp. 337-363.

⁵⁷ M. Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie*.

by al-Tirmidhī (nos. 3, 11, 12, 17); the *Kitāb al-shihāb* by al-Quḍā'ī (nos. 4, 9, 10, 11, 18, 21, 23, 25); o la *Sīra* de Abū Ishāq (no. 13).

However, what we find of greatest interest is the authorship of the Andalusian works of prophetic veneration taught by them, since those texts belong precisely to the authors that have been mentioned above repeatedly as being also transmitters or creators of *musalsalāt*. They are the same traditionists from the Almoravid and Almohad periods who dedicated a large part of their lives and biographies to devotion to Muḥammad: al-Kalā'ī's *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-zulām min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh* (Lamp that illuminates in the darkness with the light that comes from the sayings of the Messenger of God) (nos. 1, 11);⁵⁸ Ibn Abī l-Khiṣāl's *Mi'raj al-manāqib wa-minhāj al-ḥasab al-thāqib min nasab rasūl Allāh (ṣ'lm) wa-dhikr mu'jizāti-hi* (Scale of the virtues, way to the nobility that delves into the genealogy of the prophet, and mention of his miracles) (no. 3);⁵⁹ Ibn al-Ṭaylasān's *Bughyat al-murtād fī l-ta'rīf bi-sunnat al-jihād* (What it is desired by whoever wants to know the tradition of *jihād*)⁶⁰ (no. 10); al-Qāḍī 'Iyād' *Shifā'* (nos. 13, 15, 17, 19, 24, 26), without a doubt the most successful work;⁶¹ and Ibn Bashkuwāl's *Kitāb al-qurba ilā Llāh bi-ṣalāt 'alā Muḥammad* (Book of the approach to God through the prayer upon Muḥammad) (no. 17).

4. Conclusions

Starting at a given historical moment, a trend develops among a significant number of Sunni traditionists, experts in religious sciences, to dedicate their lives to the creation and transmission of works dedicated to the exaltation of the figure of Muḥammad. Among these, as we have seen in the previous pages, were the famous experts in *ḥadīth* knowledge during each period. They were neither marginal nor exceptional figures, nor did they necessarily form part of mystic groups. In al-Andalus, this dedication will be carried on uninterruptedly from the end of the 5th/11th century to the end of

the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada and even after that its traces will be felt among the Muslim population of Spain (Moriscos).

These experts in *ḥadīth* are themselves the primary source we have to get to know what their intellectual production in this genre was. Many of them left detailed descriptions in their biographical dictionaries and bibliographic manuals of their knowledge in this field: which were the texts that they either received or brought themselves from the Orient; which were the Andalusian texts that they received and transmitted to the future generations; and, which were the new texts that were composed in al-Andalus. They even transcribed whole fragments of some of their books.

One way of integrating their intellectual work — the teaching of *ḥadīth* — to the movement of prophetic veneration was to promote the concept that prophetic traditions were in themselves a great form of devotion to Muḥammad, the best way of delivering his lessons, make known his exemplary life and to convey to their contemporaries the message that the prophet's followers would, thanks to imitating his lifestyle, sooner or later, be rewarded with success. The success could refer to a varied range of circumstances, although it always had an important religious element: military victory against the infidel, salvation in the world to come, belonging to the most highly considered religious elites, etc. It must be borne in mind that although the production of works of prophetic veneration and their transmission belongs to a select and restricted group of ulema, it is not limited to specific milieus.⁶² The various forms of devotion became very popular, and rituals and festivities related to the charismatic figure of Muhammad in all times had and still have enormous success. Among them, the transmission of *musalsal ḥadīth* and the compilation of these traditions have never stopped.⁶³

In my opinion, the *ḥadīth musalsal* is a good example of how some traditionists integrated, not only their writings, but also their lives, to the popular movement among religious writers of

⁵⁸ Carmona, "Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī, Abū l-Rabī'", *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 5, pp. 205-211 (no. 1096). He wrote also a book on *musalsalāt* and some other works on prophetic veneration.

⁵⁹ Aguirre Sádaba, "Ibn Abī l-Khiṣāl, Abū 'Abd Allāh'", *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 696-702 (no. 225).

⁶⁰ Ávila, "Ibn al-Ṭaylasān, al-Qāsim", *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, p. 495 (no. 3).

⁶¹ See above note 15.

⁶² Chodkiewicz, "Das am Propheten orientierte Modell der Heiligkeit", p. 6 (16).

⁶³ Some collections of *musalsalāt* are included in the final bibliography, although they belong to periods much later than the one studied in this article, see al-Kattānī, al-Sanūsī and al-'Umrānī. See as an example of how alive it is, <<https://www.ihsaninstitute.co.uk/articles/the-musalsalat-in-hadith-linking-the-present-to-the-past>>, online December 23, 2020.

devotion to the prophet. As I have shown above, its creators and transmitters worked on the production of texts in different subgenres, and their contribution to the chained transmissions is only another characteristic of their devotion.

The ritualization of the process of transmission that accompanies the *musalsalāt* constitutes in itself an act of prophetic veneration, since the *isnād* stops being only the testimony of those who transmit the *ḥadīth* as it acquires new meanings. In the first place, the participants in the ritual belong to a specific group of ulema who have a distinct way of acting and the readers are able to classify, consciously or unconsciously, those traditionists as belonging to one group or another. Furthermore, with the repetition of verses and gestures, the ritual of transmission

becomes poetic and musical, sometimes resembling a prayer. Making those gestures, even if nothing is said explicitly, becomes a way of praying, of worshiping God through being devoted to the teachings of his last prophet.

Finally, we cannot conclude without pointing out that the information obtained from Arab sources, despite the difficulties that may arise when writing the history of the last years of the Kingdom of Granada, is very rich regarding the (wide) readership of religious texts. The data gathered allows us to reconstruct, be it only intuitively, what religious observation was like during different periods, even if we do not have texts that expressly describe religious practice or that have left testimony of what religious life was like in the day-to-day.

Table 1

	Name/ Biography in Enciclopedia de al-Andalus (BA) ⁶⁴	Place and date of birth and death	Author of <i>musalsalāt</i>	Transmitter of <i>musalsalāt</i>	Author/Transmitter of other works on prophetic veneration (included <i>jihād</i> works)
1	Ibn al-Abbār BA, 1, 535-63 (173) [J. Lirola Delgado]	Valencia 595/1199- Tunis 658/1260	<i>al-Mawrid al-salsal fi ḥadīth al-rahma al-musalsal</i> (BA, 1, p. 551, n. 21)	<i>Al-musalsalāt Abī Bakr b. al-'Arabī</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 186)	Trans. <i>Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-zulam min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh</i> by Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 236)
2	Ibn Furtūn Al-Fāsī Āshī (<i>min al-gurabā'</i>) BA, 3, 186-7 (487) [F. Rodríguez Mediano-D. Serrano Ruano]	Fes circa 580/1184-5- Ceuta 660/1262		<i>Juz' dakhm fi-hi aḥādīth al-musalsala</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 173)	
3	Ibn Burṭuluh BA, 2, 680-2 (417) [Rodríguez Figueroa]	Murcia? 580/1184-5- Tunis 661/1263		<i>Ḥadīth al-muṣāfaḥa</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 179) <i>Juz' min Awālī Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafi</i> (Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 264) <i>al-Mawrid al-salsal fi ḥadīth al-rahma al-musalsal</i> by Ibn al-Abbār (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 169-170) <i>Musalsal al-rahīmūn</i> (Al-Ṣafādī, <i>al-Wāfi</i> , VII, 319) <i>Al-Musalsalāt Abī Bakr b. al-'Arabī</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 186)	Auth. <i>Dhikrā al-mutaḥajjī 'īn wa-bushra l-mustarjī 'īn (urjūza on jihād)</i> (BA, 2, p. 682, n. 1) Trans. <i>Mi'raj al-manāqib wa-minhāj al-ḥasab al-thāqib min nasab rasūl Allāh (ṣ'lm) wa-dhikr mu'jizāti-hi</i> by Ibn Abī l-Khiṣāl (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 100; Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 220) <i>Kitāb shamā'il al-nabī</i> by al-Tirmidhī (Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 208)
4	Musā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tujībī al-Mursī al-Qamījī [Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 251-294]	610/1213- d. after 684/1285)		<i>al-Muṣāfaḥa li-bn al-'Arabī</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 257, 258, 260-294)	Trans. <i>Kitāb al-shihāb by al-Quda'ī</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 256)

⁶⁴ If it does not exist in BA (*Biblioteca de al-Andalus*), the main source of his biography is cited.

5	Ibn Abī l-Aḥwaṣ Al-Qurashī BA, 1, 675-6 (211) [Fómeas-Rodríguez Figueroa]	Jaén 603/1206- Granada 679/1280 or 699/1300 ⁶⁵	<i>Arba`ūna ḥadīthan</i> (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, <i>al-Iḥāṭa</i> , I, 465) ⁶⁶ <i>Al-Musalsalāt</i> (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, <i>al-Iḥāṭa</i> , I, 465; BA, 1, p. 676, n. 5) ⁶⁷ <i>Al-Musharri`al-salsil fī l-ḥadīth al-musalsal</i> (Al-Maqqarī, <i>Naft</i> , II, 536; BA, 1, p. 676, n. 5)		Trans. <i>Kitāb a`lām al-nubuwwa</i> by Ibn Qutayba (Al-Rawdānī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , in <i>RIMA</i> 27 (1983), p. 445)
6	Ibn Masdī BA, 4, 159-61 (793) [J. Zanón]	Guadix 599/1203- La Meca 663/1265	<i>Al-Fawā`id al-musalsalāt al-asānid</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil`</i> , III, 101; Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 172; al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 275; “ <i>Al-Musalsalāt fī l-ḥadīth</i> ” in BA, 4, p. 160, n. 6)	<i>Al-Musalsalāt</i> by Abū Bakr b. al-`Arabī (al-Rawdānī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , in <i>RIMA</i> 29 (1985), p. 471)	Auth. <i>Arba`ūn al-mukhtāra fī faḍl al-ḥajj wa-l-ziyāra</i> (BA, 4, p. 160, n. 1) <i>Kitāb al-bishāra bi-thawāb al-ḥajj wa-l-ziyāra</i> (BA, 4, p. 160, n. 2)
7	Al-Khazrajī, Abū l-Ḥasan (Diyā` al-Dīn al-Khazrajī) BA, 6, 440-1 (1488) [Documentación]	Priego 590/1193-4-Alexandria 686/1287-8		<i>Al-Ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil`</i> , III, 45)	Auth. <i>Al-Mawājīd al-khazrajīyya</i> (his <i>dīwān</i> , that contains poems of praise to the prophet and a <i>burda</i> poem on the mantle of the prophet (BA, 6, p. 441, n. 1)
8	Al-Tilimsānī, Abū Ishāq al-Waqqaṣhī BA, 7, 462-6 (1774) [F.N. Velázquez Basanta]	Tlemcen 609/1212- Ceuta 690/1291		<i>Ḥadīth al-jayb al-musalsal</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 173)	Auth. <i>Manzūmāt fī l-siyar wa-amdāḥ al-nabī</i> (BA, 7, 464, n. 2) <i>Mu`ashsharāt `alā awzān al-Magrib</i> (BA, 7, p. 465, n. 4) <i>Naṭījat al-khiyar wa-muzīlat al-ghiyar fī nazm al-maghāzī wa-l-siyar</i> (BA, 7, p. 465, n. 5) <i>Qaṣīda fī l-mawlid al-karīm</i> (BA, 7, p. 465, n. 7)
9	Al-Lablī, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf BA, 6, 460-3 (1501) [A. García Sanjuán]	Niebla 613/1216- Tunis 691/1291		<i>Musalsalāt</i> by Ibn Tāmtayyit (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil`</i> , II, 358)	Trans. <i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Qudā`ī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil`</i> , II, 219)
10	Muḥammad b. `Ayyāsh al-Qurtubī Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 141 (177); Ibn al-Jazarī, <i>Gāya</i> , II, 223 (3338)	<i>Nazīl Mālaqa</i> - d. after 694/1294		<i>Juz` fī-hi ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 171) <i>Kitāb jawāhir al-mufassalāt fī taṣnīf al-aḥadīth al-musalsalāt</i> by Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 172)	Trans. <i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Qudā`ī (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 147) <i>Bahjat al-asrār wa-nuzhat al-afkār fī basāṭin al-ma`thūr `an rasūl Allāh (ṣ`lm) min al-adhkār mim mā yaḥtāj ilay-hi l-muslim fī ḥālāt-hi wa-awqāt-hi min layl wa-nahār</i> by Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 236) <i>Bughyat al-murtād fī l-ta`rīf bi-sunnat al-jihād</i> by Ibn al-Ṭaylasān (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 236)

⁶⁵ This date, possible erroneous, is due to Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

⁶⁶ It is not specified that it is *musalsal ḥadīth*, but there is a reference to Abū Ḥayyān al-Garnāṭī's transmission from his forty *musalsalāt* (see *infra*).

⁶⁷ It may be the same work as the next one because no source cites the two.

11	‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Khilāsī al-Balansī Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 54-5 (12)	Valencia 610/1213-Alexandria? 697/1298	<i>Musalsalāt</i> (al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 275)	<i>Al-Fawā'id al-musalsalāt al-asānid</i> by Ibn Masdī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 323; Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 172) <i>Ḥadīth al-jayb al-musalsal</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 173) <i>Juz' fi-hi aḥādīth musalsala</i> by Abū l-Ḥajjāj Ḥajjāj (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 337, 356, 358) <i>al-Muṣāfaḥa</i> li-Abī Bakr b. al-‘Arabī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 364) <i>Musalsalāt</i> by Ibn Tāmtayyit (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 358)	Trans. <i>Ba'ḍ Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Quḍā'ī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , 364) <i>Ba'ḍ Shamā'il al-Tirmidhī</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , 364) <i>Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-zulam min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh</i> by Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 236)
12	Muḥammad b. Abī l-Sadād	(7 th /13 th century)		<i>Juz' al-Muṣāfaḥa li-Abī Bakr b. al-‘Arabī</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 258)	Trans. <i>Kitāb sharḥ al-ḥikam wa-l-amthāl al-marwiyya ‘an rasūl Allāh</i> li-Abī Aḥmad al-‘Askarī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 100) <i>Shamā'il al-Tirmidhī</i> (al-‘Abdarī, <i>Rihla</i> , 18-9) <i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Quḍā'ī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , 256)
13	Ibn Hārūn al-Qurtubī BA, 3, 296-8 (550) [J.M. Vizcaino]	Cordoba 603/1207 – Tunis 702/1303		<i>Al-Jawāhir al-mufaṣṣala fi l-aḥādīth al-musalsala</i> (by Ibn al-Taylasān) (BA 3, p. 297) <i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-su'āl ‘an al-ism wa-tawābī'i-hi</i> (Ibn Ghāzī, <i>Fihris</i> , 92-3) <i>Juz' fi-hi ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 171) <i>al-Muṣāfaḥa</i> li-Abī Bakr b. al-‘Arabī (Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 282)	Auth. <i>Al-La'ālī' al-majmū'a min bāhir al-nizām wa-bāri' al-kalām fi waṣf mithāl na'lay Rasūl Allāh (ṣ'Im)</i> by Ibn Hārūn (BA, 3, p. 298, n. 2) Trans. <i>Ikhtisār sīrat Rasūl Allāh</i> by Aḥmad b. Fāris (BA 3, p. 297) <i>Faḍīlat man ismu-hu Aḥmad wa-Muḥammad</i> (BA 3, p. 297) <i>Al-Shamā'il</i> by al-Tirmidhī (BA 3, 297) <i>Al-Sīra</i> by Abū Ishāq (BA 3, p. 297) <i>Al-Shifā' fi ta'rīf al-ḥuqūq al-Muṣtafā</i> by Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (BA 3, p. 297)
14	Muḥammad b. Ghālib al-Jayyānī Shams al-Dīn Al-Tujībī, <i>Mustafād al-riḥla</i> , 437-452; al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 141 (179)	635/1237- 703/1303		<i>Juz' fi-hi ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Tujībī, <i>Mustafād al-riḥla</i> , 442; Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 170)	Trans. <i>Dalā'il al-nubuwwa</i> by al-Bayhaqī (Tujībī, <i>Mustafād al-riḥla</i> , 440) <i>Juz' fi-hi Bidāyat al-sūl fi-ma sanaḥa min tafḍīl al-Rasūl</i> by 'Izz al-dīn b. 'Abd al-Salām (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 238; Tujībī, <i>Mustafād al-riḥla</i> , 441) <i>Juz' fi-hi Kitāb fawā'id al-maṣā'ib wa-l-balāyā wa-l-miḥan wa-l-razāyā</i> by 'Izz al-dīn b. 'Abd al-Salām (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 238; Tujībī, <i>Mustafād al-riḥla</i> , 441) <i>Al-Khutab al-nubātīyya</i> (Tujībī, <i>Mustafād al-riḥla</i> , 441)

15	Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Baṭarnī Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i> , II, 169-172; al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 72 (32)	Paterna (Valencia)- Tunis 710/1311		<p><i>Juz' fi-hi aḥādīth musalsala</i> by Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 169)</p> <p><i>Juz' fi-hi aḥādīth musalsala</i> by al-Mu'ayyad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 169)</p> <p><i>Kitāb al-arba'īna al-musalsala al-musnada al-muttaṣila</i> by 'Alī b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Maqdisī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, II, 170; al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 168)</p> <p><i>Juz' min Awālī Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī</i> by Ibn Gashilyān (Al-Wādī Āshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 264)</p> <p><i>Ḥadīth waq' al-yad 'alā l-rā's 'inda qirā'āt khātimat sūrat al-ḥaṣhr</i> (Al-Raṣṣā', <i>Fihrist</i>, 90)</p> <p><i>Kitāb al-mawrid al-musalsal fi ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> by Ibn al-Abbār (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, II, 169-170; Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 168)</p>	<p>Trans. <i>Al-Burda</i> (Al-Raṣṣā', <i>Fihrist</i>, 90)</p> <p><i>Al-Shifā' fi ta'rīf al-ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā</i> by al-Qādī 'Iyād (Al-Raṣṣā', <i>Fihrist</i>, 90)</p>
16	Ibn Ḥayyān al-Shāṭibī, Abū 'Abdallāh BA, 3, 377 (586) [Consejo de Redacción]	Játiva? 635/1237-8 – Tunis 718/1318		<p><i>Ḥadīth Al-Muṣāfaḥa</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, II, 179)</p> <p><i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-akhdh bi-l-yad</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, II, 186)</p> <p><i>Al-Musalsalāt</i> by Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, II, 179)</p>	
17	Ibn Rushayd BA, 4, 504-15 (1004) [J. Lirola Delgado]	Ceuta 657/1259- Fez 721/1321		<p><i>Ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, III, 218, 291, 374)</p>	<p>Trans. <i>Kitāb al-qurba fi l-salāt 'alā l-nabī</i> by Ibn Bashkuwāl (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, III, 37, 41)</p> <p><i>al-Shamā'il</i> by al-Tirmidhī (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, II, 298)</p> <p><i>Al-Shifā' fi ta'rīf al-ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā</i> by Al-Qādī 'Iyād (Ibn Rushayd, <i>Mil'</i>, III, 13)</p>
18	Al-Tujībī, Al-Qāsim BA, 7, 543-54 (1803) [A. Rodríguez Figueroa]	Ceuta 666/1267-8 -Ceuta 730/1329-30		<p><i>Ḥadīth al-akhdh bi-l-yad</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 173)</p> <p><i>Ḥadīth al-al-multazam al-musalsal</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 173)</p> <p><i>Ḥadīth al-muṣāfaḥa wa-l-akhdh bi-l-yad</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 173)</p> <p><i>Juz' fi-hi Ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 170)</p> <p><i>Juz' laṭīf 'alā thalātha aḥādīth musalsala al-Sakhāwī</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 169)</p> <p><i>Juz' ḥasan 'azīz al-Fawā'id, fi-hi ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal wa-l-kalām 'alay-hi min 'ulūm 'adīda</i> by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 171)</p> <p><i>Kitāb al-arba'īna al-musalsala al-musnada al-muttaṣila</i> by 'Alī b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Maqdisī (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 168)</p> <p><i>Kitāb al-qubal wa-l-mu'ānaqa wa-l-muṣāfaḥa li-l-A'rābī</i> (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 207)</p>	<p>Trans. <i>Juz' fi-hi Faḍīlāt man ismu-hu Muḥammad aw Aḥmad</i> y al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Bukayr (Al-Tujībī, <i>Barnāmaj</i>, 234)</p> <p><i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Quḍa'ī (BA, p. 545)</p>

19	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAshshāb Ibn Ṭalḥa Ṣafādī, <i>Wāḥī</i> , VII, 319-20 (3305); Maqqarī, <i>Nafh</i> , V, 395.	736/1335		<i>Musalsal al-rahīmīn</i> or <i>Ḥadīth al-rahma al-musalsal</i> (Ṣafādī, <i>Wāḥī</i> , VII, p. 319 (3305))	Trans. <i>Al-Shifāʾ fi taʾrīf al-ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā</i> by Al-Qāḍī ʿIyād (Ṣafādī, <i>Wāḥī</i> , VII, 320 (3305))
20	Al-Garnāḥī, Abū Ḥayyān BA, I, 361-96 (120) [J.M. Puerta Vilchez]	Granada 654/1256 - Cairo 745/1344		<i>Arba ʿūna musalsalāt</i> by Ibn Abī l-Aḥwās (Ṣuyūṭī, <i>Bughya</i> , I, 535) [<i>Al-Mashraʿ al-salsal fi ḥadīth al-musalsal Ibn Abī l-Aḥwās</i> , Maqqarī, <i>Nafh</i> , II, 536 (216)] <i>Ḥadīth al-rahma al-musalsal</i> (Balawī, <i>Tāj</i> , I, 229)	Auth. <i>Qaṣīda ṭawīla madaḥa bi-hā Rasūl Allāh</i> (Balawī, <i>Tāj</i> , II, 25) ⁶⁸ Trans. <i>Kitāb al-lām al-nubuwwa</i> by Ibn Qutayba (Al-Rawḍānī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , in <i>RIMA</i> 27 (1983), p. 445)
21	Ibn Jābir al-Wādī ʿAshī (<i>min al-gurabāʾ</i>) BA, 6, 25-28 (1322) [J. Lirola Delgado]	Tunis 673/1274 -Tunis 749/1348	<i>Muṣāfaḥa qabla-hā aḥadīth min riwāyat wālidī-hi ʿan Abī l-Faql al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Khaṭīb al-Sanjārī</i> (Al-Wādī ʿAshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 282) <i>Musalsalāt intakhabtu-hā min marwiyāt al-qāḍī bi-Miṣr Tāj al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghaḥfār b. ʿAbd al-Kāfi al-Saʿdī ma ʿa anāshīd</i> (Al-Wādī ʿAshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 275; BA, 6, p. 27, n. 6)		Auth. <i>Tarjamāt al-Qāḍī ʿIyād</i> (BA, 6, p.28, n. 9) ⁶⁹ Trans. <i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Qudaʿī (Al-Wādī ʿAshī, <i>Barnāmaj</i> , 217-9)
22	Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ʿAyyāsh al-Malaqī Ibn Hajar, <i>Durar</i> , IV, 345-6 (4462); Maqqarī, <i>Nafh</i> , V, 263-4.	759/1357		<i>Ba ʿd Kitāb al-musalsalāt</i> by Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Ṭaylasān (Ibn Hajar, <i>Durar</i> , IV, 345 (4462))	
23	Al-Balawī, Khālīd b. ʿIsā BA, 1, 180-3 (58) [J. Lirola Delgado]	Cantoria (Almería)/ Cantoria? 2 nd half 14 th century (after 767/1365)		<i>Ḥadīth al-rahma al-musalsal</i> (Balawī, <i>Tāj</i> , I, 206; II, 23, 40, 46, 56)	Trans. <i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Qudaʿī (Balawī, <i>Tāj</i> , I, 203; II, 108)
24	Ibn Marzūq al-Jadd (<i>min al-gurabāʾ</i>) BA, 4, 124-38 (782) [A. Peláez Rovira]	Tilimsān 710/1310-1 - Cairo, 781/1379-80		<i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-muḥammadīn</i> (Al-Balawī, <i>Thabat</i> , 135) <i>Al-Mashraʿ al-salsal fi ḥadīth al-musalsal Ibn Abī l-Aḥwās</i> (Maqqarī, <i>Nafh</i> , II, 536 (216))	Auth. <i>Baḥr al-khaḥfāʾ fi sharḥ al-Shifāʾ</i> (BA, 4, p. 134, n. 3) <i>Mawlidīya</i> (117 verses in honor of the birth of the prophet Muḥammad) (BA, 4, p. 136, n.13c) <i>Janā l-jannatayn fi faql al-laylatayn [laylat al-mawlid wa-laylat al-qadr]</i> (BA, 4, p. 137, n. 22)
25	Al-Sarrāj, Abū Zakariyyāʾ BA, 7, 348-9 (1722) [A. Peláez Rovira]	Ronda?/ Fes 805/1402-3		<i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-awwalīyya</i> (Ibn Gāzī, <i>Fihris</i> , 92)/ <i>Ḥadīth al-rahma al-musalsal</i> (Balawī, <i>Thabat</i> , 460) <i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-suʿāl ʿan al-ism wa-tawābiʿi-hi</i> (Ibn Ghāzī, <i>Fihris</i> , 92-3)	Trans. <i>Kitāb al-shihāb</i> by al-Qudaʿī (Ibn Gāzī, <i>Fihris</i> , 110)
26	Ibn Juzayy al-Kalbī, Abū Muḥammad BA, 6, 203-14 (1415) [F.N. Velázquez Basanta]	Granada?/ Granada? Died after 819/1408		<i>Al-Musharriʿ al-salsal fi ḥadīth al-musalsal Ibn Abī l-Aḥwās</i> (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, <i>Iḥāṭa</i> , III, 393)	Auth. <i>Qaṣīda mawlidīya</i> (BA, 6, p. 212) Trans. <i>Al-Shifāʾ fi taʾrīf al-ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā</i> by Al-Qāḍī ʿIyād (BA, 6, p. 205)

⁶⁸ Al-Balawī quotes the first 7 verses of the poem, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁹ It is not a book on prophetic veneration but a biography of al-Qāḍī ʿIyād. Despite this, it is possible that his interest in the life of this judge comes from his work *Al-Shifāʾ*.

27	Al-Muntawrī BA, 6, 566-74 (1566) [J. Lirola Delgado- E. Navarro Ortiz]	Granada 761/1360/ Granada? 834/1431	<i>Kitāb al-musalsalāt</i> (BA, 6, p. 573, n. 12)		Auth. <i>Kitāb al-fawā'id al-nawmīya</i> (BA, 6, p. 572, n. 3)
28	Al-Qalṣādī, Abū l-Ḥasan BA, 7, 44-58 (1596) [E. Calvo Labarta- J. Lirola Delgado]	Baza 815/1412? – Beja (Tunis) 891/1486		<i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-l-muḥammadīn</i> (Balawī, <i>Thabat</i> , 115, 135) <i>Al-Ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-riwāyat al-fuqahā'</i> (Balawī, <i>Thabat</i> , 115) <i>Ḥadīth al-raḥma al-musalsal</i> (Balawī, <i>Thabat</i> , 115, 124, 129)	Auth. <i>Sharḥ al-Burda</i> (BA, 7, p. 52, n. 25) <i>Sharḥ rajaz Abī 'Amr Ibn Manzūr fī asmā' al-rasūl</i> (BA, 7, p. 54, n. 45)

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